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Remembering pre-WWII Cultural Diversity in a post-Soviet Western Ukrainian City

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From Czernowitz to Chernivtsi

Remembering pre-WWII Cultural Diversity in a post-Soviet Western Ukrainian city

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CENTRE FOR LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE | LUND UNIVERSITY

From Czernowitz to Chernivtsi

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Remembering pre-WWII Cultural Diversity in a post-Soviet Western Ukrainian city

Niklas Bernsand

LUND
UNIVERSITY

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After World War II, the ethno-demographic structure of many cities in eastern and central Europe was fundamentally changed as a result of genocides, ethnic cleansing, deportations and migrations. The cultural diversity that had been characteristic of many of those cities was radically reduced, as new inhabitants tried to find their place in the cityscapes. In focus of this thesis is the memory work of contemporary elites in post-Soviet Chernivtsi specifically in relation to the lost cultural diversity of the pre-WWII city. The thesis asks to what extent the city's lost pre-WWII cultural diversity has been accepted into elite narratives about Chernivtsi's past, and whether some aspects of this diversity can be said to be more foregrounded or disregarded. Furthermore, it asks to what extent the memory work of local elites is connected to the creation of a local post-Soviet identity for the city in the post-Soviet period. The thesis shows how narratives celebrating local pre-WWII cultural diversity have permeated local memory work in the city during the period of study, while simultaneously in local discourse the most difficult aspects of that past often are avoided.

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From Czernowitz to Chernivtsi

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

The genocides, ethnic cleansings, deportations and migrations witnessed by 20th century Europe significantly reconfigured both the political map and the populations of villages, towns, cities, regions and countries. After World War II, many places in the eastern and central parts of the continent became inhabited partly or almost completely by other populations than those who had lived there before the war. Some cities sharing this fate, e.g. Lviv, Uzhhorod, Vilnius, Chisinau and Minsk, were like Chernivtsi, the city that is the focus of this thesis, well-known for their cultural diversity, for the ethnic and religious multitude formed by their inhabitants, a diversity that was ended or dramatically reduced in connection with the war, its prelude and aftermath. Not least, with the Holocaust and the out-migrations of many survivors in its aftermath, this concerned the pre-war Jewish populations of those cities, but the ruptures also fundamentally altered the course of life for many members of other groups that had populated and built those cities. In the case of Chernivtsi, the overwhelming majority of the pre-1940 population were no longer there in the aftermath of the war, including most Jews, Germans, Poles, and Armenians, as well as many Romanians and Ukrainians preferring not to live under Soviet rule. The new inhabitants of the city were mostly Ukrainians, from the region or from further afield, Russians, who for the first time established a significant urban presence in the city, and for a few decades new Jewish inhabitants moving in from other parts of Ukraine or from Bessarabia (see Chapter 2 for an historical overview of cultural diversity and ethno-demographic ruptures in Chernivtsi and Bukovina).

The thesis investigates how local political, administrative, intellectual and cultural elites in Chernivtsi, a regional centre with approx. 250,000 inhabitants in the Bukovina region in southwestern Ukraine, deal with the pre-Soviet past of the city. The approach follows that of the Lund research team (Törnquist-Plewa 2016), studying the ethno-demographic ruptures in 20th century Eastern

and Central Europe, but not examining the history of the ruptures themselves or studying the memories and post-memories of survivors or descendants of the murdered or dispersed in their diaspora settings (see e.g. Hirsch 2010). Instead, it provides a case study on a comparatively less studied aspect – how the contemporary population in a city where such ruptures took place deals with the fact that their native city just a few generations ago in ethnocultural and religious terms had a significantly different population to that in the 21st century. In focus here is the memory work (Kitzmann et al. 2005) of contemporary elites in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, specifically in relation to the lost cultural diversity of the pre-WWII city.

Main research questions

The thesis asks two main questions: to what extent has the city's lost pre-WWII cultural diversity been accepted into elite narratives about Chernivtsi's past, and whether some aspects of this diversity can be said to be more foregrounded or, on the contrary, disregarded. Furthermore, the thesis asks to what extent the memory work of local elites is connected to the creation of a local post-Soviet identity for the city in the post-Soviet period.

Pursuing these research tasks, the thesis adds to an increasing number of works on regional or local aspects of Post-Soviet memory in Ukraine (see e.g. Narvselius (2015, 2021b), Czaplicka (2005) on Lviv, Yurchuk (2014) on Rivne, Richardson (2008) on Odesa, Zhurzhenko (2011) on Kharkiv, Qualls (2009, 2011) on Sevastopol', Wylegala (2019) on Zhovkva). Chernivtsi as a memoryscape has received fairly limited scholarly attention (see Frunchak (2014) for a study about the neglect of the pre-Soviet history in Soviet Chernivtsi, and Koziura (2017, 2019, 2020) and Wanner (2016) for studies of local memory in the post-Soviet period). Focusing on a hitherto understudied Western Ukrainian city, the thesis therefore aims to contribute to a better understanding of the interconnections of memory work and local identity-building in post-Soviet Ukraine. It also highlights a Western Ukrainian memory culture that differs in important aspects from the more well-studied Galicia, which sometimes seems to 'model' the larger region in the eyes of both Ukrainian and foreign observers (see e.g. Narvselius and Bernsand 2014). Furthermore, Chernivtsi is, as will be shown most thoroughly in chapter 3, interesting both because of the city's actual pre-Soviet cultural diversity and

the intensity of the metanarratives spun around that diversity, both after 1991 and in earlier periods, and locally as well as in wider contexts.

Theoretical conceptualisation

This thesis is an empirical study of memory work in post-Soviet Chernivtsi in relation to lost cultural diversity. It draws on key concepts from memory studies as well as from the study of cultural diversity and the various narratives and visions spun around (lost) cultural diversity. As for the term *collective memory*, I follow the framework from the Lund volume on memories of lost diversity in East-Central Europe (Törnquist-Plewa 2016). Collective memory is defined by Misztal (2003: 25), as "a group's representation of its past, both the past that is commonly shared and the past that is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to that group's identity". As people to various extent have multiple identities (e.g. as an ethnic Armenian or Romanian in Post-Soviet Chernivtsi and as a native city-dweller, or a citizen of Ukraine), their various group belongings enable them to take part in different, perhaps overlapping or even conflicting, representations and commemorations (see Assmann 1995: 127). Collective memory is dynamic, not static, and the term does not imply that all individuals share the same memories; instead, shared representations "make it more likely that members of a group will remember the same events in similar (but never identical) ways" (Törnquist-Plewa 2016: 7). Furthermore, Jan Assman's distinction between cultural and communitive memory is of relevance for the thesis. Cultural memory is more structured and hierarchical, has been transferred to material objects and mnemonic institutions where they can become group symbols, and has a longer transgenerational life. In contrast, communicative memory lives in everyday life rather than in institutions, has not materialised into objects of commemoration, and has a limited time range of 80 years, or three generations (Assmann, Jan 2008: 111). Just as memories can move from communicative to cultural memory, it can move from the background to the foreground in the sphere of cultural memory (ibid: 117-118).

If memory is about how the present uses the past, it is by necessity a selective process on the collective level no less than on the individual. Forgetting here becomes a part of "social normality" (Assmann, Aleida 2008: 97). Aleida Assmann distinguishes between active forgetting, which can involve denial or destruction, and passive forgetting that is more about non-intentional neglect and disregard (ibid: 97-99). Most artefacts of cultural memory are metaphorically (or physically) stored in what Assmann calls *the archive*, while *the canon* features the much fewer actively demonstrated texts, objects or places that actively build collective identity (ibid: 98, 100). However, the canon and the archive have a dynamic interrelationship, as objects in the archive preserve a potential for being put into active use, just as artefacts of active memory can slip out of active use and into the archive (ibid: 103-104). When local mnemonic activists in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet Chernivtsi, after decades of official Soviet active and passive forgetting of the pre-Soviet city (Frunchak 2014), began to actively learn about old Czernowitz and incorporate their own visions of the local Austrian past in their search for a new post-Soviet identity narrative for the city, they drew on the archive for narrative and in some instances physical elements to be transferred from passive storage to active mnemonic use. Although some of the involved activists had roots in the old city, or post-memories (see below) of it, many activists were less acquainted with the life and stories of the pre-Soviet city because of the ethno-demographic ruptures. Over the years, aspects of the city's archive were in this way moved into the city's identity-forming canon, while old Czernowitz also became part of new communicative memories among the people involved in the process. For the writings, visualisations, and practices of those and other actors I use Kitzmann's et al. (2005) term *memory work*.

Although the thesis focuses on local actors, *transnational memory* is important both because of transnational actors' memory work in the cityscape (e.g. Jewish organisations initiating memory plaques) and because of transnational, mostly German and Austrian, narratives about Bukovina and the city both influencing local narratives and, in a few cases, becoming materialised as memory plaques or monuments. There are some examples of fairly intense cooperation between local and transnational actors (e.g. the first decades of the work of the local Centre for Bukovina Studies, or the Meridian Czernowitz international poetry festival in the 2010s). I also draw on Törnquist-Plewa's (2018: 302) distinction between transnational and transcultural memory: if the former are memories shared across national

borders, transcultural memory is the result of a hybridisation of memory that "enables the imagining of new communities and new types of belonging". Transcultural memory in this understanding draws on Meng's notion of reflective cosmopolitanism (see below) and was an emerging mode of memory during the time of my fieldwork in the city.

As for other terms in memory studies, the thesis to some extent draws on both Hirsch's (2010) term *post-memory* and Landsberg's notion of *prosthetic memory*. Hirsch uses the term post-memories to depict mnemonic transmission in the diaspora, e.g. the transmission of personal stories about old Czernowitz and its inhabitants from parents or other relatives to the second or third generation. Because of the dramatic demographic ruptures in connection with WWII, most contemporary Chernivites have post-memories connecting them to other places than the pre-WWII city (although a few of my respondents are descendants of pre-WWII urbanites, a fact they stressed with some pride). Some of the transnational memory work in the city is done by individuals, mostly with roots in the Jewish or German communities, with post-memories from Czernowitz or the larger region, and Heimat tourist trips to the city by children and grandchildren of former Czernowitzers in America, Germany and Israel (see Hirsch 2010). This transnational memory work was still going on during my fieldwork in the first half of the 2010s. In the case of most locals, it is probably more realistic to talk about prosthetic memories in Landsberg's sense, i.e. memories emerging through external sources such as films, news media, books, or personal conversations.

Cultural diversity and narratives focusing on cultural diversity takes centre stage in this thesis. As argued by Vertovec (2012: 301), the term diversity has 'no single set of definitions, reference groups or goals'. Empirically, when local actors in Chernivtsi refer to cultural diversity (Ukr. *kul'turne rozmaittia*, *kul'turna riznomanitnist'*), they almost exclusively have in mind ethnic, linguistic or religious diversity – very rarely does the notion extend to e.g. gender or sexual orientation. Notions that sometimes often emerge in relation to such references, e.g. tolerance (Ukr. *tolerantnist'*) or minorities (Ukr. *menshyny*), most often in local discourse relate to ethnic or religious subjects. Since my research task has been to study local narratives rather than actively and consciously influencing them, in interviews or in other situations I have chosen not to intervene or suggest other possible interpretations of the term. It is important to stress that the various aspects of cultural diversity identifiable in a society at a certain point in time are conceptually not to be confused with

multiculturalism, which is often understood as a name for normative visions and ideologies celebrating particular aspects of cultural diversity, e.g. in city branding or in public debates. A culturally diverse city, region, or country is therefore not *per se* multicultural, but multiculturalist narratives may be in place praising such a situation, or critical narratives lamenting it, or particular aspects of it. For local narratives celebrating a cultural diversity (almost always ethnically, linguistically or religiously defined) that has already disappeared or is almost gone except for some lingering remains, I propose the term *retrospective multiculturalism*. Such narratives often feature simplified or streamlined versions of a usable past that are evoked and popularised by different contemporary elites, e.g. to market a city for tourists and investors and to provide it with a workable local identity. Retrospective multiculturalism usually highlights lost traditional local cultural diversity, and therefore often ignores or downplays more recently arrived groups. Ballinger (2004: 42-44), focusing on the Istrian peninsula, employs the term *authentic hybridity* for such local multiculturalism that celebrates the traditional make-up of diversity but ignores or rejects groups that arrived at a later stage and are therefore regarded as unauthentic. In her Istrian case, local identity narratives often took an Orientalist approach, emphasising the perceived Europeanness of the 'authentic' diversity in contrast to the Balkan connotations of both 'nationalist Croatia' and the newcomers. As for the modes in which lost diversity can be remembered, in a study of Jewish memory in Poland, Meng (2015: 82-83) differentiates between a complacent redemptive cosmopolitanism that "symbolically reincorporates Jewishness in the present as a marker of achieved tolerance and multiethnicity in the new Europe", and a more activist, reflective cosmopolitanism that draw on the Jewish past to "transform and improve democratic societies in the future". While there are important contextual differences between Chernivtsi and the German and Polish cases studied by Meng, it is in my view relevant to uphold a distinction between a more complacent, or even self-gratulatory way of celebrating the lost diversity in the city (often together with a timeless notion of local tolerance), and approaches that are more demanding of fellow urbanites in terms of self-reflection. The thesis takes a constructivist view on ethnicity, seeing it as not fixed or primordial but fluid, in the making and rooted in social processes.

A concept that plays an important role in the thesis is *tolerance*. This is neither because the thesis seeks to contribute to wider academic debates in political philosophy about tolerance as a political or civic concept nor to present

an empirical investigation of the actual extent of "ethnic or religious tolerance", however defined, in Chernivtsi, or of the actual characteristics and dynamics of ethnic relations. Instead, the thesis focuses on a local variety of retrospective multiculturalism called Bukovinian tolerance (Ukr. *bukovyns'ka tolerantnist'*), which celebrates the ostensible local traditions of ethnic and religious tolerance. References to such a tradition are commonplace in local stories and understandings of relations between ethnic and religious groups in the city, especially in relation to the Habsburg era. For many of my respondents, the tolerance notion is timeless, as such tolerance is seen to be still characteristic of the city today, after the ethno-demographic ruptures. The tolerance narrative is actively used not only in political, medial and intellectual discourse but can also be heard in everyday life among ordinary city-dwellers. The phrase can be understood, drawing on Erll's (2014: 43) terminology, as a *topos* – "concise commonplaces, often in the form of metaphors or clichéd phrases". It can certainly, but does not always, have the banal qualities of diversity identified by Vertovec (2012: 302): 'commonplace, clichéd and predictable'. In intellectual discourse, the narrative is often expanded, deepened, contextualised, and at times problematised, and several of my respondents, as will be shown in Chapter 3, critically engage the notion. The thesis investigates how local elites draw on tropes from the tolerance narrative to make sense of the lost pre-Soviet cultural diversity in the city. On the transnational level, this local narrative interacts with tropes well-established among Central European intellectuals expressed in the *Bukowina-Mythos* (see Chapter 3), about the multiethnic German-speaking once-Austrian Chernivtsi, where Germans and Jews, as well as others, together created great literature and a civic culture based on respect for pluralism that was later destroyed by Nazism and the Holocaust and cut off from Europe by the Iron Curtain. How tropes from the transnational narrative have affected the build-up of local multiculturalism in post-Soviet Chernivtsi is another recurring theme in the thesis.

Last but not least, the term local elites in this thesis refers to actors, mostly in the political, administrative, academic or medial spheres, which on a long-term basis engage with and influence the key symbolic fields of local memory and identity, introducing, shaping, and performing concepts and narratives.

Methodology and sources

The study analyses local narratives in Chernivtsi about the lost pre-WWII cultural diversity, and how such pasts are utilised for local identity construction. Narratives in this sense are texts used to make sense, in this context of the past, to organise and construct meaning. Texts become narratives because of a specific ordering of the content in terms of "sequence and consequence – events are selected, organised and connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience" (Kohler Riessman 2005: 1). Considered here are both official narratives from the city authorities, printed narratives in books and media intended mainly for a local audience, as well as individual narratives of interviewees from, e.g., local academic, political, cultural, and media elites. In the latter case, the focus is on how respondents interpret and relate matters of local identity and history, positioning themselves in relation both to existing local (as well as national and sometimes transnational) representations and identity stories, and the local social world in which those representations and stories emerge.

Most of my fieldwork was conducted within the project 'The memory of vanished population groups in today's East and Central European environments. Memory treatment and urban planning in Lviv, Chernivtsi, Chisinau and Wroclaw', led by Dr Bo Larsson and funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (2011-2014)[1]. I conducted 44 semi-structured interviews with representatives of political parties, civil servants, journalists and media, researchers, museums, NGOs, and ethno-cultural associations, mostly following a questionnaire used for all four cities developed for the project by Dr Eleonora Narvselius, to which I added additional questions specifically for the Chernivtsi respondents. I identified and approached many respondents myself, others I knew from previous research contacts, and a few were added through snowball sampling. Interviews took place in different settings in the city, from university departments and the offices of the respondents to cafés and restaurants, as well as in my hotel and in some cases the homes of the respondents. They lasted between 30 minutes up to 3 hours. The overwhelming majority of the

[1] See Larsson (2020), especially for a detailed and thorough analysis of the built cultural environment and urban planning in the four cities, and Narvselius (2021) for a volume focused on the mnemonic aspects of the project.

interviews were conducted in Ukrainian, although a few respondents, mainly some of the representatives of Romanian and Jewish minority organisations, preferred to use Russian. I am a Swedish researcher with Swedish as my native language, but I speak Ukrainian and Russian fluently, due both to formal study and to using the languages extensively at work and in private and family life. It was clear to me that many respondents reacted positively to my Ukrainian, which to some extent probably diminished their distance to me as a foreigner coming in from Sweden. For the same reason it was my impression that it would have been an asset for me to be able to conduct interviews with ethnic Romanians in Chernivtsi in Romanian, but as I do not speak or read the language, those interviews were conducted in either Ukrainian or Russian, depending on the wishes of the interviewees. Most local books, articles and other printed material used as primary or secondary sources for the thesis have been written in Ukrainian, with some in Russian. Reading skills in German and Polish have also been helpful, mostly for historical parts of the material. It could perhaps be imagined that also for a native-born Ukrainian researcher, the sheer fact of 'not being from town' could have some impact on the insider/outsider continuum when conducting research in, and especially on, a medium-size city such as Chernivtsi.

Apart from interviews, I engaged in participant observation, mostly for the chapter on the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival. Local newspapers were used, mostly for the chapter on the city's 600th anniversary. For the chapter on city branding, I used official printed material, interviews and books. In this sense, a certain methodological triangulation was achieved, as different sets of material were drawn upon using a variety of methods. I spent much time walking in the city, sometimes alone, sometimes with acquaintances, learning about its different historical layers through the architecture, monuments and urban toponomy, noticing material traces of the old inhabitants and the various ways inhabitants of the post-Soviet city interacted with this old built cultural environment. On a few occasions I also visited other parts of Ukrainian Bukovina, e.g. villages close to the Romanian border where Romanian-Polish-Ukrainian-Roma cultural diversity lives on. Such walks and trips were not part of a formally applied method but helped me to get a better understanding of the contexts and details of both contemporary diversity and local attitudes to the lost older diversity. Together with my other fieldwork activities, they hopefully allowed me to come closer to achieving a "thick description" of the theme of my study in Geertz 's (1973) terms.

Limitations

Apart from the limitations already presented, an important general limitation of the study concerns the temporal focus. The thesis features a background chapter on the history of cultural diversity in the city and the region, as well as a chapter sketching the historical emergence and development of what I call the tolerance narrative, but it is not a historical study on either Austrian Czernowitz, the city in interwar Romania, or Soviet Chernivtsi. Instead, this is a study of memory culture in relation to the city's lost pre-1940 cultural diversity in post-Soviet Ukrainian Chernivtsi. As such, it is largely based on fieldwork conducted in 2011, 2013 (when the overwhelming majority of my interviews were conducted) and 2015 (when I visited the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival analysed in Chapter 7). Although one case study, based predominantly on local media, focuses on the coverage in local newspapers of the city's 600th anniversary in 2008, and the chapter on Meridian Czernowitz is partly based on fieldwork conducted in 2015, the bulk of the material for the case studies was gathered during 2013, some half a year before the outbreak of the Revolution of Dignity in Kyiv. The thesis does not consider mnemonic developments in the city from 2014 following the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity, the Russian annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of Russia's war in the Donbas up to the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. The Meridian chapter analyses an annual international poetry festival that had become prominent in the city since its beginning in 2010, and the changes after 2014 are considered only when relevant for the proceedings of the festival.

The thesis focuses only on the city of Chernivtsi, not on the Bukovinian countryside or smaller towns[2]. This is not only for practical reasons, or because Chernivtsi is the centre of cultural, academic, economic and social life of the region and therefore the primary location for the formation of ideas and notions about it, but also since the thesis should be seen in the context of other studies of memory work in relation to lost cultural diversity in the urban centres of Eastern and Central Europe. Since I also locate this study within Ukrainian Studies and frame it as a contribution to academic knowledge of urban memory

[2] Historically or geographically, the contemporary Chernivtsi region comprises not only the Ukrainian parts of the former Austrian Bukovina region, but also a small stretch of historical Bessarabia including the town of Khotyn, as well as the small Hertsa district, heavily dominated by ethnic Romanians, which was not a part of Austrian Bukovina but was also transferred to Soviet Ukraine in 1940.

cultures in post-Soviet Ukraine, it also does not consider the southern part of Bukovina with the centre in Suceava, on the Romanian side of the state border.

It has also not been possible within the framework of this study to investigate the reception of the analysed memory work among wider layers of the population. Although respondents or other local actors quoted in the study might occasionally make assumptions about the nature of such reception, the thesis will refrain from making bold conclusions in this regard. On the other hand, considering the transnational influences on important strands of local memory work, reception can perhaps also be understood in a wider sense, as a process in which local elites select, rework and remediate (Erll and Rigney 2009) ideas and concepts, not the least from German-speaking Central Europe. Only in that particular sense can reception be said to be included in the study.

Literature review

A growing body of literature discusses how and to what extent contemporary populations in post-Soviet or post-socialist cities characterised by ethno-demographic ruptures, causing the loss or significant diminishing of local cultural diversity, engage with this past. Czaplicka and Ruble (2003) discuss visions of the urban past in searches for new identities across the region moving away from the authoritarian system. Ruble (2003: 13) argues that the region is "full of mono-ethnic urban communities that were once home to dynamic multiethnic, multireligious, and polyglot societies". Czaplicka (2003: 402) sees a culturally diverse past as "a potential resource in the establishment of a tolerant democracy", while noticing e.g. the relative scarcity of street names in Vilnius or Lviv recalling former Polish or Jewish communities of those cities (ibid: 390). In a subsequent volume, Czaplicka, Gelazis and Ruble (2009a: 4-6) emphasise the search for new historical narratives in cities of the region, underlining that culturally diverse urban heritage "serves as a platform for projecting integration in a new Europe, which can be a burden as much as a resource". They point out that the reasons for highlighting a culturally diverse past varied from city to city, and underline that the process is selective, with some pasts being less celebrated than others (Czaplicka, Gelazis and Ruble 2009b: 339-340). Narvselius (2021a: 25), drawing on concepts from Mink and Neumayer (2013), in this regard argues that if the weight of the past is fairly similar between Lviv, Chernivtsi, Wroclaw and Chisinau, they differ in terms

of the choice of the past, the creative efforts of local elites, activists and other inhabitants to put the pasts of the cities into contemporary use.

Humphrey and Skvirskaja (2012: 3) draw attention to the role of contemporary commodification in the interest in the lost diverse pasts of such cities. Such commodification, in which local actors seek to showcase continuity between past and present, is part of globalisation and is constrained by the demands of nation-building and historical and present realities (ibid). From a cultural studies perspective, Blacker's (2019) comparative study of memory cultures in relation to the lost diversity in cities in Poland, Ukraine and Russia (mostly Kaliningrad) analyses the ability of "local identity narratives/…/ to recognize, re-invent and incorporate the pre-war past" (ibid: 5). Looking at diverse sources and practices such as literature (including more popular genres like crime fiction), photographs, and café culture and festivals, Blacker interrogates the narratives and interpretations emerging from such memory work, as well as the "cross-over of roles" (ibid: 206) between different kinds of actors it might generate". For Blacker, studying how local actors confront the region's lost urban others has a potential to show memory "as something constructed, multi-stranded, subjective and malleable, irreducible to experience as such, and remarkably resilient and resourceful" (ibid: 209). Blacker analyses how visions of the earlier inhabitants can be included in post-socialist or post-Soviet efforts to reconnect cities to a lost 'European' past they were excluded from during Soviet times but also notes that such endeavours at times establish new lines in the sand. In other cases, where the co-ethnics of the contemporary majority formed a minority in the pre-Soviet city, celebrations of past cultural diversity, even of its specific components, can sometimes foreground the contemporary majority. Importantly, the author asks to what extent such references to the culturally diverse pasts are about lost diversity itself or chiefly about reinscribing the contemporary e.g. Ukrainian urban landscape in a more Western European, i.e. non-Soviet, setting (ibid: 33). On a wider note, Blacker underlines how important it is for researchers not to "pathologise memory cultures in east-central Europe", but also to "not be complacent about the specific problems the region experiences" (ibid: 209). On a similar note, Narvselius (2021a: 26) underlines that local memory work has not only "frustrating limitations" but also "enabling qualities", that transnational mnemonic initiatives are not only superficial but can have actual impact on contemporary inhabitants' understanding of lost diversity, and that

local memory work has shown contemporary inhabitants' "capacity to "read" and "feel" urban places of memory".

In some cities, the lost cultural diversity and its individual components seems not to have become embedded in wider local multiculturalist identity narratives, like in Croatian Zadar in relation to its pre-WWII Italian population (Sindbaek Andersen 2016), or Chisinau in Moldova (Felcher 2021), where a narrowly defined national heritage often takes precedence over highlighting the culturally diverse past. However, other cases involve versions of what I call retrospective multiculturalism, when such narratives are being widely elaborated for various purposes and to various degrees. Korenyi (2011: 98) demonstrates how Timisoara and the Romanian Banat, orienting itself culturally and politically towards 'Europe', more strongly emphasise its cosmopolitan past than Zrenjanin in the Serbian Banat where such European strivings have been less explicit in post-socialist times. Related to this is also the emphasis made on the German community in local multiculturalist discourse, which is more highlighted than the Serbian and the Jewish communities (ibid: 101). The author argues that this stress on Germanness is mostly pragmatic, as the multiculturalist keywords signal belonging to the contemporary West. Batt (2002) stresses the intensity of the multiculturalist narratives celebrating the cosmopolitan past in Timisoara and sees them as part of a regional identity project claiming Central European status for the city in positive contrast to other regions of Romania. Michlic (2005) describes how, in Lodz, political and cultural elites seek a golden age in the city's pre-WWI industrial past, where they tie a forward-looking story of progress and growth to notions of Europeanness and multiculturality. Narratives about the historic relations between local ethnic and religious groups are, in Lodz, mostly streamlined to avoid depictions of conflicts. Antonijevic's (2013) study of a formerly culturally diverse Belgrade suburb of Dorcol notes how contemporary actors present the past cultural diversity positively, as an asset for the contemporary city, often without drawing attention to real historical conflicts and contradictions, and how local celebrations omit the various reasons for why the old diversity was lost (2013: 168). Cervinkova and Golden (2017) use the term containment for the policies of the city of Wroclaw, which emphasise openness and cultural diversity, but also seek to contain deeper debates on the city's German and Jewish past. Containment here does not imply a denial of past cultural diversity and its significance for the contemporary city, but renders it politically secure by not challenging the

views of contemporary city-dwellers. Törnquist-Plewa and Pietraszewski (2016: 33) analyse the official post-socialist memory narrative that celebrates Wroclaw's culturally diverse past, including the previously dominant German component. The authors stress that the motivations behind the new narrative are not strictly instrumental but also involve a search for a new, workable more open identity for the city that is supported by key parts of local elites (ibid: 35).

The above cited case studies from the larger Eastern and Central European region all showcase how celebratory narratives of lost cultural diversity have been to this or that extent or reason elaborated by local elites seeking for new post-socialist identities for their cities. They are relevant for my study focusing on similar developments in a post-Soviet Ukrainian context, and for my purposes, it has been useful to reflect upon to what extent and how factors prevalent in those studies (the outlook and uses of the lost diversity narratives; a 'European' orientation, however locally understood; selectivity and shifting emphasis in depicting the lost diversity) work out in the case of Chernivtsi.

Some work discusses similar problems in the context of specific Ukrainian cities and towns. Narvselius (2021b: 264-265) casts doubts about prevalent idyllic visions of a lost culturally diverse and peaceful *Galicia Felix* in contemporary political, popular and academic representations in Lviv, analysing the complex transnational case of the commemorations of the Polish professors murdered by the Nazis in Lviv during WWII. In the same volume, Otrishchenko (2021) analyses how contemporary inhabitants of residential buildings in the Pidzamche neighbourhood in Lviv remember former Polish and Jewish inhabitants of their buildings. Wylegala (2019: 327-238) notes that vanished Poles and Jews in the small town of Zhovkva in Ukrainian Galicia are to some extent remembered and included in the city's self-image, but that the more difficult historical aspects, especially in relation to those communities' disappearance from the town, are to a much lesser degree kept in memory by contemporary locals. Richardson's (2008) book on local cosmopolitanism in Odesa, based on ethnological fieldwork from 2001-2002, discusses how a strong local urban identity centred on urbanity, cultural diversity (with a strong accent on Jewish culture) and the dominance of the Russian language, a decade into Ukraine's independence often emphasised the city's uniqueness and difference from Ukraine. The author argues that Odesans' strong sense of place and the diversity of multiethnic borderlands emphasised in local narratives are typical for Ukraine (ibid: 6, 214). In another text, Richardson (2006) notes how often during fieldwork she came across the

word tolerance from Odesans. For Richardson (ibid: 214), tolerance is part of "an Odessan discourse of distinctiveness that draws on literary and historical images from the city's past as a cosmopolitan port in the Russian Empire" and is articulated by Odesans from various ethnic and religious background and strands of life. Tolerance in Odesan use in the early 2000s was also less about liberal concepts like individual rights and civil society, and more about "everyday interactions conceived of as existing outside the political realm" (ibid: 214). Skvirskaja (2010:77-79) emphasises how the local Odesan myth about vibrant multiethnic diversity, harmony between locals and foreigners and apolitical commerce in the post-Soviet city is used by a mostly Russian-speaking community of various ethnic origins as a political and cultural tool to resist perceived cultural and linguistic Ukrainianisation policies from the central government in Kyiv, and to adjust to the changing demographic outlook of the city in connection with strong migration patterns. The local stress on a narrative of ethno-cultural and religious tolerance makes the Odesan case relevant for my study of Chernivtsi, where a local tolerance narrative also is strongly prevalent, but where local preconditions strongly differ in political, linguistic and cultural terms.

Significantly fewer studies have been specifically devoted to the study of memory processes in Chernivtsi. Frunchak (2010, 2014) investigates how Soviet memory narratives evolved in Chernivtsi after the city's reincorporation in Soviet Ukraine in 1944. Parallel to the city's radical ethno-demographic transformations in connection with WWII, an official Soviet Ukrainian identity narrative was transferred backwards to the region's history and simultaneously projected into the future (Frunchak 2010). Soviet victory against fascism was portrayed as the most crucial object for remembrance, and the contribution of pro-Soviet partisans with Slavic-sounding names were emphasised over local Jewish resistance. Memories from pre-war Czernowitz that were difficult to assimilate into this Soviet narrative (expressed in Ukrainian and Russian) were ignored. In terms of official memory, during the Soviet era the pre-Soviet past and the contributions to the city's development of its non-Ukrainian inhabitants was largely silenced, as was the fate of those inhabitants in connection with the Second World War and the Soviet takeover (Frunchak 2010; 2014). Frunchak (2014: 468) also argues that this forgetting continued as a dominating frame in post-Soviet Ukrainian Chernivtsi. Furthermore, she argues that interest in the culturally diverse pre-WWII past in Post-Soviet Chernivtsi was intended "mostly for flirting with the city's visitors and for

foreigners" (ibid: 469), and that local Ukrainian intellectuals working with the lost diversity "find it hard to reconcile/…/with the overarching ethnos of Ukrainian ethnic-based nationalism and state-building" (ibid). My argument in this thesis, which is solely devoted to an analysis of mnemonic developments in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, is somewhat different than Frunchak's on those points (see Chapter 3).

Fisher (2014, 2019, 2020, 2022) focuses on the memory work of diasporic German and Jewish Bukovinians organisations and individuals in Germany and Israel. Fisher (2019 and 2020) specifically analyses the reconceptualisation of especially German diaspora narratives of Bukovina after the end of the Cold War and the contacts emerging between diaspora communities and institutions with scholars, institutions and activists from Romanian and post-Soviet Ukrainian Bukovina. Hirsch (2010) analyses what she calls the post-memories of the descendants of Jewish survivors in the diaspora and the dynamics of their contacts with and visits to the contemporary city, while Hirsch and Spitzer (2011) studies the genealogical and regional history web sites devoted mostly to Jewish life in Bukovina and Czernowitz set up by activists from the diaspora.

While the above-mentioned research has contributed to the study of memory work in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, only a few studies explicitly focus on local memory work in the city. Most important are the articles of Koziura (2017, 2019, 2020), which directly address post-Soviet Chernivtsi as a memoryscape. She researches the urban transformations of the city as it orients itself away from the Soviet past, seeking to strike a balance between drawing on aspects of the cosmopolitan pre-Soviet past and Ukrainian nation-building. Koziura (2017) analyses the city's attempts at architectural revitalisation in connection with Chernivtsi's 600th anniversary in 2008, in which a local Ukrainian narrative is embedded in the cosmopolitan myth associated with the Habsburg era (2017: 98), while simultaneously local and diasporic Romanian and Jewish actors developed their versions of the same myth. All groups therefore appropriated lost local diversity for their own agenda (ibid: 105). Koziura (2019: 15) identifies a hybrid narrative from the city authorities in which nostalgia for lost Habsburg-era diversity in 2014 has blended even clearer with the Ukrainian national narrative. Different actors developed their own conceptions of Habsburg nostalgia, whether former Czernowitzers from the Jewish diaspora privately engaging with the cityscape, the city's authorities pursuing urban renovation or Greek Catholic activists seeking to revive the

Pietá monument after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, but together both encouraged "European values" and "local Ukrainian rhetoric" (ibid: 20). Koziura (2020) focuses on the plans, associated mainly with the Greek-Catholic church, to reinstate the Pietá monument after 2014, which draws on the city's cosmopolitan Habsburg past and simultaneously emphasises its Ukrainian character. While there are some similarities between our approaches, my focus is more directly on the connections between local memory work and retrospective multiculturalism, while Koziura primarily concentrates on urban regeneration and placemaking. Furthermore, she partly focuses on the period immediately following the temporal scope of my thesis. Wanner (2016) discusses Chernivtsi's 600th anniversary in the context of place making and the spatial revitalisation and reconstruction of parts of the city centre. Writing after the Revolution of Dignity and the outbreak of war with Russia in Donbas, Wanner argues that affective experiences of the urban landscape, strengthened by the city's efforts to emphasise the cosmopolitan Habsburg past in revitalisation, have contributed to fostering a pro-European local political orientation. For Wanner, the affective potential of interaction with the cityscape is also present in the poetry readings in synagogues and Catholic churches associated with the lost pre-WWII local cultural diversity during the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival in 2013. Lastly, Narvselius (2015) briefly discusses Chernivtsi in a study of how local actors in four East-Central European cities engage with lost cultural diversity through thematic restaurants. The author notes how a few cafés and restaurants in the city commodify Habsburg nostalgia, but also that the lost urban others are all but invisible in this domain, with emphasis being put on "local culture with a transnational and European output" (ibid: 428).

Outline of the thesis

The first chapter of the thesis outlines the major research questions and the main conceptual framework of the study. Thereafter the second chapter provides a historical background to cultural diversity in Bukovina and in Chernivtsi in particular. The third chapter expands on the local, imperial Austrian and diaspora multiculturalist narratives celebrating cultural diversity in Bukovina and its capital. Furthermore, it outlines, based on primary sources, the outlook of such narratives in Chernivtsi in the post-Soviet period. After

that follow four case studies, starting with Chapter 4 analysing how and to what extent local Ukrainian-language newspapers paid attention to the pre-war cultural diversity in the coverage of the city's 600th anniversary in 2008. Chapter 5 targets the official post-Soviet city-branding efforts by the city authorities and studies how the city draws on the tolerance narrative to frame pre-WWII cultural diversity as a major asset for city-branding, together with interrelated narratives on the Habsburg built material heritage and Europeanness. Chapter 6 analyses what we with a reference to Putnam's distinction between bridging and bonding social capital call bridging and bonding memory work among Ukrainian, Romanian, German, Polish, Jewish and Armenian ethno-cultural associations in relation to pre-Soviet cultural diversity. Chapter 7 focuses on what can be seen as an example of city branding by private actors, the international poetry festival Meridian Czernowitz, and the attempts both to popularise the pre-war cultural and intellectual heritage among the inhabitants of the city, and to use this heritage as an asset to attract attention among European intellectuals and writers to the post-Soviet city. Chapter 8 presents the findings of the thesis.

Chapter 2:

The emergence, destruction and remake of cultural diversity in Chernivtsi and Bukovina

Any historical background sketch to discussions on memory and cultural heritage in post-Soviet Chernivtsi in relation to the city's historical cultural diversity must analytically handle, and indeed name, a range of social identities, categories, and groups. Therefore, a few words should be said about terminology in this regard. We follow the constructivist approach of contemporary historical studies of the Habsburg Empire in general, such as Feichtinger and Cohen (2013) and of Austrian Bukovina in particular, such as van Drunen (2013), in seeking to uphold a conceptual language that avoids anachronistically moving ethno-national identities salient in our times too far back in history. Such an understanding has consequences both for how specific social categories are labelled in various periods and for the concepts used for framing local cultural diversity on the aggregate level. Firstly, it means that it makes more historical sense to talk about e.g. German-speakers, Ruthenian-speakers, or Romanian-speakers for the pre-Austrian and most of the Austrian period than about Germans, Ruthenians (Ukrainians) or Romanians. This does not mean that the linguistic realities suggested by those labels in their turn were, or are, coherent or timeless. Secondly, it means that terms such as 'multiethnic' for describing the cultural diversity existing on the ground in the region in pre-national times also are problematic, at least in terms of subjectively felt and widely collectively shared social identities in a modern sense, while it is possible to talk about the existence of a large degree of linguistic and religious diversity in the region. Such labelling is less problematic for the contemporary Chernivtsi that is the focus of this thesis, since the ethnic categories have long been well established and

institutionalised (which does not mean that ethnonational identities and boundaries have ceased to change or that the very existence of certain ethnic groups, e.g. Moldovans, are not sometimes questioned in social discourse). Apart from the temporal aspects of the application of ethnic labels, Feichtinger and Cohen propose joining the wider critical discussions in Western politics, media, and academia on the groupist and essentialist implications of the term multiculturalism, preferring to it the term pluricultural. In this view, a multicultural approach to Habsburg history would risk reifying the ethnonational boundaries created in the 19th and 20th centuries by nation-making nationalists. In this thesis we do use the term multiculturalism, but not to designate the various aspects of cultural diversity identifiable in a given society at a given point of time, but as a name for normative visions and ideologies celebrating (particular aspects of) cultural diversity. Therefore, we do not write that Bukovina is or was to this or that extent 'multicultural', having in mind the cultural diversity present at a particular time, but rather point to the existence of multiculturalist narratives praising local diversity and tolerance and drawing on such concepts in city-branding, during celebrations, etc.

The emergence and outlook of cultural diversity in Austrian Czernowitz

It is not the task of this chapter to provide a detailed historical overview of political, socioeconomic, and cultural developments in Chernivtsi and Bukovina from pre-Austrian to post-Soviet times. For a close look at the activities of state institutions, political parties, and civil society organisations, and the development of their positions and ideologies, the reader has to look elsewhere. Instead, as a background to the analysis in subsequent chapters of the retrospective multicultural narratives in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, it aims to briefly outline the emergence and development of cultural diversity in Bukovina and especially in Chernivtsi, focusing on the Austrian period as the most crucial and formative in this respect. Thereafter we will overview the large-scale destruction of that diversity in connection with WWII, as well as briefly sketch the emergence and development of cultural diversity in Soviet and Post-Soviet Chernivtsi. The chapter is also not the place for tracking the development of the metanarratives about local cultural diversity – that is the

task of subsequent chapters. Statistical data, often from state censuses, about the demographic make-up of the population of Bukovina and Chernivtsi during different periods and regimes are frequently quoted. Such data should be perceived as social artefacts rather than as objective facts on the ground, as they reflect the efforts of authorities to showcase and mould diversity in particular manners and in accordance with preferred categories (see e.g. Arel and Kertzer 2002). They can be useful as approximations, providing information on the direction of demographic change between accepted categories between certain points of time.

Contemporary Chernivtsi (approx. 250,000 inhabitants) is the main city in the Ukrainian northern part of the historical region of Bukovina. The southern part, with Suceava as the main city, belongs to Romania. Chernivtsi, which during the interwar years as Cernăuți formed part of Romania, was incorporated with northern Bukovina in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic after WWII. However, the emergence of the city is mostly associated with the Austrian era (1774-1918), when the city under the name of Czernowitz became an expanding, dynamic and increasingly culturally diverse centre for industry, trade, and administration. Bukovina, named as such during the first years of Austrian rule, was merged with Galicia in a common province in 1786 but became a separate Crownland in 1849, and achieved the status of Duchy with its own coat-of-arms and Diet in 1861. Today, Chernivtsi is the main city in the Chernivtsi region (*oblast'*), which largely coincides with the northern parts of Austrian Bukovina, but also includes a part of historical Bessarabia around Khotyn and eastwards, that during Habsburg times belonged to Tsarist Russia, as well as the Hertsa (Rom. Herța) region, a former part of the Romanian Kingdom annexed to Soviet Ukraine in 1940.

Bukovina is often historically described and depicted in terms of its cultural pluralism, stemming from its role as a borderland or transition zone between various intersecting cultural paradigms, identities and repertoires, most often between Europe's West and East, between Latin and Greek cultural spheres (e.g. Heppner 2000: 2), or between Southern and Eastern Europe, as when late Ukrainian writer Vasyl' Kozhelianko (2012) in a novel ironically locates Bukovina in the northern Balkans, or between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire (e.g. Applebaum 1995). In this sense of being viewed as a playground for crosscutting cultural influences, Bukovina falls in a similar category as other Eastern and Central European borderland regions such as Banat, neighbouring Galicia, or Transylvania. Like many other such regions,

the history of Bukovina has been characterised by frequently shifting state borders and state belonging, which has often significantly affected the cultural make-up and repertories of the population. Bukovina is also not the only borderland region where actual or former cultural diversity in recent decades have become an object of nostalgia, fascination, and political, cultural, and commercial projects.

Archaeological findings show that several early settlements existed on the territory of present Chernivtsi or in its immediate vicinity from the 9th and 10th centuries (Masan 2000: 13). In Ukrainian historiography, the area is usually seen as having been under the influence of Kyivan Rus' towards the end of the 10th century, and at a later stage of the Galician-Volhynian principality (ibid: 14). In the second half of the 14th century, Bukovina became part of the Moldavian principality. The oldest written source mentioning the city's name is a statute from 1408 of Moldavian Prince Alexander the Good (Ukr. Oleksandr Dobryi, Rom. Alexandru cel Bun) where Chernivtsi emerges as a place where tradesmen paid custom tariffs. From this perspective, present-day Chernivtsi has its roots in a Moldavian toll station and, until the Habsburg takeover in the late 18th century, was a small market town with a few hundred houses. Since Austrian times, 1408 has been officially regarded as the city's founding year, and the 600th anniversary of the city was celebrated in Chernivtsi in 2008. The Moldavian princes in the beginning of the 16th century became vassals under the Ottoman Empire, and it was the Ottomans that ceded what was to become Bukovina to Austria in 1774, simultaneously relinquishing Bessarabia to Russia. The city had a short-lived Turkish garrison in 1714-1719, a period from which some historical toponyms, such as Türkenbrunnen, in the oldest part of the city probably stem (Masan 2000: 19).

It is difficult to assess the social identities of the inhabitants in the late Moldavian or early Austrian town. Most town-dwellers seem to have been Romanian- and/or Ruthenian-speaking Orthodox Christians (ibid: 20). An Orthodox Jewish community lived in the town at least from the beginning of the 18th century, and a synagogue and a Jewish school existed in the area near what was to become Austrian-era Synagogengasse in the oldest part of the city (ibid: 21; Hrenciuc 2012: 363-364). Baron Spleny, the author of the first official Austrian military report on the newly conquered province, noted in 1775 that the best houses in the town belonged to Jews, and that there were more Jews in the town than anywhere else in the newly acquired province (Spleny 1893: 25). There were also Turkish names among house-owners in the

18th century, and both the town and the region also had families of Phanariot Greek origin (Masan 2000: 20)[3].

In this way, the small pre-Austrian town showed a degree of linguistic and religious diversity, and well-known Czernowitz historian Raimund Friedrich Kaindl in 1908 even described the town's population at the beginning of the Austrian era as "very motley" (*sehr bunt*) (1908: 187). However, as a modern city, an important regional centre and as a space of projection for narratives of Central European urban diversity, the city emerged as Czernowitz in the 19th century as part of a Habsburg political and economic modernisation project to reshape the newly conquered areas into dynamic parts of the empire (Rechter 2008: 326; Florea 2016: 665). Czernowitz was built as a Viennese outpost in the East, which is still visible in the largely Habsburg architecture and city planning in the city centre. The population grew fast after the Austrian takeover, reaching 20,000 in mid-19th century, 54,000 in 1890 (Masan 2000: 27) and 87,000 in the census of 1910 (ibid: 30). The population of Bukovina increased tenfold from the Austrian takeover to 1890 (Kaindl 1902: viii).

Urban growth was qualitative as much as quantitative, as the city got its first stone houses, modern city-planning, medical and educational facilities, churches, synagogues and other religious institutions for the various congregations, modern communications with railway, post, and telegraph, as well as cultural societies, newspapers, reading rooms and salons. In the words of Horel, the city became a "showcase" for the empire and was "given institutions and infrastructure that were disproportionate with respect to its real significance" (2023: 482-483). A (mainly) German-language university named after the emperor was founded in 1875, the same year as a monument to Austria was inaugurated (ibid: 483), while monuments devoted to members of the ruling dynasty were inaugurated in the following decades (ibid: 484-486). Czernowitz grew into the political, economic, and cultural centre in Bukovina, through which new ideas, not the least various brands of nationalism, were disseminated to the larger province.

The population increase was due to immigration from neighbouring Galicia and other parts of the Habsburg Empire of newcomers with different social, religious, and linguistic backgrounds, not least to the city centre, while the suburbs to a larger extent was populated by migrants from the Bukovinian

[3] Some individuals of Phanariot origin, like the Hurmuzachi brothers, in the 19th century came to play leading roles in the development of Romanian nationalism in Bukovina and beyond.

countryside (Skoreiko 2008: 108). There was also an immigration of Romanian-speakers and Jews from neighbouring provinces in Romania and Russia (Rein 2000: 82). It was the migration flows of the 19th and early 20th centuries that made Habsburg Czernowitz into the proverbially culturally diverse city that in Austrian times was often presented as an example for the rest of the empire (van Drunen 2013), and that is evoked for its interethnic and interreligious tolerance both in contemporary German-speaking Central Europe and in post-Soviet Chernivtsi. In this way, both the actual cultural diversity and the multiculturalist discourses inspired by it have their origins in the imperial modernisation launched by the Habsburgs. As Rechter (2008: 326) puts it, the local pre-Austrian population was supplemented by, among others, "an assortment of German bureaucrats, teachers, farmers, artisans and merchants, Hungarian farmers and cattle-breeders, Polish artisans and foresters and, last but most certainly not least, Jews".

The new demographics caused by immigration brought both an urban dynamic of modernisation and social tensions between newcomers and locals. Romanian literature scholar Andrei Corbea-Hoisie (2013: 177) draws on a postcolonial conceptual language to frame the interrelations and differences in social status between German-speaking Christian and Jewish newcomers, associated with the modernising project of the metropolitan centre in Vienna, and Romanian- and/or Ruthenian-speaking villagers. For Corbea-Hoisie, the political conflicts aroused by ethnic nationalism in the latter half of the 19th century disguised the social conflict between Czernowitz and the surrounding countryside (ibid: 183), although the interaction between newcomers and locals was also characterised by mixing and interdependence. Interestingly, the author argues that the harsh Romanianisation policies of the interwar years can be seen as "the vengeance of "autochtonic" rusticity on the abhorrent *Entfremdung* (estrangement, alienation) of urban enclaves" (ibid: 178)[4]. In this perspective, the intersections and cultural crossings between newcomers and locals celebrated in much discourse on Austrian Czernowitz did not remove this alienation, and the proverbial Bukovinian tolerance did not move far beyond "simple addition" (ibid: 183). Writers such as von Rezzori, as well as the Jewish city dwellers of the interwar years interviewed by Heymann (2016),

[4] von Rezzori's autobiographical story analysed by Corbea-Hoisie depicts relations between a boy from an upper-class German-speaking family and his Ruthenian-speaking nanny.

also point to an ethnically compartmentalised society, where people interacted mostly with other members of their own ethno-religious group.

On the other hand, as in many other large Habsburg cities, multilingualism was not only an elite phenomenon, and what Horel (2023: 73) calls "polyglot illiterates" are in the post-Soviet nostalgic narratives about old Czernowitz often celebrated in commonplace references to janitors speaking in five languages. Horel also argues that multilingualism was probably somewhat weaker in the upper layers of the city, and certainly not evenly distributed, as e.g. few outside of the group could speak Ruthenian (ibid: 103). Because of its status as lingua franca in the city, German words and expression penetrated the other languages and became the foundation for a local slang, sometimes called "Buko-Wienerisch", that also included elements of Romanian, Ruthenian and Polish (ibid: 100-101; for the specificities of local German see also von Rezzori (2013)). Many of the local policemen were Ruthenian-speakers who spoke broken German on duty (Heymann 2016: 75).

Purici (2017: 92), using the ethnonyms, notes that the cities in Habsburg Bukovina were predominantly German-Jewish-Polish, while the villages were mostly Ukrainian-Romanian or German-Romanian, forming different worlds that occasionally met in places of interaction such as market squares and public institutions. Information from the 1910 Austrian census on group representation in various occupational spheres largely confirms this picture. Almost 90% of Ruthenian-speakers and Romanian-speakers worked in the agricultural and forestry sector, which was true for less than half of the Christian German-speakers, a third of the Poles and 13% of Jews (ibid: 91-92). It can be argued that such a division between newcomers and locals is no less of a cultural construct than the ethno-national boundaries that became increasingly salient during the second half of the 19th century, but it was nonetheless based on lived social realities in Austrian Bukovina. The division between 'autochtonous' (in most cases this refers only to Christian Orthodox Ruthenian-speakers and Romanian-speakers) and 'non-autochtonous' Bukovinians was part of social discourse during Austrian times and has since been deeply rooted in Ukrainian and Romanian discourse. It also remained commonplace after the ethnodemographic ruptures in connection with WWII fundamentally altered the make-up of the population, emptying the land of most of the Habsburg-era newcomers and their descendants, and bringing in other Soviet newcomers from the East to the northern parts of Bukovina that were incorporated into Soviet Ukraine in 1940 and again after 1944.

From the beginning of their rule in Bukovina, the Austrian authorities tried to make sense of the cultural make-up of the population. Austrian censuses were based on "language of conversation" and religion and did not contend any specific 'ethnic' category. As argued by van Drunen (2013: 7), the censuses did not deal with the possibility of multilingualism, and many came to assume the language criterion to be an indicator of ethnic identity. Furthermore, confusing terminology in the first Austrian efforts to describe the new province and assess the cultural characteristics of its population gave rise to debates of the interpretation of statistics, not the least among Ukrainian and Romanians nationalists.

In linguistic terms, the bulk of the population of Austrian Bukovina continued to consist of Ruthenian- and Romanian-speakers and in religious terms of Orthodox Christians[5]. In the first years of Austrian rule, sources indicate that there were more Romanian-speakers than Ruthenian-speakers, although there is little certainty in terms of numbers (Ungureanu 2011: 120-122; Turczynski 1999: 218). Orthodox Christians made up slightly less than 70% of the region's population. Ruthenian-speakers tended to be concentrated to the northern parts of the province and Romanian-speakers to the southern, although there were exceptions, with districts in northern Bukovina to the south of Czernowitz having significant shares of both categories, as well as Ruthenian-speakers south of this imagined boundary[6]. Both groups formed a relatively much larger share of the population in villages and small towns, and a relatively smaller share in cities with their increasingly significant migrant population. There were many similarities in socio-economic terms between Ruthenian- and Romanian-speakers (a key difference being the larger Romanian-speaking presence among traditional elites in church and administration), and as long as religious identification took precedence over ethno-national identification such similarities could be expected to have gone even further.

Modern Ukrainian and Romanian ethnonational identities developed gradually during the 19th and early 20th centuries in the region, and wide-

[5] The linguistic categories in this case largely coincide with the religious category, but not completely, as some Ruthenian-speakers and a very small minority of Romanian-speakers in Bukovina were Greek-Catholic, and there were also Orthodox Christians from other linguistic categories.

[6] Districts such as Storozhynets' (Rom. Storojinet) and Novoselytsia (Rom. Noua Suliță) are multilingual to this day (Ukrainian and Romanian with small remaining pockets of Polish).

ranging networks of reading societies, clubs, professional societies, newspapers and journals and political parties with various ethno-cultural profiles and identifications emerged (van Drunen 2013). The extent and interpretation of changes in the relative weight and numerical primacy of Ruthenian- and Romanian-speakers became the focus of intense arguments between Ukrainian and Romanian nationalists (ibid 2013; Florea 2016).

Both Jews and Christian German-speakers had lived in Bukovina since the Middle Ages, but their numbers and proportion of the population grew rapidly through migration during Austrian rule. In the early 20th century, German-speakers made up slightly more than 20% of the population of the province, with the proportion higher in the cities. This linguistic category included both Christians and Jews (the proportion of the latter group was also affected by the fact that Yiddish was not a recognised language, and Jews generally reported German as their language of conversation, even if their first language was Yiddish, as it was for many Orthodox Jews (Sha'ari 2000: 112). As argued by Stambrook (2003: 2), Christians comprised largely two-fifths of the category, while three-fifths were Jewish, and the Jewish proportion of the category of German-speakers also tended to be larger in Czernowitz and other cities, as many Christian German-speakers lived in rural colonies in the province. The number and proportion of Polish-speakers increased during Austrian times almost exclusively because of migration, mostly from Galicia, their proportion of the population of the province reaching 4.6%. There were, and still are, Polish-speaking rural settlements in Bukovina, but most Polish-speakers settled in towns and cities, most importantly in Czernowitz. Hungarian-speakers comprised 1.3% of the population in 1910 and were mostly concentrated to a few villages in the southern part of the province. Another small group was the Lipovans (approx. 3200 in 1910), Old Believers that fled Russia and settled in Bukovina during the late 18th century. This Russian-speaking community mostly lived in homogeneous villages such as Klimoutz, Fontana Alba (Ukr. Bila Krynytsia) and Lipoweny. Furthermore, small Armenian communities had lived in Bukovina since the Middle Ages. Most Armenian-Catholics, who were subordinated to the Armenian-Catholic bishop in Lemberg, had come to Bukovina during Austrian times. They were overwhelmingly Polish-speaking and tightly knit to that community, to the extent of being called Armeno-Poles in both contemporary and present-day literature (see e.g. Dan 1899; Feleszko 2000, Król-Mazur 2017: 213). Armenian-Catholics had deep family ties with Galicia, the region from which

most of them had settled in Bukovina (see e.g. Danilewicz 1994). In Bukovina, they lived overwhelmingly in Czernowitz, where an impressive Armenian church was built in 1875, and in a few other towns and villages in the north. The Armenian-Orthodox better preserved the Armenian language and were concentrated mostly in Suczawa. Although the Armenian community in Bukovina was numerically small (657 Armenian-Catholics and 357 Armenian-Orthodox in the Austrian census of 1910), it was disproportionally influential, with many tradesmen, owners of large estates in the countryside, politicians, civil servants and, later into the Habsburg era, also artists and musicians.

As for the demographic developments in the region's capital, Czernowitz, many migrants from outside Bukovina settled in the city centre, while the suburbs became targets for migrants from the Bukovinian countryside of various religious and linguistic backgrounds. If Horecea (Ukr. Horecha) in the decades stretching from 1880 to 1910 in different censuses had a clear Romanian-speaking majority, Rosch (Ukr. Rosha, Rom. Roșa) was dominated by Romanian-speakers and German-speaking Christians, and the smaller Manasteriska was German- and Ruthenian-speaking (Skoreiko: 108-109). In Kaliczanka (Ukr. Kalichanka, Rom. Caliceanca) and Klokutschka (Ukr. Klokuchka, Rom. Clocucica) there was no clearly dominant group among Ruthenian-speakers, Romanian-speakers, and German- or Polish-speakers (ibid). While Jews formed a plurality in the city centre, they comprised a small minority in the suburbs, reaching more than 10% of the population only in Klokuczka (ibid).

If the bulk of the population in Bukovina consisted of Ruthenian- and Romanian-speakers, this did not apply for Czernowitz. Romanian historian Hrenciuc cites statistics from the Austrian ethnographer von Czernig in which the former category in 1857 comprised 13% of the city's population while the latter made up 18%. Ruthenian-speakers comprised approx. 17% in Czernowitz in 1910, making them the third largest group in the city. Ruthenian-speakers in Czernowitz were most commonly workers, artisans, small traders, and peasants, although a small urban middle-class emerged in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, within the ranks of which a network of clubs, societies and organisations formed (ibid: 45). Romanian-speakers in 1910 comprised approx. 15% of the inhabitants, being the fourth largest group in 1910 (ibid). As we saw, the social make-up of Romanian-speakers was quite similar to the Ruthenian-speakers, the difference being that the first group was also found in the local nobility as well as

Orthodox clerics since before Austrian times. As Ruthenian-speakers grew socially and politically stronger in the second half of the 19th century, and with ethno-political demands becoming more salient, competition in ethno-national terms between Ruthenian-speakers and Romanian-speakers for positions in the Orthodox Church hierarchy became increasingly intense (see e.g. Scharr 2011; Leustean 2018). However, in terms of the overall demographic weight in the city, the two groups that in Austrian times and later were seen as autochthonous to the region together comprised no more than a third of the inhabitants.

A numerous and distinct part of the Christian German-speakers from the earliest years of the Austrian era were Protestant Swabians from the southwestern German lands, who formed nine colonies in Bukovina, the oldest and largest of which was located in Rosch. There was also a large urban migration of Christian German-speaking administrators, soldiers and officers, artisans, and tradesmen. In Czernowitz, many German-speakers lived in the suburbs, especially in Rosch and Manasteriska – in 1910 more than in the city centre (Skoreiko 2008: 109). In Czernowitz, the group comprised 14.8% of the city-dwellers in 1910. German was the most important language in the city, not only for business and administration but also as *Umgangssprache* across the ethnic boundaries, and it kept this informal role until the Second World War.
The Jewish population, which formed a significant proportion of the inhabitants of the pre-Austrian town, became the largest individual group in the emerging city with the migration flows in the Habsburg period. Just as Bukovina had the highest Jewish proportion of all Habsburg regions, Czernowitz had the largest percentage of Jewish population of all Habsburg cities and had the fourth largest Jewish community in the Habsburg Empire in terms of actual numbers after Vienna, Lemberg and Kraków (Rechter 2008: 329). Several authors, e.g. Florea (2016: 16) and Rechter (2008) emphasise the important place of Czernowitz in Jewish memory for the *Bukowina-Mythos*. Designations such as "Jerusalem of Bukovina" (Hrenciuc 2012) and "Jerusalem on the Prut" (Shevchenko 2014: 36) are also used in research literature. Although the city is also remembered as a Holocaust site, nostalgic representations of life under Habsburg rule are legion, such as that of a Jewish golden age, a Jewish paradise, of 150 years of unbroken peace, where Jews were protected from violent outbursts of antisemitism (tropes from Rechter 2008: 328). Such representations are mostly connected to the second half of Austrian rule, after equal rights had been granted in 1849 and especially after the *Ausgleich* in 1867, when German-speaking Jews became increasingly

crucial for the status of German language and culture in the city and region, as well as for Austrian state building and patriotism (Sha'afi 2000: 113; Rechter 2008; Shevchenko 2008; 2014). The Jewish proportion of the population increased from 22.9% in 1857 to 33.6% in 1910 (based on Kaindl 1908: 189; Sha´ari 2008: 104, and Masan 2000: 30). The Jewish group had a key role for urban development in Austrian Czernowitz, and Jews made up a majority of middle-class professions such as lawyers and doctors, as well as the civil administration. Artisanal professions such as carpenters, glaziers, cobblers, and watchmakers were largely Jewish (Sha'ari 2000: 106). Jews also formed a large majority of the shopkeepers and tradesmen, and were well represented among owners of factories, hotels, and restaurants (ibid). Together with German-speaking Christians, Jews also formed the largest group of the industrial workers in Bukovina and in Czernowitz (Purici 2017: 90). Migration made the Jewish group increasingly culturally diverse, in religious terms encompassing both Orthodox, Hassidic and Reformist communities (with a large Hassidic centre very close in neighbouring Sadagura led by the Friedman dynasty originating in Tsarist Ukraine) and linguistically comprised of both German- and Yiddish-speakers. Many authors emphasise the heterogeneity of the city's Jews and the difficulties in defining them in cultural terms (e.g. Florea 2016: 593). Although Czernowitz had no homogeneous ethnic districts, the lower, oldest part of the city during the 19th century became predominantly Jewish, with a concentration of working-class, Orthodox and Yiddish-speaking Jews and of communitarian institutions (e.g. Sha'ari 2000: 104). The mostly German-speaking Jewish middle class predominantly settled in the newly built Austrian districts of the upper city (ibid; see also Shevchenko 2008; 2014)[7]. The German-speaking middle-class in Czernowitz was more Jewish than Christian. Simultaneously, the growing ethnocultural and political nationalism in the latter decades of the 19th century also encompassed the Jewish group, and many Jews came to reject assimilation and fight for the recognition of Jews as a distinct nationality and of Yiddish as a "proper" language (Sha'afi 2000: 120). Indeed, Czernowitz was famously the site for the first world conference for Yiddish language and culture in 1908.

Polish-speakers in 1857 made up approximately 3% of the inhabitants (Hrenciuc 2012: 366), but their proportion grew rapidly due to immigration

[7] Shevchenko (2014: 163) argues that Yiddish was dominant in the old town and up the hill to Ringplatz, after which German was the most widely used language.

from Galicia and comprised 17.9% in 1910 (Skoreiko 2008: 109). Polish-speaking immigrants to Czernowitz occupied different professional spheres, working in the factories, in the trade sector, as artisans, or in administration and education (Feleszko 2000: 136). From the Polish-speaking community came several representatives of the city's governing elite, such as Anton Kochanowski, mayor of Czernowitz in the years 1866-1874 and 1887-1907, who is a recurring personality in post-Soviet popularisations of the city's Austrian history, as well as deputies to the Diet and high positions in the judiciary (ibid: 132). Polish was an important administrative language in the province until Bukovina was separated from Galicia in 1849 (Rein 2000: 84), and Feleszko (2000: 137) argues that the language also unofficially continued to be held in high esteem.

Many representatives of the small Armenian community lived in a few streets in the upper city, in the district close to the Armenian Church. The community reportedly had 30 houses in the city in 1830 (Amirowicz 1999: 133). The Armenian community in Czernowitz was predominantly Armenian-Catholic and was culturally, linguistically, and politically close to the Roman-Catholic Polish-speaking community. In 1900, 240 Armenian-Catholics and 35 Armenian-Orthodox lived in the city, thereby forming the smallest urban religious communities except for the 27 Lipovans (Russian-speaking Old Believers) (Kaindl 1908: 187). Armenian-Catholics in Czernowitz for many years had an altar in the oldest Roman-Catholic cathedral in the city centre, but in 1875 the building of the Armenian Peter and Paul Church, designed by the Czech architect Josef Hlavka, was finished. The community in Czernowitz was largely an elite one with merchants, landowners, deputies, and civil servants (Amirowicz 1999: 133). When Czernowitz was awarded local self-government in 1864, the first mayor was the Polish-Armenian Jakub von Petrowicz, himself the son of an immigrant from Galicia (Feleszko 2000: 132).

The cultural diversity in Bukovina and Czernowitz began to take shape before the Habsburgs, but was above all shaped by changes after inclusion in the Habsburg Empire, first and foremost the large and diverse migration coming with modernisation and integration of the newly created province in the empire. Within this diversity, no single group formed a majority in Bukovina as a whole or in the city of Czernowitz. As we have seen, diversity was unevenly distributed over Bukovina, with some groups having a stronger urban presence, while others were overwhelmingly rural and largely concentrated to specific parts of the region.

The Habsburg period not only shaped the outlook of cultural diversity itself in Bukovina, but also in its latter decades saw the advent and subsequent breakthrough of more modern lenses to frame and interpret it. Bukovina remained primarily agrarian, with high illiteracy rates especially among the least urbanised, Romanians and Ruthenians. Religious belonging and the divide between cities and towns with their many newcomers and the countryside were also dominant factors of local social identities at least until the mid-19th century (Fisher 2020: 35; Scharr 2011: 256). However, the growing importance of nationalism, increasingly during the second half of the 19th century, pushed local identities and cultural practices into the framework of ethnonational identities. From the late 19th century, nationalism was prevalent among local elites and, in the comparatively pluralist Austrian political context, had become a key ideological foundation for political parties and civil society. In the specific regional dynamics of nationalist self-expression and competition, different nationalisms triggered their various significant others, as Romanian nationalism provoked Ruthenian/Ukrainian nationalism, while both provoked German nationalism which, in turn, provoked Jewish national currents (van Drunen 2013: 446).

There is no room here for a detailed discussion about the positions, ideologies, parties and organisations that emerged in Habsburg Bukovina, but, in the words of Hausleitner (2001: 80), social conflicts in the region were largely ethnified by 1900. As Scharr (2011: 256) notes, the *Bukowiner Ausgleich* 1910-1911, the agreement on electoral representation between Ukrainian, Polish, Romanian, German and Jewish political parties, was both a compromise and provided a venue for continued political struggle. Parallel with the emergence of competing nationalisms, the Habsburgs tried to instil a local Bukovinian patriotism taking pride in local diversity and tying it to the benefits of Habsburg rule, thereby laying the foundation for the emergence of the local multiculturalist narratives.

Bukovina in interwar Romania

Bukovina remained part of Austria-Hungary until November 1918, but in the wake of WWI the ties that kept the country and the existing social and political order together gradually weakened. During the latter half of 1918, opinions on the future of Bukovina gradually radicalised as the double monarchy

disintegrated and the ethno-political projects of Ukrainian and Romanian political parties and activists began to connect to the events unfolding in neighbouring states and regions. As the Habsburg Empire dissolved in the aftermath of WWI, Bukovina became part of the vastly expanded Romanian Kingdom together with the other former Austrian provinces of Transylvania and Banat, and former Russian Bessarabia. This significantly changed the political framework and official policies in the cultural and linguistic realm, from the relatively pluralist Austrian context where German, Romanian and Ruthenian had been official languages since the 1860s, to that of a nationalising Romanian state (Brubaker 1996).

The basic outlook of the cultural diversity that formed during the Habsburg period did not significantly change until it was all but eradicated during and in the aftermath of WWII. While official Romanian statistics indicated some changes in the relative demographic weight of various groups, no new group was added during the interwar era to the Habsburg palette of urban diversity in the city that in ethnic terms consisted of Ukrainians, Romanians, Germans, Jews, Poles, and Armenians. Like in Austrian times, no group formed a majority of the population in Bukovina or in the city that was officially called by its Romanian name Cernăuți. With a slight non-Romanian majority, Bukovina was the most culturally diverse Romanian province (Fisher 2020: 39), and the geographical distribution of the groups in different parts of the province remained as it was before, with a Romanian majority in the south and a Ukrainian in the north, and a somewhat mixed zone north of the current border between Ukraine and Romania.

In the 1930 Romanian census, the total population of all the administrative districts of former Austrian Bukovina was 853,000 inhabitants. According to the census, which had separate categories for nationality and native language, the population comprised 44.5% Romanians, 27.7% Ukrainians, 11% Germans, 10.8% Jews, and 3.6% Poles. The census also recorded Romanian as the native language among 41.1% of the inhabitants, Ukrainian among 32.9%, German among 8.9%, and Yiddish among 8.7% (Kvitkovs'kyi, Bryndzian, Zhukovs'kyi 1956: 431). The census results were criticised by Ukrainian scholars (e.g. ibid), for trying to lower the number of Ukrainians by claiming that some native Ukrainian-speakers identified ethnically as Romanian. In terms of categories, Hutsuls as *huțani* were featured as a separate nationality distinct from Ukrainians in the census, allegedly comprising 1.5% of the population in Bukovina, reflecting the official Romanian view that large

parts of the Ukrainian population, in particular the Hutsuls, were 'Slavicised Romanians' who were to be schooled in Romanian (Hausleitner 2001: 127).

As for the region's capital, Cernăuți was the third largest city in Romania, with 112,000 inhabitants in the census of 1930 (Masan 2000: 34). As during Habsburg times, there were clear differences between the city and the wider region in terms of the inhabitants' identities and languages. According to the census, Jews were the largest ethnic group in the city with 37.9%, while Romanians formed 27.1%, Germans 14.5%, Ukrainians 9.8%, Poles 8%, and others 2.7% (Ungureanu & Pantea 2018: 152). In terms of native language, the census showed 29.1% for Yiddish. 25.9% for Romanian, 23.3% for German, 11.3% for Ukrainian, and 7.5% for Polish native language (ibid: 158). If Ukrainians and Romanians thereby formed more than 70% of the inhabitants of the region, in the city their numbers were closer to 40%, while Germans and Jews (and German and Yiddish as native languages) made up more than half of the population. Together with Chisinău in Bessarabia, Cernăuți was the city in Romania with the largest Jewish share of the population, and only Bucharest had a larger number of Jewish inhabitants in absolute numbers (Sha'ahi 2000: 105). More than 70% of Jews in Bukovina were city-dwellers – apart from in Cernăuti they formed large communities in Radăuți and Suceava (Hausleitner 2001: 291-292). As before 1918, many Jews, especially in the upper part of Cernăuti spoke German, just as Yiddish was more frequently heard in the lower part of the city centre. Germans in Bukovina, almost half of which in 1930 worked in the agricultural sector (Coldewey 2008: 90), had now ended up in the same Romanian state as the large German communities in Transylvania and Banat. One early important development in terms of urban cultural diversity in the interwar years was the significant out-migration of Poles from the city in connection with the emergence of an independent Poland in 1918, after which the proportion of Poles in the population fell by 40% (Feleszko 2000: 139). Many of the emigrated Poles belonged to the educated middle-classes, including the leadership of local Polish organisations (ibid: 140; Röskau-Rydel 2008: 132). In spite of this, Cernăuți was a centre for Polish life in Romania in the interwar years as a seat for ethnocultural associations and several Polish newspapers (Feleszko: 141).

The difference between city and region continued to be marked in the sphere of faith as well, where Orthodox and Greek-Catholics dominated in the countryside but comprised less than 40% of the city's inhabitants. In religious terms, for Bukovina the official statistics showed 71.9% Orthodox Christians,

2.3% Greek Catholics, 11.5% Roman Catholics, 2.4% Lutherans, and 10.9% Jews (Kvitkovs'kyi, Bryndzian, Zhukovs'kyi 1956: 433), while in the city, Orthodox Christians formed only 31.5%, Greek Catholics 6.4%, Roman Catholics 18.9%, Lutherans 4.3%, and Jews 38.2% (Ungureanu & Pantea 2018: 164).

Romania could be seen as one of Brubaker's nationalising states in the interwar era, i.e. states that were "ethnically heterogeneous yet conceived as nation-states, whose dominant elites promote (to varying degrees) the language, culture, demographic position, economic flourishing, and political hegemony of the nominally state-bearing nation" (Brubaker 1996: 109). Although the international recognition of the incorporation of Bukovina and the other newly acquired provinces in Romania was accompanied by a minority treaty with the League of Nations obligating the country to guarantee minority rights, (Hausleitner 2001; Negaru 2021: 438), the situation for the minorities soon deteriorated, and there was no mechanism for the League to uphold the treaty (Hausleitner: 132). Hausleitner (2001: 19-21) sees three phases of Romanianisation in the interwar era. In the first, the new authorities made Romanian the sole official language and struggled against the social and cultural capital of non-Romanians in the administration, the judiciary, and the school system. In the second phase, in the 1930s, under increasing influence from radical right-wing political forces, efforts were made to put non-Romanians under pressure in business contexts, while during the final phase from 1940 the state went on a frontal attack against Jews. If Ukrainians had been the most exposed ethnic group in Bukovina in the 1920s, toward the end of the next decade this position was overtaken by the Jews (ibid: 180).

The most influential local Romanian political force around historian Ion Nistor was fiercely hostile towards non-Romanians, overshadowing other politicians such as the law scholar Aurel Onciul, who since Habsburg times had sought political compromise across the ethnocultural boundaries (Hausleitner 2008: 173-174). The Romanian authorities viewed Bukovina as having been Romanian before inclusion in the Habsburg Empire and saw Romanians as the only autochthonous ethnic group in the province, while all other groups including Ukrainians were immigrants arrived at later stages (Hausleitner 2001: 144-145). Hausleitner argues that Ukrainians in Bukovina were supposed to be assimilated, as many of them were considered linguistically Slavicised Romanians (ibid: 23). This especially concerned Ukrainians living between the rivers Prut and Seret, corresponding roughly to

the more mixed zone between Cernăuți and Storojineț (Ukr. Storozhynets'), who were expected to 'return' to Romanianism (ibid: 145). A state of emergency was upheld in Ukrainian majority areas until 1928, with severe limitations of political freedoms (Hausleitner 2008: 156). The educational system was soon Romanianised, first by local Romanian initiative, with a diminishing number of Ukrainian and German classes (ibid: 161), and later from the centre (ibid: 158-159). From 1924, pupils who supposedly had Romanian origin but had 'forgotten' their language had to visit Romanian-language schools, based upon an analysis of their surnames (ibid: 164). Romanianisation of the schools was felt among all minorities (see for Poles Feleszko 2000: 140-141; Röskau-Rydel 2008: 132-133, for Germans Coldewey 2008: 87-88; Rein 2000: 90-91, for Ukrainians e.g. Dobrzhans'kyi 2000: 53). As the university was Romanianised, Jewish, Ukrainian, and German students were discriminated against in their applications for admission to higher education (Hausleitner 2001: 167).

Romanianisation and the increasingly repressive political climate in the ever tougher international political and economic climate from the early 1930s also contributed to moderate forces among not least local Ukrainians and Germans gradually losing ground. Also, many Bukovinian Ukrainians turned to the right (Motyl 1980), with the younger generation in the late 1930s becoming increasingly supportive of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (Hausleitner: 313). Many local Germans, especially Protestants (ibid: 345), also radicalised in the early 1930s with the economic crisis and the Nazi take-over of power in Germany. The previously good relations between German and Jewish organisations became increasingly difficult, with antisemitic campaigns in some of the nationalist German newspapers (Rein 2000: 91). German organisations aligned with the Nazi kin state preferred to see local Germans not as a minority but as an ethnic group (*Volksgruppe*) "subordinated to Germany" (Hausleitner 2001: 344). Radicalisation also affected the Romanian titular group, with virulent antisemitic movements such as the Iron Guard achieving good electoral results in Bukovina (Hausleitner 2001: 263).

The rapidly rising antisemitism in Romania of the 1930s was accompanied by ever tighter antisemitic state legislation, making Romanian Jews increasingly vulnerable. In 1934, a new law demanded 80% employment of ethnic Romanians in "economic, industrial, commercial, and civil enterprises of all types" (Cărstocea 2014: 11). Most directly targeting Jews was discriminatory legislation enforced by the Goga and Cuza government in 1937-

1938, such as suspending newspapers owned by Jews, annulling licenses for Jews to engage in the selling of alcohol in rural areas, and most importantly, the revision of citizenships of all Jews settling in Romania after WWI, having large repercussions for Jews in the lands incorporated in 1918 (ibid: 13). In August 1940, even more severe anti-Jewish legislation was adopted, dividing the Jewish population in different categories, and severely restricting the lives of the Jewish community (ibid).

However, in everyday life in the interwar years, many of the old ways in the city still lingered on, with German keeping its place as the informal *Umgangssprache* across ethno-linguistic boundaries despite the domination of Romanian in the official domain. This sociolinguistic reality was upheld as long as Germans and Jews formed significant parts of the population (Rein 2000: 91)[8]. If shop signs were Romanianised, German remained the main business language (Hausleitner 2001: 194), although a regional prohibition to speak any language but Romanian in private businesses was introduced in 1938 (Hausleitner 2008: 169). The two most important newspapers were German-language, although the city theatre was Romanianised and the Schiller statue in front of it was removed in the early 1920s (ibid: 195). Parallel with official Romanianisation of government institutions and efforts to police language use in public spaces, the city became an arena for important German-language writers and poets and a flourishing cultural life. People continued to engage over the ethnocultural boundaries, and there was considerable everyday resistance to linguistic Romanianisation. Jewish respondents in Heymann (2016: 160) claim some knowledge of Ukrainian among the mothers of the Jewish community since they spoke it with peasants selling their products on the market. Romanian in the interwar era was perceived by the same respondents as compulsory, as a language used in school but not beyond it, which adults spoke with some contempt as they always preferred German and held German culture in much higher esteem (ibid). From another perspective, Hausleitner (2001: 16) describes the alienation Romanian (and, one could imagine, not only Romanian) peasants could feel before the city's many ethnic others and the strong positions of the German language:

[8] Jewish German-language poet Rose Ausländer later argued that the city remained Austrian until 1944, as German was not only used for high culture and for communication across ethnocultural boundaries, but was also the native language for most city-dwellers (quoted in Rein 2000: 88).

> "Besonders die Stadt Czernowitz erschien der aus den Dörfen abgewanderten Rumänen doppelt fremd: Nicht nur, das dort, wie auch in Bukarest, Reichtum zur Schau gestellt werde. In die meisten Geschäften wurde zudem bis 1940 Deutsch gesprochen, weil etwa die Hälfte der Einwohner Juden und Deutsche waren."

On the other hand, many local Romanians had qualms about the crudely conducted Romanianisation policies of Bucharest and the local Romanian elites and were suspicious about other ethnic Romanians settling in Bukovina from the *Regat*, the provinces that had been part of the Romanian Kingdom before 1918 (see e.g. Heymann 2016: 78; Rein 2000: 90). As we will briefly discuss in the next chapter, some local Romanian intellectuals developed multiculturalist narratives about the region as a counterweight to the nationalising state and local nationalists.

WWII and the destruction of the old cultural diversity

The cultural diversity that was shaped most intensively in Czernowitz and Bukovina during Austrian times was largely unravelled in connection with WWII. This concerned in the first place the very ethno-demographic make-up, but also the linguistic landscape, which heavily transformed with the changes in population, and most of the inhabitants' intellectual, cultural, commercial, and individual ties to Central and Western Europe. As for the ethno-demographic ruptures, this most significantly affected the groups whose ancestors had largely arrived in Bukovina and Czernowitz as migrants during the Habsburg period.

As a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact dividing parts of Eastern Europe in spheres of interest, the Soviet Union after an ultimatum to the Romanian government in June 1940 took over the northern, ethnically Ukrainian-dominated, half of Bukovina, while the southern part remained and to this day remains Romanian. The area was included as Chernivtsi oblast' in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The border did not strictly follow ethnic boundaries, as a few areas in the mixed zone close to the border had a sizeable Romanian population – including the Herța (Ukr. Hertsa) district that never formed part of Austrian Bukovina – while there were also areas with a Ukrainian population south of the border. After the Soviet take-over,

deportations of perceived enemies to the new regime included representatives of all ethnic groups in northern Bukovina, disproportionally affecting Jews (Corbea-Hoișie 2008: 79). The national houses founded by the respective ethnic communities in Austrian Czernowitz were closed by the new authorities, and the old civil society, already under pressure from Romanian authoritarianism, ceased to exist, as the region was supposed to integrate with Soviet society.

The first ethnic community to all but disappear from Bukovina was the ethnic German population, which was evacuated to Germany in 1940 after an agreement between Nazi Germany and the Soviet authorities, while most Germans from the still Romanian southern part also left for Germany. The 95,000 Germans deported exceeded the 75,000 Germans reported in the Romanian census in 1930, as the sum included spouses from mixed marriages, and other people able to claim German descent (Fisher 2020: 44-45). In the whole of Bukovina, only 7500 Germans remained in 1941, and most of them left for Germany when the war ended (Turczynski 1993: 323). In 1945-1946, about 10,500 Poles, most of the community remaining in northern Bukovina after the return of Soviet rule in 1944, left for Poland together with the culturally and linguistically close small Polish-Armenian community (Feleszko 2000: 143). Poles in the region had suffered from Soviet deportations in 1940-1941, from attacks from Ukrainian insurgents following the Volyn massacres in 1942-1943[9], and became part of the larger population exchanges and movements between Poland and the Soviet Union towards the end of the war and in its aftermath.

Jews formed a disproportionately large proportion of the victims of Soviet deportations in 1940-1941 (Fisher 2020), but it was mainly the subsequent annihilation of Jews in the Holocaust and the mass emigration of survivors in the immediate postwar era that virtually wiped the Czernowitzer Jewish community off the local map. Swiss historian Simon Geissbühler (2013) has analysed in detail how, in early July 1941, after Soviet rule had collapsed in northern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia, mass murders of Jews and looting of their property began in the villages and towns of the region. In some places the atrocities were mainly committed by the Romanian army and gendarmerie (Geissbühler 2013: 85-88), in some areas by locals together with the Romanian

[9] Massacres of Poles and Armenians in Bukovinian Banyliv took place as late as 1945 (see Danilewicz 1994 for an eyewitness account).

army (ibid: 88), and in other cases mostly by locals in the short power vacuum after the retreat of Soviet troops and the arrival of the Romanian army (ibid: 89-90). Depending on the demographics of the locality, the local Bukovinians killing their Jewish neighbours were mostly Ukrainian, Romanian or both, as in Sadagura (Ukr. Sadhora), immediately to the north of Cernăuți (ibid). In some villages, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists was involved in the massacres (Solonari 2010: 164-165). Also, one of the German SS Einsatzgruppen was involved in the killings, not the least in Cernăuți (ibid: 165-166). For Geissbühler, at least 10,000 Jews fell victim to the massacres in northern Bukovina in July 1941 (ibid: 114). Almost all the remaining Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia were deported to the Romanian concentration camps in Transnistria in October 1941 (Hausleitner 2019: 79; Solonari 2010: 170). Only in Cernăuți, 19,000 Jews were granted permits to stay as "economically useful", after efforts of mayor Popovici and German consul Schellhorn[10] (ibid: 170-172), although 4500 of the remaining Jews were deported in 1942 (Hausleitner 2019: 79; Solonari 2010: 173). According to Deletant (2012:95), 70% of Jews deported from Bukovina and Bessarabia perished in the camps, while Vynokurova (2010: 26) mentions 54,000 dead out of 74,000 deported Bukovinian Jews. As the Romanian troops retreated, many Bukovinian survivors returned to the city together with Jews from other regions and joined the Jews who had survived in the city (see Iavors'ka 2016: 37-38 for a categorisation of the remaining Jews). According to a NKVD report, in April 1944, Jews made up the single largest ethnic group in the city, with 42% of the inhabitants, while in another report from June they comprised a majority with 53% (Frunchak 2014: 324; Iavors'ka 2016: 22-23). As Soviet Chernivtsi was reestablished, the Jewish community, which from the Soviet viewpoint spent the war in occupied territory, mostly spoke the language of the German enemy, and now had a common experience of extreme victimisation by the Romanian and German authorities, was seen as a problem by the Soviet authorities (Frunchak 2014: 310, 321). Taken together with many newcomers' inferiority complex towards the Jewish community, the Soviet authorities came to see the pre-Soviet Jews in the city as "extremely undesirable" (Frunchak 333-334, 336). Local Jews, having recently experienced the horrors of the Transnistrian camps, resented the risk of being drafted for labour in

[10] In post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the efforts to save some local Jews by granting them such permits have been largely attributed to Popovici. See Fisher (2022) for a complex discussion of the role and motives of Schellhorn in the process.

Donbas, and many survivors from the old community felt more attracted by emigration to Palestine than by staying under a Soviet rule they perceived as foreign (Iavors'ka 2016: 29, 34-36). Therefore, transfers of local Jews to Romania were conducted in 1945-1946 (ibid: 342). In 1946, "almost the entire Jewish community" had left northern Bukovina (Altskan 2015:30-31), and by 1947, the old Jewish community had by and large left Chernivtsi (Frunchak 2014: 355). From Romania, many Bukovinian Jews travelled further and resettled in Palestine or in North America (Iavors'ka 2016: 61, 68).

Apart from the above-mentioned groups, as in 1940, large numbers of ethnic Romanians left for Romania, and also many politically and culturally active ethnic Ukrainians not wanting to live under the Soviet regime left the region.

Cultural diversity in Soviet and post-Soviet Chernivtsi

Very small numbers of Germans and Poles remained in the city and region during the Soviet era and after 1991, in independent Ukraine. The German group numbered less than 400 in the whole region in the last Soviet census of 1989. In the early 1990s, Heuberger wrote about 230 ethnic Germans living in Chernivtsi itself, most of them in mixed marriages (1992: 982), while the head of the German-Austrian *Wiedergeburt* society talked about 500 Germans in the whole region in 2015 (Interview with Alexander Schlampf 2015). In 1959, only slightly more than a thousand Poles remained in Chernivtsi, making up 0.8% of the population, although most Poles in northern Bukovina, many with Górale origins, lived in villages closer to the Romanian border (Feleszko 2000: 143). The percentage of self-identifying Poles remained virtually the same, 0.8% (about 2200 individuals), in the Ukrainian census of 2001, but through urbanisation that number now makes up almost half of the Polish population in the Chernivtsi region. Poles in contemporary Ukrainian Chernivtsi often have roots outside Bukovina, in other parts of Ukraine with a Polish population, such as Podillia. With some individual exceptions, the old Polish Armenians are gone from the city, but a few hundred Armenians from Soviet Armenia have arrived in the city, especially in the wake of the Armenian-Azerbaijani war in the late 1980s. The head of the Armenian ethnocultural society *Arevik* sees the integration of new Armenians into the old local Armenian tradition as a primary task (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 2013).

The population that made up old Czernowitz was gradually replaced by a large stream of new settlers from central and eastern Ukraine, or from the Russian, Belarusian and Moldovan Soviet republics together with locals from the Bukovinian countryside. Through these processes Ukrainians gradually became the majority ethnic group in the city. For the first time, a significant ethnic Russian population settled in the city (although, since the 18th century, a Russian Old Believer community lives in the village of Bila Krynytsia near the border with Romania, and there have been less than a hundred Old Believers in Czernowitz). Although much smaller in numbers, other new groups, such as Belarusians, Azeris or Koreans, have also settled in the city during Soviet and Post-Soviet times. One Soviet ethno-demographic intervention with consequences for diversity data in the city and the region as well as in other parts of Ukraine, was to establish a separate Moldovan ethnic category, counted separately from ethnic Romanians in censuses and being reproduced in internal passports. Many Romanians, locally and elsewhere, disregard the existence of such an ethnic group, seeing it as a regional subvariety of ethnic Romanians (Interview with Bivolaru 5 September 2015; Haynes 2022 for Moldova).

Interestingly, in official statistics many new inhabitants came to represent seemingly traditional ethnic labels, but with different experiences and cultural and linguistic repertoires. As in the case of Armenians and to some extent Poles, most members of those communities in Soviet and Post-Soviet times had little contact with or knowledge of the specifically Bukovinian life and traditions of their respective communities. However, most importantly in terms of numbers, this was the case for the Jewish community. If the Soviet authorities were happy to get rid of the pre-Soviet Jewish population after the war, many of the new inhabitants that took part in the redistribution of the city's dwellings and work opportunities were also Jews. In the Soviet census of 1959, Chernivtsi was the city in Ukraine with the highest Jewish population proportion, 20%, while e.g. Kyiv and Odesa each had 15% (Frunchak 2014: 355)[11]. The city in the late 1940s had 11 synagogues, the largest number in Soviet Ukraine, and the highest number of registered Jewish communities (ibid: 356-357). It is unclear whether it was the reputation of Chernivtsi as a traditional Jewish centre or the availability of newly evacuated apartments and

[11] Iavors'ka (2016: 86) referring to the official publication of the 1959 census states the proportion to be 25.7%.

jobs that made large numbers of Jews from other regions in Ukraine and Moldova to move to a city which – after the Holocaust - recently had been all but emptied by the Soviet authorities of its Jewish population (ibid: 359). The new Jewish inhabitants obviously differed from the old German- and Yiddish-speaking Jewish community, which for Heymann (2010: 37) was a virtual melting pot of Ost- and Westjuden, with highly developed ties to both the West and the East. For Iavors'ka (2016: 40), Jews from central Ukraine

> "…were assimilated into Soviet reality, did not accept Sionism, valued the Soviet way of life, and did not even think of leaving the USSR in the 1940s."

Relations between Jewish newcomers and the few remaining local Jews were sometimes affected by mutual stereotypes, with Russian- and Yiddish-speaking newcomers not identifying with German-speaking locals, while the latter somewhat looked down on the former (Frunchak 2014: 359-360). On the other hand, the long experience of living under Soviet rule gave the newcomers advantages over the locals in terms of manoeuvring the bureaucracy and getting good positions (Iavors'ka 2016: 41).

Still, Soviet Chernivtsi in the 1960s and 1970s had already in difficult political circumstances recreated a sense of cultural diversity, in which Jewish life, including the speaking of Yiddish (mostly in other dialects than those of the pre-war Jewish population), and the underground celebration of religious holidays. This is testified not the least in mostly Russian-language memoirs from the 2000s and 2010s in which predominantly Jewish authors remember their childhood in the streets and backyards of the city centre (see e.g. the novels and recollections in Pelepiuk and Libanova 2015; Briker and Vishevskyi 2015, and partly Pomerantsev 2012).

Nonetheless, large parts of the Jewish population, not least those struggling to uphold a religious life, found it difficult to reconcile with life in Soviet society. Reacting to a high number of visitors to synagogues during Jewish religious holidays in the late 1950s, the authorities closed all remaining synagogues except one, and baking matsah for the Sabbat was prohibited (Iavors'ka 2016: 87, 91). Together with the intensification of Soviet antisemitism in connection and simultaneous Jewish enthusiasm following Israel's victory in the war of 1967, those factors combined into hopes of emigrating to Israel, especially among locals with family connections there (ibid: 97). Bukovina was one of the main regions for outmigration of Jews from Soviet Ukraine (ibid: 99). Although only a few thousand Bukovinian Jews

applied to the Soviet authorities for emigration to Israel 1960-1967, from the late 1960s, Soviet authorities were more willing to grant permission, partly for reputational reasons and partly to get rid of citizens with strong Jewish religious and ethnic identities (ibid: 99-100). Due to out-migration of Jews and in-migration of others, the proportion of Jews in the city diminished to 18.5% in 1970 (ibid: 102). Between 1968 and 1976, more than 12,000 Jews, a third of their number in the city, emigrated from Chernivtsi to Israel, which was more in absolute numbers than from Odesa, Kyiv or Lviv (ibid: 120). From the mid-70s, the flow diminished significantly: 4000 migrated 1974-1980 and only 257 in 1980-1989 (ibid: 127, 131). The last big emigration wave of Jews from Chernivtsi to Western Europe and the USA, as well as to Israel, took place during the final years of the Soviet Union and the first decade of independent Ukraine in the 1990s. In the last Soviet census of 1989, 16,000 Jews still lived in Chernivtsi region (1.8% of the population), but during the 1990s continued emigration reduced the number to only 1400 in the Ukrainian census of 2001 (ibid: 139). During the time of my fieldwork in 2013, about 1000, mostly elderly, Jews lived in the entire Chernivtsi region. In this way, Chernivtsi has largely lost two large Jewish populations, each linked to a particular imperial constellation: first the German- and Yiddish-speaking Jews that mostly arrived in the city during the Habsburg era, and thereafter the Russian- and Yiddish-speaking Jews of Soviet Chernivtsi.

In post-Soviet times, out-migration from the city has not only been characteristic of the Jewish community. A large-scale out-migration of younger and well-educated inhabitants of various backgrounds has taken place, to Kyiv or abroad, and many Bukovinians have experience as guest workers abroad, often in Italy, Spain or Portugal, their wages having been crucial for the local economy[12].

In linguistic terms, up until the end of the Soviet period, Russian was very widely used in the city and its institutions, and the meaning and relative weight of Sovietisation, Ukrainisation and Russification respectively were complex – what was clear was that Russian replaced German as the main language of institutions and for communication between inhabitants of different backgrounds. The demographic majoritisation of ethnic Ukrainians in the city did not equal a linguistic Ukrainisation of urban life. The head of the Ukrainian

[12] I remember a flight to Chernivtsi in 2013 together with female guestworkers returning to the region from Italy vividly communicating in Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian and Italian.

House in Chernivtsi, with roots in the Bukovinian countryside, recalls how his parents in the 1950s were shunned by Russian-speaking new Chernivites for speaking Ukrainian to their son, in patterns of linguistic discrimination familiar to educated Ukrainians-speakers in many parts of Soviet Ukraine (Interview with Staryk). In post-Soviet Ukraine, the position of the Ukrainian language, especially in formal domains and among the educated layers, has strengthened rapidly. During my fieldwork in 2013, my observation was that Ukrainian and Russian were spoken roughly to the same extent on the streets in the city centre, while I heard Romanian only occasionally.

The city in independent Ukraine after 1991 has continued to receive many Ukrainian and Romanian/Moldovan migrants from the Bukovinian countryside. The city today is ethnically dominated by Ukrainians (79.8% according to the 2001 census), with Romanians (6%) and Russians (11.3%) as the largest minority groups, while Romanians and Moldovans form about 20% of the population of the region (including Romanian majority districts). In many ways, the Bukovinian parts of Chernivtsi oblast' remain more ethno-culturally diverse than most Ukrainian regions, including Western Ukraine with the exception of Transcarpathia, although the structure of that diversity has largely, in the words of Chernivtsi political scientist Anatoly Kruhlashov (2009: 49), become biethnically Ukrainian-Romanian rather than as previously polyethnic. It is unclear what ethnic identification actually meant for locals who to varying extents identify as Russians, and although the Russian language is frequently spoken by people of different backgrounds, the institutionalisation of Russians as an ethnic group was not clearly visible in the urban landscape.

During my fieldwork I noted a fairly frequently expressed irritation, hardly unique for Chernivtsi but common in many post-Soviet cities, from older city-dwellers towards migrants from the countryside (see also Kruhlashov 2009 on this point). Such complaints (expressed, it should be noted, by individuals whose families rarely themselves had lived in the city for more than two generations and sometimes not even that), often concerned the interventions in the cityscapes of newly rich newcomers renovating their houses and apartments in ways that were seen as a contamination of the architectural environment in the city centre. Not least, such attitudes were common among individuals engaged in preserving the built cultural heritage that has become a backbone of post-Soviet city-branding efforts.

This chapter has tried to provide an overview of the development of the emergence, destruction, and partial reemergence of ethno-cultural and religious diversity in Chernivtsi and Bukovina, while the next will seek to trace and map the multiculturalist narratives that have been formed locally and outside of Bukovina from Austrian times to contemporary post-Soviet Chernivtsi.

Chapter 3:

The tolerance narrative

This chapter will take a closer look into a crucial frame for understanding and presenting historical and contemporary cultural diversity in post-Soviet Chernivtsi. This frame is provided by a narrative focusing on the merits of local cultural diversity and what is presented as the traditional peaceful and friendly relations between the ethnic and religious groups of Chernivtsi and the Bukovina region. In this identity narrative, what is presented as characteristic for Chernivtsi and Bukovina is its interethnic and interreligious tolerance, often expressed in the phrase *bukovyns'ka tolerantnist'* (Bukovinian tolerance). This is frequently used not only in political, medial, academic, and intellectual discourse but also, as I noticed during my fieldwork in 2013, can occasionally be detected in the everyday life among ordinary people. Drawing on Erll's (2014: 43) terminology, the expression is a *topos* – "concise commonplaces, often in the form of metaphors or clichéd phrases". In the widest context, the tolerance narrative is a short-cut for immediate self-presentations about the city and the region to Ukrainian and foreign visitors, both in everyday conversations and, in cultural activities, and in municipal city-branding. In more intellectual discourse the narrative is more expanded, contextualised, and, at times, problematised from various angles.

The chapter can be seen as an umbrella for the subsequent four case studies and presents and analyses the emergence and development of the tolerance narrative. The chapter consists of four sections. The first section sketches how narratives about the unique combination of cultural diversity and intercommunal tolerance in Czernowitz and the wider region emerged in Austrian Bukovina in the 19th and early 20th centuries and briefly outlines how it developed further among former Bukovinians in exile in the interwar and post-WWII eras. This section is mostly based on secondary sources, most prominently van Drunen's (2013) study on regional identification in Austrian Bukovina. The second section of the chapter then proceeds to briefly outline

the emergence and outlook of the Bukowina-Mythos among intellectuals in German-speaking Central Europe, which both connects to wider similar narratives about the lost multicultural potential of East-Central Europe and provides a reference point and source of inspiration for the local post-Soviet Bukovinian tolerance narratives. Here we draw on both first- and secondary sources, mostly German and Austrian. The third section, based mostly on primary printed sources (books, articles) and to some extent on interviews and secondary sources, outlines the emergence of the tolerance narrative as an urban and regional identity narrative in late Soviet and the first decades of post-Soviet Chernivtsi. The fourth section, based exclusively on more than 40 semi-structured interviews conducted during my fieldwork in 2013, maps the outlook and multiple understandings and uses of the tolerance narrative among politicians, officials, activists, journalists, and researchers in Chernivtsi. This will hopefully provide an understanding of how local actors in post-Soviet Chernivtsi make use of the tolerance narrative in their memory work.

The emergence of the tolerance narrative in Austrian Bukovina

This section looks into the development of the precursors of the post-Soviet tolerance narrative in Habsburg Bukovina. Dutch historian van Drunen (2013), in his comprehensive historical study of regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina, shows that early narratives similar to what I call the tolerance narrative for the post-Soviet period were widespread in and about the region in Austrian times, not least as a prominent regional vision of virtues that were thought to be characteristic for the Habsburg Empire as a whole. Therefore, the Habsburg era, with which the idea of a regional cultural diversity framed by a proverbial unique intercommunal tolerance in Bukovina is primarily associated in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, also saw the birth of the first celebratory narratives. Terms such as ‘tolerance’ and ‘hospitality’ were frequent in the writings of intellectuals and journalists from various backgrounds in the last decades of Austrian Bukovina, and van Drunen reports an example of visions from as early as 1808, when the German physician and journalist Lindner in a Viennese publication remarked about the “almost boundless tolerance” between mostly religious groups in the province:

> "Bukovina presents the rare spectacle that of the biggest superstition alongside an almost boundless tolerance. (...) Rare cases aside, Catholics, Protestants, Armenians, Greeks, Lippovans, Abrahamites, Hutsuls, Jews and Mohammedans live here without hatred and persecution peacefully next to each other. Especially Catholics and Armenians, whose clergy even alternately lend religious robes to each other, get along well." (van Drunen 2013: 86)

However, it was the future Orthodox Metropolitan Theophil Bendella who, in a geographical and statistical overview of Bukovina from 1820, first presented Bukovina as a land of tolerance and peace between distinctive "peoples". Thus, the crownland was

> "…inhabited by diverse peoples who unlike in other lands were not melted indistinguishably into each other, but who sharply divided by religion, language, manners and character." (quoted from van Drunen 2013: 359)

In a mode often mirrored in the tolerance narrative in Post-Soviet Chernivtsi, Bendella argued, that it was "unlikely to find a second little land with such a small surface where so many peoples and religions lived side by side in such proficient harmony" (ibid: 359-360). In this way, Bendella had for van Drunen introduced the notion of a specific Bukovinian tolerance between

> "clearly segregated groups who managed to live together in spite of all perceived obstacles." (ibid: 360)

A few decades later, in 1855, the local Austrian authorities in Czernowitz produced a travelogue sent to the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which made the later oft-repeated observation about Czernowitz and Bukovina being populated by a large number of nationalities "none of which is strong enough to dominate each other", and that this multitude is helpful for upholding the social order as the various groups keeps each other in check (ibid: 86-87).

The notion of Bukovina as a region characterised by sharply defined groups with uniquely tolerant interrelations therefore emanates from the Austrian era, onto which such relations have also often been projected after the Empire's demise. Notably, such early descriptions were made decades before the large-scale immigration waves to the region in the latter half of the 19th century, and before the breakthrough of modern nationalism in the region. However, for van Drunen, the tolerance narrative became established in Austrian Bukovina not in contrast to but in parallel with the ethnonationalist movements that became

increasingly influential in the province in the second half of the 19th century. Well in line with later liberal critiques of multiculturalism in Western academia and political debate, in this view there is no fundamental contradiction between tolerance talk and ethnonationalism, as the former also follows a nationalist logic that presupposes clear-cut borders between distinctive ethnonational groups. Tolerance talk in this way carries essentialist assumptions and contributes to a reification of the various cultural identities and boundaries. The language of tolerance therefore represents nationalist language use, and nationalism produces the discourse of interethnic tolerance (ibid: 448). van Drunen's study also indicates that the utterings of this "myth of Habsburg Bukovina" (ibid: 350) in the Austrian period intensified as the various ethnonational projects began to take root and form in the latter half of the 19th century, as did the rhetorical resistance to it, not least from the side of local Romanian nationalists. When the national identities had been set as the most important political identity, coalition building between ethnonationally defined political forces followed, since Bukovina was then perceived as a community of different nationalities (ibid: 448). In such an interpretative scheme, it is easy to see the Bukovinian compromise in the early 20th century between political parties claiming to represent ethnonational groups as an utterance of unique regional tolerance.

In Austrian Bukovina as in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the narrative was to a large extent also a regional identity narrative, propping up local self-images and what would now be called branding strategies. In its more explicitly political guises, it became known in Austrian times as Bukovinism, a somewhat elusive concept that was often used by especially Romanian nationalists to imply a vision hostile to perceived ethnonational interests (see e.g. ibid: 60-61, 355).

As is emphasised by Rechter (2008: 326-327), pointing to the region's cultural diversity or to the balance of power between groups in a situation when no group was large or powerful enough to become dominant was not enough to create the foundations for the tolerance narrative. Rather, a stress on "inter-ethnic tolerance and cooperation, political moderation and a consequent cultural efflorescence" (ibid) was crucial for the formation of the narrative and has remained key to its different renderings also in post-Soviet Chernivtsi.

As it grew in significance, the tolerance narrative also came to serve as a tool of legitimacy for Austrian rule and state institutions. Fisher (2020: 33) links the narrative in Habsburg Bukovina to Austrian efforts to strengthen

regional identity and legitimise Austrian rule, as tolerance talk became a way of emphasising loyalty to the Kaiser and the Empire. Cultural diversity and peaceful coexistence between distinct groups was instrumentalised by the Habsburgs to forge a regional identity and to unite the population behind the state and its institutions. The narrative was sometimes promoted in official publications, such as in the Bukovinian volume of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, in which the various Austrian regions were presented to a nation-wide audience (van Drunen 2013: 351), as well as in Austrian and regional Bukovinian press. In this regard, a key defining feature in the Habsburg era tolerance narrative that is absent from the post-Soviet equivalent, but implicitly present in the post-socialist Bukowina-Mythos in German-speaking Central Europe, is the leading role for local development of German language and culture. For Fisher (2020: 35), the situation in Bukovina was characterised by "social and ethnic diversity under German cultural domination", and notions of "superiority and backwardness" informed Habsburg attitudes to cultural diversity.

Interestingly, van Drunen constructs a condensed expression of the narrative as it took form in Habsburg Bukovina, in which not only diversity and tolerance but also the engineering and civilising role of the Austrian state was at the core:

> "Under the enlightened influence of Austrian monarchs Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the foundation was laid for a multicultural society in which the refining elements of Habsburg civilization as well as ethnic and religious harmony eventually enabled the emergence of a loyal Austrian model citizen with a culturally German orientation, the homo bucovinensis." (ibid)

If in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, both in and outside the region, culturally diverse and tolerant Bukovina is often presented as a model for Europe, during Austrian times Bukovina was often presented not only as reflection of, but also as a model for the whole Austria, as "the perfect showcase for the "pluralistic myth' Vienna endeavored to popularize" (ibid: 352). The idea of Bukovina as a small model for Austria through its diversity and tolerance was much promoted by the Austrian press and was often invoked by Bukovinian politicians and journalists (ibid). For example, in 1905, the vice mayor of Czernowitz argued that Czernowitz can serve as a "model city" for the West, since it was "a shining example of tolerance" between ethnic and religious groups (ibid: 360). A few decades earlier, the Czernowitz newspaper *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* in 1888 presented Bukovina as

> "a small scale Austria which soon would have as many languages as districts, a land, where Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles and Hungarians had lived peacefully side by side for a century and as children of the same homeland had helped and stood by each other, a Bukovina created, protected and nurtured by Austria, brought to the civilisation of Europe through the effort of German labour, being a vehicle of the German language." (ibid: 360)

Not surprisingly, elements of the tolerance narrative were often present in the self-presentations of Bukovinian politicians and intellectuals in the rest of Austria, not unlike the branding strategies (see Chapter 5) centred on tolerance we see in post-Soviet Chernivtsi. In the words of van Drunen, "(t)hey obediently stuck to what they thought was expected of them: depictions of merrily celebrating national groups in traditional attire without any reference to the land's urban culture and its modernisations" (ibid: 451). Such an ambiguity is also present in many post-Soviet renderings of the tolerance narrative: the preeminent role awarded to Czernowitz in a narrative dependent on ethnonational symbolism largely drawing on rural culture. In the late Habsburg era, diversity and tolerance talk was used to attract tourists to Bukovina by the incipient tourism industry, which pointed both to the pleasures of Viennese civilisation in Czernowitz and to the region's 'exotic' ethnic and religious groups, such as the Hassids of Sadagura, the Lipovans in some of the villages, or the Hutsuls in the mountains (ibid: 441).

Another interesting parallel between late-Austrian and post-Soviet tolerance talk is how the concept of tolerance in Austrian times could be used in political discourse to distinguish 'tolerant' locals from 'intolerant' political enemies with roots outside of the province. van Drunen provides an example from the rhetoric of the "Free-Thinking alliance" of reformist Jewish, Ukrainian, and Romanian political parties in the regional Diet in the beginning of the 20th century:

> "Paradoxically, the Alliance promoted a xenophobia based on the dogma of 'tolerance and hospitality': true Bukovinians are tolerant, and newcomers suspected of being less so will not be tolerated." (van Drunen 2013: 388)

Such use of the tolerance narrative comes close to social anthropologist Pamela Ballinger's (2004) concept of authentic hybridity, in which local cultural entrepreneurs can draw on inclusive narratives of local diversity and tolerance to legitimise the exclusion of outsiders.

Although both competitive nationalism and the tolerance narrative presupposes the existence of ethnonational groups, much criticism of the latter in Austrian times came mainly from nationalists, not least Romanian nationalists, when it was perceived to conflict with ethnonational interests. The goal of nationalists was first and foremost the emancipation of their group and safeguarding its perceived interests, and the catchwords of Bukovinian regionalism were not to overshadow that (van Drunen 2013: 353). For many Romanian nationalists, the tolerance narrative legitimised the Austrian take-over of what for them was historically Romanian lands and the subsequent settlement of a multitude of foreigners in the region (ibid). Suspicion arose from the imperial Habsburg package in which the tolerance narrative was often wrapped, which could be seen as quasi-assimilationist. For Romanian historian and politician Ion Nistor, more explicit renderings of the narrative, often referred to as Bukovinism, worked as a model for assimilation of "all peoples in Bukovina, especially the Romanians" into denationalised German-speakers (ibid: 355). Similar scepticism towards *Kaisertreu* culturally pluralist visions could also be expressed in other Habsburg contexts, e.g., by Czech political leader Tomas Masaryk (ibid: 354). However, nationalists were supportive of Habsburg rule as long as it was seen as supporting national development and were in favour of regionalism as long as it did not hinder the formation of ties with co-brethren outside Austria. They generally preferred narratives about a "Bukovinian homeland" to that of "Bukovinian people" which more explicitly challenged their political foundations (ibid: 440).

Others, like Galicia-born German-language Jewish writer Karl-Emil Franzos, famous for his depiction of arriving by train in a more recognisably Austrian or European, German-speaking Czernowitz having passed through "half-Asiatic" Galicia, took a pragmatic view, and argued that tolerance was simply a necessity in a situation where several ethnic groups lived together with none of them forming a majority (ibid: 353).

In the decades after the demise of the Habsburg empire, with Bukovina forming part of nationalising interwar Romania, with its increasingly hostile policies towards minorities, highlighting what was seen as the unique political and cultural pluralism and tolerance in the region became a marker for regionalist discourse and for a soft resistance to Romanian state policies. Such a narrative emphasising local cultural diversity emerged not only among the national minorities, but also in Romanian-language discourse in Bukovina. Referring to Bukovina and its cultural diversity as Romania's Little

Switzerland became an argument for articulating dissatisfaction with centralist policies and with the influence of Romanian officials entering Bukovina from other regions (Florea 2016: 298-299). Florea provides the example of the journal *Viata Bucovinei* (Life of Bukovina) that, in the 1930s, wrote about the local multitude of nationalities and interethnic harmony that made its population "superior to that in many other regions of our country", demanding that the authorities recognised and supported this diversity (ibid: 299). This interwar Romanian version of the tolerance narrative unsurprisingly dropped the references to the old Habsburg state and its cultural legacy and instead sought to defend local peasants and workers from the centralism and neglect of both Austrian and Romanian authorities (ibid).

Other intellectuals looked rather nostalgically to the old imperial framework moulded in a German-dominant culture and saw the region as having been a model for Austria, as "a laboratory for the creation of *homo austriacus*, the model citizen of a Habsburg empire untroubled by ethnic or religious differences (van Drunen 2013: 354). It was assumed that Habsburg Bukovina had been especially suitable to shape, as the German scholar Wolfgang Höpker expressed it in the 1930s, such a "supranational mediator between nationalities, polylingual, adaptable and art-loving", with a profound knowledge of Habsburg history and traditions (ibid). van Drunen points to the obviously skewed social base of such a vision, resting on the comforts and preferences of an urban bourgeois lifestyle, framed by an Austrian civilising enterprise – although, as was indicated in Chapter 2, multilingualism in Czernowitz was not restricted to the upper classes. This social imagery might have been informed by the oft-propelled image in late Habsburg times of Czernowitz as Little Vienna and the inhabitants as "Buko-Viennese" (ibid: 352; Horel 2023), an association strengthened not only by the architecture of the modernising and growing city, but also by bourgeois social life. As we will see in the following chapters, references to the fancy restaurants, coffee houses, and Viennese waltz in old Czernowitz are widely drawn upon in city-branding in post-Soviet Chernivtsi.

In the 1950s, after the demographic ruptures of WWII and as Bukovina had long fallen behind the Iron Curtain with a Soviet Ukrainian northern and socialist Romanian southern part, Hans Prelitsch, a Bukovinian-born writer, from his exile in Germany famously coined the term *homo bucovinensis* for such a model citizen. He connected it to the term homo austriacus, as the older Austrian Bukovinian narratives were anchored in wider imperial ones (ibid:

355). Prelitsch, a representative of the postwar Homeland Society of Bukovinian Germans, connected this idealised image to the European scene, seeing Bukovinians with their would-be tolerant heritage as models for Europe and as "the first Pan-European" (quoted in Fisher 2022: 154). In later decades, the term homo bucovinensis has been used in relation to a wider European project, as a prototype for a European man (van Drunen 2013: 357). A variation of this term, homo czernoviciensis, has also been introduced into the post-Soviet Ukrainian tolerance narrative in Chernivtsi, not least in the title of a voluminous book published in connection with the city's 600th anniversary in 2008 and featuring photographs of Bukovina and Bukovinians from various periods (Osachuk 2008). In the Ukrainian renderings, Habsburg Austrian and European here come out as virtually synonymous terms.

The Bukowina-Mythos in Central Europe

Chernivtsi and Bukovina quickly became included in the rediscovery in the 1980s among Western intellectuals of Central Europe and the lands that had fallen behind the iron curtain, often symbolised by debates following Kundera's essay The Tragedy of Central Europe (1984). This rediscovery was affected by many Western intellectuals' disappointment in Marxism and the increased salience of 'European' themes following the increasing pace of European integration in the 1980s and early 1990s and was thoroughly intensified and diversified by the fall of the socialist regimes in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Törnquist-Plewa 1999: 33). The newly found interest in the region also went hand in hand with a parallel increasing interest in cultural diversity, borderlands, and minorities, regardless of whether they were old autochthonous or new immigrant communities. In this context, visions, hopes and fears for contemporary and future Europe were projected backwards in time to the period before the calamities of the Second World War and the subsequent establishment of socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, and geographically to the territories of the former Habsburg empire that were now once again more easily accessible for travelling Western academics and journalists.

In Germany, the post-socialist development was preceded by a gradual shift in the perception of Bukovina as the lost homeland of the Buchenlandsdeutschen to a lost or 'sunken' cultural landscape where German

was spoken and, not least, also written also by representatives of other groups, particularly Jews. Bukovina was seen as part of a larger East European area of lost cultural diversity (Fisher 2020: 203-204). This shift began in the 1970s and became more firmly established towards the end of the next decade and coincided both with the organised exile organisations' loss of monopoly on the image of Bukovina and the increased importance attached from the 1970s to Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer and other German-language Jewish writers and poets of Bukovina (ibid: 253-254). Events like the publication in 1984 of the memoirs of self-identified "Old Austrian" Georg Drozdowski, which would in the 1990s be translated into Ukrainian, where the author became a celebrated figure in the local tolerance narrative, also shifted attention away from a "German" to a multicultural "Austrian" heritage of Bukovina (ibid: 224). Among the organisations of exiled Germans from Bukovina, notions of the region's peacefully coexisting ethnic and religious groups entered the discourse more profoundly, coexisting with a strong focus on the specifically ethnic German heritage (ibid: 219-220). Important for later developments in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the creation of what became the Bukovina-Institute in Augsburg in the late 1980s was inspired by a narrative focused less on the *Heimat* than on "Bukovina's historical tolerance and peaceful coexistence with members of other ethnicities including Jews". Fisher points to a certain pragmatism in this development, as safeguarding the heritage of the *Landmannschaft* for a new generation was enhanced by such a shift in rhetorics and perspective (ibid: 229-230). In this way, the institutions originating in the exile community also became stakeholders of the ever more popularised *Bukowina-Mythos*.

Shifting to a wider perspective, it is noteworthy that Anne Applebaum, in her influential travel account Between East and West. Across the Borderlands of Europe, describes a short visit in the beginning of the 1990s to Chernivtsi, which she together with neighbouring Kamianets'-Podils'kyi, Chisinau and Odesa refers to as island cities. Despite its Habsburg architecture Bukovina is, in her geography, not located in Central Europe but in the Balkans, as she perceives the climate to be southern, peoples' faces and skin colour to be darker, and the Turkish influence as still to be felt (Applebaum 1995: 249-250)[13]. Applebaum's

[13] In local discourse, Bukovina would mostly be seen as a part of Central Europe or at least its borderlands, but Applebaum's designation brings to mind well-known Chernivtsi writer Vasyl' Kozhelianko's ironic term Northern Balkans (*Pivnichni Balkany*) for the region, which he uses consistently, e.g., in the novel *Dity Zastoiu* (2012).

short chapter on Chernivtsi combines an emphasis on a borderland absorbing all its subsequent conquerors and rulers and the traditional motive of the many ethnic groups "surviving alongside one another no matter which one was in charge" (ibid: 252-253). More than in the post-Soviet Ukrainian narratives on cultural diversity and tolerance the author underlines the "always suspect, and slightly shady" borderland of the city which also worked as a resource, as "humor remained cynical and sceptical; Czernowitzers never succumbed to imperial pomposity" (ibid: 251). This approach goes hand in hand with the postmodern take on the cities of the former Habsburg Empire characteristic in Western Europe intellectual writings of the late 1980s and early 1990s, analysed by Törnquist-Plewa (1999) in the case of the Italian literary scholar and writer Claudio Magris' novel *Danube* from 1986. However, it could be argued that the celebration of the subversive and the anti-normative usually is more characteristic of tolerance narratives in Odesa, which foreground a colourful gangster folklore in a Ukrainian- and Yiddish-influenced local Russian language (see Richardson 2008; Skvirskaja 2010; King 2011). In contrast, most renditions of the tolerance narrative in Chernivtsi would in my view rather point to order, to a better normativity lost under Soviet rule.

As for Magris, while Chernivtsi is obviously on the Prut and not on the Danube, the author takes a brief virtual detour from Timișoara/Temesvar/Temeschvar in the Banat and Sighișoara/Segesvár/Schässburg in Transylvania to Chernivtsi/Cernăuți/Czernowitz in Bukovina, although that once "flowering centre of German culture" (Magris 1992 (1986): 295) at the time of writing still belonged to the Soviet Union. It is no coincidence that Czernowitz is recalled specifically in the chapter on Banat and Transylvania, in which the author focuses on regional cultural diversity and ever-changing state borders as well as on the borderland trajectories of competing, co-existing and mixed ethnic and linguistic identities. The detour focuses, not surprisingly, mostly on the German-language literary heritage of writers such as Gregor von Rezzori and Rose Ausländer, but first and foremost on the poetry and fate of Paul Celan. It is easy to see the subtitle for this part of the chapter – On the Brink of Silence - not only as a way of reading Celan but as a wider nostalgic metaphor for the disappearance of the diverse lifeworld of old Czernowitz (ibid: 307-310).

Among German-language intellectuals, first and foremost in Germany and Austria, a specific set of notions close to those proposed by Magris emerged. These were centred on pre-WWII Bukovina and most importantly Czernowitz

as its main urban centre, as what became known as the *Mythos Czernowitz,* or the *Bukowina-Mythos* formed. The Bukowina-Mythos builds on tropes well-established among Central European intellectuals about the German-speaking former Austrian city where Germans and Jews, as well as many others, together created great literature and a civic culture based on ethnic and religious tolerance and respect for pluralism. This was later destroyed by the darkness of National-Socialism and the Holocaust and cut off from Europe by the Iron Curtain[14].

The first example, the colourful and romanticised vision of life in old Czernowitz by German journalist Georg Heinzen from the early 1990s, is perhaps the most well-known for contemporary inhabitants of Chernivtsi. It is also probably the most spectacular and poetic, not to say self-consciously myth-making utterance of the post-Socialist Bukowina-Mythos, suggesting a now lost city that breathed literature and intellectualism in all layers and groups of society:

> "Czernowitz, das waren Sonntage, die mit Schubert begannen und mit Pistolenduellen endeten. Czernowitz, als halbem Weg zwischen Kiew und Bukarest, Krakau und Odessa, war die heimliche Haupstadt Europas, in der die Metzgertöchtern Koloratur sangen und die Fiakerkutscher über Karl Kraus stritten. Wo die Bürgersteige mit Rosensträuchern gefegt wurden und es mehr Buchhandlungen gab als Bäckereien. Czernowitz, das war ein immerwährender intellektueller Diskurs, der jeden Morgen eine neue ästethische Theorie erfand,

[14] While the analysis of the Bukowina-Mythos in this chapter focuses on the larger German-language intellectual debate, Fisher (2014) analyses memories of ethnic German and Jewish Bukovinian communities that settled in Germany and Israel respectively in connection with or after WWII. Here we see how the views expressed by Bukovinian Germans in Germany changed from a more parochial ethnic outlook to a narrative emphasising cultural diversity and tolerance, although filtered through the specific experiences of members of this community. In publications of the Landsmannschaften formed by Bukovinian Germans in Germany the focus was on their communities having "returned" to the homeland, and Bukovina was presented as "a purely nostalgic object of longing" (Fisher 2014: 28). In major works from the Bukovinian German community in Germany during the Cold War Bukovina was idealised through an ethnic German, Christian and traditional lens in which older notions of Germanness not compromised by the Nazi period dominated (ibid: 29). After 1989, however, there was a shift to an emphasis of cultural diversity and harmonious interrelations between ethnic and religious groups in a region now "returning to Europe", and German became synonymous with "Western" and "European", and this development paralleled the growth of interest after 1989 in Bukovina and Czernowitz among Germans without personal connections to the province (ibid: 30-31).

> die am Abend schon wieder verworfen war. Wo die Hunden die Namen der Olympischer Götten trugen und die Hühner Hölderlein-Verse in den Boden kratzten. Czernowitz, das war ein Vergnügungsdampfer, der mit ukrainischer Mannschaft, deutschen Offizieren und jüdischen Passagieren cunter österreischer Flagge zwischen West und Ost kreutze." (Heinzen 1991: 18)

The excerpts, in Ukrainian translation, about the roses that swept the streets of old Czernowitz, in which there were more bookshops than bakeries, and the metaphor of the city as a ship cruising between West and East with Ukrainian staff, German officers and Jewish passengers are immediately recognisable to many inhabitants of the city today. They have been repeatedly quoted and have been included in tourist guides and even on a plaque on the wall outside the former Literatur-Café on the Central Square next to the town hall.

Another early example, rather more down-to-earth, can be found in the travel accounts of German historian and Slavist Verena Dohrn, who travelled through Galicia, Volhynia, Podolia and Bukovina in the last years of the Soviet Union. Dohrn, inspired by the great Czernowitzer poets and the narratives about the German-Jewish symbiosis and the "enlightenment, tolerance and cultural diversity" of the old city, expected Czernowitz to be the peak of the journey, the measure of what Bukovina and Western Ukraine at large once was:

> "Das alte Czernowitz soll die Krönung, die masstab sein für all das, was Galizien, Bukowina im besten fallen einmal waren. Legenden von der Bukowina hatten die Reiselust genährt – Gedichte von Rose Ausländer und Paul Celan, Geschichten von der deutschjüdischen Symbiose, von Aufklärung, Toleranz und mannigfaltiger kultureller Lebendigkeit in jener Landschaft." (Dohrn 1991: 159)

The most important themes in Dohrn's rendering of Czernowitz are the lost cultural diversity and the rich German-language literary heritage created by mostly Jewish writers, as well as an emphasis on the break in connection with WWII when the old world was brought down and the remains of it became unattainable behind the Iron Curtain. References to famous authors and their works alternate with glimpses of the passing late Soviet Ukrainian landscape of kolchozes, fruit gardens and wooden houses, as the author approaches the vanished and locally forgotten *Vielvölkerstadt*.

Dohrn's impressions from the city, both the real one she is visiting and the virtual one she carries in her mind, are very much centred around the life and death of the city's Jewish population. She visits Celan's house, the Jewish

cemetery, the former Jewish temple and the functioning synagogue on Kobylytsia Street, and in the dining room at Soviet hotel Cheremosh she fantasies about the guests being transformed into famous German and German-Jewish intellectuals. Otherwise, there are only a few references to local German authors (and the author notes that while many Jews spoke High German, ethnic Germans in the city district Rosch *schwäbelte* (ibid: 164). Local Armenians are briefly mentioned, but not Poles or Romanians, and there is no clear distinction in the text between what is Ukrainian and what is Russian. Czernowitz is presented as a world of its own, different from all other cities and Jewish small towns, and populated mostly by a wide variety of Jewish groups.

> "Czernowitz war anders als alle jene Städte und Stetlech. Czernowitz war "eine Welt für sich". Vor allem chasarisch-spaniolisch-deutsch-galizisch-russisch-rumänische Juden lebten dort. Die Bukowina war für Juden Heimat vor alters her." (ibid: 163-164)

In a much later rendition of the same Bukowina-Mythos, German journalist Georg Christoph Heiligsetzer (2013) starts with the assumption that a visit to Chernivtsi begins in your home library. The article presents the same major theme of a city of great German-language Jewish poets, striking cultural diversity, and peaceful coexistence that was lost after the Second World War. The contemporary city in which the author strolls is already more Ukrainian and quite colourful and interesting, and the author notes that it has developed a certain commercial interest in pre-WWII local urban culture expressed in coffee houses with names referring to Habsburg times. Also in this account, Jewish themes are emphasised, although perhaps not to the same extent as in the case of Dohrn twenty years earlier. In his concluding words the author is clearly aware of his part in weaving the mythic narrative, as he argues that in order to grasp this "sunken world" it is better to turn to the world of books than to the present city inscribed in new layers onto the deceptively preserved architectural landscape old Czernowitz:

> "Um in die versunkene Welt von Czernowitz, von der so oft die Rede ist, einzutauchen, muss man wohl zurückkehren in die eigene Bibliothek – und Paul Celan lesen oder Rose Ausländer. An Ort und Stelle kann man zwar ein paar angenehme Tage in historischen Mauern verbringen – was den Mythos von Czernowitz begründet hat, vermag man jedoch höchstens noch zu erahnen." (Heiligsetzer 2013)

The strong focus in many stories giving voice to the Bukowina-Mythos on the Jewish elements of the city's past and present links the myth to a larger cultural, commercial, and intellectual context – the widespread interest in what Ruth Gruber (2002) calls virtual Jewish spaces, i.e., spaces where Jews used to live and work before the Holocaust and subsequent migration waves but where very few Jews remain today. As is argued by Ruethers (2013: 675), for this trend, not least prevalent in the German-speaking countries, Central Europe became a "nostalgically glorified place of yearning" where "Jews became a symbol of the civilized multiculturalism of East-Central European urban topography around 1900". This interest among non-Jews for Jewish culture and history is what Ruethers 2013: 672) calls a Jewish revival, and the Bukowina-Mythos manifestly connects to it, as "Bukovinian Jews/…/ had come to be perceived as the only 'real' Bukovinians and the only true 'Middle Europeans' (Fisher 2020: 249).

However, it can also be argued that in German-speaking Central Europe there is yet another element to this general European and American interest in places of vanished Jewish culture. If Magris in *The Danube* sometimes counterposes German and Habsburg culture as modern and postmodern (Törnquist-Plewa 1999: 35), the Bukowina-Mythos can perhaps be said to rejoin a particular interpretation of the Habsburg legacy with contemporary German intellectual self-images in an effort to evoke an image of German-Jewish symbiosis (Menninghaus 1999).

Introducing his critical analysis of German intellectual discourse on Czernowitz and Bukovina, Menninghaus (1999: 345) quotes German historian Karl Schlögel's account of a trip to the still Soviet city in the late 1980s. The visit made it acutely aware to Schlögel that the city has a physical existence and does not only live in the realms of literature and memory, or as "background and a primal image of what is lost" (ibid). Against the background of such cultural expectations, Menninghaus locates the German fascination for the mythical qualities of Czernowitz – the Atlantis, the *versunkene Welt* – largely to the city's literary heritage and the projections it enables of a lost multiethnic and multilingual world dominated by a German-language high culture with universal significance that was realised first and foremost by Jewish writers. For Menninghaus, the growing interest in Paul Celan's poetry was a necessary but not sufficient condition for this. Instead, he argues that the key components of the Bukowina-Mythos among German intellectuals in the 1990s combined an idealisation of the lost ethnic and

linguistic diversity and multilingualism of old Czernowitz with nostalgic evocations of the past potentialities of a German cultural hegemony.

> "Für heutige Leser Celans konnte Czernowitz so auch zu einem Wunschbild dessen werden, was das österreischisch-ungarisches Kaiserreich an seinen äussersten Grenzen (viellecht) einmal war under besser geblieben wäre. Tatsächlich scheint die aktuelle Funktionalität des Topos hier ihre stärkste Motivierung zu haben: als ein Emblem gelungener Multikulturalität under kreativer Vielsprachigkeit – ein Emblem überdies, das eine mal mehr, mal weniger ausgeprägte Philosemitische Einfärbung erlaubt. Zugleich hat der Topos – und dieser Überblendung macht viellecht sein heute Unerhörtes aus – noch eine andere (Wunsch-)Seite: nämlich diejenige einer Apotheose der "deutschen Kultur" vor ihrer Regression in die Barbarei." (ibid: 349)

For Menninghaus, the poetry of Celan and Ausländer is a condensed expression of themes from the late 19th century Bukovinian writer Karl-Emil Franzos, who celebrated Bukovinian cultural diversity and tolerance but simultaneously emphasised the stabilising and civilisational leading role of German culture as its precondition (ibid: 349-350). Crucial here is the interpretation of a German-Jewish symbiosis, a place where mostly Jewish authors created literature in German, while as we could see in the quotes from Dohrn, the literature of local Germans, Romanians and Ukrainians is not celebrated to the same extent (ibid: 350).

Menninghaus strongly emphasises the contemporary functionality of the Bukowina-Mythos, as it evokes Habsburg Czernowitz as "an idealized cipher with a function as a role model if not for the entire Europe at least for a multicultural Germany" (ibid: 348) and allows a selective perception in which guilt-ridden German intellectuals can associate their culture with *Bildung* and humanism (ibid: 353). In this interpretation, there seems to be an inward-looking feel-good quality to contemporary German-language writings on Bukovina and Czernowitz, that privileges the mythical lost city before the existing post-Soviet one and celebrates Jewishness and cultural diversity in a way which might reveal elements of self-therapy besides expressions of interest in the other.

The author also argues that in factual terms the Bukovinian example could well be seen as showing that what truly enables the "unlikely success of multicultural coexistence" is not "democracy, liberality and tolerance", but rather "patriarchal authority, a state strongly focused on upholding order (*ein*

starker Ordnungsstaat), and an unambiguously hegemonic lead culture" (ibid: 351). However late Habsburg political culture is interpreted, such aspects of contemporary multiculturalist mythmaking are also rarely expressed in local celebrations of Bukovinian tolerance in post-Soviet Bukovina, where the role of a lead culture as a precondition for inter-ethnic peace, whether in Austrian Czernowitz or in today's Ukrainian Chernivtsi, is mostly implied rather than explicitly mentioned.

The point here is that neither German-language discourse on Czernowitz or Bukovina conforms uncritically to the Bukowina-Mythos nor the notion of uncomplicated inter-ethnic tolerance goes unchallenged (see e.g. Scharr 2010: 47-48). However, as Hainz (2010: 5-6) hints at in another exposé of German writing on this subject, efforts could be found in more critical readings to save the attractive image of Habsburg Bukovinian ethnic realities by using a less "kitschy" (*unverkitscht*) language.

If we once again turn our attention to the European level, the Bukowina-Mythos could perhaps also be seen as part of yet another wider European trend that celebrates the "tolerant" empires that existed before the emergence of "nationalising states" (Brubaker 1996), after the empires' dissolution in the wake of WWI. In books and exhibitions, the respect for cultural pluralism and minorities in the Habsburg and Ottoman empires is contrasted with the later often assimilationist policies of the nation-state successors. This line of thought is pinpointed and criticised by Hayden and Naumovic (2013) in an analysis of an exhibition called A Balkan Tale that travelled between museums in various South-Eastern European countries in 2012 and 2013. The authors argue that the constructivist approach habitually used in contemporary academia to disassemble ethnic and national narratives can also be used to show the "inventedness" of presently popular stories about the peaceful coexistence of peoples and religions in the Balkan region before the advent of the nation-states. According to the authors, such stories are just as based on a selective reading of the past as nationalist stories that type-cast ethnic and national groups as their main protagonists (ibid: 332-333). Hayden and Naumovic also note that this exhibition, while being informed by a particular reading of multiculturalism, seemed to ignore important postcolonial insights:

> "We might imagine how South Asian scholars would react were, say, the United States to fund a major cross-media project showing how well the various peoples of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka lived together under the

> British Empire until the separate nationalist movements broke up their commonality in 1947." (ibid: 332)

Not all tenets of the authors' criticism need to be accepted, but they do pinpoint an intellectual trend that parallels the interest in Central European pre-WWII cultural diversity and in the Jewish past of the region, and that provide a further context to the Bukowina-Mythos' celebrating of Habsburg cultural diversity and tolerance. However, if we turn our attention away from German and Austrian authors and refocus on actors on the local scene in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the context changes significantly. If Hayden and Naumovic see the background to such post-imperial, multiculturalist narratives in efforts by local "well-intended and right-thinking elites" in southeastern Europe to confront nationalist academic paradigms by "disarming national history" (ibid: 333), in Chernivtsi the tolerance narrative rarely coincides with ideas of deconstructing Ukrainian (or for that matter Romanian) history or national identity, or with a more consistent post-national direction.

As for the Bukowina-Mythos and the larger cultural circles of significance in which it is entangled, it is easy to agree with Fisher (2014: 31) that the widespread contemporary interest in lost cultural diversity in Central Europe is a positive phenomenon, especially since this past was largely forgotten during many decades. On the other hand, as we will see in the chapter on the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival, the incongruence between visiting Westerners' enthusiasm for the lost cultural diversity – and mainly its Jewish and German-speaking layers – and the real or apparent lack of interest among some of them for the complexities and creativity of the contemporary city can create tension.

The emergence of the tolerance narrative in post-Soviet Chernivtsi

Frunchak (2010, 2014) shows that the Soviet authorities downplayed elements of the old Czernowitz that did not fit with the Soviet narrative, including giving prominence to Slavic-sounding surnames in public commemoration of the victory in WWII rather than to Jewish or other names. For Frunchak, official Soviet memory policy largely silenced the contributions of the old city's non-

Ukrainian population to the growth and development of the city, and the victimhood of non-Ukrainians during WWII. As we noted in the first chapter, she also argues that this forgetting of the non-Ukrainian past has been transferred to the dominant narrative in post-Soviet Chernivtsi (Frunchak 2014: 468). The interest that can be observed in the culturally diverse pre-WWII past in post-Soviet Chernivtsi is, for Frunchak, intended "mostly for flirting with the city's visitors and for foreigners" (ibid: 469). She argues that the framework of remembrance here is largely one of Ukrainian ethnonationalism, with which the interest in the culturally diverse and would-be tolerant lost past is "hard to reconcile" (ibid: 469).

To illustrate her point about the conflict between the tolerance narrative and Ukrainian ethnonationalism in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, Frunchak provides the example of the writings of a local historian and journalist, the late Ihor Chekhovs'kyi (1960-2007). She notes that Chekhovs'kyi sheds light on and popularises at the time less well-known non-Ukrainian figures and themes from the city's past and that the author recognises that highlighting the lost urban past has involved both banalities and pragmatism. She also argues that his narrative is "nationally-defined", seeing the Ukrainians as having "a predetermined and leading historical role" in Bukovina (Frunchak 2014: 6 footnote). Furthermore, she makes the observation that the author uses the tolerance narrative to showcase "the "European-ness" of Ukraine and Ukrainians rather than "returning" historical Chernivtsi to (non-Ukrainian) Europe" (ibid).

As is indicated in Chapter 5 about Chernivtsi city-branding, the tolerance narrative can certainly be instrumentalised for shallow and unabashed flirting with visitors and foreigners. This kind of criticism of official uses of the narrative can also come from a markedly nationalist position, e.g., from Volodymyr Staryk of the Ukrainian National House. Other examples are given in this thesis of when the narrative is used by different actors in a cliched, streamlined and politically correct way. However, local intellectuals may also find other ways of drawing on this narrative for more profound interactions with the past and finding inspiration for new, sometimes critical, interpretations, be it the artistic visions of the artist Oleh Liubkivs'kyi throughout the post-Soviet years or the projects of the short-lived activist collective Roșa in 2014-2015.

Much more complex is the tension between celebrating cultural diversity and Ukrainian ethnically based nationalism. Firstly, we share van Drunen's

observation, presented in the first section of this chapter and well-anchored in the scholarly debates on the political philosophy of cultural diversity, that nationalism and multiculturalism share the same basic foundations in groupness, and that the tolerance narrative proceeds from relations between distinct ethnocultural or religious groups. Secondly, part of the problem here probably lies in the definition of Ukrainian nationalism, as the much used and abused term could imply a wide spectrum of meanings and interpretations. Thirdly, the traditional conceptual division between ethnic and civic nationalism is only partly helpful here, since the ideal types do not exist in the social world, and every nation principally defined in political or civic terms has a cultural core that in each specific case is perceived to stem more from some ethnocultural traditions than from others in the given polity. On the other hand, Chekhovs'kyi is interesting, as he personifies a position that has been crucial for the development of the tolerance narrative in the post-Soviet city – scholars and intellectuals from the ethnic Ukrainian majority who sought to revive and reinterpret Ukrainian culture and the specifically Ukrainian cultural heritage of the city and region and simultaneously took part in popularising knowledge about the city's lost cultural diversity. There are several such individuals in this study, e.g. literary scholar Petro Rykhlo and political scientist Ihor Burkut. From this perspective, Frunchak identifies a field of tension that could be resolved by various authors and actors in different ways and therefore should be kept in mind.

As for the discursive triangle of celebrating diversity, Ukrainian revival and the 'return to Europe', the tolerance narrative is indeed often used – certainly not only by Chekhovs'kyi – to claim Europeanness for the contemporary city after the demographic ruptures of the 20th century, and sometimes by extension for the country as well. More problematic is perhaps the competing normative perspective implied in the wording "rather than 'returning' historical Chernivtsi to (non-Ukrainian) Europe". On the one hand, this could be interpreted as a call for recognising the fact that in the Austrian and Romanian city Ukrainian-speakers formed only a minority of the population, and that no nationalising teleology should be imposed on that past. On the other, contemporary city dwellers are rooted in a Soviet past where they were not recognised as subjects of their own history, in the civic rather than the ethnic sense, as the official past was dictated from above and there was little public room for alternative visions. From this perspective it could be argued that post-Soviet visions claiming the urban past to be almost exclusively a domain of

and for others would risk perpetuating such a non-subjectivity of most of the contemporary population. Therefore, while it is a crucial task to further knowledge and interest in the city's lost cultural diversity among the majority whose ancestors arrived in the city after 1944, from this perspective it would be possible to interpret the balancing acts of some of the Ukrainian intellectuals giving shape and substance to the post-Soviet tolerance narrative within a slightly more generous frame, not least since the local urban past really had an important Ukrainian component. In any case, this is a further field of tensions to keep in mind.

Proceeding from the analyses in the two previous subchapters of the emergence of the tolerance narrative in Austrian Bukovina and the decades after the Habsburg demise, as well as of the *Bukowina-Mythos* as it took form in post-Socialist German-speaking Central Europe, I will now take a more detailed look at what I call the tolerance narrative in post-Soviet Chernivtsi. I start by outlining the actors and perspectives involved in its emergence in Soviet Chernivtsi in the late 1980s and in the post-Soviet city after 1991. I then shed light on local journalist Vasyl' Zelezinka's TV-show *Misto moieii liubovi* (City of My Love), aired 1998-2007 about Chernivtsi's history and development, in which the host and his guest engaged with visions and narratives about local urban cultural heritage. Finally, to achieve a better and more in-depth understanding of local interpretations and uses of the tolerance narrative, we include an analysis of interviews we made in 2013 and 2015 with a representative range of local academics, politicians, intellectuals, and activists.

In his book *Chernivtsi – kovcheh pid vitrylamy tolerantnosti* (Chernivtsi – An arch under the sails of tolerance) from 2004, Chekhovs'kyj popularises the diverse history of old Czernowitz from the perspective of the contemporary tolerance narrative, stressing important themes and figures associated with different ethnic groups. Ethnic and religious tolerance is the main theme of the book and finds expression not only in the title, but also in metaphors, such as the city-ship, and wordings throughout the book. In the latter half of the book, he also recapitulates how the interest in the Austrian and Romanian past of the city has emerged and developed since the late 1980s, including his own contribution to this process. The book therefore provides valuable information about the first decade of late Soviet and Post-Soviet memory and heritage work in the city. The author was an activist in *Oberih* (Talisman), the first grass roots movement founded in 1988 engaging in revitalising Ukrainian language and culture and the city's lost cultural heritage, and a journalist working both with

the newspaper *Molodyi Bukovynets'*, firstly associated with Komsomol, and with the city council's newspaper *Chernivtsi*, founded in 1990, as well as other publications. As editor of a section on the cultural heritage of *Chernivtsi*, for many years he published articles of his own and of other local scholars and activists about old Czernowitz, where cultural diversity and tolerance became important themes. Chekhovs'kyi is also the author of other books, including a tour guide to Chernivtsi and Bukovina (Chekhovs'kyi 2008). Since Chekhovs'kyi was both an actor and chronicler of the emergence of new visions of the past, his book from 2004 is an excellent starting point for the analysis.

Oberih was created from below in late 1988 by a small number of researchers, journalists from *Molodyj Bukovynets*, and other activists, with inspiration coming from the Baltic Popular Fronts and the first grass roots movements doing heritage work in Lviv (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 62). Many of the activists, like the artist Oleh Liubkivs'kyi, historian Oleksandr Masan, literary scholar Petro Rykhlo, and Chekhovs'kyi himself, would later become well-known, partly for their interest in researching and popularising the lost urban cultural diversity of the city and its pre-Soviet past. Already in early 1989, Oberih arranged readings of Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer and other German-language poets from Czernowitz who were virtually unknown among the city's population (ibid: 64).

Liubkivs'kyi argues that Oberih was an early actor in the breakthrough of the interest in the city's diverse pre-Soviet past:

> "The breakthrough happened in the 1990s. This was Gorbachev's perestroika, when this breakthrough happened. It happened as a certain group of people gathered and formed the official Oberih Society, well it functioned for a year, maybe two, when USSR still existed, when unexpected publications (about the city's diverse past NB) began to appear in the newspapers." (Interview with Liubkivs'kyj, 23 April 2013)

Seemingly, the Society paid most attention to the blossoming Ukrainian cultural revival, including reintroducing the blue and yellow flag and the strengthening the Ukrainian language. Previously suppressed cultural figures of Bukovinian origin were brought back to public attention, most notably the actor Ivan Mykolaychuk (1941-1987) and the repressed popular singer Volodymyr Ivasiuk (1949-1979), both icons on the national Ukrainian stage. Later, in 1989, activists of Oberih took part in organising the first *Chervona Ruta* Ukrainian music festival, which later became a cultural brand of the city

(see also Wanner 1998 and Klid 2014). Like similar organisations in many cities across the then USSR, members of society engaged in joint efforts to commemorate the victims of the Stalinist repression and took part of the first congress of Ukrainian People's Front Rukh (ibid: 65-66). When it became possible to engage in civic activism in Chernivtsi, Oberih from the start took interest in the city's lost non-Ukrainian pre-Soviet history, even though the struggle for Ukrainian independence for many activists soon gained the upper hand (Interview with Liubkivs'kyi).

Liubkivs'kyi recalls how one of his works was reprinted in the local press during this period, and how the attitude and interest to the life and inhabitants of old Czernowitz in public life in the city had quickly changed. Earlier

> "…everything related to Austrian times had been absolutely forbidden. Any kind of German phrase or mentioning of a German street name was already criminal." (Interview with Liubkivs'kyi 23 April 2013)

Especially in articles and columns of *Chernivtsi*, where Chekhovs'kyi became editor of the section about "cultural revival" (*dukhovne vidrodzjennia*), the lost history of the city was a crucial theme. Chekhovs'kyi relates not the least to the city's Jewish past, such as articles by Rykhlo introducing Celan for Ukrainian readers and translating some of his poems, by Jewish activist Pinkas Luttinger, born in pre-Soviet Chernivtsi, presenting other Jewish writers, articles on Jewish religious life in Czernowitz, proposing the creation of a Jewish museum, and the publication of a poem by local Jewish bard Emil Krupnyk about the Jewish Battalion fighting with pro-Ukrainian forces in 1918-1920 (ibid: 79-80). Highlighting the Jewish themes among the articles in his edited section of the newspaper and the positive response of readers to them, Chekhovs'kyi marked the importance of Jewish history and culture for shedding light on the city's past. Simultaneously, as he emphasised aspects pointing to the historical entanglement of Jews and Ukrainians, the prewar history of the city again was turned into an arena for reconciliatory rhetorics, albeit not as explicit and systematic as in the case of the Bukowina-Mythos among some Germans and Austrians, but also with a fair share of simplification and selectivity[15]. In the earlier half of the book devoted to the

[15] A similar example is the author's pairing of two celebrations of Bukovinian singers in 1994: of Joseph Schmidt, "Bukovina's Caruso", whose career began in the reformist Jewish Temple in the 1930s, and a few weeks later of Ukrainian pop singer and composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk (ibid: 96).

pre-Soviet past, the author briefly mentions the horrors of WWII and their effects on the region's population: the evacuation of the ethnic Germans, the Soviet terror in June 1941 hitting individuals of all nationalities, and the murder and deportations of local Jews. As for the latter, he points out that this occurred "not without the participation of the local population", but also claims that this was mainly characteristic for Romanian villages in the region (ibid: 58-59). Chekhovs'kyi here argues that the city-ship lost course in the storms of war, but that we should not let "occasional "terrible ethnic accidents" (*prykri etnichni avarii*) define the whole content of the logbook of the city's history" (ibid: 59-60). The wording about "accidents" is clearly inspired by the ship metaphor used by the author throughout the book, but the section is indicative for how important it is for Chekhovs'kyi to not let the tolerance narrative be tainted by a too close examination of the burdens of the past.

Another crucial group of actors instrumental in shaping and mainstreaming the tolerance narrative in post-Soviet Chernivtsi are the ethnocultural associations (see Chapter 6 for an introduction to the concept). Most of them formed in late 1989 and 1990, including the Romanian Eminescu society, the Polish Mickiewicz society, the Jewish Steinbarg society, the German-Austrian Rebirth society, as well as the Ukrainian House, and soon also associations for groups that had a small or non-existent place in the pre-Soviet city, like the Russian Sakharov society and the Belarusian Skaryna society (ibid: 66). A few societies, like the Armenian Arevik were formed later in the 1990s. Many sought to organise language teaching in the respective languages, and all engaged in various mnemonic activities related to the pre-Soviet history of the groups they claimed to represent, including arguing for the changing of street names, putting up memory plaques and celebrating anniversaries of well-known cultural figures.

Acting in their own interests, the ethnocultural associations can be said to have been both content providers for the tolerance narrative and legitimisers performing it, demonstrating by their sheer presence its relevance and the continued existence of tolerance in the city. An illuminating example is the celebration of the Polish National House in 1996 on the city's main Kobylians'ka Street with the singing of the Polish and the Ukrainian national anthems, greetings from the other ethnocultural associations, the participation of local officials and veterans from the pre-war Polish House, as well as toasts in Polish, Ukrainian, German, and Yiddish and flowing multilingual conversation about old Czerniowce/Czernowitz (ibid: 96-97). A few years

later, at the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish House in 2002, in the presence of representatives of the other ethnocultural associations, the head of the Polish Mickiewicz society said that the association is guided by "the interethnic and interconfessional tolerance that always has been a hallmark of the Polish community in Bukovina" (ibid: 102). In the latter case, the more explicit metalanguage of tolerance had already long been established in public discourse in the city. Chekhovs'kyi argues that, with economic growth after the difficult 1990s, after the millennium there was more time and energy for "spiritual needs", and the city saw more celebrations of historical figures from various ethnic groups and more activities from the ethnocultural associations (ibid: 101). The ethno-cultural associations were sometimes mediators of contacts with their respective "kin states" and the diasporas. On the one hand, this could stimulate local interest in the pre-Soviet past, while on the other it also facilitated out-migration of especially Germans and Jews from post-Soviet Chernivtsi, implying that interest in the urban myth grew as the actual diversity on the streets of the city diminished (see also Fisher 2022 on this matter).

The influence of external actors on the growing interest in the pre-Soviet past and for the shaping of the local tolerance narrative in early post-Soviet Chernivtsi is visible in many examples from this study. Among other factors, this took the form of the diffusion of texts and ideas, institution and network building and personal contacts. An obvious example is the intertextual impact of the ship, rose and bookstore metaphors from Heinzen's playful and romantic text about old Czernowitz discussed in the previous section, which have been quoted frequently in local writings about the city. The "roses that once swept the streets of Czernowitz" have also been visually alluded to in the cityscape, first as a decoration outside the bookstore and Literatur Café Czernowitz at the city square together with a sign quoting excerpts from the poem, but later also as a pop sculpture showing a stylised caretaker carrying a bouquet of roses on Kobylians'ka Street from 2017 (Na vulytsi Kobylians'kii…2017).

As for institution and network building, the contributions of the Bukovina Institute in Augsburg were important, finding a new *raison d'être* and language for the activities of the German diaspora organisations in acting as a "bridge to the East" (Fisher 2022: 156). The institute organised a trip to Chernivtsi already in 1990, started language classes and established contacts with research institutions in both Ukrainian and Romanian Bukovina (ibid). Significantly, it developed intense cooperation with a key local partner, the Centre for

Bukovina Studies (Tsentr Bukovynoznavstva), founded as a part of Iurii Fed'kovych University in Chernivtsi and partly founded by the Chernivtsi Oblast' Council in 1992 as a platform for research about Bukovina for historians, linguists, literature scholars, and other specialists in the history and culture of Bukovina (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 98; Osachuk 2004; Interview with Serhii Osachuk, 23 April 2013; Interview with Oleh Panchuk, 11 June 2013). The centre, led until 2010 by the chemist, activist for Ukrainian national revival and popularisation of the city's past and long-time Rukh politician Oleh Panchuk (born 1932 in the city), cooperated closely with the Augsburg institute, including the arrangement of conferences and research visits, and supported publications, such as the Ukrainian translations of Drozdowski's memoirs (Drozdowski 2001), as well as exhibitions about the evacuation of local Germans in 1940 (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 99). The books, new editions, or bilingual Ukrainian-German re-editions of older and rare works about the region, were financed by German partners and sent to local libraries all over the region (Interview with Oleh Panchuk, 11 June 2013).

From an early stage, Austrian actors also took part in the building of networks and institutions in Chernivtsi, seeking "to rehabilitate the Austrian period and "multicultural" past for the sake of the present and the future" (Fisher 2022: 157). Klagenfurt, strongly associated with the legacy of Drozdowski, established twin city relations with Chernivtsi in 1992, and Austrians financed both the renovation of the German national house on Kobylians'ka Street and a large Drozdowski Hall in the building (ibid: 158), which also hosts the German-Austrian Rebirth society and the restaurant Carinthia (Kärnten). Among other things, the Austrian authorities financed the Austria library for the Centre for Bukovina Studies (Interview with Oleh Panchuk, 11 June 2013), and perhaps even more symbolic, the erection of a memorial to Paul Celan, approved by the city council, both in 1992 (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 92; Fisher 2022: 157-158). Chekhovs'kyi (2004: 92) in the memorial optimistically saw a potential for widening the circles of identity among younger city dwellers who had little knowledge of the pre-Soviet and non-Ukrainian past:

> "In this way the "names of not our people" ("*nenashi imena*") together with the "names of our people" began to enter the minds of the youngest generation as inseparable features of our city's cultural history."

For Chekhovs'kyi it was the disappointment in the market reforms of the early 1990s and the realisation that the Soviet Union is gone that led to the increased romanticised interest in old Czernowitz from the Austrian period (ibid: 96). Perhaps it could also be said that interaction with external actors showed local inhabitants new ways of telling about their city that made sense to others.

> "This theme got many sympathizers among the younger generation, thanks to the efforts of historians, experts in regional studies, journalists, and writers in a multifold of publications in the press and shows on the local television. The creators of those articles, shows and paintings became the creators of a new myth about old lost Chernivtsi – a "Little Paris" or a "Little Vienna." (ibid: 96)

Fisher (2022: 158) argues that Ukrainians and Romanians were objects more than subjects in these German and Austrian initiatives, but that many locals in them saw opportunities for their own development and that, in general, locals tend to remember the initiatives fondly. The point about the individual opportunities was not lost on Chekhovs'kyi (2004: 96-97), who put it straightforwardly:

> "Pragmatically inclined locals of the middle and younger generations looked upon "the Little Vienna myth" as a bridge to Great Vienna and further to the Western world. The most valued guest in Chernivtsi was no longer some former dissident politician but a business partner from the West or a renowned representative of the large and monied Bukovinian diaspora."

In my interviews, both Panchuk and Osachuk, who were deeply involved in these processes at the Centre for Bukovina Studies, emphasise the positive features both for Ukrainians getting possibilities to learn languages, have access to new material and study the region from another perspective, as well as the significance for popularising knowledge about the old city for people in the region. Chekhovs'kyi also argues that, apart from individual motives and escapism, for other city dwellers the interest in old Czernowitz was a way of finding constructive material in the past for creative visions for the future (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 96). This points to Ukrainian actors indeed carving out subjectivity from the contacts, and not only in terms of individual gains, but in the possibility to create a vision of the past which is also an identity narrative and pointed in a direction away from the isolation of the Soviet years, something in the spirit of Erll's past potentialities. As we will see, the local tolerance narrative is not a copy of the Bukowina-Mythos, but has its own

emphases, additions, and omissions. Simultaneously, Osachuk many years later underlined that there still is a sense of parallel worlds (*paralel'ni svity*) – a lack of historians in Chernivtsi able to read foreign languages and follow and participate in the work of Western historians about the region (Interview with Osachuk, 23 April 2013).

Another context that influenced the setting in which the tolerance narrative emerged was a fear of ethnic unrest, both towards the end of Soviet rule and during the first half and middle of the 1990s. Firstly, like in many other former Soviet republics, there were efforts by conservative forces in the CPSU establishment and power structures to play out fears of Ukrainian radical nationalism among city dwellers of other nationalities (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 70). This threat from conservative party circles helped to consolidate national-democratic political parties and ethnocultural associations (Kruhlashov 2014: 41). In 1990, activists from NGOs and anti-Soviet political parties organised a human chain of unity on the main square, with flags of all ethnic communities in the city, inspired by the human chains in the Baltic states (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 70). Secondly, emerging in the same period and continuing during the early and mid-1990s was the potential for inter-state conflicts between Ukraine and Romania and ethnic tensions in relations with the Romanian community in northern Bukovina. Up until the signing of the Treaty on Relations of Neighbourliness and Cooperation between Ukraine and Romania in 1997 and the desire of Romania to integrate with Western political and military structures, Romanian political leaders repeatedly refused to recognise the current border between the two countries, implying that northern Bukovina should belong to Romania. Some Romanian activists in Bukovina implicitly followed this line, at least until it was abandoned by Romania with the signing of the Treaty (see e.g., Stewart 2005: 74), and some local Romanian leaders called on local Romanians not to participate in the Ukrainian referendum on independence 1 December 1991 (Kruhlashov 2013: 310). The Eminescu Society "tried to capitalize on the desire in certain political circles in Romania to reincorporate northern Bukovyna", but "dropped the issue" after the signing of the Treaty (Stewart 2005: 119). Chapter 6 includes a more detailed discussion of the memory politics of the Romanian ethnocultural associations, but we can note in this regard that local researchers recollecting the earlier period argue that, for ethnic Romanian activists, the Romanian interwar period was the golden age of tolerance, while for the Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish activists this was rather the Habsburg period (Kruhlashov 2013: 309). The

comparison to Kosovo in some of the headlines of Chekhovs'kyi's book illustrates how this border conflict and potential confrontation with the largest remaining ethnic minority community in the region could be perceived: "(t)he Bukovinian Chain of Unity as an alternative to Kosovo scenarios" (ibid: 69), and "(t)here are no grounds for making parallels to Kosovo in Bukovina" (ibid: 101). As we will see, Romanian activists in the city engage in tolerance talk to no lesser extent than other actors, but the repercussions of the conflicts in the 1990s as well as some distrust were still felt among my interviewees during my fieldwork in 2013.

The Celan memorial was erected, as Chernivtsi already was part of a new independent Ukraine. The Lenin statue on the Central Square had been dismantled in September 1991, and 65 street names associated with Soviet totalitarianism had been renamed (Rotar 2016: 216). Characteristically, the new city leadership from the national-democratic circles soon also turned to the city's Austrian past to forge a new identity for the city, reviving in 1992 the city's coat-of-arms from Austrian times with a Ukrainian trident replacing the Austrian double eagle and instituting a Day of the City. In late 1991, the city took over the buildings of the former national houses in the city, and the respective ethnocultural associations were granted premises there – although only the Ukrainian House was fully returned to the association. Summing up her analysis of the symbolical and toponymical changes in the cityscape, most of them made before a moratorium on changing street names was introduced in 1993, Chernivtsi political scientist Nataliia Rotar (2016:224) concludes that the officially endorsed urban space aspires to send a message of a confirmation of Ukrainian statehood, tolerance, and a strong urban identity. Kruhlashov (2014: 41) points to enthusiasm for what he calls the "myth of the Austrian-European Bukovina" among the regional intelligentsia, and that the inhabitants at large made a "fairly grateful audience" for it.

Fisher (2022: 158) concludes that the German and Austrian efforts at this early stage of involvement encouraged an "idealized reading" of Bukovina's history, focusing on the contributions of national groups and fitting well with Ukrainian and Romanian "national revivals" after socialism. In this sense, portraying Bukovina as a model for Europe was "reinforcing traditional modes of national identification rather than challenging them" (ibid: 159). Although this remark is mostly directed toward the Central European actors, idealised readings and a strong focus on ethnonational groups is a feature, not a bug in the local tolerance narratives, as we have already seen in some of

Chekhovs'kyi's interpretations. Forming a narrative to forge a stronger local and regional identity, local tolerance talk is only at times transformative, i.e., seeking to generate a moral transformation in the historical consciousness of the local population, and more often glosses over more difficult aspects of the past[16]. If some Central European actors in their interest in Chernivtsi and its Jewish heritage could be seen as celebrating diversity from a comfortable distance (ibid: 167), the format of what we call retrospective multiculturalism implies the same for local actors, albeit from a temporal rather than a geographical perspective. As the narrative was embraced and mainstreamed in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, it did not poke too barefacedly at local traumas and potential conflictual issues between groups in the contemporary city.

Journalist and writer Serhii Vorontsov (born 1970) remembers how little he and many other city-dwellers in late Soviet Chernivtsi knew about the pre-Soviet past of the city, and argues that outside of narrower circles of researchers this became a popular theme in the early 2000s:

> "Well, for a person who grew up in Soviet Chernivtsi – and this is important because we were raised on the examples of Soviet culture when we practically didn't know pre-1940 Chernivtsi, we knew very little about it. And when this information about old Chernivtsi started to reach us it looked very exotic, firstly, and very unusual to us/…/Personally I began to open this up for me in the early 2000s, not in the 1990s – that was the prerogative of researchers, and their circles were very hermetical, and society as a whole was not interested in it because there were other great problems." (Interview with Vorontsov, 12 June 2013)

Vorontsov associates the reasons for the interest in the term Bukovinian tolerance in post-Soviet Chernivtsi with the need for a new ideology or new values after the fall of the Soviet Union (ibid). Interestingly, as sources for his personal engagement with local history Vorontsov emphasises the virtual Jewish heritage sites and forums, with content mostly produced in English and German, created by mostly Jewish former Chernivites in the diaspora (ibid; see Hirsch and Spitzer (2011) for an analysis of those sites with their often-genealogical content). Vorontsov used them a few years into the 2000s to

[16] Simultaneously, the darker aspects of the past were also commemorated at the earlier stages, as e.g., local Rukh leaders participated in Jewish Steinbarg society's inauguration of a memory plaque at the former Jewish ghetto, during which Panchuk reportedly spoke in Yiddish (Chekhovs'kyi 2004: 70).

acquaint himself with old Czernowitz when he began to write articles on the theme in local newspapers. The reference to diaspora Jewish heritage websites as sources for engaging with local history is an interesting example of transnational memory transmission in the city, although among my interviewees they are only mentioned by Vorontsov.

A key source, often mentioned by respondents, for arousing interest in the history of the old city to Chernivites in the late 1990s and first years of the 2000 was Vasyl' Selezinka's TV-show *The city of my love*, to which I now turn.

The TV-show *The city of my love* (1998-2007)

> "…and if you look to the North, you will see at the crossroads an amazing ship-building. This is a symbol of Chernivtsi. Our city has more than once been compared to a ship where on the waves of the everyday life people of different ethnic groups and faiths sail peacefully. They always sail in peace and harmony. Chernivtsi is a mini-Europe, it is the dream of Europe. Our calm city-ship, on whose coat-of-arms widely and hospitably open gates were depicted, permanently holds the way between East and West, as a model of tolerance. This is what this book is about."
>
> From the foreword to Vasyl' Selezinka's
> *Misto moieii liubovi (City of my love)*, part I (2002: 4).

An important contribution to the popularisation of the history and cultural heritage of pre-Soviet Chernivtsi was made by journalist and actor Vasyl' Selezinka´s series of TV programmes *Misto moyeyi liubovi* (*The city of my love*), which was broadcast on local television in 139 episodes between 1998 and 2007[17]. The half-hour TV-show soon achieved popularity in the city and was remedialised into two books authored by Selezinka (2002, 2006) and printed by a publishing house belonging to the regional state administration.

The two books, with the same name as the TV-show, were published in 2002 and 2006 based on the scripts of the individual programmes – the first covering 38 episodes shown between 1998-2002 and the second a further 40 episodes from the years 2002-2005. The discussion about the show in this segment is based on the scripts printed in the two books.

[17]http://promin.cv.ua/2017/11/12/pomer-vidomyi-zhurnalist-i-televeduchyi-vasyl-selezinka.html

Local experts, academic as well as non-academic (such as tour guides and collectors). were invited to most shows, to share their knowledge and views with Selezinka and the viewers about particular topics. Some guests, like the historian Oleksandr Masan and the art historian Svitlana Bilenkova, appeared frequently on the show. Another category of guests was the leaders of the ethno-cultural associations in the city, such as the Romanian Eminescu Society, the Armenian Arevik, and the Ukrainian House. They participated in episodes focused on a building or street associated with the ethnic communities they were seen as representing, e.g., the Armenian Church or Rus'ka Street, but also commented wider on the history of their community in the city and sometimes on interethnic relations. The second book finishes with an episode where the show was visited by then mayor Fedoruk, who declared the city administration's financial support for the publishing of the second volume (Selezinka 2006). The show, and the second volume of the book, in this way became part of the city's effort under Fedoruk to draw on the city's cultural heritage in city branding, which became a major theme during the city's 600th anniversary celebrations in 2008. The show also put much emphasis on interaction with the viewers, whose questions and comments were read out during the broadcasts.

The first few episodes dealt with the ancient origins of Chernivtsi and moved quickly through its pre-Austrian past, but from there the episodes were organised thematically, either focusing on the city as a whole or on a particular building, street or square. Especially noteworthy parts of the cityscape, such as the main strolling street Kobylians'ka, the Central Square, and the Christian and Jewish cemeteries, were featured in several subsequent episodes.

The leitmotif of the episodes consisted of the same key ingredients as in the main theme of the official city branding: the interwoven tropes of tolerance and cultural diversity, architectural heritage and Europeanness. This trinity comes forward in condensed form in the above quote from Selezinka's foreword. The forewords to both volumes in fact make the same reference to the "ship-building" ("Shifa", "budynok-korabel'") on Holovna Street as a metaphor for the common voyage of Chernovites from different ethnic groups and religions, linking West and East. The host and his guests recurrently pointed out the city's uniqueness in a larger Ukrainian and European context, due to this combination of features[18]. The city's Europeanness, as in many

[18] In the episodes covered by the second book, the host even repeatedly rejects the popular clichés about Chernivtsi being either "Little Vienna" or "Little Paris", since for him such comparisons do not do justice to the qualities of the city.

other examples of contemporary retrospective multiculturalism in Chernivtsi, is claimed not only through emphasising the political or civic aspects of Austrian rule, but also by evoking the consumer culture of the Austrian period of the city's history, with hotels and coffee houses playing no less a role than parliamentarism or the educational system. Throughout the episodes, cultural diversity comes out strongly as a vital feature of the history of Chernivtsi, and stories include and sometimes focus on each of the canonical ethnic groups of Ukrainians, Germans, Jews, Romanians, Poles, and Armenians as well as to the Christian denominations and the Jewish religious orientations. The ethnically focused stories mostly proceed from buildings, places, or historical personalities (such as the Polish major Anton Kochanowski) associated with various ethnic groups. Not least the role of the Jewish communities in the development of the city during Austrian times was frequently addressed, with special broadcasts devoted, e.g., to the former Jewish National House and the Jewish cemetery. Such stories recurrently referred to interethnic tolerance and sometimes reintroduced the ship metaphor for the diverse city tolerantly sailing through the seas of time, much as in Chekhovs'kyi's usage. It is also noteworthy that the foreword to the first volume apart from in Ukrainian was also published in German, Romanian and English.

An interesting moment where the show made a direct impact on local remembrance of lost cultural diversity is the role it took in debunking the previously widespread claims that no service had been held in the Armenian Church since a priest was said to have hanged himself there before it was consecrated. This was emphatically disproved by the host together with archivist Mariia Nykyrsa referring to historical documents showing the existence of Armenian-Catholic and Roman-Catholic parishioners to the church. The episode characteristically began by presenting the Armenian community as one of the melodies in the "symphony" of ethnic groups that lived in the city historically. The head of the Armenian ethno-cultural society, Viktor Davydovych, who was invited to the episode to tell viewers about the historical Armenian community in the city, emphasised the importance of Selezinka's show for debunking the false rumours (Interview with Davydovych, 5 June 2013).

On the other hand, the show, which tried to foster awareness of and pride in local history and cultural heritage in an internal audience in post-Soviet predominantly ethnic Ukrainian and Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking Chernivtsi, also at times promoted a more specific focus on stories and material

traces of ethnic Ukrainians and their history in the city. In stories about streets, hotels or coffee houses in the city, names of famous Ukrainians already well-known to the audience were often mentioned if they could be tied historically to the location. The more Ukrainocentric narrative was also forwarded more explicitly. In the episodes telling viewers about buildings and famous people from Rus'ka Street, the host and his guest, the chairman of the Ukrainian House Volodymyr Staryk devote much energy to refuting the misunderstanding that the street name refers to Russians, not Ukrainians, which is followed by a Ukrainian national emancipatory narrative deconstructing the Russian and Soviet historical narratives (Selezinka 2002: chapter 23). The episode about the city's first gymnasium focuses strongly on Ukrainian-language education in the 19th century, and one of the guests is a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature. Most explicitly, a more Ukrainocentric frame for understanding who owns the city was expressed in episode 53 after the results of the Ukrainian census of 2001 had been presented, where Selezinka invited historian Hanna Skoreiko for a perspective on previous Austrian and Romanian censuses in the city. As Ukrainians in the census of 2001 made up approximately 80% of the local population, the host and his guest argued that the contemporary city should be regarded as a Ukrainian, not as a multiethnic city. Skoreiko legitimised this by referring to a statement by Mykola Skrypnyk[19] from 1931, who had argued that, since Ukrainians then made up 80% of the republic's population, Ukraine was not multiethnic (Selezinka 2006: Chapter 53). This argument was also repeated by Selezinka in other broadcasts of the show. While consistently presenting the story of the city's culturally diverse history, in this way the host simultaneously clearly stated who owns the contemporary city.

Rather typically for local engagement with the past, when the show looked back at the city's history, it tended to search for the past potentialities, the lighter, less conflictual historical material that can be transformed into optimistic stories, while skipping fast forward through the darker shades of the local past. In a fashion rather typical for retrospective multiculturalism in general, and for many expressions of the tolerance narrative in Chernivtsi, the show did not try to inform viewers on the Holocaust or the deportations or ethnic cleansings that led to the disappearance of much of the previous cultural

[19] Head of Ukrainian Commissariat for Education in Soviet Ukraine in the late 1920s, strongly associated with Ukrainianisation policies. Committed suicide after being purged in 1933.

diversity from the region in connection with WWII. One episode includes a brief recollection of the efforts of the Chilean consul in Bucharest to save Polish Jewish refugees in the city in 1941, while the larger regional history of the local Holocaust, including the Chernivtsi ghetto and the efforts of major Traian Popovici to save the lives of local Jews were not mentioned. Instead, the host emphasised the good relations and political cooperation during Austrian and Romanian times of local Ukrainians and Jews.

What is also remarkable in comparison to later efforts of popularising the city's pre-Soviet past is the relatively small role devoted to Paul Celan and other Jewish and German poets and writers of the interwar years. While in the anniversary celebrations in 2008 and especially from the start of the first Meridian Czernowitz festival in 2010 the mostly German-language literary tradition has a prominent symbolic place in creating a cultural heritage for the city, in the show this theme is virtually absent. If Meridian Czernowitz tried to make Celan into something of a symbol for the city's cultural heritage, the poet is hardly mentioned in the two books, and the most covered writers are instead Yuri Fed'kovych and Ol'ha Kobylians'ka, who were included already in the Soviet Ukrainian tradition and familiar to viewers. While German and Jewish urban culture of pre-Soviet Chernivtsi is well represented in the episodes, this is done via the local political, religious, organisational, and commercial spheres rather than through the later much celebrated literary tradition. The show seemingly hints to an unspoken division between an internal local memory archive, to which the content was devoted, and an external one which at least in this period was less anchored in local discourse.

The show *The city of my love* featured many guests and covered a large number of themes mostly from the city's Austrian and Romanian past and cannot be said to have presented a unidirectional or straightforward narrative of the city's history. Instead, the narrative tells the tolerance narrative in a way that incorporates other structuring elements. This includes a more Ukrainocentric narrative that claims the city's present as Ukrainian while the past is the common experience of city-dwellers with diverse backgrounds and identities, with glimpses of contemporary remains of the lost diversity coming forward e.g., through representatives of the ethno-cultural societies. The starting point here, as in most expressions of the post-Soviet tolerance narrative, is de-Sovietisation – the need to move away from what is perceived as local amnesia towards the city's pre-Soviet past and to popularise a wider and richer version of local history among a population that only in rare cases

had lived in the city for more than one or two generations and had few family memories of a pre-Soviet urban past in Chernivtsi. This way of opening up the past through a simultaneous Ukrainisation and ethnocultural pluralisation of the city's history is, as will be shown in several examples in this thesis, not free from internal conflicts and strategic silencing.

The tolerance narrative in Chernivtsi 2013: outlook, interpretations, and uses

In the final section of the chapter, I will provide an overview of how the tolerance narrative was presented, analysed, confirmed, and criticised by prominent politicians, civil servants, journalists, researchers, intellectuals, and activists in 2013, when I did most of my fieldwork. The material is based on my interviews, the overwhelming majority of which were conducted in 2013. The interviews with the heads of ethnocultural societies are not excluded in this section but will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6. For this section I have almost exclusively drawn on answers to the question about how the respondents understand the notion of Bukovinian tolerance, what they make of it and how they understand its contemporary use, how and when it emerged, and its perceived relevance for the city and region today. By presenting an analysis of the interviews, I am able to showcase a cross-section of attitudes confirming, contextualising, criticising, and interpreting the narrative in its various forms and expressions relevant for crucial actors on the Chernivtsi memory scene of 2013. This will also work as frame for the subsequent case studies, where more specific uses of the tolerance narrative are analysed.

Confirming the narrative – tolerance as a timeless and unbroken tradition

Some respondents presented a confirmative understanding of the notion of Bukovinian tolerance, providing narratives about the many ethnic groups and their gentle interaction, multilingualism, and co-existence of religious communities. Often in similar words and examples they restated the main narrative, rendering tolerance a virtually timeless feature of Bukovina and Chernivtsi, existing regardless of time period, regime and population. In such

interpretations Bukovina comes forward as a unique land where remarkable cultural diversity goes hand in hand with equally remarkable tolerant relations between the constituent groups. Among the respondents providing such an affirmative presentation of the concept were, e.g., two heads of local museums, civil servants, as well as three local politicians from parties then represented in the city council – Front Zmin, Party of Regions and Svoboda. However, elements of such affirmative versions occur also in otherwise more critical interpretations offered by other respondents. Three examples, from the local head of Ukrainian ethnocultural enlightenment society Prosvita, the head of the office for preserving the built cultural heritage of the city, and the director of the Museum of the Bukovinian Diaspora, here serve to illustrate such narratives:

> "Bukovina is a land closer to the centre of Europe, and even in terms of architecture and buildings, it is a city of European significance. And this tolerance that does not have boundaries between the nationalities, we often say that earlier, something like 100 years ago, a janitor knew 5-6 languages. He woke up, swept the street, spoke to the inhabitants, and spoke with them in their own language. This is how this tolerance showed itself." (Interview with Savchuk (Prosvita), 25 April 2013)

> "People spoke in 5-7 languages, this was normal for Chernivites, they could speak in whatever language on whatever theme, and the most interesting thing is that people solved all everyday problems between themselves quite freely because of this communication. Tolerance likely consisted in the absence of crises and conflicts taken to public space. Questions were solved in the everyday environments, among the many different nationalities that were present in Chernivtsi. Our inhabitants, as we know there were big Jewish settlements, Poles, Armenians, Ukrainians, and German communities, and surely this mix of peoples has today generated this interesting conglomerate of such an environment, communication that we call polyculture, polyethnicity. Tolerance to one another is probably a characteristic feature of Chernivtsi. There is a great number of ethnocultural associations, and the national houses, keeping their ethnic characteristics, are preserved to this day, but that does not disturb, it rather helps the mutual development of our national communities. Today while preserving their identity, they also have their national traits and some representation on various levels that help to develop Chernivtsi in terms of economics and society." (Interview with Pushkova, Office for built cultural heritage preservation), 16 April 2013)

> "For centuries in our region Bukovina and in Chernivtsi many nations live and work together in good relations – the native one – Ukrainians, Romanians, Germans, Poles, Jews, basically interethnic conflicts were excluded from our land, they did not exist and that is great, and it would be great if such friendly relations between the peoples and nations living in our region and in Chernivtsi always existed, and so far as they say God gives and so it is." (Interview with Bilyns'kyi (Museum of the Bukovinian Diaspora), 26 April 2013)

In all three examples, Bukovinian tolerance works as an identity narrative for the region and the city. The actual wordings are spontaneously produced but conform to many interpretations and definitions in local discourse intended for self-presentation and identity-building. The notion here is a brand, a local phenomenon allowing the city to stand out in a positive way. Tolerance is brought back and forward unproblematically between the various historical periods and regimes, and the ethno-demographic ruptures of the 20th century are not mentioned, as no political context is provided. Recalling the ethnocultural societies and the national houses functionally works as an alibi for the implied timelessness of the tolerance narrative in a situation where only trickles remain of many ethnic communities of Austrian Czernowitz. The frequently cited example of the multilingual janitor relates to some extent, as was discussed briefly in Chapter 2, to a late Habsburg historical reality where the lower classes in the city likely were more multilingual than the upper ones, although the extent and depth of their fluency is probably exaggerated (and code-mixing is almost never recalled in such Post-Soviet renderings of old Czernowitz multilingualism). In these three examples we also see recollections of both the built cultural heritage and the city's assumed European identity, and tolerance between the groups is also understood as an ability of city-dwellers to solve problems between themselves in everyday communication. We also see indications of more complex interpretations, pointing to the economic and social usefulness of the remaining cultural diversity for the city today. Altogether they give a relevant introduction to how tolerance talk could sound in my interviews in 2013.

Three of five representatives of political parties with seats on the local city council in 2013 showcased similarly loyal interpretations of the narrative. Iaroslav Kurko from Front Zmin, positioning itself as a liberal party both locally and on the national scene, Matvii Kutsak from the Party of Regions, the party of the increasingly authoritarian Ianukovych regime in Kyiv, and Vitaly Mel'nichuk from right-wing radical and ethnonationalist Svoboda all provided

the same praise for the local traditions of diversity and tolerance[20]. Svoboda in fact evoked a remarkably politically correct vision of local nationalities living together peacefully, enriching each other, and solving problems together:

> "It so happened that in these lands representatives of many nationalities live peacefully, harmoniously complementing each other/…/Through such mutually benefiting communication of Ukrainians with all groups regardless of nationality a steady tradition was formed for solving all problems in terms of common sense and common understanding to achieve an effective result despite many differences in worldview and belonging to different groups." (Interview with Mel'nichuk)

Kutsak from the Party of Regions in his explanation of the tolerance notion drew on a specifically Soviet understanding of ethnic relations expressed in folk dance ensembles, and on a somewhat hyperbolic vision of contemporary multilingualism in the region:

> "Ethnic groups not only move around freely, but they also express their opinion, and arrange events that show their cultural heritage, and we accept, we have no problems, today a Jewish group performs, the hall will be full of spectators and not only Jews will come, a Moldovan group performs, a Romanian, a Ukrainian/…/and people perceive it tolerantly, independent of their nationality, whatever language someone speaks. We have such a multilingual region today and one individual might speak in Jewish ("ievreis'kyi"), another in Romanian, a third in English and a fourth in Italian, German and we all understand each other, we have a human respect for the person." (Interview with Kutsak, 14 June 2013)

An aspect of tolerance talk working as an identity narrative is that for some respondents, it provides a good narrative opportunity for positive self-presentation by improvising rewarding stories. *Svoboda* could draw on it to present itself in a more agreeable language and place itself in the local mainstream rather than on the fringe (with three out of 60 seats in the city council). In the case of Kutsak, representing the political party of an at the time

[20] Mel'nichuk chose to provide his answer in written form. In the local elections of 2010, Front Zmin got 20.7% of the party list votes, while Party of Regions had 16.6% and Svoboda 6.3%. As for the latter, the relatively low proportion of the votes to the Chernivtsi city council is more comparable to the results in Volhynian Luts'k than to Galician Lviv, Ivano-Frankivs'k and Ternopil'.

increasingly authoritarian regime, the rewarding stories come out exuberant to the point of the unintentionally ironic. In other cases of such a straightforward confirmation of the tolerance narrative, this might come out of personal conviction as well as from efforts to stay closer to a safe line of discourse.

What is tolerance – absence of conflicts or intermingling?

As for how respondents understood and defined Bukovinian tolerance, some, like Oksana Leliuk, head of the *Palitra Bukovyny* tourist association, provided more universal definitions of tolerance, without anchoring them in a specific local experience, other than assuming that this attitude was shared by most Bukovinians:

> "For me it doesn't matter from which nationality a person is, if the person loves his native land and cares for his family, his city, for nature in the final measure. I believe that the nationality of a person does not matter, but what kind of person he is. That is tolerance. To be respectful to a person no matter what language he speaks or which culture he follows. That is tolerance for me." (Interview with Leliuk)

Art historian Svitlana Bilen'kova was one of the initiators of the successful application to award the former Metropolitan residence and the surrounding area in the city UNESCO cultural heritage status. She related her experiences of contact between pupils and teachers of various ethnic origins in her Soviet school days and put forward a view of tolerance as rooted in close neighbourly relations as well as respect for the elders and the importance of the past:

> "Most interesting is that a lot of Jewish teachers taught in our Ukrainian school, including German language, and there was tremendous respect/…/ i.e. it's a great respect for adults, for people from the older generation. The older generation has authority, the authority of the past, respect for the past, to parents, to grandparents, it does not matter who they were, rich, poor, educated or not. This is the respect for the place where you live. Such cordiality, openness, mutual help. We had neighbours, the door never closed, everyone knew everybody else." (Interview with Bilen'kova)

Both respondents stress the individual level and everyday relations between neighbours or pupils. The embeddedness of tolerance in both cases in a vision about family, native land, and respect for the elders illustrates how connected

the tolerance narrative is to conservative notions of preservation and tradition rather than to more progressive multiculturalist visions emphasising profound social change.

However, the most common frame for understanding the concept of Bukovinian tolerance in my interviews is tolerance as an absence of violent conflicts. In this interpretation, tolerance means the lack of conflict, first and foremost violent conflict, between ethnic, linguistic, or religious communities sharing the same specifically Bukovinian space, as exemplified in this quote from political scientist Ihor Havrada:

> "One can see that from that time, from the last third of the 18th century when the Austrian monarchy came to these lands until WWI, we did not see any example of standoffs between different ethnic groups that took some kind of violent forms. Even in the 19th century when in these lands the two at least numerically largest nations were shaped and institutionalised – Romanians and later Ukrainians, who until this period were called Rusyns or Ruthenians. Therefore, we saw how even the emergence of nations, the Ukrainian and the Romanian, of course did not take place without conflict, but if there were certain conflicts, they were not violent." (Interview with Havrada)

Oleh Panchuk, a retired chemistry professor, public intellectual, long-time head of the local Bukovina Centre, a political activist from national-democratic forces, and well-known to the local public also as the grandson of famous Ukrainian writer Ol'ha Kobylians'ka, agreed, and stressed the uniqueness of Bukovina, making the point into a regional identity narrative:

> "There were never ethnic conflicts here, never, practically never. Well, on the level of a fight between two drunks, but I don't count that. That was always the case, that a Ukrainian did not fight a German, or a German a Jew, or Jew a Pole. Practically that did not happen. Unlike in other regions of old Austria-Hungary."

For Mykola Kushnir, historian, and director of the city's Jewish Museum, such an absence of conflict was not a random social phenomenon, but a result of informal rules of engagement elaborated by the inhabitants within an enabling Habsburg political and juridical framework.

> "This is about a historical experience – the ability to live together with representatives of various ethnic groups that long had lived in our region and in

> our city. During this historical evolution the inhabitants produced certain rules of engagement, for living together, that allowed them to coexist practically without conflicts. One must understand that such rules could be elaborated by people only because certain social and political conditions existed that were conducive to that. In my opinion that was the political and legislative system of the Austro-Hungarian empire/…/that granted opportunities for such a peaceful coexistence. In this way, this is a historical accomplishment of our city." (Interview with Kushnir)

Some respondents point to Bukovinian tolerance as implying not only lack of conflicts, but also cultural exchange and even syncretism between the groups. Pal'ko and Filatova from the city's tourist office start from food and dishes turned cross-ethnic, like the traditional Romanian maize polenta *mămăligă*, and end up with mixed marriages as a factor binding Bukovinians together. In Filatova's words

> "(E)ach community built its cultural centres, and taught each other how to cook some dish, shared how to make tasty meat, the Romanian population shared *mămăligă* (traditional maize polenta) and now this is a general Bukovinian dish/…/A logo of the cuisine, because everybody eats it, and tolerance is forbearance and the acceptance of the culture and everyday life of one nation into another, and this happened somewhere in the 15th century when the Bukovinian lands began to form and in Chernivtsi since the 18th century, as a kind of European city, so that how they lived, complementing each other, accepting culture, religion, everyday life and really all opinions."

Pal'ko emphasised that

> "(L)ife went on, they fell in love with each other, mixed. Romanians came to a Ukrainian family, to a Romanian family came maybe Jews and others/…/Of course they were intertwined and when if you are Ukrainian your in-laws are Romanian it is kind of silly to conflict, it doesn't work, so family ties already became stablished."

Political scientist Anatolii Kruhlashov also underlines intercultural mixing in his understanding of tolerance but shifts the focus to elite environments rather than popular culture. For him Bukovinian interethnic relations under Austrian rule especially among the elites led to the formation of a certain transethnic Bukovinian identity which he refers to with Hans Prelitsch's term *homo bucoviniensis*:

> "Tolerance/…/showed itself in a 'modus vivendi' of the local inhabitants, that emerged as the so-called *homo bucoviniensis* because of several socio-economic, confessional, political and ethnic factors. The idea of a Bukovinian man, that was built on the principle that everyone recognised and articulated his belonging to a certain ethnic community: Jews, Poles, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Romanians, Vlachs, Germans, Austrians etc. But simultaneously, all together, and especially the elites stressed their belonging to this Bukovinian community. Underlining that its uniqueness in comparison with e.g. Transylvania, Galicia, not to speak about the Balkans, lies in this tolerance, in the ability to care for and develop one's own culture and compete with others for resources, status and influence, while simultaneously respecting others and living with them in peace and harmony. Therefore, there were many common actions in Bukovina, such as the Freethinker's Union, in the Seim. And common social events and religious and cultural holidays such as the anniversary of Shevchenko or Eminescu. And here was a lot of simply everyday tolerance." (Interview with Kruhlashov)

However, some respondents were more reluctant to talk about tolerance as cordial interaction and mixing. Marina Libanova, head of the Bukinist antiquarian bookstore and one of the informal motors in the city's cultural life of the time, instead argued that tolerance in the city is not about cultural exchanges or an interest in the culture of others:

> "I thought about this a lot. I think our tolerance is non-participation in the business of the other, we are not mutual, we are separate/…/We have no conflicts, but also no particular love[21]."
>
> NB: "A kind of indifference?"
>
> "Yes, rather indifference. You see, detachment or even one national component's lack of wish to attract another."

Larysa Serhiiva from the local TV channel Chernivtsi, while praising local peaceful coexistence of different national groups and the expression of their culture in public space, holds the opinion that the various groups rather stick to themselves.

[21] Libanova comes from the post-war mainly Russian-speaking Jewish community in the city, is bilingual in Ukrainian and Russian, but mostly used Russian and preferred to conduct the interview in Russian.

> "You know, this is Ukrainian mentality, what is mine is mine, what is my neighbour's is my neighbour's. We are friendly, but I support and cultivate my traditions. It is of course interesting for me as a journalist, even if I am Ukrainian, I am interested in the culture of other nationalities/…/But I think there is such an indifference after all. We can show interest, but in depth that is more for researchers than ordinary citizens."

An interesting historical narrative is provided by former Chernivtsi mayor Viktor Pavliuk (1991-1994), associated with the national-democratic camp and a leading local member of former president Viktor Yushchenko's *Nasha Ukraina* political party. In a wider account on local tolerance, he stresses the absence of violent everyday conflicts between ethnic groups in the old Chernivtsi, and argues, based on his own family stories, that the various groups in old Bukovina interacted with each other, e.g. by visiting evening parties of the other groups, but at the same time kept to their own community.

> "I have never seen any historical materials about everyday ethnic conflicts. There never were attacks by one community on another. They definitely kept together. I know from my grandfather, my grandmother and from my father that Ukrainians as a rule visited traditional Ukrainian evening gatherings (*vechornytsi*) but also could visit Polish ones/…/More rarely Austrian or Jewish ones. But they went to all of them. Especially the activists knew each other, there were no animosity between them. There was a certain competition, which gathering was the best fundraiser, which one had the most beautiful girls, to which had the most food been bought, who had the best music and where was it the most fun/…/There was no animosity. People communicated but kept to themselves. There was nothing cosmopolitan. People stuck to the national communities. Ukrainians to the Ukrainian, Germans to the German, Jews to the Jewish, Poles to the Polish. But there was nothing of the kind like they tried to blur things in the Soviet Union." (Interview with Pavliuk)

Tolerance in Bukovina here means not only the absence of sharp conflicts, but also friendship and a certain interest in the others, especially the culturally and linguistically closer ones, but in a framework of clear-cut identities and loyalty to one's own community rather than intermixing. Historian Serhii Osachuk, a prominent promoter of the city's diverse cultural heritage, like Kushnir sees tolerance as a set of rules (or algorithms) in everyday life, but also underlines the importance of caring for the traditions of one's own group and to avoid assimilation, while you take an interest in the lives and culture of others.

> "It was brought up for centuries and decades, it was transmitted from one generation to another, and it is, I would say a set of behavioural algorithms in everyday life, at work, in the family. It is an algorithm for how to act, it is a relationship to the world around you, it is absolutely not a readiness to full assimilation, but it is an absolute readiness to be different, live differently, nurture one's own traditions but at the same time also be interested in the habits of others." (Interview with Osachuk)

Is Bukovina still tolerant?

Iaroslav Kurko from the Front Zmin party argued, as did several other respondents, that the tradition of tolerance, born in Austrian times, still lives on despite excesses during Romanian and Soviet times:

> "And although there later were efforts and certain national exaggerations first from Romania's side 1918-1940, and later from the side of the Soviet Union, or more exactly Russia, 1944-1991, it did not work out to break it or at least polish it and shape it in their own way. The tolerance was preserved, it exists."

Journalist and writer Serhii Vorontsov, underlining his ethnic Russian background, argued that tolerance is indeed "much more alive in Bukovina than anywhere in Ukraine". Also notable here is his reference to a local compartmentalisation of memory, where interest in Jewish history and culture is expected to stem from a Jewish personal background:

> "I am after all a Russian and no one hides this, everyone knows this very well. The only thing that gets mixed up is that I write about Jews, and people might think that I am not Russian but Jewish. But there are no difficulties in everyday life or career limitations, we speak on absolutely equal terms, there are not even hints about something else. Except for a few political crazies that might drop some commentaries on the Internet. But 95% of people take an absolutely adequate stand." (Interview with Serhii Vorontsov)

For Osachuk, tolerance is when citizens are not annoyed by the presence of other languages or other markers of otherness on public transport, in shops, or elsewhere in the urban landscape. Osachuk, born in the early 1970s, remembers from his childhood "a whole symphony of languages" being heard at the local market up until the early 1990s, including Yiddish, Polish and Romanian alongside Ukrainian and "then dominant Russian" (Interview with

Osachuk). Now this linguistic heterogeneity has diminished fundamentally through out-migration, and for Osachuk, although Bukovinian tolerance still exists it is significantly deformed, most of all by Soviet rule and the imposition of the Russian language upon local society. In his words:

> "(T)his tradition is deformed by chauvinist-nationalist influences, starting of course with the first radical manifestations in the interwar period, but they did not break through the situation, but a terrible deformation of those social relations took place in the decades after WWII. When the dominant position and supremacy of everything Russian-language was imposed on people with force, blood, reprimands, and KGB camps. This 'Bukovinian tolerance' was preserved, maybe a bit more in the archaic village society, but in the city, it was, I am saying it again, terribly deformed. Even today we can see it partly, but with great limitations." (Ibid)

Ion Muntean (Ukr. Ivan Muntian), the ethnic Romanian then leader of Iuliia Tymoshenko's *Bat'kivshchyna* political party in Chernivtsi region, much like his political colleagues from other parties confirmed the perseverance of Bukovinian tolerance after all historical calamities but added his own story from his native Bukovinian village, in his way confirming Osachuk's argument about tolerance as more alive in the countryside.

> "The village is 70% Ukrainian, by and large. There are also Russians, and 30% Romanians. Ukrainian Orthodox are 50%. The most interesting thing is that two denominations, Pentecostals, and Baptists. Romanians and Ukrainians. They have the same church, and e.g. one sermon in Romanian with translation and one song in the choir is in Romanian. That is such a tolerance, when people understand that there is no problem here, this is normal and is accepted and it ought to be this way. It reminds me, such a tolerance in Bukovina, of what the Bible teaches and what God teaches people. In a way you can say that Bukovina is closer to what is written in the Bible." (Interview with Munteanu)

In this version, Bukovinian tolerance is not only embodied in the villages, not in the city, but also among minority Protestant religious communities that felt strong pressure from the authorities in Soviet times and are still much disregarded by the Orthodox churches. Although he did not hesitate to draw on religious discourse to praise his native region for its tolerance, Muntean shows a more complex view of the tolerance narrative as he recalls his family's persecution on religious ground by Soviet authorities:

> "A bad aftertaste remains. Since I am Protestant, a Christian of the Evangelical faith, we today feel the effects of the former Soviet Union. If we go to the Romanian side – the same Bukovina – you don't feel this. But today unfortunately these effects are still felt, a bad aftertaste among people in the religious field. I follow this very closely myself. There are state officials and people in leading positions calling people bad names. This is only because of the Soviet Union. Communists conducted such policies, that is why such a situation exists here."

A more complex narrative than among most other interviewed politicians thus emerges, as churches and local congregations from below find ways to linguistically accommodate Romanian-speakers in a Ukrainian-dominated Bukovinian village, while some officials to this day undermine tolerance towards religious minorities.

Former Chernivtsi mayor Pavliuk, after a nuanced and largely confirmative presentation of local traditions of tolerance and ethnic relations, also argued that tolerance still is a feature in the region although it was damaged by the Soviet authorities, as the repressions were less all-encompassing than in parts of Ukraine that had been under Soviet power for a lengthier time:

> "Unfortunately, Soviet occupation exterminated the best of the culture and everyday life, all traditions. But a large part of the people remained, and they didn't exterminate as many as they did in the east. After all, Soviet power was only here from 1944."

Pavliuk also stressed his personal contribution to the return (or in most cases, possibilities to reuse) of the five national houses of pre-1940 Chernivtsi to the respective ethnocultural societies, as well as to the return of many pre-Soviet street names carrying Soviet symbolic heritage.

> "In 1991, when I was elected head of the city council, within a few months we renewed the possibility for all ethno-cultural societies to have the buildings which belonged to and were financed by the respective community/…/To everyone because that was the tradition, and that tradition could not be broken. And I see this as my small historical mission, that we returned what had existed. We returned the names of many streets. To Lenin Street we returned the name Main Street. It was Main Street for 100 years. Lenin was never here, and this was an antitotalitarian, anticommunist measure, but it was simply fair on the historical level." (ibid)

Oleh Panchuk calls himself "a carrier of the myth", as he, the grandson of Kobylians'ka, belongs to the locally rooted pre-Soviet minority in the city. For Panchuk, tolerance is intimately connected to the city's European identity and coloured by its architectural heritage. Despite Russification and what he sees as the Soviet prohibition of the specific Bukovinian tradition, his vision is quite optimistic as he argues that Russian migrants gradually became affected by the city's Austrian architecture and the European culture he sees behind it. Panchuk argues that both some of the now elderly Soviet migrants to the city and the younger generation of educated city-dwellers now take an interest in what he calls the "re-Europeanisation of Bukovina" (Interview with Panchuk). In this version, the tolerance tradition can be resurrected, not least because of the visual architectural heritage and its influence on many newcomers.

Other respondents, like the director of the Jewish Museum Mykola Kushnir, argue that caution should be exercised when talking about Bukovinian tolerance today, both because of the demographic ruptures and the shifts in the political and sociocultural framework:

> "When we apply this accomplishment to contemporary conditions we must make some remarks. Because we can only talk about today if we remember that the population of our city has changed fundamentally since WWII. It changed also during the Soviet period, the ethnic structure changed, new ethnic groups turned up. And for them this heritage is of course less known. Still, it perhaps obligates to a certain type of behaviour. The memory of this cultural heritage and Bukovinian tolerance obligates contemporary inhabitants to appropriate behaviour, to behave appropriately. For me this is very important, and the city must care for such a standard of behaviour to remain a standard. Still, today we must speak carefully about Bukovinian or Chernivite tolerance, since the sociopolitical conditions have changed fundamentally." (Interview with Kushnir)

While many respondents argued that the concept of Bukovinian tolerance is still relevant for how ethnic relations work in the city, others meant that it is more of a thing of the past, although used as a myth by politicians and intellectuals.

Journalist and historian Iurii Chornei pointed to the demographic ruptures, both in connection with WWII and with the Jewish out-migration in the Soviet and early post-Soviet periods, as the actual cultural diversity has been reduced dramatically and the dominance of Ukrainians in northern and Romanians in

southern Bukovina means that the old parity between ethnic groups is gone. Like Panchuk, he strongly underlined his personal identity as one of few Chernivites with actual roots in the city from before 1940 and recalls stories about intercultural exchanges from his grandparents. Stating that "we are a minority", he puts his own Czernowitz Ukrainian grandparents in the same category as the now dwindling number of non-Ukrainians in the city with pre-1940 roots:

> "…the Jews left, a lot of Romanians and Austrians left. And those who remain, we are in a minority. A lot of people came here after 1945 from the other Ukraine/…/. The composition of Chernivtsi changed, firstly a lot of people came here from the villages, they are Chernivites in the first generation, they don't have any grandparents who were Chernivites. And they don't remember that Chernivtsi, they don't have this genetic memory. Of course, I don't have it either, I did not live back then, but it was transferred to me, when I was a kid my grandmother took my hand to visit her friends. It is transferred somehow. The population changed very significantly, except the villagers, people also came from eastern Ukraine." (Interview with Chornei)

For Chornei, Bukovinian tolerance is therefore a myth that is cultivated by writers and newspapers, and he includes himself, as a "carrier of the myth" among the people who uphold it:

> "Therefore, we try to preserve this myth and popularise it in newspapers, and books, but it is difficult to say how it is received. But I think it is well received, people are repeating it, they talk about it in schools." (ibid).

Interestingly, Chornei uses the same term as Panchuk to describe his identity as a Chernivite with pre-1940 roots in the city. The "carriers of the myth" in Chornei's account come out even clearer as a cross-ethnic category, not only comprised of ethnic Ukrainians, as the defining characteristic is origins in the city before 1940, whether directly like Panchuk or in terms of post-memory like Chornei[22].

[22] Journalist and editor Serhii Zarais'kyi of the BukInfo website, a migrant to Bukovina born in the Podillia region, notes that Bukovinians with deeper roots in the region are proud of the tolerance notion and use it to stress their Bukovina identity beyond ethnic Ukrainianness. (Interview with Zarais'kyi)

In shedding light on the local traditions of intercultural interactions, many respondents contrast what they see as the relative tolerance of Bukovina with the less tolerant and nationalist atmosphere they identify in neighbouring Galicia. As an example, Vorontsov here mentions the comparatively lesser success of the Svoboda Party in Bukovina in relation to Galician Ivano-Frankivs'k:

> "Svoboda, whose rhetoric is built on explicit nationalist slogans does not have the popularity it has 30 kilometres from here in the Ivano-Frankivs'k region, where it has the majority. Here they have three deputies, which is simply ridiculous, minimal support, therefore I believe those traditions are still alive. My prognosis is fairly optimistic, because a lot of people go to Europe and are permeated with such values: tolerance, respect for the individual notwithstanding nationality or religion." (ibid).

In this version, the comparatively meagre success of Svoboda in the Chernivtsi region, even during its years of relative electoral success in 2009-2012, shows that tolerance is alive in Bukovina, unlike in the neighbouring region. Similar comparisons between an ethnoculturally or politically more tolerant Bukovina and a more nationalist Galicia shape by its history of Ukrainian-Polish ethnic conflict was highlighted by quite a few respondents, among them journalist and writer Yuri Chornei and Alexander Schlampf, the head of the German-Austrian ethnocultural society.

Some respondents take a more critical look at the applicability of the tolerance narrative for Chernivtsi and Bukovina in the early-mid 2010s. While not disregarding its contemporary relevance, they point to the fundamental ethnodemographic changes after which few city-dwellers remain with personal roots or at least post-memories of life in pre-Soviet Chernivtsi as a major factor framing the contemporary situation. They also stress the toll taken on any earlier conception of interethnic relations by nationalising interwar Romania, the calamities of WWII, and five decades of Soviet rule, although respondents assess the relative destructive significance of the various regimes differently. However, as will be shown in the next sub-section, many like Chornei also point to the past potentialities of tolerance talk for the city as local politicians, civil servants, researchers, intellectuals and ethnocultural societies draw on it in constructing narratives for the contemporary city. However, a few are more critical to such uses of the narratives, as it is seen as corrupting a correct depiction of reality. In this way, some respondents use the notion of myth in

the traditional sense as something false or misleading, while others use the word more in the sense of narrative that can be used for various purposes, including constructive ones.

Bukovinian tolerance as a (useful) myth

Some respondents highlight the obvious mythologised uses of tolerance talk in contemporary Chernivtsi by politicians, civil servants, ethnic activists, and intellectuals. In this view, mostly expressed by a few researchers during my fieldwork, although tolerance between ethnic and religious groups at least in the Austrian period was a social reality in Bukovina, the post-Soviet tolerance narrative is more about instrumentally using the past for various contemporary needs. Political scientist Ihor Havrada takes a critical look to such uses by, first and foremost, politicians and ethnic activists, and argues that the notion has become a victim of inflation:

> "The thing is that among representatives of ethnic groups in Bukovina are people from the authorities and researchers. They use this term very often and stress this uniqueness of Bukovina, this specific tolerance, this specific climate, even when it is sometimes absent. A certain mythologisation takes place of this term Bukovinian tolerance. And the state of tolerance before WWI is uncritically transferred to our days. Why is this not correct in my view? Because at the very least the composition of the population has changed, the people have changed, certain practices have changed, much has changed, and we don't have a right today to say that Bukovinian tolerance in 2013 is the same as the pre-war/…/You understand, this looks the most speculative when expressed by politicians. They say let's find some kind of understanding, our land is known for its tolerance. A certain inflation of this notion takes place." (Interview with Havrada)

Simultaneously, Havrada in an argument close to mine sees post-Soviet tolerance talk as an identity narrative, and explains how in certain situations he himself can become a producer of this narrative:

> "References to tolerance and the uniqueness of Chernivtsi become an argument in some kind of discussion. I sometimes feel this myself, when I speak with people from other Ukrainian regions, especially from the East and South, especially when they know less about us. I say I am from Chernivtsi; we have this, I feel it is pleasant for me to tell them about our city, that we are so unique,

> and that this uniqueness has deep historical roots. I understand that I might even sometimes idealise, exaggerate somewhat. After all it is nice to show your specificity. And such motives themselves begin to move, this notion of Bukovinian tolerance begins to be understood, I don't know, not fully correctly, like historians or researchers might have looked at it." (Interview with Havrada)

In this view, there is something both compelling and instrumental in tolerance talk as an identity narrative that makes even researchers taking a critical stance to it begin to reproduce it under certain circumstances, such as meeting people from other parts of Ukraine.

Also, young ethnic Romanian journalist and media entrepreneur Gheorghe Bodnaraș said he sometimes draws on tolerance talk, although he does not fully believe it corresponds to social reality:

> "It sounds nice, it sounds very nice, and you want to believe that such tolerance exists, therefore I myself sometimes might use it, but I don't believe it. It's a myth." (Interview with Bodnaraș)

For Bodnaraș, the myth is used first and foremost by officials for their own purposes, and by various actors for branding in a way he finds artificial or exaggerated:

> "This is used by politicians, or not politicians as such, more by officials, bureaucrats in leading positions, who are appointed, not elected, they use this notion to explain certain processes that are useful for them, or the results of certain actions they benefit from./…/Because they want to present Bukovina as a specific region with some kind of flavour, yes, the flavour exists, but they need to wrap it in like a piece of candy and find some unique word for it, and they called it Bukovinian tolerance, even though it does not fully exist, it exists only in a certain segment of the population, unfortunately politicians or the intelligentsia does not understand this, they have a ready concept for the nationalities." (ibid)

Referring to a sociological study using the Bogardus social distance scale he took part in conducting, he notes that the least tolerant answers often were provided by people with higher education.

> "…people who don't even have higher education, they can only hear some good things from older family members, how life was in older times. That Ukrainians and Romanians were friends, good neighbours, I said myself that my friends

> want to learn Romanian because their grandfather or grandmother knew it, that's very good, she was intelligent, she knew more languages. I don't, teach me! And those who had higher education, I don't know how or what they were taught, but history is rewritten/…/And because of this narrow teaching of history or political science, people with higher education, not everyone of course, some seek out alternative sources/…/everyone twists history in his own favour." (ibid)

The argument here to some extent reminds of Muntean from the *Bat'kivshchyna* party, another ethnic Romanian, as tolerance as an actual social occurrence is instead seen as streaming from below while the upper echelons stand in its way. If Muntean's example comes from the life of religious communities, in this version, ordinary folks not only show less social distance to others but are also more interested in learning about the other, e.g. in the linguistic sphere, while those with higher education are taught more antagonistic visions of the past and keep a higher social distance to persons from other groups. In this way, tolerance might really exist out there for Bodnaraș, but often enough not among the elites that make use of the tolerance narrative.

Historian and well-known public intellectual Ihor Burkut first notes how the tolerance tradition from Austrian times was corrupted by later political tendencies and regimes:

> "Bukovinian tolerance existed until the fall of Austria-Hungary and did not exclude standoffs and even conflicts, but most importantly it was materialised in the creation of the Chernivtsi we have today. But this culture fell into disrepair, especially in the 1930s when Fascist, Nazi tendencies began to develop. Let's say, in the German-speaking community Nazi tendencies after Hitler came to power, there was Romanian Fascism, and Ukrainian extreme ethnonationalism and that made people quarrel, pushed people away from each other and in Soviet times there were only a few leftovers." (Interview with Burkut)

Burkut then argues that today tolerance exists more as a myth for exploitation by the authorities and ethnic activists, but stresses that such exploitation often has constructive features, e.g. in the creation of the Bukovinian Meetings folkloric festival:

> "Today it is not realised, this myth is only being exploited/…/Well, the authorities exploit it, ethnonational activists, well, those really do it constructively/…/Let's say, when festivals and Bukovinian Meetings arrive, created by the late Pole Feleszko, a professor of Warsaw University, of Bukovinian origin/…/ And then Ukrainians, Romanians, Poles, Slovaks, and now Hungarians and Austrians joined, this together are very interesting things going on. These are our efforts to somehow restore this."

Many respondents who see Bukovinian tolerance as a social phenomenon mostly as a thing of the past see a useful resource e.g. for branding, community-building, or establishing tighter bonds with Western and Central Europe.

Volodymyr Kylynych, a political consultant and writer of popular books taking an interest not least in the stories of Soviet Chernivtsi, argues that even though the old diversity has largely disappeared, the traces can be used for stimulating useful myths about the city:

> "…there are practically no Germans, according to the census maybe 200 individuals, but there is a German National House, there are at least a few carriers of that culture, that makes up this German-speaking or German heritage that will exist a long time in this city. For me, this cultural heritage of our city are myths, but in a good understanding of that word, and it is important to support those myths, they must be developed, even cherished/…/" (Interview with Kylynych)

In the last two cases, myth is already understood in the sense of a useful narrative to find and develop past potentialities. Marian Lazaruk, a young political scientist, journalist, and cultural organiser tied to Obnova, a youth organisation of the Greek-Catholic Church, talks instead about an image or a brand, used first and foremost by the city authorities as a foundation for cultural policy that works well both internally and on the international scene:

> "Yet again, in the last 10-15 years the formula Bukovinian tolerance is being introduced in society. It is stimulated on the one hand by our local politicians since this is a favourable image for international cooperation and for internal developments On the other hand, there are clear reasons to speak about it historically, less today since the national composition of the population is not as motley as it once was/…/But today this is a brand on which the cultural policy of the city is based, or rather the whole region/…/And it was and is used rather successfully by the city authorities." (Interview with Lazaruk)

Lazaruk argues that the vision behind the brand is constructive and well-intended, and concerns seeking a future for the city that is more inclusive than the current city and makes better use of its past potentialities:

> "It is the political authorities, journalists, research circles, artistic circles, people who understand maybe not the situation today but what they would like Chernivtsi to become in the future – a little island of multicultural unity, where different nationalities can find their place in the history of the city and today." (ibid)

Artist Oleh Liubkivs'kyi, well-known for his interpretations of how the contemporary cityscape and its inhabitants interact with the cityscape of old Czernowitz, is sceptical to the notion that tolerance, which he sees as a universal human trait, can be a feature specific to a certain region or country:

> ".. there cannot be a dictate that people ought to be tolerant, both you and I are equally tolerant, it is a part of our character, there are people who are not tolerant, who cannot stand Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, they like only their own kind of nation, for me this is a purely human notion, not characteristic of a certain territory, we have both tolerant and intolerant people in Ukraine."

For Liubkivs'kyi, tolerance in Chernivtsi was a way to enable people with diverse backgrounds to live together, while what makes Chernivtsi truly unique is the local Austrian architectural heritage:

> "I believe that this term (tolerance NB) was invented later, let's say during independence, because this was the only form for returning the historical heritage to life/…/I see this from another perspective, since I see Chernivtsi as an architectural creation, in the first place, highly unique and extraordinary. One can say that this is e.g. Little Vienna, which is a part of the polycultural myth and is more well-founded than tolerance or multilingualism. Multilingualism is an objective factor, since people of many nationalities lived here. Tolerance then was born out of the necessity for those people to live together, with their different languages, i.e. to live in another way than in good neighbourly atmosphere was not possible."

In his interview, he further underlines the importance of Austrian newcomers building a modern, comfortable, and European city, leaving an architectural heritage for contemporary city-dwellers that transcends its strictly aesthetic qualities. Even if Little Vienna as a mythological concept therefore makes

more sense to Liubkivs'kyi than Bukovinian tolerance, he recognises the latter as a way, indeed as the only way in post-Soviet conditions, to popularise the old Austrian past as a source for modern creativity and place-making.

Conclusion

The emergence of narratives during Austrian times about the arguably unique cultural diversity and remarkably good intercommunal relations between ethnic and religious groups in Austrian Bukovina (see van Drunen 2013) and the post-Soviet tolerance narrative in post-Soviet Chernivtsi have several similar features. Both can be analysed as regional identity narratives, expressed at least on the level of societal elites, and in this connection both are played out for both external and internal audiences, and both have been actively drawn on in branding. Occasionally, both in Habsburg and post-Soviet Bukovina, the region is highlighted as a role model, in various times for Austria, Ukraine, or Europe. As underlined by Fisher (2020), tolerance talk and regional identity-building were used by the Habsburg regime as a tool of legitimacy, for strengthening loyalty to emperor and empire. Some respondents in my interviews emphasise the same point in the post-Soviet Ukrainian context, arguing that the tolerance narrative sometimes becomes a means for politicians, civil servants, or ethnic activists to further their agendas and generate easy social capital, while others rather emphasise what they see as more constructive uses of the narrative. In both cases, being portrayed as intolerant can be similar to be painted as being non-Bukovinian or not acting in accordance with a would-be regional spirit.

Naturally, differences also abound. The stories told in Austrian Bukovina about the unique diversity and tolerance were also seen as a regional reflection of a larger story about the Habsburg empire that presented itself as sharing the same virtues. The proclaimed values of the part were seen as a reflection of the whole. While in the larger Post-Soviet Ukrainian context efforts can certainly be seen to highlight virtues of diversity and tolerance, especially as a counter-reaction to Russian propaganda from late 2013 onwards, those properties are not claimed to the same extent on the national level as in the regional case. Austrian narratives about diversity and tolerance in Bukovina as a rule underlined the leading if not civilising role for German-language. Although, as we will see especially in the chapter about the Meridian Czernowitz poetry

festival, the significance of German language and culture for contemporary Chernivtsi is often stressed by locals in certain contexts, access and belonging to Europe, real or imagined, is more frequently evoked as a frame for local aspirations. It could be argued that the equivalent position in post-Soviet tolerance talk is sometimes awarded to Ukrainian language and culture as *primus inter pares* in northern Bukovina. In such cases the arguments tend to be based on ethnic Ukrainians being perceived as autochthonous (together with Romanians) and on their statistical dominance and symbolic role in the Ukrainian nation-state. However, it is not an argument about civilisation or cultural superiority, and not an argument for assimilation. In Austrian Bukovina, first and foremost Romanian nationalists saw the Austrian stress on diversity and tolerance as an instrument to legitimise the taking over of Romanian lands. Similar reactions to tolerance talk as a threat to ethnic Ukrainian interest is rather a fringe voice in Bukovina, where in most cases actors involved in Ukrainian cultural revival from the late 1980s also have taken part in popularising the history of old Czernowitz with its characteristic cultural diversity.

In any case, there has been diffusion from old Austrian narratives to the contemporary Post-Soviet ones, as local intellectuals and researchers in Chernivtsi in the search for a new urban and regional identity rediscovered the Habsburg past of their city and gained access to travel, networks (not the least from the Bukovinian diaspora in academia and otherwise) and literature in and from German-speaking Central Europe. From the same linguistic and cultural area stems another source of ideational diffusion, the *Bukowina-Mythos* emerging in post-socialist times rediscovering or reinventing the lost culturally diverse, tolerant, and not the least both Jewish, German-speaking and literary creative old Czernowitz before the darkness of the Holocaust and totalitarianism. In this way, Bukovinian tolerance as an urban and regional identity narrative has seen clear influence from transcultural memory work.

The post-Soviet Chernivtsi tolerance narrative analysed in the two concluding sections of this chapter is important for understanding the mnemonic processes analysed in the four case-studies that now follow in this thesis. Banal or more sophisticated, accepted or contested from various perspectives, and in a multitude of interpretations, the narrative is of key importance for understanding how the city remembers its past in all the cases.

Chapter 4:

Remembering cultural diversity in local newspapers: the 600th anniversary of Chernivtsi[23]

> "I know that Chernivtsi people will not allow the city to be transformed into a greyish iron-concrete monster with glass windows but will safeguard the historical elegance of the city's parks and squares, and verdure and flowers will flourish on the streets and in every inner garden, the fountains will sing and Chernivtsi musicians will play their music. Architects of world fame have left their immortal autographs in Chernivtsi. In their creations where the unique Chernivtsi soul is alive one can hear the multilingualism of Chernivtsi's streets, there wander the memories of our honoured predecessors. And we will do everything to protect this most valuable heritage and to bring the uniqueness of the historical, cultural and architectural environment and its extraordinary aura to our descendants". (*Let us honor native Chernivtsi! Let myths become reality.* Mayor Fedoruk's greetings to the city and its inhabitants during Chernivtsi's 600th anniversary in 2008)

In 2008, the city of Chernivtsi celebrated its 600th anniversary. The greetings to the city and its inhabitants, calling for myths to become reality, from long-time mayor (1994-2011) Mykola Fedoruk, were published in full in some local newspapers. As could be expected from an anniversary speech, the mayor sought to establish continuity between the present city and its past and explain how the city can join the future. Considering the dramatic ethno-demographic

[23] A different version of this chapter was first published as Bernsand, Niklas: "Memories of Ethnic Diversity in Local Newspapers: The Six Hundredth Anniversary of Chernivtsi", in Törnquist-Plewa, Barbara (ed): *Whose Memory? Which Future? Remembering Ethnic Cleansing and Lost Cultural Diversity in Eastern, Central and Southeastern Europe.* Berghahn, New York, Oxford 2016 p. 110-142.

ruptures in the city during the 20th century, with the virtual disappearance of large urban communities associated with the lives and times of earlier periods, such as Jews and Germans, there were serious narrative choices involved in making local history meaningful in the anniversary greetings. By using the word *poperednyky* (predecessors) rather than, for example, *predky* (ancestors) for the earlier generations of town-dwellers, the speech marked the ruptures in the make-up of the population, with most contemporary inhabitants (or their parents or grandparents) having settled in the city after 1945, while the earlier populations were to a large extent dispersed through population exchange, deportation, genocide or migration. The next generations, on the other hand, were defined not as successors but as descendants (*nashchadky*), thus implying an expected genealogical connection between contemporary and future inhabitants of Chernivtsi. In this way, Fedoruk was able to put the city's past potentialities to use without denying the partial ethno-linguistic and religious otherness of previous generations of city-dwellers. There was no explicit discussion in the speech of the ethnic make-up of previous city-dwellers, but the mayor's list of important writers, poets, musicians and actors connected to the city included Jewish (Celan, Steinbarg, Schmidt), Romanian (Eminescu) and Ukrainian (Kobylians'ka, Ivasiuk, Mykolaychuk) names. Fedoruk expressed his hopes that the "Chernivtsi spirit" shaped by the predecessors would reach also the housing complexes of the Soviet and post-Soviet era, beyond the historic city centre. Simultaneously the mayor underlined that there are still strong links between the city and its former inhabitants in various corners of the world, and that "there are no former Chernivtsi people".

This chapter follows Berger and Holtom (2010) in seeing city anniversaries as "rich in representations of community and allegations of shared pasts, values and ideals". While Wanner (2016) and Koziura (2017) discuss the Chernivtsi 600th anniversary in the context of place making and the spatial revitalization and reconstruction of parts of the city centre[24], this chapter focuses on the media coverage of the celebrations in 2008. It draws on representations in local news media of pre-Soviet Chernivtsi and the ethnic and religious groups that lived and worked in the city as important sources of information about narratives and perspectives relevant for the local memory culture. In this regard, it sees anniversaries as catalysts for memory narratives in news media,

[24] Koziura describes the renovation of three of the centre's squares (Central, Philharmonic and Turkish squares), and both authors highlight the reinvention of Kobylians'ka, the main pedestrian street (Koziura 2017: 102-104; Wanner 2016: 205-206, 213-214).

potentially highlighting which historical stuff the local media presents and forwards or forgets and leave out.

The weeklong festivities in October 2008 were a major theme in local news media, and the chapter analyses the media coverage of the anniversary in five local Ukrainian-language newspapers from the weeks surrounding the festivities. The newspapers include *Molodyi Bukovynets'*, a daily with the city's largest circulation, *Bukovyna*, in the preceding era called *Radians'ka Bukovyna* (Soviet Bukovina), but now owned by journalists and editors, with three editions per week, the weeklies *Chas* (an important forum for social discussions in the 1990s, gone right-wing populist), *Doba* ("the newspaper for the intellectual minority" in the words of editor-in-chief Vasyl' Stefanets', interview June 4, 2011), and *Chernivtsi* (the organ of the city council). The analysis is based on the electronic versions of the newspapers, notwithstanding the limitations of such an approach in terms of content coherence with the printed editions and context of the published material. The websites of the newspapers at the time of the writing of the chapter had reasonably (although varying) large electronic archives and they include, to a various extent, coverage of the Habsburg, Romanian and Soviet eras. In addition to the newspaper texts, interviews were made in Chernivtsi in June 2011 with editors and journalists of the included newspapers.

After a brief discussion on memory discourses in news media, the chapter seeks to analyze how and to what extent the anniversary triggered media coverage of the pre-WWII ethno-cultural diversity of Chernivtsi, and how specific ethnic groups were represented. Thereafter it looks into how the city and its history in articles and news items are placed in wider identity discourses on, for example, Ukraine and Europe, and to what extent the city's multi-ethnic past is related to in such operations. Finally, the chapter pays attention to important tenets of local multicultural discourse and their possible reflection in the anniversary text corpus.

Memory discourses in news media

News media, unlike other media genres, such as film, literature and music, is considered by several researchers (for example Edy 1999:72) to be understudied as sources for memory studies, particularly in post-Soviet memory studies (Kulyk 2011), and in studies of the memory of the deportations

and resettlements in Eastern Europe in connection with the Second World War (Röger 2008). This is all the more surprising since, as argued by the Ukrainian political scientist and media scholar Volodymyr Kulyk (2011: 289), media is perhaps not a "primary producer of what gets socially accepted as historical knowledge", but considering its potential mass reach "mediates the communication for the academic producers with the general population and, unlike education, does so for people of all ages". In our material, the most extensive texts on the city's multi-ethnic past were indeed written by scholars who in some cases were long-term contributors to the papers.

According to Le (2006:709) "events are remembered when refashioned and made meaningful in a contemporary context", which for American media scholar Edy (2006: 8) often "involves a struggle over how to frame something that has many potential and divergent meanings". Edy (1999: 73) argues that journalistic accounts of the past can have wide implications for collective memory, even to the extent that we remember a certain event at all. Thus, it might further affect how collective identities and societal cohesion are formed by reflections on the past. News media can be especially significant when society is in a state of flux and is perceived to lack stability and common ground, and there is no clear hegemonic view on a certain issue about the past (ibid: 83). Edy further reminds us that "stories and values cannot simply be imposed on an audience that actually resists them, and personal memories of social conflict create favourable conditions for such resistance" (Edy 2006: 13), and that journalists' need for credibility and good relations with politicians and civil servants might ensure that "collective memories of social conflict are more likely negotiated than imposed" (ibid). Memories in news media are thus not only remediated from other domains but are shaped by journalistic and editorial processes of selection and interpretation, in which some mnemonic actors might more easily have their voices heard than others (Huyssen 2003). As Edy (2006:12) argues, the influence of a certain media perspective is not only determined by the outcome of power play between various actors but also by the ability of media actors to produce good, coherent and interesting narratives.

Röger (2008), in a study of how memories of expulsions and ethnic cleansing have been covered in news media, discusses the factors that trigger the publishing of news material on such matters. Her study on the coverage of the expulsion of ethnic Germans from the newly-gained Polish territories in the aftermath of the Second World War in a German and a Polish news weekly,

shows that among such factors were contemporary political events connected to the historical events, and presentations of high-profiled new artistic and sometimes scholarly works in books or film. Furthermore, in the Polish case academic conferences sometimes triggered publications. Most importantly, Röger (ibid: 193) argues that there must be a reason for news media to write about historical events, and that only rarely a publication is triggered by the mere wish of an author to reflect on past events.

Berger and Holtom (2010) have studied the coverage in Russian and German mass media of the 750th anniversary of Kaliningrad/Königsberg in 2005. Although their study mostly draws on media sources for information on the celebrations, their German media corpus is arranged thematically and in terms of positions taken by various newspapers and authors. They argue that anniversaries are "important moments for the crystallization of collective identity discourses, as they are rich in representations of community and allegations of shared pasts, values and ideals", and that they culminate in, and at the same time express, forms of memorialization which shape and give meaning to collective identity construction", through the acceptance or rejection of established narratives, and therefore often become sites for ideological contestation between various actors (2010: 17). Anniversaries can therefore be useful objects for a study as, in Röger's sense, they seem to carry a potential for triggering historical reflection and collective identity discourses in news media.

Edy (1999: 74) has proposed a wider discussion of commemorations as one of the basic forms for how stories about the past enter news media. Since commemorations are usually officially sanctioned, the person or event remembered is often either uncontroversial, something around which authorities want to create social consensus, or difficult aspects of the past that are commemorated because the authorities cannot avoid them. In the case of the Chernivtsi anniversary, the two first reasons clearly prevailed. There was to our knowledge no serious contestation of the anniversary itself, although there were different views on the priorities made by authorities in connection with the festivities. For the city's leadership the anniversary was an opportunity both to achieve social cohesion and to attract attention to the city in Ukraine, the wider Europe and further away.

To Edy, news media coverage of commemorations has different appearances, all of which were encountered in our material from the Chernivtsi anniversary. In *event-oriented commemoration* the object of commemoration

is often briefly portrayed, sometimes only with a few words, while rich *anniversary stories* of the past are invoked to make the past come alive to the audience, both for those who witnessed the commemorated events and for newer generations, creating potential for prosthetic memories (Landsberg 2004). For those who have no personal experience of the events, anniversary stories might be the most influential appearance of media commemoration, not the least since the stories tend to connect the past with the present more explicitly than when the texts are shorter and more formal. Finally, in what Edy calls *chance commemoration*, something actualizes the memory of an event in a news story on a different subject. It should be said that a city's anniversary can potentially trigger stories from any period of the city's existence, which provides a rich but simultaneously much less focused setting for anniversary stories than in cases of commemoration of a single event.

Chernivtsi's 600thanniversary in local newspapers

While there were also other local Ukrainian-language newspapers and a few Romanian-language editions in this comparatively small city, the five selected editions were in 2008 the most important in terms of circulation, local impact and (to some extent) ideological diversity. The position of the chosen newspapers on the local media market differs. If the weeklies and *Bukovyna* all focused on current events, politics, society and culture, the daily *Molodyi Bukovynets'* published more "light" material, with a special four-page section devoted to cultural issues every Friday. The newspaper *Chernivtsi* was in 2008 an official organ of the town council, although its editor Vasyl Babukh (interview June 7, 2011) emphasizes that editorial decisions are made independently by the newspaper, and that there are plans for cutting the ties to the city council in the future. As a newspaper of the city council, *Chernivtsi* was obliged to publish the council's decisions, and it is less likely to take a critical stand on the actions of the city authorities in its articles. Since *Chernivtsi* was not dependent on the market in the same way as other newspapers in our corpus it could more easily provide space for extensive articles on specific cultural and intellectual themes, which is more difficult for the commercially oriented newspapers (interview with Boichenko June 3, 2011). It is therefore not surprising that what Edy calls anniversary stories were most extensively featured in *Chernivtsi*, with more attention paid to the city's

history. *Molodyi Bukovynets'*, the local newspaper with the largest circulation, covered the festivities extensively but generally in a much briefer and significantly lighter, less reflective style of writing. It focused on events of a more popular character, the event-oriented commemoration in Edy's terminology, on individual memory rather than collective, on popular rather than high culture, and on celebrities rather than politicians and civil servants. In the following, I will divide the newspapers' coverage of the anniversary into five larger themes: critical writing on the authorities' handling of the celebrations, the anniversary as a trigger for collective identity discourses (with a focus on medialized political and academic discourse), articles on historical themes, representations of current ethnic diversity, and memory as popular culture (interviews with and articles about celebrities and ordinary citizens and their participation during the festivities).

Criticizing the celebrations

Although *Chernivtsi* portrayed the authorities in a positive light during the celebrations, some newspapers took a critical view of the preparations and priorities of the city in connection with the festivities[25]. Here the authorities' handling of the architectural heritage was an important theme. While *Chernivtsi* featured an article (Kukurudz 2008a) with a positive view of the authorities' efforts to repair streets and buildings, *Bukovyna* criticized the poor quality in terms of materials and expertise of the restoration of the city's architectural heritage, arguing that "the central part of the city /…/ is losing its authenticity" (Isak 2008a). Ethno-nationalist *Chas* portrayed the architectural heritage from the Habsburg times as a crucial part of the city's history and present image, and under the headline "The city that lost" complained that the old buildings were allowed to fall apart and that the authorities spent huge sums on the wrong things. The mayor's office was criticized for not caring either for the old cultural heritage or for the modern green areas or the quality of the roads, and the author expressed hope that not all the city's wealth went to a one-day celebration (Virna 2008). The newspaper's editor and nationalist politician Kobevko (2008) further pointed to an alleged misuse of resources

[25] See Koziura (2017: 101-105) for an analysis of the city's architectural revitalization efforts in connection with the anniversary in 2008.

for the celebrations while victims of the floods in 2008 had to be assisted by the Austrian twin city Klagenfurt.

Molodyi Bukovynets' published a critical note on the police closing the entrance to the Town Hall for city dwellers, although during "two world wars, three colonial regimes and Ukrainian independence no inhabitant of Chernivtsi has ever attacked a single member of an official delegation – from the Austrian emperor, Romanian king to presidents, prime ministers and other important and less important persons" (Militsiia perekryla…2008). In passing, Habsburg rule is here thus referred to as colonial alongside the Romanian and Soviet periods.

Chernivtsi, Ukraine, Europe: the anniversary as a trigger for identity discourses

Berger and Holtom's (2010) "crystallisation of collective identity discourses" triggered by anniversaries was in the corpus realized partly in quotes from politicians and high-ranking civil servants that placed historic and contemporary Chernivtsi into larger identity narratives with local, national and European components. In the identity discourses an emphasis on the city's culturally diverse past competed with narratives drawing on Bukovina as a site for strong Ukrainian ethno-cultural traditions, most notably as the *pisennyj kray* ("land of songs"), since the region is known as the home of several beloved composers and performers. It also hosted the first *Chervona Ruta* Ukrainian music festival in 1989 that played an important role in the Ukrainian national "rebirth" in the last Soviet years (see Wanner 1998, Klid 2014). Simultaneously, while many politicians draw on notions of Bukovinian tolerance, often to establish Ukraine's European belonging, the material also features some cases of nationalist contestation seeking to undermine those interpretations to the benefit of a more nativist (Mudde 2007) Ukrainian narrative.

Local and national politicians who visited or sent their greetings to the city were quoted by all newspapers, although the coverage of their speeches and utterances varied in terms of extent and perspective. Some of the local newspapers published the speeches and greetings to the city of key politicians and civil servants in connection with the anniversary. Mayor Fedoruk's speech,

for example, was printed in its entirety by the city council's newspaper *Chernivtsi*, as well as by *Doba* and *Bukovyna,* without further contextualisation or comment. *Molodyi Bukovynets'* only featured a few articles quoting the speeches of politicians, and much less extensively than other newspapers. Characteristically, its event-oriented and largest article on the celebrations paid more attention to the invited Italian pop singer Toto Cutugno and the bad weather than to then president Iushchenko, although mayor Fedoruk was awarded somewhat more space. The newspaper taking the most critical stance towards local leaders was ethno-nationalist *Chas*, a persistent critic of Fedoruk. There were no prints of the speech of the mayor or other civil servants in the web editions of this newspaper, and even in short news items it approached official policies in a critical or sarcastic mode.

Apart from Fedoruk's speech*,* greetings from the political and administrative leaders of the Chernivtsi region, recalling the "unique spirit" of Chernivtsi and the "many generations that lived, worked and were inspired" by the city, appeared in *Bukovyna* (Dorohi Chernivchany 2008). The greetings focused on how Chernivtsi is transforming into a city on a "European level", resurrecting the unique architectural, cultural and historical heritage, repairing the streets, financing new houses and parks. Here the message was generally focused on contemporary material issues and no real connection was made to the earlier inhabitants.

The greetings of President Viktor Iushchenko, who visited Chernivtsi during the celebrations, were cited quite extensively in *Chernivtsi* and *Doba*. Although the president's speech in *Doba* (Shvedak 2008) included a reference to the city as a "unique space of Ukrainian, European and world culture", the quotes from this national actor on the local memory stage did not emphasize the multi-ethnic heritage. Rather, a distinctly Ukrainian Chernivtsi, "a unique pearl in Ukraine's crown", symbolizing the country's inherent European belonging and destiny, came forward. Yushchenko was cited in *Doba* as underlining the significance of the *Chervona Ruta* music festivals, thus connecting to the ethno-cultural *pisennyi kray* tradition. Notably, the president's speech differed from Fedoruk's as it only mentioned ethnic Ukrainian prominent artists, singers, writers and researchers, and thus ignored representatives of other urban communities. *Chernivtsi* cited the president praising the city's Ukrainian spirit and Europeanness referring to it as "Ukraine's open gate to a united Europe" (Misto vdiahlosia…2008). In this rendering of Iushchenko's speech the region was therefore significant rather

for its contributions to Ukrainian ethno-culture than for its multi-ethnic past and present, and Europeanness was claimed for the city and for Ukraine without references to what I call the tolerance narrative.

Then Prime Minister Iuliia Tymoshenko did not visit Chernivtsi for the celebrations, but her greetings to the city were published in *Bukovyna* in its entirety. In her message, Bukovina's Ukrainian song tradition and the *Chervona Ruta* festival again appeared but was paralleled by a positive reference to the preservation of the "ethnic polyglossia" of Chernivtsi (Iuvileini pryvitannia 2008). Tymoshenko referred to development, self-improvement and progress, but did not connect this explicitly to any kind of European idea.

An exclusively Ukrainian focus emerged from the coverage of the visit of another national-level actor, Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyivan Patriarchate). He blessed a cross where a medieval wooden church destroyed by Soviet power once was located. This is one of the few references to pre-Austrian Chernivtsi in the material. *Doba* cites Filaret claiming that since Bukovina found itself under godless (Soviet) power for a shorter time than did central, eastern and southern Ukraine, the people's spirituality had suffered less. Filaret was also convinced that the celebrations would raise the spirits of Ukrainians and "remind us about our history". He expressed support for the Ukrainian entry into the EU and NATO "in spite of Europe's losing its spirituality" (Botiuk 2008). The quotes from Filaret portrayed local history and the celebrations as strictly Ukrainian matters.

Several newspapers mentioned Arsenyi Iatseniuk, who as the then speaker of the Ukrainian parliament and a native of Chernivtsi was portrayed as both a national and a local actor. His speech at the festivities was extensively quoted in *Chernivtsi*, focusing on a liberal rendering of tolerance narrative in which cultural diversity is naturalized to the verge of invisibility, paving the way for individual self-improvement and self-realization, as

> "people do not take notice of nationalities or languages and confessions, here people respect each other and give the opportunity for everyone to develop himself/…/Everyone has a chance here and it is the task of everyone to use it" (Artemenko 2008a).

Iatseniuk also figured in local media discourse in connection with the founding of a monument to Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef II, around which ethno-nationalist contestation of official uses of Bukovinian tolerance for producing

discourses on European belonging was played out. In an article headlined "The Emperor returns to Chernivtsi" the newspaper *Chernivtsi* let the speaker recall the civilizational progress and interethnic harmony of the Habsburg times and reminded readers that an earlier statue of the Emperor in the city was "ruined by the previous regimes". The guest of honor at the celebrations Karl von Habsburg is quoted saying that the monument shows the spiritual closeness of the Austrian and Ukrainian peoples (Tsisar povernet'sia…" 2008). The newspaper further emphasized that the Austrian ambassador to Ukraine held a speech in Ukrainian. In a separate interview, Karl von Habsburg argued that Ukraine is "moving in the direction of the European community" – a statement which was put in the headline – and that the task of the Habsburg family is to show that Ukraine is part of the Western world (Artemenko 2008b). Drawing on the Central European *Bukowina-Mythos*, in *Chernivtsi* Ukrainian "pro-European" politicians were thus supported by the old dynastic family when using the Austrian past in Bukovina for claiming Ukrainianness for Chernivtsi and Europeanness for Ukraine. In *Molodyi Bukovynets'*, which generally paid little attention to history in its articles on the celebrations, such claims came out much weaker. The monument was mentioned in a very short article with brief quotes from Iatseniuk about "respecting traditions and history" (Iatseniuk zaklav…2008).

Harsh criticism of interpretations represented by Iatseniuk and von Habsburg was offered by *Chas*, which republished an article from the Kyiv news site www.pravda.com.ua by Bohdan Chervak, a publicist and political activist who later came to head right-wing radical OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), called "A monument to an occupant" (Chervak 2008). The author attacked Bukovinian and Galician "memory mania" concerning the Habsburg Empire and its late Emperor. Far from seeing developments in the Austrian period as a useable resource for claiming Europeanness for Ukraine, Chervak questioned the positive contribution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the life of the Ukrainian population in Galicia and Bukovina, which arguably suffered from ethnic and social discrimination and a poorly run economy. The decision to honor the Emperor with a monument was compared to the raising of a monument to Russian Empress Catherine II in Odesa. According to the author, it would have been a better choice to honor the Ukrainian resistance of UPA. This nativist reading thus denied a beneficial view on the region's Austrian past providing material for contemporary claims

of Europeanness, as Ukrainians were presented as having been equally subjugated by the Habsburg and Romanov empires.

Molodyi Bukovynets' (Chernivtsi znovu…2008) and *Doba* (Mykolaychuk 2008) also featured von Habsburg's participation in the inauguration of a memory plaque which directly expressed the *Bukowina-Mythos*, celebrating the famous poetic lines from Georg Heinzen, rendered in the German original and in Ukrainian translation, about "the roses that once swept the streets of Chernivtsi" and about Czernowitz as a city with more bookstores than bakeries. von Habsburg here talks about the unforgettable Chernivtsi legends and the impossibility of forgetting history.

Some controversy seems to have been provoked in the media by the inauguration of a monument to the city's 600th anniversary financed by Ian Tabachnyk (see above) and sculptured by Russian-Georgian artist Zurab Tsereteli. In *Molodyi Bukovynets'* Tabachnyk is quoted as being pleased that the inscription *To my native city* was written in eight languages, since those languages were spoken during his childhood in the city (Vidkryly…2008). *Bukovyna* featured an opinion piece juxtaposing this monument to the non-existence of a monument to OUN leader Stepan Bandera. The author did not question Tabachnyk's monument as such but rather lamented the absence of a monument to "the great freedom fighter" (Kytsiak 2008). *Chas* also presented a short notice on Tabachnyk's monument, noticing the inscription and the monument's design, purportedly "reminiscent of a sheet of papyrus (or a Torah)", which probably alluded to the Jewish origins of Tabachnyk. According to *Chas*, the monument lacked any historic or cultural significance to anyone but Tabachnyk (Azh z Moskvy…2008). The anniversary monument that marked the city's culturally diverse past through linguistic symbols, thus aroused discontent in two local newspapers, albeit for various reasons. In a similar vein, *Chas* was upset by the mayor's granting the status of honorary citizen to a Russian-born veteran of the Red Army, which the newspaper interpreted as a sign of hostility to the heroes of the UPA tradition (Bambuliak 2008).

Reflections on Ukraine's historical and present belonging during the celebrations appeared in a debate covered by *Bukovyna* between a panel of local researchers and activists on the European perspectives of Ukraine and Chernivtsi. Detailed and extensive narratives on Ukraine and Europe were presented to the readers under the headline "Chernivtsi on the road to Europe" (Cherniak 2008). The author's introduction argued in strong terms that

Ukrainians have "not overcome our own stereotypes and have not adopted European life standards". All cited participants were in favor of Ukraine's Western orientation and warned against the country turning to Russia. Well-known Chernivtsi historian and columnist Ihor Burkut argued that Ukraine was geographically but not politically part of Europe, that civil society needed to be strengthened and that Ukrainians had to change their everyday behavior (for example to stop littering the streets). Europe thus came forward as a geographical fact, a political necessity and a challenge for an individual and social transformation (ibid).

Thus, the anniversary triggered collective identity discourses placing Chernivtsi in various narratives of Ukraine and Europe, but the past potentialities of the city's lost cultural diversity were not always awarded a prominent place. References to Bukovinian tolerance were generally part of efforts framing the Habsburg past as useable for Ukraine's European integration today. Some national-level politicians focused strongly on the Ukrainianness of the city and region, and some local newspapers featured nativist criticism of aspects of the celebrations that in their view too strongly emphasized the diverse past or the benefits of Austrian rule at the expense of showcasing Ukrainian Chernivtsi.

Remembering Czernowitz

Apart from explicit identity discourses, local newspapers dealt with specific historical themes in connection with the anniversary, although there were significant differences in the scope and interpretations offered. The whole year of 2008 Chernivtsi published more extensively on the city's history than the other newspapers. In some articles on the celebrations, the ethnic and religious groups inhabiting the city before the 1940s were described to the readers. Molodyi Bukovynets' paid less attention to the city's history, with articles that for the most part lacked serious attempts at reflection, which also can be said about Bukovyna and Doba. In the Chas corpus, on the other hand, there are a few lengthy anniversary stories from a nationalist perspective. As has been shown in stories from the inauguration of the monument to Emperor Franz Josef II and Tabachnyk's anniversary monument, some historical themes emerged in the newspapers through coverage of the activities of visiting or

local politicians. Other stories on the city's past were inspired by the publishing of books or the opening of exhibitions during the celebrations.

Most remarkably, during 2008 *Chernivtsi* published a series of lengthy and detailed articles depicting the life of streets and squares in the urban geography of various periods in the history of Chernivtsi, with much attention being paid to the shops, manufactures, cafés, restaurants, municipal buildings and private houses, as well as its German, Jewish, Romanian, Ukrainian and Polish inhabitants, civil servants, customers and owners (Nykyrsa 2008). It is notable that the author, historian and archivist Mariia Nykyrsa, was officially rewarded for the articles by the city during the celebrations. Thus, in the city council's newspaper, the culturally diverse past of Chernivtsi appeared most vividly during 2008.

Chas also featured a small series of articles written by Volodymyr Staryk, who heads the Ukrainian House and a number of political and cultural organizations with a Ukrainian ethno-nationalist profile. The articles criticized the official presentation of local history manifested in the choice of portraits of the city's historical mayors in the town hall. Staryk argued that while there were portraits of all communist chairmen of the city council, several prominent patriotic Ukrainian mayors and some important Romanian mayors were missing from the pantheon. For Staryk this represented manipulation of history on the part of the present mayor, and the city council was asked by the author to correct these mistakes (Staryk 2008).

Most remarkable of the individual texts inspired by events on the city's cultural scene was perhaps an extensive article in *Chernivtsi* (Nove vidlunnia…2008) on two books by literary scholar Petro Rykhlo. The books both celebrated aspects of the lost cultural diversity: one on Jewish identity as reflected in Bukovinian German-language poetry, and one anthology on local interwar German-language poetry. Interestingly, Ukrainian translations of several poems by local Jewish poets (including Celan and Ausländer) were printed in their entirety. The selected poems depicted the city, its inhabitants and urban landscape, including specific loci such as the Jewish cemetery and the "Jewish quarter", and did so in a way that made the urban landscape appear in a darker mode generally not characteristic of the corpus. Not only did the urban geography thus appear in a distinctly pre-Soviet version, it was also emphasized that some of the translated local German-language poets were included in "world literature".

Chernivtsi also presented *Homo Czernoviciensis*, historian and mnemonic activist Serhii Osachuk's photo-chronicle of old Czernowitz and its inhabitants, the title strongly connecting it to the *Bukowina-Mythos.* The newspaper quoted extensively from the author's foreword, in which the ethnic heterogeneity of the city is emphasized, and Romanian, German and Soviet lists of deportees are mentioned – a very rare recollection in the material of the actual fate of many previous inhabitants. The article's headline assumes that "(T)here is such a community – "homo czernoviciensis", but there were no efforts in the text to conceptualize what such a designation might mean or how the present community might relate to former generations of city-dwellers: historical reflection is provided in the quotes, not by the journalist (Artemenko 2008c). *Bukovyna* calls it "the edition of the millennium" since local history is shown in "private, even intimate photos" from family albums (Havryliuk 2008). The journalist paid special attention to the faces of former inhabitants: "well-known faces and unknown, what unites them is their common body, the painfully recognizable corners of Chernivtsi". While no further reflections on the book and its theme were presented, the juxtaposition of the unknown faces of former inhabitants with the intimately familiar cityscape creates a quite effective dissonance.

In an article in *Chernivtsi* on an exhibition about Paul Celan, the memory of the the previous inhabitants of the city is connected with city branding, with the argument that a permanent museum devoted to the poet might attract Western European devotees, which would enhance the touristic image and potential of the city. The author notes that Celan was unknown to city-dwellers before his work was popularized and translated by local intellectuals in the post-Soviet period (Skyba 2008a)[26].

If the old Jewish and German-speaking communities were remembered through its famous poets, or as in *Doba*, through a story on the video-presentation on the Philharmonic Square of Josef Schmidt, a singer from the interwar years often referred to as the "Bukovinian Caruso", the pre-Soviet ethnic Ukrainian community was described from a purely ethnographic point of view by *Chernivtsi*. The paper reprinted two articles from Ukrainian-

[26]Historian and columnist for *Chas* Ihor Burkut recalled a tram trip through the city, during which two young boys, when noticing Celan's monument, loudly asked whether this in fact was a monument to OUN leader Stepan Bandera (author's interview with Burkut, June 3, 2011).

language newspapers of the Austrian period, instructing readers about traditional Bukovinian folk medicine and the art of looking after one's horse.

Ambivalent interpretations of the Austrian period were featured in *Bukovyna*'s theme issue of a local anniversary journal. Readers were told that while the Austrians brought education to the city they also sought to hinder a specific Ukrainian education. The "Austro-Hungarian and Romanian occupants" were mentioned in passing, in connection with the break-up of the Habsburg Empire, while famous German, Romanian and Jewish writers from local history were recalled in a positive light (Lazaruk 2008).

Thus, apart from stories on the inauguration of monuments, only *Chernivtsi* paid any significant attention to the city's history during the celebrations, while the other newspapers mostly published isolated items. Some of these articles brought forward the life and contributions of previous inhabitants from various ethnic groups. However, the focus on literature and the arts to a certain extent privileged Jewish themes, which follows one of the central tenets of local urban tolerance narratives forwarding mostly German-language Jewish writers and poets as being of central significance for the city's past potentiality.

Contemporary ethnic diversity

The city's contemporary ethnic diversity appeared in the newspapers mostly in connection with ritualized displaying of ethnic music, dance, and cuisine during the celebrations, framed in the accordance with the tolerance narrative. Such representations were featured quite frequently in *Chernivtsi*, but more sporadically in the other newspapers. In *Chas*, apart from the already mentioned articles by Staryk and the innuendos in some of the reporting from the celebrations, ethnic groups other than Ukrainians were rarely represented, except for a feel-good interview with a Jewish former wrestling champion who had returned from New York to his native city for the festivities.

During the days of celebration, *Chernivtsi* published articles on the present minority communities. It can perhaps be said that the articles portrayed Polish culture through food, Romanian culture through music and Jewish culture through history. Ukrainians were portrayed as equal participants in the ethno-cultural shows, but also at times as hosts, inviting other ethnic collectives to their city. Local tolerance is said to have encouraged Ukrainian musicians and dancers to invite Romanian and Jewish colleagues for the celebrations, during

which the dance groups walked through a rainy Chernivtsi in "the costumes of their nationalities" (Artemenko 2008d). *Doba* featured a portrait of Polish emigrants from Bukovina who had initiated the *Bukovinian meetings*, a folkloric festival where local and exiled Bukovinian collectives celebrated local ethnic traditions (Rypta 2008b). Bukovinian tolerance was again mentioned in an article in *Chernivtsi* called "When borders disappear", in connection with a Romanian folkloric event. Here, Romanians are said to be an "inseparable branch of the ethno-cultural tree called Bukovina" (Skyba 2008b). In *Bukovyna,* an exhibition of Ukrainian and Romanian artists that portrayed the Bukovinian landscape was presented as a gift from Romania to the anniversary of the city. Openness is also said to have characterized the Polish community's culinary celebration together with Ukrainians and Jews. The permeability of boundaries between distinct and essentialized ethnic groups was again stressed in an article on the Jewish community, spectacularly headlined "The hermetical Jewish culture has opened up a bit", informing about the opening of the Museum of Jewish History and Culture in the Jewish national house (Kukurudz 2008b).

Bukovyna described how the Jewish charity organization Hesed Shushana helped Bukovinian victims of the 2008 floods. The helpers were presented in vague terms as "emigrants from our land who in different times and for different reasons left permanently to other countries" (Isak 2008b). The helpers were portrayed as fellow Bukovinians helping their former compatriots. As in the case of the Polish exiles organizing the *Bukovinian meetings*, no effort was made to contextualize or explain the continuous waves of ethnic out-migration from Bukovina.

It is noteworthy that the traditional or canonical ethnic groups of the city were mentioned in reports from the festivities, while Soviet and post-Soviet era newcomers did not enter the news pages. Ethnicity (or for that matter culture) is presented here as something set apart from daily life, organized and performed in specific circumstances by professionals who represent their wider ethnic groups (see e.g. Schlegel 2017: 10-11 for a similar point in relation to Ukrainian southern Bessarabia). Notions of the tolerance narrative came forward clearly, expressing intimate collaboration, mutual assistance and openness among the distinct ethnic groups who constitute the ethnic diversity of the region (here Ukrainians, Romanians, Jews and Poles). The common Bukovinian identity of the distinct groups, represented in this specific domain of stylized ethnic cultures, is implicitly played out against the background of

everyday life of an overwhelmingly Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking post-Soviet city that emerged after the calamities of the WWII.

Memory in popular culture

The more commercial newspapers devoted much attention to interviews and stories that featured foreign and Ukrainian artists during the celebrations. Many articles dwelled on well-known pop singers of the region, such as Ani Lorak and Katia Buzhyns'ka, and *Chernivtsi* included short quotes from celebrities who shared their personal memories of the city. To some extent the same competing identity narratives emerged here as in the quotes from official discourse. If politician Ian Tabachnyk called the city a crossroads of Europe and recalled its many nationalities, a television presenter rather saw it as the song capital of Ukraine (Feshchuk 2008b). In *Molodyi Bukovynets'*, personal memories and impressions of the city were shared by a diverse group, including an American congressman, a Ukrainian diaspora director of the Petliura library in Paris, a representative of the Belarusian philatelist association, pop stars Lorak and Buzhyns'ka, a historian and journalist, an explorer of the Antarctic, as well as the son of the celebrated Bukovinian singer Nazarii Iaremchuk (Hosti sviata 2008). *Chernivtsi* featured a lengthy article on the concert of Toto Cutugno, whose repertoire reportedly triggered personal memories of middle-aged citizens (Feshchuk 2008a). The same concert was covered from the audience's perspective by *Doba*, headlined with a quote in Russian, straight from the crowd (Danyliuk 2008 - to create the desired effect it was printed using Ukrainian orthography).

During the celebrations, most newspapers also covered other, lighter commemoration events. For example, *Chernivtsi*, like several of the other newspapers, reported on a philatelist exhibition offering stamps to the visitors with their own personal portraits besides the name of the city (Babukh 2008). *Doba* reported on a contest where no song was considered worthy to be the hymn of Chernivtsi, and that artists were dressing haute-couture models in clothes with the Chernivtsi coat-of-arms, inspired by the city's "narrow streets, old-style buildings, small gardens and the combination of different architectural styles" (Rypta 2008a). *Molodyi Bukovynets'* showed interest in the more pop-cultural monuments erected in the city for the celebrations, for example the bronze carriage placed on Kobylians'ka Street in front of the

wedding registration house, intended, among other things, as a place where newly-weds could have their picture taken (Bilia palatsu…2008). Similarly, an article was published about blacksmiths presenting a monument at the Turkish Square. A link was established to late Soviet popular culture in the coverage of the local KVN (Russian for *Klub veselykh i nakhodchivykh*) comedy competition, with teams joking about the unfinished restoration of the city for the celebrations.

Chas published two ironic depictions, contesting both the arrangement itself and the city leadership hosting the anniversary (Bambuliak 2008; Kobevko 2008). Editor Kobevko (2008) pointed to the mayor's communist past in his overview, as well as to his connections to former communist journalists and to a businessman and leader of one of the Jewish organizations, who presented a 300-kilogram cake in the shape of the city's architectural outlook "with churches and synagogues" for the anniversary. After the city in this form had been finished off by a hungry crowd, the consumers switched their attention to the fireworks and to Toto Cutugno. Here the ethnic innuendos were combined with a vivid portrayal of the ritual lustful annihilation of the city by its inhabitants, orchestrated by the would-be communist mayor and his wealthy Jewish friend.

Thus, the lighter items of the corpus presented the celebrations from many different angles, sometimes touching the same identificational schemes that were identified in more explicit and extensive identity discourses during the festivities. The Soviet heritage in popular culture as well as the frequent use of Russian by city-dwellers at times came forward, together with references to the diverse past and Europeanness, and the ethno-cultural Ukrainianness of the city and the region.

Conclusions

Is it fair to say that Chernivtsi's 600th anniversary triggered memory discourses in the five local newspapers on the city's lost cultural diversity and the city-dwellers that had inhabitated the city before the ethno-demographic changes in connection with WWII? On the one hand, the corpus included quite a few historical representations of especially the Austrian period (but fewer on the Romanian interwar period) and of the ethnic groups that previously co-inhabited the city. This was evident both in quotes from official speeches and

in a few lengthier essays, as well as in the actual reporting from the festivities. On the other hand, with the exception of some speeches printed in their entirety and a few more extensive anniversary stories, there were little extensive reflection and interpretation of what the past might mean for the present-day inhabitants of the city. Collective identity discourses, placing the city within Ukrainian and European identity discourses, were to some extent realized in short quotes from politicians and officials.

When the festivities showcased the present city's ethnic diversity, the newspaper discourse pointed to the open and tolerant co-operation of distinct Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish and Jewish communities native to Bukovina, but the near-exclusive exile status of the two latter groups was alluded to rather than being explained to the readers. Concepts such as Bukovinian tolerance were briefly touched upon, rather than being problematized or historically contextualized. The publishing of articles and news items on culturally diverse past seems to have carried a bias towards literature and the arts, with the coming of new books and exhibitions triggering event commemoration. This probably had the effect of privileging the memory of the German-speaking Jewish culture, since the representations high-lighted writers and poets from this milieu. Much less historic information was transmitted on the Polish, Romanian, German, or, for that matter, pre-Soviet Ukrainian communities. Romanians and the small Polish community were showcased more frequently in materials on the contemporary ethnic make-up of Bukovina. Notably, the contemporary Russian community, the second largest in the city, was not mentioned in the portrayal of the celebrations, although, at times, the significant everyday presence of the Russian language was pointed out.

It is noteworthy that the material does not include one single article or news item that discussed what happened to the earlier inhabitants of the city. Such a discussion was not triggered by the newspapers, although there were hints in *Chernivtsi* via quotes from Osachuk's book *Homo Czernoviciensis* and in published poems from Rykhlo's anthologies. Mayor Fedoruk's widely printed speech included German- and Yiddish-speaking Jewish, Romanian and Ukrainian writers and artists of the city's creative pantheon. He expressed the contemporary city's indebtedness to the "architects of world fame", who constructed buildings where the soul of the city lives and the proverbial multilingualism can still be heard. However, it was not explained why the pre-WWII generations were "predecessors" and not "ancestors" to contemporary city-dwellers. No issues were raised regarding the politics of regret,

characteristic of contemporary Western Europe memory politics that is moving eastwards in the wake of EU enlargement. There was no effort to raise consciousness or draw moral lessons from the calamitous events of the 20th century, perhaps with the exception of Patriarch Filaret's critical statements on Soviet power.

Partly, this lack of reflection might be endemic to commercial news media memory discourses. Especially in the private newspapers, event-oriented commemoration with less room for reflection and less attention to historical themes was the most frequent way to cover the anniversary. It is no coincidence that lost cultural diversity was awarded most space in the articles of the city council's own paper *Chernivtsi*. The newspaper was not dependent on market success and could allow the publication of lengthier pieces, such as Nykyrsa's articles. It also featured more texts that touched upon the pre-WWII ethno-cultural diversity, in various contexts, than the other newspapers. The city council's newspaper perhaps also reflected the local administration's use of the Bukovinian tolerance discourse to highlight historically oriented tropes of cultural diversity and tolerance and the city's unique Central European past, materialized, for example, in the monuments presented in connection with the anniversary. The celebration of the achievements of earlier inhabitants was also in *Chernivtsi* paralleled with a seeming lack of interest in their actual fate. In such narratives past cultural diversity is not being ignored – it is recognized and, when mentioned, portrayed in a rather positive light. But the ruptures that separated Czernowitz from contemporary Chernivtsi remain invisible. Recognition of diversity and its simultaneous lack of contextualization seem to enable local mnemonic actors in Chernivtsi to regard the culturally diverse past of old Czernowitz as an asset rather than a challenge.

In the printed speeches and in short quotes from politicians, officials and experts, the Habsburg past of Chernivtsi most often came forward as useable for Ukraine's European integration. This view was expressed both by national and local actors and was symbolically reinforced by the visit of Karl von Habsburg. This view of the Habsburg past was challenged by an oppositionist ethno-nationalist strand, most clearly expressed in *Chas*, that was ambivalent to the pro-European discourse and forwarded strongly nativist narratives. President Iushchenko's speech referred to the city as Ukraine's gate to Europe without making any references to the city's culturally diverse past, while then prime minister Tymoshenko's greetings included a short reference to the multi-ethnic past without any explicit mentioning of Europe.

While the multi-ethnic past and the historical bonds with the Habsburg Empire is one possible frame for collective identity discourses on the Bukovina region, a recurring parallel frame in the media coverage of the anniversary, frequently referred to in quotes from both politicians and artists, was the ethno-national and rural *pisennyi kray* (land of song) narrative, portraying Bukovina as a cradle of Ukrainian folk music and singing. Even though the frames are not mutually exclusive, the *pisennyi kray* rather frame Bukovina within a native Ukrainian context with no necessary relations to the *Drang nach Westen* often implied in uses of the first frame.

Chapter 5:

Pre-WWII cultural diversity in Chernivtsi city-branding

This chapter examines how contemporary Chernivtsi draws on the past potentiality (Erll 2014) of the old cultural diversity of pre-WWII Chernivtsi for purposes of city branding, in efforts to promote the contemporary post-Soviet city for Ukrainian and other tourists, as well as for investment and transnational cooperation. The tolerance narrative here serves the purpose of self-branding, a profiling strategy for local actors to create a clear image for and a narrative about a city with a feeling of place, tradition, and diversity.

The purpose of the chapter is not to present a full analysis of the preconditions, projects and possible outcomes of city branding in Chernivtsi. Instead, I will focus on how and to what extent retrospective multiculturalism with its emphasis on lost cultural diversity were reflected in municipal city branding efforts at the time of my fieldwork, and how retrospective multiculturalism intersects with other identity narratives emphasizing versions of Europeanness, or of native Ukrainianness. The chapter asks what is selectively remembered and emphasized in these city branding efforts, and what is forgotten or left aside. More specifically: how is the branding emphasis on Chernivtsi as a culturally diverse, supposedly uniquely tolerant city intertwined with narratives drawing on the Austrian heritage, efforts which often contain explicit references to the cities Europeanness? Can one identify ways of claiming Europeanness by foregrounding impressive Austrian-era architecture, without at any greater length mentioning the communities that took part in the building and development of this heritage in previous times? In other words, is it possible to draw on the beauty and elegance of Austrian architecture without taking into account the diversity of the old inhabitants – and their otherness in relation to the present majority population? And as for the retrospective multiculturalism - are certain specific ethnic pasts and

particular aspects of those pasts foregrounded while others are less instrumentalised in city branding? To the extent it is referred to at all, how are the toxic aspects of the fate of the pre-war communities mentioned (Holocaust, deportations, population exchanges etc.)? Also, to what extent is contemporary, post-Soviet ethnic diversity marked in city-branding? How does, in material promoting both the city and the larger region, the emphasis on pre-WWII urban cultural diversity interact with another trope prominent in Bukovina region branding that emphasizes rural, ethnographic motives, often with ethnic Ukrainian focus pointing to Bukovina as the *pisennyi krai,* the land of song, sometimes with a focus on the common local Ukrainian and Romanian traditions? Is it possible to trace differences in branding for audiences on various levels such as the national Ukrainian and international audiences?

Material

The chapter focuses on materials distributed by the city authorities´ tourist office at the time of my fieldwork in 2013, including tourist guides, presentations of city walks, historical exposés etc. in Ukrainian or other languages. At the time, the booklets and brochures were available both in printed form and electronically. I also draw on official plans and strategies for tourism, and on my interviews with the head of the city's official tourist department, the head of the city's Business-Centre, and heads of NGOs working in the tourist sector. To some extent we also draw on material from the then functional official websites of the city (chernivtsi.eu, chernivtsi.cv.ua, www.trip.cv.ua/, www.buktour.cv.ua).

City branding – definitions and general remarks

As is argued by Zenker (2018: 1), city-branding is an important strategy for cities searching for "an attractive image and positive reputation". For Short and Kim (1998: 89), locality in the contemporary economy has become a crucial asset in which "difference is prized, visited, created, commodified", and as cities involve in fierce competition for the hosting of business, transnational institutions and events creating and communicating an effective brand for the

city is therefore an increasingly important tool. Similarly, for Lisiak (2010: 78) it is the growing uniformity in the wake of "globalization and EU-ization", with similar chain stores, products, services, and architects, that has led to a perceived increased importance in city branding that

> "promp cities to emphasise their own identities and communicate them to current and potential residents, tourists and investors" (ibid).

This is also underlined by Huyssen (2003: 60) who argues that as "the city is increasingly affected and structured by our culture of media images/…/the very image of the city itself becomes central to its success in a globally competitive world". City branding, or more general place branding thus "centers on people's perceptions and images" (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2006: 185): "It is more than the shaping of distinctiveness: it is the forging of associations" (ibid). In the words of Bosnian researchers Cvijic and Guzijan (2013: 26) a place brand

> "is the totality of thoughts, feelings and expectations that people hold about a location. It is the reputation and enduring essence of a place and represents its distinctive promise of value, providing it with a competitive edge".

For Gotham (2007: 827) branding is both about standardization and homogenisation of the message about the city, and about differentiation and diversification to attract tourists and investors to the city. Here it is important to remember that the product and the brand are not necessarily synonymous (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2006: 189).

Peter van Ham (2008:2) emphasizes the often explicit political dimension and regards place branding an instrument of "soft power of a geographical location". Although van Ham writes mostly about nation-branding, Czaplicka (2004: 153) in a similar vein argues that city branding in post-socialist Gdansk, Riga and Vilnius was part of a strategy to mark the affinities of those cities to the "West", and the built heritage had a crucial role in emphasizing this belonging thus becoming "a vehicle for geopolitical repositioning and the constitution of regional and supranational senses of belonging" (ibid). City-branding is thus also an instrument of identity construction.

Here it is important to consider that city branding is not only about attracting tourism and investments from outside the city but is also directed towards the city-dwellers themselves and their views, feelings, and attitudes towards their

city. City branding is thus also about the need to shape a useable identity narrative for the city dwellers themselves (Liguori 2012). In the words of Harvey 1989: 4 (quoted in Lisiak 2010: 79) city branding is thus also about to "help create a sense of social solidarity, civic pride and loyalty to place and even…a mental refuge in a world that capital treats as more and more placeless". The same point is underlined by Chinese political economist Fan:

> "Local culture sharpens the city's image and plays a constitutional role in the place of the city by its own residents since, unlike product branding, which is too commercially oriented, place branding is oriented both toward the potential consumers and the residents" (Fan 2014: 280-281).

City branding is thus linked both to economic and social activity and to the identification of citizens with their city (Kavaratzis 2004: 58). City-branding thus might have more profound implications than merely being a tool for seeking revenues from tourism and finding partners outside the city, as it could be connected to "enhancing the status of the city and the lives of its inhabitants (Muratovski 2012: 196).

As city branding in many cities in various ways stresses culture and creativity, the cultural identity of a city has become a factor for competition and competitiveness (Gillberg etc 2014; del Mármol and Santamarina 2024). This identity, however, is multifaceted and often seeks to incorporate various levels of identification. For example, in her study of the emerging urban identities and brandings of Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest and Prague, Lisiak (2010:79) emphasized how global, national, and local identities shape the brands of these post-socialist cities.

Cultural diversity in city branding

For many contemporary cities highlighting cultural diversity and stressing a climate of tolerance and openness is a common branding strategy. In many cases, cities showcase how their lives and flows are permeated by contemporary, often fairly recently emerged cultural diversity, related to transnational migration in the context of globalization – see e.g. Kuala Lumpur (Musa and Melewar 2011), Sydney (Parmenter 2011), Toronto (Liguori 2012), Berlin (Schmiz 2017), Buenos Aires (Natolo and Natolo 2022), Leicester

(Hassen and Giovanardi 2018), Amadora (Desille 2024), Turin (Bolzoni 2022) and the case studies in Lejeune et al (2021). This overall strategy might take various forms and expressions, include various temporalities, and stress a certain kind of diversity while other kinds of difference is ignored (Bolzoni 2022). Moore (2016) analyses how city-branding in Belfast has been applied by the city authorities in an effort to reframe sectarian conflicts as cultural diversity. Brick Lane in London's East End, a street now most known for its many Asian restaurants, is an interesting example since various temporal layers of cultural diversity, representing both lost, fading, and present communities, are emphasized, including Huguenots, Eastern European Jews, and Bangladeshis and other South Asian groups (Houghton and Stevens 2011; Lichtenstein 2007). As is underlined by Houghton and Stevens (2011: 48) as so many cities in their branding emphasise diversity as a virtue, it becomes especially important to point to the specific strengths of that diversity in the individual case. In Chernivtsi, judging from the promotional material that will be analysed below, that strength in most recollections points backwards to the pre-WWII city. Here the importance of the Austrian architectural heritage, the city´s old European ties, and the value of its historic variety of ethnic and religious groups and languages are specifically underlined. Contemporary Chernivtsi thus promotes itself for tourists and investors to a large degree by emphasising tropes well established for the domestic city audience like cultural pluralism and tolerance and connects them to narratives about Europeanness and a rich architectural heritage.

City branding in Chernivtsi is an example of what I call *retrospective multiculturalism* – narratives that celebrate a cultural diversity that has already disappeared or is almost gone except for some lingering remains. Such narratives often feature simplified or streamlined versions of a usable past that are evoked and popularised in various contexts to serve the aims of different contemporary elites, e.g. to market a city for tourists and investors and to provide it with at least the contours of a workable identity. Retrospective multiculturalism is about, in Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) terms, inventing a multicultural tradition, not in the sense of forging or faking, but of reevaluating, reconceptualising and rearranging artefacts and elements from the past to fit a new, useable narrative for contemporary needs. In this way, selective remembering, and strategic forgetting (Makas 2012) are thus involved in constructing narratives of retrospective multiculturalism. Furthermore, retrospective multiculturalism is inclined to foster what Ballinger

(2004) calls "authentic hybridity", that is to celebrate the rich cultural heritage and tolerant traditions stemming from the co-existence of a fixed set of mostly lost local ethnic and religious groups, at the expense of more recently arrived groups who are not traditionally part of the local imaginary. It could well be argued that this variety of multiculturalism is particularly suitable for the commercialized language of city branding, while more problematizing tropes and interpretations co-exists with it in the same cities in other contexts. Certainly, the instrumental aspects of emphasizing past potentialities do not *per se* exclude parallel aims of educating the local population about their city's past and the fate of the people with other faiths or identities who used to live in their city. However, if there are traces of a search for moral transformation in retrospective multiculturalism this would be part of a larger emphasis on building useful past potentialities for contemporary needs. Retrospective multiculturalism is one way of dealing with, in the field of city branding, what Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) call dissonant heritages that prior to 1989/1991 were hidden or downplayed in Eastern and Central European cities and were brought to the surface by a multitude of actors in the period thereafter. In retrospective multiculturalism actors will, with various degrees of success, try to press dissonant heritages into more non-conflictual or consensual frameworks, and not the least so in city branding (ibid).

The context for the emergence of narratives and strategies of retrospective multiculturalism in some Eastern and Central European cities is the fall of the socialist regimes and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Post-Soviet Chernivtsi is of course not the only city in the region that went through dramatic ethno-demographic changes in connection with WWII and during the 20th century to draw on memories and traces of this lost cultural diversity in city branding and place-building. The "rediscovery" of regional and local past potentialities which include rich and complex histories of ethnic and religious minorities has been characteristic for many cities in Eastern and Central Europe after 1989 (Murzyn 2008:24). As is argued by Törnquist-Plewa (2016a: 9) "in Post-Communist Central Europe the focus on a multicultural past and cultural heritage of both lost and existent ethnic minorities has proven to be a winning strategy for branding the towns and cities". This strategy includes identifying useable global trends and patterns in "adjusting to and conforming to what is internationally recognized as valuable and attractive" (Törnquist-Plewa 2016b: 220). These efforts are in their turn shaped, as argues Murzyn (2005: 121), by a growing interest since the end of the 1980s in Central

European cities as tourist destinations, and by the emergence of a tourist and leisure infrastructure in those areas. Some historic city centres soon became "fashionable tourism and leisure zones, while many ethnographic and cultural curios were transformed by private entrepreneurs into commercial heritage products" (Murzyn 2008: 327).

Murzyn (2008: 340) also notes, which is of high relevance for this chapter, that "a willing return to cultural diversity, and nostalgia for it, are more present in those Central European countries where it is no longer experienced in daily life". Sztop-Rutkowska and Bialous (2014:14) similarly argue in a text about how municipal authorities and citizens in Lublin and Bialystok remember past cultural diversity that, paradoxically, official commemoration is easier when diversity is almost gone and there is no community with "vernacular memories" left.

City branding in Chernivtsi

As we will see, retrospective multiculturalism was an important theme of official Chernivtsi city branding at the time of mu study, but also in the policies of tourist NGOs such as *Palitra Bukovyna* and in activities by commercial actors. Many of the themes that characterise cases from other cities can be found here too: an emphasis on and instrumentalisation of the cultural diversity of the past; an emphasis on a unique local tradition of ethnic and religious tolerance, which can be defined and presented in different ways; downplaying conflicts and problems in the depiction of historical relations between communities, and what Ballinger terms "authentic hybridity", a tolerance narrative celebrating the "canonical" groups while not always including newcomers or groups based on other criteria than ethnic or religious identity.

According to a survey made for the city's plan for the development of tourism in Chernivtsi 2013-2016 in 2012 the city was visited by 200700 Ukrainian and 31100 foreign tourists, which pointed to a small growth in numbers compared to the previous years (Prohrama rozvytku 2013: 6). Of the foreign tourists, the majority (52.7%) during this period came from Russian-speaking countries (Russia and Belarus), while 31% were from German-speaking countries (Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, while 8.4% arrived from neighbouring countries (Poland, Romania and Moldova), while the remaining 7.9% came from other foreign countries (ibid: 6). Interestingly,

compared with numbers provided in the Strategy of Tourist Development in Bukovina to 2015[27], the relative share of Ukrainian and foreign tourists has remained virtually the same since 2007 (Stratehiia…: 14-15), while there have been significant shifts in the relative share of the countries the foreign tourists come from. The number of tourists from Russian-speaking countries was only 12% in 2005 and 35% in 2009 (ibid: 15) and rose to 52.7% in 2012. At the same time tourists from German-speaking countries also increased, from 22% in 2005 to 31% in 2012. The number of tourists from neighbouring regions dramatically decreased from 33% in 2005 to 8.4% in 2012. In the earlier survey there are also the categories of English-speaking countries (7% in 2005 and 2% in 2009) and Israel (3% in 2005 and 1% in 2009) (ibid). Of the foreign tourists two thirds according to the survey came to the city for leisure and relaxation, while 18.5% arrived for professional or business reasons, and 5.3% were looking for sport and health facilities (Prohrama rozvytku 2013: 6).

In 2012 the tourist office in the centre of the city was visited by 8400 tourists, among which a fourth were foreigners. The office offered books and booklets about the city, commercial materials, souvenirs and crafts, as well as guided tours in the city. The bulk of the material produced by and for the city's tourism office at the time of my fieldwork was in Ukrainian, and sometimes Russian, reflecting from where tourists usually came during this period. Apart from this, there was also information in English and more rarely in German. Some booklets and folders were exclusively in Ukrainian. At that time there still was an active official tourist portal launched by the tourist office (closed in 2015, after which the electronic representation of the tourist office has been moved to its Facebook page[28]). Furthermore, the tourist office offers an array of specifically themed free city walks for the tourists. The plan claims there were 51 such walks in 2012 (ibid: 8). The plan claims 12 English-speaking guides were educated in the framework of an USAID-sponsored program to popularize the touristic image of the city (ibid: 9), while other actors, such as the local tourist NGO *Palitra Bukovyna* also take part in the education and certification of tour guides (Interview with the organisation's head Oksana Leliuk 23 April 2013).

[27] Developed by the city, the region, the German Fund for International Cooperation (GIZ) and the Turystychna Bukovyna Foundation.

[28] The Facebook page, run almost exclusively in Ukrainian, mainly circulates info about upcoming events of possible interest for tourists, as well as shares articles about the city in Ukrainian and Russian, or much rarer, other languages.

Cultural heritage is defined as one of the main resources for tourism in Chernivtsi, and the importance of using it effectively is underlined in the plan (Prohrama rozvytku 2013: 9-10). This choice is not surprising, and the importance attached to this vector is underlined in our interviews with local experts from various fields, and some explicitly argues for this in terms of branding. Marian Lazaruk, a young political scientist who hosts a radio show on the local radiostation Radio Bukovyna and heads the local branch of Obnova, a youth organisation tied to the Greek-Catholic Church, and is a chief organiser of the annual street festival Obnova Fest, argues that the local cultural heritage is a brand that is rather skillfully used by the city authorities, with the help of other elites such as researchers, journalists, writers and artists, at home or in the diaspora (Interview with Lazaruk 10 June 2013). Those circles would, believes Lazaruk, like to see the future Chernivtsi as ”a small island of multicultural unity, where different nationalities feel good together and everyone can find its niche in history and in the city today (ibid). The plan for touristic development also identifies such a cluster of actors as responsible for its implementation (Prohrama rozvytky 2013: 4).

Natalia Filatova, head of the tourist information centre in Chernivtsi and at the time of my fieldwork in 2013 an influential actor in the field of tourism in the city, confirms the importance of the concept of cultural heritage for tourism, and notes that this is seen as the most important ingredient for city branding:

> “For two years we worked on the Chernivtsi’s brand and the most important angle that we chose is the existence of cultural heritage/…/The city of Chernivtsi is regarded to be of a kind that does not exist elsewhere in Ukraine, it is regarded as the city where the cultural heritage is best preserved, and its quality is preserved and its value is preserved, it is the only big city in Ukraine like that, there are most of everything precisely in Chernivtsi. We represented Chernivtsi two times on a Tourist Fair in Berlin and people came forward to us and said wow (switches from Ukrainian to Russian) «so beautiful and you have such nice people», i.e. attention was immediately paid to our beautiful cultural heritage that must be protected.” (Interview with Nelia Pal’ko and Natalia Filatova 25 April 2013)

The other interviewee, the head of the Chernivtsi Business Centre, Nelia Pal’ko, confirmed the importance of well-preserved architecture for the cultural heritage, not the least in comparison with other cities:

> "Right and if one would compare to other regions, it is really somehow better, i.e. you walked around in the city, you saw that the architectural landmarks are more or less preserved. There are not so outright shabby, i.e. they are more or less in a proper state." (Interview with Nelia Pal'ko and Natalia Filatova 25 April 2013)

The cultural heritage of the city, here implicitly associated with well-preserved architecture is thus viewed as a unique resource for the city in the competition for tourists. The brand chosen by the city has been developed in the framework of a program featuring the German Fund for International Cooperation (GIZ) (see Prohrama rozvytku…2013: 9). That this concerns not just any cultural heritage, but specifically concerns the heritage connected to unique architecture and retrospective multiculturalism is clear from the following quote about the city brand and logotype that were almost ready at the time of the interview:

> "It is now in the final stage of development, but we have decided upon the base, the basic values of the city, and when we defined the most important mission for this brand what we put in the first place is that Chernivtsi is a unique city with unique architecture, with a unique cultural heritage, with unique people, tolerant and hospitable people, a multiethnic, tolerant and hospitable population"/…/We have already a logotype of the city ready for approval. And its slogan sounds like this «Chernivtsi – uniqueness in diversity». Precisely in this cultural, architectural, ethnic diversity, if you combine it all, this will be the city of Chernivtsi.
>
> NB: And it is diversity that makes the city unique?
>
> Filatova: Yes, yes. It is this diversity that makes the city unique, and when tourists come from the Donets'k region, from the Dnipropetrovs'k region, from Zaporizhzhia they say that we have been abroad without a passport. This is the face of our city that our forefathers created, our history, this is what gives us a face that people want to see, but we are proud that tourists want to see, want to feel our atmosphere, the atmosphere of an old great European city." (Interview with Nelia Pal'ko and Natalia Filatova 25 April 2013, italics mine)

The choice of the logotype and the slogan *Unikal'nist' v rozmaitti* (Uniqueness in Diversity), developed by the city in cooperation with German GIZ, showcases the importance for Chernivtsi city branding officially attached to cultural diversity and the local tolerance narrative. The uniqueness of the city is thus defined by a cultural heritage associated with architecture and, in the

words of Filatova, a unique "multiethnic, tolerant and hospitable population", combining "cultural, architectural, ethnic diversity". Here, and indeed in much of the tourist material, this comes out as a cluster, whose elements can be disentangled, but most often are narratively tied together. This cluster includes, as so often in the tourist materials, a reference to the city being European, an "old, great European city".

This local urban cultural heritage is for Filatova considered to be especially interesting for Ukrainian tourists from Eastern Ukrainian regions which in Chernivtsi at the time often were regarded to be more "Soviet" in terms of outlook, architecture, cityscape and identity, who in the words of Filatova perceive Chernivtsi as being somehow abroad and strikingly different from their Ukrainian experience. The contribution of the German GIZ to the development of the brand is interesting, and one can perhaps imagine an interplay of the local tolerance narrative with the Bukowina-Mythos.

The reference to "our forefathers" who gave the contemporary city-dwellers the face of the city for attracting the attention of outsiders is interesting considering the ethno-demographic ruptures with the city's pre-WWII population. This reference is problematized further on in the interview:

> "Pal'ko: On the level of the city some traditions are reborn who possibly were lost, since 16 May for the fifth time we have the day of the Ukrainian embroidered shirt?
>
> Filatova: Day of Europe, Day of the Ukrainian embroidered shirt for the fifth time yes.
>
> Palko: There was a period when the national dress was lost, but now there is an awareness that this is after all tradition, this is culture.
>
> Filatova: Well, but in general Nelia, if we talk about Chernivtsi, it never was a Ukrainian city, and then…
>
> Palko: Well, it was not purely Ukrainian, but the embroidered shirt is also not purely Ukrainian, it is also Romanian, and it is not always Ukrainian.
>
> Filatova: Well this passed Chernivtsi a bit once, because there are almost no native Chernivites, there is a migration, people come here from Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', from Chernivtsi oblast', they bring their culture and most important for us is that this culture which is brought here, the new culture which is brought here from beyond the city borders, that it also develops, and that it calmly came here and understood that here Ukrainian culture dominates of course/…/Because the Ukrainian state, this is normal, the most important is that

> something was left here of those stories, so we didn't start from scratch, this is not happening today, not today, but what will happen later I don't know.
>
> NB: There is no awareness?
>
> Filatova: No there is awareness, today Ukrainian culture is dominant, but it allows everyone to develop freely, there are no, this is left, the tolerance is left, let's hope that it will remain that way/…/We cannot escape it, you see." (Interview with Pal'ko and Filatova 25 April 2013).

The tolerance narrative embracing the traditions of urban cultural diversity in Chernivtsi was here expanded by the mentioning of the city's celebration of the post-Soviet tradition of *Den' vyshyvanky* (Day of the Ukrainian embroidered shirt) held annually in Ukraine in May. The inclusion of the *vyshyvanka* in the urban tolerance narrative was then conditioned by the other interviewee since Chernivtsi "never was a Ukrainian city". This juxtaposition of "the cultural diversity" and "Ukrainian", and implicitly of the urban and the rural, was then softened by the first interviewee's assertion that the *vyshyvanka* in fact is not only Ukrainian, but also Romanian (in line with many celebrated items of rural cultural heritage in Bukovina). Filatova then explicitly states the lack of continuity of contemporary city dwellers ("there are almost no native Chernivites"), who came to the city from Bukovina and from other parts of Ukraine. The new Ukrainian inhabitants thus brought a new, now dominating culture "from beyond the city borders", which is considered to be "normal". Here the head of the tourist information centre states the importance of keeping alive and transmitting "stories" from earlier city history and earlier inhabitants, which will enable Chernivites not to "start from scratch". In conclusion, following my question about a possible lack of awareness about the cultural heritage branded by the city among city dwellers today, Filatova states that while Ukrainian culture dominates, there is awareness and "tolerance is left". The tolerance narrative in the end remains timeless, but there is a clear awareness of the problems of continuity of the present inhabitants and the former city dwellers that once built the houses, streets and squares that form part of the same branded heritage cluster.

The symbols included in the logotype shows a combination of features representing both the pre-WWII (Austrian) and post-WWII (Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian) periods of the city's history. On the one hand stylised depictions of the City Hall (from the 1830s) and the UNESCO-protected former metropolitan residence, now Iurii Fed'kovych National University,

(from the 1880s) represent the importance of the built architectural heritage from the Austrian period. On the other hand, on the logo we also see the silhouette of the trumpeter who every day since 2004 at noon plays the Ukrainian tune Marichka (written in folklorised style by local Soviet Ukrainian composer Tkach in the 1950s) from the tower of the City Hall connects the image to the city's post-WWII development and to a representation of the region's Ukrainian-speaking rural cultural heritage. Notably, the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag marks the city's belonging to contemporary Ukraine, also swaying from the tower of the City Hall (and perhaps not that banally in terms of Billig (1995)). Post-war Ukrainianness, partly rooted in the surrounding countryside, as well as the pre-war European connection that in tourist materials so often are derived from the Austrian architectural heritage are thus featured on the logotype with the slogan Uniqueness in Diversity. Compared with the Lviv logotype connected to the slogan *Vidkrytyi do svitu* (Open to the world), which features the silhouettes of churches of various denominations as well as synagogues, we notice the lack of actual graphic representations connected to ethnic and religious diversity. The former Orthodox Metropolitan residence is featured, but no other buildings traditionally associated with specific ethnic and religious communities can be seen.

However, this lack of graphic representation in the logo is compensated by ubiquitous representations of lost ethnic and religious diversity in the information material intended for tourists from Ukraine and abroad. City-branding drawing on pre-war cultural diversity is used in presentations of the city in the context of attracting investments and figured in the campaigns behind securing UNESCO World Heritage status for the former Metropolitan residence and the surrounding urban area.

Two late Soviet presentational books about Chernivtsi

As a point of reference for the material from contemporary Chernivtsi city branding, we at first include two late Soviet era presentational books about Chernivtsi. Both books were published at the central *Mystetstvo* publishing house in Kyiv and could not automatically be treated as cases of city branding. However, the themes and emphases in the two books are useful as a contrast

to the material from post-Soviet Chernivtsi city-branding in the 2010s. The first one is a bilingual Ukrainian-English photo book from 1980 simply called *Chernivtsi*, with the English version using the Russian name for the city, Chernovtsy, in line with the language ideology predominant in Soviet times seeing Russian as the main language for contact of Soviet citizens from all republics with the larger world (e.g. Pavlyshyn 1992; Bilaniuk 2005)[29]. The second book is a Ukrainian-language photoguide - although with a large amount of written text - published in the last Soviet year of 1991, called *Chernivtsi. Fotoputivnyk. Shcho? De? Iak?* (Chernivtsi. Photoguide. What? Where? How? Husar and Rozumnyi 1991).

The description from the title page of the book from 1980 introduces one main difference in emphasis between the Soviet and post-Soviet material, as it is described as a "Photo album of the old city of Chernovtsy, one of the regional, industrial and cultural centres of Soviet Ukraine". Both Soviet books devote much space to a narrative of Soviet technical, industrial, and everyday progress, including texts and photos about factories, science labs and not the least the new high-rise concrete residential areas built outside the city centre and provided with modern infrastructure in terms of communications, shops, recreational possibilities, and health and childcare facilities. In the chapter With the feeling of a united family in the later book (Husar and Rozumnyj 1991: 126-139) the reader is told about the interconnections of industry and city planning in Chernivtsi with the rest of the Soviet Union, with illustrations showcasing factories, hotels and newly build apartment complexes. Interesting is here also the chapter Horizons of Knowledge which combines photo material depicting the university – the former Metropolitan residence – and the story of the progress made in the educational sphere since the city was incorporated in the Soviet system.

This story, told about every Soviet city, could in a way be said to be reflected in the emphasis in some of the post-Soviet material of the technical, communicational and urban planning-related aspects of the Austrian modernization of the city in the 19th century, although the context and the embedding of such narratives of progress are vastly different. The Soviet guidebooks balances history and the contemporary in a different way than the post-Soviet ones, using a modernist frame putting industrial productivity and

[29] It should perhaps be mentioned that the quality of the English translations in the two Soviet-era books analysed here is significantly better than many translations in bilingual editions from the post-Soviet era.

a new Soviet urban environment next to pictures of the old, beautiful buildings of the city centre, while the post-Soviet material rather matches historicity with urban signs of the inclusion of the city in the globalized world of trendy goods and services (e.g. fancy dressed young people relaxing in a fashionable café). This could be seen as a jump from production to consumption, from a collective endeavor to an individualist, from the authoritarian top-down to the pluralist and less regulated, or from more to less overt ideology.

The architecture of the Austrian era is not ignored, and rather generously portrayed in both books. In the photo guide the chapter Living arteries of the city portrays the main streets and their buildings in text and in photos, while the characteristically Soviet names of many streets and squares and the reminders of the history of the revolutionary movement along the trip partially reframe the narrative. The relation between the old Austrian and the new Soviet comes forward clearly in a quote from the photo book:

> "For a long time. the city, with the soft lines of the church towers, with the exact verticals of the town hall, red brick roofs and narrow streets paved with cobbles, was reminiscent of an old gravure. The new day paints a new silhouette of the city. The well-known outlines of factories and plants fits harmonically in it, as do the white-walled living quarters and high structures as a sign of the new rhythms of life (Chernivtsi 1980: 13).

The architecture of the Austrian and Romanian periods is here noted and respected but still portrayed as stemming from an era that is long past and as in need of the vitamin injection provided by modern Soviet city planning.

Another striking difference is the cultural and geopolitical belonging ascribed to Bukovina in the post-Soviet material – if the European identity and belonging of the land is often emphasised in the latter, in the Soviet books Bukovina after the fall of the Galician-Volhynian principality is said to have been "detached from the Ukrainian and Russian peoples for six centuries" (Chernivtsi 1980: 5). The natural belonging of the region in this narrative is thus in the larger Eastern Slavonic world, with the Russian Empire, or Eurasia as some post-Soviet ideologists would put it. Within this larger Eastern Slavonic framework, the narrative also is militantly national-liberationalist in a way not seen in the tourist material from independent Ukraine, with struggles against "foreigners" (*chuzhyntsi*) and frequent reminders of the discrimination of the Ukrainian population under different "occupations" (ibid). Not surprisingly, the internal identity boundaries of this imagined community are

portrayed as blurrier than the external ones. In any case, if Austria in the post-Soviet material is associated with a future-oriented civilizational narrative about bringing Europe to the *limes* and of building a modern European city in the place of small trading settlement, in the Soviet material Austria represents backwardness and repression.

Obviously absent from the post-Soviet material is the detailed renderings of the development of the worker's movement and communist party structures in the area before the advent of Soviet power in 1940. This is reflected in the names of some of the historical chapters of the second book – The reflection of stormy October (on the reactions of Bukovinian revolutionaries to the events in Russia in 1917), The road to happy June (the incorporation of northern Bukovina into Soviet Ukraine in June 1940), The radiance of a sunny day (on the liberation of the region by Soviet troops in 1940), Praised for war victories (about the communist anti-Fascist underground and the return of Soviet power in 1944). In the post-Soviet material, the Soviet period is rather ignored or adhered to briefly as the period in which churches were closed, while the stories most often focus on the architectural and cultural achievements of the Austrian and the interwar periods and their resurrection in post-Soviet Chernivtsi.

Furthermore, the pantheon of famous city-dwellers differs significantly between the late Soviet and the post-Soviet material. The Soviet pantheon gives in terms of ethnocultural background a somewhat more homogenous impression. Relatively more individuals with Ukrainian or Russian background are high-lighted in comparison to the post-Soviet material which is more pluralist and seeks legitimacy in the pre-Soviet past. Some Ukrainian writers like Fed'kovych, Vorobkevych, Franko, and Kobylians'ka, as well as the Romanian poet Eminescu and the Jewish poet Moshe Altman are featured in the material of both periods[30]. Most striking from a contemporary perspective is the absence in the Soviet material of any references to Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer, both Jewish German-language poets who have been iconised in post-Soviet Chernivtsi as representatives of a literary golden age of the city in the interwar era and are frequently drawn upon in the city branding material. Among singers, the artists from the Smerichka ensemble in the 1970s are featured in both the Soviet and post-Soviet materials, while Sidi Tal, the

[30] It is notable that Husar and Rozumnyi (1991: 196) follow the Soviet model and talk specifically about Moldavian writers, alongside Romanian ones. This distinction, which is very much alive in official post-Soviet Ukrainian statistics and policies, is not upheld by the analysed post-Soviet tourist material.

Jewish singer and artist in post-war Chernivtsi is absent in the Soviet and regularly featured in the post-Soviet material. While opera singer Orest Rusnak is celebrated in material from both periods, Jewish opera singer Josef Schmidt, the "Bukovinian Caruso" of the interwar era, is ignored in the Soviet but celebrated in the post-Soviet material.

Perhaps the clearest difference between the material from the late Soviet and post-Soviet period is the absence in the former of references to the tolerance narrative, which is crucial for Chernivtsi city branding in the 2010s. The era before the advent of Soviet power in 1940 is consistently portrayed not as a period characterized by harmonic interethnic relations, but as one of conflict, of class struggle and of the Ukrainian people's fight against national and social oppression. The Soviet period, on the contrary, is here portrayed as the period of peace and harmonious relations. It does not seem to be possible to draw on the tolerance narrative for a period of class warfare and national oppression, and instead the Soviet friendship of the peoples (*druzhba narodiv*) slogan comes in as a replacement, although not very emphasised. Cultural diversity is not denied, but it is not underlined as a feature specifically characteristic of Bukovina, and the historical parts of the narrative rather focus on national oppression of the ethnic Ukrainians until the advent of Soviet power than on the tolerant relations between many ethnic and religious communities. Furthermore, some phrasing presents the large-scale in-migrations to Bukovina and Chernivtsi during the "colonialist" (Husar and Rozumnyi 1991: 46) Habsburg 19th century in less flattering terms as "the influx of Romanian, Polish and German colonists" (ibid). On the other hand, one could well argue that the focus on tolerance, cultural diversity and beautiful European architecture in the post-Soviet material is one-sided and completely ignores class divisions born by the growth and development of the city. There seems to be a clear continuity between the periods, however, in the fancy for folklore, for handicrafts and dancers in folk costumes.

Online city branding

Much city branding is done online, on municipal official web sites, the main portals as well as sites devoted to tourism, and by the websites of NGOs and private entrepreneurs involved in the tourism industry. The Internet, according to Florek (2011:83) has opened up a new situation for branding with much

more multidirectional patterns of information, where many people are rather "prosumers" who both consume and create information through blogs, Facebook, Twitter and other arenas. This means that "any individual might potentially influence the way that a city is perceived and evaluated" (ibid). Web sites at the time of my fieldwork were still in many ways the most common tool in online city branding, especially for the official sites, but, as we see in the case of Chernivtsi, Facebook might in some cases replace an official tourist portal. Web sites can be built to deliver basically passive, one-way information or be structured to encourage interactivity with visitors. Municipal web sites characteristically support a present system of identification and brand designs, including coat of arms, flags, logos, and slogans, and might provide lists of local attractions and calendars of events. Such web sites are usually intended for residents, investors as well as for tourists, while the official tourist portals often are designed both for national and international visitors. Here, both the textual information and the images and logos are part of the brand (Lisiak 2010: 90), which means attention should be paid to e.g. introductionary notes, historical information, photo galleries and recommended tours, as well, of course, to print materials published by tourist offices, which often have the same information (ibid). The brand can thus be expressed e.g. in the header photos, in the choice and structure of the thematic sections, in the languages available for visitors. Historical texts often not only state basic facts but present the city's official view of its past, show which events are deemed important and which are excluded. The choice of recommended tours shows which parts of the city, and which objects in it, are seen as worth visiting, and it also tells us something about how the city wants to be perceived by visitors.

The city website

The official portal of the city council, www.city.cv.ua, that functioned at the time of my fieldwork in 2013 is now defunct[31]. It was, judging by the headlines, sections, and languages (most updated information only in Ukrainian[32]), directed towards both the citizens and Ukrainian investors and tourists. The

[31] Last consulted July 2016.

[32] The English-language version of the portal http://chernivtsy.eu/english/ already at the time of my fieldwork gave a deserted impression and was useless for non-Ukrainian speakers.

latter two categories were merely guided by links to other parts of the portal or to other sites. Links for tourists contained information about local transport, hotels, restaurants and nightclubs, a calendar of events and a short description of offered guided tours in the city and its surroundings. The header showed a panorama centering the town hall, with other prominent architectural landmarks visible. The city's official slogan, adopted from Austrian times, Common Efforts, was included in Ukrainian and Latin above the header. In the same area the city coat of arms was featured, combining the open stone gate from Austrian times symbolizing openness and hospitality with a yellow-blue ribbon and a yellow trident expressing the city's belonging to Ukraine. The portal also presented the coat-of-arms of the twin cities of Chernivtsi, as well as logos from the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival and the Day of the Ukrainian Embroidered Shirt. It furthermore provided a map showing the area around the former Metropolitan residence that was chosen in 2013 as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

The impression of neglect was strengthened by a look into the History section of the portal, under the headline About the city. In Summer 2016 the historical information on the city on the portal was sparse and mostly contained a brief but disrupted outline of the city's emergence and development (Istoriia mista Chernivtsi http://city.cv.ua/portal/8/801-801.html, last consulted 30 July 2016). The page was published in 2008 and updated in September 2013. The text claimed that the city has a prominent place among Ukrainian and Eastern European cities due to its "history, beauty, amazing architecture and the generosity of its inhabitants". It briefly described the origins of the city in a settlement on the boundaries of the Galician state and then as a toll station and small town in Moldavia, and then quickly turned to a description of the development of communications and industry in Austrian times. The historical narrative stops, however, abruptly at the turn of the 20th century having described the fast development of the city under mayor Kochanowski, and started again only in the late 1980s, mentioning the efforts for democratization of the last Soviet leader of the city, Pavlo Kaspruk. The narrative thus skipped not only the two world wars, the entire Romanian period but also most of the Soviet period, as well as most of the post-Soviet period after 1991. Interestingly, the brief text outlining 19th century history focused on economic and communicational progress and development, rather than on cultural diversity and the tolerance narrative, and mentioned important historical figures during the 19th century without labelling them in terms of ethnicity or

religion – although names of building such as “the Armenian church” and “the Jewish synagogue” hinted at the past diversity. The text thereafter detailed the city’s 600th celebrations in 2008, drawing attention to the “historical memory” and visit of Otto von Habsburg and the raising of a monument to Emperor Franz Josef in 2009. The pages was illustrated with black- and-white drawings of important buildings in the city, and concluded with a link to a list of mayors of the city from Austrian times to the present (http://city.cv.ua/portal/1168-2, last consulted 30 July 2016)). Apart from this a detailed description of the emergence of the Chernivtsi Town Hall was also featured.

Under the headline Culture (http://city.cv.ua/portal/12/228-228.html, last consulted 30 July 2016) the portal enumerated famous local singers, actors, writers and musicians from the 19th century onwards. It mentioned Iurii Fed’kovych as the founder of Ukrainian literature in the region, and then continued to enumerate authors whose work was presented as important for Ukrainian literature, among which except for names such as Ol’ha Kobyl’ians’ka and Osip Makovei we also find Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu, German-language Jewish poet Paul Celan, and Yiddish writer Eliezer Shtainbarg. The passage might be said to take an inclusive view on what is defined as Ukrainian literature – the belongingness to which often is defined by the language of writing – thus featuring important writers traditionally associated with other local communities and other literatures and languages. Thereafter followed a list of names of famous local singers, actors, writers, musicians, and sculptors usually associated with various local communities, with no attempt to classify them in terms of ethnic or religious identity. The land of songs tradition was emphasized, although this term was not used, by mentioning singers and musicians popularizing a Ukrainian folk and pop culture scene from the 1960s and forwards. Furthermore, the architectural masterpieces of the city and some of the monuments were briefly mentioned.

The city web portal also provided a set of links for tourists (in Ukrainian only). Most importantly, the portal linked to the Chernivtsi Tourist Information Centre’s official and frequently updated Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/ChernivtsiTouristInformationCenter/?fref=ts (last consulted 28 April 2024). The Facebook page replaced the former proper official tourist web portal of the centre, which has now been shut down. At the moment of writing there is no official tourist web portal of the city authorities, and all such electronic communication has been transferred to the Facebook

page that showed its first entry in February 2015. The former web portal www.chernivtsy.cv.ua was graphically attractive, featuring a background photo from Kobylians'ka Street in the evening light. It offered information, several downloadable booklets about the city and the history of the city, video clips etc. in Ukrainian, Russian, English, German and a few other languages. Worth mentioning among the material no longer available is the small Ukrainian-language book *Chernivtsi – mify ta lehendy* (Chernivtsi – myths and legends), which is comprised of small essays and excerpts from well-known books on Chernivtsi gathered in one volume by the city tourist office. The emphasis here is, as is clear from the title, on attractive stories and legends from the city's pre-Soviet history that selects, presents and popularizes the city's urban cultural heritage by drawing on the works of important local historians, archivists, and writers, including e.g. parts of Georg Drozdowski's memoirs from Czernowitz in Ukrainian translation, historian Natalia Shevchenko's writings on the city's Jewish history, and archivist Mariia Nykyrsa's essays on famous historical streets and buildings of the city, illustrated with photos from Austrian times.

The Facebook page is basically an updated calendar of events, interspersed with sharing articles about the city printed in newspapers and other information outlets. Almost all information is provided in Ukrainian only and is clearly directed to a national Ukrainian audience.

City walks

It has not been possible within the work of this thesis to add an anthropological study of city walks with participant observation. However, materials presenting the city walks organised by the city tourism office are available in printed form and provide an interesting venue for analysis of the workings of retrospective multiculturalism in city branding. After the analysis of the presentations of the city walks, we proceed to analyse other kinds of printed materials offered to tourists in the city during the time of my fieldwork.

The information on the city walks, available to me in Ukrainian, from the tourist office contained an envelope with a short presentation of the city and a description of eight thematic guided walking tours on separates hard sheets. Both the envelope and the sheets were richly illustrated and in multicolor and contain the official branding logotype Chernivtsi – Uniqueness in diversity,

while the envelope also features the city's coat of arms. The cover photo portrayed the Chernivtsi city hall by night with the Ukrainian flag and the number 600 from the city's 600th anniversary in 2008 shine from the tower. Inside the envelope the office's frequently used illustrated map of the streets and buildings of the city centre was reproduced with marked national houses, religious buildings, the former Metropolitan residence, and other important architectural landmarks. Information was provided on the most important museums, including the Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews, and theatres. The images of the envelope presented a Ukrainian city with a rich cultural diversity projected back to earlier times.

Five of the eight city walk sheets drew heavily on the tolerance narrative: Uniqueness in diversity, Religious buildings and monasteries in Chernivtsi, Literary Chernivtsi, Chernivtsi – a city of tolerance, and Musical Chernivtsi. The introduction sheet with the headline Uniqueness in diversity emphasizes a few key points and themes on which the city builds its branding for tourists. The narrative spins around the architectural heritage of the city centre, juxtaposing the perceived interests of "tourists from Europe" versus "native" (*vitchyzniani*) tourists. While the former group is expected to be excited about "the untouched Austria-Hungary of the 19th century", the latter group is supposed to be stricken by the city's "Europeanness". The description of the city's attractive built heritage was organised around the five squares in the city centre. Not surprisingly, the World Heritage status of the former metropolitan residence is emphasized.

Interestingly, there were no specific references to cultural diversity in the introduction sheet. Architecture is here associated with Austria which would demonstrate the city's architectural integration in the flows of European cultural history of the 19th and early 20th century. However, there was a folkloric reference, when visitors are recommended to get themselves a horseshoe forged at the Petrivs'kyi market held every year at the Turkish Square.

The thematic walking tours largely focus on cultural heritage, an orientation which is decorated with lighter, consumerist features. The tours present religious buildings and monasteries, Chernivtsi as a city of literature, Chernivtsi as a city of tolerant cultural diversity, the coffee culture of the city, the musical heritage as well as an evening walk.

In the sheet describing the religious walking tour about religious Chernivtsi the emphasis was made on the city´s multiethnic and multiconfessional history, when different nationalities lived "side by side":

> "Almost all ethnic groups had their religion, and every group understood that it is its holy duty to build a great and interesting temple. Because of this multiconfessionality we have in the capital of Bukovina both Catholic churches and the remains of the Lutheran church and the Great Synagogue – the Temple, as well as an Armenian Cathedral and a whole collection of smaller and larger churches – from small, cottage-like wooden ones to contemporary".

The sheet further presupposes, in a case parallel with city-branding in Sarajevo analysed in Makas (2012), that the fact of Chernivtsi hosting religious buildings from many different confessions next to each other itself is a proof of the city's religious tolerance, which is declared to be a "way of life" for Chernivites. Furthermore, the city's remarkable Christian and Jewish cemeteries on Zelena Street are shown during the excursion, which highlights the beautiful graves of well-known political, religious, and cultural figures. The pictures of the sheet presenting the "religious" walk depict churches and temples of various denominations, including the Beniamin synagogue on Kobylytsia Street (the only synagogue that remained open during all Soviet years), the Romanian "Drunken" Orthodox Church and the main Orthodox Cathedral on Holovna Street.

The sheet on the literary walk recollects many writers from the city representing various languages and backgrounds and emphasizes that all of them were native Chernivites. The literary festival Meridian Czernowitz is presented as trying to "regenerate the city's former literary glory" and to popularize Ukrainian poetry in Europe. The actual tour is described street by street after the writers that are associated with them. Mostly Ukrainian authors are mentioned, such as Ol'ha Kobylians'ka, Lesia Ukrainka, Mykhailo Kotsiubyns'kyi, Iurii Fed'kovych, Sydir Vorobkevych and Mykhailo Ivasiuk, but also others, such as the "world-famous Paul Celan", the last Yiddish-language writer of Chernivtsi Josif Burg, and German-language Jewish poet Rose Ausländer. Absent among names usually presented in such enumerations is Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu. The influence of the tolerance narratives is thus felt in the sheet, but the bulk of the authors deemed most interesting for tourist are Ukrainian-language writers and poets. However, the images of the

sheet include the monument to Paul Celan on Holovna Street and scenes from the Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival.

The walk illustriously named City of tolerance is presented in a text that showcases many typical features of the cultural diversity and tolerance narratives. The city is described as having been shaped as a multinational and multicultural city:

> "Different nationalities, faiths and political views never hindered Chernivites from living together in harmony and mutual understanding. It is no coincidence that the motto Viribus Unitus (Common efforts) from 1908 decorates Chernivtsi's flag."

The motto Common efforts is here given a multiculturalist interpretation and woven into the tolerance narrative. Tolerance, fostered in the culturally diverse atmosphere of the old city, has arguably created a "proud community that calls itself Chernivites, and a specific myth about Chernivtsi as a city of tolerance". The text thus suddenly takes a meta-perspective on the tolerance narrative it reproduces. Multilingualism is temporary located to before the mid-20th century, when five languages (German, Romanian, Polish, Yiddish, and Ukrainian) could be heard on the streets of the city. In connection with this nine ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Germans, Jews, Romanians, Poles, Armenians, Czechs, Hungarians and Russians) that once lived in the city are enumerated. The history of each of those groups is considered to be "interesting and unique", and the material and spiritual cultural heritage of each group is declared to be as a source of pride for "new generations of Chernivites". The inclusion of Czechs, Hungarians and Russians in the urban ethnic pantheon is unusual, since those groups mostly are considered part of the old diversity on the regional level, not in Chernivtsi itself. The built architectural heritage with churches, synagogues, educational facilities, and national houses are showcased, both in text and in photos.

Tolerance is declared to be a timeless feature, characteristic both of contemporary Chernivtsi and earlier periods in the city's history:

> "Today, as once upon a time, tolerance is one of the main characteristics of the city/…/Much has changed since then, the place of German, Polish and Yiddish has been taken over by Russian, but the spirit of tolerance, mutual respect and the joyous Bukovinian Babylon still slumbers in the walls of the old buildings of the city".

Interestingly, the tolerant tradition of the previous periods of the city's history is here explicitly portrayed as something that is carried further into our times by the built heritage of the old buildings in the city centre. Memory is in this version indeed said to be located in the walls. This view of tolerance (and of memory) demands no human agency from the contemporary inhabitants or visitors from outside the city; it is simply there and is believed to further enrich the city in and by itself. The architecture built by the previous inhabitants creating and upholding the intercommunal tolerance is portrayed as a container for those values.

The city walk demonstrates the tolerance tradition by showing tourists the (unspecified) urban areas where the ethnic communities lived compactly, with famous people, and individual buildings and places associated with the various communities.

Most interesting are the illustrations for the sheet that promotes the "City of tolerance" walk. On the front page they depict the five iconic national houses – the German, Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, and Romanian – but also include the Armenian Church. While the choice to portray the national houses is expected, the inclusion of the Armenian Church is an interesting way of representing the historic Armenian community in the material when there was no Armenian national house in the same sense as for the other five communities. In this way, the small Armenian community is represented on par with the numerically much larger ethnic groups. Interesting is also the choice to include images of people on the back side of the sheet. Six small photos depict participants of folkloric events – presumably the Bukovinian Meetings festival arranged since 2010, and dancing and chatting on the Kobylians'ka Street. All in all, ethnicity is in the sheet presenting the City of Tolerance walk portrayed as something that relates to history and to folklore, rather than as something that is characteristic of everyday life in the city.

The Musical Chernivtsi city walk focuses on the Theatre and Philharmonic Squares where many of the spots associated with the musical tradition of the city are located. Most of the text enumerates artists and composers associated with Chernivtsi, both locals and guests of the city. The pre-Soviet period is e.g. represented by the Polish-Armenian musician Karol Mikuli, the Jewish opera singer Josef Schmidt, and the Hungarian composer Ferenc Liszt who visited the city for a month in the 1850s, but also by Ukrainian opera singers Solomiia Krushel'nyts'ka and Orest Rusnak. The Soviet musical scene in the city is portrayed partly by drawing on famous guest appearances such as

Rostropovych, Sviatoslav Richter and David Oistrakh, but Bukovinian artists associated with the "land of song" tradition are also highlighted, such as Ukrainians Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Nazarii Iaremchuk and Vasyl' Zinkevych, and Romanians/Moldovans Sofia Rotaru and Ivo Bobul. Specially mentioned is Jewish actor and singer Sidi Tal. The pictures illustrating the tour portray the interior of the Opera and the Armenian Church (since it also functions as the House of Organ Music), a scene with street musicians on Kobylians'ka Street as well a group of folk dancers on the Philharmonic Square, although the text does not focus on folk music.

One sheet presents the "Chernivtsi with a taste of coffee walk", in which the history of coffee culture in this former Austrian city is represented by visits to places where the city's classical coffee houses were located. It is especially mentioned that coffee was introduced in the city in the end of the 18th century, 14 years earlier than in Lviv. The sheet evokes the images of an old "European" coffee culture with reading rooms, gambling facilities and discussions in different languages, which is described as a prerequisite of the elite of old Chernivtsi. The esprit provided by the old coffee house culture thus would strengthen the Europeanness featured as a factor in Chernivtsi city branding. The pictures illustrating the sheet portray retro-style cafés on Kobylians'ka Street, including the Wiener Café and the Kaviarnia-Muzei, with old style interior mixed with young people relaxing.

The sheet presenting the Promenade through Chernivtsi by night plays on the atmosphere and mood of the streets and squares of city centre at night. Two specific occasions are presented together on one sheet – the Christmas Market on Soborna Square with modern or Soviet features such as the Place of Did Moroz, and the Malanka-Fest, a carnevalesque urban adaptation of local Orthodox celebrations, "represented by Ukrainian, Bessarabian, Hutsul, Moldavian and Romanian malankas". The Malanka-Fest is presented as a centuries-old Bukovinian winter tradition. Cultural diversity is here also part of the brand, but the presentation goes outside the framework of retrospective multiculturalism and focuses on contemporary Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan cultural diversity based in rural Bukovina.

Three tropes: architecture, diversity and tolerance, and Europe

We will now turn to a thematic analysis of other printed materials released by the official tourist information centre in Chernivtsi. They further show how the centre draws on the tolerance narrative, and how this narrative intersects with other narratives, themes, and stories. The material is comprised of booklets and leaflets distributed by the tourist office in printed form, usually in a few hundred copies. At the time of my fieldwork, they were downloadable from the centre's website, and distributed in Ukrainian, Russian, and English, with no apparent thematic or rhetorical differences between information provided in the various languages. The booklet Chernivtsi - Uniqueness in diversity, available to me in Ukrainian and named after the official slogan, comprises 29 pages in a large format with many multicolor photos of the city. It is immediately apparent that local history together with the architectural heritage built during Austrian and Romanian times is seen as a major selling point attracting tourists to the city. The booklet *Travels around ancient Chernivtsi/Podorozh starovynnymy Chernivtsiamy* is available to me in Ukrainian and English and takes the presumptive tourist on a walk in the streets of Chernivtsi, with some excursions to various attractive spots elsewhere in Bukovina. The style is less focused on historical facts and rather presents stories and legends surrounding the individual buildings, streets and squares that are introduced. The cover shows a glossy romantic view of an angle of Kobylians'ka Street in the evening lights, with a retro-style streetlight in the foreground, evoking the image of an old, mysterious city with beautiful houses and streets. Almost all photos show different buildings and street scenes, with few folkloric motives. The urban qualities of the city, not its connections with the surrounding countryside are in focus. The booklet *Chernivtsi – a tourist guide/Chernovtsy – putevoditel'*, with the former metropolitan residence on the cover, is accessible to me in Russian and English, and consists basically of passages and photos that can be found in other booklets intended for tourists. *Chernivtsi-Bukovina*, a booklet of 33 pages accessible to me in Russian, covers not only the city of Chernivtsi but the whole of Chernivtsi region. The cover features the metropolitan residence, the Khotyn fortress, the Russian Old Believer church in the village of Bila Krynytsia, and a panoramic view of Chernivtsi with the Art Museum in focus. The Uniqueness in Tolerance logo

is featured on the cover in Russian, as is the logo of the *Turystychna Bukovyna* Association. The information in this booklet is of a more practical nature than in some of the other material, and contains advice on how to get to the region, hotels and restaurants, leisure activities etc. The leaflet *Putivnyk Chernivtsi (Travel Guide Chernivtsi)* in Ukrainian also mainly contains quick practical information about places to stay and eat as well as a map of the city centre.

The city is here, as in much of the material intended for tourists, presented in three intersecting tropes focusing on the architectural heritage, cultural diversity and tolerance, and Europeanness. This forms the informational and thematic cluster that is intended to present the city to tourists. The tropes sometimes emerge separately, but are seldom far removed from one another, and one trope often supports and energises the other two. Together they are at the centre of retrospective multiculturalism in Chernivtsi city branding. Having analysed how the tropes interact in the material we will take a further look into three specific themes emerging from the material: folklore and the rural connection, the Jewish heritage, and coping with the breaks and continuities of local history.

The tolerance narrative is in the booklets often asserted already in the introduction, or even in the first paragraphs of the booklets, as in the above-quoted passage from Travels around ancient Chernivtsi or as seen in the booklet *Chernivtsi-Bukovina* (quote in the original English)*:*

> "Dear guests! We invite you to get acquainted with the tourist pearl of Ukraine - Bukovinian region and its capital – Chernivtsi city. During the history, city belonged to different empires, saw different governments, but always was respectfully tolerant and genuinely open for all nationalities and faiths." (Chernivtsi-Bukovyna: 3)

The exact same wording is repeated in the introduction to the Russian-language Chernovtsy. Turisticheskii putevoditel' (ibid: 4). A few pages later it is argued that "The capital of Bukovina, located on the crossroads between East and West, North and South, always was characterized by its tolerance, multiculturality and hospitality" (ibid: 6). This way of spelling out the tolerance narrative in the introduction of the tourist material illustrates the significance of retrospective multiculturalism in Chernivtsi city branding.

A telling example of how the three tropes are combined and how they interact with the larger tolerance narrative so pervasive in post-Soviet Chernivtsi discourse is provided in the introduction to the Travels around

ancient Chernivtsi booklet. This booklet more than the others draws on the myths and legends of the old city, trying to evoke the magic of the old cityscape. The introduction is illustrated with the famous extract from Rose Ausländer's poem expressing the multilingualism of old Czernowitz by referring to the mirror carp that kept silence in five languages (Travels…: 2-3). The extract is explained to the reader by pointing to the tolerance and openness that is said to have been characteristic of the city from ancient times (quoted in the original English):

> "As beauty of once pearl of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and now regional centre with unique architecture, numerous tourist attractions, immortal atmosphere of tolerance lie exactly in solicitous combination of the antiquity and modern. So let's take a walk along quiet streets and noisy squares, elegant buildings of this unfathomable city, once called a ship of pleasures with multinational crew and passengers on board, which under sails of tolerance is confidently sailing between East and West" (ibid: 3).

The booklet here draws upon established tropes and phrases in the tolerance narrative – first the extract from Ausländer's poem, then a reworked quote from German publicist Georg Heinzen portraying old Czernowitz as a ship with a multinational crew, and then the inclusion of the "sails of tolerance" metaphor, known not the least from the title of local historian Ihor Chekhovs'kyi's book Chernivtsi under the sails of tolerance, discussed in Chapter 3. It is notable that the quote from Heinzen in the original is much more specific than the booklet's short reference to a ship of pleasure with a multinational crew would imply. Heinzen's quote allocates clear roles to the three mentioned ethnic groups. In fact, Ukrainians, the contemporary majority population which in pre-WWII Czernowitz was one of the poorer groups in the city, is showcased as forming a working class that is commandeered by Germans, while Jews are not scripted as part of the crew but as passengers. The booklet thus blurs the (fictive) division of labor implied by the quote and for city branding just keeps Heinzen's statement of the very fact of cultural diversity. This is an interesting manipulation as it stresses the unproblematized renderings of lost cultural diversity so common in retrospective multiculturalism.

Another example shows how a description of urban planning and architecture are taken to connote Europeanness, which then is strengthened by the inclusion of key shorthands for the city established in the Bukovinian

tolerance and Bukowina-Mythos narratives. This can be found in a description of the Central Square, the former Ringplatz, in the booklet Chernivtsi - Uniqueness in Diversity:

> "The main square of the city has during the centuries seen both joyful and tragic events about which its buildings secretively keep silence. Times and customs changed, the regime changed, different monuments emerged in its centre that didn't stand the test of time for this or that reason. But the Central Square has remained the heart of the old unique city of Chernivtsi, which is rightly called "a Europe in miniature", "little Paris", "the little Vienna of the East", and "the Babylon of Central Europe"." (Chernivtsi – unikal'nist' v rozmaitti: 6).

The Central Square here represents the continuity of the city centre from its planning in Austrian times and is presented as a place that always has been used to symbolically demonstrate the presence and power of the ever-changing regimes. This description of the ascribed and actual roles of the Central Square is followed by the reinstatements of four frequently repeated shorthands about Chernivtsi: as the Little Vienna of the East, the Habsburgs' would-be materialized dream about itself realized at the empire's newly conquered *limes*, as Little Paris (somewhat less frequently used and sometimes questioned by city-dwellers), as a Europe in miniature and as the Babylon of Central Europe – the two last shorthands both referring to cultural diversity and multilingualism. The city's European character is here mostly evoked through the Austrian, and especially the architectural heritage, and is thus something that emerges from the buildings and city plan themselves. There are no attempts to highlight specific "cultural quarters" (Roodhouse 2009); rather the whole historical centre of the city is emphasized.

The Russian-language Chernovtsy: A Tour Guide here repeats the different expectations on the tastes of "European" and "Eastern" tourists, as the former are believed to be fascinated by the "untouched Austria-Hungary" felt in the city's architectural heritage, while the latter are supposedly more interested in the Europeanness that is claimed to emanate from it (Chernovtsy: Turisticheskij putevoditel': 20). Just as tolerance in some cases are described as being transmitted by the walls of the old building, Europeanness can thus in the same manner be ascribed to the built heritage.

Architecture is a constituent part of the story in all the booklets, which often feature city walks that take the reader through the streets and squares of Chernivtsi highlighting specific buildings and other points of architectural

interest. A common approach is to build the narrative around the five main squares of the city centre, and to present the streets and buildings starting from the different squares. Not surprisingly for a small city with a large and culturally pluralistic set of impressive architectural landmarks, largely the same buildings, whether religious or secular, reemerge in the various renderings. Among the most reoccurring secular objects, often featured on the covers of the booklets, are the City Hall and the former Metropolitan Residence, the old Austrian court building (now the regional administration), as well as the *Shifa* (*budynok-korabel'*) or ship-building on Holovna Street. As for religious buildings the booklets often generously and inclusively portray churches of most traditional Christian denominations and at least one of the few remaining open synagogues (and often also the former Temple, now Kinoteatr Chernivtsi, see below). What is presented is all part of the canonized urban cultural diversity of pre-WWII Czernowitz.

The links between ethnicity and religion are often implied but sometimes stated explicitly. For example, in the Travels around ancient Chernivtsi booklet the city walk is followed by a short presentation of the major religious buildings of the city, which is introduced by a short text stating that "almost every ethnic group had its own religion" and claiming that erecting the "greatest and most interesting" temple was seen as a "sacred duty" by the various inhabitants of Czernowitz (Travels around…: 18). The historically most important churches in the city centre are presented in a way that highlights also - in contemporary terms – the smaller communities, such as the Armenian Church and the Roman-Catholic cathedral. The focus seems to be on religious buildings where service was performed at the time of the writing of the booklet, which means that the smaller Beniamin synagogue at Lukian Kobylytsia Street, which was the only functioning synagogue in the city during most of the Soviet period, is presented as representing the contemporary Jewish religious community. The two historically most important synagogues of the city, the former Temple, now a cinema, and the Grosshil, the old Orthodox synagogue in the old town, which at the time housed the facilities of a carpenter's workshop, are not mentioned, and neither is the Catholic Heart of Jesu Cathedral which hosted the city archive until 2013 (ibid: 18-22).

Although the narratives of the city's Europeanness as well as tolerance and cultural diversity mostly are intertwined, sometimes Europeanness through the Habsburg period can be forwarded by a more materialistic focus on architecture, municipal rights, industrial development, increased

communications, and progress. This is the strategy used in the first part of the relatively extensive historical information provided in the Uniqueness in Diversity booklet, while the emphasis on culture, monuments, cultural diversity, and tolerance are highlighted only in the second half of the narrative. Architecture here first supports the progress narrative before it is used to prop up the tolerance narrative. The leaflet *Putivnyk Chernivtsi (Travel Guide Chernivtsi)* also focuses strongly on the city's Europeanness, manifested mainly through its Habsburg past and in the architectural and infrastructural heritage from Austrian times. The pictorial material here exclusively consists of the pearls of architecture. The tolerance narrative is shortly outlined at the end of the text, where the continuity of traditions is emphasized alongside the description of the peaceful coexistence in the city of many ethnic groups and religions.

While Europeanness in Chernivtsi city branding most often is claimed through the Austrian (and to some extent through the interwar Romanian) architectural heritage, another way of connoting Europeanness emerges in contrast to the egalitarianism of official Soviet discourse so long hegemonic in post-WWII Chernivtsi. The Uniqueness in Diversity booklet contains the following description of the exquisite manners and exclusive status as a social dividing line between the old Austrian Herrengasse, contemporary Kobylians'ka Street, the city's main recreational and shopping artery, and the outskirts of the city:

> "There are still living Chernivites who remember how caretakers washed the Herrengasse (rendered in Ukrainian as Pans'ka - NB) several times a day with water and soap, and the saleswomen who brought their wares here from the suburban districts had to carefully brush their shoes before they stepped on the cobblestone. And the dirty carts that came in from the nearby villages were forbidden to move around in the VIP district of Chernivtsi (Chernivtsi – unikal'nist' v rozmaitti: 12).

The Herrengasse of the old Czernowitz is thus associated with the notion of VIP, a term that in post-Soviet times connotes exclusiveness and elite status. Europeanness is thus here much more narrowly defined than in the references to an architectural heritage that can be claimed by all inhabitants - here it relates not only to visions of order and cleanliness, but also to the strict demarcations of cultural hierarchy and socio-economic class that those properties are intended to mark. One is immediately reminded of contemporary urban lore

about post-Soviet migrant workers from the countryside who use the money earned doing hard labour in Italy to buy a flat with a balcony on Kobylians'ka Street, showcasing a new material status that is not, or so goes the moral of the story, accompanied by an equivalent elevation of cultural capital. Another everyday post-Soviet verbal expression of Europeanness – *Evroremont* – the repairing and refashioning of an apartment or house in a would-be "European" style, also comes to mind. The example in the quote can also be related to another famous quote by Georg Heinzen that envisions the streets of old Czernowitz as having been brushed with rose bouquets. While the Europeanness manifested through the architectural heritage is presented as a real characteristic that makes contemporary Chernivtsi unique, Europeanness through the customs and manners of the pre-WWII city is mainly located to history, to the Austrian or generally pre-Soviet past, through urban myths about cleanliness and a naturalized hierarchical social order.

Folklore, urbanity, and the rural connection

While most often the tolerance narrative emphasizes, or just implies, the urban character of the lost cultural diversity, the ties to rural ethno-cultural diversity often come through in the showcasing of the festivals and exhibitions arranged in the city. In this context the cultural diversity narrative becomes less retrospective and highlights contemporary examples of mostly, but not only, Ukrainian and Romanian/Moldovan folk culture. For example, in the booklet Chernivtsi - Uniqueness in Diversity all presented activities except an annual motocross contest focus on folklore and rural culture. Most of the pictures portray an urban environment overtaken by rural folk culture in the form of members of folk ensembles dancing or walking in columns behind national flags, items of folk art, or horses and carriages. Also featured are images from the Malanka festivities in the largely ethnically Romanian small town Krasnoil'sk (Rom. Crasna). Interestingly, also the Day of the city (Chernivtsi – unikal'nist' v rozmaitti: 18-19) is presented in this predominantly rural way, with the text offering a condensed version of the tolerance narrative. In the case of the Petrivs'kyi Market, a traditional market on the Soborna Square (former Austriaplatz) "revived" in 1998, a historical description is added which presented the old market as a feast during which people from the region came to the city to sell their goods and where "the whole palette of the city's

multinational traditions – cultural, linguistic, entrepreneurial" could be seen (ibid: 20). The presentation of the contemporary "revived" market does not mention cultural diversity explicitly, but pictures show people in diverse folk customs holding stripes in various national colors attached to a multicolor flower bouquet, which clearly leads the thoughts to a multiethnic representation. Even more clearly the same goes for the depiction of the annual transnational and transcultural folkloric festival Bukovinian Meetings, where the text provides an exuberant example of the tolerance narrative, extended to the whole of Bukovina:

> "Chernivtsi and Bukovina have always been and remain multinational and often surprise guests both with the linguistic and cultural diversity and with the specific atmosphere of tolerance between the nations living here. Ukrainians, Romanians, Moldovans, Poles, Germans, Jews, Russians, Hungarians, Armenians and other nations have lived here since ancient times side by side, fostering their own culture while imperceptibly taking in other elements. That is how Bukovinian culture was born, a culture that has taken in the accomplishments of more than ten ethnic groups and thus created a unique aura of respect and tolerance. The international festival "Bukovinian Meetings" became an important stage in the development and preservation of Bukovinian polyculturality" (ibid: 22).

Here, the tolerance narrative once again hints to the existence of a common Bukovinian culture emerged through the coexistence and cooperation between the ethnic groups of the region, as it confirms the visions of the organisers of the Bukovinian Meetings folkloric festival. The festival is further seen as providing the urban celebration with "authentic charm and brightness", proving that "our history and culture is an unsurpassed treasure given to us with the eternal duty to preserve, multiply and transfer it to future generations" (ibid). The uniqueness of the urban, Austrian, European architectural heritage and the old urban culture that is presented in the historical sketch is here countered by the authenticity of "our history and culture", expressed in the urban landscape during festivities by folkloric ensembles stylizing a rural vision of authentic folk culture. Furthermore, the "multinational folk culture" of the folkloric festival is also seen as representing the Bukovinian contribution to the common European civilizational treasury, a "Europe in miniature formed by many generations", and the festival thus helps to achieve "human understanding, recognition and the rapprochement of peoples (ibid).

The Jewish heritage

The retrospective multiculturalism of the booklets rarely at any length portrays specific ethnic or religious groups. Tolerance and cultural diversity are often just stated as important and self-evident virtues of the city. All or some of the iconic groups or languages of pre-WWII Czernowitz are regularly mentioned in connection with this, but without much space being awarded to a single group. The communities are also often implied when individual buildings are described, most often the national houses or religious buildings of various faiths and denominations.

However, in some cases individual groups are highlighted in this city-branding material, and most often this concerns the Jewish community. In the small presentation of the city's museums, the booklet Travels around ancient Chernivtsi argues (23) that their task is the popularization among Chernivites of the city's "multicultural heritage", and here as well as in several other booklets the Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jew is selected for a brief presentation.

Most importantly, the booklet *Chernivtsi-Bukovina* contains two pages specifically devoted to Jewish Chernivtsi, which is described as forming an "unforgettable image". Especially interesting, the reader is immediately asked whether he or she wants to know more about Chernivtsi, and about "the people who created this wondrous city". The Jewish community is thus here in unequivocal terms portrayed as the creators of the city, which is certainly not common in the material for this chapter. Simultaneously, the booklet also makes a claim for the continuity of Jewishness in the city, as a "feeling" of Jewishness is reported to be present, although few Jews are left in the city:

> "Many of them are no longer with us, but the feeling of Jewishness, like the aftertaste of good wine, is still there in Chernivtsi (ibid: 26)"

This could be seen as evoking virtual Jewish spaces of the kind described by Gruber (2002) for many cities in East-Central Europe – spaces where Jews used to live in large numbers but where they are present only to a very limited extent after the Holocaust. It is not stated here why the Jewish community who created the city is now largely absent. The Holocaust is not mentioned anywhere in the booklet, which makes the metaphor about Jewishness still being felt in the city as "the aftertaste of a good wine" seem doubtful at least.

Also interesting is the connection made to the post-war Russian-speaking Soviet Jewish community of the city through an anecdote about Chernivtsi Jews as "people of the aha" (in the sense of "aha, Chernivtsi"), who always recognize each other by small signs of identity even though some of them might be living in cities faraway, like Leningrad (ibid).

Thereafter in the booklet the reader is taken on yet another virtual city walk, this time through Jewish Chernivtsi, which thus is defined by the path taken by the booklet. The tour starts from the lower part of the city which is correctly described as once having been a neighborhood of mostly poorer orthodox Jews. It mentions in passing the "impressive roof" (ibid: 27) of the Jewish Orthodox Grosshil but omits that the building at the time was a carpenter's shop. The text takes a detour to Sadhora on the other side of the Prut River, and it is claimed that "everyone knows that right there was the centre of Bukovinian Hassids, followers of the Ruzhin tzaddik Friedman", but that this area is not called a shtetl today, once again without explanation. The city tour then continues to the wealthier parts of the upper city, where Europe or at least the Habsburg Empire is claimed to be located:

> "And this is Europe. Rather, Austria-Hungary in pure form" (ibid).

The Jewishness in the surroundings of the mostly German-speaking Jewish community that once lived in upper town Czernowitz is contrasted with romantic depictions of Jewish life in Eastern European shtetls. This connects former local Jewishness to the Europeanness trope so prevalent in the overall tourist material:

> "But what is Jewish here? Don't look here for the dwindling streets and slanting houses of Chagall. Chernivtsi Jews did not live in a rural backwater; they studied in Austrian and German universities. And the city – the small capital of the Duchy of Bukovina, tried very hard to look like the metropolis. For this the best architects were invited" (ibid).

Then the tour turns readers' and visitors' attention to places associated with the great Jewish factory owners of Austrian Czernowitz, before the Jewish House on the Theater Square is pointed out, together with "a war-torn Reform Temple" - also without explaining why it is war-torn or mentioning that it has long been transformed into a cinema (ibid).

Interestingly, the booklet also offers visitor to visit the small contemporary Jewish communities, thus drawing on the existence of Jewish communities in contemporary Chernivtsi to attract tourists:

> "Want to see the contemporary Jewish life – drop in at the synagogue on Lukian Kobylytsia Street, and, if you are curious about the Hasidim – visit the Chabad synagogue opened not long ago. Living Yiddish can still be heard in the charity Hesed Shushana" (ibid).

This comparatively expansive rendering of local Jewish history and contemporary life as an object of tourism is rare in the material, but the breaks and continuities of Jewish Chernivtsi remain elusive as no clear image emerges of the shifting make-up, preconditions, and relative weight of the Jewish population in the various periods touched upon briefly in the booklet. The fact that by and large the Jewish community that comes through as builders of the city is not the same one as the Soviet Jewish community being portrayed as "the people of the aha" is not mentioned, even less explained. Although it is implied that the Jewish community was decisive for the development of the city, there is no explanation as for why the community today is dwindling. The Holocaust is not highlighted as a theme, and the mood of the text is rather quaint and entertaining, as if telling a funny and interesting anecdote.

Breaks and continuities

As in the information of Jewish Chernivtsi, the 20th century ruptures in the life of a city whose pre-Soviet past is heavily drawn upon as an asset in city branding are mentioned at best in passing. However, the very fact of changing belonging of the city and region to different states and empires during the centuries is showcased clearly, either in lengthier historical narratives, or more condensed in shorter passages:

> "Who have not the winds of history taken to our lands! Austrian Emperors and English lords, Romanian kings and the leaders of Zionism, Soviet generals and general secretaries, Ukrainian presidents, and church hierarchs – they all have marked their presence in the former capital of the Austrian Kronland, the contemporary regional capital of northern Bukovina" (Turisticheskii putevoditel': 18-19).

The shifting fate of the land is here seen as an asset making Bukovina more interesting and exciting for visitors. Sometimes, hints are made at the consequences for the life of the city of the changes in the ownership, as when it is reported that the busts of Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko and Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin were added during Soviet times to the original pantheon of writers sculptured on the façade of the Opera House, and the mentioning of the statue of Schiller having been erected in 1907 on the place where a statue of Ukrainian writer Olha Kobylians'ka was erected during Soviet times (Travels around...: 5). The changes of the monuments on the Central Square are mentioned in the same booklet as an illustration of the winds of time and rich history of the city, without further contextualization (ibid: 9). Another booklet used the history of the square itself to illustrate the changes in state belonging in the city's history. The changing urban toponyms are also sometimes reported, showcasing the city's complex historical background, but more importantly sometimes the name of the city itself is given in the old German as well as the modern Ukrainian or Russian variant. One of the booklets concludes its narrative about the city with the phrase Greetings from Czernowitz in German (through Russian Cyrillic) and Russian (Turisticheskij putevoditel': 25).

The presentation of churches and synagogues in Chernivtsi is a further example of the rendering of the breaks and continuities. The choice of religious buildings is generous and representative, paying attention to the smaller communities, and once again it is stated that "each ethnic group had its own religion" and considered it a duty to build a temple of its own (Travels around…:18). In most examples the emergence of the churches is briefly described as is their closing down or transfer to use as warehouses etc. during the Soviet era. Readers are briefly informed that the Armenian Church, having been erected in the 1870s, was closed after the Armenian community "left" ("*pokynula*") Chernivtsi in 1940, that the church was resurrected as the Hall of Organ Music in the 1992, that Armenian church service was allowed from 1989, and that the original sculptures of Saints Peter and Paul was restored outside the church in 2010 (ibid: 21). Readers' attention is directed to a kind of closing of the circle, where the building was returned to its original use after nearly 50 years. In this sense readers are provided a glimpse of the problematic ruptures in local Armenian history. On the other hand, readers are left to wonder why and how the Armenian community left and who visits the resurrected service if the community has already left. In the case of the

Beniamin synagogue – a not very common choice of synagogue in the tourist material - it is underlined that it "never was closed" and still is a premise for service although the Jewish community in Chernivtsi is "today/…/not numerous" (ibid: 22). Interestingly, in the information about the Roman-Catholic Church, the multilingual service (Ukrainian, Polish, and German) is marked as a proof of existing traditions of tolerance (ibid), but there is no more detailed information about the visitors of the cathedral historically and today. Once again, this points to a timeless, floating notion of tolerance that demands no real historical context but simply exists in the city.

Another case of portraying the breaks and continuities of the 20th century is the frequent mentioning of the former Reformist Synagogue, from the 1950s a cinema. The architectural and historical importance of this building and its role in the life of the Jewish community is often mentioned in the booklets:

> "Apart from Christian sanctities Chernivtsi was once famous for its wonderful synagogue (Temple, 1877) on the corner of Universytets'ka and Zan'kovets'ka streets. This building in "Moorish" style caught attention through the easiness of its proportion and the exquisiteness of its ornamention and was regarded one of the most eminent attractions of the city. Unfortunately, the building has lost its original appearance, but Chernivites hope that the Temple will be restored."

Just as there are no efforts to explain the ruptures and discontinuities between the pre-war and the contemporary city, the text simply states that the Temple has "lost its original appearance", with no hint about the causes for this state – although the authors are convinced locals want to see the synagogue restored.

In the Travels around ancient Chernivtsi booklet Jewish continuity is also claimed by mentioning that the Jewish National House was built in 1908 on money collected by the Jewish community, and that the association Jewish Community today has its office in the building (Travels around…: 6). The perceived continuity of Jewish organizational life is thus not undermined by mentioning the discontinuities in terms of the character and size of the communities. Another booklet features a similar story about the German National House on Kobylians'ka Street. In the text the German House "has been and remains the centre of the cultural, creative and spiritual life of the German community of Bukovina" (Chernovtsy. Turisticheskii putevoditel': 8). It is true that the German-Austrian ethno-cultural association Wiedergeburt has had its premises in the German House since the early 1990s, but the

presumptive visitor is not informed about the massive demographic changes radically diminishing the German community since before 1940.

The Ukrainianness of the contemporary city is taken for granted, while historically Ukrainians mostly comes forward as native inhabitants who shared the city with members of other communities. However, Ukrainian historical continuity in the city or the relative weight of the urban Ukrainian/Ruthenian minority in pre-WWII Czernowitz is seldom mentioned straightforwardly. The narratives do generally not explicitly claim autochtonicity, which is an important tenet in historical renderings in other domains, and historical conflicts are generally avoided in this feel-good genre. As an example of a case when Ukrainian culture and its role for the city across various periods one booklet mentions the language policies of the university opened in 1875. The university is quoted as an example of local traditions of polyethnicity, since Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature were studied at this German-language educational facility (Travels around…: 12). No other languages except German and Ukrainian are mentioned here. The contributions of famous names of Ukrainian literature to the university are enumerated, and it is argued that even in times of Russification in the Soviet period the university remained Ukrainian-speaking. In conclusion the booklet here mentions the raising of the Ukrainian flag over the university for the first time in November 1990. Readers are not informed about the relative weight and status of Ukrainian among other languages in late 19th century Czernowitz or about the general language situation at the university. Most interesting here is that support for Ukrainian from the university in Austrian times is cited as an example of ethno-cultural pluralism and tolerance, and that this narrative is combined with the Ukrainian national emancipation narrative reflected in the raising of the Ukrainian flag in late Soviet Chernivtsi.

A striking, albeit not very surprising absence considering the relative number of tourists in those years from Ukraine and adjacent countries, is the lack of objects or achievements from the Soviet period in the narratives presenting the city for tourists[33]. The stories are dominated by references to the city's pre-WWII, and most notably Austrian, past, and all three main tropes – the architectural, the European, and the multicultural – are anchored explicitly

[33] I could add here that only one, and this only in passing and very abstractly, of my respondents answered the question about what in the city he or she would show a guest who has come to Chernivtsi for the first time by pointing to items, persons or stories from the Soviet period.

in the Austrian period. There are no traces of *Ostalgie* or interest in selling the socialist past, whether industrial or otherwise. One could imagine that Chernivtsi does not feature anything spectacular enough in terms of architecture or material culture in this regard to attract attention from tourists from areas of Eastern Ukraine or Russia, and as for Western European tourists there are perhaps more established trademarks to visit in that direction.

However, in one specific context, cultural heritage emanating from the Soviet period is very frequently used to attract attention from tourists. This is the appeal of the earlier described Land of Song tradition. Chernivtsi and Bukovina gave birth to several of the most well-known Ukrainian artists in the folklore-inspired popular music revival of the early 1970s, when Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Nazarii Iaremchuk, and Sofia Rotaru achieved union-wide fame with their music which is still enjoyed all over Ukraine. The stars of this musical boom are regularly included in the name-dropping of famous artists, writers, and poets from the city. As they often are put in the same row as earlier icons of the city like the opera singer Josef Schmidt and the poet Paul Celan here the Soviet period is not simply ignored but included in the historical sequence. Such enumerations also connect the tolerance narrative to artistic creativity:

> "It is far from a coincidence that Chernivtsi became the cradle of artists that personify and represent various national cultures. Honourable names shine on the Alley of Stars at the city's Theatre Square: Josef Schmidt, Sidi Tal, Ivan Mykolaichuk, Nazarii Iaremchuk, Sofia Rotaru, and others. Paul Celan has entered the treasury of world culture. They all spoke different languages, everyone had a unique worldview and style, but all of them were Chernivites who created the honourable history of the city" (Putivnyk Chernivtsi)

The relatively short Turkish history of the city is understudied and underpopularised in Chernivtsi – and the same goes for the information to tourists. In the Travels around ancient Chernivtsi booklet, however, the narrative of a "truly multinational city" emerges also in the presentation of the Square of the Turkish Well (in 2015 renamed Holy Mary Square). The text here focuses on the stone well erected by Turks in the pre-Austrian Chernivtsi of the 18th century, which was later used by the Orthodox Christians of the Old Town and by the Jews of the neighborhood for water for their mikvah. The story explicitly connects the fountain erected in connection with the city's 600th anniversary in 2008 to the Turkish well (Travels around…: 14). However, in

general, the Turkish period is not drawn upon to create interest in the history of the city.

As has been stated in the analysis, there are no apparent conspicuous silences regarding the representation of the communities that took form in Czernowitz and Bukovina during the 19th century. Even the smallest communities of the old city are mentioned, including the Armenians in the city and the Russian Old Believers in the countryside. Most often they come forward in connection with highlighting the city's architectural cultural heritage, where a large variety of churches and national houses often are showcased, but sometimes the canonical ethnic and religious communities are enumerated in introductions and succinct informational columns. The canonical groups are the building stones of the tolerance and cultural diversity narrative and thus are seen as forming the cultural diversity that legitimizes the narrative of retrospective multiculturalism. Outstanding personalities associated with all or most of the canonical groups are often represented in the material, sometimes with explicit information on the traditionally perceived cultural belonging of the person. If some ethnic group, except for Ukrainians, could be said to be more widely featured than others it is the Jewish community, which is paralleled in the mainstream memory narratives in several domains. Poles and Romanians are mentioned in connection with specific buildings but without any greater elaborations.

However, the breaks and continuities associated with this palette of ethnic and religious groups are most often left unaddressed. It is often made clear, not the least in connection with narratives about the Jewish contribution to the city's development, that the present-day community is less numerous than the one that once built the churches, synagogues, and national homes. But the nature, extent and causes of such ruptures are not explained, as are not the shifts in the make-up of some of the groups, most importantly Jews and Armenians, whose post-war Soviet and Post-Soviet outlook was culturally and linguistically very different from the pre-war community. The Holocaust, the ethnic cleansings, deportations, and migrations are generally not referred to.

Historical cultural diversity is rather seen as an asset for presenting the city for tourists today, without problematizing breaks and continuities, and without contextualizing the city's traditions of tolerance, which are mostly simply taken for granted and are regarded as timeless. The following quote clearly illustrates this strategy:

> "Can you imagine how many cultural and political influences the city has felt? Thank God Chernivtsi did not and does not know interethnic strife. Every ethnic community has its sanctuary. If you want you can visit the Polish House, if you prefer you can visit the Ukrainian House. The Romanian Association has its meeting under its own flag, and under the roof of the German House in the Georg Drozdowski Hall young people from the Austro-German Association like to meet. Therefore, multiculturalism is in the genes of Chernivites. It is not a coincidence that on the coat of arms on the Ratusha open gates are portrayed. This is the historical fate and mission of our city. But we can leave history to history, the city intrigues by its own merit. This is felt by everyone who has been here at least once" (Turisticheskyi putevoditel': 19).

Here there is no way for the reader to grasp even the basic fact of rupture. The city is simply presented as being inhabited by historically and contemporary peacefully cohabitating ethnic groups. The historically changing numbers and status of those groups are not hinted to – instead the very existence of formal ethno-cultural associations in contemporary Chernivtsi makes this strategy rhetorically possible. Multiculturalism, here implicitly defined by the cultural diversity itself and the friendly relations between its components, is portrayed as living in the genes of the inhabitants, although only a minority of them can trace their roots in the city back to the period before the Second World War. Most interesting, as this multiculturalism is presented as "the historical fate and mission" for the city, further historical detours are deemed unnecessary, as the city is regarded to speak for itself. What is possibly implied here is that the architectural heritage with its churches, synagogues and national houses, and the famous individuals of various backgrounds associated with the city which are celebrated in memory plaques and street names in the city centre will tell the story of multicultural Chernivtsi to the visitor well enough, with no further contextualization being necessary.

Conclusions

City branding can be analysed from different perspectives, and a large variety of actors can be involved. With limited practical possibilities to conduct a more encompassing study, I have focused on the choices and narratives present in the branding materials of the municipal authorities, not on other producers or on reception.

In terms of content, the main thrust of official city branding in Chernivtsi in the 2000s is based on the three interwoven tropes of tolerance and cultural diversity, architectural heritage and Europeanness. This goes for most, indeed almost all, of the analysed material. The message seems uniform over the language boundaries, without apparent variation in the material in Ukrainian, Russian and English. Often the three main tropes are portrayed together, as diversity and tolerance, where the second seems to automatically flow from the first, strengthens Europeanness, which is expressed in Austrian architecture. In some cases, the emphasis on rural Bukovinian culture, mostly identified with ethnic Ukrainian and Romanian traditions, presents a nativist, "autochthonous" (often implicit) current parallel to retrospective multiculturalism. In some cases, as when the festival Bukovinian Meetings is presented, this rural narrative also turns explicitly multiculturalist speaking in terms of timeless tolerance, although the framework remains Bukovinian, and European only by extension.

The overall impression is that the branding is quite inclusive in terms of superficial group representation, with small communities as Armenians or Russian Old Believers (the latter only in detours to the larger region) almost always featured in the booklets and tour presentations. The story remains, however, strictly defined by Ballinger's term authentic hybridity. More recent groups are not included in the material – no Belarusians, no African students, and no Koreans with roots in the Soviet Far East. Scant attention is being paid to the breaks and continuities of urban demographic history. Relations between the components of cultural diversity are declared to be characterised by an interethnic tolerance unique to the city. This tolerance is implied to have been fostered during Austrian times, but is portrayed as timeless, surviving the fall of the Habsburg Empire and the ethno-demographic ruptures. It is clear from the material that historically the city had more ethno-cultural and linguistic pluralism than it has today, but the changes are not even briefly explained and are not allowed to interfere with the timeless flow of tolerance. Just as sometimes memories of the previous inhabitants are metaphorically seen to live on in the walls of their former buildings, independent from the individuals living in the city, tolerance is here often awarded such a transcendent quality. In the words of the creators of the Uniqueness in Diversity brand, tolerance comes forward as something almost inescapable (Interview with Filatova).

Retrospective multiculturalism involves the celebration and popularization of a mostly lost cultural diversity, usually defined in ethnic and religious terms.

The version of the past being popularised is simplified or streamlined, avoiding or defusing historical conflicts between and within communities and focusing on a smoother, attractive narrative highlighting moments in tune with contemporary needs. We are thus dealing with an invented tradition, not outright false – in fact often fairly realistic – but a tradition reevaluating, reconceptualising and rearranging the past to fit a useable narrative[34]. Retrospective multiculturalism in Ballinger's terms fosters "authentic hybridity", celebrating diversity and cultural interaction of a well-established set of ethnic and religious groups, while only slowly incorporating latter incoming groups into the narrative.

Retrospective multiculturalism could be seen to be fit ideally for city-branding, with its need for clear selling points and positive messages for outsiders as well as for insiders and does not exclude the parallel existence of more complex narratives of past cultural diversity in other urban domains. It prefers to press dissonant heritage (Ashcroft and Tunbridge 1996) into non-problematised and consensual frameworks. The frequent inclusion in official Chernivtsi tourist material of references to small old ethnic communities such as Armenians most often without much reflection on the difficult aspects of the history of this local community in the 20th century is a case in point. This even more clearly goes for the rendering of the city's Jewish heritage in some of the material. Clear and relevant information on the breaks and continuities of the ethnic and religious communities of Chernivtsi during the 20th century is mostly absent from the material, which is especially noticeable in the case of the pre-WWII Jewish and Armenian communities which mostly disappeared from the city in connection with the Second World War, and the post-war and post-Soviet equivalents of which are culturally and linguistically different from their predecessors. The material mostly avoids explaining, however briefly, the ethno-demographic ruptures of the 20th century, why e.g. the Jewish community in contemporary Chernivtsi is small. There is certainly room here for arguments about the ethics of city branding. On the other hand, in the most optimistic interpretation, such shallow exploitations of past cultural

[34] Makas (2012: 5) argues about Sarajevo that similar tropes and narratives are real but selective – the population really was culturally diverse, the religious buildings really were placed close to each other and there really was a relative lack of conflict between the communities, but "these facts are interpreted and given meaning to suit a certain specific agenda" and could thus be seen as "exaggerated and romantizised versions" (ibid: 5) of historical facts and processes.

diversity in city-branding can possibly awaken an interest generating further reflection from participants in other contexts. But, as Wanner (2016: 216-217) argues in an analysis of Chernivtsi place-making in the wake of the anniversary in 2008, such branding represents something potential rather than something already accomplished.

Would it be possible for Chernivtsi to choose a different focus for its branding strategy than retrospective multiculturalism? One should be careful to avoid arguments in terms of path dependence, especially since, as Ashworth and Kavaratzis (2006: 189) remind us, the product and the brand is not necessarily the same thing. But from the perspective of competitive advantage there seems to be little reason e.g. not to focus on the Austrian architectural heritage of the city centre, which was highlighted also in Soviet renderings albeit framed in the context of the surrounding modernizing Soviet city and now involves the UNESCO-protected former Metropolitan residence. The focus on Europeanness is much more distinctively related to post-Soviet conditions and the opening up to the world of Ukraine and the region. In an optimistic view, that focus might have a potential to undermine the shallower approach to past cultural diversity characteristic of city branding. As we saw, interethnic tolerance was not emphasized in Soviet narratives about the city and its history, especially not of its pre-Soviet past which per definition was viewed as traumatic and conflict-ridden. In fact, the late Soviet guidebooks, directed as they were towards a Soviet contemporality and future, were more nativist and focused on territorial struggle with the neighbours than the local post-Soviet Ukrainian tourist materials. On the other hand, retrospective multiculturalism can be seen as a strategic choice for branding in the contemporary era, since it at least on a superficial level interacts with and reflects the globalized rhetorical emphasis on the open, multi-faceted, transnational, and transcultural with all the equivalent buzzwords in different fields and domains.

Chapter 6:

Bonding and bridging memory work: ethno-cultural associations as memory actors

After the ethno-demographic convulsions in connection with WWII and the emigration of most of the remaining Jewish and German population during the 1990s and early 2000s, contemporary Chernivtsi has been predominantly Ukrainian in terms of the inhabitants' ethnic identification, and overwhelmingly Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking. However, the other remaining pockets of pre-war cultural diversity still generate a complex set of mnemonic actors that interact with their respective diasporas and core states. In this situation, memory work in relation to pre-war cultural diversity in Chernivtsi consists both of efforts that are designed, potentially, for all city-dwellers and efforts that are more specifically directed towards members of a particular ethnic or religious community. In the first case, city-dwellers are those who live in the city today irrespective of ethnic or religious belonging (although on festive occasions this is sometimes extended to former inhabitants living elsewhere). It should be stressed, however, that the relationship between the most all-encompassing category of city-dwellers and the majority population in this post-Soviet city is ambiguous. In the 2010s, the language of communication was mostly Ukrainian, especially in official contexts, but sometimes, especially in non-official contexts, Russian was used. In the second case, while events or celebrations are not sealed off from the rest of the population, the prime targets are members of a particular ethnic community, and the language of communication would be, depending on the group and the circumstances, either a particular language traditionally connected to that community or Ukrainian or Russian, or a combination of languages.

In this context, the interplay between what American sociologist Robert Putnam (2000) terms *bridging* and *bonding* social capital comes forward as an important dimension of local memory work in relation to the city's pre-war cultural diversity. For Putnam, bonding social capital is important for strengthening the ties within homogeneous social groups but does not necessarily have positive effects for society as a whole, while bridging capital is characteristic of more open social settings and supports intra-group relations and common institutions. Translated into the terms of memory work, bonding social capital would in our view imply mnemonic actors focusing predominantly on topics and interpretations perceived to be most relevant and beneficial for their respective social group. Bridging memory work would either target the wider (e.g. city, region or nation) social setting or seek to build ties between the various communities, which might include promoting common past potentialities (Erll 2014) as well as highlighting and drawing lessons from toxic memories and traumatic pasts.

In this study, the distinction between bridging and bonding memory work reflects real categories of action, although they are not mutually exclusive. The analysis in this chapter will show that the same actor can do both bridging and bonding memory work at various times and in various contexts, and bonding memory work can ultimately be crucial for the later inclusion of specific memories in the narratives supported and transmitted in bridging memory work. It should be stressed that there is no straight-forward normativity implied to the distinction. A high degree of mnemonic compartmentalisation could be regarded as detrimental to reconciliatory efforts and to social cohesion and learning across group boundaries – and in highly conflict-ridden contexts perhaps even to the peaceful nature of inter-group relations. On the other hand, the bonding memory work conducted by, e.g., Armenian, Jewish, and Romanian actors in Chernivtsi is crucial for the position and visibility of the respective group in the cityscape, and in the case of the numerically weakest groups might be necessary for certain memories to be at all socially communicated. Simultaneously, certain themes, such as the proverbial narrative of Bukovinian tolerance that permeate public discourse in political, academic, and medial fields, provide common tropes that can be promoted, contested, and reshaped following the interests and needs of different actors, as well as serve as ready contexts for the narration of particular memories.

This chapter applies the concepts of bonding and bridging memory work to the study of ethno-cultural associations (*natsional'no-kul'turni tovarystva*).

This is a category of actors that, for some observers, contributes to ethnic "self-isolation" (Kylynych 2005:76) and the ethnic compartmentalisation of memory in Chernivtsi, while for others epitomise the quintessence of the tolerance narrative.

The analysis is based first and foremost on extensive semi-structured interviews, nine of which were conducted from April to June 2013, and two in September 2015, with heads of ethno-cultural associations from Chernivtsi. Materials from websites, mass media, books, etc. are also used. Interviews were conducted with leaders of one Ukrainian, three Romanian, two Jewish and one German-Austrian, Polish and Armenian ethno-cultural association. No interviews were conducted with the two Moldovan associations – one of them is inactive while the other is based not in Chernivtsi but in the small regional centre of Novoselytsia (Rom. Noua Suliță), which has a large population self-identifying as Moldovans. Had this been a study of the Bukovina region this association would have been included, but since the focus is on the city of Chernivtsi where it is not active, I chose to leave it outside the study. Similarly, no interview was conducted with either of the two Russian associations. The oldest and most well-known one, the Sakharov Society, was very active in the last Soviet years and the first post-Soviet decade but has been inactive for many years, and the other very rarely makes imprints on the city's memory culture[35]. Most of the interviews were held in Ukrainian, while the two interviews with Jewish NKTs as well as the one with the head of the Romanian Golgofa Society (and partly the interview with the House of the Romanian Language) were held in Russian at the request of the respondents.

The conceptual angle that shapes our analysis proceeds from the notions of bonding and bridging memory work. How can the strategies and narratives of the different ethno-cultural associations in Chernivtsi be understood in terms of bonding and bridging memory work? To what extent do their networking strategies on various analytical levels involve transcultural cooperation crossing ethnically defined group boundaries? Considering the omnipresence of what I call the tolerance narrative, how do the NKTs relate to, draw upon and shape notions from local multiculturalist narratives on cultural pluralism

[35] Katerynchyk (2005: 406) finds the Russian associations to be very inactive, with no financial support and no interest from Russian youth. The under-articulation of ethnic Russian identity, in a situation where in the census of 2001 11.3% of the city inhabitants self-identified as ethnic Russians, making them 'formally' the second largest ethnic group in the city, has been pointed out to me by several respondents.

and tolerance? How is this affected by strategies for claiming nativeness and authenticity within the pluralist narratives, motives that are present in all interviews with leaders of the NKTs?

Ethno-cultural associations (natsional'no-kul'turni tovarystva)

Ethno-cultural associations (in Ukrainian *natsional'no-kul'turni tovarystva*, hereafter sometimes abbreviated NKT) emerged in the period of intense articulation of collective identities and political agendas in connection with the opening up of late Soviet society in the late 1980s and the subsequent break-up of the Soviet Union. They also emerged during the first years of independent Ukraine, as organisations seeking to preserve and develop the languages, cultures and historical memories of the ethnic group they claimed to represent and support. Ethno-cultural associations became actors engaged in what was seen as the rebirth (*vidrodzhennia*) of ethnic groups and 'their' cultures in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet periods.

In some parts of Ukraine, as in Odesa, ethno-cultural associations were sometimes formed on the basis of Soviet organisations for friendship with different countries and could in some cases use their premises (Riznykova 2011: 138-140). In Chernivtsi the ethno-cultural associations that were formed in the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s often by their statutes claim heritage to previously existing ethno-cultural organisations mostly formed during Austrian rule in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. They continued their activities during the Romanian interwar period until they were shut down by the Soviet authorities after the take-over in 1940 following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. According to the list of ethno-cultural societies published on the city's official web site in 2013, there were 21 officially registered NKTs in Chernivtsi oblast'.[36] Ukrainian, Romanian, Jewish, Polish and German NKTs sought the full return of the respective national houses that were built in Austrian times with funds raised within the ethnic communities and that hosted much of the political, cultural and media activities of these organisations until 1940. Only in the case of the Ukrainian

[36] http://city.cv.ua/portal/1133-2 visited 29 March 2015.

House was full ownership restored, while the other newly formed ethno-cultural NKTs were granted control of at least parts of the former national houses free of rent but with payment for communal services such as water and electricity[37].

Ethno-cultural associations of a similar kind to those in Ukraine also exist in other post-Soviet states (see e.g. for Russia Daucé 2015, for Latvia Racko 2008, for Kazakstan Holm Hansen 1999). In a study of Tatar ethno-cultural associations in Moscow, Daucé (2015) argues that the assumptions behind the activities of NKTs is based on essentialist conceptions of cultural diversity as being comprised of homogeneous ethnic groups with a fixed set of cultural attributes worthy of protection and development. The representational connection between NKT and the ethnic community it claims to represent can be understood both by activists and authorities in an essentialist way, although in the case of a few numerically very small communities in Chernivtsi such claims of actual representation could seem somewhat less extravagant. The NKTs could be described as ethnic entrepreneurs in Brubaker's (2002: 167) sense, actors that might live "off" as well as "for" ethnicity" (ibid), invoking ethnic groups in order to evoke them.

Ethno-cultural associations are seen as having a 'double' role in Ukrainian minority politics, as both representatives of ethnic minorities (however (un)reasonable such a claim would be in relation to a specific association) and as instruments and facilitators of state and regional minority policies. NKTs are thereby seen by the authorities simultaneously as representing group interests, having an important role in the promotion and development of ethnic cultures, languages, literatures and traditions (Baranovs'ka 2012: 66; Riznykova 2011: 138; Kruhlashov & Shcherbatiuk 2013) and as intermediaries between the state and the ethnic groups, as actors facilitating intercultural dialogue (Dauce 2015).

An official document of the Chernivtsi oblast' council provides a more specific regional description of the activities of the NKTs. Here, ethno-cultural associations

> "facilitate the rebirth and development of languages, customs, traditions, spiritual achievements of national minorities. From their initiative and together

[37] E.g. the Romanian Eminescu Society and the Polish Mickiewicz Society use only the first floors of their respective buildings in very attractive locations at the Central Square and Kobylyans'ka Street respectively.

> with the authorities, museums are created, exhibitions are prepared, ethnic festivities, children's festivals and literature evenings are conducted." (Normatyvno-pravovi dokumenty 2006: 3).

NKTs are both NGOs organised from below and partners in the authorities' minority policies. In the regions there are different levels of formalisation and extent of such cooperation between the authorities and officially recognised NKTs. In the Chernivtsi region a council that includes most leaders of the local NKTs exists as an advisory board for local minority politics. However, local experts point out that this council has almost never met and does not have any real political function (Interview with Chernivtsi political scientist Ihor Havrada, 16 April 2013). The interviews with NKT leaders show that the local NKTs evaluate the actions of, support from, and cooperation with the local authorities in various ways, sometimes describing attitudes as basically benevolent and other times pointing to the lack of serious and consistent policies towards the ethno-cultural organisations. As a local political scientist argues, NKTs in Chernivtsi emphasise that they are not part of the political field and claim that they deal only with cultural enlightenment (Katerynchuk 2007: 405), while, as Baranovs'ka (2012: 75) argues on the national level, some NKTs would occasionally support or work against certain political candidates.

The varying sources of funding of the activities of ethno-cultural associations in Ukraine include the regional budgets, sponsorship by local, national and transnational NGOs, the eventual kin-states of the ethnic groups, and internal community fund-raising (Baranovs'ka 2012: 65). This corresponds well with the situation in Chernivtsi where the region (oblast') every year allocates smaller sums to fund specific activities of the NKTs[38]. The work of the Romanian, Jewish, Polish, Armenian, etc. NKTs in Chernivtsi are also supported to various extents by kin-states and transnational organisations, as well as by individual sponsors from the respective communities, as pointed out by Chernivtsi political scientists Kruhlashov & Shcherbatiuk (2013: 292). Chernivtsi oblast' is the smallest in Ukraine both in terms of territory and population, and the resource base for the local elites and interest groups, among them NKTs, is therefore "quite narrow and limited".

[38] Full lists of supported organisations, events and sums can be found on the official website of the regional council.

Schlegel's (2017) study of the culturally diverse Bessarabian part of Odesa oblast' shows how NKTs also can be instruments for political clientelism, through their activities providing arenas for politicians playing out their support for ethnic diversity and tolerance.

It should be emphasised here that, in Chernivtsi, it is not only organisations from national minorities that are encompassed by the term ethno-cultural associations. At the time of my fieldwork, the Ukrainian House and its leader Volodymyr Staryk was viewed by some of our respondents from different categories as the most important actor among local NKTs. An immediate reason for this inclusion is that the Post-Soviet Ukrainian House is seen as the inheritor of the pre-Soviet Ukrainian organisation that worked in the same premises from late Austrian times up until 1940 as one of five national houses of the major local ethnic groups. In this interpretation, the Ukrainian House represents local ethnic Ukrainians, although the geopolitical and ethno-demographic setting obviously is profoundly different. Furthermore, as was shown in the chapter about the return of the tolerance narrative to Post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the Ukrainian ethnic group is considered by many local activists and opinion-makers to go through a difficult period of ethno-cultural rebirth after decades of Soviet rule to no lesser extent than the ethnic minorities.

NKTs in local memory culture in Chernivtsi

In a study on everyday ethnicity in Chernivtsi, Koziura (2014) argues, correctly in my view, that ethnicity and the mnemonic and linguistic discourses often symbolically attached to it is not as omnipresent and unequivocally expressed in the everyday life of city dwellers as it can be in elite discourses. Ethnicity is indeed present in the notions and stereotypes city dwellers with different ethnic identifications entertain about each other and can be played out in individual strategies for obtaining e.g. a Romanian passport or a "Polish card" (ibid: 13), but there are, as Koziura notes, e.g. few ethnically marked places in the city, like a "Jewish restaurant" or "a Romanian barber" (ibid: 5)[39].

[39] This still held true in September 2015, although a Romanian cultural centre (a filial of the Romanian equivalent to Alliance Francaise sponsored by the Romanian state) with the attached Café Bucharest had been established in a prestigious location at Kobylians'ka Street. Rather than focusing on specifically ethnic themes, restaurants and cafés in Chernivtsi tend to play out commodified expressions of reflective nostalgia (Boym 1995)

However, this chapter is not a study of reception in everyday life, but part of a dissertation on local elite narratives on memory and cultural diversity, in which ethno-cultural associations are important mnemonic actors. Ethno-cultural associations take part in debates, raise memory issues in the political, academic and media fields, initiate projects shaping the symbolic urban landscape with street names, monuments, and memory plaques, cooperate with other local, national and transnational actors in commemorative projects and more habitually perpetuate the wheel of 'official' ethnic memory by arranging anniversaries and festivals. The visibility in the larger cityscape of the activities of the ethno-cultural associations varies in this respect depending on the organisation, event, and time. Some of those activities reach a wider audience and involve more complex networking or innovation than others. The ethno-cultural associations have a visible role in shaping the tropes from past, often perceived and narrativised through the lens of ethnic diversity, that are drawn upon in the city branding of official agencies. The ethno-cultural associations are therefore also important in the legitimation strategies of local authorities, as is seen in an official report from the regional council on the support to ethnic minorities in Chernivtsi oblast':

> "Much attention is being paid to renewal of historical memory, celebration of representatives of national minorities that became victims of the totalitarian regimes. In the city of Chernivtsi, a memorial plaque has been opened to the victims of the Jewish ghetto, a statue to M. Eminescu, and memorial plaque to the Romanian composer C. Porumbescu. Many streets in Chernivtsi carry the names of famous cultural actors of Bukovina from different nationalities." (Normatyvno-pravovi dokumenty 2006: 4)

Many of my respondents among representatives of political parties, researchers, journalists and activists mention ethno-cultural associations as being some of the most influential institutions involved in memory work in the city, and some argue that NKTs are the most important factor here. Larysa Serhiiva, head editor of Telekanal Chernivtsi, a local TV station that frequently reports from the activities of NKTs, reflects on actors influential for the preservation of cultural heritage in the city:

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in relation to Austrian and Habsburg themes, e.g. Café Habsburg, Wiener-Café etc. The exception was possibly, for a few years one restaurant on Kobylians'ka Street, Pans'ka Huralnia, that celebrated traditional Bukovinian cooking with recipes 'representing' various Bukovinian ethnic groups marked symbolically in the menu.

> "You know, I really would like to say that much is related to the authorities, but I cannot say this. I think something is related to it, but somewhat formally, let's say. After all, more is done by the representatives of the associations. We have ethnic associations: Romanian, German, a Polish, and yes, they preserve, they follow up, they arrange certain events, and they try to as a diaspora, with their nationalities beyond Ukraine's borders. They show something, bring something over here. This is of course all interesting for us, journalists, and I think this rests more on their shoulders." (Interview with Larysa Serhiiva, 25 April 2013)

This view is supported by Iaroslav Kurko, a local politician and businessman representing the Front Zmin party associated with then Prime Minister Arsenyi Iatseniuk:

> "And there are also the ethno-cultural associations that are created, well they cannot really be enough responsible, as you said, for preserving this culture, but they try to represent on the international arena at least the fact that this culture exists, and they conduct a normal common existence with other cultures. All ethno-cultural associations, we have a Ukrainian, Polish, Romanian, Jewish and even Russian, but I really don't know that that one has done something on the ethno-cultural field, i.e. the most important ethnic groups are represented by ethno-cultural societies." (Interview with Iaroslav Kurko, 27 April 2013)

In the next section we will analyse the strategies and narratives of the ethno-cultural associations in Chernivtsi.

Ukrainian National House: between multiple re-ethnification and first among equals

The Ukrainian National House stands out among the other ethno-cultural associations for the outreach and diversity of its activities and is arguably more visible on the general political and socio-cultural scene in the city than any other local NKT. It claims to be the successor to the Ukrainian National House founded in 1884 when Ukrainians were but one of several ethnic groups in Czernowitz. In its present guise, when Ukrainians form a large ethnic majority in Chernivtsi, the Ukrainian National House was founded in 1990. Unlike the Polish, German Romanian and Jewish national houses, its premises, the national house, built in 1903 with funds from the local Ukrainian community

was, fully returned to the Ukrainian National House in 1992. Since 1993, the head of the organisation has been Volodymyr Staryk, a physicist and economist by education and a well-known and outspoken local journalist, political activist and public intellectual who served as deputy mayor for humanitarian issues under mayor Viktor Pavliuk 1991-1994. His political self-identification is nationalist, and he has been co-leader of the local branch of Rukh since the last Soviet and first independent Ukrainian years and was, for many years, leader of the local branch of the authoritarian radical right Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN (m)) – at the time of my fieldwork these organisations were also physically located in the Ukrainian National House on Lomonosov Street (from 2015 Iakob von Petrovych Street).

Staryk has been an active local player in the fields of memory politics and cultural diversity since the late 1980s. During his time as deputy mayor for humanitarian issues in the early 1990s, which included questions relating to the symbolic urban landscape, he was involved in the change of more than 50 names of streets and squares, and in 1995 initiated the raising of a monument to the controversial Ukrainian military unit Bukovins'kyi Kurin', accused by some researchers of taking part in the Babyn Iar massacre in Kyiv as well as in terror campaigns in Belarusian villages. Staryk was therefore involved both with changes of street names during a first phase of symbolic de-Sovietisation that contributed to the establishment of a diversified toponymical landscape celebrating public figures from many local ethnic groups, and with the erection of a monument that in the 1990s stirred controversy among Polish and Jewish activists. The activities of the Ukrainian National House as well as our interview with Staryk provide examples of how a self-declared nationalist position here goes hand in hand – albeit as we will see not without conflicts – with support for a variety of local multiculturalism celebrating Bukovina's traditional ethno-cultural diversity. This is not remarkable in itself, considering the philosophical and ideological threads that tie nationalism and multiculturalism together, but is all the more significant since the local topoi of cultural diversity are used by many actors, including other ethnic nationalists from some of the Romanian NKTs, for a wide variety of purposes. I will now analyse the strategies and narratives of the Ukrainian House in terms of bonding and bridging memory work.

Cooperation with local and transnational organisations

The activities of the Ukrainian National Home apart from the ethno-cultural field include developing local self-governance, journalism and electoral monitoring. It cooperates with the civic organisation Committee of Ukrainian Voters in electoral monitoring and sends observers to the electoral districts and administers microgrants for projects financed by the city council on urban development. The Ukrainian National House is also known locally for its ability to get funding from international organisations, especially the Renaissance Foundation and various grants from EU structures. Staryk underlines that presentations of the Renaissance Foundation in Chernivtsi are often made in the Ukrainian House.

As for transcultural cooperation with other NKT, Staryk says that this cooperation is more formal, about meeting for celebrations, since the other NKT are focusing on contacts with their kin-states:

> "Cultural questions, well, then of course this is the ethno-cultural associations, but honestly this cooperation is more celebratory, someone has some kind of celebrations, anniversaries, we invited them, they invited us, those organisations differ from the Ukrainian National House in the sense that they work with Warsaw, Berlin or Tel Aviv or something else. From there they have finances, they work and fulfil certain functions, i.e. they don't do social projects, they might not have that much money, or they don't need it, or they are just used to be satisfied with those little subsidies." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk 4 June 2013)

In an interesting comparison with the inhabitants of a modern apartment building, Staryk underlines the compartmentalisation of the lives of NKTs:

> "I live in Chernivtsi, there are three apartments on my floor, I only know that they are neighbours, I only say hello to them, I have never had anything in common with them, if our only lamp burns out in the stairways, we take turn to shift it. We live together for ten years but I am not concerned about his affairs, where his children are, he is not interested in my affairs, the same story also with those ethnocultural associations. Because I say our interests are inside, there are directed outwards. I don't say this is bad, this is just a completely different kind of activity." (ibid)

Staryk here expresses a thought shared by many respondents – that the ethno-cultural associations contribute to a pillarisation of the ethnic communities in

the city, as well as of memory culture. The transcultural initiatives of the Ukrainian National House are therefore not so much a result of cooperation with other NKTs as about funding from other sources, not least international organisations. As an example, we can mention a project sponsored by the Renaissance Foundation about communication between pupils from different multicultural regions in Ukraine (Chernivtsi, Odesa and Crimea) with exchanges, focus-groups, visits to museums and the ethno-cultural associations, etc. (Interview with Ihor Havrada, 16 April 2013). Another project supported by the same foundation was directly about borderland identity and the experience of Bukovinian tolerance, out of which came a website from the Ukrainian National House called *Bukovina Tolerantna* (see http://buktolerance.com.ua/) about the life and history of ethnic communities in Bukovina and a book with legal acts and agreements in this field, *Kodeks Tolerantnosti* (ibid; Staryk and Khalavka 2010).

Bukovinian tolerance as myth

In the light of the terminology and language used by the Ukrainian National House in websites and publications it is interesting that Staryk, much clearer than any other interviewed NKT leader, argues that the oft-mentioned Bukovinian tolerance is a myth, and one upheld not least by materialistic local authorities looking for a fig leaf of political and cultural legitimacy. He refuses to accept the locally frequently stated view, supported by many of our respondents, that tolerance can be assessed by the absence of open conflicts. For Staryk, tolerance is when each group can cultivate its identity, which he argues is not the case in Bukovina.

> "By tolerance many authors and people mean non-conflict. Since there is no disorder on ethnic or religious grounds, they talk about Bukovinian tolerance. But if we dig deeper into the notion of tolerance, then it is not only the tolerance of one cultural or religious group to another, but the praise of the possibilities of people to cultivate their identity. And in Bukovina and in the whole Central and Eastern Europe there is not a hint of that." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013)

As an example, Staryk recalls his own childhood in the heavily Russian-language Soviet Chernivtsi of the 1960s, when his Ukrainian-speaking parents were chided by their Russian-speaking neighbours in the centre of the city for

speaking Ukrainian, not Russian, to their son[40]. Furthermore, Staryk insists, unlike e.g. the head of the Polish Adam Mickiewicz Society, it is not possible to talk about tolerance when the groups that made up local cultural diversity are all but gone.

> "Now our authorities that have no ideology except for making money began to propagate Bukovinism, Bukovinian tolerance, those words are flowing out of every speech of the city or regional authorities, but it is very easy to ask them and they cannot give any answer: is the Bukovinian society tolerant if during the last decades of our life, such ethnic groups as Bukovinian Armenians, Bukovinian Poles, Bukovinian Germans, Bukovinian Jews have absolutely disappeared? Because those Russian-speakers who are here are not Bukovinian Armenians, Bukovinian Roma, which were thousands in Austrian times." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk 4 June 2013)

The virtual absence of the former inhabitants renders the official, celebratory gloss about Bukovinian tolerance skewed and artificial. It is notable that when Staryk underlines the distinction, which has real social foundations and is mentioned by many respondents, between older Bukovinian and Soviet and Post-Soviet communities of e.g. Jews and Armenians, he normatively emphasises the non-authenticity and non-nativeness of Russian-speakers of various ethnic background that arrived after WWII. When Staryk draws on local multiculturalist tropes he is therefore referring to the classic ethno-cultural communities that lived in Bukovina before the advent of Soviet power and not to their co-ethnics that arrived during Soviet times[41].

Much of Staryk's criticism of the authorities' efforts in commemorating the multiethnic past is about what he perceives as the ignorance or lack of judgement of the latter when they draw from multiculturalist tropes:

> "Multiculturalism from the lips of the absolutely uncultured authorities is often parodic. The governor told fairy-tales that in the Bukovinian Seim protocols were written in Yiddish. I say: 'I give you 1000 dollars if you can show me one protocol'." (ibid)

[40] Among my respondents, heads of Armenian, German and Romanian NKTs also report ethnic discrimination in various ways and contexts during Soviet times in Bukovina.

[41] This division into authentic Bukovinians of various nationalities and newcomers is not furthered by Staryk alone, and has equivalents in other examples of social distinction, such as between established city-dwellers in Chernivtsi (however that is defined given the specific context) and migrants from the Bukovinian countryside, which is a quite common form of othering in public discourse in the city.

An example is when he questions the choice to found an award in the name of the 20th century Jewish singer Sidi Tal, who is still loved and remembered in the remaining Jewish community and has a memorial plaque dedicated to her on the walls of the philharmonic. For Staryk, Tal was rather a cabaret singer, a representative of a lower cultural style, while awards should rather be set up in the names of famous opera singers from Chernivtsi, like (Jewish) Josef Schmidt or (Ukrainian) Orest Rusnak[42]. In a similar way he questions the naming of a book publishing award after the Polish 19th century long-time mayor of Czernowitz, Anton Kochanowski, when the names of the owners of the local printing house (or the owner of a famous book shop of the same period, Heinrich Pardini (ethnic German), is not commemorated by the city council.

For Staryk, such official uses of multiculturalism emerge because of adjustment to Western discourse, often for pragmatic reasons:

> "If one was to talk about this multiculturalism with a Soviet term, because in Soviet times there were constant campaign about "bowing to the West". You know, what they do is bowing to the West. They understand multiculturalism as bending and kissing the feet of absolutely unknown foreigners, on the central building of the university you will see a plaque to some Polish researcher. Why? Because in the toponymical commission it was decided to put it up since this guy was here during his first year in the university, i.e. he was a student. This university had thousands of students, some of them became laureates of the Nobel Prize. Why? Because he was in Wroclaw/…/He wants to go to Wroclaw, get some kind of grant, this is the most frequent. Absolutely incredible, why a plaque to this one but not to that one, to all principals?"

Multiple re-ethnification

In terms of bonding and bridging memory work, the Ukrainian National House focuses primarily on matters connected to the historic Ukrainian community in the city, but many of its activities are devoted to wider issues of remembrance of pre-Soviet Bukovina and its inhabitants. In its work on ethnic relations it can be said to pursue the parallel goals of strengthening all traditional local ethno-cultural identities while safe-guarding the positions of ethnic Ukrainians in Chernivtsi oblast' as first among equals.

[42] In the case of Rusnak, Staryk argues that the reason for him not being commemorated is that he was a politically active Ukrainian from Chernivtsi who took part in Ukrainian military formations and made his career as a singer in München after WWII.

In order to throw light on how the Ukrainian National House seeks to, in parallel, strengthen Ukrainian identity and the identities of the other traditional ethno-cultural groups I draw on Norwegian political scientist Jörn Holm-Hansen's (1999) term *multiple re-ethnification*. The term describes a Kazakstani government strategy in the 1990s that, while simultaneously building a nation-state for Kazaks, sought to fight the emergence of a multiethnic Russophone identity among Kazakstani citizens by encouraging people of all ethnic backgrounds to preserve and strengthen their own ethnic identification.

> "This policy of multiple re-ethnification does not seek to cleanse people of solely Kazak ethnicity. Rather, all ethnic groups, Poles, Koreans, and Germans etc., are expected to find their "roots" irrespective of the time which has passed since their forefathers ceased to speak anything but Russian. In the rivalry between Kazak and Russophone cultures in Kazakstan universal re-ethnification must be regarded as an attack on the cross-ethnic Russophone identity." (Holm-Hansen 1999: 172)

In the case of the Ukrainian National House, which is an ethno-cultural association, not part of the state machinery, multiple re-ethnification is built on the following dimensions: firstly, pre-WWII ethno-cultural diversity is contrasted with its destruction before, during and after WWII and with subsequent Soviet cultural unification and Russification. Local multiculturalism encompassing the traditional pantheon of Bukovinian ethnic and religious groups with their respective cultural markers is thereby mobilised in the critique of Soviet policies and practices and in resisting linguistic and cultural practices established during the Soviet period that are seen as illegitimate. In memory battles on the national level, the Ukrainian National House supports the emancipatory national Ukrainian agenda seeking de-Sovietisation and de-communisation. Secondly, memories of the ethnic Ukrainian community are prioritised in the work of the Ukrainian National House and, within the multiple re-ethnification framework, Ukrainian versions of the symbolic ownership of the land in the face of claims from Romanian actors are sometimes given voice. The common thread uniting the Ukrainian National House's variety of nationalism with support for old Bukovinian cultural pluralism is the emphasis on the destructive impact of the Soviet system on Bukovinian society. As we will see, however, this framework has its internal contradictions.

A prominent example of how the Ukrainian National House works with memories of pre-WWII cultural diversity is a tour guide called Multicultural Chernivtsi (*Chernivtsi multykul'turni*), produced with the help of a grant from the Renaissance Foundation and published by the Ukrainian National House in 2012. The tour guide was intended for schools in a project about learning tolerance to pupils, and the goal was to make children think about the cultural environment they or their forefathers belonged to (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013). According to Staryk, this field of knowledge is ignored by local schools, who rather tell their students about "worms in the Amazon River" than about the local cultural heritage:

> "Often when we made this project we went to the schools, chatted with the senior students in different Ukrainian and Romanian schools and asked: "Who among you have been told something about the history of Chernivtsi or your community by your parents?". No hands are raised in the classroom. When I ask the question: "Who among the parents were born in Chernivtsi?" seldom two or three hands are raised out of 30. This means that people who came to this environment, we want them to preserve cultural diversity, they have not acquired any culture, and it is not enough through school, to pass through something, and school also does not teach it, it teaches about different worms in the Amazon River this is regarded as very important for children. But to know the culture of one's land, of one's people…" (ibid)

The intention was, according to Staryk, to counteract this lack of knowledge about the old city of the new inhabitants by providing schools and pupils with archival material so they themselves could make the tours, but as this did not succeed Staryk compiled the guide himself. The other NKTs were consulted, but only the Romanian one was able to add significantly to the information as "the other ethnic communities very poorly know the history of their predecessors"[43] (ibid). Staryk believes that the booklet was bought mostly by tour guides, but he does not know to what extent it has been used.

The tour guide, a small booklet of 18 pages, includes eight city excursions in the form of seven ethnic walks presenting to readers streets, buildings, monuments and other features of the urban landscape associated with a

[43] As we will see below, Viktor Davydovych from the Armenian NKT in his interview mentions the booklet and the Armenian contribution to it. Staryk also acknowledges that the Polish NKT enthusiastically received the result and published the Polish excursion in their newspaper.

particular ethnic community. Each ethnic walk is presented by a one-page text describing Armenian, Jewish, Polish, German, Russian, Romanian and Ukrainian Chernivtsi and is illustrated with a detailed map marking the ethnic spots relevant for the particular walk. The cover features the name of the city in the seven languages involved and a drawing of a street scene in the city centre portraying representatives of different communities saying or reading something in their native languages[44]. The walks are preceded by a foreword where the main principles for the tour guide are explained. The booklet takes a critical view on efforts to claim the city for only one ethnic group, and also criticises local tour guides earning a living by showing distorted versions of urban history to serve the wishes of foreign tourist groups:

> "Even a short glance at the past of only one of hundreds of streets in Chernivtsi shows how wrong are those actors who fight to hoarseness about whom this city really was – German or Jewish, Romanian, Russian or Ukrainian? Equally unfit are the efforts of some 'professional' tour guides who earn their living by serving rich aficionados of ethnic and religious tourism from abroad to prepare a cultural history of Chernivtsi to satisfy their clients." (*Chernivtsi multikul'turni* 2012: 4)

The booklet proposes an approach that declares the contemporary city to belong to the contemporary inhabitants, while the history of the city belongs to all communities who used to live there.

> "Instead, it is much more logical to argue that politically and in terms of self-governance the city belongs to those who live in it today, while the cultural history of Chernivtsi belongs to the ethnic communities who during the centuries built it and left to us as heritage these monuments of their ethnic culture, not only spiritual but also material. We remember all those monuments during our excursions, even if they were physically destroyed during totalitarianism." (ibid)

The booklet thereby draws on mainstream local multiculturalist tropes taking ethnicity as the starting point for a tour guide of old Chernivtsi, and sees the city's cultural history as the sum of its ethnic communities:

[44] The following utterances are featured on the cover: from a window in Ukrainian "Can you please close the window?"; from a window on the other side of the street in Romanian "Can you please leave me alone?"; in Polish from a man looking out from his house on the street "Will tomorrow be better than today?", and a German stating "We will leave tomorrow".

> "The history of each ethnic community in the city of Chernivtsi is interesting and unique, each one left us as heritage monuments of its spiritual and material culture, which are the pride of all new generations of city-dwellers/…/all Chernivtsi people belonged to different ethnic communities, and we cannot dare to ignore any of them." (ibid)

As all ethnic communities in the city during the last two centuries according to Staryk went from a religious form of self-identification to an ethno-national one, the walks begin with churches and synagogues and continue with schools and important actors associated with the ethnic life of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The booklet could be seen as an expression of the multiple re-ethnification policy of the Ukrainian House. Local history is the history of the traditional ethnic and religious communities, and the achievements of each community should be remembered by contemporary inhabitants, taught to them in schools and shown to them and to visitors by tour guides. At the time, while the history belongs to its ethnic makers, the present city belongs to those who live there now – in ethnic terms overwhelmingly Ukrainians. The history that contemporary owners should know in this version includes the history of pre-WWII ethnic communities, but not monuments or buildings from the Soviet period, which is therefore left in a vacuum between the old Czernowitz and today's Chernivtsi. In this way, Soviet heritage is treated as invisible, insignificant, and unwanted.

At the time of the interview, the Ukrainian National House was the only NGO in Bukovina that worked on social and cultural issues concerning the local Roma communities. The Ukrainian National House has published a booklet (Staryk and Khalavka 2013) on the history and contemporary situation of the Roma in Chernivtsi oblast, on the basis of EU funding. Apart from demographics and historical information, the booklet includes positive stories of Roma musicians, soldiers and local politicians that historically made a contribution to the life of Bukovina.

Interestingly, the decision to engage with Roma issues was partly motivated by the perceived need to strengthen this group's identity (although, to be sure, with a paternalistic desire to define for local Roma what their identity should include):

> "We take this upon ourselves. We do this, others do not do it. There are groups where it is not even clear how they would strengthen their identity. The Roma

> of the Soviet Union codified some kind of Romani language, and this is considered the Roma language. But here people did never speak it, they don't know this language, for them it is not native, if they will study it, then they apart from Russian, Ukrainian, and Romanian will know one more language, they will make schooling impossible in this language. The institutions that for other nations encouraged not even the spread but the transmittance from generation to generation, here this cannot happen, they don't have an ethnic education. Here is a task for the whole of society to support the cultural things they have, and we try to do this to the extent of our possibilities." (ibid)

One of the goals of the project was to map the numbers of Roma living in Chernivtsi oblast', as the activists suspected the actual numbers, as in many parts of Europe, is higher than the 97 persons officially self-identifying as Roma in the census of 2001'. The Ukrainian National House severely criticised local authorities for ignoring the Roma and trying to play down their number in the municipalities, when several thousand Roma lived within the borders of today's Chernivtsi oblast' during the times of the Austrian and Russian Empires. Staryk also mentions the reluctance of well-known Roma in various professions to publicly acknowledge their identity, which for him is one further indicator that tolerance in Bukovina is not what it is declared to be.

> "And now 100 persons admits having Roma ethnicity, we know famous people who are researchers, recognised artists, great businessmen and none of them will say that they have Roma background, because this is shameful and it can call on you, and maybe they are right." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk 4 June 2013)

The project sent out queries to the heads of villages and municipalities in the region, and the number of Roma was reported by local authorities as about 4000 in total in Chernivtsi oblast' in 2013 (Staryk and Khalavka 2013: 6). In the denial of some local municipalities of the existence of Roma in their communities (e.g. by arguing that there are no nomads here, while Roma in Bukovina have long been settled) or their reluctance to provide answers Staryk finds strategies to increase the number of Romanians in Romanian-dominated villages, and perhaps reasons are similar in Ukrainian-dominated ones (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013). Staryk feels this is a mistake, since the existence of Roma in their communities might bring opportunities to seek funding from funds and international organisations:

> "They don't want to have problems, but they don't understand that they on the contrary might receive some help from international organisations to support, but for this you have to do something, and the civil servants do not want to do it, so NGOs try to establish some contact and use the possibilities that are there." (ibid)

The Ukrainian National House, like some of the other NKTs, works with tidying up and repairing graves of historical figures in the old Christian cemetery on Zelena Street. Most often this concerns Ukrainian figures, but the importance of the task is rather seen as transcultural:

> "Those directions in which we participate, a commission organises such meetings for students and pupils. We walk, this is done together with excursions, we tidy up a grave of some historical actor who lies here, and there should be three times more such studies of the cultural history of each community. An individual has to know that in Chernivtsi lived Eminescu, Vorobkevych or someone else, in this building he or his relatives lived, or his sister, and in the cemetery, we have to show the children the grave of the actor or his relatives, or friends, so that the individual did not approach this in an abstract way, so he could grow culturally to the city. This is quite hard, but…" (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013)

However, at times the focus of the Ukrainian National House on the revival of local ethnic communities in Bukovina comes into conflict with the main ethno-cultural concern of the association – the revival of ethnic Ukrainian culture and memory. An example of how the Ukrainian and the multicultural vectors collide is the conflict, mentioned by several respondents, around the former mayors Osip Bezpalko and Traian Popovici. In the meeting hall of the city council are portraits of all mayors in the city's history, starting from Austrian and Romanian times through the Soviet local communist party leaders to the mayors of Chernivtsi in independent Ukraine. Until a few years ago, the only two exceptions were Osip Bezpalko, who led a short-lived Ukrainian interim local government in 1918, and Traian Popovici, who was the appointed mayor during the Romanian rule in 1941-1944, and sometimes is known as the Oscar Schindler of Czernowitz, recognised by Yad Vashem as one of the righteous among nations. The conflict started as Staryk and the Ukrainian National House were upset by the unwillingness of then mayor Fedoruk to hang Bezpalko's portrait in the hall, with the motivation that the latter was never elected, and by the idea to hang the portrait of Popovici, who was also not

elected. This led to harsh polemics in the local media where Staryk tied the two cases together, and severely criticised the decision to celebrate Popovici, who he dismissed as a corrupt official that sold certificates to more well-off Jews to stay in the city as useful civil servants and professionals to avoid deportation to the concentration camps in Transnistria. He also drew attention to the harsh Romanianisation policies of Popovici's administration and the destruction of Ukrainian institutions. Staryk's approach was countered by, e.g., journalist Serhii Vorontsov (see interview with Vorontsov). Both the Jewish Community and Hesed Shushana underline the importance of Popovici as a saver of Jews, and they cooperated with Bukovinian diaspora Jewish communities in New York to set up a memory plaque to his honour in 2009 (Interview with Lev Kleiman, interview with Leonid Fuks).

Another focus of the Ukrainian National House is toponomical issues, and here too the Ukrainian and the multicultural vectors can conflict in some cases. One example is the reactions of Staryk to the return of the original name Jakob von Petrowicz Street after the city's first official mayor, an ethnic Armenian (see the section about the Armenian NKT for more details) to Lomonosov Street, where the Ukrainian House is located. While city officials, researchers and the Armenian community celebrated the fulfilment of this long-term goal of the Armenian NKT, Staryk criticised both the decision to return the old name to the street and the raising in the summer of 2015 of a monument to von Petrowicz on a small square on the corner of von Petrowicz and Rus'ka Street[45]. Staryk portrayed von Petrowicz as a 'random' person in the history of Chernivtsi and, referring to his failed attempt to convince the city council to rename the Moscow Olympics Street in Sichovi Striltsi[46] Street, lamented the inability of the city to properly celebrate Ukrainian historical figures. As in the case with Popovici, the failure of the city council to approve the Ukrainian National House's proposition to commemorate figures associated with ethnic Ukrainian history and the fight for Ukrainian statehood provoked polemics in local media on the commemoration of figures from other ethnic groups and national narratives.

[45] http://buknews.com.ua/page/petrovych-na-vulytsi-petrovycha-u-chernivtsiakh.html

[46] A military formation of Ukrainians in the Austrian army, formed during WWI, which is celebrated for its battles with Russian troops in the Carpathians and later for taking part in battles with the Red Army in Central Ukraine and with Polish troops in Galicia.

The Ukrainian National House's support for the memorial aspects of multiple re-ethnification seems to be limited when the commemoration is too one-sidedly devoted to one ethnic group. Staryk reacts negatively to the heavy Jewish focus on the diaspora web site Grüss aus Czernowitz, on which contributors post photos and other material from pre-Soviet Czernowitz:

> "Actually, Jewish Chernivtsi is a terrible myth/…/Jews lived here, Germans lived here, Poles lived here, Romanians, Germans, Lipovans, this was a multicultural city and to make the city Jewish is to make it uncultured." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013).

In this regard, he criticises the efforts of Jewish organisations to commemorate the lower, Moldovan, parts of the city, the area that also was marked during the Holocaust as the Jewish ghetto, as a specifically Jewish territory. Staryk remarks, basically correctly, that there were no clearly marked ethnic quarters in Czernowitz and the Moldovan small town that preceded the Austrian city, and that divisions in geographical terms were rather socio-economic than ethno-religious, with wealthy Jews living in the upper parts of the city with more well-off individuals of other nationalities and faiths. Staryk argues that the lower city also is the place of the oldest Orthodox churches[47] and, more controversially, that marking the place of the Holocaust in Chernivtsi as a specific Jewish district is an absurd way of commemoration:

> "This is not necessarily like this, when they made this on the scale of the ghetto, as the Romanians did for unknown reasons already in 1941, so it became clear that all Christian churches turned up in the ghetto, tens, hundreds of memory places where Ukrainian, Romanian, and German historical figures were born and lived. A total fiction emerges, strangely, because this has to be analysed from a psychological viewpoint, it recreates the shape of the ghetto, the place where the Jewish community was annihilated, now they make white out of black, i.e. Jews were brought there from the whole town, they could not surround the whole city with barbed wire, they took the poorest quarter, the least comfortable, enclosed it with wire and brought Jews from the whole town there. Instead of making this into a place for remembering, this was really the

[47] As was pointed out by Mykola Kushnir, the director of the local Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews, not the least the Orthodox church opposed the efforts to mark the lower city as historically Jewish, also by references to the important Christian heritage in the quarter (Interview with Mykola Kushnir, 17 April 2013).

> history of the destruction of the whole quarter, they glorify Traian Popovici who made the ghetto." (Interview with Volodymyr Staryk, 4 June 2013)

The point of the argument is that the lower city was culturally diverse rather than overwhelmingly Jewish until the demarcation of this territory as the Jewish ghetto during the Holocaust. Branding it for locals and for tourists as a historically Jewish district would be an incorrect representation of history that would privilege the history of one of the groups at the expense of the others. It is easy to see that historical frames can be chosen according to the desired interpretation – the lower city was indeed dominated by Orthodox Jewish artisans and workers from the second half of the 19th century up until the Holocaust, although, as is pointed out by the critics, other groups always lived in this territory. On the other hand, when the Austrians took the city in 1785, what is now the lower city was inhabited by around two-thirds Orthodox Christian families and about a third by Jews. Multiculturalist city-branding and ethnic activism of Jewish organisations here meet competing ethnic and religious activism and a different approach to the culturally diverse past:

> "/…/if you make a Judenstadt, and the Jews were a small immigrant community, let us then make a Ukrainerstadt, a Rumänerstadt, a Polenstadt, that is after history has passed virtually dividing the city into some kind of quarters and absolutely deform the city's history. You see this reminds me how this was in Orientalism, when people first imagined something that is be found in the East, and then tried to do this with political methods." (ibid)

Since a Jewish community lived in the city already in the 18th century, the reference to Jews as an immigrant community emphasises the radical growth of the city's population by immigration especially from the second half of the 19th century. Not only Jews but Germans, Poles and Greek-Catholic Ukrainians from Galicia settled in large numbers, which also showcases the discourse of autochthonicity that frames Ukrainians and Romanians as the two autochthonous ethnic groups, and thereby the most legitimately 'real' native population.

One problem with the multiple re-ethnification strategy is that it requires a discursive control of the various memory initiatives that not even the most influential ethno-cultural associations can claim. Mnemonic initiatives that frame local multiethnic history in a different way than the priorities established by Staryk, could therefore trigger mnemonic conflict.

At the same time, for Staryk, the traditional ethno-cultural diversity within the multiple re-ethnification framework is also meaningful as an end in itself, since it makes Bukovina something different and less flattened out and emptied by Soviet policies:

> "Because if now all Romanian schools were destroyed, I would feel a great emptiness in my imaginings of Bukovina, because Bukovina without Romanians is not Bukovina, it would be transformed into a bit of the Soviet Union, into Donets'k. I don't need such a Bukovina, I would like Romanian schools to allow the Romanian population to reach out beyond its ghetto, its ghetto is the area where the majority of the population don't know neither Ukrainian nor Russian, and they can only dig in their gardens, they are not ready for life beyond the boundaries, and if they went beyond the boundaries, I would like them not to lose their Romanian identity and become Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking Soviet people ('sovkamy'). This tolerance and multiculturalism have to be on the level of learning basic cultural notions/…/That is, you have to realise that beside yours live ten cultures and they are as good, decent/…/." (ibid)

The Adam Mickiewicz Society of Polish Culture: Bukovinianism and bridging memory work

The Adam Mickiewicz Society of Polish Culture, sometimes called the Polish House, was founded in 1989. Its activities started, as is the case with most NKTs, during the years of the opening up and final break-up of the Soviet Union. It seeks to lead its roots back to an earlier Polish society by the same name in the city founded in 1903, in a period of intense ethnic self-organisation when the Polish community was much more numerous and influential in Bukovina than today (see Chapter 2). It had some 260 members in 2005 (Katerynchuk 2005: 405), while the number of persons who self-identified as Polish in Chernivtsi oblast' in the Ukrainian census of 2001 was 3400, making up 0.4% of the overall population[48]. However, many members do not live in the city, but in remaining Polish rural communities such as Stara Krasnoshora (Huta), Nizhni Petrivtsi and Panka. The village communities are

[48] http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/

predominantly Górale, i.e. they belong to a specific Polish subethnic group still preserving its own native dialect, members of which emigrated to Bukovina from the Tatra mountains along the border of contemporary Poland and Slovakia during Austrian times in the late 18th and 19th centuries. If the small village communities are not imagined in Benedict Anderson's sense of the term, the situation for Poles in Chernivtsi is different. According to Koziura (2014), who spent much time in the city with the Polish community, most contemporary Poles in the city have arrived from other parts of Ukraine, and do not have the same origin as the local Bukovinian Poles. The Mickiewicz society has members both in the city and in the Górale villages (according to Horuk (2005: 412), about a third of the individual members in the beginning in the late 1980s lived in the city, the rest lived in the villages). Since 1997, the society has been led by the historian Prof. Wladyslaw Strutynski, who is also the head of the A. Kochanowski Eastern School of Polish Studies (founded in 2007, named after a mayor of Polish origin from the Austrian period) at the Iurii Fed'kovych University where he works. Closely knit to the society is also a network of Polish folkloric song and dance ensembles and choirs all over the region, and this folkloric focus has become something of a trademark for the Polish NKT.

The differences between the compact Górale communities and the dispersed urban Poles is of course noted by Strutynski, who was born in a village in the neighbouring Khmel'nyts'kyi region but emphasises that he has lived in Bukovina since he was three years old. The Górale villages are clearly fascinating and somewhat exotic to him:

> "They don't speak (rozmovliaiut') they hvariaiut', fantastic, like somewhere in Zakopane, on the Czech-Slovak-Polish borderlands, fantastic/…/ Yes, in the schools they have Standard Polish. At home they speak in dialect (hvarov), but they study in Polish. Super, I tell them when I go there: "Good people, don't talk to me in Polish, but not fast, slow so I can understand."

On my question about whether there is a community speaking varieties of Standard Polish at home, he says that this could happen in Chernivtsi, but that Russian and Ukrainian would be the most important family languages as a result of assimilation. This is also reflected in Strutynski's descriptions of his own language behaviour: he speaks mostly Russian with his Ukrainian wife who he met as a student and Ukrainian with his daughter, even though she

speaks perfect Polish. He also states that they spoke Polish with his mother but that it now would feel artificial.

Cooperation with Polish organisations and other Bukovinian exile groups

As with other important NKTs having a kindred state and most co-ethnics elsewhere in or outside of Ukraine, the bulk of the Mickiewicz society's national, transnational and international cooperation takes place through ethnic networking. It exchanges visits to events organised by Polish associations in Moldova and Romania, as well as with minority organisations in Poland. There is also well-established cooperation with Polish cities and regions such as Katowice and Silesia, which involves exchange of teachers and students between the Kochanowski school headed by Strutynski and Polish universities, as well as summer schools and limited financial help for specific events such as trips to places of memory (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013).

Cooperation with organisations in Poland also enabled the Mickiewicz Society to repair and restore the four rooms in the traditional Polish House on Kobylianska 36, granted to them by the city administration in 1992. The renovated premises were inaugurated in 2002, and the restoration was partly financed by Polish organisations and the Spilnota Foundation, while much of the work was done by the members themselves (Horuk 2005: 413-414). The printing of a small Polish newspaper *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny*, published as a small edition to the *Bukovyna* newspaper and bearing the name of a pre-WWII local Polish newspaper, began in 2007 with help from the Polish fund "Help to Poles in the East" (Serediuk 2013: 6).

If these transnational activities relate to Polish ethnic networks, some of the partners of the Mickiewicz Society represent diasporic organisations of former Bukovinians, not only of Polish but also of other ethnic background and could be said to be examples of transcultural cooperation. This concerns the main brand of the society, the folkloric festival Bukovinian Meetings (*Bukowinskie spotkania*, *Bukovyns'ki zustrychi*), organised annually since 1990 in cities in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine. The society organises the events in Chernivtsi with some financial support from the regional administration.

> "And there is this festival, Bukovinian meetings, that next year will celebrate its 25th anniversary, where the main formula, and Poles initiated this, but Poles who left Bukovina in 1944, they are longing for their land, Bukovina, the Carpathians, the Cheremosh and Prut rivers, Poles decided to organise ensembles that will transmit those Bukovinian traditions and songs. Then the festival begins in Poland, then in Romania, then in Ukraine, then Hungary and finally Slovakia in Turcanski Teplicy, but they are Bukovinians, once it was even said there is a Bukovinian community. The multicultural heritage lives on even where some groups have left? And in Bukovina their formula, We are Bukovinians, it is not a Polish festival, or Romanian, or Ukrainian but Bukovinian." (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013)

Strutynski mentions the festival and his organisation's work with it when he tries to expand on his view on the specifics of cultural diversity and tolerance in Bukovina, and he strongly emphasises the cross-ethnic, all-Bukovinian meaning of the meetings of various diasporic Bukovinian communities. This is connected to the emphasis of the Mickiewicz society on local multiculturalist narratives as a framework for its activities, apart from the society's main task of organising cultural and educational activities to strengthen Polish language and culture among Poles in Bukovina.

Locally, the society takes part in the lives of the local NKTs and invites the other NKTs to its events in the Polish House. Also here the transcultural elements are emphasised, in a more strictly local context:

> "Well, we work with all the NKT, all heads know each other, there are some festivities on 3 May the constitution or on 11 November, we have independence, or anniversaries, or Polish song contests/…/we invite representatives of other nationalities. In the first contest a Romanian one with a Polish song/…/ this shows that there was no intent for Polish domination, and there Romanians and Ukrainians are running over each other so to say." (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013)

Listening to representatives of other NKTs as well as to respondents from other categories makes it clear that the Polish NKT has a reputation as the feel-good association, and the Polish House on Kobylians'ka as a place where people gather for nice events, talking and eating. The Mickiewicz Society is therefore, while it claims to represent a small group, a visible organisation and the Polish House is an important meeting place for the NKTs.

Bukovinianism – local multiculturalist strategies

My respondents in general tend to have three interpretations to the notion of Bukovinian tolerance. The representatives of NKTs view this as something self-evidently true in the life of Bukovinians, as something akin to a negative myth (in the sense of being untruthful) used by certain actors to further their own interests, and as a positive myth, a useful narrative for achieving good ethnic relations and other social goods in Chernivtsi today, no matter its inherent truth value. In this division, Strutynski's narrative underlines the first interpretation: Bukovinian tolerance is a real, significant, and positive occurrence in Chernivtsi and Bukovina and not only in historical terms but as a fact of current social life and ethnic relations. While some leaders of Chernivtsi NKTs in their interviews drew on local multiculturalist concepts, often as shorthand in complex narratives, Strutynski actively builds his strategy around them, and says he always propagates local multiculturalism and tolerance while in Poland or at scientific conferences in political science and international relations.

Strutynski provides a straightforward narrative of Bukovinian cultural diversity and tolerance, where tolerance is defined and proved by non-conflictual relations between essentialised ethnic and religious groups ("there can only be everyday conflicts about girls"), and where the diverse traditions are exemplified by common place references to polyglot pre-WWII local streetcleaners.

> "Well, multicultural heritage is for me spectacularly reflected in the Bukovinian region. This is not because I am practically Bukovinian, but because during the centuries, if you count that Chernivtsi oblast' is Northern Bukovina today, and the southern part is in Romania, and in Austrian times this was a Bukovinian principality for some hundreds of years, we can go to history and today, with this multiculturality, multiethnicity there were thank God no interethnic conflicts as in Galicia between Poles and Ukrainians or in Transnistrian Moldova, or the Balkans, or Chechnia, you can find many examples here. Researchers count almost 70-80 nationalities in this little territory, it was the smallest in the Soviet Union, now the smallest in Ukraine, and a lot of nationalities live here. The most important are Ukrainians, now already Russians, earlier there were Jews, Romanians, Poles who traditionally have the 4-5th place, if you see how they are grouped. About multicultural heritage the uniqueness for Bukovina is that nowhere surely in Ukraine and in other countries, in the capital of Bukovina national houses have been built. We have

> a German house, Polish house, Romanian house, Ukrainian house, Jewish. They were financed by the communities themselves, now a part of those houses have been transferred to the societies by the local authorities, this is also multiculturality." (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013)

Strutynski's interpretation also underlines that there was no real struggle for dominance in Bukovina, in contrast with neighbouring Galicia, which is a negative example of competitive relations leading to violence and conflict. The difference is also immediately felt by Poles coming to Chernivtsi, who arguably discover a more tolerant atmosphere to speaking Polish and a more Austrian and therefore implicitly less ethnically marked environment than in Ukrainian Galicia:

> "There was such a formula, there was no dominance, a brilliant example for me is Galicia. Where on the one hand there was a struggle to establish one's dominance, on the other hand Ukrainians struggled for independence, to establish their dominance, but you have to live together, not dominate and then there might be conflicts only about girls, a hit in the face, this is multiculturalism I have said/…/I know from Polish delegations – traditionally they come to the *kresy*, L'viv or maybe also Frankivs'k, or Zbarazh, the estates of the former Polish magnates – they have begun to come to Chernivtsi. They come after they have been in L'viv and say that this is another country, as if they had come to Austria, no one asks why you speak Polish, I am not absolutising, L'viv is great, but those traditions that took a somewhat unhappy turn, although L'viv also was under Austria, but Austria gave this away (to the Poles) and in the cities the Polish leadership dominated more, but here was Austria, here was an Austrian principality, and not a Romanian or Ruthenian, this symbiosis led to, this is uncomfortable for us today, there are still elderly people who know 3,4,5 languages, who maybe cannot write in those language but they know, since they were spoken in the courtyards of the houses and they picked them up." (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013)

A crucial point in the local elites invoking or debating local multiculturalist discourse is the extent to which it is possible to talk about a specific Bukovinian tolerance today, when most groups who once made up local cultural diversity are no longer there or have a numerically almost insignificant presence. Strutynski here takes the opposite view to Volodymyr Staryk, the head of the Ukrainian House, who denies the possibility of speaking meaningfully about diversity and tolerance when the people that once carried them are gone.

> "But there is a discussion that the Germans have left, the Poles have left, and only mainly Ukrainians and Romanians stayed, so can we speak about multiculturality, multiethnicity? I believe that culture and multiculturality are not the property of those national communities who lived here, they disappeared, the culture disappeared, but here during hundreds of years this multicultural mentality was formed, where let's say we take songs or dances from the Poles, somewhere there is a Romanian, Jewish, Ukrainian element, things are not so cleanly sorted out as if in a pharmacy shop, this is an achievement of being cultured (*kul'turnist'*), as a fact this culture does not allow conflicts, it is the cultural heritage of the community which is called Bukovinians, this is what I believe." (Interview with Wladyslaw Strutynski, 6 June 2013)

For Strutynski, the pluralist mentality that was formed over many years has been preserved among the present-day population and is mostly evident in the absence of conflicts and in the visibility in some situations of cultural artefacts associated with various nationalities, even those with a weak contemporary presence in the city. He also argues that the traditions today can also be detected in everyday life of ordinary people having at least a limited multilinguistic repertoire and being sensitive about not confronting anyone about their ethnic background:

> "One can say that somewhere the leadership makes such claims to the mass media, ordinary people do not make claims, they are just used to live like this, you don't have to tell them what is *dobryi den'* or *buna ziua* (greetings in Ukrainian and Romanian), this is in the blood, this cannot be created in one day, one year or ten years, these elements of which you are talking either come through or are rejected. There are aggressions as everywhere, but this is no mass phenomenon, and this is an expression more of being uncultured (*nekul'turnist'*) and ignorance. And in the villages people are not that educated (*universytets'ki*) but those traditions are left, no one has confronted me for being a Pole, I have written Polish in my passport, I studied at the university, and I have had leading positions, I have never even once been negatively reminded of my nationality…"

This demonstrates a paradoxical element in many local multiculturalist narratives, when respect for cultural diversity is showcased by its non-articulation, while the lack of negative reminders of a person's ethnic background might also be explained by a lack of interest or by ethnic diversity in some contexts being so normal it becomes virtually invisible.

From one angle, the strong promotion of local multiculturalism can be seen as a way of dealing with the specific situation of the Polish community in Bukovina today, with small numbers and a split into compact rural settlements and a much more dispersed and partly linguistically assimilated urban existence. Emphasising traditions of tolerance and picking up established local multiculturalist narratives, frequently used in the speeches of local politicians and in city branding, might make sense as a strategy for small minorities in their self-promotion and contacts with the majority society. There is, obviously, a more defensive aspect of this, namely the acute feeling that can emerge, at least in urban conditions in Chernivtsi, of collective vulnerability. Strutynski recalls how the use of Polish in the Catholic church in the centre of the city sometimes makes him worry about the reactions of Ukrainian churchgoers.

> "I am uncomfortable with this, but the mass is in Polish, but when a lot of people gather for prayer the priest leads in Ukrainian, a little bit in Polish, on the one hand I like this, on the other it is a bit uncomfortable or even frightening, because 90% are Ukrainians and they stand and listen to Polish, this might cause them to react like 'And why does he force Polish on us, on what grounds, is he in Ukraine or where?'/…/ No, this has not happened, this is something I imagine for myself. But the mass is always in Polish, in Ukrainian, there is one purely Polish mass early on Sunday, I mean, when there are great church holidays he leads in Ukrainian, but he might say Our Father in Polish. I look to the sides and feel that a person is standing, she is pure (*chysta*) in her Polish, maybe she visits church for the first or second time, 'why does he speak Polish?' but there is a tradition…"

What is interesting here is how awareness – felt even in the Catholic church which is one of the strongholds of Polish identity in the city – of Poles being a very small minority in today's Bukovina might contribute to the choice of multiculturalist strategies, although the spontaneous reaction here might be to instinctively hide Polishness expressed in language.

From another angle, the folkloric orientation of the Mickiewicz Society and Polish organisational life in Bukovina, not least connected to the Bukovinian Meetings festival, has stimulated and enabled both transnational and transcultural contacts with non-Polish ensembles and organisations making multiculturalism an effective branding strategy that provides the Polish community as well as the Mickiewicz Society with visibility and recognition.

Emphasis on Polishness through transcultural cultural heritage in the form of basically non-conflictual folklore rather than through explicit articulations of sometimes difficult and complex memory issues can therefore be a successful strategy.

Memory issues

In comparison with some other NKTs, in recent years the Mickiewicz Society is not to the same extent associated with being a participant in harsh public debates on controversial memory issues concerning the history of the Polish community in the city or the region. Strutynski claims not to have defended positions in memory matters in the local media, firstly because he prefers to highlight the more reconciliatory themes of multiculturalism and tolerance, and secondly since the NKT prefers to act through networking with other structures and with the authorities rather than in raising issues through public debates. He provides the example of the Polish House, which was returned, albeit not fully, to use earlier and more easily in Chernivtsi than in Lviv, where long debates were held on the issue.

Although there is no rhetoric of autochtonicity comparable to that of many of the other NKTs, Strutynski also underscores the importance of teaching young people about the Polish community and Polish history in Bukovina so they can appreciate their roots in the region:

> "This is also important for the youth, maybe even so they knew, because popularisation, there is such a word, so they knew, remembered, that they are not outcasts (the Russian word *izgoi* is used), but also lived, and their ancestors put their share of effort into the flowering of this region. Something like that."

Most of the examples of memory issues raised by the society concern the celebration of famous city dwellers of Polish origins, while Strutynski says that there are far fewer than in neighbouring Lviv, because of the different size, share and composition of the prewar Polish population. First and foremost, there is Anton Kochanowski, long-time mayor of Austrian Czernowitz 1886-1874 and 1887-1905, to whose honour the society has initiated a memorial plaque and a street name, and who also gave the name of the Polish research centre at the university. This also concerns one of his relatives, the artist Augusta Kochanowska, one of the better-known artists from 19th century

Czernowitz. As with the Romanian Eminescu society, Strutynski underlines that celebrated Ukrainian writer Ol'ha Kobylians'ka had partly Polish origins and also wrote some of her works in Polish. Regular activities of the society include celebrations of anniversaries of important Polish writers such as Czeslaw Milosz, thereby pointing the activities of the society in the direction of the great interest in promoting literature that is part of mainstream memory narratives in Chernivtsi. The other examples concern the commemoration of historical battles, like Khotyn and Rarancha.

Perhaps it could be asked, noting the strategies of the Mickiewicz Society, if it is easier to achieve transcultural cooperation and bridging in interethnic relations when the main focus is not on complex and sensitive memory issues but on cultural heritage, all the more in the less 'problematising' genres of institutionalised folkloric singing and dancing.

Armenian ethno-cultural association (Arevik): mnemonic ethnic integration

The Armenian ethno-cultural association Arevik (Armenian for "sun") was formed, as most of the significant NKTs in the city, during the first waves of democratisation and articulation of ethnic and national identities in the late 1980s or in the first years of Ukrainian independence after 1991. Out of an Armenian population encompassing a few hundred individuals, according to its leader Viktor Davydovych Arevik regularly gathers 50-60 Armenians in its activities, thereby making it, together with the Armenian Church, one of the focal points of the local community.

Although Davydovych in his interview strongly emphasises the historical closeness of the Armenian and Polish communities in Bukovina and Western Ukraine, and as is common in this context uses the term Polish Armenians for the older Armenian community in these regions, the focus and strategies of Arevik differ significantly from those of the Mickiewicz society. If the Polish association apart from their folkloric interest puts the emphasis on bonding memory work by supporting local multiculturalist discourses and in their transnational networking underlines the multiethnic character of Bukovinian society, the Armenian NKT more specifically furthers an agenda of cultural survival and ethnic revival. It focuses on the commemoration of Armenian

historical figures and events and its transnational connections mainly play out within a larger ethno-cultural Armenian sphere, whether the connections are with 'mainland' Armenia (the former Soviet republic, now independent Armenia) or with the Armenian diaspora in other countries, mostly in Poland. On the other hand, the focus on Armenian local memory is not necessarily exclusively a matter of bonding memory work. As we will see in the example of the commemoration of the first official Czernowitz mayor, the Armenian Jakob von Petrowitsch, the initiatives of this NKT can be brought into a wider commemorative agenda.

Cooperation – national and transnational Armenian ethnic networking

In terms of cooperation with partners on the national and transnational levels, the Armenian NKT Arevik is one of the associations that most clearly engages in bonding memory work. All organisations mentioned by Davydovych as partners are created for and by ethnic Armenians in Ukraine and other countries, starting from the Union of Armenians in Ukraine, which provide local Armenians with "some kind of material and methodological support", and with which Arevik collaborates on their various events (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013).

As for state structures, there is cooperation with the Armenian Ministry of the Diaspora, but the financial support is meagre due to the poor state of Armenia's finances ("even worse than Ukraine's"), and the presumably large number of potential outlets for such support for Armenia outside of the present-day independent republic. Like most of the NKTs, Arevik occasionally receives small sums in support for various activities from the regional administration. For Davydovych, this is mostly on the level of traditional ethnographic showcasing of Bukovinian 'ethnic cultures'. Furthermore, Arevik together with other NKTs took part in the city administration's TACIS Ukrainian-Romanian project on joint cultural heritage.

> "…there is a formal department in the oblast administration, in the city administration, that deals with NKTs, sometimes there are events, sing a little bit, dance a little bit, show the national costumes and national cuisine. I don't remember any serious projects. Recently, well… two years ago, the city council won a European grant and there were very interesting international events

> together with the Romanians. There were trips to Suceava, in TACIS, /…/we had programmes there, we went there, and they went here, not only we went but together with the Poles, the Romanians, with the local Germans."

On the local level, Arevik also upholds relations with the city's other NKTs, especially the Polish and Romanian, and takes part in their activities. As will be seen, Arevik also tries to influence the local authorities in commemorating Bukovinian historical Armenian figures that are perceived to be of significance for the overall developments of the city. Simultaneously, the limits of bridging memory work in the hands of NKTs is clearly felt by Davydovych. He emphasises, with an ironic nod to the tolerance narrative, that each NKT first and foremost look after the interests of the ethnic community they claim to represent. He also points out the larger vulnerability of the local Armenian community, because of its small numbers and more limited possibilities of self-organisation.

> "We gladly accept invitations from our Polish or Romanian friends. And we try to organise some important dates/…/But every association in the first place takes care of the preservation of its own national tradition, its own national customs, and habits and so on. This is the tolerance we have now. And the integrational processes that now take place in Europe have some reflection. On the one hand we want to preserve the historical heritage, cultural heritage, while on the other we want to be citizens of would-be Europe, but to this they pay already less attention/…/. The only thing that makes us different as an ethnic association with our problems, from Romanian, Polish, even from Polish, from Austrian. Those cultural communities exist, but there are many of them and a lot of people. We are much fewer, there are less people left in our case, and you know a mechanism of self-preservation comes into place. I believe that you cannot destroy a nation because at some moment something that will support this national spirit and religion will begin to work."

Old and new local Armenians: nativeness and in-migration of co-ethnics

The history of the old pre-WWII Armenian community in Chernivtsi is the history of a numerically small (310 according to the Austrian census of 1910) but wealthy and influential community with a large proportion of aristocrats, landowners, important city officials, merchants, politicians, deputies to the Austrian and later Romanian parliaments, musicians, and lawyers. In religious

terms, most of the Armenians in the northern parts of Bukovina now included in Chernivtsi oblast' were Armenian-Catholics, having arrived in rapidly growing Austrian Czernowitz mostly from neighbouring Galicia. Originally, Armenian merchant families had their own altar in the Polish church of the Holy Cross, but from 1875 the local Armenian community attended services in their own impressive church of Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, designed by Czech architect Josef Hlavka. In Chernivtsi the community was both Polish- and Armenian-speaking, with largely overlapping political and cultural identities with the local Polish community, while Armenians in Suceava in the southern parts of the Kronland tended to assimilate with Romanians. Armenians in Chernivtsi also kept their Polish-Armenian identification during Romanian rule in the interwar years. Most of the Chernivtsi Armenian community, however, as in other parts of Western Ukraine annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939-1940 after the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, emigrated or fled to Poland in connection with the Soviet re-capture of the city in 1944. Many Armenians who did not leave for Poland were repressed and deprived of their property and could only return to the city in the Khrushchev years. Davydovych himself stems from the pre-WWII Polish-Armenian community, and recapitulates how his family was affected by the re-establishment of Soviet rule in 1944:

> "I was born, unfortunately, in Russia. Why unfortunately? Because that's the history of Armenians, and I am now the head of the Armenian community, the present Armenian community in Chernivtsi. That is our fate, that those Armenians who had settled here and lived here and left an extremely great heritage, I believe in both cultural and scientific terms/…/My parents, my uncles stayed here and were arrested here in 1944. Because the first arrival of Soviet troops was regarded in more or less positive terms, because at the level of tolerance the Romanian administration was significantly worse than the Austrian. It is impossible even to compare. But what happened later was that many ethnic groups who had lived here a long time became dispersed, migrated and so on. My grandfather was deported to a camp for political prisoners in Mordovia. Now everyone knows that many human rights defenders were there. But the family, I was not born yet, my now deceased older sister, we were two children, she was a little child and she and my paternal grandmother, everyone was sent to Siberia. And there later my family after a long tragic history was reunited. It was very hard for my father who was not at home at the time of deportation. They took only the women and the children. This was a great, great tragedy that my parents could not remember without tears. The family reunited,

> I was born in Siberia and only after that famous congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 everyone was released, and those who were deported in the middle of the winter, in the middle of the cold left those places and returned as they could. At that time, all property was confiscated, nothing was left." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

Only a few members of the old local Armenian community still live in the city (although Davydovych claims a larger number of 'latent' Armenians, people with partial Armenian family background). Therefore, similar to the situation with the post-WWII Jewish community in Chernivtsi, the Armenian community is primarily composed of persons who arrived in the city during Soviet or Post-Soviet times with no roots in Bukovina. On the one hand this means that besides the specific memories, experiences and achievements of the local older Armenian community, its few remaining members and their diaspora relatives in Poland and other countries, in some contexts, narratives and tropes from pan-Armenian memory culture are emphasised in Arevik's activities. Directed towards all Armenians wherever they live, this memory culture is more recognisable and immediately understandable to Armenian migrants from the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. On the other hand, the local history of a small but important Armenian community also points to the long duration in the region as a source of pride for Armenian migrants from the Soviet or post-Soviet periods and thereby a tool for symbolic integration, both in the local ethnic community and the city and region as such.

In the words of Davydovych, Arevik was founded partly because of the need among local Armenians to forge a tighter Armenian community encompassing both old and new members and to counteract ethnocultural assimilation, and to engage in educational and cultural activities popularising Armenian history and language among migrants:

> "There are obviously many differences between the new ones and the others, well maybe even cultural differences, or some kind of ideals, or something else. But anyway, maybe human blood carries certain signs, traits of character and so on. And we began to unite. The main goal was not to lose language, traditions, to preserve this and give it to our next generations. Therefore, my first task, we chose when we formally registered this as an ethno-cultural association in Chernivtsi. My main task was to organise some kind of Sunday school, so our children could study, we established ties with mainland Armenia, they send textbooks to us, and we teach the children. Because it seems to me, and life moves very quickly, I noticed with myself what is this the most

> dangerous disease of immigrants – this is assimilation. To stop this process, to not let the language and traditions die. So that Armenian children remember where they came from, we organise all these events and activities, and we have a school, and we even entered into an association." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

Although acknowledging differences in 'mentality' between old Armenians following more 'European' traditions and new Armenians having a more 'Eastern' approach to e.g. gender roles, Davydovych recalls how new Armenian migrants coming to the city after the Armenian earthquake in 1988 and the outbreak of hostilities between Armenians and Azeris after some initial hesitation learn to accept the Old Armenian community as fellow kin:

> "Armenians accept everything that concerns our cultural heritage – this is ours. Sometimes they look a bit at you, but when you begin to talk to them in Armenian the question disappears. But a lot of Armenians lost their language. Until 1940, Armenian was still spoken here, while it was no longer spoken in Lviv, in Lviv they spoke Polish. Here you had Polish and Armenian. So, when they look at the surnames they begin: aha, Iakubovych! Aha, this is maybe Akopian/…/ And when they have heard the surname then it is clear, this is our guy." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

An example of how the few remaining members of the older Armenian community adapt to a situation when new migrants numerically predominate among local Armenians is the change of the religious denomination of the Armenian church when service was reopened in post-Soviet times. The church had been Armenian-Catholic since its foundation, but is now Armenian Apostolic, the denomination to which most Armenians belong. For Davydovych, this is facilitated by the high level of tolerance and adaptability of local Armenian-Catholics, who see no great problem in praying in an Apostolic church. He also emphasises that religious differences, e.g. the fact that some Armenians prefer to visit various Protestant churches, is not a problem for anyone but the priests, and that belonging to different denominations does not stop Armenians from sharing a similar memory culture. This is shown, according to Davydovych, by Protestant Armenians coming to the mnemonic events of Arevik, especially those commemorating the genocide of 1915 and other tragedies of Armenians.

> "There are Armenians who, let's say, go to the Protestant Church, now this is fashionable in Ukraine, churches of Evangelists, Baptists, that is where they go. We have nothing against it, although our priests are not fond of it. But if a person has decided this is our tolerance, this is spiritual. But this (visit) all events connected to Armenian history, especially the tragic occurrences. Connected to the fact that we commemorate those days, the Turkish genocide 1915. But not only the genocide 1915/…/this is about all the dead in all those ethnic, interreligious conflicts."

In this way, continuous migration of Armenians to Chernivtsi strengthens and revitalises the community and strengthens Arevik's efforts to foster a local memory community, while simultaneously widening the old Armenians' understanding of Armenian cultural heritage. In this context, Davydovych explicitly views his primary personal task as to further the memory of the pre-WWII Armenian community in Bukovina, which was devastated by the Soviet Union, and in this he also sees the interconnections of his family and the traditional Armenian community. However, he is afraid that his efforts will not suffice to uphold the memory of that community:

> "It seems to me that with the passing of such relicts as me, time moves so fast that few people can see the difference between an Armenian Iakubovych and a Jewish Iakubovych or between a Polish Iakubovych and a Romanian Iakubovych/…/Well, I know unfortunately, my parents are not alive, no one is alive, they were taken from life, and furthermore those repressions, my parents died at the age of 50, very young. If they had been alive, and the generation before my parents, grandfathers, grandmothers, everything was destroyed, maybe more things had been left. Therefore, if someone had asked local Armenians how they feel about that period (the Soviet period NB) few would have said that they were very happy about it. It seems to me that the destruction of the old stable Armenian community with traditions, with everything, is connected to 1944, to the terrible years, as we say in Ukrainian."

Notions of nativeness furthered by older Armenians also have a role for the integration of new Armenians migrants. References to autochtonicity help explain to incoming post-Soviet Armenians that they are settling in a city and a region in which their community has firm roots and rich traditions of shaping the cityscape and therefore can claim a share in the city's overall cultural heritage. However, this takes place in a general Bukovinian context where multiculturalist narratives are affected by concepts reserving autochtonicity for

the two numerically largest ethnic groups, Ukrainians and Romanians, while such a status of other groups is being explicitly or implicitly denied. Davydovych does not confront the notion of Bukovina being the native land for Ukrainians and Romanians but emphatically claims nativeness for himself and his fellow Armenians. He provides an interesting example of how Armenian nativeness in the city can be 'hidden' for non-Armenians because of the Slavic-sounding surnames of Polish-Armenians, and of how also the physical features of Armenians, arguably setting them apart from other traditional groups in the region, become a diacritic marker of ethnicity and nativeness.

> "I explain to everyone that this is the native land of those Ukrainians, and those Romanians who did not fall down here from Mars, they always lived here, and this is their native land, and we have to remember that we came here once upon a time, but we cannot be regarded as some kind of temporary incomers (zaidamy). Because I tell everyone about a simple tradition /…/ I have seen this many times that when an ethnos, an ethnic group lives in a territory for hundred years, that is four generations, it is seen as a native population. If Armenians live here since the 15th century, well in Chernivtsi a bit later but around Chernivtsi… /…/ In the 15th century, maybe earlier. This was a crossroads for those trade routes through Suceava to Lviv and to Kamianets'. In both places there were Armenians and therefore Armenians traded on these routes, and therefore they settled. And if we live here, one must treat us accordingly. And you know, all these "*panaiekhali*"[49] angers me more than anything. Did I *ponajikhav*? Did my grandfathers and great grandfathers, who built half of Chernivtsi, because many stone houses were built during Austrian times by Armenian costs? There are a lot of them in the centre. Because people say: 'Who is this? What Armenians? This was built by the Bogdanovych family.' And who is Bogdanovych? If you had seen this Bogdanovych, this is my kin, you would immediately see and not for a second doubt who is Bogdanovych." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

The nativeness and historical significance for the city of local Armenians is foregrounded in strong terms, while conceptions of Ukrainians and Romanians as 'most native' are not challenged. The example of the surname Bogdanovych

[49] A common vernacular phrase in both Ukraine and Russia appr. meaning "so they have come here", suggesting that a city or neighbourhood has become "crowded" with newcomers, e.g. from the countryside or ethnic others. Davydovych uses both the Russian and the Ukrainian forms.

not being recognised as Armenian is in itself a reminder of the consequences of the ethno-demographic changes for local knowledge among contemporary inhabitants, who most likely code surnames as Armenian by the dominant ending – ian and would therefore interpret Bogdanovych as Ukrainian, or perhaps Polish or Belarusian.

The church and von Petrovych Street

Many of the specific memory issues highlighted by Arevik concern property that belonged to the Armenian church or individual Armenians before 1940. This relates to the Armenian church on Ukrains'ka Street and private houses, many of which are in the adjoining streets, not least Jakob von Petrovych Street (1944-2015 Lomonosov Street), but also on the city's main commercial and recreational hub on Kobylians'ka Street. The aspect of restitution is this brought up by Arevik, as it is in the interviews with the Jewish NKTs. Most highly symbolically charged here is the issue with the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul church, a building that has not been fully returned to the Armenian Church, which according to Davydovych cause much resentment among Armenians:

> "The most conflictual place I have already told you about. There are not that many of us and there are various approaches. Even to this premise: we see it as a religious building, as something sacred. People like me who saw for the first time how my grandfather wept when he returned from deportation and saw how the church was destroyed inside. For us this is a sacred place. I have devoted a part of my life so there was a bright memory of my ancestors." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

Davydovych here underlines that, while there is no law on restitution in Ukraine, there is a law that foresees the return of religious buildings to the ownership of the respective community. Against this background he resents that other churches in the city have been restored to their communities, and achieving the full return is for Arevik a crucial issue.

> "We don't have such a law. The only law on restitution concerns the return of religious buildings to the respective church communities. But there are such loopholes, so they don't want to return it to us, because it is owned by the local municipality, therefore it is kind of our church but also kind of not completely

> ours, but it is the place where we gather for service/…/This is our unrealised dream and this is the reluctance of the authorities to return this church as it has returned all churches. This is really the only church in Chernivtsi that was not returned to the respective community. Even the Jesuit church was returned to the Poles, the Jesuits recently, and I believe it was returned because ruination had begun, and the local authorities were not able to pay for the repair." (Interview with Viktor Davydovych, 5 June 2013)

While the Armenian Apostolic church is allowed to hold services in the church once every week, the main function of this beautiful building, which was used as a storehouse during most of the Soviet period, is being the Hall of Organ music, a place for classical organ concerts. The community does not, argues Davydovych, see this as a problem. Before WWII concerts and exhibitions were sometimes arranged in the church, but except for the question of ownership, other uses of the church for secular purposes cause resentment among believers. This concerns mostly the arrangement of secular wedding ceremonies, with loud music and champagne, which for Davydovych is principally intolerable in a religious building. The reason for those arrangements according to Davydovych is the strivings of the local philharmonic orchestra to earn money to finance tour buses and concerts. Davydovych points out that even this limited use of the church for Armenian services was undermined by the spreading of rumours about the church being desacralised by an Armenian priest hanging himself at the altar. This rumour was successfully refuted in the media and in public appearances by Davydovych as well as notable other actors in local memory politics, such as historian and archivist Mariia Nykyrsa.

A related issue important for Arevik was the return of two sculptures of Saints Peter and Paul that were stolen during Soviet times and placed in the Christian cemetery. With the help of older local inhabitants, the statues were finally found in 2011 and restored to the church during a ceremony at which the Armenian Katolikos and Armenians bishops from many countries were present, as well as the city authorities and representatives of other NKTs. The returned statues can now be seen in the churchyard, symbolising the achievements of the Old Armenian community, and are a memorial to the Armenian genocide in Turkey 1915, expressing a key trope in world-wide Armenian memory culture.

Apart from the vitally important church building – unlike the five other traditional ethnic communities in the city there was no Armenian House in

Chernivtsi before 1940 – on the adjacent streets, as well as in other parts of the city, formerly Armenian-owned and built private houses become focal points for remembrance, not least for former city-dwellers visiting from their homes in Poland:

> "Around the Armenian church are those buildings that were built by Armenians, and they were at first taken by the state, afterwards certain apartments were privatised, bought, so those Armenians who come here from Poland look at their property that once was confiscated and, a lot of them say that here a tree is supposed to grow. I take him to the courtyard, and he sees that big tree that grew since the time when his grandmother left for Poland."

Arevik collaborated with the Ukrainian House and its head Volodymyr Staryk in preparing the Armenian part of the booklet *Multicultural Chernivtsi*, which includes city walks along ethnically marked routes for eight historic urban ethnic communities in which houses owned by local Armenians are highlighted.

Urban landscape and toponomy

As with all the other NKTs, Arevik has, quite successfully, raised issues of urban toponomy, most importantly proposing changes of street names in order to showcase the significance of Armenian local figures. The most important case here not only concerns the renaming of a street but also the raising of a statue in a prominent place. The local historical figure most strongly emphasised by Arevik is Jakob von Petrowicz, a Galicia-born Polish-Armenian who served as Czernowitz' first official mayor 1864-1866, and to whom many achievements in urban planning are credited. From the late 19th century up until the Soviet retaking of Chernivtsi in 1944, a street running from the Armenian church down to the Greek-Catholic church at Rus'ka Street was named Petrowicz Street in honour of the first mayor. In 1944, the street was renamed after the Russian 18th century scientist Mikhail Lomonosov, and returning the street's name to Petrowicz was an important goal for Arevik. While for many years during mayor Fedoruk's administration (1994-2011) there was a moratorium on renaming streets, the Maidan revolution in 2014 opened up the situation. As some streets were given back their pre-Soviet names or given new names without Soviet connotations, Arevik initiated the return of the name Jakob von Petrowicz to Lomonosov Street. This initiative was backed by the

city's toponymical commission and by a decision by the city council on 4 June 2015[50], the old name was officially returned to the street. Davydovych´s goal expressed to me in 2013 was thereby realised.

In June 2015 the city council officially allowed Arevik to raise a monument to von Petrowicz, to honour the 200th anniversary of the former mayor's birth, at a small square on Rus'ka Street opposite the Greek-Catholic church[51]. Mayor Kaspruk asked city dwellers to help fund the monument to the first mayor who "put huge effort in reshaping Chernivtsi from a provincial town to a trade and industrial centre". Otherwise, the monument was financially supported by Arevik, the Union of Armenians in Ukraine, and other unnamed Armenian sponsors. The monument was officially inaugurated on 29 July 2015 in the presence of the local Armenian community, Armenian activists from other Ukrainian cities, local officials, people from other NKTs, the academic community, and the then Ukrainian deputy interior minister (also of Armenian origin).

The monument to von Petrowicz is arguably an example of how what is essentially bonding memory work – the efforts of an Armenian NKT to raise a monument to a famous Armenian compatriot – and can also be incorporated in the wider branding schemes for the city and by local politicians from the majority population. The monument is ethnically cued by the inscription revealing the name and function of von Petrowicz being rendered in both Ukrainian and Armenian (but not, however, in Polish, which would have been one of the languages most often used by Petrowicz, and German, the city's official language of the time he served as mayor, or in English for foreign visitors). Remembering Davydovych's comment about contemporary city dwellers often being unable to recognise the surnames of Old Armenians, highlighting Petrowycz's ethnic origins by using Armenian letters might be crucial for his identification as an Armenian. Simultaneously, in 2015 during the inauguration of the monument, apart from a quick reference to the city's diverse past, the mayor once again strongly emphasised the significance of the first mayor for the city's development and even claimed the monument is devoted to all mayors and city officials who "defended traditions of self-

[50] See the city council's official webpage: http://chernivtsy.eu/portal/4/vulytsi-imeni-pershogo-burgomistra-chernivtsiv-povernuly-istorychnu-nazvu-70552.html

[51] http://chernivtsy.eu/portal/4/u-chernivtsyah-zvedut-pam-yatnyk-pershomu-burgomistru-yakobu-fon-petrovychu-71387.html

government"[52]. The deputy interior minister also took notice on Petrowicz's administrative talents, reminding guests of the reform of the police that his ministry then was working on. Other agendas could therefore be tied to the raising of the monument.

Jewish NKTs and Heshed Shushana – Bukovinian tolerance after the Holocaust?

The Jewish community, now comprising less than a thousand individuals in the whole region, consists of both a small number of individuals stemming from the pre-WWII Jewish population, and Jews who came to Chernivtsi during Soviet times from Bessarabia, from other parts of Ukraine as well as from Belarus and Russia. As for the Armenians, most members of today's ageing Jewish community arrived during the Soviet years or are descendants of such migrants. If the pre-WWII Jewish community in Czernowitz, speaking German or Yiddish with various class background and professing either Reformed or Orthodox Judaism, was large in numbers and well-integrated into Central European Jewry, the post-WWII community is mostly Russian-speaking, although many simultaneously spoke Yiddish, often other dialects than those characteristic for the old Bukovina Jewish community (Interview with Marina Libanova, 23 April 2013). Also, the post-war Jewish community in the city was once fairly large, although most of the Bukovinian Jews who survived the Holocaust migrated to Israel and other countries in the years after the war, Jewish immigration from other parts of the Soviet Union was large scale after the war. In the Soviet census of 1959, about 20% of the city's population self-identified as Jewish, although that number began to diminish with increasing Ukrainian in-migration from the surrounding villages and with the start of Jewish out-migration to Israel in the 1970s. As late as in the last Soviet census of 1989, the number of Jews in the city was quite significant, about 20,000 individuals, comprising some 7-8% of the city population. In this way the out-migration of the overwhelming majority of Chernivtsi Jews mostly to Israel, Germany and USA during the last Soviet years and the first post-

[52]http://chernivtsy.eu/portal/4/do-200-richchya-pershogo-burgomistra-chernivtsiv-yakoba-fon-petrovycha-vidkryly-bronzove-pogruddya-72787.html

Soviet decade in the 1990s, together with the ageing of the remaining community, has been decisive in diminishing the Jewish community in the city – whatever the origins and cultural characteristics. Simultaneously, a small post-Soviet influx of Hassidic Jews from USA and Israel working in the few remaining active synagogues and religious communities can be observed.

An important difference in terms of organised communal life between the Armenian and Jewish associations is that, while the former is led by a descendant of the old ethnic community in Bukovina, in the latter cases the heads of the associations belong to the migrants that came to Chernivtsi in Soviet times. Few well-known figures from the old community remain in the city since the death of Josif Burg, the last Yiddish-language writer in Chernivtsi in 2008 and a prominent activist who in 1988 founded a now virtually defunct Jewish NKT in the name of Yiddish-writer and collector of Jewish folklore Eliezer Stainbarg, and more recently the death of the doctor and community activist Iosif Bursuk. All this has consequences for the directions of the mnemonic initiatives of the Jewish community.

Jewish memory work in Chernivtsi

A few defining features of the preconditions for Jewish memory work in Chernivtsi must be mentioned. Firstly, Jewish themes are prominently featured in mainstream versions of local history propagated by city authorities, researchers, journalists, and civil society actors for city-branding and in transnational cooperation and belong to the centred parts of memory culture in contemporary Chernivtsi. Jewish themes are often underlined in tropes on Bukovinian tolerance and traditional cultural diversity. On the other hand, as local memory culture in Chernivtsi is as selective as any other, themes associated with German-language high culture carried by Jewish individuals in the Austrian and the interwar Romanian period belong most consistently to the mainstream narratives. In this publicly celebrated layer of memory culture literature writers such as Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer are especially highlighted. The large poorer Yiddish-speaking Jewish population of workers and artisans in the lower part of the city are less featured in this privileged sphere of local memory culture – although some Yiddish-language authors from the interwar years have also been translated into Ukrainian beside the German-language authors.

Secondly, arguably the most important actor in the field of pre-Soviet Jewish memories in Chernivtsi is not the Jewish ethno-cultural associations but the Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews. The museum, founded in 2008 and supported by private individuals, is located in a few rooms on the first floor of the Jewish National House. Its permanent exhibitions cover both the life of the pre-Holocaust Jewish communities in Bukovina and the tragic end of those communities in the Holocaust. The museum cooperates with local and transnational partners in specific projects throwing light on the history of Bukovinian Jews, and with schools and other actors in activities focused on fighting prejudice and fostering inter-ethnic tolerance among youth. It is perhaps the mnemonic actor in Chernivtsi that most insistently draws on tropes from contemporary European commemorative approaches and searches to raise awareness of the significance of the Holocaust to all city-dwellers. The relatively central position of some Jewish historical themes in the city also makes Jewish memories the focus of other non-Jewish mnemonic actors apart from the museum or in cooperation with it. The art installation commemorating the Holocaust of local Jews by the pre-recorded readings of their letters to relatives written in camps in Transnistria in an empty courtyard on Henri Barbusse Street (former Synagogengasse in Austrian Times, and in late 2015 renamed vul. Synahohy) by the young Roșa artist and activist collective in August 2015 is an example discussed elsewhere in the thesis. The installation included a lecture by the Museum's director, historian Mykola Kushnir.

Thirdly, as was pointed out by Kushnir (Interview, 17 April 2013), most contemporary Jews, including the leaders of the most important associations, who arrived in the region during the Soviet period feel less connected to the old German- and Yiddish-speaking Bukovina Jewish community. The focus is therefore more on those aspects of memory culture that concern the Holocaust, since this is a part of general Jewish memory and their own family experiences. Just as the commemoration of events common to a general Armenian memory culture has an important function in gathering the present-day mostly Soviet and post-Soviet Armenian group in Chernivtsi, the Holocaust has a similar function for the contemporary Jewish community in the city.

The memory work of two Jewish ethno-cultural associations is analysed in this chapter. The first is the officially named Jewish Community of Bukovina, led during the time of my fieldwork by Lev Kleiman, an entrepreneur in the baking industry born in 1946 in the region but with Soviet Jewish background.

The second is the Jewish charity fund Hesed Shushana, founded in 1999, partly on the basis of the Jewish Charity Fund from 1991 and supported by the transnational Jewish Joint. In 2013, it was led by Leonid Fuks, who comes from the same generation as Kleiman and was born in Podillia, to the north-east of Bukovina. Hesed Shushana is a charity organisation but is officially recognised by the city authorities as an ethnocultural association. It looks after elderly Jews in the region, provides medical consultation in its premises in the city centre, and is one of the centres of communal Jewish life with musical and other cultural activities (see the web page http://shushana.pp.ua/rus/index.html). It is funded by the transnational Jewish organisations the American Jewish Joint Distribution Centre and the Claims conference. Immediately noticeable in its premises is a collection of photographs on the walls of synagogues, hospitals, schools, mikvas and other buildings associated with the history of the Jewish communities of Czernowitz. Hesed Shushana is located on a part of the former premises of the German House in the centre of the city, and Fuks reports having taken part in public arguments over this with the present-day German House before a settlement was reached (Interview with Fuks)

It should be mentioned that the Eliezer Stainbarg Society, led by Iosif Burg, was very active in the 1990s. Apart from setting up a small community newspaper, the now defunct *Czernowitzer Blätter/Chernovetskie listki*, the society initiated the setting up of memorial plaques to famous pre-WWII Jewish figures such as the opera singer Josef Schmidt, the Yiddish writer Eliezer Stainbarg and the singer Sidi Tal, as well as a memorial stone on the site of the massacre of Jews at the banks of the Prut River in 1941.

Bukovinian tolerance after the Holocaust?

It is interesting to note the dissimilarities in the views expressed by the two Jewish NKT leaders on the local multiculturalist notion of Bukovinian tolerance. Lev Kleiman of the Jewish Community, at least at first glance, by and large transmitted mainstream local multiculturalist discourse, where tolerance is a real social occurrence unique to Chernivtsi:

> "Look, we have a tour guide who leads very interesting tours in Chernivtsi, and the tour is called Jewish Chernivtsi. And she begins her tour by saying that "Gentlemen, you are in Chernivtsi, Chernivtsi is Ukraine only geographically,

but in reality the upbringing that people who live in this city have received, there is nothing like this in any other region in Ukraine, people are tolerant…", well I have already said that people here are friendly and knowledgeable, the people here are very knowledgeable, and this is transmitted from one generation to the next. No one will be surprised here by well-known artists, poets and composers, no one is surprised that Rostropovich, when he was on tour from Paris to Moscow, stopped here in Chernivtsi and gave a concert, such details you remember well and people here…Last week I was at a concert with the symphony orchestra, the hall was full, because people were raised with this, with culture and this gives this push, so that the population here is never angry, we have no anti-Semitism in the city, in the state there is no anti-Semitism, on the everyday level anti-Semitism can be found somewhere, but there is no state anti-Semitism in Chernivtsi and it can never be and will never be.

NB: Does the tradition of tolerance exist now as well?

Kleiman: Of course, of course, there are different people, there is a little freedom that has poured in a few of those unpleasantries but mainly the population is well brought up." (Interview with Kleiman)

It is interesting that tolerance for Kleiman is so clearly related to the notion of social upbringing. If people are brought up properly and immersed in an atmosphere where they acquire a certain cultural competence, together with a certain literary and musical canon (here clearly rooted in a Russian or Russian-language cultural tradition), they all have preconditions to become tolerant in the local spirit. Kleiman then exemplifies this tolerance, as does Fuks, by pointing to the absence of antisemitism from the authorities. The understanding of tolerance here is clearly paternalistic, which is underlined by the passing reference to freedom in the post-Soviet years having brought a few unpleasantries. The terminology and cultural references leave the impression of a Soviet-derived understanding of the local tolerance narrative.

On the one hand it seems that Kleiman accepts straightforwardly the local tolerance narrative, but on the other it can be argued that his use of it is strategic and does not take tolerance talk at face value but sees it as politically, socially or culturally useful. Most striking in Kleiman's answer in this respect is perhaps that he does not mention the Holocaust in his reflection on local tolerance, although he strongly emphasises its significance for local memory culture in other parts of the interview. To some extent this comes forward in his description of how the culturally diverse tolerant pre-WWII atmosphere he describes was suddenly shattered by the Holocaust. It was still upheld by the

actions of Romanian Mayor Traian Popovici granting the possibility for parts of the Jewish population to remain in the city and not be sent to the concentration camps in Transnistria:

> "People were friendly to each other, there were no hostile relations and we were even surprised when during the first days of war so many people were shot, but anyway this *primara* (Romanian mayor NB) of the city, now mayor, left for Bucharest, the Romanians were here, they had occupied the city, he left for Bucharest and made an agreement with the leadership of Romania so people were left in the city, and thanks to Traian Popovici twenty thousand Jews could stay in the city, there was a ghetto, and this way he saved people and did not send them to Transnistria and saved them for the city that preserved its ability to be a city." (Interview with Kleiman)

Leonid Fuks from Hesed Shushana takes a much more critical attitude to the tolerance narrative, questioning both the specific Bukovinian features of the notion and citing the actual implications for such parlance of the local participation in the Holocaust:

> "You know, when they speak about Bukovinian tolerance I relate to this very carefully. Why? During the war, when the Great Patriotic War began, more than 100,000 people died in Chernivtsi. And of those 100,000 the Germans didn't shoot anyone since there were no Germans here, mainly the shooting was done by local bandits and the Romanian army. Well therefore one must speak about tolerance very carefully and very objectively. Tolerance is a kind of timely image. Because in every human being there are some genes that then from tolerance are transformed into a beast. This is not only here in Ukraine, but everywhere, absolutely everywhere. See what is going on now in Turkey, what is going on in the Middle East, one could think there was tolerance but look what is being done." (Interview with Fuks)

For Fuks, tolerance is therefore a universal category, as is its implied opposite here, bestiality, and cannot be the property of a specific region or culture. He rejects local notions of Bukovina as a land known for its tolerant interethnic attitudes referring to the participation of locals alongside Romanian soldiers in the Holocaust. Fuks then clearly takes the second approach to Bukovinian tolerance, rejecting it an untrue notion. Furthermore, in the interview he went straight from rejecting local tolerance discourse with reference to local

participation in the Holocaust to the question of restitution of formerly community-owned Jewish property in the city:

> "I can tell you that before the war here was a very large Jewish community, very large and very active. I have documents on more than hundred houses and buildings that belonged not to Jews individually, but to the Jewish community. These documents are confirmed by the inventory bureau, by museums, biographies, archives and of course if there will be a law on restitution/…/If there will be a law on restitution then the Jewish community that is still here to some extent can live absolutely free, renting out these objects, and not collect them, e.g. such large houses as the Jewish House, where the Palace of Culture now is located. And let them stay, let them pay rent not to the state but to the Jewish community, and so on. Very few Jews are left in Chernivtsi, very few. When we created this Hesed there were some 1400, now there are 800. Especially many older people die, who have lived through much, who have lived through the war, the Holocaust." (Interview with Fuks)

The question about Bukovinian tolerance stimulated discourse on the local Holocaust, the few remaining Jews in Bukovina, and the idea of restitution as a law that if it existed in Ukraine would give the local Jewish community the chance of survival in a difficult economic situation. Jewish co-ownership and co-authorship of the city's history was stated also by Kleiman, who when he was asked about the memory work of his organisation highlighted the importance of the Jewish built cultural heritage of the city:

> "We are participating in the opening of various monuments and memory plaques; we are looking after the buildings, the memorials, so they are being preserved in the state they are in, because one cannot forget that here lived a very strong community and that there are documents for 282 buildings that were built by the Jewish community. We are today in the Jewish National House, which is one hundred years old, once upon a time this was a very serious structure in the centre of the city, well it is an achievement of the Jews that their community was really rich, a big and strong community, even when there was no money to build the Metropolitan residence the Jewish community contributed money and the residence, now the university, was concluded thanks to money from the Jewish community, and the municipality never left it on the side, they gave land to the building of the Temple, the former synagogue, now the cinema Chernivtsi." (Interview with Kleiman)

None of the interviews contain explicit discourse on the relationship between the Jews that built the buildings in pre-war Czernowitz and the remaining Jews in the city today.

Returning to the rejection of the notion of tolerance and its contrast with the Holocaust, Fuks specifically mentions two Romanian actors during the Second World War – Mayor Traian Popovici and the army major Valeriu Carp, who ordered the massacre of hundreds of Jews in the village of Chudei (Rom. Ciudei) – to show the difficulty in talking unequivocally about local tolerance. He then recalls his experience from the Ukrainian village of Nepolokivtsi to the north-west of Chernivtsi where he owns a gravel pit. In this village some of his workers are descendants of local participants in the pogrom against local Jews in the beginning of July 1941, and Fuks describes both how local people try to deal with this trauma and how he, as the only Jewish person in the village, can relate to this[53]:

> "Here we have two Romanians. One of them should be awarded a monument and one should fall to one's knees before him, and the other one doesn't even want to think about. Therefore, it is difficult to say something unambiguous. Earlier, I had some work with pilgrimage to the gravel pit where I work where 36 Jews are buried and the 37th is a small girl. And I tried to, I was let in to the SBU (Security Service of Ukraine NB), they all helped me. Who did this, who killed them? Who killed them off with sticks? Local people. And those people, the descendants of those people, work for me in the gravel pit, but are they guilty? Sons, grandchildren, great grandchildren work in the gravel pit, of those people who killed Jews, and I am Jewish. Only I am Jewish there. But what could I accuse them of, this is even stupid.
>
> NB: And local people know about this?
>
> Fuks: Of course they know. They know of course. Of course they know, of course.
>
> NB: So people have told them about this?

[53] In his analysis of the mass murder of Jews that took place in Northern Bukovina and Northern Bessarabia slightly before and immediately after the arrival of Romanian troops in late June and early July 1941, Geissbühler (2013: 65-66, 89) defines the perpetrators in Nepolokivtsi as mixed (*gemischte Tätergruppen*) – first locals, mainly Ukrainians, and the next day Romanian soldiers. A memorial was erected in 2013 to 36 murdered Jews of the village, according to the text killed by undefined Fascists.

> Fuks: Yes, of course, and many of them ask God for forgiveness in the church, many speak to me about it, of course this was a difficult time, very difficult. And to say that Bukovina is a tolerant land there is no sense in talking about this. But in one village bandits came from another village and wanted to beat up the Jews and a local priest interfered, the village elder interfered and didn't let the bandits in, he saved all Jewish families. Well, the villages are close to each other and see how people behave because of this you cannot draw one-sided conclusions. No one-sided, you must deal with every question and of course you have to want to deal with them". /…/
>
> NB: And in the village you were telling about, are there any examples of everyday antisemitism today?
>
> Fuks: Not anymore, they all died there. They died, everyone died. (Interview with Fuks)

For balance, Fuks also brings up a well-known and often-cited story of how the village priest in the Ukrainian mountain village Ispas, almost at the border with Galicia, managed to save the local Jews against an arriving mob that previously had slaughtered Jews in neighbouring villages[54]. The example from Fuks' experiences in Nepolokivtsi also shows how Holocaust memory can tie together local Jewish victims of the Holocaust and Russian-speaking Jews that arrived during the Soviet era.

As for contemporary commemoration of the Holocaust in the city, both Kleiman and Fuks emphasise that the governor (refers to former governor Mykhailo Papiev of the Party of Regions) and other representatives of the city and oblast' authorities take part in ceremonies organised by Jewish organisations, and in inaugurations of monuments and memory plaques connected to the Holocaust. The authorities also take care of those monuments and are also reported to be present during anniversaries of important local Jewish figures, such as writers Moishe Altman, Iosif Burg, Eliezer Stainbarg and Rose Ausländer.

Kleiman also mentions that his organisation initiated the idea of organising lectures on the Holocaust in Ukrainian schools on the Holocaust Remembrance

[54] See e.g. the novel *Makovei* by the Yiddish-language Bukovinian writer Josif Burg (2012) that gives a belletristic rendering of the events in Ispas. A monument to the village priest and the villagers was set up in 2012 in Ispas at the initiative of local and national level Jewish activists (http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/day-after-day/monument-village-community-righteous-world-only-its-kind-europe-was-opened)

Day each year 27 January. He has also visited schools in Chernivtsi on this day during the last three years to hear the lectures (Interview with Kleiman).
Otherwise, in terms of cooperation, both Jewish NKTs are engaged in co-ethnic transnational cooperation with Jewish organisations abroad, and the Jewish Community works most closely with organisations in New York, Berlin, and Zürich. As for transcultural cooperation locally in Chernivtsi, Kleiman underlines the good relations with all ethno-cultural associations in Chernivtsi, especially with the Polish one, and the mutual visits to each other's events. Hesed Shushana is mostly focused on transnational cooperation with the Jewish Joint and the Claims Conference. An example of commemoration initiatives realised through such co-ethnic transnational cooperation is the putting up of a memorial plaque on Zan'kovets'ka Street to Mayor Popovici in 2009. The initiative and most of the funding came from the diaspora Czernowitzer Jewish community in New York, while the city administration contributed a smaller share, and the Jewish Community took part in the shaping of the plaque and in the opening ceremony (Interview with Kleiman).

Both Jewish organisations mostly engage in bonding memory work and cooperate mostly with Jewish organisations at home and abroad. However, since Jewish memories related to the Holocaust as well as the rich German- and Yiddish-language Jewish literature heritage of Chernivtsi from the first half of the 20th century both belong to a memory culture that is to various extents centred in the city, the activities ultimately also involve people from outside the Jewish community.

J.G. Goethe NKT of Austrian-German Culture Wiedergeburt

The officially named German-Austrian NKT Wiedergeburt (Rebirth, Ukr. Vidrodzhennia) was founded in the same late Soviet era as many other NKTs. It is located in the beautiful German House on Kobylians'ka Street, built in the 1890s and funded by the local German community. While full ownership has not been restored, the NKT is granted free and eternal use of the venue but pays for water and heating. In the Drozdowski Hall the association sometimes arranges conferences and meetings.

The head of Wiedergeburt, Alexander Schlampf, born in the early 1980s, is significantly younger than most leaders of the local ethno-cultural associations. Like both interviewed leaders of the Jewish NKTs he is a prominent businessman, with transnational business relations to German companies, and has an educational background in both physics and management. Schlampf is from a Bukovinian German family – his grandfather was a well-known local Communist who took part in the anti-Nazi resistance movement together with Jewish communists during WWII and was consequently sent to a labour camp in Vorkuta, being accused of espionage. Schlampf was born in Russia and grew up as a Russian-speaker, but later returned to his grandfather's hometown, where he learnt both Ukrainian and German.

Numbers, heritage, discrimination and autochtonicity

According to Schlamp about 500 Germans live in Chernivtsi oblast´ today, dispersed in cities and villages, but there is a growing number of younger people who previously knew little about their German roots (Interview with Alexander Schlampf, 7 September 2015). The small numbers of the contemporary community affect his perceptions of what the past cultural diversity actual means today:

> "It is very good that events such as Meridian Czernowitz happen nowadays, earlier there was no such thing. Earlier Chernivtsi was always used, like the myth about Bukovinian tolerance, multivectorality and culturedness (*kul'turnist'*), only Romanians and Ukrainians were included in this multilayeredness of ethnicities, because all other ethnic groups are in such a minority that you, crudely put, don't have to take them into account. Poles, Armenians, Jews – all are fewer than 1%[55]. But the achievements that were made in Austria-Hungary and the heritage layer that was formed 150 or 100 years ago has reflected on all of Chernivtsi. We still remember it, and not only Chernivites, but also those who moved out to live in other cities, that Chernivtsi and Bukovina are like a Europe in miniature, where a lot of ethnic groups live. Maybe it is really not like that anymore, but such a position is still there, thanks to history." (Interview with Schlampf)

[55] On another note, this is another example of how Chernivites do not really count Russians as a serious ethnic category. Formally 11% in the 2001 census, Russians are not mentioned among the larger groups alongside Ukrainians and Romanians.

In this view, the tolerance narrative is seen as a tool that celebrates mainly the two presently largest groups while the smaller ones rather serve as decoration. On the other hand, locals have an image of a uniquely culturally diverse Europe in miniature that stems from the actual Habsburg experience, and that experience was shaped and shared also by groups that are now numerically small.

The experiences of Schlampf's own family and other Germans of sometimes aggressive anti-German prejudice after WWII in Soviet times provoke a narrative of autochtonicity. Answering to widespread allegations that local Germans were descendants of German prisoners of war or of German soldiers from WWII, he emphasises that local Germans are better rooted than many other Chernivites:

> "It turned out that all have the same history. And the middle generation, 50- and 60-years old, do not know their family histories, who the Germans are, how they made a living, and what is the German language. My grandfather did not teach this to my mother, but left only the surname, from which mama suffered because it is German. Then there were a lot of films that claimed that German means Fascist. From school age it was said that Germans were unhuman (*nedoliudy*). There was a view in society that all Germans are children of prisoners of war or of German soldiers who were here. Germans felt serious discrimination. And we had to explain to people that these are not the descendants of prisoners of war, but people who lived here much earlier than those who came in the Soviet period, and that we are autochtonous here, and basically built the city." (Interview with Schlampf)

Claims to nativeness, and if not ownership at least co-authorship, in a city permeated by often superficial diversity narratives can therefore be provoked not only by virtual invisibility as in the Armenian case, but also by personal experiences of ignorance and hostility. Such discriminatory attitudes to descendants of local Germans are a consequence of the breaks and voids caused by rapid ethnodemographic upheaval, and an example of what the tolerance narrative sometimes helps to gloss over. The example also shows how the breaks and voids also give birth to narratives of autochtonicity as a defensive strategy.

Continuities of tolerance and the politics of legality

Schlampf tends to see the tolerance narrative as potentially useful when handled responsibly and throughout refers to local memory work on the city's German-language literary heritage. He also argues that it is still meaningful to talk about a Bukovinian political culture that is more inclusive and restrained than in Galicia, which once again gets to play the role of the excessively loud and assertive neighbour. In his view, Bukovinians are better listeners and better at linguistic accommodation than Galicians and come out in a more favourable light comparing with Donbas and Crimea at the other end of the country.

These reflections were triggered by the developments in 2014, such as the Revolution of Dignity, Russia´s annexation of Crimea, and the outbreak of the Russia-supported secessionist war in Donbas. Schlampf argues that attitudes in Bukovina to the Maidan demonstrations were more divided than in e.g. Galicia. While no one doubted that Ianukovych was a bad president, there were disagreements about the methods of his ousting. Schlampf here emphasises legality and explicitly constructs that concept as being connected to Germanness and the political culture of Germany and Austria:

> "I, as a representative of the German House can say that we follow the policy of Germany, Austria, and the German-language world. We said that if Ianukovych has signed an agreement with Western partners, all who signed must support this (Interview with Schlampf)

Taking the point further, Schlampf argues that this insistence on legality is related to Bukovina Germans' historical experience of mass resettlement in 1940:

> "Once upon a time we were illegally deported from our lands, and even legally resettled, we remember the history of how Bukovina was divided into Northern and Southern. In the same way we say that Crimea was occupied/…/ This is illegal and always leads to catastrophic changes." (Interview with Alexander Schlampf, 7 September 2015)

Schlampf therefore links his doubts about certain aspects of current political processes to a specific construct of German intangible cultural heritage, as an extension of his remarks on local political culture in a regional comparison. This was obviously provoked by the timing of the interview in 2015, and not in 2013 as with most of the others.

Bridging vs bonding

Schlampf underlines the NKTs' cooperation with researchers such as Osachuk (on the history of Bukovina Germans) and Rykhlo (on the rediscovery of the local German-language literary tradition). It is interesting that this tradition can be claimed by the head of the German NKT, although most of the celebrated writers and poets stemmed from local Jews, not Germans. For Schlampf, this is a matter of openness and inclusion rather than appropriation, expressed through the metaphor of how ethnicity was written into the passports of Soviet citizens:

> "This is a whole literary layer – Petro Rykhlo finds forgotten poets who wrote in German, whose oeuvre is now included in the treasury of German literature. Although they were for the most part not Germans but German-speaking Jews. But if a person has contributed to the literary heritage, it doesn't matter what nationality is written into his passport – he must be unconditionally accepted."

This inclusion is hardly surprising, as the Bukowina-Mythos in Germany and Austria is built in a similar way, and it also helps *Wiedergeburt* to attach its memory work to the mainstream mnemonic narratives in the city.

If this connection is an example of bridging memory work, the NKT's efforts to arrange courses and Sunday schools in German also have a bonding component, facilitating ethnic revival through language:

> "Apart from this, we study German, because it is impossible to imagine an ethnic group that does not know its language. One could say that we were not given the opportunity to learn it, but we have arranged free courses for 25 years now, and if someone really wanted to learn it she could have. This is one of the levers, when we can say that Germans are representatives of a nation." (Interview with Schlampf).

German both serves as a bridge to a local cultural heritage much larger than the confines of the pre-Soviet German community in a stricter ethnocultural sense, and as a bond allowing the community to define itself as German, echoing beliefs commonly held in many places about the role of language for ethnicity (see e.g. Fishman 1997).

> "Our culture is of course not the same as it was, as it is mixed with Ukrainian and Romanian cultures. But we feel a need to visit the German House, to know

> what was going on back then. We are not a copy of the culture of the country from which our ancestors arrived but want to preserve the culture that existed in our environment 100 years ago. This is about celebrating German traditional holidays in the German House and involving the youth. We have the organisation Bukovinian Fenix, which has a theatrical youth group that performs plays in German. There is also the festival of Austro-German culture, and it shows that Germans exist. And we are declaring that Germans exist, that we do something." (ibid)

Wiedergeburt seeks a formula for shaping a distinct German cultural heritage when there are no more German villages in the Bukovinian countryside and only a small remnant of the former urban community. Its once vital distinction between regional origins and religious denominations remains. It is perhaps less of an ethnocultural revival than an attempt to keep the head above the surface against the economic and cultural tides.

In doing so, *Wiedergeburt* visits the events of the other ethnocultural associations in the city but not least works with Austrian partners from Chernivtsi´s twin city Klagenfurt and receives some support from the funds of the German foreign ministry in Ukraine (ibid). Transnational contacts with German-speaking countries are also a way for local German activists to show that a trickle of a community still exists in the city.

As is the case with e.g. Polish and Romanian NKTs, interest in their activities, particularly the language courses, can also be triggered by an interest in opportunities to study and work in the kin states, which Schlampf acknowledges.

In terms of bonding and bridging, the former arguably mostly marks the activities of the German NKT, while the pre-WWII status of German as a socially, economically, and culturally prestigious lingua franca enables German activists to identify with the mainstream Chernivtsi mnemonic narrative about the rediscovery of German-language literature, most of the writers of which were Jewish.

Romanian NKTs: mnemonic compartmentalisation

The preconditions for the memory work of local Romanian NKTs are different from those of the other NKTs. In the case of the German or Armenian NKTs such memory work is largely defined by the numerically insignificant status of the contemporary ethnic communities they claim to represent. Romanians and Moldovans in the census of 2001 comprised 20% of the population in the region, and about 7% in Chernivtsi, and historically at times the relative size of the community in the Bukovinian parts of what now is Chernivtsi oblast' has been larger. Romanians are generally recognised together with Ukrainians as one of two autochthonous ethnic groups in the region and were privileged in the nationalising policies of interwar Romania when Ukrainians formed a minority in the city[56]. Romanians are therefore both a sizeable minority and former powerholders in the city. In the early post-Soviet years there were considerable state-level tensions between Ukraine and Romania until the signing of a treaty on neighbourliness and cooperation in 1997, as Romania did not want to recognise the state border or give up territorial claims to territories that belonged to the country in the interwar period. Those tensions also affected relations on the ground in Chernivtsi and Bukovina, and the arguably most important Romanian NKT, the Mihai Eminescu Society followed implicitly the Romanian line, or, in the words of Stewart "tried to capitalize on the desire in certain political circles in Romania to reincorporate northern Bukovyna" (Stewart 2005: 119). Even before 1997, there were few "significant actions of protest" which were "not on a level with the activists' verbal claims" (ibid: 185). When I met the head of the Eminescu Society in 2013, little was left of the open conflictual atmosphere two decades earlier. However, some of my Ukrainian respondents in 2013 expressed distrust of Romania's 'real' intentions, especially in what was then a potential situation of threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity and saw the Romanian NKTs as mostly following in Bucharest's footsteps. Questions of symbolic, if not juridical, ownership of the region were sometimes felt among both Ukrainian and Romanian respondents, in a way that was not with NKTs claiming to represent any other ethnic group.

[56] This switching of roles between Ukrainians and Romanians was explicitly pointed out by the head of the House of the Romanian Language (Interview with Tărâțeanu).

As we have seen, many NKTs emphasise the autochtonicity of the groups they claim to represent. In the Romanian case autochtonicity is generally recognised in mainstream discourse, and Romanian NKTs stress this factor as something self-evident and a source of pride (see both interviews with Tărâțeanu and Bivolaru). In some cases, this narrative extended into one of ownership, although, once again, not in the judicial sense. Most clearly this was stated by Octavian Bivolaru, the head of the Golgota Society, as he distinguished between Chernivtsi region as a formally Ukrainian territory (Ru. *territoriia*) and as a Romanian land (Ru. *zemlia*):

> "The territory is Ukrainian, but the land is Romanian, or if not Romanian maybe then God's." (Interview with Bivolaru 2015)

Describing the cultural diversity of the region and recalling his childhood memories, Bivolaru also argued that many Ukrainians in the region are not locals, but came to the city after 1944:

> "I know that Romanians and Moldovans together are 20%[57], the rest are Ukrainians and local Ukrainians, because after the war everyone left. It was empty, there was a vacuum here. And from these regions Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ternopil', L'viv, Khmelnyts'kyi, even from Kyiv and Kharkiv, everyone came here. And all demobilised soldiers who didn't have anywhere to go in Russia also came here. I remember, I was a small child, all the invalids, everyone came here because everyone had left and there were empty apartments." (Interview with Bivolaru)

In a similar way, Bivolaru, a retired engineer born during Romanian rule in 1936, emphasised that he will not apply for Romanian citizenship since he never asked for it to be taken away from him after the Soviet take-over. Such open claims to symbolic ownership were not made in my interviews with other Romanian actors, and there were clear differences between the Romanian NKTs in how Romanian identity and memory were profiled in relation to the post-Soviet Ukrainian context. Apart from Bivolaru's Golgota (Ukr. *Holhofa*) society, that mainly traces and commemorates Soviet terror against Romanian in the region, I have analysed the memory work of the Mihai Eminescu Society for Romanian Culture and of the House of the Romanian Language. Vasile

[57] In the interview, Bivolaru, like most Romanian activists, expanded on why he considers Moldovans to be a regional variety of Romanians and not an ethnic group in itself.

Bâcu, head of the Eminescu Society and editor of a local newspaper in the Hertsa (Rom. Herța) region along the border with Romania, kept a moderate profile and rather downplayed conflicts in present times, although he also referred to the situation in the early 1990s, and took a softer line on the relations with the local authorities. Vasile Tărâțeanu (1945-2022), a poet, writer, and journalist, at the time of the interview headed the House of the Romanian Language, which focuses on language rights and the situation for the Romanian language in northern Bukovina. Tărâțeanu was well-known both locally and in Romania as a Romanian activist, not only in language issues, and in the interview, he emphasised his memory work.

Bukovinian cultural diversity

Interestingly, in relation to the region's trademark cultural pluralism, both Bivolaru and Tărâțeanu mark the Soviet take-over of 1940 as a historical breaking point. Tărâțeanu argued that a culture of tolerance emerged in the region due to frequent changes in state belonging, but that this culture has been severely weakened after 1940:

> "And, naturally, this transfer from one state to another formed the culture, this tolerance, and until 1940 Bukovina really was an exemplary region of diversity and mutual understanding, and people freely mastered many languages."

While few respondents from other ethnic backgrounds would see the, at times, repressive policies of the interwar Romanian state as characterised by tolerance, the argument here rather emphasises the cultural repertoire of the inhabitants, and by implication, the actual diversity of the city before the calamities of the 1940s. By confusing tolerance with diversity, some Romanian activists thereby draw from the tolerance narrative to further a narrative almost exclusively centring on ethnic Romanians. For Tărâțeanu, tolerance was receding in the city in Soviet times, but this process continued in Ukraine after 1991, with demands to speak Ukrainian and the lack of support of the authorities for Romanian cultural initiatives, such as the idea of having bilingual street signs in the city in Ukrainian and Romanian. Although all states strive for assimilation of minorities, the cultural rights of autochthonous groups such as local Romanians should be respected, especially as they also at an earlier stage were the leading group giving its name to the country (Ru.

titul'naia natsiia). The lack of such recognition also signifies a diminishing culture of tolerance (Interview with Tărâțeanu).

Bivolaru provides a more material aspect of the worsening conditions for Romanians in the Soviet period by pointing to professional discrimination, with a clear ethnic hierarchy in the large factory with 4000 employees where he worked as an engineer:

> "The very top was Russian. Second in the factory were Ukrainians. The third, the engineers, were Jewish. Among the workers there were all kinds of people, Ukrainians, Jews, and Romanians. But most Romanians cleaned the toilets or the territory, the drivers, well, the Soviet Union did not allow advancement." (ibid)

The day after the interview with Bivolaru, he showed me the monument to Romanian soldiers fallen in WWII, located at a section of the Jewish cemetery. The most interesting part of the walk occurred after my respondent suggested a detour to the Christian cemetery on the other side of the street. Here he pointed the beautiful graves of Christian Bukovinians with Ukrainian, Romanian, German, Polish and Armenian background. He argued that this great local cultural diversity, often expressed in an elegant artistic language and allowing prominent individuals of different ethnic background to be buried side by side with names and grave inscriptions written in many languages and several alphabets, was possible only as long as the city was part of Romania and thereby included in a wider European cultural framework. With the Soviet take-over in 1940, this culture was destroyed, and the ties cut off. In this way, he chose to appeal to the tolerance narrative to stress the historical and cultural legitimacy of Romanian claims to the region.

No traces of such explicit language were expressed by Bâcu of the Eminescu Society, who conveyed a much more mainstreamed narrative. In many ways, the Eminescu Society is the face of Romanian NKTs in the city, considering itself heirs to the oldest Romanian ethno-cultural association from Austrian times, with facilities that before 1940 belonged to that organisation on the Central Square. Bâcu defined tolerance in terms of mutual respect, peaceful coexistence, and cultural interaction, stating that it emerged in Austrian times and continued under Romanian rule. Unlike the other leaders of Romanian NKTs he argued that this tradition is unbroken:

> "I think it persists. If I am to judge by myself, it persists. I have a lot of Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish friends and I don't see any reasons for conflicts. Well, except for those who chose some kind of radical path, but mainly I believe tolerance is still here and will remain." (Interview with Bâcu)

It can also be noted here that both Bâcu and Bivolaru *emphasise* that independent Ukraine meant that it became possible to work at all with Romanian memory:

> "After the fall of the Soviet Union we were given a lot of freedoms. All these associations were formed. Earlier this would have been impossible. We could now enter the archives to take a look, liberalisation." (Interview with Bivolaru)

Bâcu connects this renewed memory work in Ukrainian times to the very facilities of his society, although full ownership has not been restored:

> "We are thankful to the Ukrainian authorities, because in Soviet times the associations were forbidden, and in these premises, there was a grocery store, and after that the last army bookstore for military themes." (Interview with Bâcu)

Memory work and cooperation

Although Romanian NKTs, and especially the Eminescu Society, participate in events organised by other ethnic NKTs, the overall impression is that Romanian memory work in Chernivtsi is primarily compartmentalised, with a stronger emphasis on bonding rather than on bridging memory work. The themes covered by the three NKTs overlap in many ways and include the celebration of important Romanian cultural and political figures, advocating for changes of street names and putting up memory plaques in the urban landscape, arranging festivals of Romanian language or folk music, or presentations of books by Romanian authors. Golgota covers a specific niche, raising memorial crosses and monuments to Romanian victims of Stalinist repression mostly in the Bukovinian countryside (but also e.g. in the Chernivtsi neighbourhood Rosha (Ro. Roşa), where many Romanians live). This also concerns the commemoration of the victims of the massacres in Lunka (Ro. Lunca) and Bila Krynytsia (Ro. Fântâna Albă) where local Romanians trying to cross the border between then Soviet Bukovina into Romania in 1941 were shot by Soviet border guards. Golgota also collects material about individual

victims of Soviet deportations and forced labour, and arranges conferences and publishes mostly Romanian-language books on this theme. The choice of language itself, mainly Romanian, for these publications also confirms the impression that this memory work is intended more for commemoration and mourning among Romanians, in the region and across the border in Romania, than as a way of communicating Romanian traumas to the whole population in northern Bukovina.

Bivolaru particularly stresses the difficulties in setting up a monument to the Romanian soldiers who fell during WWII and who are buried in a section in the periphery of the Jewish cemetery. The local administration accepted the proposal to set up the monument, but it was never officially inaugurated. Bivolaru attributes this to a campaign instigated by local Ukrainian nationalists through newspaper articles and demonstrations, which led to him being summoned to the SBU (Ukrainian security service) and the authorities getting cold feet. In a similar example, Bivolaru recalls how he failed to get the authorities' approval for raising a monument to Moldovan ruler Stephen the Great (Ro. Ștefan cel Mare) (Interview with Bivolaru).

Tărâțeanu recollects difficulties working with the local authorities in connection with putting up a memorial plaque to Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi, a prominent 19th century local Romanian historian and politician, who was instrumental in establishing Bukovina as a separate Austrian Kronland in 1848 and who was Landeshauptmann of Bukovina in the 1860s. The plaque was established, but according to Tărâțeanu only after long discussions with the authorities about the parallel translation of the Romanian text to Ukrainian and the spelling of Hurmuzachi in in that language. A memory plaque to Eminescu on his old school building was successfully established, as was another one to the director of the Romanian lyceum in the city. In the area of book publishing, his Romanian-language local history textbook was not accepted by the authorities, but Tărâțeanu was able to distribute it freely to the libraries of local Romanian schools in the region (Interview with Tărâțeanu).

When reflecting about their understandings of Bukovina's cultural heritage, all three heads of Romanian NKTs first and foremost mention the names of Romanian cultural figures such as Eminescu, Hurmuzachi, Prince Alexander the Good (Rom. Alexandru cel Bun) or Stefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great), or Romanian events such as the Day of the Romanian Language or the Mărțișor spring celebrations. In doing this, Bâcu assumed that Ukrainians probably would have chosen other cultural figures, thereby underlining an ethnic

compartmentalisation of both memory and heritage. Bâcu also stays closer to mainstream narratives in mentioning examples of cultural cross-fertilisation among famous Bukovinians cultural figures. He recalls a song of Ukrainian writer Sydir Vorobkevych with both Ukrainian and Romanian versions, but also mentions, in a very common reflection among my interviewees, that Ukrainian writers Ol'ha Kobylians'ka and Iurii Fed'kovych also wrote in German, not only in Ukrainian. He mentions the Jewish origins of Paul Celan, but claims the poet belongs to everybody, since he wrote in both German and Romanian (Interview with Bâcu). The other two heads of Romanian NKTs also to some extent mention figures outside of the specifically Romanian pantheon, but in a context that underlines the importance of city's Romanian past for the pre-Soviet culture of diversity and tolerance.

In connection with the commemoration of historical tragedies, Bâcu underlines what I call mnemonic compartmentalisation, arguing that although he as representative of the Eminescu Society takes part in Holocaust commemorations, this is mostly an area of activity for the Jewish NKTs. Talking about similar visits to Holodomor commemorations, he emphasised that the famine of 1932-1933 did not take place in Bukovina, since the region then was part of Romania, but also mentions the large-scale famine of Bessarabia and Bukovina in 1947.

The Eminescu Society works with other NKTs and other local organisations on arranging exhibitions or other public events and collaborates on the exchanges of visit to the events of other NKTs, while Tărâțeanu and Bivolaru mostly mentioned other local Romanian organisations as partners. Only Romanian examples are provided as cases of transnational cooperation, with e.g. the Eminescu Society inviting Romanian choirs or theatrical ensembles from Romania. All three heads of Romanian NKTs underline that they cooperate with the local administration and at times have received funding from it.

Bonding, bridging, and stifled multidirectionality?

As NKTs are founded as would-be representatives of mostly minority ethnic groups, it is not surprising that they tend to focus on internal community ties inside the country and on co-ethnic ties in transnational cooperation. This does not conflict with the tolerance narrative's predominant celebration of cultural diversity in terms of (a specific set of) established ethnocultural groups and

religious denominations, although many locals see tolerance not only as peaceful coexistence but also as mutual influences, cultural borrowing, and even hybridity. Bonding memory work directed at strengthening cohesion and solidarity inside the specific communities therefore has a stable place in the activities of Chernivtsi's ethnocultural associations. This seems to be especially important for, on the one hand, the NKTs claiming to represent the smallest ethnic groups in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, such as Germans and Armenians and, on the other, the Romanian NKTs, because of a combination of size factors, claims to symbolic (co)-ownership, and close relations to Romania where Bukovina's southern half is located. However, elements of bridging exist in most of the cases, and is particularly underlined in both the memory work of NKTs claiming to represent a nowadays small group such as the Poles, as well as the Ukrainian House. The Mickiewicz Society arguably has the most profiled multiculturalist rhetorics, while it also arranges the most bridging events and meetings in its premises, which activists from other NKTs recall warmly. As would be expected, most of its transnational activities are channelled to its kin-state, but the society is also instrumental in arranging the annual Bukovinian Meetings folkloric festivals, in which participants from many local or diasporic Bukovinian communities participate. The Ukrainian House is headed by a self-professed nationalist and, in the 1990s, had a leading role in raising a monument to the Bukovyns'kyi Kurin', which caused controversy among Polish and Jewish NKTs. At the same time, it has also been a driving force in public history projects celebrating and remembering pre-WWII local cultural diversity, and developed specific projects about the Roma, who despite their long history in Bukovina are seldom seen as iconic constituents of the region's ethnocultural diversity.

It therefore makes sense to also talk about bridging memory work being done by the NKTs in Chernivtsi, although it would probably be a stretch to go much further. It is difficult to discuss the memory work of Chernivtsi NKTs in terms of e.g. Michael Rothberg's (2009) multidirectional framework, in which dialogic and intermingled memories strengthen each other rather than being competitive, and where the link between memory and group identity is weakened. There is e.g. no open mnemonic competition when activists of the various NKTs visit annual local commemorations of the Holodomor and the Holocaust, but what we see here is arguably rather the ritual performance of the annual mnemonic calendar, not a qualitatively new kind of emerging solidarities. Some memory work by other actors, such as the activist collective

Roșa's work with Holocaust memory, or the poetry readings at the Jewish cemetery during the Meridian Czernowitz festival, might be better building blocks for such a concept in the city.

Somewhat lowering the bar, it is not difficult to find in some NKTs' mnemonic narratives overlapping memories and traumas that cross group boundaries. One example could be the marking of the Soviet take-over in 1940 and the following terror and deportations as a common negative breaking-point for e.g. many Romanian, Ukrainian, and Armenian narratives[58]. However, the rather compartmentalised local Romanian memory work, mostly conducted in Romanian which most other northern Bukovinians today do not understand, make the cross-referencing and borrowing of memories difficult. That can only be reinforced by complex histories of changing state belonging, competition for symbolic ownership of the land by some activists, and territorial disagreement settled only in 1997 between Ukraine and Romania.

The historical experiences of the communities that the NKTs are seeking to represent are so complex and intertwined that what stimulates common reflections and a common seeking of answers on one front is countered by memory conflicts on another, where the narratives confront and undermine each other rather than complement and strengthen. Unprocessed toxic memories from WWII disturb also otherwise cordial relations between Ukrainian and Armenian mnemonic activists. Viktor Davydovych, head of the Armenian NKT Arevik, recollected how he often talks to his Ukrainian colleagues about the Soviet repressions against many prominent Bukovinians and his own family's tragic fate as deportees to Siberia, and how they often find common ground in such discussions. It is easy to understand how common memories of Soviet repression stimulate the emergence of such a common ground, since for the old local Polish-Armenian community, incorporation in the Soviet Union in 1940 and re-incorporation in 1944 apart from deportations to the East meant the dislocation of almost the whole community to Poland.

Simultaneously, the large-scale Polish-Ukrainian ethno-political violence and the ethnic cleansings of Poles in 1942-1943 conducted by armed Ukrainian units of the UPA in Volyn' and Galicia also affected the local Polish-Armenian community. This was especially the case in the small ethnically mixed town

[58] It is a truism that, in the Ukrainian case, the matter is much more complex, as it was that very Soviet take-over that made northern Bukovina part of contemporary Ukraine at all.

Kuty, just across the Cheremosh river from the then mostly Jewish town of Vyzhnytsia in Bukovina (Motyka 2011: 117; Agopsowicz 2023: 263-266).

> "Well, there are Ukrainian memory organisations that defend the rights of those representatives that Soviet power regarded as criminals. This is about UPA and OUN, these Ukrainian nationalist organisations. Ukrainians see them as patriotic. How do Armenians look at this? In various ways. Why? Because in Kuty, you know about the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians before the war, after the war, during the war this is a fact. Well, they say that the bands of those OUN people burned down tens of buildings in Kuty/…/ Later when we tried to understand there what the reason was, I know for a fact, because those were my relatives who were killed, and there a memorial plaque of even Polish Armenians have now been put up in Kuty." (Interview with Davydovych)

While ethnic Ukrainians are obviously not monolithically praising the historical record of UPA, Davydovych here refers to local mnemonic activists. The sensitivity of this memory for him is underlined not only because Kuty was a centre of Armenian life in interwar Poland, but also because once again his family were among the victims, this time not of Soviet repression but of Ukrainian ethno-nationalist violence. For Davydovych, the reasons for the killings of Armenians were that they were perceived to be Poles or closely allied with Poles, since they were mostly Polish-speaking in everyday life:

> "Firstly, this is an important reason, maybe the most important, that they destroyed Poles and simultaneously Armenians. One can say that even if this is not a Pole, this is a sympathiser; he is from the same trade union, as we say (laughs)." (Interview with Davydovych)

Most discouraging from the viewpoint of multidirectionality in this case is how local Armenians seem to prefer silence to demands for official and public recognition of this memory and raising awareness about what happened:

> "It has already come to that they say, Viktor, forgive us for what happened (laughs). They cannot understand what this was. Was it a provocation, or something else? But the fact is there. And therefore, Polish Armenians said last year: "Let us place a memorial plaque or a memorial there", well people died/…/Let's set up a memorial or cross to the memory of those victims that were annihilated. And I say I beg you. You came here and left. We must live here, this goes against, let's say, the current authorities, history, because it has not been written anywhere what this was. But you put it up and leave, and we

> must live here, maybe principally one should not touch this bit of history in this way. This will only stimulate some kind of counteraction and nothing more. We don't want it this way." (Interview with Davydovych)

The consequence is that not only recognition but also actual knowledge about the locally little known UPA pogrom against Armenians in Kuty remains a private matter for Davydovych and his Ukrainian interlocutors. This is not a case of competitive victimhood hindering the emergence of mnemonic commonalities, as local Armenians chose not to confront Ukrainian activists publicly and even tried to tone down transnational initiatives from fellow Armenians in Poland to publicly commemorate the massacre out of a fear of the reactions of Ukrainian society. In a way, Ukrainian-Armenian dialogue about common suffering from Soviet repression partly depends on a tacit agreement of public silence – albeit with private acknowledgement of guilt and apologies – on another mnemonic issue focusing on UPA terror against the old Armenian community in Kuty. The dynamics here points to memories doing exactly what they should not do in the concept of multidirectionality – they "crowd each other out of the public sphere" (Rothberg 2014: 176), or rather, the unequal power balance crowds out one particular memory.

Chapter 7:

Returning Chernivtsi to the cultural map of Europe: The Meridian Czernowitz International Poetry Festival[59]

For American sociologist Sharon Zukin, festivals together with art installations, modern art museums, hipster areas, ethnic tourist zones, etc. are part of a cultural package with which contemporary cities market their distinctiveness (Zukin 2010: 233-234). Such city branding for Zukin on the aggregate level might lead to cultural and social homogenisation as cities adopt similar strategies of reinvented authenticity, linking distilled versions of local cultural heritage to visions of urban regeneration through cultural consumption and the inflow of financial and cultural capital (ibid). Post-Soviet Chernivtsi, the smallest regional capital in Ukraine with less than excellent flight connections, an undersized tourist infrastructure, weak institutions, and a creative class not numerous and affluent enough to be a strong motor for economic growth, might seem an unlikely competitor in such a race.

Nonetheless, city branding in Chernivtsi, a city in the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland that as Czernowitz was part of Austria 1775-1918, belonged to Romania in the interwar period and was incorporated in the Soviet Union 1940-1941 and 1944-1991, often aims to reinvent authenticity by seeking inspiration in the city's pre-Soviet past. As in some other post-socialist cities that went through dramatic ethno-demographic changes in the 20th century this often emerges as a retrospective multiculturalism highlighting a mostly lost

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pre-WWII cultural diversity. In Chernivtsi it symbolically claims reattachment to Europe by nostalgically exploring its Habsburg and pre-WWII past, when the city was famed for its cultural diversity, comprising among others Germans, Jews, Romanians, Ukrainians, Poles and Armenians of various religious denominations, and a rich literary and cultural life.

Chernivtsi has since the last Soviet years been a venue for reputed cultural festivals. The earliest and most well-known is probably the *Chervona Ruta* music festival held in 1989, which was intimately linked to the Ukrainian ethno-national revival during the last years of the Soviet Union and later moved on to other Ukrainian cities Wanner 1998; Klid 2014). In this chapter, we focus on a festival that emerged twenty years into the post-Soviet period - the international poetry festival *Meridian Czernowitz*, held in the city annually since 2010. Arguably, the idea of returning the city to the cultural map of Europe and of reestablishing lost cultural ties through a poetry festival is not so much an example of the global trends Zukin terms MacGuggenisation as of a regional and post-socialist search for what Erll (2014) calls past potentialities among the "ghosts of the Others" (Blacker 2013).

For Blacker, in post-socialist cities local actors such as café owners, writers or musicians rather than state and local authorities "latch on to the potential for generating financial and/or cultural capital through the evocation of the pasts of vanished communities" (ibid; see also Narvselius 2015). They seek to create light and positive memories and draw on popular culture to "make the other past enjoyable and accessible" (Blacker 2013: 187). Potentially, this could lead to a "circumvention of guilt complexes and resentment" and transform into "a heritage that can be more easily recognized, celebrated and even mourned" (ibid).

By connecting to the city's rich pre-Soviet German-language literary tradition, with writers such as Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer, the festival takes part in heritagisation – "the process through which objects, places and practices are turned into cultural heritage" (Sjöholm 2016: 5) - of a lost urban cultural diversity as do other cultural festivals in Eastern and Central Europe. However, the genre of a contemporary poetry festival where the Holocaust thematique recurs in readings often taking place at venues historically connected to the city's Jewish community indicates a more complex memory work than that of the lighter restaurant and entertainment scene. A Celan reading in the delapitated mortuary hall at the Jewish cemetery engages with the past differently than e.g. performances of folk ensembles during the annual

folkloric festival Bukovinian Meetings, which celebrates cultural diversity but avoids toxic memories.

The chapter asks how Meridian Czernowitz works with the city's culturally diverse past and its literary dimensions, drawing on tropes from both local multiculturalist narrative and on the *Bukowina-Mythos* popularised by intellectuals from German-speaking countries. It is based on my own interviews, on presentational materials, programs, interviews and video clips from the festival's website http://www.meridiancz.com/, its YouTube channel and its Facebook page, as well as local and international media sources. I also draw on my own field notes and observations from the 6th Meridian Czernowitz festival 3-6 September 2015.

Heritagisation is useful here both for external city branding and for popularizing the city's past to the present inhabitants. Simultaneously, the article looks into tensions that emerge between the organisers' wish to raise local consciousness about the city's past and its bygone Others, and the festival's goal of "returning Chernivtsi to the cultural map of Europe", stated many times in speeches and interviews. In the first case, the target audience is local and memory work largely about popularization. In the second case, the target audience is foreign intellectuals and journalists and memory work builds on tropes established in Western Europe, tropes that are confirmed and brought to life through contact with the cityscape.

I also focus on the spatial aspects of the festival – on how Meridian Czernowitz for poetry readings and other events uses historic locations connected to the city's historical communities. For Bakshi visions and uses of place are important for how urban communities remember since they are "involved both in the implicit framing of events from the past – events "take place" there – as well in the explicit use of place as a focal point on to which selected memories can be projected" (Bakshi 2014: 193). Bakshi and other researchers looking into how mnemonic actors seek to approach and transform the urban landscape draw on Aleida Assmann's notion of the archive, seeing the city as a (partly) visual, tangible, walk- and liveable archive that bring "remnants from different times visually together in one place" (ibid: 191). Drawing attention to symbolically charged places connected to the lives of previous inhabitants might also potentially in Jan Assmann's terms transform those places from objects of cultural memory into living venues for a renewed local communicational memory, thus bridging the different temporalities represented by those buildings in contemporary urban space (Assmann 1995).

However, as we will see, such place-making is not only a strategy for communication with locals but can also be a way of attracting attention from foreign media, branding the festival as well as the city, and emphasizing the contemporary transnational elements rather than the historical transcultural ones.

Meridian Czernowitz: emergence and structure

The name Meridian stems from a quote from the city's most celebrated writer, the German-language Jewish poet Paul Celan, who was born and grew up in the city, survived the Holocaust and later lived his life in exile until his suicide in Paris in 1970. Celan is something of a brand for the festival, where his poetry is read in the German original as well as in Ukrainian translation, in the backyard of his former home and in the newly created Paul Celan Literaturzentrum. Lines from his poetry are used in advertising the festival[60].

The poetry festival is the most important part of the International Literary Corporation Meridian Czernowitz that also comprises book projects and the Paul Celan Literaturzentrum. The festival is a result of cooperation between businessmen, cultural managers and artists, writers and scholars. This is indicated by the corporation's initiative group, which apart from the director, businessman Sviatoslav Pomerantsev is comprised of well-known local academics and cultural activists, such as literary scholar and translator Petro Rykhlo, historian Serhii Osachuk, London-based writer, journalist and former dissident Ihor Pomerantsev, and former dissident and Jewish cultural activist Iosif Zisels.

If most organisers and sponsors as well as the work team are local[61], most participants are poets, writers and scholars from German-speaking or other countries, and among the visitors are many journalists and other guests from

[60] In a commercial clip, the literary scholar and translator Petro Rykhlo recited his own Ukrainian translation of Paul Celan's Holocaust poem Death Fugue. The poem's famous Black Milk metaphor was illustrated with the turning of a cup of black coffee. International Poetry Festival Meridian Czernowitz, 30 July 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_naYyBav3cs (accessed 20 September, 2017).

[61] Among non-local organisers are the leading contemporary Ukrainian writers and intellectuals Iurii Andrukhovych and Serhii Zhadan as well as the poet and translator Mark Belorusets'.

abroad. The festival collaborates with educational and cultural institutions based in other countries, such as the German Goethe-Institut. Meridian Czernowitz was originally profiled as a festival of German and Ukrainian literature and emphasized its effort to "seek the return of the German word to Chernivtsi" and to establish a link between the city's powerful German-language literary heritage and contemporary German-language literature from Germany and Austria. Thus, in 2010 one of the organisers, the poet Ihor Pomerantsev, who grew up in Soviet Chernivtsi but since the 1970s lives in exile, described the city as "a book, a city-book" arguing that the festival signifies "the return of the word, the poetic word, to where it used to be" (Returning of…2010). Although the geographical scope of the festival has widened, the focus on German-language literature remains. The transnational character of the festival is underscored by its multilingualism. For symbolic as well as for pragmatic reasons German rather than English has been chosen as the language for translations for foreign guest from Ukrainian, Russian or other languages. During many of the discussions in 2015, participants freely moved between Ukrainian, Russian and German.

I met the festival's director Sviatoslav Pomerantsev for an interview in the *rezydentura*, an apartment in the city centre where the corporation hosts grantees for a project supporting poets and translators of Ukrainian poetry into German. Grantees live in the apartment for four weeks during which they meet local colleagues and "get to know the city's architectural and cultural heritage and its inhabitants" (Rezydentsiia n.d.). When I asked why the festival came to be, Pomerantsev read out his short speech in Ukrainian, "How I became president", that introduced the first festival in 2010. In the speech, Pomerantsev humorously describes his personal transformation from a businessman selling air conditioners ("climate") and other material for houses and apartments into a cultural entrepreneur reconstructing his own personal heritage selling the "climate of poetry and linguistic polyglossia" (Interview with Sviatoslav Pomerantsev, 13 June 2013).

For Serhii Osachuk, a member of the festival's initiative group and a well-known local historian and populariser of the history of old Czernowitz, it is the cross-fertilisation of know-how in business, management and merchandising with the academic expertise and intellectual reach of scholars and writers that separates Meridian Czernowitz from other efforts to popularise the city's cultural heritage:

> ”An example of the most effective use of this resource is the poetry festival Meridian Czernowitz/.../this is not researchers, this are not literary scholars, this are not translators, they approached this question effectively simply as managers, they got it going, and produced an effective, working instrumentation/…/They knew where to find money, they knew where to find scholars and intellectuals/…/They unified the intellectual resources, the intellectual brands of the academic and artistic elites, and for each of these brands they found resources and made a cultural-political product of the city. (Interview with Serhii Osachuk, 23 April 2013).

Meridian Czernowitz as a corporation is also involved in book publishing. It is not a publishing house in itself, but the label and the festival's logo are featured in books published by other companies, most often Vasyl' Droniak's *Knyhy-XXI* (Knyzhkovi proekty n.d.). Most of the books are published in Ukrainian by notable Ukrainian authors, but Ukrainian translations, often made by writers associated with the festival, of works by Swiss, Danish and Polish writers are also included. A few Russian-language books have been published, including works of former dissident and Radio Free Europe correspondent Ihor Pomerantsev, one of the organisers of the festival, and of Odesa Jewish poet Borys Khersonskyi. Notable among the Russian-language books is a collection of short autobiographical stories, *Chernovitskie rasskazy*, recollecting life in the last decades of Soviet Czernowitz. Many of the authors come from the Russian-speaking Jewish community that formed in the city after the war and consists of both emigres and authors remaining in the city. One could also mention Ihor Pomerantsev's collection of essays and short autobiographical stories in Russian called *Czernowitz. Chernovtsy. Chernivtsi.* – a title calling attention to the layers of the city's history most relevant to the author by rendering its name in German/Yiddish, Russian and Ukrainian. Both books were presented during the festival and contribute recollections of the city's Soviet years, adding a complex Soviet dimension to the festival's mnemonic range. However, most of the books branded by the Meridian Czernowitz label are not specifically devoted to the city. The book production also connects the festival to other visible local actors in the cultural field such as the head of the antiquarian bookshop Bukinist Marina Libanova, a Russian-speaker of Jewish background and one of the motors of cultural life of the city arranging readings and happenings in her bookshop.

Another part of the corporation is Paul Celan Literaturzentrum, inaugurated during the 2013 festival and headed by literary scholar Petro Rykhlo, famous

for his translations of the city's German- and Yiddish-language literary heritage. It studies aspects of Bukovina literature that were silenced or subdued during the Soviet period and seeks to popularise the multiethnic and multilingual Bukovinian literature. While during Soviet times literary studies were mostly devoted to socialist realist Ukrainian-language authors (or earlier classics that could be partly adapted to that canon), the German, Polish, Jewish and Romanian local writers and poets that often were familiar to a Western European literary audience became virtually unknown in Bukovina. The Centre defines as one of its task to "correct those mistakes of the past" (Paul Celan Literaturzentrum n.d.), by arranging lectures and presentations, hosting a library and showing both temporary exhibitions about Bukovinian writers and a permanent one focusing on German- and Yiddish-language authors. The centre hopes that visits of contemporary German and Austrian authors will foster continuity with the local German-language literary tradition. The centre is located in the heart of the city, in the corner of the walking and shopping Kobylians'ka Street[62], not far from the German and Polish National Houses and the Jewish charity Hesed Shushana.

Popularising local history through a poetry festival – for whom?

One characteristic of the festival since its beginning in 2010 is the use of venues for poetry readings and other events that have symbolic connections to the lives of communities that are virtually missing from contemporary Chernivtsi. The following quote from 2013 shows how the organisers wanted to present the philosophy behind this choice:

[62] Kobylians'ka Street is named after Ol'ha Kobylians'ka (1863-1942), a modernist and early feminist Ukrainian writer native to Bukovina. See Solomiia Pavlychko: *Dyskurs modernizmu v ukrains'kiy literaturi* (Kyiv: Lybid', 1999): 58-68. She was included in the Soviet pantheon of Ukrainian literature, and in Chernivtsi, her hometown since the early 1890s, apart from the walking and shopping street named being renamed in her honour, her statue was raised in front of the Opera house in 1980, where a statue of German writer Friedrich Schiller had been placed 1907-1922. She remains the most celebrated of the Ukrainian writers in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, where her mixed ethnic background and the fact that she wrote her first works in German sometimes are highlighted in the local tolerance narratives.

> "In the city on "the backyards of the Empire" Germans, Poles, Romanians, Jews, Russians and Ukrainians lived together. Different languages sounded, different traditions and religions lived there – cultural diversity abounded. Today we are told about the multicultural past in the old cemetery, where Germans, Poles, Romanians, Jews, Russians and Ukrainians rest together and in buildings, streets and roads on which signs of the multicultural past have remained. When one looks at the walls of buildings in Chernivtsi it is not hard to see the multilayered decorative plaster that covers them. Here the city's multilayeredness the multiculturality can be traced: names of old shops emerge in German, old street names show in Romanian, or even frescos of an old temple. The organisers of the festival MERIDIAN CZERNOWITZ, who are in love with their city and its history could not avoid to tap into this cultural capital during the festival. It worked out extraordinarily interesting. Old buildings that are now not used according to the original idea, among which there are even synagogues and Catholic churches, sheltered poets and listeners. In many of them its native language was heard, the language of the people who built them, and we in turn could acquaint ourselves with Chernivtsi's unknown but not very distant past." (Honchar 2013).

The quote retells the story of a flourishing cultural diversity of ethnic and religious groups as the main historical signifier of old Czernowitz. It draws on the familiar image of the city as a palimpsest where old layers of cultural diversity are hiding in the buildings and streets of the cityscape, struggling to emerge through the thin veil of the immediately and habitually visible. It locates the city's plural heritage to the realm of the dead, to the Christian and the Jewish cemeteries on Zelena Street, thus presented as something missing that is to be remembered and mourned. Especially significant is perhaps the transformative quality the readings are imbued with. As contemporary poets read in Hebrew in the old Orthodox synagogue on Synagogue Street (now a carpenter's workshop) and in Polish in the Heart of Jesu Cathedral (in 2013 still housing the city archive), a connection is claimed with the original purpose of the buildings and their link to specific communities of city dwellers, with the visitor's awareness of their city's history hopefully deepened and densified.

The strategy was restated by the festival's press secretary, cultural manager and literary scholar Iryna Vikyrchak, in an interview for the nation-wide Ukrainian newspaper *Den'*. She argued that the organisers' aim of highlighting historical places in the city sought to enlighten contemporary locals and to show them "where they live and what was before them" (Yaremchuk 2013).

Here the target audience for the popularization of the city's past during the festival was clearly identified as locals. Simultaneously, drawing on the city's past cultural diversity and its material traces is also a part of Meridian Czernowitz efforts to brand Chernivtsi and its literary heritage abroad. Although there is not necessarily a conflict between those targets they are intended for different publics. In the first case locals are given the opportunity to familiarize themselves with their city's great but dissonant past. The second case builds on tropes well-established among Central European intellectuals expressed in the *Bukowina-Mythos*, about the great German-speaking former Austrian city where Germans and Jews, as well as others, together created great literature and a civic culture based on respect for pluralism that was later destroyed National-Socialism and the Holocaust and cut off from Europe by the Iron Curtain. It thus taps into both the key node that is the Holocaust theme and a parallel narrative exploiting a past potentiality, and alternative past that could have been.

Telling me about the plans for the 4th festival in 2013, Sviatoslav Pomerantsev emphasized that the use of historic locations is intended to open and reveal the city for both locals and visitors from Western Europe.

> "Every year we come up with something new that would be interesting for Chernivites, for Ukrainians, and of course for guests from abroad, and this year we have such an idea, called "Unknown Chernivtsi"/…/ there will be readings, there will be events (in buildings NB) that once meant something for Chernivtsi and were educational, cultural or religious centres, and today are for whatever reason forgotten, or not used as intended. There will be readings in the schools of Paul Celan, Iurii Fed'kovych, Eminescu, the repressed urban poet Dmytro Zahul, there will be readings in the park next to the Jesuit cathedral "Heart of Jesus", in the former great synagogue, in the active synagogue/…/. Chernivtsi opens up during the festival, shows its interior, because poetry is interior. So we want to reveal our city for both Chernivites and guests" (Interview with Svyatoslav Pomerantsev, 13 June 2013).

A little tongue in cheek, he further called this location policy, when poets visit the Jewish cemetery, "peaceful, non-violent provocations". However, the importance of the incoming audience was much more strongly underlined by Pomerantsev during a 2016 press conference when he bluntly told reporters that the reason for choosing such venues for the festival's poetry readings is that it attracts attention in foreign media. The festival's goal in this version is

not in the first place to raise consciousness locally about the tragic events of the past and commemorate pre-WWII city-dwellers, but to brand the festival and by implication the city in mostly German-language media.

> "We use different locations, but the number of interesting locations for the poetry scene is limited. Another nuance: according to statistics it rains every day, so we don't choose open-air locations. And someone said that "your Meridian Czernowitz made us sick already (*zadovbaly*) with the annual readings on the Jewish cemetery". People, I don't want this! It is my media who want this, this is my foreign media! This is for them, the show (*vystava*) is for them. It is important for me that they write about us, and if this location works we will use it every year because we are doing work here" (Pres-lanch n.d.).

Although this statement was made during a press conference on the future expansion of the festival to include Odesa, Pomerantsev has repeatedly claimed that Meridian Czernowitz is a business project and a PR-company for the city and that the only criterion for measuring success is the number of publications in foreign media outlets. During the press conference he showed examples of German-language newspapers writing about Meridian Czernowitz and based on their circulation assessed the possible reach of the festival to the audience in German-speaking countries. Almost three years earlier, he made similar remarks, downplaying the significance of the number of (mostly local) visitors at the festival. While recognising popularization among locals as a goal, it is not the most important:

> "We have a situation where we cannot lose, because for poetry to gather a hall of 30 people is already good, therefore the idea to popularize the festival among the inhabitants is important, but more important are other goals, because we soberly understand that poetry is such a sector of subculture/…/ all halls were we arrange events are full. We don't have problems with this and we are not fighting for the number of visitors, we are fighting for the quality of the poetry, the only number we are fighting for is the number of publications in important global media. This number is interesting to me. And they are talking about us, writing about us in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Radio Bremen, Radio Svoboda, Berner Zeitung, Neue Welt." (Interview with Svyatoslav Pomerantsev, 13 June 2013).

Furthermore, the fact that Meridian Czernowitz is a festival of contemporary poetry also has consequences for the attention paid to the local public opinion:

> "To be honest I am of course interested in public opinion, but I know how to do this right. And no public opinion can make me leave my track if I don't want to change direction myself/…/94 countries are checking my website, we work for the intellectuals of the world, for a very, very thin segment, therefore to orient myself towards public opinion in Chernivtsi – I rather have to shape this public opinion, I shape it, we are doing our festival, we are creating a public face and we are showing how this should be done, in a certain sense such a role is played by the aristocracy in countries where politics and the economy already are in place" (ibid).

The high-brow character of the festival seems to affect the choice of target audience, favoring incoming journalists and intellectuals carrying ideas and notions about 20th history and the city and sharing an interest in poetry. The potential of Meridian Czernowitz for Chernivtsi would in this interpretation rather be as an example of successful cultural management than as an instrument for local memory work. It would be an example of how the past becomes an asset to further pragmatic contemporary goals.

This, however, does not mean that the festival's drawing on historical locations in the city is purely instrumental. Firstly, for many participants in the festival's initiative group and work team, like literary scholar Rykhlo and historian Osachuk, popularisation of the city's literary heritage among locals is crucial. Secondly, attention in foreign media is a means to further the festival's declared goal of "returning the city to the cultural map of Europe" in a recurring city branding campaign of businessmen, intellectuals and cultural managers rather than of politicians and officials.

What exactly is returned to Europe?

During the 6th festival in 2015 tensions occasionally came to the surface between how Ukrainian and foreign participants viewed the event and the city. This was especially evident in a panel discussion held in the former Jewish National House about "Czernowitz and Chernivtsi: Austrian past and Ukrainian present". Swiss writer Ilma Rakozi restated the Bukowina-Mythos emphasizing that her interest in the city was not only about Celan and Ausländer, but about the city's background in the old dual monarchy with its intellectual culture, multilingualism and cosmopolitanism. She emphasized her own background from different ethnicities of the old Empire and how she felt

at home everywhere in the old periphery because of common traits in architecture. She pointed to Chernivtsi's German-language Jewish literary heritage and underlined that the unforgettable fate and absence of the Jewish population is felt most clearly in Eastern Europe. Most interesting from a contemporary local perspective was perhaps her claims that the city was built by Jews, as bearers of culture, and Armenians, that the city in cultural terms possibly peaked in 1900 or 1930 and that the same cultural level perhaps cannot be reached anymore. The best that can be hoped for, in this view, would thus be to read the palimpsest, work with the festival and carry the heritage into the future.

Rakozi's reading of the Bukowina-Mythos could be interpreted as a conflation of contemporary Western European tropes emphasising the importance of minorities and the Bukowina-Mythos with its nostalgic celebration of an idealized Austrian multilingual and tolerant past. The implicit civilisational and hierarchical assumptions of this narrative about order and culture coming from the West, mostly carried by German-speakers of various, often Jewish origin, and about Eastern backwardness, in Rakozi's words came out quite straightforwardly. This illustrated a wider question – to what extent are participants and visitors from other countries interested in contemporary post-Soviet Chernivtsi and its mainly Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking inhabitants? Is the contemporary city, that largely preserves the material heritage but is very different in almost all other aspects something more than a negation confirming the ascribed virtues of the old city?

Rakozi's view was challenged by Ukrainian writer Tanya Maliarchuk from Ivano-Frankivs'k, then living in Austria. On the one hand, she told visitors about her own recent discovery of Western Ukraine's culturally diverse past that she was not aware of during her Galician childhood, that she was a part of local ignorance but now participates in efforts to engage with the Polish, Jewish and German past. On the other hand, she argued that forgetting is not limited to Ukraine but is characteristic also of Austria, which knows nothing about Galicia. For her, Austria and Austria-Hungary is not the same country. She also pointed to older Austrian stereotypes of Galicia as dirty and backward and the far from unambiguous attitudes of yesterday's Galician Ukrainians to the Austrian Empire. She criticized the interest in nostalgia at the expense of more problematic aspects of the Habsburg past in Galicia, such as the Austrian internment of Galician Russophiles, and subsequent Tsarist Russian internment of Galician Ukrainophiles.

While the festival's curator Ievheniia Lopata at the opening press conference in 2015 said that for three days Chernivtsi will become Czernowitz, and that the latter city is the former's alter ego, this palimpsestic view of the relations of the city's two temporal guises is not deprived of contradictions and conflict. Rakozi's discussion implies that in the interpretation of some guests it is the historical layer of old Czernowitz that the festival reenacts and returns to Europe, while the contemporary post-Soviet city is ignored.

Uses of historical locations during the festivals

Among locations most prominently used as festival venues are those associated with the life of the old Bukovina Jewish community that mostly either perished in the Holocaust or emigrated following WWII. The festival here builds on an established post-Soviet local mnemonic trope - celebrating the city's past as an historical environment that raised great writers and poets. This is for many of its promoters a way of returning to contemporary inhabitants the rich literary heritage that had been silenced or subdued in the Soviet period. While the literary heritage constructed here is multilingual, the most central trope is about German-speaking writers of Jewish origin such as Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, and to some extent Yiddish-language Jewish writers such as Eliezer Shtainbarg. This part of the local literary history is the most well-known abroad, which makes it suitable for communication with German-speaking Central Europe. This is the heritage most emphasized by such actors as Gedankendach, financed by the German Goethe-Institut and placed at German Studies at the Fed'kovych University to support artistic, cultural and educational projects and cooperation with German-speaking actors, and which is actively involved in the work of the festival. A telling example of how this narrative today reaches transnationally from the city into German-speaking Central Europe is Petro Rykhlo's and Oleh Liubkivs'kyi's book from 2010 about Chernivtsi as a city of literature, that in richly illustrated essays popularizes the writers of the old city. The book was published both in Ukrainian as *Literaturne misto Chernivtsi* and in German as *Literaturstadt Czernowitz*. Both authors have been awarded with prizes and medals by German and Austrian institutions for their efforts to promote the city's literary and architectural heritage.

The festival in many ways tries to tap into the wider European interest in what Gruber calls virtual Jewish spaces, i.e. spaces where Jews used to live and work before the Holocaust and subsequent migration waves but where today very few Jews remain. As is argued by Ruethers (2013: 675) for this trend, not the least prevalent in the German-speaking countries, Central Europe became a "nostalgically glorified place of yearning" where "Jews became a symbol of the civilized multiculturalism of East-Central European urban topography around 1900". This interest among non-Jews in Jewish culture and history is what Ruethers (ibid: 672) calls a Jewish revival. It is part of the larger cultural, commercial and intellectual context in which the *Bukowina-Mythos* emerged, and which the festival draws on. For Osachuk Meridian Czernowitz is a watershed between the previous, nostalgic wave of tourism in the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s, which involved former Czernowitzers of Jewish, German and Polish origin interested in their own or their family's personal past, and a modern cultural tourism that could turn the city into "a European city pulsating with culture" instead of a "city of nostalgic tears" (Konstantyniuk 2011). Osachuk's comment underlines that it is not Jewishness per se, but contemporary tropes inspired by local Jewish history and culture that are foregrounded.

This said, contemporary Chernivtsi is for many reasons, including financial and communicational, very far from hosting anything like the commercialized former Jewish districts of Kazimierz in Kraków or Josefov in Prague, which critical authors call Jewish Disneylands (Lustig 2009). No Jewish restaurant existed in the city at the time of my fieldwork, although specifically marked Jewish dishes were offered in some restaurants exploiting historic or regional themes. No specific festivals on Jewish themes intended mostly for non-Jewish locals and tourists exist in the city. In neighbouring Lviv, the Jewish heritage is slowly being commercially exploited in restaurants and guided tours (Narvselius 2015; Narvselius and Bernsand 2014). In Chernivtsi with its largely unrealized tourist potential, more has been made in the academic, medial and intellectual arenas than commercially.

Although Meridian Czernowitz appeals to this larger European trend, the festival is not branded as a Jewish revival event and has no exclusive Jewish focus, such as the klezmer festivals of Kraków and Lviv. Nonetheless, the festival with its "multipoetic" combinations of poetry readings and theatrical and musical performances, often with a Jewish connection, and with the media attention it receives from the foreign journalists covering the events, shows

elements of the multimedia heritage reenactment centered on constructs of Jewishness discussed by Ruethers.

Among the Jewish places used by the festival is the legendary Jewish cemetery, its gravestones and monuments testifying to the importance and diversity of the Jewish community for the life of the pre-war city. Poetry readings take place in the mortuary hall just across the narrow Zelena Street from the Christian cemetery. Participants and visitors not only engage with the readings but also walk around the cemetery. The hall is interiorly emptied and devastated, but traces of the once thriving community is still visible in prayers and texts in German and Hebrew that decorate the walls and the ceiling with youngster's graffiti in Russian and Ukrainian. In 2015, young Israeli poet Yonatan Berg read out the prayer still discernable in Hebrew letters from the walls of the building, claiming to be the only person present being able to read it. Further, poets read Celan in German and Ukrainian and their own poems in German, Romanian, Hebrew, Russian and Ukrainian. The only missing part of this symphony of languages once widely spoken in the city was Yiddish, the main language besides German of the pre-war Bukovina Jewish community. Berg read his poem describing in detail the urban landscape of Odesa and the omnipresence in it of the ghosts of that city's missing Jews, thereby connecting two Ukrainian cities through the Holocaust and the voids of its afterlife. Ukrainian Jewish poet Borys Khersons'kyi read a poem in Russian about the dissonant relation between the Chernivtsi cemetery and the contemporary city. The reading focused on the heavier subjects of loss and absence and more than any other event during the festival in 2015 had the character of collective commemoration and mourning. The audience was largely restricted to participants and the more enthusiastic visitors who were present at most events during the festival, among whom were both journalists and other guests from abroad and local people from Chernivtsi. A few representatives of the Jewish community were also present here as at other markedly Jewish events in 2015. Many more locals showed up for the parade of poets in the Palace of Culture and the Opera House than to the readings at the cemetery.

Afterwards, the events moved to another important Jewish location, the recently restored Mortko and Zelda Maiberg synagogue at Sadovs'kyi Street, on the steep hill leading up from the old town to the Austrian city, for a prayer

and poetry readings[63]. The readings were introduced by Mendel Glitzenstein, the Chabad Rabbi leading service in the synagogue. The contrast with the preceding Jewish location was striking, with the modern interior and equipment and the feeling of an active community.

In 2013 readings of German, Austrian and Israeli poetry for the first and only time were held in the Groyse Shil, the three-storied Orthodox synagogue from 1853 on what since 2014 is again Synagogue Street[64]. This was once the largest synagogue in the city and a place of worship for many poorer, mostly Yiddish-speaking Jews. Outwardly it still looks like a synagogue, although the interior is fundamentally transformed, since the building is now a carpenter's workshop. Not long before the event the synagogue's beautiful frescos had been discovered on the walls of the second floor (Hermann 2013). The owners are, as I could witness during several walks in the area, generally not keen on letting outsiders onto its premises, but were convinced by the organisers to allow the event (Interview with Svyatoslav Pomerantsev, 13 June 2013). Here Israeli poet Amir Or on the third floor in Hebrew read poems on the Holocaust which were translated into Ukrainian.

A spectacular engagement with the material traces of the lost prewar ethno-cultural diversity in the cityscape took place already during the first festival and concerned a video installation recreating the façade of the old Jewish Temple in the heart of the city. The Temple, built in 1873 in Moorish style, was the most important religious facility for Haskalah Jews in Czernowitz. It was closed by Soviet authorities in 1940 and set on fire during the terror against the Jewish population in the days after the German and Romanian take-over in July 1941. In the 1950s the Soviet authorities after failed efforts to blow up the building significantly modified it and turned it into in a cinema, the *Kinoteatr Zhovten'* (October), after Ukrainian independence renamed *Kinoteatr Chernivtsi*. Not surprisingly, the cinema lacks many distinctive architectonical features of its predecessor, and only faintly reminds by-passers and visitors of its Jewish origin. Informally the building has retained a link to its Jewish past with the irreverent popular nickname *Kinohoha.* Josef Schmidt, the famous Jewish tenor of the interwar era, who is often featured in contemporary stories

[63] The other active synagogue on Lukian Kobylytsia Street was the only functioning synagogue during the later Soviet decades

[64] In Austrian times Synagogengasse, in Romanian times Strada Wilson after the American president, and in Soviet times up until 2015 Henri Barbusse Street after a French Communist writer awarded the Stalin Prize.

of the city's past glory, sang as a boy in the synagogue choir and is commemorated by a memory plaque inside the cinema. For three nights during the first festival in 2010, Chernivites could watch a video installation projecting the silhouette of the old Temple onto the building. Originally, the organisers planned to place audio equipment outside the building to play Josef Schmidt's music to accompany the video projection, but this idea had to be abandoned because of heavy rain. The city authorities agreed to turn off the street lamps near the building during the projection, which Pomerantsev mentions as a good example of cooperation with the city (Interview with Sviatoslav Pomerantsev, 13 June 2013). However, as a local newspaper reported, the administration of the cinema did not agree to turn off the lights in the building itself (Kinoteatr 2010). As a result, a rather hybrid image of the building was displayed where the name of the cinema, the modern doors and Soviet wall decorations emerged as in a palimpsest with reversed temporal layers through the projected image of the synagogue. The efforts to symbolically reenact a shrine of central importance to the city's Jewish past was thus partly compromised by the resistance of those administrating the present building.

A recurring festival venue connected to the vanished ethnic and religious communities of the city is the Neo-Gothic Jesuit Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus built in 1892 on Shevchenko Street. The surroundings are mnemonically dense with a statue of Emperor Franz Josef II standing on the neighbouring square since 2009, the headquarters of the security police right across the street, and the school of both Paul Celan and Ukrainian poet Dmytro Zahul behind the cathedral. Historically, it served Roman Catholic Czernowitzers of mainly Polish and German origin, and the priests held service in both German and Polish (Keller n.d.). The Soviet authorities in 1945 first transferred it to the Orthodox Church, but from the 1960s it was turned into the city archive, with the main office placed at the main altar (Olaru 2009). The cathedral was formally returned to the Jesuits in 2010, which irreverent voices explain with the city unwillingness to take responsibility for the delapitated building. Service and wedding ceremonies are held in the cathedral, but it was still undergoing reconstruction during the festival in 2015. Following the intention of the organisers to let the original languages of the old communities sound in their historical locations, in 2013 Polish poets Andrzej Sosnowski and Ryszard Krynycki read their poems in Polish.

As for historical Jewish locations, not only synagogues have been used as venues for the festivals. Also recurring are a few locations connected with Paul Celan, who emerges as the main personification of the festival's efforts to establish links between the past and the contemporary city at home and abroad. Most important is the backyard of the house where the poet lived on Saksahans'kyi Street, where his poetry is read in German with Ukrainian translation. In 2015 the reading was moved because of rain to the tiny premises of the Paul Celan Literaturzentrum on Kobylians'ka Street. The walls of the crowded centre were stylishly decorated with a black and white portrait of an older Celan as well as with the famous lines about black milk from the poem Death Fugue.

A local characteristic of Chernivtsi are the national houses built in Austrian times in the decades around the turn of the last century on, in most cases, fancy addresses in the city centre with funds collected from the respective ethnic community. The national houses were abolished after the Soviet takeover, and the facilities were nationalized. Parts of the premises of the German, Polish, Jewish and Romanian national houses are since the early 1990s let out freely for the use of the respective community, while the Ukrainian National House was fully returned to Ukrainian ethno-cultural associations. Most important for Meridian Czernowitz is the former Jewish National House on Theatre Square, which since Soviet times serves as the Central Palace of Culture. A few rooms at the first floor of the building host the Museum of Bukovinian Jewish History and Culture, opened in 2008 with support from local as well as transnational actors, and the office of the Jewish Community is located in a room on the third floor. But the main use of the building today is connected to its function as a Palace of Culture, with stages for theatrical and music performances and folkloric dance ensembles. Many of the festival's readings and discussions take place here, and books are sold at a large table on the second floor. The building nowadays symbolically showcases the Stars of David that were returned to the banister of the stairs in post-Soviet times after having been deleted by the Soviets after the war. Simultaneously, the building is decorated with Ukrainian Tridents and a poem by Taras Shevchenko next to the entry to the main scene that expresses faith in the survival of Ukrainian language and culture. This key location of the festival thus meets the visitors in two temporal guises – as a former centre of Jewish life in the city, famous for being one of the hosts of the Yiddish language conference in its founding year 1908, and as a

contemporary Ukrainian House of Culture, following the tradition established in Soviet times but with symbols marking Ukrainian independence.

The third festival in 2012 consistently located poetry readings in all national houses. There were readings of Polish poetry in the Polish National House on Kobylians'ka Street, of German and Austrian poetry in the German National House right opposite the Polish National House, of Romanian poetry in the Romanian National House on the Central Square, and Ukrainian and Swiss poetry in the Ukrainian National House. The German National House and the Carinthia restaurant on the first floor, as well as the pavement outside the house, have been used for poetry readings and a theatrical performance based on Celan's poetry.

Romanian venues have not been selected widely during the festivals, the main exception being the National House in 2012 and School Nr 1, where both Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu and Jewish German-language writer and essayist Karl-Emil Franzos were pupils. For the festival in 2015 Romanian poet and translator Nora Iuga was invited. Her readings took place in the newly opened Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi Romanian cultural centre in a prestigious location on Kobylians'ka Street. The centre is tied to the Romanian state's efforts to support the language and culture of ethnic Romanians living outside of Romania. Apart from hosting cultural events, it houses a Romanian bookstore and Café Bucharest, which offers Romanian food. The interior of the centre is national-romantic, with flags, state emblems, photos of government institutions in Bucharest and large paintings with patriotic historical motives. Iuga's reading thus took place in a strongly nationally marked Romanian setting which set it apart from other locations. The audience consisted of the same crowd which visited the other readings, but also included people specifically interested in this event. Vasile Tărâțeanu, a local Romanian writer and cultural activist known for his radical pro-Romanian positions, introduced the reading. Iuga told the audience about her own work as translator of Celan (Tărâțeanu made a point of stressing the Romanian pronunciation of the poet's surname) and read her own poems. Although the event by including Celan's poetry placed itself in the mainstream local mnemonic current that plays into the *Bukowina-Mythos*, the national-romantic setting rather emphasized the specific dimensions of the premises.

Concluding remarks

Drawing on tropes, stories and symbols emanating from the lost layers of urban cultural diversity has been an important resource in post-socialist city branding in many cities in Eastern and Central Europe that saw significant ethno-demographic changes in connection with WWII. There are multiple ways of doing this, and looking for past potentialities might, but does not necessarily have to, mean avoiding toxic issues, traumas and coming to terms with one's own difficult past.

In Chernivtsi, heritagisation of the culturally diverse past is usually framed by narratives emphasizing tolerance, cultural diversity and Europeanness, notions that are prominent in myths about the city in German-speaking Central Europe (Bernsand 2016). A common strategy here, found in municipal city branding and in commercial efforts to draw on the multiethnic past in restaurants and cafés, is to deemphasize difficult questions about what actually happened to the celebrated cultural diversity and soften or ignore the temporal breaks. Although there is an obvious risk of trivialization in such strategies, they could also be seen as representing the metaphorical glass being half-full rather than half-empty, possibly paving the way for, following Blacker, recognition, celebration and mourning.

Meridian Czernowitz contributes to this heritagisation and draws on the same basic narratives. The poetry festival builds on memory work of the previous decades by local intellectuals, many of them later involved in the festival, who revived and began popularizing the city's great authors from pre-Soviet times. This became part of the central mnemonic narrative of the city, became frequently referred to in municipal city branding, and came to serve as a bridge to intellectuals from Central Europe. As was shown in chapter 5, it is perfectly possible, as in some municipal city-branding, to draw on even Celan as a resource without problematizing the city's historic breaks and continuities. However, the festival has chosen a more challenging approach to the past represented by Czernowitz and its literary heroes. Although the festival is not a venue for working through traumas, locating events in symbolically charged places such as the Jewish cemetery and highlighting Holocaust themes in poetry readings potentially opens up difficult questions where the lost cultural diversity might become something more than only a resource. Certainly, as the complaints from some locals about the festival's readings at the Jewish cemetery indicate, this is not an easy process.

Underhill's rendering of the Bruno Schulz Festival held biannually in the Polish-Jewish writer's and Holocaust victim's Galician hometown Drohobych is an interesting reference point here. For Underhill (2011: 590) the festival, which is concluded with a torch march and poetry readings through twelve places in Drohobych associated with Schulz, becomes an opportunity for participants to create a temporary ideal world, "a certain idealized vision of the region they live in, and a new narrative of their own identity". This includes remembering an idealized melting pot rather than a place of real conflicts between local proponents of competing ideologies and interests, i.e. tapping into local and wider European narratives stressing the past potentialities of lost cultural diversity. For Underhill the very absence of the Jewish population is what opens up for such constructs and projections of local identity (ibid: 582).

Returning Chernivtsi to the cultural map of Europe certainly also involves more practical concerns than the mere imagining of an idealized melting pot and cannot be reduced to a wish to create ideal worlds. As a city branding strategy, it is about institution building, networking and marketing the city transnationally. Not the least, it brings the world to the small regional centre for a few days every year, providing inspiration and connections for locals. However, the absence of the old inhabitants indeed opens up for creative projections not only for locals, but also for the foreign participants. The festival's potential for bringing back old Czernowitz, its literature and its people is stressed by the organisers. Obviously, what is brought back is not the old city itself but an idealized version of it that could serve as an inspiration for the contemporary city through its pluralism and ability to place itself, by its own resources, on the cultural map of Europe.

The festival's parallel focus on transnational city branding targeting foreign intellectuals and transcultural education of locals about the city' culturally diverse past is not without its contradictions. The focus on foreign guests and the narratives associated with them are fundamental for the festival's purpose and targets, but does, as does the festival's focus on contemporary poetry, perhaps affect the possibilities for attracting the attention of locals to the history of their city by presenting the buildings and streets of the cityscape in new (old) light. On the other hand, the transnational connections might stimulate a certain Europeanisation of local memory work, drawing attention to absences and lacunas. However, as we saw in the interaction between Rakozi and Maliarchuk, in this Europeanisation post-Soviet Chernivtsi is not always granted full subjectivity.

Chapter 8:
Conclusions

In her book from 2007, Richardson discusses how local Odesan narratives, with their roots in a local myth emerging in the wake of Russian imperial expansion, in the early 2000s showcased the city's unique character and diverse identity in opposition to a Ukrainian nation-building perceived as homogenising (Richardson 2007: 212-213). She further argues that although Odesa, as the local narrative goes, might be unique, it has "European connections and the intermixing of peoples" in common with cities in the Western Ukrainian borderlands such as Chernivtsi and Lviv, and that "cultivation and power of local senses of place" (ibid: 213) can be found also in other places in Ukraine. I understand and sympathise with Richardson's argument in the context it was made. However, I would add that the fact that many Ukrainian cities could point to culturally diverse histories does not mean that they have made this past diversity a central part of their identity narratives and branding strategies to such an extent as both Chernivtsi and Odesa. Occasional references to lost urban diversity can be found in the cityscapes of, say, Rivne or Ivano-Frankivs'k, but they do not seem to form the basis of specific local identity narratives in the sense of what Richardson studied in Odesa or what I found in Chernivtsi during the period of the study. Much more is to be found in Lviv, but the city is significantly larger and more complex in terms of self-identities and narratives (see e.g. Narvselius and Bernsand 2014, Narvselius 2021b). The fact of past or present local cultural diversity does not in itself generate urban identities conceptualised largely on that basis, just as the old built environment, however well-preserved, does not in itself generate memories without human actors doing a critical mass of effective memory work. As Blacker (2019: 208) argues, the lost others can be included into local identity narratives if such an identity is anchored in a "tangible local space inscribed with the traces of multiple others", but it is important to recognise that it does not happen automatically.

In this sense, what I call retrospective multiculturalism, locally expressed in a tolerance narrative that frames the resurrection of interest in the lost pre-WWII cultural diversity in post-Soviet Chernivtsi, during the period of my study was a particularly strong and wide-reaching local identity narrative and branding resource. It is possible to conclude that pre-WWII lost cultural diversity has not only been accepted into elite narratives about the city's past, but it has also during the period under study gradually become a main source of inspiration for the creation of a local post-Soviet identity narrative for the city. In this way, it functions as a metanarrative with a large internal variation that can be used by a variety of actors for different purposes. Local elites have different visions about what tolerance means (e.g. mere lack of open conflicts between groups, or a more significant degree of hybridity and cultural creolisation), the extent to which it still exists in the city and, by implication, if, when and by whom the tradition was broken, as well as when it flourished the most. Some respondents questioned, from quite different positions, whether such a notion is at all relevant in post-Soviet and even in post-Habsburg Chernivtsi, or at least called for caution before applying it to contemporary circumstances. However, in many interviews and in city-branding, tolerance comes forward as a timeless notion representing a would-be innate quality of the city and its inhabitants.

As shown in Chapter 3, post-Soviet local elites are not the first actors to spin identity narratives based on the – lost or still vibrant – cultural diversity of the city and the larger region. Both local and wider Austrian narratives about the city before 1918 strongly emphasised cultural diversity as a trademark of Czernowitz which made the city sometimes be proposed as a model for the rest of the Habsburg Empire (see van Drunen 2013, Fisher 2020). In Habsburg times, such invocations often underlined the civilising potential of the German language in the eastern borderlands, while in post-Soviet Ukraine, tolerance talk often emphasises the city's European origins, which makes it stand out from other Ukrainian cities indicating a possible future direction for the city and the country. The connections first and foremost applying to German-speaking Central Europe have also been emphasised through ideational and personal influence from transnational actors, not the least from the German and Jewish diasporas, introducing elements of the contemporary German and Austrian *Bukowina-Mythos*, with its celebration of the city's rich Jewish German-language literary heritage, to identity-producing elites in post-Soviet Chernivtsi.

It can be argued that, in cities that have gone through dramatic ethno-demographic ruptures, potential conflicts can take place between actors focused on the national memory arena and actors focused on the local arena, as putting emphasis on lost local diversity could be seen as potentially undermining the national perspective (Törnquist-Plewa (2016c: 210). Frunchak (2014: 468) concluded her study of Soviet memory culture in Chernivtsi by noticing what she saw as a continuity between Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian lack of interest in pre-WWII cultural diversity in the city and pointed to difficulties for local actors to 'reconcile' tolerance talk with Ukrainian nation-building. In my view, as I demonstrated in Chapter 3, in Chernivtsi during the period of my study there was usually less tension between such poles, as they were largely introduced in the city by the same actors in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In my fieldwork, few actors saw sharp conflicts between post-Soviet Ukrainian cultural and linguistic emancipation and rediscovering the city's lost cultural diversity as a resource for the city today. The memory scene in the early to mid-2010s in Chernivtsi was clearly not characterised by a conflict between Ukrainian ethnonationalists standing in one corner and multiculturalist idealists dreaming of resurrecting past cultural diversity in the other. Unlike the Odesan case (Richardson 2007), where the local identity narrative rooted in 19th Russian empire in the early 2000s clashed with the first decade of post-Soviet Ukrainian nation-building, in Chernivtsi, the local narrative strongly associated the city with the Austrian, not the Russian, empire, and generally coexisted with Ukrainian nation-building (exceptions can be found mostly in local Romanian versions of the narrative).

Simultaneously, different actors seek to mould the narrative in ways that reflect their visions and interests (see also Koziura 2019). This could, e.g., concern strengthening the transnational ties of ethnocultural societies with co-ethnic organisations in their kin states, raising the awareness among local inhabitants about the need to respect the Other, finding an attractive and locally anchored conceptual language for a 'European' political and cultural orientation for the city and Ukraine, or arguing for the alienness of the until recent decades hegemonic Soviet frames of interpreting local history and identity. Many examples have been shown in this thesis of the contradictions and tensions that can be found within the narrative.

What is foregrounded and what is disregarded?

The thesis also asked whether and to what extent some aspects of pre-WWII cultural diversity were more foregrounded or disregarded than others in the city during my period of study. I stated already in the introduction that the local understanding of diversity is heavily tilted towards ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity, but are there any differences in how the various ethnic and religious components of the old cultural diversity are remembered in post-Soviet Chernivtsi? One the one hand, the material indicates that the tolerance narrative is generally inclusive in terms of group representation, with even small pre-WWII communities such as Armenians or Russian Old Believers often included in diversity narratives from various genres and domains. Poetry was read during the Meridian Czernowitz Festival 2015 both in the prayer house on the Jewish cemetery and in the Heart of Jesu cathedral, an important pre-WWII place of worship for Polish and German Roman-Catholics. Groups that formed communities in old Czernowitz and that therefore can be said to comprise the Chernivtsi version of Ballinger's authentic hybridity are well-represented in post-Soviet urban memory work in the city. However, most mainstreamed in local mnemonic culture is undoubtedly the memory of pre-WWII German-speaking Jews, largely because of the central role awarded to German-language literature, most often associated with Jewish writers and poets. This comes out as a central feature not only in the chapter about the Meridian Czernowitz festival where it would be most expected, but also in the media representations in connection with the city's 600th anniversary, as well as in city-branding.

The iconic status awarded by many local intellectuals to Paul Celan in Chernivtsi is a prominent illustration to Blacker's (2019: 211) observation about the rising consciousness in Ukrainian cities about the significance of non-Ukrainian cultural figures, perhaps not unlike the place of Bruno Schulz in the post-Soviet memoryscape of Drohobych. Arguably, the poorer Yiddish-speaking Orthodox community in the lower part of town is comparatively less mnemonically centre-staged, even though the distinction is rarely explicitly made. The promotion of the pre-WWII urban German-speaking Jewish community, often more middle-class and living further up the hill, goes well in hand with another important narrative frame – portraying the Habsburg era as the primary era of urban development and interethnic tolerance. Both serve as frames for imagining the city as European, in a retrospective

multiculturalism emphasising the past possibilities for the future development of the city, taking as a starting point either an urban community that produced writers of global significance or a period when the city was institutionally built into a Central European political and cultural framework. The ethnic German community of the city's past is almost always present in depictions, but comparatively less mainstreamed as an object of commemoration. The Polish community is also rarely left out of past-oriented diversity stories, but on the other hand does not often play a central role, while specific historical figure as the mayor Kochanowski can be highlighted in some contexts. In recollections of the interwar period, the Romanian community often falls into the shadow of political developments in the nationalising Romanian state, yet Romanians are usually presented as a key factor in local developments as a group native, or as it is often worded locally, autochthonous, to the region. However, much in my material indicates that ethnic Romanian actors in Chernivtsi in the period of study form the most compartmentalised mnemonic community, keeping more to themselves in local memory culture than representatives of other ethno-cultural organisations in the city. Furthermore, although there is a Romanian presence in the city, the demographic centre of gravity for the large Romanian minority in northern Bukovina after WWII is rather in the rural districts further south, where some key Romanian NKT representatives in the city also lived and worked. Ethnic Russians, apart from the Old Believer community which had an abysmal urban presence in old Czernowitz, are a feature of Soviet and post-Soviet Chernivtsi, and are therefore rarely mentioned in connection with the celebration of urban cultural diversity. The use of Russian language was much more significant than any formulation of a distinct ethnic Russian identity in the city during the period of study.

Celebrations of lost cultural diversity in Chernivtsi often exemplify how cityscapes in East and Central Europe tend to emphasise "plural monoethnic heritage, while multiethnic hybridity and mutual engagement are less mainstream" (Narvselius 2021: 14). Even if, in more sophisticated discourse, positive references can be found to the mixed ethnic heritage of e.g. Ukrainian writers such as Iurii Fed'kovych or Ol'ha Kobylians'ka, the line-up of distinct and specific Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish etc. folkdance ensembles for the Bukovinian Meetings Festival, or the ethnic street-food offered during the 2008 celebrations, are arguably a much more common frame for how cultural diversity is presented and understood. From such a perspective it is certainly not difficult to pinpoint the essentialist and groupist qualities of retrospective

multiculturalism. Criticism is, in Western academic discussions, often raised against multiculturalism for e.g. prioritising group identities over universal liberal principles (Barry 2001) or for cultural determinism (Phillips 2007), but it should be borne in mind that my term retrospective multiculturalism with its temporal specificities covers a much 'thinner' set of practices, celebrating a mostly lost diversity and not engaging with, e.g., the dangers of locking in individuals in 'their' communities or the possible limitations of the perspectives of individuals.

The darker aspects

The differences in representation in the tolerance narrative between the groups comprising the city's lost diversity are perhaps less important than the relative lack of thorough reflection about the darker aspects of the city's past and the reasons for the disappearance of the old diversity. Törnquist-Plewa (2016c: 214) argues that, while the role of the lost others in building the cities that now have a largely different population is acknowledged, there is often "a lack of mourning and compassion for their plight", and in many cases also of recognition of responsibility for the disappearance of the previous inhabitants. Memory cultures that celebrate lost cultural diversity, framing it as an asset for the contemporary city and its inhabitants, can simultaneously therefore seem detached, as they offer a degree of recognition, while deeper reflection about the fate of the vanished groups often is lacking. The local media articles about the city's 600th anniversary in Chapter 4 showcased manifold representations of the culturally diverse pre-Soviet past but did not feature serious discussion about why that diversity came to an end and what happened to the earlier inhabitants of the city. Rhetorical links were established to that epoch and expressed in terms of continuities and identities, but there were no real attempts to critically engage the gap separating past and present. The retrospective multiculturalism we found in municipal city branding also mostly, if not surprisingly, draws on the past potentialities of urban history, as it seeks to press what is presented as cultural heritage into non-conflictual, consensual and potentially selling frameworks. The version of the past being popularised in retrospective multiculturalism is simplified or streamlined, avoiding or defusing historical conflicts between and within communities and focusing on a smoother, attractive narrative highlighting moments in tune with

contemporary needs, as we also saw in the case studies on other cities mentioned in the first chapter (e.g. Michlic 2005 on Lodz, Antonijevic on Belgrade, Cervinkova and Golden 2017 on Wroclaw, Wylegala 2019 on Zhovkva). This is an invented tradition, not outright false, but a tradition reevaluating, reconceptualising and rearranging the past to fit a useful narrative (see also Makas 2012 on Sarajevo). What could be observed in Chernivtsi in the years of the study was not so much mnemonic Europeanisation in the sense of coming to terms with the difficult aspects of the local past, but rather a much less conflictual version, praising (lost) cultural diversity and celebrating the architectural heritage to promote the city's historic 'Europeanness'. On the other hand, as Chernivtsi in the period of study was a small regional capital with less than excellent flight connections, an undersized tourist infrastructure, and a creative class not numerous and affluent enough to be a strong motor for economic growth or gentrification, it was to a comparably small degree an arena for mnemonic commercialisation, or for that matter trivialisation (with local thematic restaurants and coffee-houses playing more on Habsburg kitsch than on the lost urban others (see also Narvselius 2015). For better or worse, the city's mnemonic culture in relation to the lost others therefore during the period under study was less characterised by the sometimes criticised playful and consumerist expressions that could be found e.g. in neighbouring L'viv (Blacker 2019: 147-148, Narvselius 2015).

Retrospective multiculturalism offers, as could be expected, a normative framework celebrating cultural diversity as something inherently good and worthwhile. Simultaneously, while it could be and sometimes is, it mostly is not a narrative of moral transformation of the community. As we saw in Chapter 3, the tolerance notion in fact not seldom comes forward in contexts where it takes on rather conservative qualities, associated with love for family and fatherland and respect for the elderly rather than being presented as a progressive tool for social and cultural change. This does not mean that it is illiberal, as a few actors during the period of study tried to provoke reflection on more problematic issues of the past while celebrating diversity as a virtue. In such a way, it is possible to instrumentalise the tolerance narrative as a tool to change the attitudes of the contemporary population through memory culture, but this was not the dominating frame during the period of study.

Simultaneously, the thesis also shows some venues where more challenging questions are being asked, and where approaches to the city's culturally diverse past go beyond mere recognition. The Meridian Czernowitz poetry festival,

started in 2010, provides an important and recurring arena of such kind, and some initiatives by actors such as the artist collective Roșa could serve as examples that would point to changes being underway in the latter years of the study. The Jewish Museum, founded in 2008, also belongs to this set of actors. In other cases, such as with the setting up of a memory plaque to Romanian WWII Chernivtsi mayor Traian Popescu, ethno-cultural organisations engaging co-ethnic transnational networks in the diaspora also focus on more problematic aspects of how pre-WWII cultural diversity ended and the fate of groups and individuals.

What should we make then of the memory culture prevalent in the years of study in Chernivtsi in relation to the lost pre-WWII cultural diversity? Blacker (2019: 209) urges researchers to be wary of pathologising memory cultures in the region, but also to "not be complacent about the specific problems the region experiences". The widespread recognition of the role of the lost others for the emergence of Chernivtsi as a modern city that follows from the fairly shallow framework I call retrospective multiculturalism arguably makes it possible to claim that the proverbial glass is more than half full. The renewed interest in the city's culturally diverse past in the post-Soviet period not only generates material for urban self-presentation and branding but has also allowed individuals to discover and engage with the pasts of their own local, e.g., Polish, Jewish, or German communities that had been kept in the shadow during the Soviet half-century. It has also opened for individuals interested in the cultural heritage of others, e.g. through mnemonic representations in the urban landscape or through literary scholar Petro Rykhlo's translations of German and Yiddish-language literature to Ukrainian in volumes widely accessible in local bookstores, or through the art of Oleh Liubkivs'kyi. In such ways, retrospective multiculturalism has contributed to a more meaningful engagement with the past in the city. On the other hand, the conclusions from the Lund collection of case studies from East and Central Europe (Törnquist-Plewa 2016a) in my view still hold, showing that the difficult past is remembered least in cities such as Chernivtsi, even in cases where lost cultural diversity as such is celebrated. The existence of a significant Romanian minority in the city, and even more so in the region, also makes the preconditions for working through e.g. local participation in the Holocaust more difficult than in neighbouring Galicia, considering the role of the Romanian state in the Holocaust in Bukovina. Furthermore, it could be argued that there is also a lack of engagement with the less dramatic everyday life of

pre-WWII social relations in the city and the intersections of ethnicity, religion, class and gender beyond feelgood notions of conviviality.

It is also important to repeat here that this thesis is not a study of the popular reception of the analysed themes and narratives among the inhabitants in Chernivtsi at large, and it is not possible on the basis of my sources to make any claims about how well-anchored the tolerance narrative is in wider groups of the city's population. What can be pointed out, once again, is that the memory of lost pre-WWII cultural diversity is important on the elite level, not the least as a tool for building a post-Soviet local identity for the city.

A study of the reception of the various aspects of retrospective multiculturalism in Chernivtsi in broader layers of the population could be a possible future research task, drawing on sociological surveys, focus groups, etc. Considering the temporal frames of the thesis, another future research task could be to study mnemonic developments in Chernivtsi after 2014, taking into account de-communisation and its more intense de-Russification phase after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022. To what extent have the various versions of the tolerance narrative been influential in the changes in urban toponomy and the monuments and memory plaques of the city scape following de-communisation and the subsequent de-Russification? To what extent does the locally oriented tolerance narrative still provide a key frame for city-branding and public discourse when the Ukrainian nation fights for survival against the severe and atrocious attack from Russia, especially after the full-scale Russian invasion of 2022?

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From Czernowitz to Chernivtsi

After World War II, the ethno-demographic structure of many cities in eastern and central Europe was fundamentally changed as a result of genocides, ethnic cleansing, deportations and migrations. The cultural diversity that had been characteristic of many of those cities was radically reduced, as new inhabitants tried to find their place in the cityscapes. In focus of this thesis is the memory work of contemporary elites in post-Soviet Chernivtsi specifically in relation to the lost cultural diversity of the pre-WWII city. The thesis asks to what extent the city's lost pre-WWII cultural diversity has been accepted into elite narratives about Chernivtsi's past, and whether some aspects of this diversity can be said to be more foregrounded or disregarded. Furthermore, it asks to what extent the memory work of local elites is connected to the creation of a local post-Soviet identity for the city in the post-Soviet period. The thesis shows how narratives celebrating local pre-WWII cultural diversity have permeated local memory work in the city during the period of study, while simultaneously in local discourse the most difficult aspects of that past often are avoided.

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