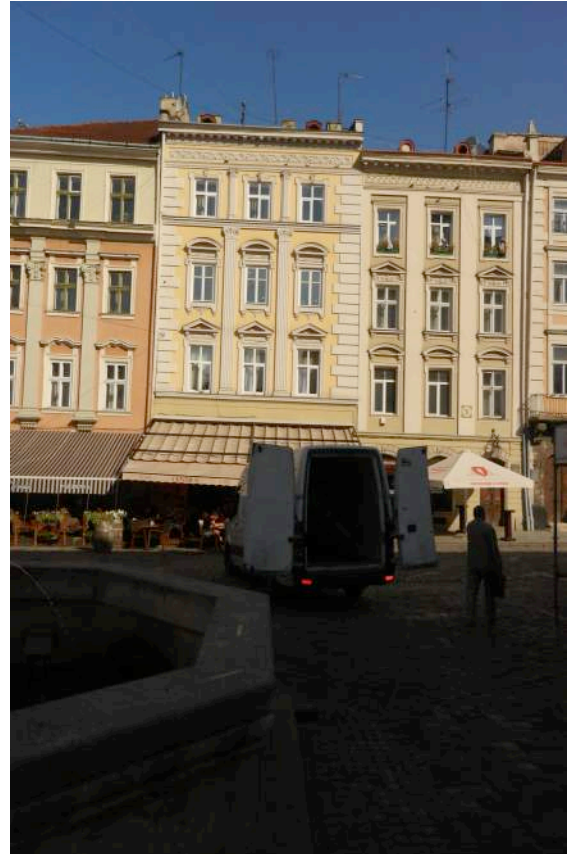


# What is to be remembered?

**Glimpses of daily urban environment before World War II with special reference to the vanished population.**



**Contribution to the research project: The memory of vanished population groups in today's East and Central European urban environments. Memory treatment and urban planning in Lviv, Černivci, Chişinău and Wrocław.  
(To be completed by conclusion.)**

**Bo Larsson, November 2014**

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## Research context

The research project has three principal aims: (1) To investigate the knowledge and attitudes among the present population concerning the vanished population and its relations to the built environment, (2) the treatment of this historical and cultural heritage in urban planning and development and the daily use of the urban environment and (3) the very focus of the remembrance: the urban environments and societies before World War II, especially in the 1930s. This is also the focus of the present chapter: main features of the urban environment in the four cities before World War II, relations between buildings, functions and inhabitants in daily life, reflected in the use and ownership of buildings, shops, enterprises, cafés and restaurants, and cultural institutions. Important traces of the vanished population in the city environment are described, with limitations given by available information and project size. Treatment of city environment has significance to the respect for the vanished population and their urban culture, brutally put to an end by homicide and expulsions.

The city descriptions include deepened studies of chosen streets, in the historic city centres and around them, in areas of different social and ethnic character and in districts connected with special historic events, also during World War II. Population structure (professions, ethnicities) in interwar years is studied at local and detailed level, as well as shops, restaurants, cafés and other meetings places and public service. Similarities and differences between the four cities are discussed. The research project aims to describe this urban environment as exactly as possible, based on old maps, archive materials, written and oral memories by old people and historic writings. In spite of differences between the four cities, concerning available material, the aim has been to establish descriptions as similar and comparable as possible for the four cities. In order to limit the size of the investigation, special focus is devoted to (1) the main streets and meeting places in the city centre and (2) areas especially connected with Jewish memories, including ghetto areas of World War II. Due to necessary limitations of the project and differences concerning inputs, the comparisons and conclusions do not claim to be representative for the whole cities or the whole populations, but they provide starting points for future, deepened projects – and also for memory treatment.

The new inhabitants and the new societies had to relate themselves to the city environment, representing the former societies. Urban planning and renewal had direct effects on the built environment through active changes by replacing old buildings or ruins by quite new urban fabrics, by active preservation and restoring policies or by more or less laissez-faire attitudes – waiting for later decisions. But changed societies meant changed use of the buildings, although the functions as such frequently were similar: Homes continued to be homes, for new inhabitants; many shops, offices, institutions and factories could continue, but in quite new organisational frameworks.

This part of the research project is mostly descriptive, not aiming to answer any theoretical question concerning memory studies or relation between built environment and collective memories. The scope is to combine different available facts and puzzle pieces to a description of main features of the urban social and urban physical environment before World War II, with emphasis at the vanished population groups and especially the Jewish population. It includes archive material not studied before, but it is mostly based on single facts, already available and known separately, but not combined to a holistic description. This is also a way to commemorate and honour the vanished population, largely brutally killed that formed the social city environment and influenced the built environment before World War II. This work method allows descriptions down to single persons. Probably most of the Jewish persons, mentioned as inhabitants, property owners or entrepreneurs along the described streets, or their family members, fell victim to Holocaust.

These city descriptions also include necessary short references on earlier city history in order to give a better understanding of the inter-war situation. The evident connections be-

tween urban life and built environment are results of long development processes. The descriptions are “time cuts” of city history within the context of general urban development history. Among standard works on urban development history including physical as well as social environments should be mentioned *The History of the City* (1980) and *The European City* (1995) by Leonardo Benevolo and *International History of City Development* (8 volumes, 1964-68) by Erwin Anton Gutkind. A city history important contribution in Sweden is *Svensk stad* (The Swedish city) by Gregor Paulsson (3 volumes, 1950-53).

Important, but somewhat divergent archive materials for the city descriptions has been old address books, providing exact street addresses. In Chişinău the archive material provides information about house owners – only names - in 1930 in the Old Town and in 1940, shortly before Soviet nationalization, in the grid-net town. In Černivci, there is information about all heads of households including professions in 1911 and 1936, and of property owners including professions and ethnicities at several streets in 1940 of houses nationalized by the Soviet authorities on October 25<sup>th</sup> that year. In L’viv, there is information about all commercial establishments, such as shops, hairdressers, lawyers, doctors etc, factories, cafés and restaurants, and of public institutions in 1929. This also gives information about some inhabitants, living by their shops. There is also information about property owners in 1871 and 1916 at certain streets. In Wrocław there is information on owner, heads of households, including professions, and shops and other establishments at each street number in 1937. In all cities, old photos provide information about shops, restaurant, cafés etc, at least along the main streets. Names of persons give some hint of ethnicity.

Also the map material is different. Concerning L’viv there is a city map from 1936, showing all buildings except military ones. Concerning Černivci and Wrocław, there are detailed maps from 1911, showing all buildings. In Černivci there are also detailed property maps with buildings and owners from the lower town from 1910, in connection with street regulations. In both cities, a lot of new buildings were erected between 1911 and 1940. Only if these buildings still exist today, they can be indicated at actual maps and aerial photos. In Černivci, almost all of these buildings still exist, but in Wrocław, many of them were destroyed during the war and replaced by quite other structures. A map from 1935 shows the single buildings in the suburbs of Wrocław, but not in the old city centre. An aerial photo from 1945 shows the bombed city centre, but the ruins reveal much of the destroyed built structure. In Chişinău, reconstructing the inter-war fabric, especially in the central parts of the old town, has been a puzzle. No available historic maps show the single buildings, only the streets. A large part of the old town was destroyed during and after the war. Early Soviet post-war reconstruction plans give some information of buildings to be demolished, but several areas have no indication of old buildings. These grounds have apparently been cleared before the Soviet plans were made. Some of them can be seen as ruins on an aerial photo, made by German *Luftwaffe* in May, 1944, but other lots had then already been destroyed. All buildings and ruins in most parts of central Chişinău can be seen. Ruins indicate earlier buildings. In some cases, traces in the ground indicate where former buildings have been. In other cases it is possible to make some “qualified guesses”, when comparing with surrounding buildings, or traces or information concerning old property boundaries. In this way, it has been possible to reconstruct the interwar urban fabric of Chişinău central rather well. In all four cities, comparisons between the historic maps or the map reconstructions and the present detail maps clearly show, which buildings remain from before World War II, which buildings have disappeared and which new buildings that have come. The description of the inter-war urban environment is thus a puzzle, to which also personal memories of old people have given inputs. A number of persons with memories from one of the four cities inter-war and war years have been interviewed. Altogether 21 persons are interviewed, 10 women and 11 men. 3 are from Chişinău , 10 are from Černivci, 6 from L’viv and 2 from Wrocław. This is completed by a number of written memories by other persons. 3 were ethnic Germans, one had mixed German-Jewish

background, and 17 had Jewish background. Of these 17 persons, 8 had German, 5 Polish, 3 Russian and one Yiddish as mother tongue. The project includes a comprehensive material with a large number of details. A supplementary larger material is available in appendices.

## Chişinău – Kishinev - Kiszyniew

In interwar years, Chişinău had three main districts: The old Moldovan pre-1812 town (the “Lower City”), the Russian 19<sup>th</sup> century grid-net town and the village-like suburbs.<sup>1</sup> In 1941, the Holocaust ghetto was delimited in the old Moldovan town. The suburbs are not included in this description. The description of the old, pre-1812 town in interwar years is structured in three sections: The central area, the northern area and the southern area. The grid-net town is described in four sections. The description is completed by some memories from three interviewed Jewish persons: Samuel Aroni (born Cervinschi), Marius Gherovici and Emanuel Ornstein, who went to the same school in 1940. They have all Russian as mother tongue.

After Chişinău was included in the Romanian kingdom, the street names were mostly changed, not only translated into Romanian, but the Russian-speaking population still used the Russian names. Several city maps and archive documents had street names in both languages, but Russian names were transcribed in Latin letters with Romanian spelling rules. These spelling is also used here.

In 1930 Chişinău had 115 000 inhabitants and in 1939 128 000. The population was mixed. In 1930, 42 % were ethnic Romanians (Moldovans), 36 % Jewish and 17 % Russians. The remaining 5 %, were Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, Armenians, Greek and other nationalities.<sup>2</sup> The Jews spoke mostly Yiddish or Russian. Although Romanian was official language, with growing importance, there were probably more Russian-speakers than Romanian-speakers. According to Encyclopaedia Judaica, the number of Jews in Chişinău grew to 65 000 – 70 000 (around 50 % of the population) in 1941, on the eve of the Holocaust. In the suburbs, the majority of the inhabitants were ethnic Romanians.

There was a mixed ethnic and social division of the city. The grid-net town was generally the upper- and middle-class districts, but also including poorer inhabitants in some smaller, simple buildings or as tenants in backyards buildings. This part of the town also included larger palaces, owned by Russian or Moldovan noblemen. The old town was generally poorer, with simple, small buildings and a few larger urban villas or palaces. The suburbs were mixed. There were old villages having been included in the city area, as well as villa districts and some very simple dwelling areas, almost of squatter type. This was also reflected in the social structure. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the urban middle class was mostly Russian or Russian-speaking Jewish, living mixed in the grid-net city and in the emerging suburban villa districts. In inter-war years there was a growing Romanian/Moldovan middle class, living in the same districts. The more rural Moldovan population lived in the suburbs, but an emerging Moldovan, poor working-class lived in the old town, in the “squatter”-like areas and in simple buildings in the grid-net city. The Jewish society was divided between an urban middle- and upper class, mostly living in the grid-net town and Russian-speaking, and a poorer group, mostly living in the old town and more often Yiddish-speaking.

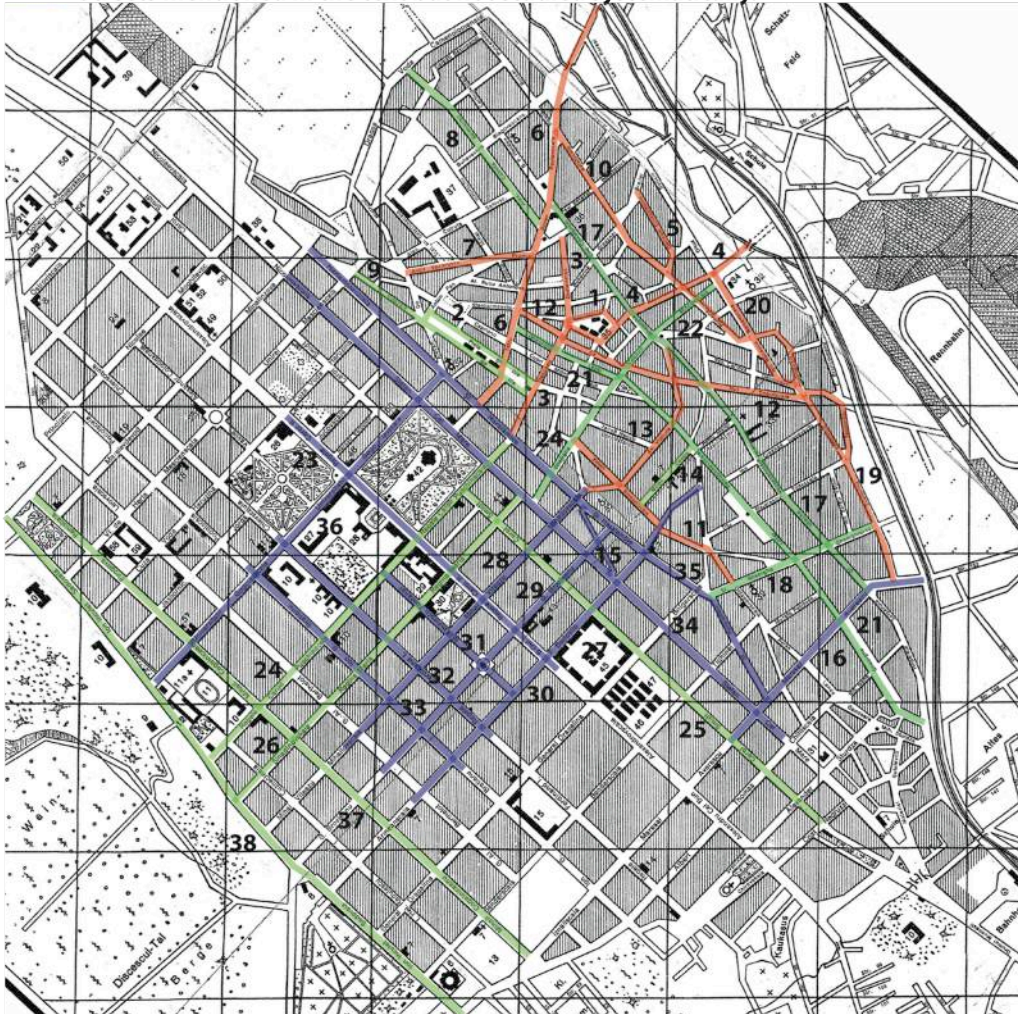
There were four tram lines in the city, mainly following the main boulevard Strada Alexandru cel Bun (present Bulevardul Strada Ştefan cel Mare şi Sfânt), the parallel street Strada Ştefan cel Mare (present Strada Columna), the crossing streets Strada Regele Carol I (present Strada Al. Puşkin) and Strada General P. Badoglio (present Strada Armenească) and

<sup>1</sup> An official Romanian guidebook from 1932 describes this (translation from German language): Chişinău consists mainly of three parts: (1) The old lower city with a picturesque, oriental mixture, (2) the modern and regular upper city and (3) the friendly, village-like suburbs.

<sup>2</sup> According to an ethnographic study of Romania, made by Sabin Manuila, Bucharest 1940.

## Chişinău - Kişinëv. Streets studied.

— Streets studies, property owners in 1930. — Streets studies, property owners in 1940.  
 — Streets mentioned in the text but not studied systematically.



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Piaţa Veche / not existing today  | 20 Strada Băcescu / not existing today                          |
| 2 Piaţa Sfântul Ilie / not existing today   | 21 Str. Gheorghe Lazar / partly exist., Str. A. Hăjdeu          |
| 3 Str. Gen. T. Râşcanu / Str. Arhanghelui Mihai                                       | 22 Str. Gh. Coşbuc / partly existing, same name                 |
| 4 Str. Fântâna Blanduzia / not existing today   | 23 Str. Alex. cel Bun / Bd. Ştefan cel Mare şi Sfânt            |
| 5 Strada Decebal / not existing today   | 24 Strada Regerle Carol I / Strada A. Puşkin                    |
| 6 Strada Petru Rareş / partly existing with the same name, partly Strada Al. Diordiţă | 25 Str. Carol Schmidt / Str. Mitropolit Varlaam                 |
| 7 Strada Iancu Văcărescu / Strada Pruncul   | 26 Strada Regina Maria / Strada Vlaicu Pârcălab                 |
| 8 Str. Alexandru Cotruţa / Str. Moara Roşie   | 27 Piaţa Nouă / same name today                                 |
| 9 Strada Sfântul Ilie / same name today   | 28 Strada Mihai Viteazu / Strada Mihai Eminescu                 |
| 10 Strada Română / partly existing, same name   | 29 Str. Gen. Broşteanu / Str. Vasile Alecsandri                 |
| 11 Strada Vineri / Strada Octavian Goga   | 30 Str. Mareşal P. Badoglio / Str. Armenească                   |
| 12 Strada Cahul / partly existing, same name  | 31 Strada Mihai Eminescu / Strada Veronica Mică                 |
| 13 Str. Alexandru Vlăhuţa / same name today   | 32 Str. Regele Ferdinand I / Str. 31. August 1989               |
| 14 Strada Miron Costin / Strada Rabbi Ţirilson  | 33 Strada Ion G. Brătianu / Strada Bucureşti                    |
| 15 S-Ia. Gen. Stan Poetaş / S-Ia. Habad-Liubavici                                     | 34 Strada Ştefan cel Mare / Strada Columna                      |
| 16 Strada Mareşal Abverescu / Strada Ismail   | 35 Strada Haralambie / Strada Alexandru cel Bun                 |
| 17 Str. Grig. Ureche / partly existing, same name                                     | 36 Strada Universitaţii / Strada Mitropolit G. Bănulescu-Bodoni |
| 18 Str. Sfântului Gheorghe / same name today  | 37 Strada Mihail Kogălniceanu / same name today                 |
| 19 Strada Ecaterina Teodoriu / not existing today                                     | 38 Str. Ion Inculeţ   |

Strada Petru Rareş through the Old Town. The railway station was connected with tramways to the central business district.

### The central area of the pre-1812 town

The very centre of the old town was the old market place, **Piața Veche** (Starii Bazar). The old main street towards north (to Orhei) connected Piața Veche with another market place, **Piața Sfântul Ilie**, closer to the grid-net town. This old street, the old *Drumul Mare* ("Large street"), was called **Strada General T. Râșcanu** (preserved section: **Strada Arhanghelui Mihai**). At this street were located the Old Cathedral, *Catedrala Sfântilor Arhangheli Mihail și Gavriil*. It had been erected in 1802-06, replacing the wooden church Sfântul Nicolae that was burnt down by the Turks in 1789. Opposite it was the Church Museum (*Muzeul Bisericesc*), opened in 1906. Both the church and the museum were pulled down by the Soviet administration in the 1960s. The street led to the northern crossing of the small river Rîu Bac. Not far from it was the Armenian church, *Sfânta Maica Domnului*, from 1804, reconstructed in 1885 by A. I. Bernardazzi. From Piața Veche, another street, **Strada Fântâna Blanduzia** (not existing any more) led to another river crossing and the old Albișoara well. No buildings along this street remain. A photo from 1941 shows the north-east gate of the ghetto south-west of the intersection with Strada Română. The corner buildings at the northern side were in 1930 owned by Abram Moişe Morişenschi (next to the ghetto fence) and Barco Bislios. North of the intersection, outside the 1941 ghetto, **Strada Decebal** was a side street to Strada Română, with several synagogues. Here were *Sinagoga Mare* (the large synagogue, also called the "Three synagogues"), including the *Croitorească* (tailors), the *Moldovenească* and the *Soimrim Laboicher* synagogues and also the synagogues *Alts Clauz*, *Amedriș Veche* and *Vodovozov*. All these synagogues remained in 1944 but were destroyed by the Soviet authorities. Nearby the well was on a hill the Mazarache church from 1752, the oldest one in the city, still preserved.

Photos from around 1900 show Piața Veche surrounded by mostly one-storey buildings. A long row of buildings on the northern side have colonnades along the façades. In the 1930s there were altogether 38 street numbers around the place. According to their names, most of the property owners were Jewish. Examples first names are Iosif, Moişie, Aron, Leib, Ițic, Mordco and Gherș (Hersch). Many surnames end by -stein, -berg, -tal, -man(n) or -er, indicating German/Yiddish names. Some names are Slavonic in Romanian spelling (-vici, -schi) but few names have evident Romanian/Moldavian character. A photo from ghetto time in 1941 shows a long row of guarded women walk across the square. Marius Gherovici<sup>3</sup> recalls that their family was not deported, because his father was a doctor, working with stopping epidemics in the ghetto. They lived at Nr. 22, at the corner with Strada Fântâna Blanduzia, with a patio behind. His father worked at the small ghetto hospital in a former school building at Strada Gheorge Lazar, close to Piața Veche.

### The northern area of the pre-1812 town

The church *Sfântul Ilie* from 1806 was demolished 1960. The long market place **Piața Sfântul Ilie** was opened in 1855. **Strada Petru Rareş** was the main street north of Piața Veche. It had a tramway up to the still existing old building *Casa Mihalache Cațica*. Not far from there was the City Maternity from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also preserved. The nearby *Buna Vestire* Church from 1810 still exists. Only at shorter sections of the street the old buildings remain. Most of the property owners along the street in 1930 had Jewish names, such as (Romanian spelling) Moişe Grinșparg, Iosif Rosenberg, Abram Leibovici and Menașa Wasserman, but there were also Romanian (as probably Ilie Rusu, Vasile Petica and Ivan Cogâlniceanu) and Russian or Ukrainian names (as Evghenia Stoianova, Dimitri Lerevatsenco and Maria Badamâolschi). At the outer section of the street was the small *Podului Orhei* synagogue.

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<sup>3</sup> One of the interviewed persons.



A parallel street was **Strada General T. Râșcanu** (mentioned above), passing the demolished *Sf. Arhangheli Mihail și Gavriil* cathedral. The only preserved buildings at the street are in the north end, at the intersection with Strada Grigore Ureche. A photo from 1941 shows that here was the ghetto fence. The adjacent, preserved buildings were owned by Maria Frunză, Feodosia Alexandropol, Haim Cernov, Neculae Madan and David Neiman, probably representing all three main ethnic groups.

The best-preserved street in the area is **Strada Iancu Văcărescu (strada Pruncul)**. There were, according to the names, Jewish as well as Romanian and Russian or Ukrainian owners. The best-preserved old building at the street is where Alexandru Pushkin lived in 1820. The Pushkin museum did not exist in interwar year – it was opened in the 1940s.

Not far from *Casa Mihalache Cațica*, at **Strada Alexandru Cotruța (Strada Moara Roșie)** was a four-storey mill building from 1884, then owned by the merchant Abram Levenzon. It was later known by the name *Moara Roșie* ("Red mill"). It is preserved, but in rather bad condition.

In the northernmost part the old town, at **Strada Sfântul Ilie** (preserved name), a synagogue, *Pascaria Veche*, was built in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the gravediggers and undertakers. The building still exists.

### The southern area of the pre-1812 town

Several rather long streets traversed the old town from south east to north west, such as Strada Strada Vineri and Strada Cahul. **Strada Vineri (Strada Octavian Goga)** is one of the best preserved streets in the old town of Chișinău. Most houses along the street are rather small. In the southeastern section of the street was a school building from 1898, in 1940 used by the commercial firm Ghinis. One neighbour house was at first used for school purpose and later for shops. Another neighbour was the synagogue *Rabinului din Corț*, at a property owned by Iosif Ierusalimschi. Opposite it was in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Kleiner soap factory. This property was owned by the Katz family and earlier by the Grinberg-Kogan family. Neighbour owners were Sura Averbuh (Auerbuch), Ovșii Vainștein (Weinstein) and Meer Caț (Meier Katz). In the middle section of the street, the buildings hint that there have been several small shops earlier. Among owners were Bențion Cogan, Ovșii Levenștein (Löwenstein) and Feiga Perelmuter (Perlmutter).<sup>4</sup> There was also the *Vineri (Haralambie)* church from 1836 with an adjacent school and a congregation building. At the north-western part – the best preserved old section of the street – was a building from the 1880s, owned by the Ministry of Agriculture. The building at the corner with Strada Bălți was owned by Abram Ahtenberg – earlier by G. Fainberg (Feinberg), the Sadagursky family and the Fridman (Friedman) family. The little green space in front of the house was also edged by houses owned by Simha Fridman (Simcha Friedmann) and Meer (Meier) Imaș. Other owners nearby were Arzum Goldberg, Matus Feldman and Valentin Stegăzescu. The still existing building Nr. 13, in 1930 owned Perlea Subinschi, had a characteristic division in three parts, all of them with a shop.

Only the middle section of the earlier long street **Strada Cahul** remain. Here was *Sinagoga Croitorului* (Tailors' synagogue), preserved but changed. The nearby preserved houses were owned by Sura Fremderman, Sulim Bucșpun, Șapsa Goldștein, Iosif Rahland and Mordco Leizer Corenberg. Also the northeastern part, near Piața Veche, had mostly Jewish owners.

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<sup>4</sup> There were many families with the name Perlmutter. Samuel Aroni, one of the interviewed persons, knew a Perlmutter girl, who perished in 1942 on the ship "Struma" on her way to Palestine. On this vessel, built already in 1867 as a British marquess's luxury steam yacht, were 800 Jewish refugees from Romania. Turkey detained her in Istanbul because Britain would not let the refugees come to Palestine. The ship was towed out to the Black Sea, where it was torpedoed by a Soviet submarine.

Here were the *Talal* Synagogue and *Sinagoga Binefacere*. The south-eastern part of the street had, according to the names, a higher share of Romanian (Nicolau, Crețu, Bârcă) and Russian or Ukrainian (Raevscaia, Demeenco, Bociarov) owners. A photo from 1941 shows many people standing outside a small shop. Samuel Aroni thinks it was a shop in the ghetto where it was possible to get some bread. It might have been in the corner Strada Cahul / Strada Gheorghe Coșbuc. This house was in 1930 owned by Ghinta Galanter. Close to this site, at the corner between Strada Gheorghe Coșbuc and Strada Gheorghe Lazar (Strada A. Hâjdeu) is a triangular green area. Samuel Aroni remembers that probably on this site, on August 1st, 1941, more than 200 male and female youths enlisted themselves for work, promised to get some food, but instead they were shot just outside the city. Samuel Aroni in the last moment changed his mind and did not enlist and survived.

A rather well preserved southwest – northeast street is **Strada Alexandru Vlăhuța**, crossing both Strada Vineri and Strada Cahul. Nr. 1 was inhabited by Isac Tverschii. The founder of the Hasidic Skver dynasty (*Skverer hasidim*) in 1788 had the same name (also transcribed Yitzhak Tverski)<sup>5</sup>. Samuel Aroni had his *bar mitzvah* at "Skverer rebbe", who lived in this street. It was probably Isac Tverschii, but Samuel Aroni has not confirmed this. Among the preserved buildings are Nr. 5, built in 1887 as a small palace with a column portal. It was owned by Isac Lifșiț (Lifschitz), and the neighbour houses by Ruvin Șeivehman and Ve. Vainștein (Weinstein). The opposite buildings, Nr. 4-12, have characteristic structures with rather short façades along the street and long courtyard wings and narrow malls between. The owners of these buildings were Elea Cogan, Mnita Ruvinstein, Sura Fișler, Mordco Dvantman and Dumitru Marcov. Nr. 18 was the synagogue *Scvirer Beis Amedriș*, owned by Sonia Brahman. Samuel Aroni has a faint memory that the rabbi lived on this side of the street, his memory might concern the synagogue. Parts of the synagogue remain in the present building. The neighbour houses were inhabited by Sura Zainblat and Isac Goldenberg. In the northeast part of the street, Nr. 20 – 30 are also preserved. Nr. 20 was used by Rotary. Nr. 22 was *Sinagoga Calinovsani*, owned by Aron Fridman. The next buildings were owned by Maisur Șaț (Schatz), Dvantman heirs and Peisah Ghirșfeld (Hirschfeld). Opposite lived Mordco Corenberg and David Guberman. Samuel Aroni remembers that their family in ghetto time found shelter in Nr. 19, a house not preserved. Its owner in 1930 was Enta Segal.

Parallel to Strada Alexandru Vlăhuța was **Strada Miron Costin (Strada Rabbi Țirilson)**. Here was a large synagogue from 1910 and a Jewish asylum (today ruins) from the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Adjacent to it was (preserved) a neo-classical *heder* school from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The prominent Rabbi Țirilson founded here in 1909-10 a modern Jewish Yeshiva school, *Magen David* (available information does not indicate whether this was in the old *heder* school or in the complex from 1910). Samuel Aroni studied at this school for a period. At the northeast end of Strada Alexandru Vlăhuța, at Strada Grigore Ureche, is a three-storey mill building from 1908, preserved and in good shape.

A narrow side street to Strada Vineri was **Stradela General Stan Poetaș (Stradela Habad-Liubavici)** – half of it still existing. Here was the *Gleizer* synagogue, also called *Geamgiilor* or *Sticlarilor* from 1896-97, still in use, designed by Ț. Ghingher. The neighbour buildings were owned by the families Rozental, Covsman, Finchelștein, Umanschi, Fliman, Puncevschi and Pascari.

The southern part of the old town was traversed by **Strada Mareșal Averescu (Strada Ismail)**, which was an extension of the adjacent grid-net street pattern. Close to it were the Cupecescaia and *Maiman* synagogues. At Strada Mareșal Averescu Nr. 84, lived Samuel Aroni's grandfather Aron Cervinschi – the house is not preserved. Samuel Aroni remembers the turbulence when they had to go to the ghetto in 1941, and that Aron Cervinschi in vain tried to stay in his house, which was outside the ghetto. He also remembers people being beaten and women being raped. A whole family in their acquaintance was shot to death in their courtyard, close to Aron Cervinschi's house.

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<sup>5</sup> This dynasty was founded in the town Skver (or Skvyra) in present Ukraine. Yitzhak Tverski was son of Rabbi Mordechai, the Maggid of Chernobyl. The dynasty still exists in New York, lead by Rabbi Dovid Twersky.

In the south part of the old town were also the preserved churches *Înălțarea Domnului* from 1827-30 at **Strada Grigore Ureche** and *Sfântul Gheorghe* from 1819, at **Strada Sfântului Gheorghe**. The east end of this street was at **Strada Ecaterina Teodoriu**, near the railway. This street, which does not exist any longer had mostly small and simple buildings. According to the names, the majority of the population was ethnically Romanian, Russian or Ukrainian, and only a small share Jewish.

### The central section of Strada Alexandru cel Bun and its surroundings

The Romanian guidebook from 1932 gives (in English translation) the following description of central Chișinău:

“Two lions in front of the gate flank the entrance to the central park. In the park there is a statue of Ștefan cel Mare and on the main street a statue of Alexander Pușkin.

The Archiepiscopal Palace (*Casa Eparchială*) has beautiful rooms and a collection of old religious objects. The Cathedral is situated in the middle of an English Park. It has beautiful frescoes. Behind the Archiepiscopal Palace is the Faculty of Theology. In the corner of the park, facing the main street, are the National Theatre and the Noblemen's Club. This beautiful Boyar Palace with columns was for a time the residence of the Bessarabian governor.

In the northern part of the main street is the Lutheran church, the Finance administration, the Military Lyceum and the City Hospital.

West of the main street you will come to the beautiful villa district. At Strada Bănulescu Bodoni is the monumental palace *Casa Noastră*, residence of the minister of Bessarabia. At Strada Viilor is also the Boys Lyceum Nr. 3, where the union of Bessarabia with Romania was proclaimed. From the National Museum in Moorish style you can see the beautiful Parcul Carol with a view over the valley Valea Buicanilor.

From Strada Pușkin you can get to the old city, crossing Strada Mincu. Here are small coffee and tea houses. Here the poor Jewish population lives (ghetto) and there are numerous small synagogues. There are also many nice old houses in Moldovan style. At Strada Fântanei Nr. 50 there is a beautiful Russian residence vis-à-vis the water tower.”

The central boulevard, present **Bulevardul Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt**, was called **Strada Alexandru cel Bun**, and for a shorter period, **Bulevardul Regele Carol II**. Its central part was the commercial core of Chișinău with the most important shops, restaurants and cafés. Most buildings along the main streets had one or two floors. Very few, such as *Casa Eparchială*, with shops in the ground floor, hotel *Palace* and the *Schwarzmann* building, at **Strada Regele Carol I**, had three floors.

In the City Hall (*Primăria*) there were shops in the ground floor and the City library in the upper floor. The guidebook from 1932 mentions the following hotels: *Londra*, Strada Pușkin/ Regele Carol I 48, *Paris*, Strada Carol Schmidt (Strada Mitropolit Varlaam) 117, *Suisse*, Strada Mitropolitul Gavril (Strada Mitropolit G. Bănulescu-Bodoni) 31 and *Palace*, Strada General Brosteanu (Strada Vasile Alecsandri) 58, not existing any more. At the main boulevard Strada Alexandru cel Bun, the following cafés and restaurants were recommended: *Susana* in the *Palace* building, also called *Casa Barbalat*, *Varșovia* at the corner with Strada Mihai Viteazu (Strada Mihai Eminescu), *Covalschi* at the corner with Strada Regina Maria (Strada Vlaicu Pârcălab) and *Bernstein* (no address). At Strada Fântănei or Strada Mihail Eminescu (present Strada Veronica Micle) 19 was *Manicov* (called *Pushkin* in tsarist Russian times). It was a popular and fashionable café in French style with musical entertainment of different kinds. The most important travel offices were *Wagons-Lits-Cook* at Strada Alexandru cel Bun 67 and *Europa*, owned by Emil Gutfreund, in *Casa Barbalat*. The main post and telegraph office was in the corner Strada Alexandru cel Bun / Strada Mitropolitul Gavril, in the Hotel *Suisse* building – which had before 1874 been used for the theologic seminar. The house was originally erected in the 1830s.

The corner building to Strada Regina Maria, opposite the City Hall, was the Banca Orașului building from 1903 (today organ concert hall). At the next corner (with Strada Mihai Viteazu), a National Theatre project was begun in the 1930s, but not finished until after the

war. The opposite *Café Varşovia* was in a large building, *Casa Catedralei*, from 1903, owned by the church. The *Fitov* department store and *Hotel Național* at the next corner (with Strada General Brosteanu) was in the same property. On the opposite corner was the *Galperin* synagogue. At the next corner (with Strada Mareșal Badoglio) was the Faculty of Agriculture. In the blocks on the other side of Strada Alexandru cel Bun, opposite the City Hall, were a *Galanterie* shop and the fashion shop *Hermes*. The buildings were in 1940 owned by the families Donceev, Erlich, Șișinschi and Poleac. The address book also mentions *Sinagoga Lemnaria Veche* in the corner with Strada Regina Maria. Opposite *Casa Catedralei* was *Hotel Bristol*.

In the corner **Strada Carol Schmidt / Strada Mihai Viteazu**, present Strada Mitropolit Varlaam / Strada Mihai Eminescu was *Camera de Comerț și Industrie* with *Bursa Cereale și Mărfuri* in Secession style, not existing any more, and adjacent to this, *Odeon Cinema*, still existing. Samuel Aroni's school friend was son of its Jewish owner Landesmann.<sup>6</sup> In the neighbourhood was also the *Circus* building, today changed into the Philharmonic concert hall. Samuel Aroni also remembers the cinema *Orfeum* at Strada Regele Carol I, next to a large book store. Near the *Primăria* (maybe in the same building) he remembers also the *Bat'a shoe shop*, the *Capulschi delicatessen* shop and a place selling tasty hot dogs.

At the corner **Strada Ștefan cel Mare / Strada Regina Maria** was the three-storey Talmud Torah school from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the adjacent Choral Synagogue from 1913 in Moorish style – the most important synagogue of the city. It is well remembered by Samuel Aroni.

Several of the important administrative, cultural, and educational institutions were in the central city district. Opposite the cathedral, *Catedrala Nașterea Domnului* from 1832-36, and the Triumph Arch from the 1830s was the archbishop's palace, *Mitropolie*. Behind it, at Strada Regele Ferdinand I, present Strada București, was the Theological Faculty. Next to the *Mitropolie* was also the central park, *Gradina Publică*, and in its northern corner was the *National Theatre*. At the corner Strada Alexandru cel Bun / Strada Mihai Viteazu, a new National Theatre building was under construction, but it was not finished until after World War II. It was close to the central *City bank* and the *Palace of Justice*.

Further southwards at the central boulevard was the large "New Market" area – **Piața Nouă**. It was a large area with open spaces as well as low buildings. The surrounding urban blocks mostly consisted of one-floor buildings.

At Strada Bănulescu Bodoni was the monumental *Casa Noastră*, which was the seat of the minister of Bessarabia.

The *Lutheran Church* was built in 1835, mostly used by Evangelic German settlers. It was demolished in 1960, and later replaced by the President Palace.

### Three southwest – northeast streets in the gridnet city

**Strada Mihai Viteazu (Strada Mihai Eminescu)** was in fact a continuation of Strada Alexandru Vlăhuța in the gridnet city. Some of the buildings, near Strada Alexandru cel Bun, are mentioned above. Most of the buildings along the street had one storey, often with courtyards and wings behind the street building. There were often shops at the street and workshops behind. In such a house, Nr. 23, Samuel Aroni lived from 1931 to 1941. His father's name was David Cervinschi. His uncle Volf Cervinschi, who was a medical doctor, built a modernist house in 1936 at Nr. 33. When both families had to leave their homes for the ghetto in 1941, Samuel saw people looting his uncle's house. There were several prominent examples of interwar architecture at the street, although most buildings were from the decades around 1900. At Nr. 39, a very special art deco building was constructed in 1939 for the owner Sara Sperberg. At Nr. 19 was a small urban palace, *curte urbana*, owned by Solomon Schur. Samuel Aroni remembers a wine-making enterprise, selling *must* (grape juice) here or near the house. Opposite, in a house owned by Iosif Lapsuc, Samuel Aroni recalls to have heard of anti-Semitism for the first time, then

<sup>6</sup> On Saturdays, Sam Aroni got money from his mother for movies, but together with young Landesmann he could go without paying, and used the money to buy chocolates instead.

aged 5 or 6. At Nr. 21 was the favorite pharmacy of the Cervinschi family. Nr. 32 was owned by Malca Țucherman (Zuckermann). There lived Samuel's school friend. In Nr. 46 was the *Societatea Evreeasca* (Jewish Society). Nr. 50 was a three-storey building with shops and apartments, built by Victor Beloianov-Beloțercovschi in 1912-13. Nr. 52, at the corner to Strada Mihai Eminescu, was a city palace (*conac urban*) built in 1874-75 for the A. D. Inglezi family and designed by A. I. Bernardazzi. In interwar years it was used by the newspapers *Bessarabeț* and *Drug* and by the girls' school *Școala Normala de Fete*. This school also used a former monastery administration building at the opposite corner, Nr. 54. Their elementary school was also for boys, and Samuel Aroni went there for some years. His school friend Leon Landesman lived in the close vicinity. At Nr. 39 was the *Societatea "Oze"*. There has also been a clinic.

**Strada General Brosteanu (Strada Vasile Alecsandri)** crossed Strada Mihai Eminescu at a little square. In the middle of this urban space was one of the water towers designed by A. I. Bernardazzi. Samuel Aroni was born at Nr. 57, where his maternal grandfather Leib Apotecher lived. He was a rather wealthy man. He had a Ford automobile and bought, shortly before the war two cars, to use for escape, if the Soviet troops came. Opposite was the municipal electrical power station, *Uzina electrică*. At the corner with Strada Carol Schmidt was a two-storey building from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, first owned by the encyclopaedist Gdal Poleak, then used for *Hotel Moscova* and a music school. Most of the inhabitants along the street had in 1940 Jewish or Russian names, but there were also people with Romanian names.

**Strada Mareșal P. Badoglio (Strada Armenească)** has one section in the Old Town and one in the gridnet town. None of the buildings in the blocks close to Strada Alexandru cel Bun remain. Among them, Nr. 38-48 belonged to the Armenian congregation. The section within the Old Town is, however, rather well preserved. Nr. 96 and 98 are two-storey palace style buildings from 1901 and 1903. In 1940 they were owned by the Levit and the Goldenberg families respectively. Nr. 102, a building from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, was owned by Mendel Averbuh. The small buildings opposite were owned by the Galperin and Panteleiev families. Nr. 112, at the corner with Strada Cojocarilor, a late 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial building, was owned by the Mihailov family. In the preserved part of the gridnet section, Nr. 22 was owned by *Societatea de Binefacere Băsarabeană*. In Nr. 28 was in Russian time the editorial office of *Băsarabia*, the first Romanian language newspaper of Chișinău. Most inhabitants along the street had Russian or Jewish names.

#### **Gridnet streets in southeast – northwest direction, parallel with Strada Alexandru cel Bun**

**Strada Mihai Eminescu (Strada Veronica Micle)** is a rather short street, next to Strada Alexandru cel Bun, passing the above mentioned watertower. It had several public buildings, mostly preserved. The Jewish culture house and synagogue at Nr. 7 was erected in 1908-14 in secession style. In 1940 it was owned by L. Diner, Pinhus and Grinberg. Today it is the *Luceafarul* theatre. Nr. 9, owned by Teodosie Ianovici was built in 1885, designed by the architect Leopold Scheidewand. Opposite was a house from 1886, owned by Soil Averbuh, but originally built for the noble family Hașcinsky. At the corner with Strada Regina Maria was the Palace of Justice from 1880, designed by A. I. Bernardazzi. Opposite it, at Nr. 11, was the secession style hospital building *Crucea Roșie a mănăstirii Hârbovăț* from 1910. Next to it there was in 1920 a small theatre. Around the corner was a building with Jewish organisations. At Nr. 19 was the popular *Café Manicov* and at the corner with Strada Regele Carol I was the three-storey Schwarzmann – Schächter house with shops. These two buildings do not remain.

**Strada Regele Ferdinand (Strada 31. August 1989)** was the first street behind the central park *Gradina Publică*. Opposite the park were two palace-like buildings: At the corner with Strada Armand Calinescu (Strada Nicolae Iorga) was a two-storey building from 1876, then owned by the noble woman Ecaterina Râșleakov and in 1940 by Elena Bogdosarova, and at the corner with Strada Mitropolit Gavriil was a house, built in 1869 for Iulia Vichienievna

Ianușevski and designed by A. I. Bernardazzi. Diagonally across the street was a building for the Faculty of Theology, erected in 1902. Opposite it, at Nr. 121, was the monumental *Liceul H. P. Hâjdeu* for boys. In this school, Samuel Aroni, Emanuel Orenstein<sup>7</sup> and Mario Gherovici all studied in the first Soviet period, 1940-41. At Nr. 115 was the girl's lyceum *Liceul de fete Princeza Dadiani* from 1901, designed by Bernardazzi. Both school buildings are today used for museums. At Nr. 113 was the trade school for girls *Liceul Comercială de fete Regina Maria*. Opposite it was a Jewish organisation, abbreviated *Unin. Coop. Izrailit. Basarab*. At the corner with Strada Regina Maria was the *Panteleimon* Church from 1891, designed by Bernardazzi. Most street buildings, some of the rather monumental, were from the decades around 1900. At Nr. 95 was a building from the 1930s in Neo-Romanian style, owned by Dr. Constantin Șapocichin.

**Strada Ion G. Brătianu (Strada București)** was the next parallel street, with many preserved buildings from the middle and second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the intersection with Strada Regele Carol I are three important buildings: The girls' school from 1881-82 *Liceul Regina Maria*, designed by Bernardazzi and M. S. Seroșinski, the city palace for the councillor of State Nicolai Ivanovici Semigradov, designed by the same architects and erected in 1873-75 and the two-storey building, erected for Bank of Poltava in 1899. The second of these buildings was in 1940 owned by I. Feinștein and the third by Dr. Mihailovici and others. Here was from 1918 *Coloseum* theatre and later a trade school. Next to the girls' lyceum, at Strada Regele Carol I is the *Sfântul Cuvioasa Teodora de la Sihla* church from 1895, built as a chapel to the school, designed by Bernardazzi. At the corner with Strada Regina Maria were two palace-like buildings: Nr. 60 was built in 1903 for the merchant Ițko Zonis. It was in 1940 owned by the Șapiro-Rozenfeld family. Nr. 62 was built in the 1870s for the noble woman Ecaterina Alexandrovna Râșcanu-Derojinsky and was in 1940 owned by the heir of T. Cogan. It is today a ruin. Opposite are three small buildings from the 1840s and 1850s. Nr 70 is the old military hospital from 1853-54, with private owners in 1940. In interwar years the Brâncoveanu style villa at Nr. 72 was built. In 1940 it was owned by Elena Vais (Weiss). In Nr. 52 lived in interwar years the sculptor Alexandru Plămădeală, who in 1939 initiated the *Pinacoteca Municipală* and also the sculpture gallery in the central park, only realised after his death. Most of the owners along the street in 1940 had Jewish or Russian names.

**Strada Ștefan cel Mare (Strada Columna)** was the first parallel street behind the Cathedral Square on the northeastern side of Strada Alexandru cel Bun. The central section of the street had many two-storey building from the decades around 1900, and one-storey buildings, many of them from the middle or the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century dominated the outer sections. Many inhabitants in the southern part had Jewish names, such as Moișe Ghelvelberg, Iosif Grinberg, Mordco Lerner, Ruvim Rubinștein and Leib Roitman. Nr. 50-52 belonged to the Jewish association *Ezras Anim* and in Nr. 73 was a *Sinagoga Mare* and at Nr. 77 were the *Iavne Pustilnic* and *Piața Nouă* synagogues. Opposite, at Nr. 64 the *Roitman* synagogue and in the neighbourhood the *Perelmuter* synagogue. Nr. 45a was *Iavne* synagogue. Nr. 115, next to the Talmud Torah school, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was in 1914 *Hotel Imperial*. Also Nr. 98, at the corner with Strada Regele Carol I was a hotel for a period. Nr. 106, behind the main cathedral, is the *Catargi* palace from 1853-54, esigned by O. Gaschet. In Nr. 108 was *Banca Clerului Ortodox Ortodox*. Nr. 116 belonged in 1940 to the Calderan family. The building had been used by the Princess N. Dadiani lyceum. Nr, 130, at the corner with Strada Cuza Voda, is a *conac urban* from the 1880s, built for he noble man Vasilii Lazo and probably designed by Bernardazzi. In 1940 i was owned by Rozaliei Muraciov. At Nr. 150 was the Jewish hospital, erected in periods from the 1870s to 1906.

**Strada Sfântul Haralambie (Strada Alexandru cel Bun)** established the limit between the gridnet city and the Old Town. A large share of the old buildings remain. The south section was irregular, included in the Old Town. In 1940, most of the inhabitants along the street Jew-

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<sup>7</sup> Also among the interviewed persons.

ish names. Nr. 17 was a two-storey building, in 1940 owned by Solomon Berland. Somewhere here was the *Calfelor* synagogue. Nr. 38 is a *conac urban* erected in the 1880 by the Greek merchant Mihail Constantin Zoti, in interwar years used as a school. In Nr. 40, a house from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in 1940 owned by Moişe Cligher, was the inn *Grecia*. Nr. 42 was owned by the lawyer V. Lubovici. Here, Venetian furniture was sold by I. M. Birman around 1900. The double house Nr. 44 was owned by *Uniunea Clericilor*. It was originally a monastery, built in the 1890s, around 1900 changed into a kind of hotel, with Moorish façades. Nr. 48 was in 1940 owned by the Jewish organisation *Societatea Sufrageria Evrească*. It was also used by the philanthropic society *Soileh Nofliim*. Behind it, at Nr. 50, was the *Haralambie Church* from 1836. At Nr. 61 was a small synagogue and at Nr. 71 the synagogue *Rijiner Clauz*. Nr. 120 belonged to a monastery, *Mănăstirea Hâncu*. Nr. 111 is a two-storey school building, *Şcoala Profesională de Fete*, from 1910-20. It was built for Jewish women and financed by Feiga Abram Micinic, widow of the merchant and philanthropist Izrail Lazar Micinic. At Nr. 115 was *Şcoala de Belles-Artes*.

### The outer grid-net town

The area along **Strada Ion Inculeţ, also Strada Viilor (Strada Alexei Mateevici)** and the parallel street **Strada Mihai Kogălniceanu** had many villas and monumental buildings. *Casa Cărmuri Guberniale* at Strada Mihai Kogălniceanu 63 was erected in 1903, designed by V. Ivaniţchi and Mitrofan Elladi. It is today used by the Research and design Institute of Food Industry Technology. At the same street is the Ethnographic Museum from 1903-05 in Moorish style, also designed by Țâganco. Strada Ion Inculeţ 111 from 1902-05, designed by Vladimir Țâganco, had a special symbolic significance, because it was there that the Sfatul Țării meeting on 27<sup>th</sup> March 1918 voted for unification with Romania.

In 1925 there was a large industrial exhibition at the slopes from present Strada A. Mateevici towards Valea Morilor. Photos show a nice park with palm trees and exhibition pavillons. A large pavillon includes *Astra, Industria metalurgica* and *Reşiţa*, and there is a tavern with the advertisement *Bere Luther* (Luther Beer).

Marius Gherovici lived before the war at Strada Ion G. Brătianu (Strada Bucureşti) 108, in the outer part of the grid-net area. His father worked at the nearby children's hospital, in the corner Strada Ion G. Brătianu / **Strada Marele Voievod Mihai (Strada Serghei Lazo)** from 1870-78. The family hid in the hospital when the Germans arrived in 1941.

### Jewish Chişinău

In interwar years, almost half of the Chişinău population was Jewish. Since the city belonged to the Russian empire before 1918, most of the emancipated Jews spoke Russian. They had a leading position in the commercial life and a very strong position in the cultural, scientific and medical sectors. A significant share of the shops, restaurants, cafés, hotels and industries had Jewish owners. They were less religious or belonging to the reformed Jewish congregation. Many had contacts and relatives in other European countries or in the USA.

There was a great difference between the emancipated, better-off groups and poor Jews, mostly living in an old-fashioned way and speaking Yiddish. Better-off people mostly lived in the gridnet town, but large part of the Old town was dominated by poorer Jews. They were mostly Yiddish speaking and following old religious traditions. Also in the old town, most of the small shops and other commercial enterprises had Jewish owners.

In interwar years there were more than 65 synagogues in Chişinău. The most important were the Choral Synagogue, connected with the Talmud-Torah school, still remaining, and the "Three synagogues". There were several Jewish schools and a rather large Jewish hospital. The *Gleizer* synagogue at Stradela General Stan Poetaş is still in use as synagogue and the *Lemnaria* synagogue at Strada Petru Rares (this section is today Strada Diordita) 3 (5) is used

as Jewish cultural centre. The preserved synagogue buildings are *Pascaria Veche* at Strada Sfântul Ilie and *Școala din Sinai* or *Bes-Gamedriș* at the corner Strada General Berthelot (Strada Alexei Șciusev) / Strada Tighina from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, designed by L. Șeidevandt (Scheidewandt). Parts of the main Choral Synagogue remain within the Russian Chekhov theatre. Several other smaller synagogues remain within remodeled buildings.

#### **World War II and its aftermaths.**

In World War II, large parts of central Chișinău were badly damaged, but although many buildings were ruined, their walls remained as well as the basic urban fabric. It was possible to restore most of the damaged buildings, and so was also done in many cases, but mostly in the grid-net town. However, the central part of the old, pre-1812 town was almost totally cleared in early Soviet years, to give place for a totally new urban scheme, in fact extending the Russian grid-net town into the old Moldovan town. A large part of the demolished old buildings, including a number of churches and synagogues, were not very much damaged during the war. Among Soviet demolitions were the Archangel Mihail-Gavriil Cathedral, the Sf. Ilie church, the Lutheran church, the “Three synagogues”, the Metropolitan palaces, the *Casa Eparchială* and the old Bessarabian government building.

## **Černivci – Cernăuți - Czernowitz**

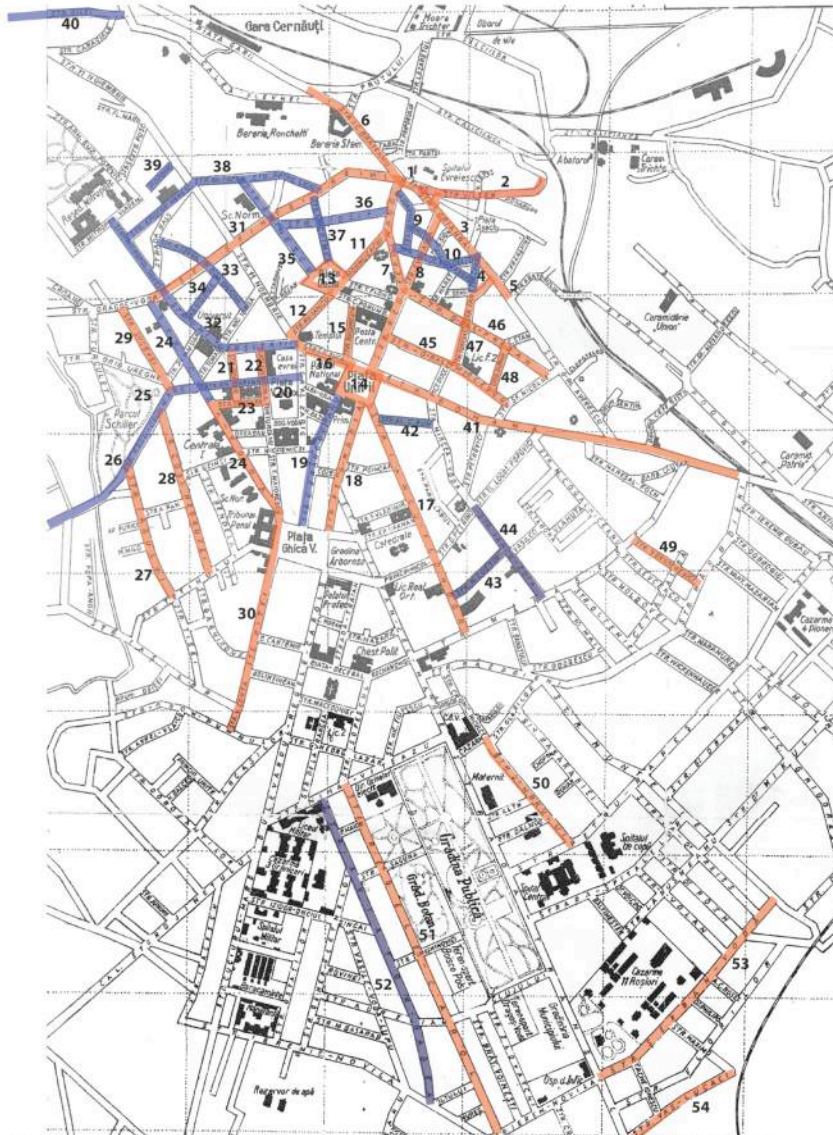
Corresponding to Chișinău, Černivci in inter-war years consisted of three main city districts: The old Moldovan town (like in Chișinău called the “Lower City”), the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century city, developed in Austrian time, and the suburbs, partly village-like, partly villa districts. While Chișinău had a clear division between the old town and the 19<sup>th</sup> century grid-net town, 19<sup>th</sup> century “Upper City” in Černivci, had a growing street system, based on old roads and paths, with densification of former structures into dense urban blocks. This meant a gradual transition in the urban shape between the old, Moldovan town and the Habsburg Capital of Bukovyna. Although the two cities had similar size, the city centre of Černivci had a more metropolitan character than that of Chișinău, with higher buildings and a denser layout. The lower city of Černivci was also denser than that of Chișinău. The suburbs included on one hand many Moldovans/Romanians but also a large group of German *Schwaben* who had immigrated in Austrian time to develop agriculture.

Černivci was more multi-ethnic than Chișinău, but in both cities the settlement pattern was more based on economy than on ethnicity, although there was some combined social-ethnic pattern. Like Chișinău, Černivci had two groups of Jews: On one hand the upper and middle class, modern, urban Europeans, non-religious or belonging to the reformed Jewish congregations. They achieved in the late Austrian period a leading position in the city within business and commercial life, science and academic life and cultural life, and were as German speakers the leading carriers of German culture. The other group was poorer, more old-fashioned, keeping to old traditions, frequently speaking Yiddish. They mostly lived in the “Lower City” and in the transition zone between the “Lower” and “Upper City”. The better-off population of all ethnicities mostly lived in the “Upper City” and in the villa suburbs. In inter-war years the ethnic composition was rather similar to that of the late Austrian time, but there was a growing Romanian middle class. The Jews were the largest ethnic group of the city but there was an increasing Romanian share. Of the 90 000 inhabitants in 1919, 47,4 % were Jewish, 15,9 % Germans, 13,8 % Romanians, 11,8 % Poles and 10,4 % Ukrainians. In 1930 the city had 111 470 inhabitants. Of those entitled to vote, 44,7 % were Jews, 25,2 % Romanians, 16,1 % Ukrainians, 7,1 % Poles and 7 % Germans. They lived rather mixed, although the share of Jews was higher than the average in the “Lower City”.



## Černivci / Czernowitz / Cernăuți - streets studied.

- Streets studied and described systematically
- Streets mentioned in memories, shortly described.



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|--|--|
| 1 Springbrunnenpl. / Piața Fânăta / no name                    | 29 Lehm-gasse / Strada Sucevei / vul. M. Drahomanova   |
| 2 Synagogengasse / Strada Wilson / vul. Henri Barbusse'a       | 30 Piteygasse / Strada Pitei / vul. 29 Bereznja  |
| 3 Springbrunneng. / Str. Ion Creangă / vul. Sahajdačnoho       | 31 Dreifaltigkeitstg. / Str. Treimi / vul. B. Chmel' nyc'koho  |
| 4 Türkenbrunnen / Fântâna Turcească / no name                  | 32 Universitätsg. - Residenzg. / Str. Universității - Str. Mitropolitul Silvestri / Universtyets'ka vulycja                      |
| 5 Morariug. / Strada Gen. Averescu / vul. Sahajdačnoho         | 33 Albertineng. / Str. Dimitrie Onciul / vul. Simovyča   |
| 6 Bahnhofstr. / Strada I. C. Brătianub/ vul. Gagarina          | 34 Verbindungsg. / Str. Xenopol / vul. Akad. Babylova  |
| 7 Enzenberg Hauptstr. / Str. Regele Ferdinand / Holovna vul.   | 35 Stefaniegasse / Strada Eminescu / vul. Gor'koho   |
| 8 Judengasse / Str. Evreiască / vul. Scholom-Alejchema         | 36 Steingasse / Str. O. Iosif / Perejaslavs'ka vulycja   |
| 9 Wechslerg. / Str. Mihai Teliman - vul. Hluchivs'ka etc.      | 37 Waaggasse / Str. Anastasie Crimca / vul. L'va Tolstoho  |
| 10 Berggasse / Strada Dealului / vul. Sepetivs'ka etc.         | 38 Franzosg. - Wagnerga. - Chereskulg. / Str. P. Liciu - Str. Gh. Tofan - Str. Episc. Herescul / vul. Iv. Bohuna - vul. Șcepkina |
| 11 Hormuzakigasse / Str. Hormuzachi / vul. Zankovec'ka         | 39 Rapfgasse / Strada Popovici / vulycja Radyščeva   |
| 12 Karolinengasse / Str. Avram Iancu / vul. Zankovec'ka        | 40 Bilaer Str. / Str. Bilei / vul. Černyševs'koho  |
| 13 Rudolphspl. (Mehlp.) / Piața Dacia / plošča Filarminiî      | 41 Russische Gasse / Strada Română / Rus'ka vulycja  |
| 14 Ringplatz / Piața Unirii / Central'na plošča                | 42 Dr. Rott-Gasse / Str. Al. cel Bun / vul. O. Dobroho   |
| 15 Postgasse / Strada Bucureștilor / vul. Chudjakova           | 43 Maria-Theresien-G. / Str. M. Costin / vul. Čeljuskinsiv   |
| 16 Tempelgasse / Strada I. Duca / Universtyets'ka vulycja      | 44 Josefsgasse / Strada Iancu Zota / Ukrain's'ka vulycja   |
| 17 Herrengasse / Str. Iancu Flondor / vul. Ol'hy Kobyljans'koï | 45 Landhausg. / Str. Gen. Mircescu / vul. Andreja Šeptyc'koho  |
| 18 Rathausstrasse / Strada Regina Maria / Holovna vulycja      | 46 Schulgasse / Str. Gen. Prezan / Škil'na vulycja   |
| 19 Liliengasse / Str. Const. Brâncoveanu / vul. Ivana Franka   | 47 Türkengasse / Str. Turcească / Turec'ka vulycja   |
| 20 Elisabethplatz / Piața Alexandri / Teatral'na plošča        | 48 Färbergasse / Str. Urban Iarnic / Sučavs'ka vulycja   |
| 21 Goethegasse / Strada Goethe / vulycja Goethe                | 49 Worobkiewiczg. / Str. Vorobchevici / vul. Vorovs'koho   |
| 22 Heinegasse / Str. Lascar Luția / vul. Steinbarga            | 50 Schmiedgasse / Str. Zimbrului / vul. Hrebinky   |
| 23 Schillergasse / Strada Schiller / Schillera vul.            | 51 Gartengasse / Strada Regele Carol / vul. Fed'kovyča   |
| 24 Althgasse / Strada Cuza Voda / vulycja Lesi Ukraïny         | 52 Erzherzog Karl-Gasse / Str. Aviator Gagea / vul. Frunze   |
| 25 Schillerpark / Parcul Schiller / park im. Schillera         | 53 Mustatzgasse / Str. Șerban Voda / vul. Rudans'koho  |
| 26 Roscher Hauptstr. / Strada Radu cel Mare / Kyivs'ka vul.    | 54 Grätzgasse / Str. Vasile Lucaciu / vul. Zaliznjaka  |
| 27 Teichgasse / Strada Iazului / Charkivs'ka vulycja           |  |
| 28 Winzergasse / Str. Costache Negruzzi / vul. Pyrohova        |  |

In Romanian time, the old Austrian street names were radically changed, not only to Romanian language, but also the contents. Many inhabitants, not least the Jews, continued to use the old German names. All the interviewed persons, still today use the old German names, although they were already formally abandoned at their childhood and youth in the town. In the description below, both the German and Romanian street names are mentioned, as well as the present names. (In Soviet times, many streets had other names.) The archive material gives almost no information about shops, workshops and other establishments. Many of the inhabitants may have their workplace connected with their home, but it is only possible to guess, which shops and workshops there have been along the streets. Old photos and advertisements in books, as well as personal memories from interviewed persons, give a supplement to the population lists.

10 persons from Černivci are interviewed, all with German as mother tongue: Hedwig Brenner (born Langhaus), Anita Mark (born Derman), Sidi Gross (born Sidonie Müller), Margit Bartfeld-Feller, Harry Likwornik, Paul Wechselblatt and Iosif Bursuk, all of them Jewish, and Elias Gulinsky, Hildegard Gulinsky and Peter Lehner, ethnic Germans.

### The “Lower City”.

**Springbrunnenplatz / Piața Fântâna** – also called *Ham*, is the centre of the old Moldovan town, the “Lower City”, at the intersection of former Synagogengasse, Springbrunnengasse, Enzenberg Hauptstrasse, Bahnhofstrasse and Dreifaltigkeitsgasse. Synagogengasse and Springbrunnengasse have preserved their old structure with low buildings, mostly shorty facades at the street and frequently courtyard wings behind. All these streets were included in the closed ghetto in 1941. A central position at Springbrunnenplatz has the three-storey building Nr. 1. Here, Anita Derman’s<sup>8</sup> family lived until 1935, as well as her maternal uncles David and Izak Einhorn. At the narrow corner with Bahnhofstrasse (Bahnhofstrasse 1) was on a photo from 1910 *Hotel Bukowina*. In this house were in 1936 registered the innkeeper Fallenbaum and the turner Iosif Magelschi. At the round corner with Enzenberg Hauptstrasse 52 and Springbrunnengasse 2 was around 1900 *Hotel Galicie* and restaurants “*Zum goldenen Schiff*” and “*Zum tapferen Buren*” (maybe the same restaurant; the owner was supporter of the boers in South Africa). Here lived among others the wine cellar keeper Avram Cleiman. At the Soviet nationalisation in 1940 it was owned by the Jewish merchant Israel Fallik.

**Synagogengasse / Strada Wilson** (vulycja Barbussea) was in the 1930s mostly inhabited by Jews of lower income groups. Here were the Old Synagogue, the *Machsike Sabbath* charity organisation and praying house, the *Chewra-Tehilim* synagogue, the Jewish Asylum and the Jewish hospital. At the Soviet nationalization in 1940, 17 owners were mentioned, all of them Jewish. Documents from street regulations in 1912 show the owners at Synagogengasse and the siding Grabengasse, all of them with Jewish names. Here lived Rabbi Weiss and here was the *Tanme Torn Verein* lead by Moses Luttinger. At Grabengasse was a *prayer house of the rabbi of Sadagora* and a *Jewish poultry slaughter house*. One lot at Synagogengasse was owned by the association *Gnade und Wahrheit*.

The inhabitant list from 1936 mentions around 400 names. There were many small merchants and artisans, many of them probably with shops and workshops in the same property as their homes: *10 shopkeepers, 54 merchants, 27 bakers, 18 butchers, 66 tailors or tailoresses, 27 shoemakers, 18 hairdressers or barbers, 9 locksmiths, 15 carpenters, 9 painters, 7 tinsmiths and 4 furriers*. There were also *27 office and shop assistants, 7 waitors, 19 teachers* of different kinds and *2 architects*, but only *one lawyer and no doctor*. Among the remaining 80 names there were some *students, soap-makers, mechanics, electricians, musicians* and “mes-

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<sup>8</sup> Anita Derman Mark is one of the interviewed persons.

*sengers*". There were very few non-Jewish names, e. g. rope maker Marian Baranowski and colonel Constantin Popescu.

An interwar photo from the west end of the street shows *Lloyd Saubado travel agency* and the *Kuer & Racler wine store* at Nr. 5. Among grocers were David Scheer in Nr. 7 and Abraham Löbl in Nr. 11. Probably their shops were also there. In Nr. 15 was the shoemaker Simon Schwarz and the shopkeeper Friedrich Schwarz (spelt Şvart̄). An old photo shows at Nr. 29, next to the Chewra-Tehilim synagogue a small building, typical for the street. It has a door in the middle, one window on each side, and small cellar windows. Probably there were shops with small homes behind. In 1914 here lived the shoemaker Baruch Hack and in 1936 the shoemaker Herman Picker, the butcher Hersch Teitler and the shopkeeper Itzig Binder. Other inhabitants were the clerk Feibisch Goldfish, the hairdresser Simon Picher and the tailor Berl Nissen Schnapp. Today the front door is bricked, and the entrance is from behind. In Nr. 53, earlier having a door at the cut corner, Rosa Hecht had a pub until 1940. An interesting "Jugendstil" house at Nr. 67 was inhabited by the merchants Clovis Baert, Heinrich Gendorf, David Golz-Grettler and Saie Horowitz, the haberdasher Aron Kupermann, the clerk Emil Laufer and the salesman Ioil Wasserman. Two wall texts remain at the street: The shop *Wolf Mandel* at Nr. 42 and the painter workshop *Isak Eisikowitz Pictor de Firme, Fondat 1910* at Nr. 21 (15).

**Springbrunnengasse / Strada Ion Creangă** (vulycja Sahajdačnoho) is the main artery eastwards through the lower town. The street is edged by many small, old buildings with shorter or longer façades along the street and often with side wings at the courtyard. The oldest buildings are between Springbrunnenplatz and *Türkenbrunnen* - the "Turkish well" - on both sides of the old market place *Alter Markt*, for a period called Theodor Herzl Platz. In 1936, 329 inhabitants were registered at the street, among them 72 *merchants*, 14 *shopkeepers*, 46 *tailors*, 20 *shoemakers*, 9 *barbers or hairdressers*, 8 *locksmiths*, 10 *butchers*, 7 *carpenters and 8 painters* - altogether 194 persons (59 %). 62 persons were engaged in academic or liberal professions: 1 *lawyer*, 2 *doctors*, 1 *dentist technician*, 3 *nurses*, 2 *midwives*, 2 *pharmacists*, 1 *photographer*, 1 *artist*, 2 *musicians*, 1 *modist*, 29 *clerks*, 6 *teachers*, 1 *talmudist* and 10 *students*.

A photo from interwar years shows a very run down, but still existing building at Nr. 15-17. In 1936, the locksmith Ierichon Firstenberg and the merchant Iuda Goldenberg lived there. Probably, he had a shop, where Rachel Sikofand earlier had a *grocery*. In Nr. 21, there was probably a *restaurant*, owned by Abraham Haller. Nr. 23 - 27 had some *bakers and dairies*. Normally street corners were cut with entrances to shops. At the corner with Grabengasse lived at Nr. 43 the merchants Michael Fränkel and Herman Kula and opposite, at Nr. 45 lived the merchant Pincas Goldberg, the grocer Mina Graf, the shopkeeper Isac Schwarzkopf and many others. A very special, old building is Nr. 55, situated considerably lower than the street. In 1936, there were many inhabitants in Nr. 55 and 55a, including backyard wings: The Talmudist Hersch Blubstein, the merchants Hersch Kurz, Smil Menczer, Abraham Saier and Salomon Schächter, the tailor Iacob Morgenstein-Grünberg and several others. The restaurant owners David Kahan lived in Nr. 31 and Israel Nussenbaum in Nr. 53. Maybe their *restaurants* were at the same addresses. In Nr. 44, at the corner with **Türkenbrunnenplatz** was the Feivel Wagner *tavern*. On the other side the street changed name to **Morariugasse / Strada General Averescu**. At Morariugasse 5 was the poet Rose Ausländer (1901-88) born. There is a memory plaque today. In 1940 the owner was Anna Marofer. Iosif Bursuk<sup>9</sup> remembers that their family in ghetto time was going in a line at Springbrunnengasse to the station for deportation tyo Transnistria, when his father quickly passed dome money tyo a Romanian guard, who took them from the line.

At the steep **Bahnhofstrasse / Strada I. Constantin Brătianu** (Vulycja Gagarina) there were several buildings belonging to the Steiner brewery. In 1914, there was a restaurant, Tobias Weissbrod, in Nr. 13. At Nr. 4 was the *Reb Chaim Czernowitzer* praying house. Also this

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<sup>9</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

street was characterized by a lower middle class of merchants, artisans, clerks etc. In nr, 7 there was a small restaurant, owned by Nathan Fränkel.

### The northern slopes of the “Upper City”.

The “Lower City” was connected with the “Upper City” mainly by Enzenberg Hauptstrasse, Judengasse and Hormuzakigasse – Karolinengasse. At **Enzenberg Hauptstrasse / Strada Regele Ferdinand** (northern part of present Holovna vulycja), up to Ringplatz were several old monumental buildings: The *Generalsgebäude* from 1780 the Roman Catholic *Heiligenkreuzkirche* from 1814, the Greek-Orthodox Paraskiva Church from 1843, the old *Hauptwache* and the former *Finanzdirektion* building and the from 1890. The street has many well-preserved buildings from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many of them with central gates to courtyards edged by exterior corridors. Some two-storey buildings have been added with a third store. At the narrow edge with Judengasse is the *Schiffsgebäude* from around 1900, associating to the front of an ocean liner. This was more of a middle class district. Among 450 in 1936 were 27 lawyers, 94 merchants, 37 tailors, 21 doctors, 6 dentists, 8 hairdressers, 11 barber and, 67 clerks of different kinds.

The **lower part** of the street, north of Heiligenkreuzkirche, had a local centre character. All owners, registered at the nationalization in 1940 were Jewish. Old photos show the *travel agency “Columbus”* at Nr. 33, the *Max Rosenbaum machine store* at Nr. 25, *L. Madfes agriculture machines, bikes and raincoats* at Nr. 40 and *Salomon Aufgabel, textiles and clothes* at Nr. 26. Hedwig Brenner<sup>10</sup> remembers the *antiquarian Salomon Wieselberg* at Nr. 42. At Nr. 38 was *Sali Scherer’s hotel and restaurant*. Innkeepers lived at Nr. 50, 41 and 46. At Nr. 37 lived rabbi Aron Derbaremdienner.

The **upper part** of the street, between Heiligenkreuzkirche and Ringplatz, was a part of the main commercial centre of the whole town. Among the owners in 1940 were the bankers Noë, Leon Tittinger and Luttinger, the merchants Josef Gottesmann, Sobel and Moretz Kislinger and the locksmith Heinrich Likwas. The only owner, not listed as Jewish was Franciso Kosarczuk, whose ethnicity is not mentioned. Old photos show shops and other establishments. In Nr. 7-15 were in Austrian time *Gottesmann & Nadel fashion house, Siegmund Jäger bookstore, Mödlinger Schuhfabrik (Alfred Fränkel), Josef Horowitz paper shop* and *S. Dornbaum optician and electrician store, owned by Leo Engel*. A photo from 1935 shows the shops *Feinstein & Horowitz, “Kosmos”, “Vera”, Koppelman, Hüber, Weinstock, M. Gelband fashion, S. Katz ladies’ fashion (“lingerie” and “incaltaminte”), “Moda & manufactura”, Holitzer shoe store, a glass and china shop, Café “La Violete”* (replacing the earlier “Café Wien”) and *Banca Chodrower*. In Nr. 9 lived bank director Leon Tittinger. These buildings were destroyed during World War II, and later replaced by a new, larger building. At Nr. 3 was “*Wiener Warenhaus*” (*B. Baltinester*), *Samuel Luttinger Junior’s exchange office* and *Josef Gottlieb paper store*. In nr 1, also destroyed during the war, but not replaced by a new building were the *textile and silk store Tropp & Falikmann, the jeweller Grieshaber, the shops “Dinah” and B. Holzstein, “Singer & Ro...” a “lingerie” and the insurance office “Phoenix de Viena”,* and in Austrian time “*H. Ehrlich Fotografische Anstalt*” and the shop “*Raciborska*”. The lawyer Max Turtel lived there. At that time was at Nr. 20 the *insurance office “Viktoria zu Berlin”,* in Nr. 12 *Schmidt & Fontin drugstore and painting store,* in Nr. 10 *Peritz Nadler’s fashion house* and *Feuerwerk & Gross textile shop* and in Nr. 8 *Berenhard Peret pictures, frames and carpets*. Nr 14 was called “*Schnirch’sches Haus*”. Here was *Albert Szkowron delicatessen and breakfast room* and for a period *Feuerwerk & Gross, textile and clothing store*. In 1936 there were the innkeepers Fabias Kram at Nr. 20 and Vladimir Visotchi at Nr. 13 and at Nr. 16 were the confectioners Ladislaus Gasperschi and Roman Hartinger – in 1914 it was the *Franziska Kucharczek patisserie*.

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<sup>10</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

**Judengasse / Strada Evreiasca** (vulycja Scholom – Alejchema) connects the old market place at Springbrunnengasse with Enzenberg Hauptstrasse at the *Heiligenkreuzkirche* – a landmark from the street. Well-preserved one- and two-storey buildings from the 19th century and some three-storey buildings from the early 20th century edge this rather steep street. In 1936 around 100 inhabitants were listed. Among them, *20 were merchants, 12 tailors, 7 bakers, 5 shoemakers, 3 shopkeepers* and *7 clerks*. Most names are Jewish, but there are also Romanian, Ukrainian and Polish names. The owners, listed at the nationalisation in 1940 were all Jewish. At Nr. 4 lived the tavern-keeper Leon Wolf – maybe here was a restaurant. On both sides of Judengasse there were irregular, narrow streets with small houses. Their German names were **Tischlergasse, Wechslergasse, Plankengasse, Kellergasse, Berggasse** and **Uhrmachergasse**. The property owners, expropriated in 1940 were all Jewish, except V. I. Danilevyč, who was Ukrainian.

**Hormuzakigasse / Strada Hormuzachi and Karolinengasse / Strada Avram Iancu** (together present vulycja Zankovec'ka) connected Enzenberg Hauptstrasse at the Paraskiva church with Universitäts-gasse at the Jewish *Tempel* from 1873-77. In the middle is Rudolphsplatz (former Mehlplatz) / Piața Dacia (ploșca Filarmoniî) with the philharmonic concert hall, *Musikverein*, from 1876-77. Elias Gulinsky<sup>11</sup> remembers that at a concert there in 1931 or 1932 some Ukrainian students whistled when the mandatory Romanian national anthem was sung at the end. The students were arrested and put to jail. This area was mostly inhabited by middle class persons, including merchants, academicians, artists and artisans. The ethnic composition was rather mixed, although the largest group seems to have been Jewish. At Hormuzakigasse / Strada Hormuzachi, north of Rudolphsplatz, 177 inhabitants were listed in 1936, among them *38 merchants, 9 shopkeepers, 8 lawyers, 8 doctors, 3 dentists or dental technician, 12 tailors, 18 students, 3 musicians, 5 engineers* and *17 clerks* – altogether 118 persons. At Nr. 15, at the corner with Enzenberg Hauptstrasse, a photo from the 1930s shows a hairdresser with the sign "*Coafori dame*", a sign "*Mendel Rum*" and, on the balcony, an advertisement for *dr. Iosef Sandberg*. At nr 13, there is a remaining wall text "*La Penir*". There was probably a bakery at nr 6 (the bakers Leisel and Moise Busel). At Nr. 5 lived rabbi Lewi Fränkel. At Nr. 2, a photo from 1907 shows a shop with the name Habermann & Zimmel. Another photo shows the shop "*Möbelgeschäft Adolf Rubel*". Next to the Paraskiva church was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century "*Hotel Moldavie*", where Franz Liszt had a performance in 1847.

At Karolinengasse / Strada Avram Iancu, three owners were listed in 1940: Mendel Geitner, rabbi Abram Friedman and Hersch Saner Rindel. Of 166 listed inhabitants in 1936, *39 were merchants, 5 shopkeepers, 27 clerks, 9 students, 17 lawyers, 5 doctors* and *2 dentists* – altogether 104 persons. There were also professors, a captain, a photograph – it was a higher middle-class than at Strada Hormuzachi. At the corner with Universitäts-gasse, vis-à-vis the Tempel, was an early modernist 6-storey building from the 1930s with a pharmacy. The mayor of Cernăuți in 1941, Traian Popovici, who saved the life of almost 20 000 Jews from being deported to Transnistria, lived according to the address book from 1936 in Nr. 7b, but at Nr. 8, there is a memory plaque of him. Maybe he moved there after 1936. Nr. 8 was also pray house for Sadagora Chassidim. At nr 9, at the corner with Rudolphsplatz, was the monumental *hotel Bristol* from 1900, then owned by Josef Landau and Mr. Meisner. It was very modern of its time with lift, bathroom and central heating. There were also "*Handels- und Gewerbebank*". The building had also apartments, and here lived Sidi Gross (then Sidonie Müller)<sup>12</sup> as a child. From her window, she could watch how the Tempel in the other end of Karolinengasse was set on fire by a German soldier on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941. She also saw Jewish men being taken along the street down to the Pruth river for execution. The German "Luftwaffe" then had its headquarter in the building. One of their officers, Klaus Geppert, managed to save Hedwig Brenner's husband Gottfried from being executed in July 1941. After the ghetto was delimited and closed, Sidi's family found shelter by friends at Hormuzakigasse north of Rudolphsplatz. The ghet-

<sup>11</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

<sup>12</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

to limit followed the north edge of the square. Sidi Gross remembers that next to Traian Popovici's home, which could be Nr. 5, 6 or 10 was a *cellar restaurant*. She thinks that the name was Schechter.

At **Rudolphsplatz / Piața Dacia**, (ploșca Filarmonii), 8 owners were mentioned in 1940, all of them Jewish. At the corner (Nr. 7) with Waaggasse was *hotel "National"* and at the corner (Nr. 5) with Stefaniegasse was *the shop "Simon Aspis & Sohn"*. Around the corner, a painted wall advertisement remains with pictures of cognac and liquor bottles and the text fragments "*Champagner*", "*Mare deposit*" and "*...turi spirtoa...*". In 1936, here lived the shop-keeper Meier Finkelstein and three merchants, Isac Geffber, Mechel Liquornik and Leon Zitron. Sidi Gross remembers a doctor Liquornik and a tavern at this address. Harry Likwornik's<sup>13</sup> aunt Erna Geisinger lived at Nr. 2, in the southwest corner of the square – a three-story house with a central balcony. Harry Likwornik remembers that the house was in the closed ghetto in 1941, but the square in front of it was outside. Harry's grandmother and maternal aunts and for a short period also Harry and his mother stayed there in ghetto time, but were only allowed to reach the building from the back side. Then the inhabitants of this part of the ghetto were deported to Transnistria, but shortly before that, Harry and his mother moved back to his aunt Rosa in another part of the ghetto. He never saw his grandmother again. In 1940, Nr. 2 and 2a was owned by Kusterer Gelerman and Anna Gartenfeld respectively. The inhabitants around the square had a mixed ethnic composition, but also here, the Jews were the largest group. There were the *grocers* Jacob Schacher (Nr. 2) and Nahman Weinberg (Nr. 1) and the *tavern keeper* Regina Frochtel (Nr. 6).

### The central "Upper City".

Ringplatz was the node of the whole city. From here lead the main commercial streets Herrengasse, Rathausstrasse and Liliengasse, the more local commercial street Russische Gasse and the less commercial Universitatsgasse towards the university. A large part of the population was Jewish, but the Romanian share increased much in interwar years.

**Ringplatz / Piața Unirei** (Central'na ploșca) had several noble buildings, such as the City Hall from 1848, the "*Bukowiner Landessparkasse*" building from 1900-01, the buildings of the *hotels "Schwarzer Adler", "Goldener Lowe", "Paris"*, the former hotels *Bellevue* and *Weiss hotels* and *Café Habsburg* and the *Pardini building*. Around the square were many important shops and popular restaurants. The square had a representative character with flowers, trees and a large monument. The "*Mariensule*" monument from 1827 was in Romanian time replaced by the "*Unirea*" monument. In 1936, 90 inhabitants were listed, many of them belonging to the upper middle class. There were *21 lawyers, 7 doctors, one director, one dentist, three university professors, four teachers or lecturers, two students, one fabricant, one military officer, two counsellors and three artists*, altogether half of the inhabitants. When Sidi Gross and her young husband were in the cattle wagon for deportation to Transnistria, they were suddenly let out by a guard, probably bribed by some friend. They received a "Popovici authorisation", permitting them to leave the ghetto and continue their work. Sidi then worked as a jeweller, at Ringplatz, maybe at (former) Grieshaber, Nr. 7 or Rosenheck, Nr. 1.

In the *City Hall building* (Nr. 1), earlier *Heinrich Sause's shop* and *Romuald Schally's bookstore* were in the 1930s replaced by *Hermann Rosenheck jewelry*. In the neighbour building (Nr. 13) earlier "*Hotel, Cafe, Restaurant & Varietee Bellevue*", "*Linoleum, Wachstuch & Gummiwaren, hygienische Schuhe*", "*Maison blanc*" and the fashion shop "*Damenkonfektion Katz & Sass*" and *Emil Gutherz shop* were in 1935 replaced by *Leo Goldstein's shop "Moda & Manufactura"*, "*Banca de Est*" and the shop "*Dermata*". There was also the *neon advertisement "Schmoll"*.

On the west side of the square (Nr. 2-5) was beside the bank building (Nr. 2) the former *Hotel Weiss building* (Nr. 3), used as *Romanian national house*. In Austrian time here were a *paper shop*, *S. Krein pharmacy*, "*Grand Restaurant & Delicatessen*", "*Chiner erste Pilsner Bierhalle*" (*Ignaz Chiner*) and "*Bukowiner Verein Bucherei*". There was also the signs "*Sparecasse*", "*Haltz*", "*Emil & Karl Pistorz*", "*Kino*" and, in Romanian time, "*Bere Jupiter*". In Nr. 4 was i

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<sup>13</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

Austrian time *"Kreisapotheke"*, *"Papierhandlung"*, *"Tapetenlager"*, *"Sparcasse"* and the shop *H. Katz*. In Romanian time there was *"Anglo-International Bank, Sucursala Central"*, *"Încaltaminte de lux"* and *"Tipografia"*. In Nr. 5 was beside *"Grand Hotel Schwarzer Adler"* in Austrian time *"Teitler & Sternberg"* and *"Schuhwaren à la ville de Paris"* and in Romanian time restaurant *"Pajura Neagra"*<sup>14</sup>, *"Lingerie"*, *"Quadrat"*, *"Farmacia"* and the shops *"Heinrich Seisler"* and *"Filt"*. At the roof there was the advertisement *"Philips radio"*. Hedwig Brenner remembers that SS had its *"Oberkommandantur"* in Hotel *"Schwarzer Adler"* in 1941.

At the northwest corner, address **Tempelgasse / Strada I. Duca** (Universytets'ka vulycja) Nr. 2 and **Postgasse / Strada Bucureștilor** (vulycja Chudjakova) Nr. 1, were *Hotel Goldener Löwe* and the shoe shop *"Delka"* in Austrian time, renamed *"Carmen"* in Romanian time. At the wall is a remained text: *"Regia Publica Comerciala. Interprinderile electromecanice ale Municipului Cernăuți, I. E. M. C., lucrarea prin str. Bucureștilor 1"*. At the north side of the square were two-storey low buildings, Nr. 6 and 7 between Postgasse and Enzenberg Hauptstrasse and Nr. 8 east of this street. They were demolished in the war. In Nr. 6 was *Leon König bookstore and photo atelier, Bernhard Grünberg's exchange office and a shop called "Palma"*. Nr. 7 is described above – Enzenberg Hauptstrasse 1. In Nr. 8 was *"Café & Hotel de Paris"* and in Austrian time *"Bercio Wender Weisswaren, Linoleum"*, *"Tuchwaren"*, *"Moritz Schmerz"* and *Sigmund Jäger bookstore*. In Romanian time here was *"MOTT Royal"*, the hairdresser *"High-Life"*, *"Tebriz"* and *"Manufactura Moda"*. At Postgasse was *Hotel "Gottlieb"*, the main *Post office* and the former *"Börse des Kronlandes Bukowina"*. Margit Bartfeld-Feller<sup>15</sup> remembers the *"Café Leopoldstadt"* at Tempelgasse 6, with garden service. The owner, Leon Leopoldstadt, lived at Herrengasse 1.

At the eastern side (Nr. 9 – 12) were at Nr. 9 in Austrian time *"Leon Gabe & Mendel Uhren"*, the shop *"Mendel Sperber"*, also *"Koppel Sperber"* (that is the name of one of the inhabitants at Synagogengasse) and *Hotel "Panorama"*. In Romanian time, here were the shops *"Susanne"*, *"Mobile..."*, *"Filipp Medilanski"* and *"Birou Tehnic Mecano"* as well as *"Banca Româna de Cernăuți"* and *"Marea Colectura Banca de Comerț"*. In this house lived the lawyers Norbert Glattstein and I. Mihai Regwald, the doctor Carl Schwarz and the counsellor Ioan Bohosiewicz. In the *"Pardini" building*, Nr. 10, was in Austrian time *Stefan Gaina, delikatessen shop*. In Romanian time there were the shop signs *"Farmacie"*, *"Medicamente"*, *"Palarii de Da..."*, *"Heinrich Pardini"*, *"M. Tirst"*, *"Salamander"*, *Moritz Hermann"*, *"Artur Sonderling"*, *"Adel (...) or"* and the *grocery "Blanarie H. Porper"*. In this building lived the doctors Ioan Blidner and Alfred Seidner, the veterinarian Leo Seidner, the lawyers Berthold Falikmann, Hermann Presser, Max Reichman, Sinay Sternberg and Kore Weintraub, the director Horace Legg and the teachers Maier Körner and Eugenia Popescu. Nr. 11 had in Austrian time *"Karlsbader Schuhwaren"* and in Romanian time the shop *"H. Blandnich"*. Here lived the dentists Noah and Norbert Goldstein, the lawyer Erich Neuberger and the fabricant Saul Bacal. At Nr. 12 was in Austrian time several shops: *Heilman Kohn & Söhne fashion house, Abraham Katz paper shop, "Bücherei Central" (Sigmund Jäger), "Charcuterie Central"*, the shops *"J. Traub Tailleur"*, *Brüder Takabar"* and *"Victoria"*, In Romanian time here was *"Banca Comerciala Naționala"* and the shops *"W. Golden..."* and *"...intscher"*.

**Herrengasse / Strada Iancu Flondor** (vulycja Olha Kobyljans'koï) was the main *"corso"* of the city. People strolled here after work and on weekends and holidays. Youths walked here as well as older citizens, to meet others and to be seen. Street photographers took photos of the strolling people, and many of these photos still remain. Also in war years there were *street photographers*. It was a rather upper class street. The address book of 1936 mentions more than 600 inhabitants along this street. Among them were 69 lawyers, 25 doctors, 6 university professors, 36 school and lyceum teachers, 6 councillors, 2 bank directors, 5 other directors, 3 architects, 8 engineers, 5 artists, 1 pharmacist, 1 colonel, 1 captain, 8 dentists, 1 veterinarian, 2 industrialists, 1 policeman, 1 licentiate, 1 mayor, 5 large property owners, 29 students, 2 musi-

<sup>14</sup> Romanian translation of *"Schwarzer Adler"*.

<sup>15</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

*cians, 11 shopkeepers and 3 military officers* – altogether 232 persons. At the Soviet expropriation in 1940 29 owners were registered as Jews, 7 as Romanians, two as Ukrainians, one as Pole and one without ethnic definition. 6 properties were owned by organisations.

Hedwig Brenner lived as a child, until 1931 at Nr. 10a. She remembers *dr. Kafarlik*, the *jeweller Weiss*, the *men's fashion store Leon Blum*, the *carpet store Leon Wittner* and *Grün's fruit and candy store* in the same property. A photo shows the *D. Grün store* with the texts "*Bombonberie*", "*ciocolata, bomboane, fructe*" and "*orient*". There is also the name "*Zamfireasca*". Vis-à-vis was *Café de l'Europe*, owned by the Stern family. Their daughter Tina, married Prichte, was friend with Hedwig's mother and they could speak to each other across the street. Hedwig Brenner also remembers the gate from Nr. 8 to Rathausstrasse, with a *candy shop* and *Kinsbrunner's hat store*. At Nr. 6 was *Julius Meinel coffee shop*, and according to a photo, also *Leon Schatzberg shop*, probably selling *stockings*, and *Gabe shop, selling wine*. In the next houses, Hedwig Brenner remembers *Fang feather store* and *Ungar paper shop* (in 1914, *Siegmund Kiesler paper shop* was in Nr. 2). She also remembers the "Greislerei" (small diversity store) *Daniil Pamula* in Nr. 12, owned by an Ukrainian, "*Bukowiner Landesbank*" in Nr. 14 and the drugstore "*Sanitas*" and the Reich ladies' hat store at Nr. 16. On a photo the *hat store* has the text "*Zur Französin*". Another photo shows the "*Hermes*" lottery and the "*Lucullus*" restaurant<sup>16</sup> in Nr. 12 and "*Banca Regionala*" and a *cinema* in Nr. 14. On the other side of the street, Hedwig Brenner remembers the bookstore and private library "*Aurora*" at Nr. 25, the *Anna Podsidek charcuterie* at Nr. 7, the *pastry shop "Repiano"* at Nr. 3, the *bakery Bruckenthal* next-door and the *Wagon-Lits travel agency* in the former *Café Habsburg* at Nr. 1. This building was erected in 1898, when the café was owned by *M. Apisdorf*. In Nr. 3 lived the lawyer *Benno Straucher*, leader of the Jewish "*Kultusgemeinde*". Next to Nr. 3, around the corner to **Dr. Rott-Gasse / Strada Alexandru cel Bun** (vul. O. Dobroho), a photo shows the *shoe store "Cizmaria Viena"*, and two houses further down another photo shows "*Cafenea 'Renaissance'*". The most intensive commercial section of the street was between Ringplatz and the Greek-Orthodox Cathedral, up to Nr. 29 – 30. Photos from Austrian time show *Hermann Schacher gramophone store* at Nr. 8, "*Urquell Pilsner Bierhalle*" at Nr. 9, *Max Falikmann carpet store* at Nr. 10, "*Hamburg-Amerika-Linie*" at Nr. 16, *Franz Xaver Kühnel upholsterer* at Nr. 25 and at Nr. 22 *Rosenstern shop*, a *jewellery* and a "*Nafta*" store. In Nr. 9 lived in 1936 6 lawyers and 2 doctors.

The south part of the street, from Nr. 31 to Nr. 51, was more characterised by local shops, apartments and cultural institutions. In the *German house of culture* from 1910, at Nr. 47, was the "*Restaurant & Weinkeller Stübam*" and a large assembly room with a stage. In the *Polish house of culture* from 1902, at Nr. 40 was, beside assembly rooms, a *patisserie* and the *cinema "Modern"*. At Nr. 39, the "*Cofetaria Viena*" opened in 1934, in the former rooms of *photographer Kleinberger*. *Sidi Gross* and *Margit Bartfeld-Feller* both remember this café. At Nr. 48, the "*wet corner*" with **Neuweltgasse / Strada Mărășești** (vulycja Ševčenka), was the *restaurant Reiner*. Hedwig Langhaus married *Gottfried Brenner* in 1939 and they moved to Ploești, where *Gottfried* had found a job as engineer. Hedwig also found a job there. In June 1940 they heard that the Soviet Union soon might occupy *Czernowitz / Cernăuți*, and went there by train to take their mothers to Ploești before the Soviet troops arrived. But, unfortunately the Soviet troops arrived at the same time, and established and closed a new frontier south of the city. Hedwig and *Gottfried* had to stay and moved into *Gottfried's mother's flat* at **Maria Theresiengasse / Strada Miron Costin** (Vulycja Čeljuskindiv) Nr. 11a. This was a side street to *Herrengasse*. In next building, Nr. 9, Hedwig Brenner remembers the consul *Edmund Luttinger* and the *Süssmann family*. Shortly after the German troops arrived in July 1941, all Jewish men at the street men were taken to the Jewish palace of culture. From there, most of them were taken down to the Pruth river for execution. Luckily enough, Hedwig met in the street the German air force officer *Klaus Geppert* (cf. above), who turned out to know *Gottfried* from the *Politechnic University* in Prague, and he managed to save *Gottfried* from execution. In October they had to go to the ghetto, but later they received *Popovici "authorisations"* giving them right to leave the ghetto and have a work.

**Rathausstrasse / Strada Regina Maria**, a steep street, had 515 listed inhabitants in 1936, among them *1 architect, 17 artists, 42 lawyers, 18 doctors, 1 university professor, 2 pharmacists, 2 engineers, 15 school teachers, 1 captain, 2 dentists, 1 lieutenant, 2 musicians, 1 bank director, 3 other directors, 1 councillor, 15 shopkeepers, 1 notarius publicus, 1 café owner, 2 rab-*

<sup>16</sup> Manted in a Romanian guidebook from 1932.



*bis*, 1 editor, 1 office chief, 1 restorer and 28 students. 13 properties were nationalised in 1940. 10 of them were owned by Jews, 2 by Jewish organisations and 1 by an ethnic Romanian.

In Austrian time there were at Nr. 4 the *Jozef & Müller photo store* in the “twin building”, owned by the family Kohn, at Nr. 6 the *Jewish society building* with *Hotel “Central”*, at Nr. 14 the “*Mathildenhof*” building with the *Leon Fuchs shop*, the *Eduard Gold flower shop* and the travel agency “*Globus*”, owned by *M. Feuerstern*. In Nr. 16 was a pharmacy in Nr. 18 “*Palace Hotel*”. Photos from the Romanian time show at Nr. 16 another *pharmacy* and the *hat shop “La Avion”* and in the basement of *Palace Hotel* the *shops H. Fischmann* and “*Hala de vin*”. Earlier, this shop was at Nr. 20, where there was also the *shop K. Wassermann*. Nr. 27 is a three-storey school building. It had in Romanian time the shop text “*Papetarie*” – stationer’s shop. Its neighbour house, with the address *Siebenbürger Strasse / Strada Ștefan cel Mare Nr. 1* had in Austrian time the shop signs “*A. Horodyski*” and “*Osius Bret(tschneider)*”. At this street intersection was the “*Kriegerdenkmal*” from 1902, kept in Romanian time, with texts in German, Romanian and Ukrainian. Behind it, at Nr. 22, was a 5-storey building with the association “*Societatea Contanintala pentru Comerțul Fierului*”. Nr. 9 was called “*Kislingerhof*”. The *bakers Vladislav Miron* and *Iano Petro* in Nr. 22 and the *grocers Andrei Kirschner*, *Iuda Launer* and *Moses Löbel* in Nr. 23 might have had shops connected with their apartments.

Parallel with *Rathausstrasse* was **Liliengasse / Strada Constantin Brâncoveanu** (vulycja Ivana Franka). South of the City Hall, the properties connected *Rathausstrasse* and *Liliengasse* with passages at Nr. 4, Nr. 14 and Nr. 12, “*Dorahof*”. At entrances to Nr. 4 signs as “*Stiege III / Scara III-a*” can still be found. *Margit Bartfeld-Feller* recalls that her grandmother lived at *Liliengasse 15*, the same property as *Rathausstrasse Nr. 16*. Her younger relative, a small girl, told her that they could pass through the cellars all the way from Nr. 15 to the City Hall.

### The district around the City Theatre

In the decades around 1900 a new city district with a regular street system developed west of *Ringplatz*. Its central square was the **Elisabethplatz / Piața Alexandri** (Teatral’na plošča) between the *City Theatre* (from 1905, designed by *Fellner & Helmer*) and the *Old Gymnasium* from the first half of the 19th century, where *Karl-Emil Franzos* and *Mihail Eminescu* have both studied. *Margit Bartfeld-Feller’s* brother *Otti* studied there. It was then called “*Nr. 1*” or “*Liceul Aron Pumnul*”. In 1922, the *Schiller monument* in front of the theatre was replaced by a *Eminescu monument*. (This was in Soviet time replaced by the *Ol’ha Kobyljans’ka monument*.) On the north side was the *Jewish palace of culture* from 1907-08 (designed by *T. Lewandowski*) and on the south side “*Handels- und Gewerbekammer*” from 1908, then also containing “*Kaiser-Café*”, owned by *Gründlinger & Mannheimer*. It was a popular meeting place for journalists, artists and writers with 160 newspapers from both *Austria-Hungary* and from other countries. The square was completed in 1937 with the new, modernist *Romanian palace of culture* (designed by *M. Creangă*), next to the *Jewish palace*. It had the sign “*Casa Național de Economie Cecuri. C. E. C.*”. *Margit Barfeld-Feller* remembers the time before it was constructed. There was an open area, sometimes used for fishmarket and in winter for skating. *Margit Bartfeld-Feller* remembers that the relations between the ethnic groups was generally good, especially between the children. But around 1935-36, anti-Semitism increased, lead by the *Cuzists*. They could come and beat Jews in the street. Then the Jews warned each other “*Cuza! Cuza!*” and searched for hiding places. At the corner with **Goethegasse / Strada Goethe** (vulycja Goethe) remains a wall text, probably from Austrian time: “*Milchmeierei-Milch-Kaffee-Tee. Täglich frisches Gebak*”. (The Text is “*Gebak*”, not the correct “*Gebäck*”.) At Nr. 3 lived the *Bartfeld family*. This was a rather short street with upper middle class apartment buildings. At the parallell street, **Heinegasse / Strada Lascar Luția** (vulycja Steinbarga) Nr. 2 lived the Jewish writer *Eliezer Steinbarg*. Vis-à-vis was the old *Jewish school “Safa-Ort”*. *Elias Gulinsky* also studied here, although ethnic German. He went by foot all the way from *Sadagora* each day.

West of *Elisabethplatz* was **Schillergasse / Strada Schiller** (vulycja Schillera) with the editorial board of “*Czernowitzer Tageblatt*” and, at the corner with **Althgasse / Strada Cuza**

**Voda** (vulycja Lesi Ukraïny) was the "*Akademiepalast*" from 1920, a very modern building for its time. It was also called "*La Scala*" and "*Kulturhaus Morgenroït*" and was used by the Jewish Theatre. Margit Bartfeld-Feller remembers many cultural events there, as well as *cinema* performances. Around the corner, at Althgasse, was the private *Hoffmann school*. Margit Bartfeld-Brenner as well as Anita Derman Mark attended this school for some years. On the other side of the street was the "*menza*", where the pupils had lunch. Margit's maternal grandmother cooked there. Among her school friends were Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger and Renée Abramovici-Micaeli. Selma wrote beautiful poems already at school. In 1942, Selma and René were deported to Transnistria, where Selma died of typhus in the Mihailovska camp, aged 18. She wrote poems also in the camp, and they were rescued by René, who survived. The poems were published in 1980, recognized to be of very high quality. Some of them have been set music to. After René died, Margit received the original poetry album. Margit's father had a depot for textiles at Postgasse. The Soviet occupants regarded him as a capitalist, and the whole family was deported and kicked out in the swamps western Siberia in June 1941, shortly before the German troops arrived. Thousands of Czernowitzers, among them also Paul Wechselblatt<sup>17</sup>, were deported that day. Half of them perished during the first winter. Margit's father died of hard and unhealthy forced work. Margit could not leave Siberia until the breakdown of the Soviet Union. Her brother chose to stay in Siberia.

Not far from Althgasse was the beautiful **Schiller park**, on the slopes town to the small Klokuczka / Clocucica river. Margit often played there, as did Harry Likwornik. He was born in 1934 at the adjacent **Teichgasse / Strada Iazului** (Charkivs'ka vulycja), the house closest to Schillerpark. It was from 1924, like a villa with several small apartments. The owner in 1936 was Abraham Fuhrmann. Harry's and his maternal grandparents, Itzik and Risel Schneider Katz, lived at **Winzergasse / Strada Costache Negruzzi** (vulycja Pyrohova) Nr. 4 nearby. Itzik died in 1937. Their neighbours at Nr. 6 was the Hermann Gottesman family. In 1937 Harry's family moved to Lehmgasse, at the other side of the park. These three streets had villas and some smaller apartment houses. On October 11<sup>th</sup> 1941, the ghetto was delimited, and all Jews had to be there before 18:00. Harry's aunt Rosa lived near **Russiche Gasse** within the ghetto limit, and they found shelter there. They Christian neighbours took care of the Pesach tableware of the Katz family. They went there and back several times carrying things they might need, e. g. his mother's sewing machine. But some weeks later they were driven to death marches, starvation and illnesses in Transnistria. They marched for many weeks in rainy weather and beginning snow with hardly anything to eat. Old and sick people were shot or left to die. When seven-year old Harry was exhausted, his father carried him. Finally they were allowed to stay in a ruin in an empty, war-damaged village. His father perished but the others survived 2,5 years banishment in Transnistria. When Harry, his mother and brother finally returned to the city in summer 1944, all their possessions were gone. But in the woodshed at his grandmother's house they found an old laundry basket, and in its bottom their family photo album was hidden. Thus they saved family photos from the pre-war years.

### The northwest central district

West of Enzenberg Hauptstrasse and northwest of Rudolphsplatz was a large city district with Dreifaltigkeitgasse / Strada Sfânta Treimi (vulycja Bohdana Chmel'nyč'koho), Universitätsgasse / Strada Universitații (Universytets'ka vulycja) and the *Metropolitan residence*. Hedwig Brenner remembers that the park of the Metropolitan residence was closed, but once their school class was invited to see it. From the Tempel, Universitätsgasse lead lead to the university buildings, and from here, Residenzgasse / Strada Mitropolitul Silvestri (part of Universytets'ka vulycja) continued to the Metropolitan residence. New *university buildings* were erected in the 1930s, close to the old ones. Close to the residence was Chereskulgasse with the *Töchter school*, which Hedwig Brenner's mother attended in Austrian time. Hedwig Brenner heard from her mother and also grandmother about "Göbelshöhe". It was a popular garden café with dancing on the slopes from Franzosgasse / Strada Petru Liciu (vulycja Ivana Bohuna) – the continuation of **Chereskulgasse / Strada Episc. Herescu** (vulycja Ščepkina) – down to the railway station. Here was also Göbel's brewery. Herdwig Brenner remembers the "*Pension City*" at the corner between Residenzgasse and Verbindungsgasse / Strada Xenopol (vulycja Akademička Vavylova). From 1931 they lived not far from there, at the corner between **Albertinengasse / Strada Dimitrie Onciul** (vulycja Vasilja Simovyča) 16 and Dreifaltigkeitgasse 43. Marianne Hirsch's mother Lotte also lived here. After Hedwig Brenner married in 1939, her mother Friedrike Langhaus remained at Albertinengasse. When the Soviet troops arrived in 1940, her friend and neighbour, the clergyman widow Elena Popescu was afraid of being deported. She left the city and Friedrike took care of her most important belongings. After the Soviet troops left in 1941, Elena Popescu came back. Friedrike had to move to the closed ghetto, and found shelter in Stefaniegasse, but

<sup>17</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

later she was to be deported to Transnistria. When she was in the line for deportation, suddenly she saw Elena Popescu discussing with the Romanian military officers and colonel Marinescu. Then Friedrike was freed from deportation. Elena Popescu had said to the officers: "Mrs. Langhaus helped me against the Soviet soldiers. If you take her to Transnistria, I will go with her!"

**Dreifaltigkeitsgasse / Strada Sfânta Treimi** was a long street with a mixed population. In 1940 17 expropriated houses are listed, 5 of them owned by organisations. 7 owners were registered as Jewish, one as German and four persons without ethnic description. In 1936, 644 inhabitants were listed at the street. Among them 30 % were office employees or had academic or liberal professions, 26 % were merchants, shopkeepers or grocers and 25 % were artisans and craftsmen of different kinds. Most shops had probably local customers. At the corner with Strada P. Cerna (part of vulycja Vasilja Simovyča, not existing in Austrian time) was the *synagogue of the Boian rabbi*, who lived in the next house. When Rose Ausländer returned to Czernowitz / Cernăuți in the 1930s, she moved into Dreifaltigkeitsgasse / Strada Sfânta Treimi Nr. 20. In war-time this was within the ghetto, and Rose Ausländer could stay. Here she met Paul Celan and other young poets, enclosed in the ghetto. Margit Bartfeld-Feller recalls that her school friend Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger first lived at Rapfgasse 4 or 6, close to the Metropolitan residence and later at Bilaer Gasse / Strada Bilei (vulycja Černyševs'koho) 38 north of the "Habsburgshöhe". At this address there is today a memory plaque.

### The east central district

East of Enzenberg Hauptstrasse and northeast of Ringplatz was another large city district, around Russische Gasse / Strada Română (Rus'ka vulycja) and smaller streets. **Russische Gasse / Strada Română** was a long street, descending from the higher situated Ringplatz to the railway crossing in the east, also towards the *Jewish cemetery*. The west part was mostly edged by two-storey 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings, many of them appearing as small palaces. The east part had generally smaller buildings, some of them with gardens behind. In the central part of the street was **Sankt-Peter-Platz** with the *Greek Catholic Peter Paul church*. Further eastwards, the *Romanian Sfântul Nicolae church* in Brâncoveanu style was inaugurated in 1938. At the lower part of the street, at Nr. 59, was the *Bejt-Israel Axelrod synagogue*. Not far from the Peter-Paul church was a small *Jewish theatre*, at Nr. 22. Hedwig Brenner and Margit Bartfeld-Feller both remember the *Friedmanns milk bar*, where they had nice sandwiches and ice cream. It was at the corner with Bürgermeister Dr. Reiss-Gasse / Strada Mircea Voda (Ukrains'ka vulicja). In 1936 were four innkeepers registered: Selig Kriworuk, Nr. 24, Aron Nussenbaum Nr. 118, Hudi Teitler, Nr. 79, Mendel Katz in Nr. 9 and Frieda Katz, Nr. 65a. Probably they had restaurants or taverns at the same addresses. Photos from the last Austrian years show *Eduard Grüll flower shop* at Nr. 10, a *shoe store* and "*Nafta, Kaiseröl*" at Nr. 16 and *Jacob Elsässer coffin store* at Nr. 13. A photo from Romanian time shows "*Atelier Brüll*" *lighting store*, at Nr. 6.

At the Soviet expropriation in 1940, 57 owners were mentioned, among them 39 Jewish, 5 German, 4 Ukrainian, 3 Polish and 5 without ethnic specification. One property was owned by an organisation. In 1936, 970 inhabitants were registered along this very long street. Among these were 311 academicians, liberal professions and office employees, 172 merchants, shopkeepers or grocers, altogether 172 persons. And 292 artisans, craftsmen and people engaged in service jobs.

Parallel streets to Russische Gasse in the north were Landhausgasse / Strada general Mircescu (vulycja Andreja Šepyc'koho) and Schulgasse / Strada General Prezan (Škil'na vulycja). In **Landhausgasse / Strada General Mircescu** was the first Bukovinian government building, "*Landhausgebäude*", from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. At Nr. 23, Anita Derman's father Leon was co-owner of a textile shop. Its name in 1914 was *Goldschmidt, Fenster, Derman & Carp*. Anita was often there. She went to the private *Comenius school* at the same street, Nr. 24, during four years, and she continued at the Nôtre Dame de Sion lyceum in Iași. It was at a Roman Catholic nun monastery, but once a week they learnt Hebrew by a Jewish teacher. At holidays, she came home to Cernăuți. Margit Bartfeld-Feller also attended the Co-

menius school. At the corner with Türkengasse / Strada Turceasca (Turec'ka vulycja) was the *Girl's school "Liceul de fete Nr. 2"*, where Hedwig Brenner and Sidi Gross studied. It was also called "Balan" school. They had gymnastic lessons in the still existing "Turnhalle" at Josefs-gasse / Strada Bogdan Voda (Ukrains'ka vulycja), 10 minutes walk. Both Margit and Hedwig remember that it was forbidden to speak other languages than Romanian at school or even in the streets and shops. But at home they always spoke German. At **Türkengasse / Strada Turceasca** was the Jewish culture house "*Jüdische Toynbeehalle*" remembered by Both Margit and Hedwig. There were theatre and music performances and Margit also remembers having school performances there. The street went steep downhill and was crossed by the Schulgasse bridge. They liked to stand on the bridge and look at the street below and down to *Türkenbrunnen*. There, the ritual *Jewish Mikwa bath house*, Margit's grandfather Meier Bartfeld had a *small buffet*, where they served tea, lemon drinks and cakes. At the next side street to Landhausgasse, **Färbengasse / Strada Urban Iarnic** (Sučavs'ka vulycja), were apartment houses as well as villas, and another bath house, "*Römerbad*". In October 1941, it was within the ghetto limits. Hedwig and Gottfried Brenner found shelter at Nr. 4, where their friend, engineer Marüber, lived. (The address book from 1936 mentions the student Heinrich Marüber at this address.) They lived almost 50 persons in two rooms with kitchen and bathroom. The young Brenner couple after some time received "Popovci authorisations" and could leave the ghetto. At **Schulgasse / Strada General Prezan** (Škil'na vulycja) was a school attended by Paul Wechselblatt. At the bridge over Türkengasse, an advanced modernist building was erected in the 1930s: "*Casa asigurarilor sociale Cernăuți*." At the nearby **Sankt Nikolaus-Gasse / Strada Sfântul Nicolae** (vul. Sadovs'koho) the *Mordko & Taubi Korn* synagogue is preserved. Iosif Bursuk's family went to a synagogue in the area. It could be this.

Near the lower part of Ruska vulycja, in the corner **Metzgergasse - Armeniergasse / Strada Mihail Cogalniceanu - Strada Elena Popovici-Logotheli** (Vulycja Majakovs'koho - Virmens'ka vulycja) lived Harry Likwornik's uncle David and aunt Rosa Rennert. Here they found shelter in the closed ghetto, before they were deported. Not far from there, at **Worobkiewiczgasse / Strada Isidor Vorobchievici** (vulycja Vorovs'koho) 8, the Derman family lived from 1935, in a house with a small garden. When the risk of war increased, Leon Derman stored flour, potatoes and other food in the cellar. When the Soviet troops approached in June, Anita was asked to come home from Iași, so as to have the family gathered. Shortly after the Soviet troops arrived, they confiscated Leon Derman's shop and put him in the jail at Austriaplatz / Piața Ghica Voda (Soborna plošča) as a "capitalist". Anita never saw him again. After 8 months in prison he was deported to Siberia. He survived, but when he returned to his hometown in 1947, no friends or relatives were left. Then Anita was already in Palestine. Leon was allowed to go to Romania and died in Botoșani in 1967. He was not allowed to go to Israel, and Anita had no possibilities to visit Romania. When Leon was arrested they could remain in their house, and preserved the food storage in the cellar. After the German and fascist Romanian troops had arrived in 1941, the house was within the closed ghetto. They could remain and thanks to the food in the cellar, they could bake bread in the oven at the Romanian neighbour family Isopenco, who could stay in their house. But in 1942, the family was deported to work camps in Transnistria. Anita's mother and brother were shot by German soldiers, but Anita and her sister Cilly, and miraculously also Cilly's baby, managed to survive two years in banishment. The famous Ukrainian writer Olha Kobyljans'ka. Who died in 1942, lived at **Pechnergasse / Strada Odobescu** (vulycja Dimiytrova) Nr. 5 (now museum) not far from Worobkiewiczgasse, but outside the ghetto. In the neighbourhood, at **Brauhausgasse / Strada Răsboieni** (vulycja Luk'jana Kobylyci), also outside the ghetto, is the preserved *Bejt-Tfila Benjamin* synagogue.

### The suburbs.

The suburbs were mostly beautifully situated on the hills. Margit Bartfeld Feller remembers the German population at the **Rosch / Roșu hills**. They sold grapes and other fruits at the markets. It was popular to make excursions to the Cecina hill and down to the Pruth river. They also made excursions during the first Soviet occupation. A nice photo shows Margit and her school friends at Cecina in April 1941. Two months later, Margit was deported to Siberia, and after the Romanians had come back with German assistance, several of the others were deported to Transnistria. In the southern suburb, Margit Bartfeld Feller remembers the park "*Volksgarten*" with the Jewish sport ground Maccabi and the elegant villas nearby at (Erzherzog) Karl-gasse. Erich Lehner<sup>18</sup> lived in the rather new street Strada Zimbrului. His father was an architect and he designed their modernist villa. This district had a rapid growth. It was connected with the new opened airport.

**Erzherzog Karl-gasse / Strada Aviator Gagea** (vulycja Frunze) was one of the elegant villa streets. Another was the parallel **Gartengasse / Strada Regele Carol** (vulycja

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<sup>18</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

Fed'kovyča), along Volksgarten / Gradina Publică. At this street, 12 expropriated owners were mentioned in 1940, 6 of them Germans, 5 Jewish and 1 Romanian.

In **Roscher Hauptstraße / Strada Radu cel Mare** (west part of vulycja Bohdana Chmel'nyc'koho), 16 expropriated house owners were mentioned in 1940. 15 of them were Jewish and one of them German. 4 were merchants, and the others belonged to the upper middle class. The expropriation list from 1940 mentions 12 owners at Gartengasse / Strada Regele Carol. 5 of them Jewish, 5 German and 2 Romanian. These were urban, better-off Germans, unlike the rural inhabitants further to the west. In 1936, 601 inhabitants were registered along this road. The share of academicians, office employees and policemen and military officers was relatively high, and the share of artisans and craftsmen relatively low. Among the registered persons were *22 lawyers, 17 doctors, 4 dentists, 2 pharmacists, 5 midwives, 6 directors, 6 fabricants and industrialists, 1 architect, 2 modists, 3 musicians, 1 editor, 6 engineers, 25 military officers, 2 policemen, 21 teachers, 37 students, 91 clerks, 76 merchants, 20 shopkeepers, 34 tailors, 8 shoemakers, 3 carpenters and 8 bricklayers.*

In the south eastern villa streets **Mustatzgasse / Strada Șerban Voda** (vulycja Rudans'koho), **Feldgasse / Strada Munteniei** (vulycja Karmeljuka) and **Grätzgasse / Strada Vasile Lucaciu** (vulycja Zaliznjaka) were totally 7 owners expropriated in 1940. In this case, 5 were Romanian and 2 German – no one Jewish. **Schmiedgasse / Strada Zimbrului** (vulycja Hrebinky) is not mentioned in the documents from 1940.

In these four streets were in 1936 totally 500 inhabitants registered. Among these were *2 doctors, 7 lawyers, 4 university professors, 3 architects, 38 teachers and 21 students*, altogether 75 persons. *25 were policemen (9) military officers (13) or firemen (3) and 102 were clerks.* 30 were merchants. Among artisans and craftsmen were *19 tailors, 20 shoemakers, 21 carpenters*, and *16 bricklayers*, altogether 76 persons. In the short Grätzgasse with 34 inhabitants, 4 of them were *butchers*.

In the east suburban area there were some streets, where most of the expropriated owners were Romanian officers or policemen. At **Strada Veniamin Costache**, not existing in Austrian time (vulycja Kišiniv's'ka), **Strada Budai Deleanu**, not existing in Austrian time, **Riedfeldgasse / Strada Țarinei** (vulycja Mirhorods'ka), **Schilfgasse / Strada Stufăriei** (vulycja Erevans'ka), **Horeczaergasse / Strada Horecei** (vulycja Slovjan's'ka) and **Neuegasse / Strada Nouă** (Vulycja Žasmynna) were altogether 15 owners expropriated, of which 9 were listed as Romanians, one as Polish, one as Ukrainian and one as German. 3 had no described ethnicity, but the names give the hint that there could be one German and two Ukrainians.

In these 6 streets were in 1936 totally 161 inhabitants registered. There were *8 teachers and 8 students; 3 military officers, 2 policemen and 8 firemen; 3 merchants; 25 clerks;* and among artisans and craftsmen, *7 tailors, 2 carpenters, 16 bricklayers and 8 shoemakers.* These professional groups made totally 90 persons, or 56 % of the registered inhabitants. In Strada Veniamin Costache with 46 registered inhabitants, 6 of them were firemen and 4 bricklayers. In Riedfeldgasse, of 19 inhabitants 5 were bricklayers and in Neiegasse, of 58 inhabitants 7 were bricklayers and 5 shoemakers. In Horeczaergasse only restaurant Efroim Eisig Rozner was registered.

It is evident that the population composition was different in the suburbs than in the central part of the city. Generally, the names of inhabitants along the suburban streets give the impression of an ethnically mixed population, with Romanians, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans and Poles.

### **Jewish Czernowitz / Cernăuți**

In interwar years the emancipated Jews were still a leading group in the city, although Romanians gradually achieved better positions. In the "Lower city" the majority of the shops, smaller enterprises and dwelling houses had Jewish owners. The great majority of the property

owners, listed as expropriated by the Soviet power in 1940, was Jewish. Also in the upper and better-off districts, Jewish owners were dominating at the Soviet expropriation. The address books from 1914 and 1930 do not state the ethnicity, but according to the names, the largest population group was Jewish. In some new villa districts there was a larger Romanian share. Photos also give the hint that most of the shops in the "Upper city" had Jewish owners. It is evident that most of the Jewish built heritage in Černivci remained after World War II, but in some cases as ruins. The Old Synagogue and most of the small synagogues remained, the Temple was blown out but its walls remained. After the war, most of these buildings were used for other purposes, but possible to restore. The Temple was changed into a cinema.

### **World War II destruction.**

The damages during World War II were rather limited. The worst destruction was in the urban blocks north of the central square, on both sides of Postgasse / Strada Bucureștilor. There was also some destruction around Alter Markt, Springbrunnenplatz and the railway station. Beside that, most of the interwar town remained pretty well.

## **L'viv – Lwów - Lemberg**

L'viv - Lwów - was a rather vital city within the new established Polish republic, with a population growth 1921 – 1931 from 219.000 to 312.000. That year, around 50 % were Poles (mostly Roman catholic), 32 % Jews, 16 % Ukrainians (mostly Greek Catholic), and 2 % other nationalities, such as Armenians and Germans. In 1939 there were 345 000 inhabitants including 160 000 Poles (46 %) and 110 000 Jews (32 %). Ukrainian nationalism gradually radicalised with elements of violence<sup>19</sup>. Also anti-Semitism increased. In autumn 1939, many Jews fled from German occupied areas to Lwów, and it is estimated that the number of Jews in the city 130 000 – 150 000 when the German troops arrived in 1941.

Better-off districts were located to the southwest, south and the east, and worker and low middle class districts mainly to the west, northwest and north. Many Jews inhabited the northwest district. The address book from 1929 show that at streets like Szpitalna, Słoneczna, Kazimierzowska and Zamarstynowska there was a large number of small Jewish enterprises – shops, tailors, carpenters, masons, restaurants and pubs. Upper and middle class citizens, mostly Poles and emancipated Jews, inhabited the streets west and southwest of the old town, like Jagiełłońska, Akademicka and Leona Sapiehy. After the exhibition "*Living and City*" in 1926, modernist architecture had its breakthrough. The city has many excellent examples of interwar modernism<sup>20</sup>.

Lwów was an important centre of education and culture, with the *Jan Kazimierz university*, the technical university "*Lwowska Politechnika*", the city theatre and opera and a rich literary life. The address book of 1929 mentions 47 publishing houses, editorial boards of 12 newspapers ("*gazety*") and as many as 153 periodical reviews ("*czasopisma*").

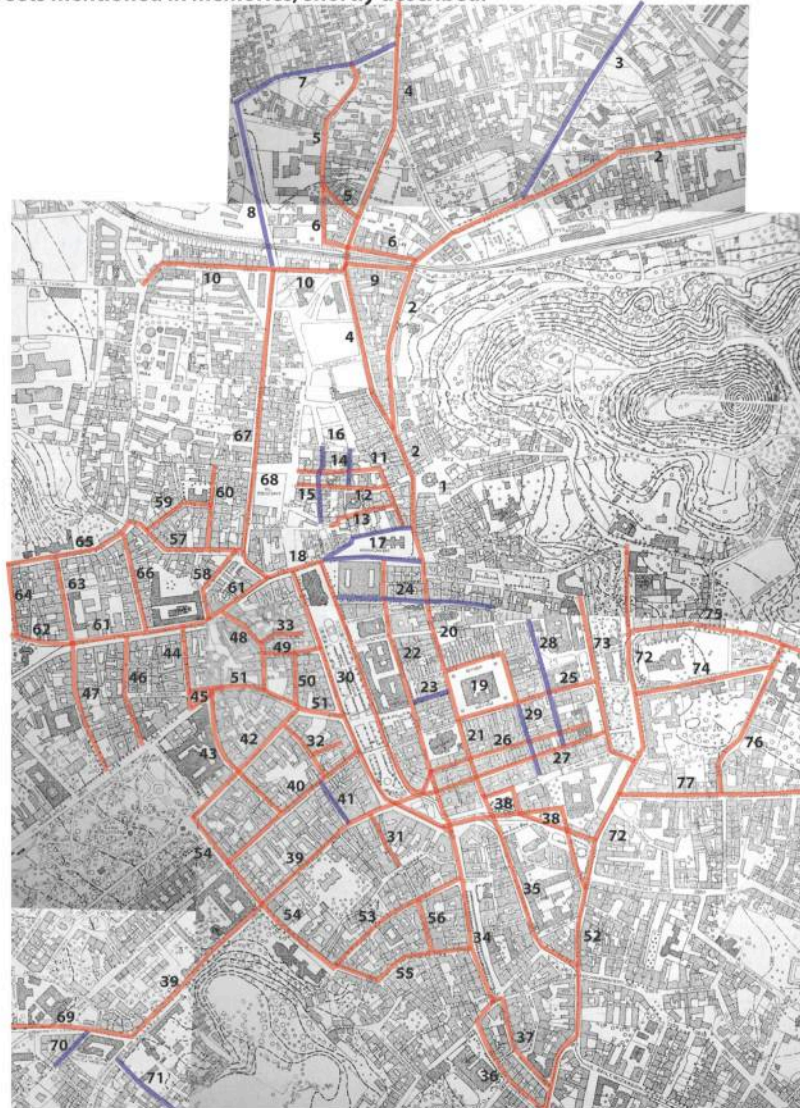
The following description of chosen streets and urban spaces aims to give an impression of an urban environment and life, brutally put to an end some years later. A large number of individual names are mentioned, a large share of them Jewish, mostly brutally murdered some years later. Important inputs to the description has been given by some memories from a number of interviewed Jewish persons; Nava Ruda (Scheindl Charlotte Kohn), Alisa Caspi (Sara Salomea Strudler), Aviva Ziv (Amalia Posament), Lili Chuwis Thau, David Glick and Roman Malinowski. All of them have Polish as mother tongue, except Dawid Glick, who originally

<sup>19</sup> In 1929 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded.

<sup>20</sup> Among early modernist architects could be mentioned Ferdinand Kessler, Zbigniew Wardzala, Julian Awin, Tadeusz Wróbel and Witold Minkiewicz.

## Lwów - L'viv - Lemberg. Streets studied from the address book 1929.

- Streets studied and described systematically from the address book 1929.  
 — Streets mentioned in memories, shortly described.



- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| 1 Stary Rynek / pl. Staryj Rynok                                   | 26 ul. Boimów / vul. Staroevrevs'ka                              | 63 ul. Chorążczyzny / vul. Čajkovs'koho                                  |
| 2 ul. Żółkiewska / vul. B. Chmel'nyč'koho                          | 27 ul. Sobieskiego / vul. Brativ Rohatynciv                      | 64 ul. Ossolińskich - ul. Słowacki / vul. Stefanyka - vul. Słowackoho    |
| 3 ulica Św. Marcina / Žovkiv's'ka vulycja                          | 28 ul. Blacharska / vul. Ivana Fedorova                          | 65 ul. Zimorowicz - ul. Kalecza / vul. Džochara Dudaeva - vul. Stefanyka |
| 4 ul. Zamarstynowska / Zamarstyniv's'ka vul.                       | 29 ulica Serbska / Serbs'ka vulycja                              | 66 ul. Sokoła / vul. Pavla Kovžuna                                       |
| 5 ul. Jakoba Hermana / Lemkiv's'ka vul.                            | 30 ul. Legionowa - ul. Hetmańska / prospekt Svobody              | 67 ul. Spitalna / Špytal'na vul.   |
| 6 ul. Kuszewica - ul. Objazd / vul. Kuševyča - vul. Dolyn's'koho   | 31 Pasaż Mikulascha / not existing today                         | 68 ul. Karna - ul. Brygidzka / vul. Dmytra Danylyšyna                    |
| 7 ulica Kresowa / Chimična vulycja                                 | 32 Pasaż Hausmana  | 69 ul. Alembeków / Tamans'ka vul.  |
| 8 ul. Pełtewna / prosp. V'jačesl. Čornovola                        | 33 Pasaż Fellera   | 70 ul. Kotlarska / Kotljar's'ka vul.                                     |
| 9 ulica Tatarska / Tatars'ka vulycja                               | 34 ul. Akademicka / prosp. Ševčenka                              | 71 ul. Kazimierzowska / Horodoc'ka vul.                                  |
| 10 ulica Pod Dębem / vulycja Pid Dubom                             | 35 ul. Batorego / vul. Knjazja Romana                            | 72 ul. Janowska / vul. Ševčenka  |
| 11 ul. Starozakonna - ul. Smocza / vul. Knjazja Mstyslava Udatnoho | 36 ul. Św. Mikołaja / vul. Mychajla Hruševs'koho                 | 73 ul. Św. Anny / vul. Leontovyča  |
| 12 ulica Bożnica / Sjans'ka vulycja                                | 37 ul. Romanowicz / vul. Saksahans'koho                          | 74 ul. Kleparowska / Klepariv's'ka vul.                                  |
| 13 ulica Owocowa / not existing today                              | 38 pl. Halicka - pl. Bernardyński / pl. Halyc'komu - Soborna pl. | 75 ul. Rappaporta / vul. Jakova Rappoporty                               |
| 14 ulica Wesola / Vesela vulycja                                   | 39 ulica Kipernija / vulycja Kopernyka                           | 76 ul. Bernsteina / vul. Scholom-Alejchema                               |
| 15 ul. Weglanna - ul. Łazienna / vul Buhil'na - vul. Lazneva       | 40 ulica Sykstuska / vulycja Dorošenka                           | 77 ul. Słoneczna / vul. Pentelejmona Kuliša                              |
| 16 pl. Św. Teodora / pl. Svjatoho Teodora                          | 41 ulica Szajnochy / Bankiv's'ka vulycja                         | 78 pl. Zbożowy / not existing today                                      |
| 17 pl. Krakowski / pl. Knjazja Jar. Osmomysla                      | 42 ulica 3. Maja / vulycja Sižovych Stril'čiv                    | 79 ul. Leona Sapiehy / vul. Stepana Bandera                              |
| 18 pl. Gołuchowski / Torhova pl.                                   | 43 ul. Kościuszki / vul. Tadeusza Kościuszka                     | 80 ul. Łąckiego / vul. Brjullova   |
| 19 Rynek / p. Rynok  | 44 pl. Smolki / pl. Henerala Hryhorenka                          | 81 ul. Św. Łazarza / vul. Hrabovs'koho                                   |
| 20 ul. Krakowska / Krakiv's'ka vul.                                | 45 ul. Brajerowska / vul. Bohdana Lepkoho                        | 82 ul. Czarneckego / vul. Volodymyra Vynnyčenka                          |
| 21 ulica Halicka / Halyc'ka vulycja                                | 46 ul. Krasickich / vul. Ivana Ohienka                           | 83 vul. Podwale / Pidval'na vul.   |
| 22 ul. Rutowskiego / vul. Teatral'na                               | 47 ul. Krasickich / vul. Ivana Ohienka                           | 84 ul. Karmelicka / vul. Prosvity  |
| 23 Pasaż Andreolli   | 48 ulica Rzeźnicza / vulycja Nalyvajka                           | 85 ul. Kurkowa / vul. Lysenka  |
| 24 ul. Skarbowska / vul. Lesi Ukraïinky                            | 49 ul. Św. Stanisława / vul. Tyktora                             | 86 ul. Łyczkowska / Lykačiv's'ka vul.                                    |
| 25 ulica Ruska / Rus'ka vulycja                                    | 50 vul. Rejtana / vul. Lesja Kurbasa                             |  |
|  | 51 ul. Jagiełłowska / vul. Akad. Hnatjuka                        |  |
|  | 52 ul. Piłsudskiego / vul. Ivana Franka                          |  |

spoke Yiddish. Another source is the written memories of Jakob Leopold Weiss, published in 2010.

### The oldest town and Pidzamče

The oldest town, around Stary Rynek (present Plošča Staryj Rynok) was with the medieval *Greek Orthodox churches of John the Baptist, St. Mykola and Onufrius*, a centre of the old Ukrainian (Ruthenian) society. It was also an important Jewish centre, with the Reformed Synagogue ("*Temple*") at Stary Rynek and the *old, traditional Synagogue*, at ulica Božnica. In its vicinity was the *Hassidic Beit Lechem synagogue* and the *Beit HaMidrasch yeshiva*. At Saint Theodor Square (Plac Św Teodora / plošča Svjatoho Teodora) was a still existing *hassidic synagogue*. Southeast of Stary Rynok were the Roman Catholic *Benedictine* and *St. Mary-in-the-Snow churches*. The main streets ulica Żółkiewska (vulycja Bohdana Chmel'nyč'koho) and ulica Zamarstynowska (vulycja Zamarstynivs'ka) continued north of the railway to a part of the historical town called Podzamcze (Pidzamče) – "*Under the Castle*". A traditional building pattern along these streets is a rather short house at the street, and a gate to a long and narrow backyard with wings at one or two sides. Shops and better apartments are at the streets, and workshops and smaller apartments in the side wings.

**Żółkiewska** was the main shopping street in the district with a lot of groceries, dairies, drugstores, candy and pastry shops, hat shops and restaurants as well as fruit shops, pharmacies and fur shops. Among *grocers* in 1929 were Mojżesz Stein, Leib Borl, Chaja Brock, Natan Silber, Berl Schapira and Debora Hecht, among *fruit sellers* Hersch Baron and Leon Rosen. There were *restaurants* run by Mina Agid, Józef Kurzrock, Mojżesz Ehrenpreis, Chaim Berger Chune Chamajdes, Liebe Sonnenschein and others and a *cinema*, "Luna". North of the railway, the Greek-Orthodox Paraskieva church and the Roman Catholic St. Martin's church were close to the street. Żółkiewska was a local main street, also characterised by the lower middle class and poorer population in the neighbourhood. In 1941, Amalia Posament (Aviva Ziv)<sup>21</sup> and her mother could live in a flat at a siding street near St. Martin's church, in an area temporarily for Jews but outside the ghetto. They were set to work at "Strohwerke" in the neighbourhood, where they made straw insoles for soldier boots.

At the corner with **ulica Tatarska** (vulycja Tatars'ka) was on the east side the *bath house* "Laznia Lwowska". On the left side was the house where Julia Jurek lived in World War II years. She was the ethnic Polish nurse of the Jewish Kohn family. After 8-year-old Scheindl Charlotte Kohn (Nava Ruda)<sup>22</sup> had escaped from the ghetto (see below) in 1942, Julia Jurek managed to take care of her, presenting her as a relative from the country. Later, Charlotte's parents managed to escape from forced labour (and probable execution) and hide in the flat for more than a year. When somebody arrived, her mother was standing behind a large mirror and her father in a cupboard. Both managed to hide in different places and narrowly survive the Nazi occupation. In the house was in 1929 Chaim Schapiro *fruit shop* and Jajne Schorr *restaurant*.

The other local shopping street, crossing the railway, was **Zamarstynowska** with the main tramway line towards the north. Among many shop keepers were the *jeweller* Mojżesz Künstler, the *grocers* Herman Freund, Lea Stern, Sara Rosengarten and Chabna Lustig, the *fruit seller* Ludwig Löw and the *candy merchant* Tad. Kramarczuk. There were also *furriers, hat merchants, locksmiths, paper shops, bakers, meat shops, fancy shops, watchmakers, fuel shops, shoemakers, tinsmiths, tailors, midwives, laundries, carpentries, pharmacies*, other stores and *small factories*. Among *restaurants* were Efr. Jungman Bernard Peczenik, Mojżesz Magenheim and Abraham Briefer. The western corner house at the railway had on a photo from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the text: "*Bursa Rzemieslnicza dla Żydowskich Wychomanków im. Dra. Tomasz A. Aszkenazego Fundacja Jakoba Hermana*".

On the western side of the streets were military buildings and a prison. Salomea Strudler (Alisa Caspi)<sup>23</sup> was very close to be arrested there in the beginning of the Nazi occupation. Probably this was also the prison

<sup>21</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

<sup>22</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

<sup>23</sup> One of the interviewed persons.



where Charlotte Kohn and her mother, after having been taken from the ghetto in 1942, was transported for execution at the Janowska camp, but were, by changed orders, taken back to the ghetto. Charlotte tried to remember every detail, thinking: "If I survive this, one day it will be a film".

In 1941-43, Zamarstynowska was the ghetto limit. The ghetto was on the western side, north of the railway and included the pavement. A wooden fence separated the pavement from the street and the tramway outside the ghetto. Arriving to the ghetto, the Kohn family found a shelter behind a restaurant at Zamarstynowska, probably Jakob Scheps's restaurant at Nr. 45. Together with other families they dug a hiding space behind the cellar, but eventually this was revealed. Not being allowed to live any more, Charlotte later managed to escape through the wooden fence, thanks to a loose plank, and was received by Jula Jurek on the other side. At the western side of Zamarstynowska, at the corner with ulica Kresowa (vulycja Chimična) was also the Blumenfeld *painting factory*, which was used by the Nazis for producing paints for the Navy and the *Luftwaffe*. (The factory buildings still exist.) Lili Chuwis<sup>24</sup> was hidden there by her mother, working as *Kriegswichtige Judin*. When Gestapo finally took away her mother, on August 21<sup>st</sup>, 1942, Lili, aged 14, was hidden in a chimney. Next day she was let out by her mother's colleague, Mr. Leinwand, and hidden by another colleague, Sonia, who managed to provide forged documents for Lili, as a Polish girl. In 10 days, Lili had to learn by heart everything about her false identity and then, on September 1<sup>st</sup>, she tried to escape during the wooden fence. She failed, due to a Gestapo action, but managed to hide in a line of Jewish men, going to forged work outside the ghetto. Then she managed to live in almost two years with her false identity, moving from town to town, sometimes helped by others, sometime betrayed and very close to be caught. She was the only surviving of her family.

Parallel with Zamarstynowska, north of the railway, is present vulycja Lemkivs'ka, then **ulica Jakoba Hermana**, included in the World War II ghetto. Also this street had in 1929 several shops and enterprises, mostly Jewish. There were *groceries, dairies, shoemakers, a brushmaker, a goldsmith, a ginger bread producer, a painting establishment, carpenters, cap workshops, fuel shops, a carton factory* and other establishments. At Nr. 8 was the *Tobiasz Aszkenazy student house for the Jewish seminary* and the *Hostel of vocational school*. At Nr. 6 was the *Tadeusz Rutowski student house for the Christian seminary*. Here also lived the Jewish artist and stage designer Zigmund Balk (dead 1941) and his son Heinrich Balk (dead 1942). At the side street **ulica Kuszewica** (vulycja Kuševča) was in 1936-38 erected a large *palace of culture*, designed by Tadeusz Wróbel and Leopold Karasiński. There was the Światowid *cinema* and other establishments. On its other side, at the railway viaduct of ulica Pełtewna, was in 1941-43 the main entrance to the ghetto. There, the "*Action under the bridge*" took place, where around 5 000 elderly and sick persons were "selected" for extermination when they entered the ghetto. Close to this site the *ghetto monument* was established in the 1990s, commemorating the 132 000 Jewish victims of L'viv (more than 98 % of the Jewish population). Survivors have put memory stones there, e. g. to Charlotte Kohn's brother Schlomo, who was killed at the labour camp Plochów.

The **southern part of the Old Town** was rather run down and had a mixed built structure with small lots and short street sections. Between Żółkiewska and Pełtewna were the Saint Theodor Square and the small streets Starozakonna, Bożnica, Owocowa, Łazienna, Wesoła and Weglanna. There were several groceries, furniture stores, paper stores and hat stores in the area. At Wesoła Nr. 5, *wall texts* in Yiddish and Polish and paintings still remain from a *hat shop*. At Starozakonna Nr. 3 lived J. Friedenthal, brush maker. They were friends of the Kohn family, who moved here in 1941 when their earlier home was made non-Jewish. By the end of the year all of them were forced to continue to the smaller ghetto. The Friedenthal family was together with the Kohn family in the ghetto, but did not survive Holocaust. David Glick<sup>25</sup> tells about his poor uncle, who lived at Owocowa 6 and had 6 children. He was cheated at the nearby open market, at plac Zbożowy. He bought a suit, but when he came home, there was only paper in the package. A photo from 1910 shows the shop Juda Nass and Ettl Frankel at Owocowa Nr. 14. Adjacent to it a new building is under construction. This is today the only remaining building at Owocowa. The Old Town was limited to the south by the large market places **plac Krakowski** and **plac Gołuchowski**. In this area there is still today open markets.

<sup>24</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

<sup>25</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

### The "New Town" – the renaissance town.

The core of the "New Town" and of the historic city centre was – as today – the central square **Rynek** (plošča Rynok). Most of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings around the square had shops or restaurants. They were addressed to citizens from the whole city. There were several *jewellers*, such as D. Gottlieb, Józ. Singer, Nachman Raucher, Jak. Kohn and Berta Sass, *glass and china shops*, such as Tenenbaum & Löw and "Manufaktura", *wine shops*, such as "Handel Wina Ryszard Stadtmüller" and M. & S. Koziol, as well as *fashion shops*, *paper shops*, *furriers*, *grocers*, a *piano store* and a place where Bugatti cars were sold. In 1912, the Jewish owned Zipper's department store was erected in the northwest corner of the square.

There were *restaurants* like Sa. Reich, Szym. Gerstman, Est. Charala, Jak. Bechtloff, Joz. Kętownicz, Abr. Fleischer and Łuk. Woroniak. The Jewish owned restaurant "Atlas" was a popular meeting place for the Lwów bohemians. At the adjacent Andreolli Passage was *café* Sztuka with a prominent violinist, Wassermann. An old photo shows the Julius Meinl coffee shop at Nr. 18. In the same building was the *pharmacy* "Pod Złotym Joleniem". The "Kings House" from 1577-88 was used by the History Museum and the Jan III Museum. The Lubomirski Palace was a Ukrainian centre of culture with the "Dilo" *newspaper* and the Shevchenko *bookstore*. In the City Hall was the main *municipal library*.

Two main shopping streets traversed the "New Town": On one hand, ulica Krakowska – ulica Halicka (present vulycja Krakivs'ka – vulycja Halyc'ka) and on the other hand ulica Rutowskiego (present vulycja Teatral'na). **Krakowska** and **Halicka** streets were both somewhat specialized for fashion, furriers and jewellers. Among *Ladies' fashion* were Jakób Bojko, Mark Adlerstein and B. M. Posament and among *men's fashion* were at Chaja Sturm, Leon Segall and Sara Semil at Halicka. There were also *general clothing* stores and more than 15 *furriers* e. g. Moż. Schapira, Av. Fränkel, Izr. Winter, Sz. Szpilman and M. Fuchs. Among *jewellers* could be mentioned J. Händel, Sam. Glanz, Adolf Hard and H. Goldstein at Halicka. There were also *hat shops*, a *flower shop*, a *glass and china shop*, a *wine and beer shop*, an *antiquarian*, a *paper shop*, a single *grocer* and a *dairy*. At the corner Krakowska/Ormianska was the Bodek *publishing house*, opposite the entrance to the Armenian Cathedral. There were some *restaurants*: Mar. Kafka and Jan Ludwig & Jan Heningar at Krakowska and Ch. Reiss at Halicka. At the north end of Krakowska an old photo shows "Restauracja – Piwiarnia", a restaurant and beer pub, and opposite it a *café* (kawiarnia).

The parallel **Rutowskiego** street had several cultural establishments and some specialization on furniture stores. At this street were the Skarbek theatre, the Ukrainian *Narodnyj Dim*, the Dzieduszycki Museum, the National Gallery and the former Jesuit College as well as the "Latin" Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Jesuit Church and the Greek-Orthodox Preobażenia Church. There were also *hat stores*, *furriers* and *fashion shops*. "Raj Dziecka" was specialized on children's clothes. There were *glass and china shops*, *fruit shops*, a *candy shop*, a *perfume shop* and an *electric articles store*. The "Pedete" store sold cars. Opposite the Latin Cathedral was Gubryniewicz & Son *bookstore* and Spóła Wydawa Lekarska *publishing house*. Also this street had some *restaurants*, and *cafés*, such as *Café "Teatralna"*. In the Skarbek building was also the "Lew" *cinema*, owned by Tad. Kuchar.

The **south-east corner of the "New Town"** was the traditional Jewish district, but it was also a centre for Ukrainian (Ruthenian) culture. There were the east-west streets ulica Ruska (Rus'ka vulycja), ulica Boimów (vulycja Staroevreis'ka) and ulica Sobieskiego (vulycja Brativ Rohatynciv) and two north-south streets, ulica Serbska (Serbs'ka vulycja) and ulica Blacharska (vulycja Ivana Feodorova). In the east end of Boimów Street were the old "*Goldene Rose*" *synagogue* with the adjacent *Mikva bath*, *Tarbut school*, the *Beit HaMidreasch Yeshiva* and the *Great City Synagogue*. Lili Chuwis Thau remembers many small synagogues at the backyards along Boimów Street. **Ruska** Street was a centre of Ukrainian culture with the

Lubomirski palace, the Greek-Orthodox Assumption Church and the “Dnister” building with the Dnister Bank, as well as the Ukrainian *publishing houses* “Ukrainskie Narodne Mystactwo”, Osyp. Bodnarowicz, “Ojczyzna”, “Drukar” and “Ridna Szkola”, the *newspaper* “Nowyj Czas” and the Ukrainian “Stauropigji” *museum*. There was also the the *paper shops* “Bazar Związkowy” and “Sojuznyj Bazar”, the *furrier* “Chrom”, the *hat stores* Mik. Chlibkiewicz and Mel. Gutstein, the *groceries* Adolf Thimen & Gitel and Jochw. Schönberg, the *hat stores* Bergman & Son and Iz. Mensch, the *jeweller* Józ. Singer, the *fruit seller* Ad. Rosenblatt and the *restaurants* Izr. Lippel, Hid. Agid and Majer Blaustein. Salomea Strudler lived for a period in her childhood at Ruska Nr. 6. At **Boimów** were several *groceries*, a *dairy*, a *furrier*, *clothing stores* and, at the corner with Blacharska, Heim Chopovnyk’s *pub*. At **Sobieskiego** were *furriers*, a *hat store*, a *ladies’ fashion shop*, an *electric article store* and at the corner with ulica Podwale, the editorial office of the Jewish *newspaper* “Chwila” with publishing house. The editor Heinrich Heschel died in 1941. At the street was also the *restaurants* Sala Probststein, Mech. Messing, Jak. Heller and Mark. Laufer. Among establishments at **Serbska** were a *grocery* and the *restaurant* Hersz Leib Baum. Charlotte Kohn’s father Izak had a kitchen utensil shop at Serbska Nr. 17, where their friend Friedenthal also had a shop, selling brushes. When Charlotte was a small baby, the The Kohn family moved from Alembeków street to **Blacharska** street Nr. 28, where they lived until the Germans forced them to leave in 1941. In this house was the *fruit shop* Zlata Rosenstreich. Opposite it, at Nr. 29, was the former *Jewish hospital*. At Nr. 22 was Adolf Panzer’s *paper shop*.

### The Boulevard area.

After the fortifications were abandoned in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and after river Pełtwa/Poltva was covered, the new boulevard connection ulica Legionowa – ulica Akademicka (Prospekt Svobody – Prospekt Ševčenka) was established as the main modern commercial and cultural axis of the Galician capital. It also included the interconnected urban spaces plac Maryacki, plac Halicki and plac Bernardyński.

**Legionowa** was – as today – the most popular and used urban space in the city – a broad green strip edged by cultural and commercial buildings as well as apartments. Here were the opera, the Skarbek theatre and the national gallery as well as the most important hotels and restaurants. Amalia Posament<sup>26</sup> remembers that she saw “Aïda” at the opera in 1938, aged 12, and had silk stockings for the first time. Here were also the Jan III Sobieski, the Maria and the Mickiewicz monuments. On the western side were the *hotels* Grand, George, Monopol, Elite, Bristol, New York, City, Europejski (de l’Europe) and Francuski (de France). Well-known *restaurants* were in Grand and George hotels, other restaurants along the boulevard were Ozj. Münz, Jak. Mang, B. Górski and Józ. Zwelińska. There were the *cafés* “Elite” (C. Perlmutter), “City” (Jak. Lenobel) Kawiarnia du Boulevard (photo, 1910), Warszawa (F. Moskowicz), “Wiedeńska” (Blocki), “Europejski” (in the hotel) and “Teatralna” (B. Jäger & Co), the *pub* “Monopol” (F. Hreskel), mentioned in the novel “Roaming stars” by Scholom Alejchem, and “Café de la Paix” (Landes & Szönholc). This café was an information centre at the end of the war 1944-45, concerning disappeared persons. There were also *cinemas*; Nowości, Fatamorgana, Kasyno, Palace and Lew. A photo from 1905 shows a very early cinema there, Kino Teatr Cinephon. Leopold Weiss<sup>27</sup> remembers in his memories that he and his wife were sitting at café Europejski in early summer 1939 talking about films and about the risk of a German invasion of Poland. They felt no panic.

Along the boulevard were many branch shops with customers from the whole city: The *book-stores* “Księgarnia Akadmicka” (Hermann Altenberg), “Księgarnia Naukowy”, “Ruch” and “Księgarnia Powszechnia”, the *glass and china stores* Kaz. Lewicki, “Lamet” (E. Bisanz) and Aug. Niżnikiewicz, a large number of *furriers*, *hat shops*, *jewellers* and *fashion shops*. There

<sup>26</sup> One of the interviewed persons.

<sup>27</sup> In the book “Lemberger Mosaic”.

were also *paper shops, chocolate shops, furniture shops, perfume shops, photo shops a music instrument shop, a few groceries, fruit shops* and other shops. There were *banks, banking houses* and the *publishing house* "Kultura & Sztuka". Cars could be bought at "Atis" and in at "Austro-Daimler" and "Automobile" in the Mikulasch Passage.

The covered Mikulasch and the open Hausmann and Fellerów passages were popular extensions to the Boulevard. In **Mikulasch Passage** was the famous *antiquarian* Lajb Igel, a *photo shop, a paper shop* Sam. Schorr, a *glass and china shop, a jeweller shop, a fashion shop, a bank* and several *fruit shops*. There was also Ozj. Adler's *restaurant* and the *cinemas* Pasaż and Uciecha. In the **Hausmann passage** were a *photo shop, a furrier, a jeweller, a perfume shop, a furniture shop, a paper shop, an electricity shop* and the *editorial board* of the "Chwila" magazine. **Fellerów passage** (present *vulycja Mychal'čuka*) had the *wine shops* "Mimoza" and Chil Fern, the *hat store* I. Szleier, the "Na-Lim" *clothing store* and Abr. Wiedkopf's *grocery*. Most shops seem to have Jewish owners.

**Akademicka** was the boulevard southward from plac Maryacki, along the covered Peltwa river to the old university. Here were several restaurants and cafés and jewellers, fashion shops, hat stores, perfumeries, photo shops and other shops, but this district, including the parallel street **ulica Batorego** (*vulycja Knjazja Romana*) was especially characterized by many *bookstores* and *antiquarians*. Lili Chuwis thau especially remembers the antiquarian M. Budek and the Igel antiquarian family having several shops. She was often there. Well-known *cafés* were "Skoczka", "Roma" and Zalewski, popular meeting places for artists, writers and university teachers. There were several *restaurants*, among them "Kasyno Kola Literacko – Artystycznego", also at the adjacent **ulica Św. Mikołaja** (*vulycja Mychajla Hruševs'koho*), There was also café Zior-noninska. At Batorego street were the *antiquarians* H. Rubin, M. Budek, Herm. Helzel, Iz. Strand, Zygm. Igel and Mojz. Rubin as well as the "Oswiata" and "Księgarnia T. S. L." *bookstores*. At Św. Mikołaja street were the *bookstores* "Księgarnia Polska" (Polonecki), "Księgarnia Pocztowa" and "Lektor" at another side street, **ulica Romanowicza** (*vulycja Saksahans'koho*), was the antiquarian B. Jarosławski. There were the *editorial board* of "Kurjer Poranny" in the Segal building at Akademicka and the *publishing house* "Lector Literaria" at the "Lektor" bookstore. This was a real centre of literature, but generally it was a mixed commercial district. In the area there were several *jewellers, drugstores and perfumeries, photo shops, pharmacies, hat stores, fashion shops, a furrier, furniture shops, electricity shops, paper shops, flower shop, fruit stores, dairies, groceries* and *banks*. At Akademicka were also the *cinemas* "Chmiera" and "Kino" and "Società Esportazione Vini Italiani". The shopkeepers' names are both Polish and Jewish, but to a higher degree Polish than at city districts towards the north. The Sprecher building in the north end of Akademicka from 1929 was an important example of early modernism, designed by Ferdinand Kessler. There lived the Jewish artist F. Kleiman, dead 1943.

**Plac Halicki** (*Halyc'ka plošča*) and **plac Bernardyński** (*Soborna plošča*) formed together an important cross-road, connected with Akademicka, Legionowa and Batorego, near the Bernardine church and monastery (1597-1630), designed by Paolo Romano and others. In this area were 10 *restaurants*, the *café* "Centralna" (earlier called "Wiktor") and the *hotels* "Royal" (B. Zimmerman), Krakowski, Warszawski (Feiweł Moszkowicz) and "Seville", which had restaurant and café. There was also the *bookstore* "Księgarnia Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossoliński" and the *antiquarian* S. Pielecki, as well as *furriers, a drugstore, furniture stores, fashion shops, jewellers, meat shops, a pharmacy, and shops for photo items, paper, hats and flowers, Cars* could be bought at "Lwowski Auto-Sklad". In this area was also a *printing office* and, in 1926-32 the *editorial board* of the Ukrainian journal "Sel'-Rob". There was also an *open market*, still existing.

### The western central district

Three parallel streets from Legionowo were important connections to the west and also important shopping streets. At the southernmost, **Ulica Kopernika** (vulycja Kopernyka), were the Potocki and Bielski palaces as well as "The palace with the gates", the Saint Lazarus church and former hospital and the Holy Spirit church. There was also the *glass and china shop* Adolf Steil, the *jeweller* Herm. Mandl, *electricity shops* Jan Szpilecki and Bern. Punzer, the *music and piano shops* K. Kaim & Son, "Melodija" and Jak. Pilpel, the *photo shops* "Malwinia" (M. Lindscheid), Kaz. Skórski and Rom. Skloriański, the *furniture shop* Wolf Lipper and Mend. Sloder, the *fruit shops* "Agrumaria" and Mar. Galan and the *grocery* E. Juffe. Other shops were the *hat shop* Sal. Wind, the *paper shop* Abrah. Kanner and the *bookstore* "Księgarnia Nowości" (M. Aschkenaze). There were also the *restaurants* Adolf Fleischer, Ludw. Jaworski and Ursch. Engelkreis, as well as *banks*, the *editorial office* of the Yiddish newspaper "Lemberger Tageblatt" and the *publishing house* "Zagroda Wzorowa".

The second street was **ulica Sykstuska** (vulycja Dorošenka). This street had three *music shops (instruments and gramophones)*, "Dom Chopina" (L. Heschel), Józef Weksler and "Echo" (J. Katz) as well as two *ladies' fashion shops*; "Maison Chic" (J. Bell) and Zygmunt Manner. There was also the *hat store* Rec. Scharer, the *furriers* Breitfeld & Wieser and Ch. Nachtwächter, the *perfumery* Jak. Chamysz, the *drugstore* Ign. Schrenzel, the *patisserie* Włodz. Urbanik and the *electricity stores* Mund brothers, "Kontakt", Daw. Zier and "Prąd" (Gust. Kahane). There were the *paper shops* Schex & Stenzel, Stan. Abl and Saul. Weiser, the *bookstore* "Ludowe", the *antiquarian* Wal. Drabik, the *furniture shops* "Jerry" and P. Altschüler and the *china and glass stores* Chaja Gottman and Sal. Kreuter. This street also had food stores; the *grocery* "Coloniale", the *fruit shops* Fanny Amada, Rywka Berger and Izyd. Backtrog and the *dairy* Emilja Łukiewska. There were the *publishing houses* L. & B. Goldman and "Ludowa Spółdzielnie Tow. Wydawnicze 'Wydawnictwo'" and the *editorial office* of the newspaper "Dzienni Ludowy". At this streets were also some *restaurants*; Eisig Groft, Jak. Steinbach, Sal. Rotenberg, "Reklama" (at the crossing street ulica Szajnochy 5) and the *café* "République" (owned by Fr. Zimmerman & I. Parnes). At the side street ulica Szajnochy 6 was the *synagogue of the progressists*, destroyed during Holocaust. Rabbi David Kahane, author of the "Diary of the L'viv ghetto", was saved by the Metropolitan F. Šeptyc'kyj.

The third street, **Ulica 3. Maja** (vulycja Sičovych Stril'civ) connects ulica Jagiełłońska (near ulica Legionowa) with the City Park (former Jesuit garden) and the former parliament building – main university building after 1918. At this street were the *furniture shops* "Małopolska Spółka Tapicerów" and Farn. Zaicer & Józef, the *wine shop* Ciesliński, the *photo shops* Zof. Huber and "Rivoli" (Gust. Szajna), the *electricity shops* "Edison" and "Elektrolux", the *glass and china shop* "Spolem", the *hat shop* Bern. Siles, the *antiquarian* M. Schulberg and the *paper shop* "Glinerika" (Glimmer & Co). There were also the *groceries* S. Rotenberg & B. Bass, Fr. Schaft and Herman Rolf, the *fruit shop* Maier Brod and the *dairy* Staf. Lewicki. There were several *banks*: "Bank Dyskonytowy Warszawski", "Ziemski Bank Kredytowy", "Polski Bank Przemysłowy", "Bank Gwaranc. Polski S. A. oddz." and "Pocztowa Kasa Oszczędności". There were the *cinema* "Oaza" and the *restaurants* Bog. Kisslinger and Mar. Tarteltaub. At Nr. 12 was *café* "Ritz", earlier called "Louvre" and "Renaissance". This locality is today the Ukrainian-styled restaurant "Puzata hata". Nr. 13 belonged in the years 1900-39 to the Jewish attorney and politician Natan Löwenstein.

Five main street lines traversed the area in north-south direction: Ulica Ossolińskich - ulica Słowackiego, ulica Kościuszki - ulica Kołłątaja, ulica Krasicki, ulica Brajerowska and ulica Rzeźnicza. At **Ulica Ossolińskich** (vulycja Stefanyka) was the main university library "Ossoloneum", erected in 1823-33, designed by J. Salzmann and Ludwig Pichl. It contained the Lubomirski Museum. At its continuation **ulica Słowackiego** (vulycja Słowac'koho) was the Central Post Office, erected in 1921-22, designed by Eugen Czerwiński. The area was an im-

port centre of publishing. At ulica Ossolińskich were the *publishing houses* "Kraj. Ska Nauczycielska", "Kultura", "Tarban" (Jar. Wlackowski) and "Wydawnictwo Zakłada Narodowego im. Ossolińskich" and the *editorial offices* of the newspapers "Dziennik Lwowski" and "Gazeta Poranna". At ulica Słowackiego was the "Izmaragd" publishing house and the editorial office of the newspaper "Wschod". The editor was Leon Reich (see below). At ulica Ossolińskich were the *photo shop* "Sport" (Effeles), the *paper shop* "Swie Aleksandrowicza" and the *collection of arts* "Zbiory B. Orzadowicza". At ulica Słowackiego were the *pharmacy* "Pod Tomidą" (Fryd. Dewechy), the *electricity shop* Abr. Drekker, the *fruit shops* Mend. Hoffman and Deb. Halber and the *flower shop* "Flora". At the corner building with ulica Sykstuska was the *pub* "Maxim" (Zigmund Menasches) and at the corner with ulica Kraszewskiewgo (at the City Park) was the house where the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber (1878-1965) lived may of his childhood years with his grandfather Schlomo Buber (1826-1906). In this house also lived the Jewish attorney and Zionist Leon Reich (1879-1921).

At **ulica Kościuszki** (vulycja Tadeusza Kościuszka) was Oswald Schargel *chocolate shop*, "Coloniale" *coffee shop* and "Teod. Kysian i Swie" *furniture shop* as well as the *banks* "Lwowskie Tow. Bankowe", "Łódzki Bank Depozytowy" and "Gospodaretswa Krajego Bank". There were also the *restaurants* Taube Hata and H. Gleichert (at the corner with plac Smolki) and *Café République*, owned by Fr. Zimmerman & I. Parnes. At **ulica Kołłątaja** (vulycja M. Mencyns'koho) was the *furrier* H. Torten. At Nr. 1, Lili Chuwis Thau remembers a *men's wear shop*. At **plac Smolki** (present plošča Henerala Hryhorenka), between the two streets was the Francisek Smolki monument, the *cinema* "Marysieńka", *café* "Warszawa", Feiga Rappaport's *flower shop* and Sal. Orstein's *grocery*. This is remembered by Lili Chuwis Thau. At plac Smolki 4 was the Jewish religious school "Aischel Tora" and the courtyard "Gruner's Passage" with many Jewish shops. At plac Smolki 2 was German administration with SS and Gestapo during World War II. In the 1930s, the artist Otto Asker (1906-83) lived in this house.

**Ulica Krasicki** (vulycja Ivana Ohienka) connected the City Park with ulica Kazimierzowska. This street, with the Civil Court, was an attractive location for *lawyers*. The address book mentions 16 lawyers, e. g. B. Goldfrucht, Dr. Herm. Seidler, Dr. Sal. Weinbaum, Dr. Wolf Weitz, Jerzy Heilpern, Dr. Chaim Wolf Sucher, Mojżesz Dogilewski, Dr. Izrael Munzer, Leon Klarfeld, Maks. Lothringer, Gustaf Bromberg, Eugeniusz Gwozdecki and Juda Hirschberg. There was also several other *liberal professionals* and *craftsmen*: the *doctors* Rubin Bierer and Zygfried Chuwis (grandfather of Lili Chuwis Thau), the *wood turner* I. Scheer, the *tinsmith* A. Steiger, the *photographer* Henr. Pancer, the *carpentry establishments* I. Selzer and W. Czerniawski, the *tailors* W. Mistalska, S. Doganowski and R. Schleier. Other establishments were Herm. Hofstein and Abr. Sternberg, *agricultural products*, B. Ickowicz, *manufacturer*, Sym. Schleicher, *shoemaker's supplies*, Glos Emerytów, *construction materials*, Kaiser & Gusta Haber, *laundries* and Ged. Kessler, *gas and water installations*. There were several different shops: Barenhaut & Luft, *rubber articles*, A. Luft, *drugstore*, Mar. Eckstein, *grain store*, J. Goldschmied, *women's hats*, Hersch Tennenbaum, *furniture*, Kar. Augestern, *pharmacy*, Julj. Eiferman, *technical articles*, Anna Brandmasker, *dairy*, Jud. Weintraub, *grocery*, Abr. Olfner, *grain shop*, Rencistów, *periodicals and magazines*, Both-Izrael *bookstore*, N. Rappaport and J. Rappaport, *orthopaedic instruments* and the *candy stores* J. Kazer & Kamienobrodzki and Mar. Rewak. At the corner with ulica Kazimierzowska the doctor and writer Marucio Rapoport (1808-90) lived. Nearby was the Jon Sprecher's synagogue. At Nr. 18 was earlier hotel "Elite", built in 1907-11, designed by the architects Macudziński and Kedierski. There was also Helen Karp-Fuks's gymnasium with hostel, today the "Regional Scientific and Methodical Education Centre".

At **Ulica Brajerowska** (vulycja Bohdana Lepkoho) Nr. 4 lived the science fiction author Stanisław Lem (1921 – 2006) as a child. In his memories he describes how he played in the nearby City Park and how they visited the High Castle Hill. In the same house was the *women's hats store* Kl. Hutt, the *tinsmith* M. Katz, the *lawyer* Dr. Wilh. Rosenberg and the Stettner *orangeade factory*. At Nr. 6 was *doctor* Ignacy Schwarz and the Filorn. Drzbik *restaurant*. At Nr.

10-12 was the O. Schwarzwald *wood industry and wood store* and at Nr. 20, Leon Sieber, *metal articles merchant*. Szymon Aszkenazi (1867-1935) lived at Nr. 12. On the opposite side, at Nr. 3, was "Ewer" *bookstore*, owned by Kostis & Wachsgisser, and at Nr. 5, Toraszowka *oil products*. At Nr. 7 were the *lawyers* Dr. Daw. Schreiber and Dr. Jul. Teicher. At the corner with ulica Mickiewiczza was Bank Polski.

**Ulica Rzeźnicza** (vulycja Nalyvajka) was a short connection between ulica Jagiełłońska and ulica Kazimierzowska. Its siding ulica Święty Stanisława gave connection to ulica Rejtana. Together these streets formed a small commercial district behind ulica Legionowa. Most names are Jewish. At Ulica Rzeźnicza were the *hotels* "Union" (M. Münzer), "Splendid" (B. Eker), M. Schweller, Herm. Halpern and "Continental" (A. Gruber). Wall texts from the last hotel remain. In the same building was Hen. Gottlieb *restaurant*. Hotel Splendid, at the corner with ulica Święty Stanisława was built in 1912 in art nouveau style, designed by Władysław Józef Awin and Kuczyński and with paintings by Z. Kaltman. It was changed in 1926, by architect Władysław Szpetman. In the same house was M. Krischer *hat store*. At Nr. 13 remains wall texts in Polish and Yiddish of the shops Sukiennych & Chusil and I. Halpern & Lecznowes, as well as a hotel. Other shops at the street were Nute Löw, *jeweller*, Henr. Selig and Majer Grüner, *furniture shops*, Henr. Zawadzki, *paper shop*, Mor. Gottlieb, *coffee roasting*, P. Löwenkopft, *printer*, Mich. Probst, *haberdashery*, A. Schnee, *merchants agency* and Leon Werber, *grocery*. In the corner house Nr. 1, also ulica Jagiełłońska Nr. 16 and in the same building as Henr. Selig's furniture store, lived Lili Chuwis Thau until 1941.

At **Ulica Święty Stanisława** (vulycja Tyktora) were several shops: The *electrical equipment merchants* "Energia" (D. Baran), the *women's tailor* M. Fuhrman, the *haberdasheries* L. Nacht, H. Kriegert and Izr. Goldberg, the *groceries* Mend. Reiter and Józ. Kleines, the *jeweller* Mojż. Hirsprung, the *dairy* Ar. Kalm, "Marko" *hats and shoe merchants*, M. & P. Morgenstern, *watchmakers*, Szaje Sternberg, *perfumes and cosmetic products* and Nat. Zimmerman, *confectioner*. There was also *hotel* Amerikański, *Brandwein fabrics*, Józef Gerstenhof *dispatching office*, transporting merchandise and goods, M. Kraus *technical articles*, "Kredytowy Spoldziolczy" *financial service*, "Spoldzielcy" *bank* and H. Bock, *midwives*.

At the corner between ulica Święty Stanisława and **ulica Rejtana** (vulycja Lesi Kurbasa) was the *dairy* Bert Schorr, the *restaurant* M. Schorr and the *hotel* Francuski. *Wall texts of the dairy and the hotel remain today*. (There was another hotel Francuski at Plac Mariacki.) There were also the *furniture stores* Wolf Weltz, Abrah. Hermelin and Gerszon Münzer, the *dairy* Ign. Tenenbaum and the *paper store* Eis. Rubinstein.

Another important street westwards from ulica Legionowa was **ulica Jagiełłońska** (vulycja Akademia Hnatjuka). At this street lived numerous lawyers as well as doctors, tailors and other artisans and liberal professionals. There were also a large number of shops of different kinds as well as cultural and financial institutions, all in need of a central location but not necessarily at the most busy street. The address book from 1929 altogether mentions 23 *lawyers* and 4 "*notarius publicus*" (Ad. Schapira, F. Sobol, Maurycy Czopp and Fr. Szelewski) at the street. Among the lawyers were Henryk Bertel, Jesajasz Selzer, Abr. Silberstein, Stanisław Garski, Leon Frankel, Maks Mesuse and Adolf Gewandter. There were 10 *doctors*, among them Alfred Roth, Karol Markel, Henryk Igel, H. Hammerschmidt & Nagłowa, Salomon Handwerker, Benjamin Ziemilski and Klement Kauczyński and the *dental surgeons or dental technicians* Marjan Ordower, Maksym Ordower, Celion Mohr and Wilhelm Nacher. Lili Thau Chuwis's father, Siegfried Schalom-Chuwis, was also dental surgeon. He moved to Nr. 16 at this street in 1937, cf. above. Among numerous *haberdashery and fancy goods shops* were Szym. Gallat, Herm. Herscheles, Anna Bund, Herm. Schleyen and Oz. Waldman. There were the *fashion stores* S. Grossman, Mina Schorr, Odziezy and Bar. Muetzenmacher and the *tailors* W. Borek, R. Kaufman, E. Tropper, E. Schenker, B. Gelles and M. Windbeutel, the *furriers* Schönblum, Weinberg, Kohl, Wohlman and Mojżesz Jagiel, *hat stores* Leo Koffler, Roza Richeles and Leon Wittman, the *goldsmith* M. Roth, the *tinsmith* W. Radokiewicz, the *jewellers* Al. Strauch and Herm. Schleyen (also selling shoes) and the *shoe store* Bern. Blaustein, the *fruit stores* Markus Fluhr (also general store), Isak

Halpern and Beile Munzer, the *grocery* Stan Vogl, the *bakery* Stanislas Duell and the *candy factory* Ig. Kohlman.

At ulica Jagiełłońska there were several other specialized stores: *Cotton products, linen draperies* or *window blinds* and *shades* could be bought at Fabril, A. & S. Dworman, Karol Eisert, Febus Knossow and Karol Kroning, *electrical equipment* was sold at Roz Kahane, Kupro, Zygm. Wahukiewicz and Maur. Wurm, *kitchen articles* by Józef Nicker, *sewing machines and typewriters* by Abrah. Friedfeld and Poltyp, *buttons* by Joach. Dob, *underwear* by Bereta Herze-lass, *office supplies* by A. Dworman & Handlesman, *technical articles* by Gust. Hak and Zakłady Techniczne, *agricultural products and grain* by Sp. Zoo, Sp. Spolaz and Ch. Bomse and *bicycles* by Malwina Immerglück. *Medical apparatus and instruments* were sold by Polski Zakłady Siemens and "Chirurgja", A. L.Schwarz. There were the *glass and china store* Józ. Verständig, the *furniture stores* Jak. Seinfeld, the *wall paper stores* E. Kiczales and A. Margulies, the *carpenter* Jak. Scheit, the *philatelist* Reg. Kahane, the *bronzer* J. Jagniewski, the *hairdressers* D. Kornbluth, J. Lang and F. Kleinman, the *laundry* Bernard Hammerglück and the *photographers* M. Klafien and Mark Munz. Mark Munz (1878-1937) founded the association of photographers in the Lwów region. *Automobiles* were sold by Malw. Rosenman, Dawid Lauterpracht, Henryk Buchstab, Ant. Harasimowica and Dr. Stefan Stenzel.

There were also several *banks* and *dispatching offices*, some smaller *factories*, the Parorbie and Pararbis *publishing houses* and the Reg. Blasbalg *restaurant*. In the courtyard of Nr. 11 the *Jewish Gimpel Theatre* was built in 1939, designed by Daniel Kalmus. In the street building lived the attorney Emil Byk (1845-1906) and the poet and "singer of Lwów" Jan Hemar (1900-42). Nr 20, "*Gruner's house*", was erected in 1910, designed by F. Kassler and F. Feliński, with sculptures by Z. Kurczyński. In this building lived the prominent lawyer and professor Maurycy Allerhand (1868-1942) and the pianist Stefan Ashkenazi (1896-1985).

### The southern central district

The districts at both side of ulica Akademicka was characterized by many publishing houses and editorial offices of newspapers. At **ulica Piłsudskiego** (vulycja Ivana Franka) was the *publishing houses* H. Altenberg and "Wszechświąt" as well as Inż. O. Piotrowski *electric articles* and Aleks. Karczyński *restaurant*. At **ulica Chorążczyzny** (vulycja Čajkovs'koho) were the *editorial boards of the newspapers* "Dziennik Lwowski", "Gazeta Poranna" and "Słowo Polkskie". There was also the *cinema* "Apollo", the *office* "Tow. Muz. Stan. Zborowski, a *hospital* and the Lwów branch of the National Forest Direction. At the parallel street **ulica Zimorowicza** (vulycja Dżochara Dudaeva) were the *publishing houses* "Silskij Hospodar", Krajowe Tow. Gospodarskie, "Ojczyzna" and "Ateneum" and the *restaurants* Seraf. Feld and Jakób Zuckerman and the *furrier* N. Lang. There was also the Ant. Kryżewski *flower shop* and Kintzi & Co, who sold *cars*. At **ulica Sokoła** (vulycja Pavla Kovžuna) was the *editorial office of the newspaper* "Wiek Nowy".

### The northwest central districts

**Ulica Szpitalna** (vulycja Špytal'na) was an important local commercial street, connecting the area around the Opera with the Jewish hospital and the old Jewish cemetery. At the corner with ulica Kazimierzowska was the *department store* "Magnus" built in 1913 by order of S. Frenkel, designed by Roman Feliński. In the same block were the *clothing factory* "Małopolski Zakład Odzieży", the *mirror factory* Józef Friedlander, the "Polmin" *mineral oil factory* and the *oil products store* "Drohobyczy oddz.", probably connected with the oil findings in Drohobycz. There was also "Orbis" *travel office*, Józ. Stolzberg *wood merchant*, Lilionfeld & Co *hosiery merchant* and Izr. Mieses *grocery*.



In Nr. 11 were Abraham Drucker's *restaurant*, Est. Ach's *clothing store* and the *tailor* A. Laub. In Nr. 11 was also L. I. J. Posament's bathing establishment, owned by the father of Amalia Matilda Posament. They lived here, near the Brigidzka prison. She remembers Polish nationalists, NDs, beating Jews at the street in the 1930s, but they were beaten back by the horse coachmen with their whips. The family also owned the opposite house, Nr. 10. In 1939, Nr. 11 was bombed, and the family moved over to Nr. 10, where they also had relatives. In Nr. 10 was Kar. Hiss *bathing establishment*, Mos. Rubernkis *iron merchant*, Altesse-Wisła *playing cards*, a *cigarette factory* and the *groceries* Jak. Weidkopf and G. Gruber. Amalia Posament tells that one of the shops was owned by a Polish, non-Jewish family living in the district that under Nazi occupation was temporarily to be the Jewish. In Summer 1941, they "changed flats" with the Posament family. Opposite Nr. 11 was also, according to Amalia Posament, a yeshiva school. David Glick remembers the sportclub "Menora" at the corner with ulica Alembeków. At the corner with **ulica Brygidzka** (vulycja Dmytra Danyłyšyna), a modernist department store was built in the end of the 1930s. Opposite, at the corner with ulica Słoneczna was, according to Amalia Posament, plac Solski, where stolen things were sold. This square is not indicated at the contemporary city maps, but it is mentioned in the address book, telling about fish vendors there.

There was many food stores at ulica Szpitalna. Except for the stores mentioned above there were the *groceries* Strauber & Co, Ryfka Wilder, Mark. Lebrer, Jos. Breitfeld and Elj. Kirschner, the *bakeries* Baruch Rudy and Sim Schlüsselberg, the *butcher* W. Tennenbaum, the *fruit shop* Chamna Kurzer, the *heering shops* Nat. Klausner, Ign. Horowitz, S. P. Kalisch and Iz. Thumin, the *vodka shop* Sp. Zoo Polonja and Sp. Zoo Smirnowka, the *tobacconist* Leib Astman, and the *general store* Izak Bilgrauer and the *candy stores* U. A. Weidhorn, Reit & Weinstock and Reif. Among other stores were *haberdasheries* as Meter Kleiner, Joel Messing, Symchowicz and Oser Igra, *tailors* as I. Rebisch, H. Aderschlag, B. Schneider and M. Wecker, the *writing and office supplies store* Kl. Horowitz, the *fodder store* Mordechaj Meukes and the *paper store* Perec Ehrenreich. There were several small *fabrics*, e. g. S. Schlimerr canned foods factory and different craftsmen and other professionals, such as Lanes and Norb. Schulz *feathers*, Mend Sobel *dye works*, Marja Wysocka *chimneys and fireplaces*, Henia Spira *laundries*, the *painters* Fisch. Springer and J. Berg, the *upholsterer* J. Steig, the *tinsmith* Ch. Akselard and the *transporting office* Iz. Lewin. At this street were also the doctor Dawid Heftel, the *midwives* Dora Blazer and the *dental technician* Symche Margulies, as well as the *hairdresser* M. Farb and the *restaurant* Hel. Schaff and *pub* Sara Barar.

Two side streets of ulica Szpitalna were ulica Alembeków (Tamans'ka vulycja) and ulica Kotlarska (Kotljars'ka vulycja). At **ulica Alembeków** was a three-storey school building from 1891, designed by Alfred Kamienobrodzki. It was a state school, but partly used as Jewish industrial and commercial school. Salomea Strudler studied there for a period, as well as Dawid Glick. For a period, Salomea Strudler lived in the corner building opposite the school. Most of the buildings along the street were erected in the 1890s. Archive material gives information about owners along the street in 1916: Feige Fani Lea Müses, Marya Nass, Abraham Wittman, Józef Atlas, Ascher Selig Atlas, Leib Korkes, Samuel Baruch, Mojżesz Liebmann, Józef Teitelbaum, cantor Leo Zipper, Leib Stein, Rachel Blatt and dr. Emanuel Singer. At the street was in 1929 the *restaurant* Mendel Gelband, the *dairy* Fajga Mejblum, the *periodicals shop* "Handel – Premysl – Rekodzielo", the *bed shop* Maks Dubs, the *paper shop* Samuel Bara, *gas and water pipes installation firm* Józ. Grunberg and the *painting establishment* F. Stein. The Jewish impressionist artist Eisig Erno Erb (1878-1943) lived at Nr. 12.

**Ulica Kotlarska** had the same character, with buildings mostly from the 1890s. Among the owners in 1916 were Hersch Wolf Rapp, Rozalia Sandbank, Johwetta Goldmam, Ghana & Brand, Joachim Wolken, Mendel Meisels, Meyer Borak, Herman Hornung, Aron Rafael Janczer, and Ozyasz Landau. At this street were the *bookbinders* Efr. Horowitz and Oziasz Leib Schacht, the *tailors* S. Urwand and M. Wecker as well as Markus Schranz Kotlar *workshops for manufacturing boilers*, the *dairy* Aron Wittman, the *restaurant* Józ. Flieser, the *doctors* Knossow & Srebel and Ludwik Singer, the *ginger bread producer* Samuel Beer, the *locksmiths* J. Sokall and J. Zajczyk & N. Barer, the *painter* J. Berg, the *jeweller* Meil. Freilich and the *factories* Zaum & Co and "Złoty Okret". There was also the workers' cooperative "Powszechna Spółdzielna Robot-

nicza”, the P. Meisel *bath* and Z. Awin *workshop*. There are several informations about earlier establishments, in 1902 or 1910. Then, Jak. Stroh had the *restaurant* “Kuchnia Izrael” and there were the Jakób Bratel restaurant and the Dawid Lieblich and Juda Krieger taverns. Gustaw Pompach had a *furniture and stone shop*, called “Nürnberger Waren”. Opposite was another shop with the same name, but owned by Maurycy Tune. In that house, Taube Pompach had a *chemical laundry and painting* establishment. There was also the *picture and frame shop* Ozjasz Weistein, Izaak Kraut *cardboard and bindery* and the *editorial office of the review* “Der jüdische Arbeiter” (editor S. Katz). The Jewish writer Scholem-Alejchem (1859-1916) lived in 1906 in the corner building with ulica Szpitalna. A memorial plaque was set up in 1990.

**Ulica Kazimierzowska** (Horodoc’ka vulycja) is the old road towards Przemyśl. In interwar years, ulica Kazimierzowska was the street section between ulica Legionowa and St. Anne’s church. West of the church the street name was ulica Gródecka. Today both street sections are Horodoc’ka vulycja. Here, only ulica Kazimierzowska east of the church is described. At the north side of the street was Brygidki prison in the former Bridgettine nunnery from 1614. During World War II many misdeeds took place here. Adjacent to the prison was **ulica Karna** (also called ulica Byka), up to ulica Szpitalna with the side street ulica Brygidzka. Dawid Glick’s father had a *printing workshop* at Nr. 14, at a passage between Kazimierzowska and Karna Streets. Dawid Glick remembers a small restaurant in Nr. 12 or 16. He also remembers the *herring shop* Kalisch here. Behind the St. Anne’s church, at the beginning of ulica Gródecka, was, according to Lili Chuwis Thau, the Słowackiego gymnasium, where she studied. Here was also “Teatr Mały. At the corner with ulica Zygmuntowska (present ulica Gogolja), was a Jewish gymnasium. At Karna were the *tobacconist* Herm. Wilder, the *iron merchant* Daw. Buchband, the *haberdashery* Mark. Eisenberg and the *dyes and paint merchant* Mar. Rosenfeld. At the corner with ul. Legionowa was a department store, from the same period. At Nr. 45, near the St. Anne church, there was a small synagogue. At ulica Kazimierzowska were the *hotels* “Astoria” (W. Fried, relative of Lili Chuwis Thau) and “Bohrer” (Sz. Sold) and 8 *restaurants*: Sz. Rozenthal, Moise Brodinger, Herm. Katz, Perla Kohn, Seria Gross, Ber. Stuetzer, Moj. Bohrer and S. Finkelsztejn. There was also the 6 *doctors* Fryderyk Peitzer, Gemska, Wolf Gernski, M. Schönberg, Maksymilian Roller and Teofil Fleker, the *dental technician* Zygm. Pekelman, the *pharmacy* “Under the Golden Lion” (Szymon Hei) and the *lawyers* M. Grossman, Ozj. Flecker, Ad. Brendel and J. Brustiger,

Ulica Kazimierzowska was a very busy streets with a large number of shops as well as small fabrics and workshops on the courtyard buildings. There were not less than 25 groceries, among them Kalisch & Rohr (probably the “herring shop” remembered by Dawid Glick, at Nr. 19), Maur. Feder & Zygm. Zeiger, Szym. Seifer, Feiga Scheer, Gruber & Speth, Mojzesz Kornaer (general store), Mojz. Gottfried, Wolf Szafir, Mojszez Kanner (general store), “Kaf Tea”, Sz. Schorr, Joz. Teitelbaum, Abraham Grossman (general store), Chaja Ecker, N. Fingerhut and Feiga Stutz. Within the food sector there were also the *fruit shops* Chaim Kohl, Bar. Malerman, Daw. Nossik, Eidel Katz and N. Treiber, the *dairies* Adela Baumgarten and Joz. Kalter, the *meat products stores* J. Pilch and L. Baumgarten, the *bakery* Bat. Koenigsberg the *patisserie* Zalewski & Co, the *carbonated water store* F. Bruckenstein and the *grain store* Ch. Bronstejn,

There were 9 *clothing stores*, e. g. Mojz. Brunnengarber & E. Gottlieb, Józ. Sobel, Chana Baruch, Josef Hutt, Efraim Perlberger, J. Roth and Mos. Stein, 9 *tailors*, e. g. N. Salz, L. Wunsch, A. Bauer, C. Hahn and D. Feil, 21 *haberdasheries* such as Mark Pfeffer, Pes Pompach, Pepi Schaffer, Sam. Schapira, Perla Kahane, Wachs & Epstejn and Juda Rothstein, the *caps and hat stores* Jon Jorowitz. Rudolf Neufeld, Sam Kassler, R. Rothstein and Bern. Frisch, the *cane and umbrella factory* Maks Gewurz the 8 *shoemakers*, among them D. Gelbert, Mendel Schnauzer, Mat. Rothstein, “Pepege” (snow-shoes and boots) and S. Dornfeld, the *glover* B. Kohn, the *shawls and scarfs stores* Pink. Friedfeld and Ch. Weissholz, the *furriers* Bar. Kanigel (Konigel), the *leather shop* Ch. Konstantin, the *goldsmiths* Sch. Halpern, L. Tettl and D. Kinster and the *jewellers* Ign. Katz and Maj. Schorr,

There were also several shops for home equipment and utensils and technical items: *glass and china store* Bekesz and Bern. Roselfeld, the *kitchen articles store* P. Lehman, the *mirror store* Mojz. Markus, the *electrical items store* D. Podhorec (Podhorzer), 12 *linen drapery manufacturers and window drapes* e. g. Guttman & Jakobsohn, Reissowic, M. Fabjan, Simon Osterzetter, Sam Hirschhorn and Ciechanowski & Nowomiast, the *carpet store* Mojz Lewin, *wool covers store* Adolf Feiz 17 *iron merchants*, e. g. Szym. Seifer, Aron Enselsberg & S. Lebet, Tannabaum & Son, Maur. Czaczkes, Marj. Rubel, Ign. Vogelfanger and Sal. Rapaport, the *hardware stores* Klara Wasserfall and Sp. Narzedzia, the *carpentry* S. Freundlich, the *window glass stores* Abr. Osterman and Joz. Rosenbusch, *wood merchants* R. M. Schwarzwald and Zisseu and the *dyes and paints stores* Cec Pollak, Reg Bardach and Abr. Zucker.

Other specialised stores were the *watchmakers* Adolf Salomon and Ber. Frankel, the *photographer* Daw. Feil, the *rubber articles store* "T. A. Gumowy", the *drugstore* Edw. Berlas, the *soap merchants* Izyd. Speth, the *paper shops* Mandel, Jud. Leibach, C & Mojz. Barach, M. Poznański, "Arabia" and Al. Schneider, the *bookstores* Szymon Bodgen and Rubin Margules, *musical instrument store* "Lira" (Balaban & Hecht), the *gramophones and sewing machines store* "Syrena", the *tobacconist* M. Tepper & Schönbaum, *machines store* Piotr Ebel, *toy merchants* S. Birnfeld, M. Hackel and Fraide Ehrlich, *birds shop* H. Schrage & A. Habel (Nr. 29 and 30), the *sack and bag shop* S. Reichler, the *rope articles store* Hersch Lempert and N. Silber, the *writing and office supplies stores* Benjamin Perlman and Markus Frieda and the *typewriter store* "Svedpol",

Other establishments at the street were the *hairdressers* G. Rozenberg, M. Kremmer, Lyaunera, A. Launer and M. Ducker, the "*merchant*" Józef Spritzer, the *technical bureau* Nata Weinreb, the *printers* Schein Madfos and Hen. Weiednicker, the *cooperatives* Unja (two shops) and Fruentaria, and the *merchant agencies* A. Brandstern, M. J. Koplin, J. Zimmerman and Izr. Gartenberg, the *boilers factory* Ozjasz Spitzer, the *brush maker* Mozes Klarfeld and *wood industry* Bart. Politzer. Finally, there were almost 80 "*factories*" (*many of them cloth factories and merchants*) among them Tarkakower & Co, Darbrowski & Buber, Gil & Kuzmier, Herrsch Halber & Halpern, "Poltekst", Hophler & Krochmal, Kl. Katz, M. W. Perlmutter, J. Brand & Iz. Teitelbaum, Lauterbach & Margulies, Wertman & Altbach, M. Judenfreund, M. Kaplan, J. Wilder and Sam. Spiegel.

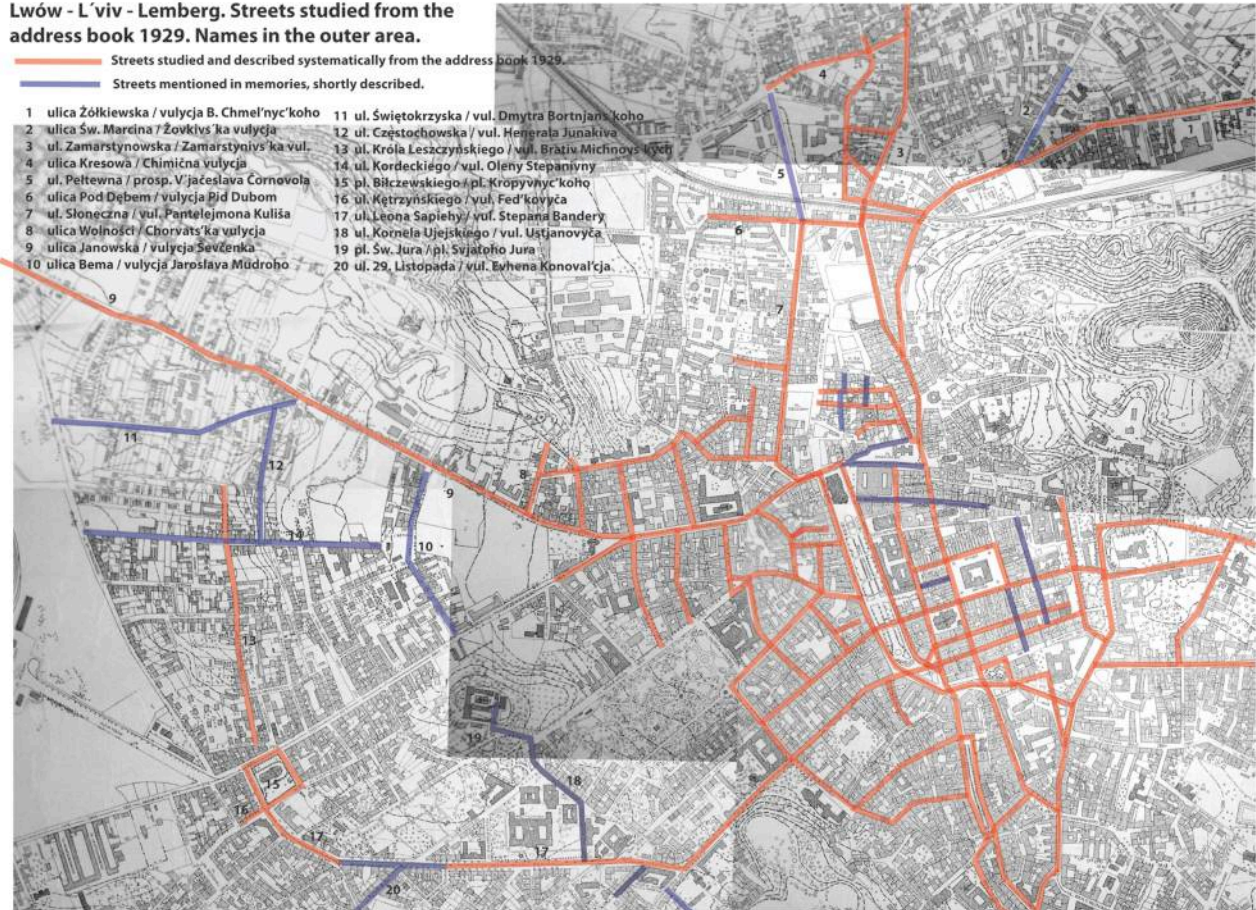
**Ulica Janowska** (vulycja Ševčenka) is one of the old roads towards Kraków. It diverges from ulica Kazimierzowska at the St. Anne's church and goes from denser blocks of flats to more suburban districts. On the south side there were large military areas and on the north side were schools, mixed residential buildings and parks and cemeteries. On both sides of the street there were also factories of different kinds. By the edge of the city, the street crossed the railway at the Kleparów station.

At the **eastern part** of the street, between St. Anne's church and ulica Świętokrzyska were on the south side *military areas* and Muna Grünfeld's *restaurant*, Sal. Stolzenberg's *candy store*, "Ziemoplody" *agricultural products*, "Krupiarka Małopolska" *mills*, "Beskid" *cheese production*, Klos *flour products*, Krajowy Patronat Rekodziel & Drobom Prezem. *taw-leather dresser* and Jadwiga Langior, *tie manufacturer*. At the other side there was a large number of shops, not least workshops and craft of different kinds: the *construction material stores* Teof. Grabowiecki and Winc. Pomykalo, the *construction contractor* Bor. Czaczkes, the *wood merchant* Józ. Bursztyn, the *store installation and butchering machines* establishment Edmund Feldman, the *automobiles parts store* Dr. A. Wepper, the *fuel stores* Mojżesz Geisler and Udel Freidel Szapiro, the seller of *agricultural machines and motorized ploughs* Hil. Badian, the *iron merchant* Adolf Herschenfeld, the seller of *lamp-shades* J. Langer, and the *brush maker* Józ. Klausner. Shops for more local customers were the *groceries* Jetty Pariser, Roza Herbst, Norbert Krieg and Jan. Jagorski, the *drugstore* M. Pariser, the *butchers* S. Finkelstein, M. Feldman and Ch. Stark, the *tobacconists* Jak. Pordes and Ozj. Lang, the *haberdashery* Arn Reischer, the *shoemakers* J. Seidel and F. Posarine, the *fruit shop* Mech. Korner, the *dairy* Daw. Badner, the

### Lwów - L'viv - Lemberg. Streets studied from the address book 1929. Names in the outer area.

— Streets studied and described systematically from the address book 1929.  
 — Streets mentioned in memories, shortly described.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 ulica Żółkiewska / vulycja B. Chmel'nyč'koho | 11 ul. Świętokrzyska / vul. Dmytra Bortnjans' koho      |
| 2 ulica Św. Marcina / Żovkiv's'ka vulycja      | 12 ul. Częstochowska / vul. Henerala Junakiva           |
| 3 ul. Zamarstynowska / Zamarstyniv's'ka vul.   | 13 ul. Króla Leszczyńskiego / vul. Brativ Michnovs'kych |
| 4 ulica Kresowa / Chimična vulycja             | 14 ul. Kordeckiego / vul. Oleny Stepanivny              |
| 5 ul. Pełtewna / prosp. V. jačeslava Čornovola | 15 pl. Biłczewskiego / pl. Kropyvnyč'koho               |
| 6 ulica Pod Dębem / vulycja Pid Dubom          | 16 ul. Kętrzyńskiego / vul. Fed'kovyca                  |
| 7 ul. Słoneczna / vul. Pantelejmona Kuliša     | 17 ul. Leona Sapiehy / vul. Stepana Bandery             |
| 8 ulica Wolności / Chorvats'ka vulycja         | 18 ul. Kornela Ujejskiego / vul. Ustjanovyca            |
| 9 ulica Janowska / vulycja Sevčenko            | 19 pl. Św. Jura / pl. Svjatoho Jura                     |
| 10 ulica Bema / vulycja Jaroslava Mudroho      | 20 ul. 29. Listopada / vul. Evhena Konovalčja           |



*goldsmith* M. Halpern, the *tailor* E. Lauterstejn, the *hairdresser* F. Goldschmied, the *pharmacy* S. Somerstein, the *restaurant* Pinkas Grünfeld and the *pub* Abisch Brett. There were also the *doctors* Theodor Thom, M. Bezeches, Neuman Feuerstain and Zofja Wepper and the *lawyer* dr. Bern. Taube. At Nr. 24, Dawid Glick's father lived in his youth. At Nr. 34 was Rosenstein boarding school for Jewish orphans, designed by architect Kamienobrodski. At the side street ulica Bema (present vulycja Jaroslava Mudroho) Nr. 5, Salomea Strudler's family got a very nice flat in the 1930s in a modernist building. In 1940, the Soviet power took their flat, and they moved to a smaller apartment in another modernist house, close to ulica Janowska, at ulica Częstochowska Nr. 38, a side street to ulica Świętokrzyska.

At the **western part** were the *doctors* Arnold Grunfeld and Emil Herzal, the *midwife* Ot. Rossel, the *groceries* Roza Ruff and Feiga Wassner, the *bakery* Teodor Malicki, the *radio stores* "Warradio" and Fel. Pietrusza, the *tailor* M. Turteltaub, the *shoemaker* T. Loziński, the *cosmetic products factory* Naftan Gingold, the *candle and sodium carbonate factories* Mark Ziering and B. Landau, the *butcher* Marja Reiter, the *embroidery workshop* Fania Grubstein, the *construction contractors* Dan. Grzyb and Jan. Sottykiewicz, the *restaurant* Hel. Klein, the *furniture store* Mend. Seider, the *petroleum and kerosene store* Mark Witter, the *automobile and transport establishments* Joz. Hugel and Bron. Kuzmińska, the *flour wholesalers* Berksammer and Mund and the Efr. Dresner *mills*. At the north side were the *cemeteries*. On the *Jewish cemetery*, Lili Chuwis Thau and Dawid Glick attended the funeral of Jewish victims of the anti-Semite violence among students in 1936, cf. below. Lili Thau was there with her father, and remembers the name of one of the killed students, Sedelmayer. David Glick went there without telling his parents. Nearby, at Nr. 132-134, was in 1929 Stucznego & Dachówek *roof tiles manufacture* and later Steinhaus *mill machines factory*. (In 1929 the Steinhaus factory was located at ulica Gródecka 10a – present vulycja Horodoc'ka.) This Jewish-owned factory was nationalised by the Soviet authorities in 1939, and during the Nazi occupation it was used for "Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke" (DAW), which was a forced labour camp. This was connected with the nearby Janowska concentration camp, where at least 200 000 persons, mostly Jews, were murdered in 1941-43. From the adjacent Kleparów

train station, hundred of thousands of Jews were transported to the Bełżec death camp in 1942-43. Jakob Weiss and Charlotte Kohn's both parents narrowly managed to escape from forced labour in the area. Amalia Posament, aged 16, was standing with her mother in the line for the death train at Kleparowska, when a German soldier took her away. She managed to escape and appear like a non-Jewish Polish girl. Many times she was close to be revealed but she managed to survive. Lili Chuwis Thau's father was taken to Kleparowska train station together with his mother and other close relatives. The German officers told him that he could leave the death train because he was a doctor, but he refused to let his mother and relatives down. He stayed on the train and all were killed in Bełżec.

Between ulica Kazimierzowska and the *Jewish cemetery* a district with many Jews developed in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Next to the cemetery, at ulica Rappaporta (vulycja Jakova Rappoporty), the *Jewish hospital* was erected in 1899-1901, financed by Maurycio Lazarus and designed by K. Moklowski and Lewiński. Ulica Rappaporta was connected with the Kazimierzowska and Janowska Streets by ulica Bernsteina (vulycja Šolom-Alejchema), ulica Św. Anny (vulycja Leontovyča), ulica Kleparowska (Klepariv's'ka vulycja) and ulica Wolność (Chorvats'ka vulycja). **Ulica Św. Anny**, a continuation of ulica Krasickich (see above) is the main axis towards the hospital. Here was the *Polish, Roman-Catholic Święty Anny school*, attended by Amalia Posament and her cousin from ulica Szpitalna 10, in the middle of the 1930s. They had also lessons in Jewish religion, and they felt no anti-Semitism there. At Nr. 7 was the *butchery* F. R. Mozer. At **ulica Wolność** Nr. 7, Sara Strudler lived for some years as a child. In **ulica Kleparowska** Nr. 7 was in 1929 St. Stefanów's *restaurant*.

**Ulica Rappaporta** was a rather busy street, a continuation of ulica Szpitalna. Here was the large Jewish hospital, erected in Moorish style in 1902. At the street was *doctor* Augusta Kellhofer, the *dental surgeon* Zygmunt Ziff, the *lawyer* Szymon Fuchs, the *wood merchants* L. Sussman, Sch. Eck and Oz. Schwarz, the *grocery* Blima Rawer, the *dairy and egg shop* Schaje Rubil, the *butcher* E. Korbes, the *fabrics* Efr. Weinreb and J. Chierer, the *restaurant* Scharl. Münzer, the *hosiery merchant* B. Zurowski, the *painting establishment* Brandel & M. Wandel, the *automobiles and transport firm* Izyd. Hammer, the *cosmetic products factory* Schneider, the *hat shop* A. Schreiber, the *brass workers establishment* J. Gelber, the *manufacturer* Reg. Karmerman. *Varnishes* were sold by N. Friezinger and *agricultural products* by Bern. Kuflik. , There was also a *shelter* for old Jewish people and a Jewish merchant *gymnasium*, erected in 1938, designed by Josef Throne.

**Ulica Bernsteina** was a very important street for the Jewish society. Here was the board of the *Jewish Religious Community* with library and the *Jewish Theatre Corporation*, founded in 1896 by A. Goldfaren, and the *craftsmen's society "Yad Haruzim"* with theatre and concert hall. The building was designed by M. Silberstein. Most of the buildings along the street were erected in the 1890s. In the 1929 address book are mentioned the *locksmith* Z. Fruchs, the *restaurants* Ignacy Hackel and Chaja Bombach, the *groceries* Eisig Rosenblatt and Eljasz Lieblich, the *hairdresser* K. Kober, the *doctor* J. Meizels, the *midwife* Rach. Pordes, the *dental technician* Wilb. Ehrenkranz, the *glaziers* Meizels and Salz, the *wood merchants* Bisen, Benj. Redisch and Leinwand, the *lawyers* Fryd. Lehm, dr. Mojz. Wolf and Wiktor Liebling, the *radio and electrical equipment store "Elektro-Radio"* (Ludwik Redlich), the *tile stove store* J. Witehorn, the *carpenter* S. Schapira, the *shoe & hat store* A. L. Eckstein, the *antiquarian* Izr. Antheil, the *vodka merchant* J. Seif, the *candy factory* Jakob Teiger, the *fabric* Osias Schubert, the *wood industry* O. Leiter, the *sewing machine stores* Tisser and Violin, the Amalia Stark-Weber's *musical school*, the Pinkas Hirschhorn *writing and ting office supplies*, the S. Silber *aluminium products*, Jak. Reitzes and Iz. Teichholz, *agricultural products* and K. Segal, *merchant agency*. In 1910, Dawid Bombach opened a tavern in Nr. 11. In 1902, "Bank Kredytowy I Handlowy" opened in Nr. 4.

**Ulica Słoneczna** (vulycja Pantelejmona Kuliša) was the old main street towards northwest. Dawid Glick's family moved to Nr. 9 in 1934. He remembers a chocolate and candy store in the house - according to the address book from 1929 it was owned by A. Halpern. He also recalls a small synagogue at Nr. 3. Dawid Glick tells that the Soviet soldiers entering the city along Słoneczna Street in 1939 were welcomed by flowers. Nazi misdeeds against Polish Jews were already known and Soviet occupation was obviously preferred

by the Jews compared to Nazi occupation. Many Poles and nationalist Ukrainians then regarded the Jews as Soviet collaborators. But Dawid Glick's father's printing establishment was nationalised, his father was arrested and taken to the Lubianka prison. The rest of the family was deported to Kazakhstan, and in 1943 Dawid's father could join the family again. They had a poor and hard life, but they escaped the Nazis.

Ulica Słoneczna was a rather busy commercial street of both local and city centre character. There were 18 *groceries*, among them Polkes & Tartakower, Sal. Danzyger, Hinda Litwak, M. Barach, Aron Messer, Leib Silber, Mosze Czaczkes and Samuel Jojne Haber (*wall texts in Polish and Yiddish remain today*), 8 *bakeries* e. g. Leon Braunstein, Eljasz Lebwohl, Abraham Gratter, and Markus Zimmerman, 6 *candy stores* e. g. Sim. Bernhard, H. Schwarzman, Arn. Halpern (mentioned above) and E. Sass, the *fish shops* Debora Kiczeles, Abr. Katz and Sam. Luberfeld, the *dairy and or egg shops* Sal. Ehrlich, Pink. Gottlieb and Bejla Schlimper, the *honey store* M. Loschkes, the *fruit stores* Faiw. Laa and Sab. Lutwak, the *ginger bread producer* Leon Zwerdling, the *wine store* Mend. Weinstein, the *chicory shop* M. Hahn, the *general store* Nat. Schechter and the *soap merchant* Sam. Speth.

Dawid Glick remembers *Hotel Bensch*. There were the *restaurants* Etna Handwerker, Sara Brumer, Izak Goldberg, M. Fliegelman, Moz. Spiegel, Chaja Steinbach, Aron Zurawel and Mar. Krebs. Concerning clothing and fancy there were the *tailors* H. Kock, Chaim Berkowicz, H. Landau, P. Baas, M. Grünwald, J. Chotiner and A. Blaustejn, the *haberdasheries* Mich. Kiczales, Goldner and Iz. Schwarz, the *clothing material store* Ch. Perlmutter, the *hat stores* Eichenstein & Guttman and Jac. Weinman, the *jewellers* Ch. Schreiber and A. Mensch, the *shoe stores* J. Krochmal, R. Rostarczer, F. Freiheit, M. Schall and I. Blecher, the *furrier* E. Fisch, the *perfume shop* Z. Lahner, the *linen shop* Landau and the *textile shop* M. Glejzer.

At ulica Słoneczna were also the *doctors* Rebeka Lewin, Art Dresdner, Dawid Heftel, Marek Redner, the *midwives* Bl. Korpus, K. Bienenfeld, E. B. Schwarz, Sara Krochmal and R. Drucker, the *pharmacies* Szym. Kajetanowicz and "Pod Białym Orlem", the *dental surgeon* Juljusz Stockknopf, the *dental technician* Symche Margulies, the *lawyer* dr. Edw. Modlinger, the *photographer* Min Feil and the *hairdressers* R. Stirer. There were special shops as the *furniture shops* Herm. Reisse, Józef Nick, Jak. Klein, Jakomowicz "Bandysz" (Koy) and Czerski the *hardware stores* Potfarrum and Goldz Bodek, the *iron merchants* Fehl, Rach. Stark, Daw. Rubin and Eman. Reich, the *metal store* St. Mutzner, the *technical articles shop* Fr. Lampert, the *varnishes stores* S. Rossel, S. Milwiw and S. Lieblich, the *petroleum and fuel stores* Abraham Szwarz and Blima Menkes, the *fodder shops* Ajz. Kretz, the *featherbeds factory* Norb. Schulz and *artisans* as the *locksmith* K. Kogan, the *dyes and paint factory* Józ. Schlager, Mar. Crudnowski and Daw. Tobias, the *carpenters* Jac. Weinman, R. Lewin and J. Reiter, the *wall paper store* J. Goldberg, the printer Józ. Ebner, the *laundries* Mojz. Kampf & Petr. Kogut, Sz. Eachs and Leon Koenigsberg, the *electrical installations* firm Her. Falbel, the *wood company* Berez and other companies, like the *manufactories* A. Tisminicar, the *merchant agencies* Ign. Bendel, Józef Hahn, the *cartons factory* Natan Klinger, the *canned foods factory* Bronisław Bohrer, the *fabrics* Kiesler, Maur. Kandel, Her. Kreuser, Izak Weindrach, M. Fuchs, Józ. Falsenstein & Is. Kart, L. Hertzberg & D. Perlbaum and Lorenz and the *cattle trader* Jak. Bartel,

At a siding to ulica Słoneczna was the Jewish cinema and theatre "Colosseum", from 1898-1900, designed by M. Fechter and A. Schlein. Dawid Glick remembers it. On the side street ulica Miodowa 3 was the Hassid synagogue "Or schanesch" from 1842, destroyed under Holocaust.

### The further west central districts

The neo-gothic, *Roman Catholic Elisabeth Church*, from 1903-11, designed by Teodor Talowski, was a landmark of the western district, surrounded by **Plac Biłczewskiego** (plošča Krolyvnyćkoho), which was a local commercial centre. There were the *groceries* Oskar Zigler, Hel. Spinadel, Aron Licht, Oskar Czigler and Marja Münz, the *jeweller* Sam Ostrower and the *hat shop* Alb. Hammer & Maus. Gelb, as well as a *café*, owned by Wojc. Lili Chuwis Thau remembers also a *restaurant*, still existing today, at the corner with **ulica Kętrzyńskiego** (vulycja Fed'kovyča).

This was owned by Aniela Przednowek. She went for a period to the Konarskiego school at the opposite corner. There was no anti-Semitism at this school. Lili Chuwis Thau lived until 1937 in the adjacent part of **ulica Leona Sapiehy** (vulycja Stepana Bandery), at Nr. 85. She remembers a *barber shop* and a *restaurant* in the house. The 1929 address book mentions Leon Grossman's restaurant and Jak. Heller's *menswear shop* at Nr. 87 and Marja Brononstuh's *dairy* and Szymon Schmalzbach's *fruit shop* in Nr. 85. *The St. Teresa church and monastery* were on the other side of ulica Leona Sapiehy. Other shops in this part of the street were Hersch Kupferschmied's and Sydoryn Barnfeld's *furniture shops*, Iz. Amster's & Ad. Schnauzer's and "Polpisch" *hat stores*, Zof. Myszkowska's *dairy*, Alb. Izierski's *drugstore*, Maur. Klein's *grocery*, Hal. Łączka's *butchery*, the "Diana" *photo shop* (M. Munz) and the "Grażyna" *cinema*. There was also the *cafés* Rom. Hoffman and Pel. Stecków. Nearby were the A. Korkis Jewish industrial gymnasium for boys, erected 1925-30 (Architect F. Kassler) and the Academic students' house for Jewish youths from 1909, designed by A. Zachariewicz. In the neighbourhood is today the Stepan Bandera monument. Lili Chuwis Thau remembers growing anti-Semitism in the area in the 1930s. One day, her father – a prominent dental surgeon – came home, having been beaten in the street.

North of the Elisabeth Church is **ulica Leszczyńskiego** (vulycja Brativ Michnovs'kych) and its crossing street **ulica Kordeckiego** (vulycja Oleny Stepanivny). Dawid Glick has vivid memories of this district. Their family lived at the corner between the two streets, at ulica Leszczyńskiego. He went to the Roman-Catholic Kordeckiego school at ulica Kordeckiego. At the corner between the two streets were the *groceries* Roz. Nisanz, Hersz Offner and "Stroh" (owned by Mojżesz Stroh), There was also he *butchery* M. Raczkowski. Dawid Glick remembers when he was harassed by drunken Poles, 5 years old in Stroh's shop. Mr. Stroh took Dawid home and shut the shop for three days. Due to anti-Semitism in the neighbourhood, the family in 1934 moved to ulica Słoneczna, more characterised by Jewish population and where they felt safer. Ulica Leszczyńskiego had several workshops and craftsmen. There were Leon Suchalski *mechanical workshops*, B. Schwarz *flour wholesale*, Schön *petroleum and kerosene store*, Jakob Wandel *drycleaner and dyers*, Gust. Wegrzyn *dyers*, W. Cirin *carpentry*, Teodor Burban fuel seller and doctor Roman Reichert. There was also the St. Dubiński & J. Zaczkowski enterprise with gas station, mill installations, glass polishing works, sales of motor and machines as well as steam boilers and tanks as well as mechanical workshops and locksmiths. In the adjacent property was Sam Tennen *fabric*. In the south end of the street was Beis Aharon V'Jisrael *synagogue*, built in 1925. It was financed by the Jewish charity organisation "Tsori Gilead" and designed by Albert Kornbluth. It still functions as a synagogue.

**Polytechnicum – Lwowska Politechnika** – was at the eastern section of **ulica Leona Sapiehy**. To the east was the *Maria Magdalena Church* from 1615-35 (changed in 1784) and to the north was the imposing *Greek-Catholic St. George Cathedral* from 1944-70, designed by Bernardo Merettini and S. Fessinger with the adjacent Bishop's palace. This is the "Vatican" of the Greek-Catholic religious society. Opposite the Maria Magdalena Church was the *Maria Magdalena school*, dominated by Polish Roman Catholics. This area was important for both Polish and Ukrainian culture. Lili Chuwis Thau went to the Maria Magdalena School, but due to growing anti-Semitism, she changed to Święty Anny (St. Anna) school, and the family moved from ulica Leona Sapiehy to ulica Jagiełłońska. Roman Malinowski – who originally had another, Jewish name – studied engineering at Polytechnicum in the 1930s. He remembers how Jewish students were harassed by Polish students in 1936 and denied entry. The Jewish students organised resistance and at a fight, one of them was killed – cf. above. At the lessons, the Jewish students were ordered to sit on the first rows, but as a protest, they chose to stand during the whole lessons. Although the Jewish students were later allowed to sit where they wanted, they continued to stand until 1939.

Opposite Polytechnicum, at ulica Leona Sapiehy, there were many shops and restaurants. At Nr. 23 was Józ. Folta's *restaurant*. Lili Chuwis Thau remembers a restaurant called "Like as at your mother". It could be this. There was also the *café and patisserie* Mik. Snihar, the *dairy* Edm. Pomowski, the *groceries* Izyd. Nowożonalli, Józefa Gyra and Chana Jad, the *fruit stores* Izak Rauch, Lea Glükspan and Teod. Dornholm, the *chocolat shop* "Goplana", the *hat stores* Lejb Staner, Chana Raner, Laura Bruk, Józ. Bedrijczuk and Gers Raner, the *butcheries* Ign. Wesolowski and Abr. Hamerling, the *paper store* Anna & Estera Nebenzahl, the *flower shop* Hel. Bodnar, the *pharmacies* Edw. Brückner and "Pod Srebrnym Orlem" (Herm. Rubel), the "*Naftowy Bank*" the

*confectionery* Ludwik Nowak and the *grocery and restaurant* Mich. Skulski. At the eastern end of the street was the *police headquarter* with the Łackiego (Lonc'koho) *prison*. There, terrible crimes were committed both by the Soviet police and the Nazis in spring and summer 1941.

In **ulica Św. Łazarza** (vulycja Hrabovs'koho) Nr. 18 lived Klara, cousin of Dawid Glick's father. She was married with Emil Seeman. Dawid visited them often. In the neighbourhood was the Cytadela area, where he used to play football. The Jewish football club Hasmoniah, the Polish football club Pogon and the Ukrainian football club often played there.

The south-eastern districts had developed to be rather well-off. Here were larger apartments, villas and early examples of modernist buildings in green areas. A local main street was **ulica 29. Listopada** (vulycja Evhena Konoval'cja). In summer 1941, German Occupants settled in this area, and through Jewish inhabitants out, around 200 were killed. A forced work camp was located to an open area near the corner between **ulica Mączyńskiego**, former **ulica Murarska** (vulycja Akademika Serhija Efremova) and **ulica Szymonowiczów** (vulycja Mel'nyka). Today the sport palace "Spartak" is located here. At **ulica Pelczyńska** (vulycja Dmytra Vitovs'koho) was a sport field, where young Jewish men were gathered on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941 to be taken to forced work – but mostly executed. Jakob Weiss tells in his memories, how he managed to run from the place in the last moment. Today the "Dynamo" sport palace is in the vicinity. Not far from there is the site where 38 professors from Polytechnicum were shot on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1941.

### The eastern central districts

East of the renaissance town the former fortification area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had been transformed to a park strip between the streets **ulica Podwale** (Pidval'na vulycja) and **ulica Czarneckiego** (vulycja Volodymyrna – vulycja Vynnyčenka). Here are a large number of churches and other historic monumental buildings; The Bernardine Church and monastery, the City Arsenal, the Assumption Church (1591-1629) and Korniakt's belfry tower (1572-78), also designed by Paolo Romano and others, the Dominican Church (1745-66), designed by Jan de Witte, the Royal Arsenal (1639-41), the Gunpowder Tower (1554-56), the Clarissa Church and Nunnery (1607), designed by Paolo Romano, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century changed into baroque style, the regional authority building (1821), the former "*Statthaltereigebäude*" (1877-80), designed by F. Księżarski, S. Hawryszkiewicz and L. Marconi, by used by the school authority, the Carmelite Church (1634), designed by J. Pokorowicz, the "Muzeum Szewczenko" from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, designed by J. Engel, the Barefoot Carmelite Church and Monastery (1642-83), designed by D. B. Gisleni, the former Roman Catholic Archbishop's palace (1844), designed by J. Salzman, with the "Biblioteka Religijna" and finally, the Casimir Church from 1656. In this outstanding ensemble of architectural monuments were also included the old main city synagogue and the "Dnister building". At ulica Czarneckiego was the *grocery* Feiga Salamander, the *restaurants* Fil. Koch and Józ. Nega, the *fruit shop* Simon Schorr, the *paper store* Dorota Neuster, the *furrier* J. Mutzenmacher and the *bookstore* and *publishing house* "Książnica-Atlas". Near the north end of ulica Podwale, at **plac Strzelecki** (plošča Danyla Halyc'koho) were "Arbeiterkultur" (Yiddish) *publishing house*, I. Kirschner *furrier* and "Laurovia" *paper store*. At the corner ulica Podwale / ulica Skarbkowska was the Staszica school, where Salomea Strudler studied in the middle of the 1930s.

At **ulica Karmelicka** (vulycja Prosvity) was municipal school offices and regional administration offices. At **ulica Franciszkańska** (vulycja Volodymyra Korolenka) was the Franciscan Church and the *hotel* "Gwiazda". **Ulica Kurkowa** (vulycja Lysenka) was a local artery with Ozj. Schlecker *restaurant*, Łuk. Parzygnat *grocery*, P. Karpiak *furrier*, Mar. Rapiczyńska *butchery* and Miecz. Freund *pharmacy*. The main connection street eastwards was, however, **Ulica Łyczakowska** (Lyčakivs'ka vulycja). In its western section were the *restaurants* Mar. Mendel, Herm. Krebs, Rach. Eisenstein, Maur. Engelkreis and Bron. Dąbrowski, the *pharmacy* "Pod Rzymskim Cesarzem" (Ant. Ehrbar), the *ladies fashion shops* "Polonia" (A. Kobor & Scheindlinger) and Schleicher & Dolnik, the *hat store* Zyg. Apisdorf, the *perfume shop* O.



Schippek, the *fruit shop* Mend. Silberman, the *photo shops* "Apollo" (Al. Buch) and Jak. Spocht, the *butcheries* Ant. Rudówna and Mar. Urban, the *groceries* Marja Dulyk, Hel. Wajde, Gust. Wieselthier, Mar. Sommer and "Miejski Zakład Apropowizacyjny", the *dairy* Roz. Lisiki and the *drugstore* Leon Rosenblüth. At Nr. 55 lived the poet Zbigniew Herbert 1924-33. Not far from there, at **ulica Leśna** (Lisna vulycja) Nr. 18 lived the author Deborah Vogel, often visited by Bruno Schulz.

### **Jewish Lwów**

Round one third of the population was Jewish in interwar years, and there were only a very small share of ethnic Germans. Nevertheless a significant part of the enterprises, shops, restaurants etc listed in the 1929 address book have German or German influenced names. Most probably the majority of these persons were Jewish – the first names are often evidently Jewish. In interwar years, some districts, Jewish presence had a special significance since many generations. The old Jewish district of the renaissance city, around ulica Boimów (present vulycja Staroevrejs'ka) was still an important Jewish centre with the Goldene Rose synagogue, and several small synagogues at the backyards. The oldest town, near of Stary Rynek was another Jewish centre with the Temple, the Old Synagogue and several smaller synagogues. The population was mostly rather poor, many of them keeping old religious traditions. Northwest of the Opera, around ulica Słoneczna and ulica Szpitalna, lived many lower middle-class Jews. The adjacent district south of the Jewish hospital was also characterised by Jews, of somewhat higher middle-class. Here were also some of the central Jewish associations. The most affluent Jews lived mixed with the Polish population in the commercial city centre and the western districts, as well as in villa areas. In some of the mixed districts, e. g. around ulica Leona Sapiehy, present vulycja Stepana Bandery, there was a growing anti-Semitism in the 1930s. In the north and northwest districts, there were many small shops, workshops and factories, according to the names mostly with Jewish owners. In the main commercial and cultural centre, around Rynek, the Krakowska, Halicka and Rutowska streets, Kazimierzowska street and ulica Legionowa (present prospekt Svoboda) and Akademicka (present prospekt Ševčenko) a very large share, seemingly the majority of the shops, cafés and restaurants had Jewish owners. It is evident that the Jewish population had a larger significance to the daily urban life than their share of the population.

### **World War II destruction.**

Most of interwar Lwów remained rather unscathed after World War II, but there were severe damages and destruction in the northern parts, including the oldest part of the old town. The destructions were partly in the fights and bombings in 1939, 1941 and 1944, partly deliberate destructions made by the Nazis, especially of Jewish heritage. Among destroyed synagogues were "Goldene Rose", the Old Synagogue at ulica Bóznica and the "Tempel" at Stary Rynek. But large parts of the whole historic district around ulica Pełtewna between the Opera and the railway in the north were destroyed, as well as areas north of the railway, in the former closed ghetto area. Nevertheless, several old urban blocks in the ghetto remained. Many industrial areas near the railway were also damaged or destroyed.

### **Wrocław - Breslau**

Like L'viv, Wrocław/Breslau/Vratislav has a strong urban culture since medieval time. As historical centre of Silesia, mentioned around 1000, it was in the Middle Ages alternately Bohemian and Polish, with a mixed population of Poles, Czechs, Germans, Jews, and also Walloons. German colonization from the 13<sup>th</sup> century made German dominating language. The

prosperous centuries, partly as Hanseatic city, are reflected in magnificent buildings and churches. In 1638 a small Catholic academy was founded, later a Jesuit school, in 1702 followed by the Leopoldina University. Its main baroque building from 1728 – 36 has the magnificent *Leopoldina Aula* and the famous astronomic tower. From the 1700s the city was alternately under Austrian and Prussian rule.

Although dominated by German culture and language since late medieval time, there was a multicultural and open atmosphere in Breslau, associating to cities like Vienna and Prague. From 1811 the University of Breslau had theology departments for both Roman Catholics and Protestants and in 1854 a Jewish Theology Seminary was established.

From 1871 Breslau rapidly developed as an industrial and commercial centre, within the united German Empire. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century the Opera house, the Main Railway station, bank buildings, municipal buildings and the large Market hall were erected. In 1900 there were 422.000 inhabitants, of whom 58% Protestant, 37% Roman Catholics and 5% Jewish (among the largest Jewish population shares in Germany). 5% were Poles or Czechs. Cultural and scientific life flourished.

Two persons have been interviewed: Arno Selten, of mixed German-Jewish background, and Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, with Jewish background. Both came from families, well integrated in the German city culture of Breslau.

### The oldest streets

The oldest parts of the city are the Cathedral Island with the St. Johannes Cathedral, the Church of the Holy Cross and St. Martin's Church from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the Sand Island with *Sandkirche* (1334-1440) and the former university library. The islands and the shore of Oder (Odra) river were still in interwar years the main Roman Catholic ecclesiastical centre of the city. At **Domstraße (ul. Katedralna)**, **Kleine Domstraße (ul. Św. Idziego)** and **Domplatz (pl. Katedralny)**, close to the Roman Catholic St. Johannes Cathedral, most buildings were owned by *Metropolitankapitel* or *Erzbischöflicher Stuhl*. There were rather few inhabitants, mostly connected in some way or other with the church. The nearby Kreuzkirche and Sandkirche were also Roman Catholic. The main Lutheran churches were the Elisabeth church at Ring (Rynek) and Maria Magdalenen church at nearby Schuhbrücke (ul. Szewska). The ecclesiastical city centre was towards the north limited by the Botanical garden, founded in 1811.

### The planned late medieval city

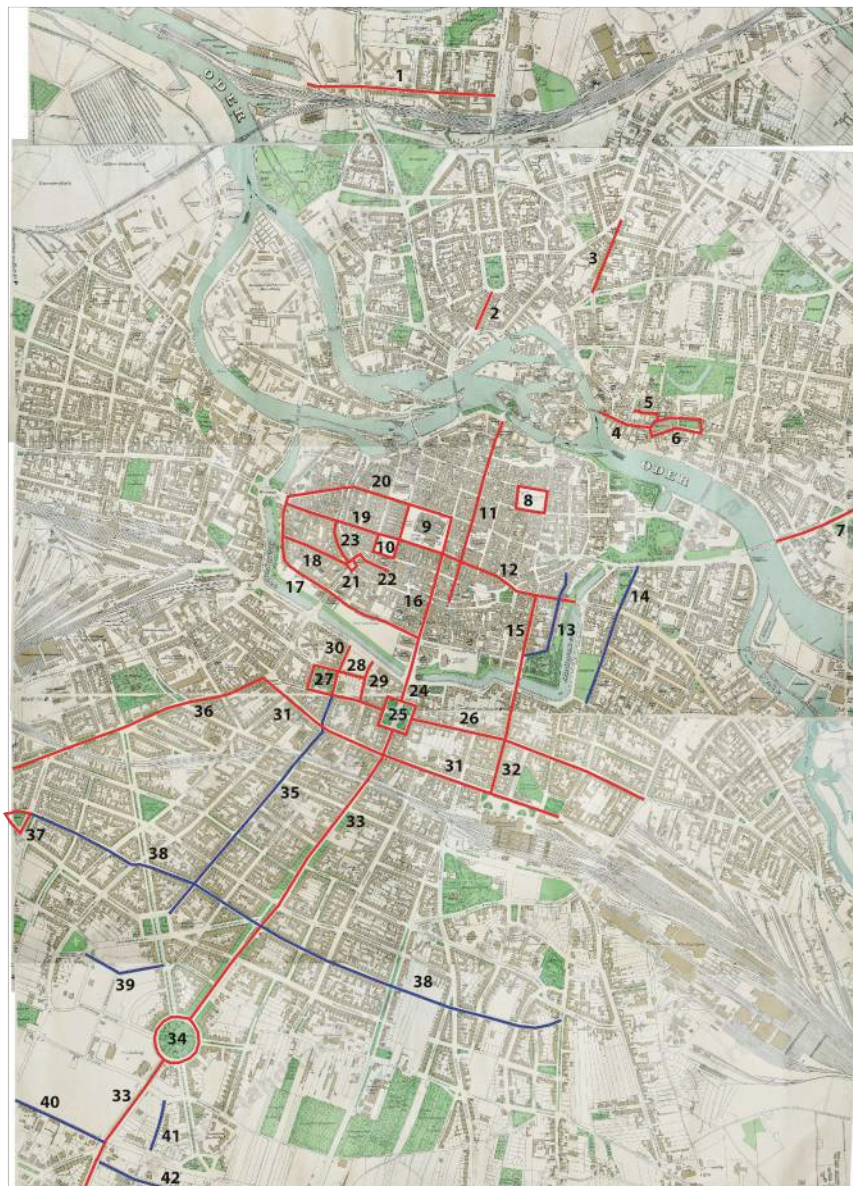
South of the river is the Old Town, mostly laid out in 1241 in a regular pattern around the big market square Ringplatz, with the City hall, the large Elisabeth Church and the nearby St. Mary Magdalene Church from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The old town image is also characterised by several other old churches and monasteries. The northern part of the planned medieval city had still in interwar years an academic and ecclesiastical character with the university and the Matthias, Ursulinen and St. Vinzenz churches. The main commercial area in the medieval city *Wrocław / Breslau map from 1937 with studied streets indicated.*

was around the three squares Ring, Blücherplatz (pl. Solny) and Neumarkt (pl. Nowy Targ) and the adjacent Schweidnitzer Straße (ul. Świdnicka), Ohlauer Straße (ul. Olawska) and Schuhbrücke (ul. Kuźnicza).

Around **Ring** were 60 buildings, most of them with medieval history and others from the 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many buildings had special names, such as *Goldene Sonne*, *Sieben Kurfürsten*, *Goldene Krone* and *Halber Mond*. The sides around Ring were called *Kurfürstenseite* (W), *Becherseite* (S), *Grüne Röhrseite* (E) and *Naschmarkseite* (N). The buildings of Gebrüder

## Wrocław - Breslau. Streets studied.

- Streets studied and described systematically.
- Streets mentioned in memories, shortly described.



- |                                       |  |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 Kletschkauer Str. / ul. Kleczowska  | 18 Antonienstr. / ul. Św. Antoniego                    | 31 Gartenstr. / ul. Piłsudskiego   |
| 2 Moltkestr. / ul. Wł. Łokietka       | 19 Reusche Str. / ul. Ruska                            | 32 Neue Taschenstr. / ul. H. Kołłątaja   |
| 3 Blücherstr. / ul. Poniatowskiego    | 20 Nikolaistr. / ul. Św. Mikołaja                      | 33 Kaiser-Wilhelm-Str. / ul. Powstańców Śląski                                       |
| 4 Domstr. / ul. Katedralna            | 21 Karlsplatz / pl. Bohaterów Ghetto                   | 34 Kaiser-Wilhelm-Pl. (Reichspräsidentenpl. ; Hindenburg-Pl. / pl. Powstańców Śląski |
| 5 Kleine Domstr. / ul. Św. Idziego    | 22 Roßmarkt / ul. K. Szajnochy                         | 35 Höfchenstr. / ul. Zielińskiego  |
| 6 Domplatz / pl. Katedralny           | 23 Goldeneradegasse / part of ul. Kazimierza Wielkiego | 36 Gräbschener Str. / ul. Grabiszyńska   |
| 7 Kaiserstr. / pl. Grunwaldzki        | 24 Neue Schweidnitzer Str. / ul. Świdnicka             | 37 Rehdoger Pl. / p. I. L. Perca   |
| 8 Neuer Markt / Nowy Targ             | 25 Tautenzienpl. / pl. T. Kościuszki                   | 38 Augustastr. / Ul. Szczęśliwa (only parts remain of the street)                    |
| 9 Ring / Rynek                        | 26 Tautenzienstr. / ul. T. Kościuszki                  | 39 Agathstr. / ul. Jantarowa   |
| 10 Blücherpl. / pl. Solny             | 27 Museumspl. / pl. Muzealna                           | 40 Kurassierstr. / Al. Hallera   |
| 11 Scuhbrücke / ul. Kuźniczka         | 28 Eichbornstr. / ul. Druckiego - Lubeckiego           | 41 Wölfstr. / ul. Poczтова   |
| 12 Ohlauer Str. / ul. Olawska         | 29 Anger / ul. Łakowa                                  | 42 Kastanienallee / ul. Kasztanowa   |
| 13 Neue Gasse / ul. Nowa              | 30 Museumstr. / ul. Muzealna                           |  |
| 14 Feldstr. / ul. Krasińskiego        |  |  |
| 15 Taschenstr. / ul. P. Skargi        |  |  |
| 16 Schweidnitzer Str. / ul. Świdnicka |  |  |
| 17 Wallstr. / ul. P. Włodkowica       |  |  |

Barasch department store, Café “Goldene Krone”, Gerson Fränkel ladies’ fashion and Louis Lewy ladies’ coats at Grüne Röhreseite and the Albert Michaelis ladies’ coats and the Trautner Successors ladies’ fashion at the Naschmarktseite were important examples of fin-de-siècle commercial architecture. Arno Selten<sup>28</sup> recalls that The Barasch store was “*arisiert*” and renamed Münstermann & Haedecke. The 10-storey modernist Städtischen Sparkasse building from 1931, at the corner with Blücherplatz caused much discussion. Around the square were all kinds of stores, addressing to consumers from the whole city and region, such as the *bookstores* Hirt, Marischke & Berndt, Preuß & Jünger, Priebatsch and Rathaus-Buchhandlung, the *menswear* stores Brieger and Georg Hünert, the *jewellery* E. Guttentag; the *furniture* store Carl Scholz, the *shoe* stores Klasner and Tack, the *silk and velvet* store Hecht & David, the *carpet* store V. Martin, the *music* stores Musik-Rieger and Musik-haus Felix Kayser and the *wine* stores Littauer and Ernst Fleck. There was only one *restaurant*, Schweidnitzer Keller in the City Hall, one *café*, “Goldene Krone” and the *patisserie (Konditorei)* Karl Frank, and two *chocolate* shops, B. Pohl and Walter Blenn. There was the Ring Theatre, but no cinema. In small pavillions in front of the Town Hall was sold fruit, tobacco, newspapers, shoes, sausages – remembered by Arno Selten – and meat. There was also a “breakfast hall”. In the buildings next to the City Hall “inside” the Ring were several crafts and artisan shops as well as bakeries, tobacconists and of municipal service. In the small buildings in front of Elisabeth Church were F. Kietz *flower* shop, H. Gonska *hairdressers* and J. Böhm *cheese* store. So, Ring was a place for shopping, but not so much for relaxing and eating – today it is on the contrary. The inhabitants at Ring were socially mixed: from lawyers, doctors and consuls to clerks, stenographers, waiters and workers. There were many merchants, tailors and different kinds of craftsmen.

At **Blücherplatz**, adjacent to Ring, were the *restaurants* Siechen Bierhaus and Gaststätte am Blücherplatz (Schirdewan) and the W. Niklas and Karl Frank *patisseries* – the last one at the passage down to Rossmarkt. At the south east corner was Hamburger *glass and china* store. Around the square was also sold menswear, uniforms, working clothes, the only shoes, ladies’ hats and coats, laces, cotton, furnitures, wall paper, perfume, candies and other goods and there were a grocer, tobacconists, a butcher, a coffee roaster, hairdressers and several tailors. The pharmacy “Mohren-Apotheke” was located in an extremely modernist building from 1928, designed by Adolf Rading. In “Alte Börse” was municipal offices. Several doctors, dentists and lawyers lived at the square. Nr. 4, where several merchant lived, was owned by the Synagogen-Gemeinde. Also around Blücher-Platz, most buildings had special names. Blücherplatz was a secondary, but still important commercial centre compared with Ring, and with more shops for local inhabitants.

The third square, **Neuer Markt**, was more oriented to local inhabitants and relax than the other two squares. Also here, most of the old buildings had special names. Old photos show the *restaurants* Bierhaus am Neumarkt, Gaststätte Wilder Mann 33, Gaststätte zu den 2 Tauben and Krähe-Stübl. The *chocolate* company B. Pohl had a shop there. There was also Oskar Dehmel *menswear* store. There were one or several *bakers, butchers, drugstores, pharmacies* (M. Kintzel), *groceries, dairies, tobacconists, furniture* stores (Möbel-Feige, E. Seidel), *flour* stores, *shoe* stores (F. Jantz, A. Gottwald), *hairdressers*, a *bicycle store* (E. Richardt), “Breslauer Kaffeerösterei Otto Stiebler” and other firms. Nr. 1-8 had been replaced by a municipal office building. This, and the corner building nr 33 prewar buildings are the only of the originally 45 buildings around the square that remain today.

**Schweidnitzer Straße** was the principal commercial street in Breslau. Here were, among other shops, the *fashion* stores Willy Caspari and Gebrüder Jacoby, the *menswear* store Pniok & Wachowski, the *jeweller* shop Fritz Heinrich, the *toy* store A. Kabach Successors, the *cinema* Palast-Theater, Carl Micksch *chocolate* store, Olympia *typewriter* store, the linen store Faulhaber, the *silk and velvet* stores Michels & Cie, A. Mugdan, Senft & Exner and Stoff Bender,

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<sup>28</sup> One of the interviewed persons, with partly Jewish background.

the *carpet* store Hans Baucke, the *hat* store Georg Matschke and the *wine* stores Christian Hansen, Fritz Preusse and Coll's Weinhaus Traube. Pedro Coll was importer of Spanish wines and fruits – "Spanisches Importhaus" – and had a popular "Frucht-Konditorei" at Nr. 30. This is remembered by Arno Selten. Here were also the *cafés* Thorwache, Bertram and Schloß-Café, the *patisserie* K. Bertram and *hotel* Monopol, close to Dorotheenkirche. At Schweidnitzer Straße was also the Opera. Two modernist commercial buildings were the department stores Wilhelm Knittel from 1929 (architect Max Strassburg) and Eduard Bielschowsky from 1930 (architect Hermann Wahlich), selling linen and silk scarfs. Also photo articles, radios, musical instruments, paper, fountain-pens, kitchen utensils, leather, stamps, shoes, tobacco and many other goods could be bought here. There was a special "Japanhaus". Several doctors, opticians, architects, lawyers and consuls lived along the street, but also workers. This was a very busy street. Arno Selten recalls the sign *Mont Blanc* at the pen shop in the street side opposite the opera.

**Ohlauer Straße** was also a busy commercial street. At the corner with Schuhbrücke was the Rudolf Petersdorff *fashion department store*, an avant-garde modernist building from 1927-28, designed by Erich Mendelsohn. Among other addresses along the street could be mentioned Ehape *department store*, C. A. Kluge and W. Leopold *book stores*, Hillman, Stanislaus Larisch and Georg Neumann *jewellers*, A. Karfunkelstein, C & A Brenninkmeyer and Lewin & Sieradzki *fashion stores*, F. A. Prause *silk and velvet store*, Saxonia *cotton ware store*, Etam *stockings*, J. Speier *shoe store*, K. Pluntke and Wilhelm Suhr *furniture shops*, E. Matzke *Kunsthandlung*, Herbert Winkler and Willi Weinert *radio stores* and Alter Weinstock and M. Soer *restaurants*, Grundmann & Wiemann *café*, Gustav Bader *patisserie*, Adolf Weise *chocolate shop* and M. Kempinsky *wine store*. There were *drugstores*, *tobacconists* and *grocers* and a rather mixed population. Several buildings had special names. Arno Selten recalls the Wipra GmbH *candy and chocolate factory* at Nr. 64-65. On the other side of Stadtgraben, Ohlauer Straße continued as Klosterstraße (ul. Traugutta), and on its left side, at Feldstraße (ul. Krasińskiego), was the modern *Postscheckamt* from 1926-29, designed by Lothar Neumann. Arno Selten recalls the sensational paternoster lift in this building.

**Schuhbrücke** was parallel to Schweidnitzer Straße, passing Maria Magdalenen church, Magdalenen-Gymnasium and St. Matthias Gymnasium. Its south section had a commercial character, although of secondary importance, and towards north it was in the more academic district. The population structure was mixed, with many artisans, merchants and workers. Among addresses at Schuhbrücke were beside Rudolf Petersdorff department store, Heydebrandt and R. Rischkowsky *printing houses*, Wilhelm Erkert *shoe store*, Alte Kessels-Weinstuben, F. Pavel, S. Israel and A. Hübner wine stores, Nawrath & Co and Ida Koch furniture store, E. Walter, A. Mende and J. Schöbel *clothes and fashion stores*, D. Langner *watch store*, C. Dondorf & Sohn *jeweller*, P. Laske *bicycles*, O. Gottwald *newspaper and journal store* and Kaufmannsheim Vereinszimmer *restaurant*. There were *butchers*, *dairies*, *food stores*, *bakers*, *tobacconists* and other shops, oriented to the local inhabitants. *Uniforms* could be bought at L. Rumler, Freyer & Dreier and Seidel & Sohn.

### The "Four shrines neighbourhood".

The southwest part of historic Breslau – between the 13<sup>th</sup> century city walls and Stadtgraben, had for centuries a multi-ethnic character. Its present denomination refers to the Jewish centre and Storch Synagogue (at former Wallstrasse), the Roman Catholic St. Nicholas Church, the Greek-Orthodox Cathedral of the Virgin Mary's Nativity and the Evangelical-Augsburg Lutheran Church of God's Providence. The main streets in the area are Wallstraße (ul. Pawła Włodkowica), Antonienstraße (ul. Św. Antoniego), Reusche Straße (ul. Ruska) and Nikolaistraße (ul. Św. Mikołaja). In the old rampart area was Karlsplatz (pl. Bohaterów Getta) and the narrow streets Karlstraße, Goldeneradegasse that after 1945 have been replaced by the broad ul. Kazimierza Wielkiego. The adjacent, preserved Roßmarkt is today ul. K. Szajnochy. Until

World War II the area around Antonienstraße, Wallstraße west of Graupenstraße (ul. Krupnicza) and Karlsplatz had a significant Jewish population.

**Wallstraße** was site of several organisations as well as of small and local shops. Its commercial significance was limited, but it was an important Jewish cultural centre. Nr. 7-9 and 25 were owned by *Synagogengemeinde* and Nr. 14, 16 and 18 by *Fränckel'sche Stiftung*. At Nr. 7-9 were the White Storch Synagogue, *Verband zur Erziehung hilfsbedürftigen Israelitischer Kinder*, the central office of the Synagogengemeinde and the Jewish orphanage – were Anita Lasker Wallfisch<sup>29</sup> and her sister were placed in 1942 – and at Nr. 14 was the *Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar*. In the corner Wallstraße – Antonienstraße was a small synagogue. Among shops at Wallstraße could be mentioned W. Frickart *chocolate and tobacco* store, M. Warschauer *timber* store, B. Rosenfeld and E. Vogel *textile* stores, H. Stehr *paper* store, H. George *menswear* store, E. Hermann *underwear* store, C. Falk *leather* store, Langer & Co *glove* store, H. Lewy *jeweller*, M. Launer *dairy*, F. Jaffé and P. Löffel *groceries*, and O. Kuppe *butcher* store. Among factories and organisations were Reichsbauamt, Deutscher Lloyd, British vice consulate, H & D Hielscher publishing house, M. Weiß umbrella factory, “Deutsch-Polnische Handelskammer” and “Volksbibliothek”. There lived several doctors, university professors, lawyers, merchants, tailors, locksmiths and different other artisans. At Nr. 11, was before 1937 the *book and newspaper* store “Seltens Lesezirkel”, owned by Adolf Selten, father to Arno Selten.

**Antonienstraße** was connected with Wallstraße by several properties. From Nr. 6, there was a passage, owned by Synagogengemeinde, down to White Storch synagogue and Wallstraße 7-9. “Pokoyhof” at Nr. 2-4 with a passage to Wallstraße 1-3, had many enterprises, such as M. Hauscher *clothe factory*, Kamf & Spindler *silkwares*, Mar. Cohn & Co *haberdashery*, Rubek & Strauss *menswear*, N. Schiftan *apron factory*, M. Lewy and Tuch & Angretz *umbrella factories*, L. Meckauer and P- Taussig *leather stores*, Rosenbaum & Muschel *cotton weavers*, *Schlesische Linoleum & Wachs* (H. Birkenfeld), Gebrüder Simon *textile wares* and J. Wolff *paper store*. At Nr. 15, on the north side of the street, “Niepoldshof” had a passage to Reuschegasse 51. Also here were a large number of enterprises, among them the *menswear factories* J. Buchholz and H. Deutsch, the *workers' clothe* store J. Ascher, the *textile* firms B. Guttman, S. Mamelok and J. Neumark, the printing house P. Plischke, the commercial agents P. Rosenkrantz, W. Kutschke and M. Schweitzer, the *upholstery* store W. Greulich, the *cigar* store L. Dombrower and the *grocery* J. Schwarzmeier. In the courtyard bildings there were several other enterprises, such as *art publisher*, *menswear factories*, *coat factory*, *shoe store*, *sewing thread factory*, *cliché factory*, *bedclothes factory*, *textile store*, *leather belt store*, *printing house*, *boilermaker* and *dairy*. A third property, Nr. 24, had also many enterprises, as *groceries*, *printing house*, *carpentry*, *shoemaker*, *hat factory*. Along the street was several other stores like J. Katz *goldsmith*, E. Katz *furrier*, Rosa Langner *fish* store, S. Kwiledt *butcher*, A. Rosenfeld *shoemaker*, W. Ikenberg and B. Sieburt *pastry* shops and several *groceries* and *dairies*. There were also *tailors* and other *craftsmen* and *service* firms and employed of different kinds. Several merchants lived there. There were some *restaurants*, “Zum goldenen Zepter”, B. Marker and “Zum Tempel”. At Antonienstraße was also a synagogue at Nr. 20 and the Elisabetherin convent at Nr. 28-34. Many names at the street are traditional Jewish, but several name can be both Jewish and ethnic German, and several names have a Slavonic origin.

**Reusche Straße** was a rather busy commercial street. Among the stores were Felix Epstein *ladies' coats* factory and store, Marcus & Sohn *menswear* store, “Defaka” *department store*, R. Marschall *china* store, “Brauerei zum großen Meerschiff”, Albert Gutschke *leather* store, *restaurant* “Grüner Pollak”, F. Schulz *music* store, Gottstein & Sohn *furrier* and Klosterlitz & Litzner, *clothe textiles*.

At **Nikolaistraße** was the Evangelic St. Barbara church, today Greek Orthodox. At Nr. 63 was a school, “Volkschulhaus”. Close to the Elisabeth Church was Emanuel Bielschowsky *linen*

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<sup>29</sup> One of the interviewed persons, with Jewish background.

store. Among other enterprises were were *Brauerei zum Grenzhaus*, R. G. Leuchtag *ladies' wears*, Hoffmann & Thon *menswear*, *Scala cinema*, Martha Schmidt *furniture* and Kahle & Cless *radio*. There were several small shops, most oriented at local costumers. There were one or several *paper stores, tobacconists, hairdressers, confectioners, butchers, stocking stores, glass-ware stores, shoemakers, furriers, straw hat stores, drugstores, coffee stores* and *bakers and merchants* and craftsmen of different kinds. There was the "Allerheiligen" *pharmacy*. It is not evident, whether there was any restaurant.

At **Karlsplatz** was the imposing *Städtische Sparkasse.*, also including the City Archive and the City Library. An old photo shows the signs *Schlüter & Co Gaskocher & Gaskronen, Eduard Hartmann Blumenfabrik & Blätterfabrik* and *Molkerei-Produkte* at the corner house to Antonienstraße. Another photo shows to the left of Goldeneradegasse *Hotel Schindler* and *Kornbrennerei Gebr. Wolff jr.* and on the right side *Restehandlung R. Glücksmann, Keiler linen and cotton store* and *S. Hahn Conditorei*.

At **Goldeneradegasse** 12 – 14 are the signs Heinrich Grünpeter (*butcher*), Heinrich Sachs Nachf. – Inh. Adolf Nebel and *Restaurant*. At the same street was also Dorothea Weissmann *Geflügel-Handlung*. Another photo from Goldene Rade Gasse shows H. Fleischmann *Restaurant* (Nr. 4), M. Malzahn *Restaurations & Billard* (Nr. 3), in the next house (Nr. 2), *Reste-Haus "Centrale"* and Johannes Koschny *Schneidermeister*. At next house (Nr. 1) are the signs "Felsch'sches *Musik-Institut*", Carl Wiehle, *Milch- u. Butter-Handlung* and Benno (...). The picture captions says that in Nr. 2 was also a *synagogue*.

Ferdinand Lasalle was born at **Roßmarkt** 6. An old photo shows here the shops D. Glück *haberdashery*, O. Guttmann *cigars*, Gebrüder Wezel *factory for men's and boys' clothes* and Koenig & Stenke *iron and building material* – in the "Hoffnung" house. At Roßmarkt was also *Städt. Hochbauamt, Gläubiger Schutzverband Breslau*, A. Graebisch *leather store* F. Laqueur *laundry establishment*, M. Wagner *shoe store*. L. Faerber *textile store* H. Seidemann *clothes factory*.

### South of Stadtgraben

South of Stadtgraben was another important area for the Jewish society but also for the Nazis – *Neue Synagoge* and its surroundings. **Anger (ul. Łakowa)** was the street passing the synagogue. At the eastern side, Nr. 2-6 was the great synagogue from the 1860s and at Nr. 8-10 were the *Synagogue seminary; Library of Synagogengemeinde; "Jüdische Volksschule"* and "*Neuer jüdischer Schulverein*", But on the opposite side, Nr. 1-5 was used by the police, "*Polizeipräsidium*", and Nr. 7 by the Nazi party, NSDAP – this was a construction site in 1927. The next buildings, Nr. 9-11 had Jewish owners, E. Cohen and the lawyer Dr. Alfons Lasker<sup>30</sup>. Here were some construction firms and a shoe agency. In Nr. 13, owned by S. John, was E. Fernbach *candy store* and G. Brühl *rubber products*, and organisations and offices such as "*Lesezimmer d. Christl. Wissenschaft*", "*Arbeitsvermittlung*" and "*Kranken- und Sterbekasse d. Bresl. Kfm. Vereins v. 1934*".

The buildings at nearby **Museumstraße (ul. Muzealna)** were used by "*Amtsgericht*" and "*Polizeipräsidium*". Anita Lasker Wallfisch says, their family was moved from Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße to Museumstraße. It might be to some of the buildings, owned by "*Amtsgericht*", but partly inhabited by lawyers. Behind Museumstraße was the "*Landgericht*" and the examination prison. Anita Lasker Wallfisch and her sister were held there for a period. At the adjacent **Muzeumsplatz (plac Muzealny)** were also court buildings, used by *Staatsanwaltschaft* and a building used by the post system, but also some shops and several offices. There was A. Fabian *candy shop*, O. Bruscsch *dairy*, E. Schreiber *grocery* and A. Kalischer *feedstore*, as well as *insurance companies, technical*

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<sup>30</sup> Father of Anita Lasker-Wallfisch.

*bureaus and factory offices, printing houses, professional organisations and import firms.* In Nr. 6 and 9 lived a great number of *lawyers*. In Nr. 10 lived Julius Lasker, probably a relative to Anita.

**Höfchenstraße (the northern part is today a part of ul. Muzealna)** began at Museumsplatz. At Nr. 1 was the last apartment of the Lasker family. From there, Anita's parents were deported to death camp, but the girls were left home. All cupboards, wardrobes and drawers in the apartment was sealed, and the girls could not get their clothes. Later they were taken to the Jewish orphanage at Wallstraße. The apartment was given to the Eschenbach family. In 1937, W. Eschenbach had a refrigeration firm in the house.

**Tauntzienplatz (plac Tadeusza Kościuszki)** and its crossing streets Tauntzienstraße and Neue Schweidnitzer Straße formed an extension of the main city centre. At the north east corner of Tauntzienplatz was the large, modernist *Wertheim department store*, erected in 1928, designed by Hermann Dernburg. Around the square were several meeting-places such as *Café Tauntzien, Hotel Savoy, Charlott Gaststätten, Bierhaus Zeipert* and *Tauntzien-Theater*. There were B. Bikowski *confectioner*, O. Schönfelder *delicatessen store* and A. Berger *chocolate store*. Other stores, probably attracting costumers from the whole city were Schweitzer Nachf. Beyer & Frommer *bookstore*, Hielscher & Ahrent, *motor bikes*, G. Heinicke, *ladies' wear* and Roßdeutscher & Reisig, *silver smiths*. Arno Selten remembers that Wertheim was "arisiert" and reduced. Two-three floors were closed. Here came the Partent company, making compasses for aircrafts and submarines, and there was also a branch of Junkers aircraft industrie. He also remembers the Etam *ladies' wear* shop and the H. Hommel *tool* shop at Nr. 76.

Parellel to Tauntzienstraße, passing the main railway station, was **Gartenstraße (ul. Piłsudskiego)**, one of the busiest streets of the city. This was the main *hotel* street with the hotels Adler, Hohenzollernhof, Hubertus-Hof, Vier Jahreszeiten and Nord. There were also the *cafés* König and Vier Jahreszeiten, the *Konditoreien* Ernst Müller and Anni Welser and the *restaurant* Emil Fache, the *Bierhaus* Orwi and Otto Förster *chocolate store*. At this street there were also the Capitol and Regina *cinemas*, the *Concert Hall* (remembered by Anita Lasker Wallfisch), E. Kern *ladies' fashion*, HeiNr. Gumpert and Otto Stammwitz *jewellers*, two *shoe* stores, two *photo* stores, three *radio* stores, three *travel agencies*, four *typewriter* stores, a *carpet* store, a *glass and china* store, a *watch* store and a *printing house*. There were also two *car* sellers. Arno Selten remembers that there were several restaurants, of "fast food" kind, in the city, owned by the Emil Fache Co.

**Tauntzienstraße (ulica Tadeusza Kościuszki)** itself was somewhat less busy. There were three *car* sellers, *restaurant* Haase, *hotel* Viktoria, the *childrens' wear* store Julius Sachs, four *radio* stores and one *typewriter* store.

At **Neue Schweidnitzer Straße (part of ulica Świdnicka)** were Lotte Rieger *vegetarian restaurant*, Silwestra *health food* products, *restaurant* "Zum Heldekrug", *Café* Vaterland, Palast-Theater *cinema*, J. Max & Co and E. Wellman *bookstores*, Elisabeth Gerstel *ladies' fashion*, S. B. Rubin *men's fashion*, Arnold Rosenthal and C. Frey & Söhne *jewellers*, Lloyd *travel agency*, Erich Telg *typewriter* store, Nordsee *fish* store, J. Penner *pastry* shop, E. Sowa *candy* shop, Gobtzyk *chocolate* store, Leipziger & Koessler *carpet* store and Martin Fischer, A. Rosenthal and G. Lippelt *watch* stores. There were also one or several *tobacconists, grocers, perfume* stores, *drugstores, bakeries, photo* stores, *opticians*, a *sport* store and several *factories* and stores. Several *doctors, dentists* and *lawyers* lived at this street, which was undoubtedly a "good address". Anita Lasker Wallfisch recalls that when her parents had been deported, she and her sister tried to poison themselves with cyankalium at the corner Neue Schweidnitzer Straße / Gartenstraße, but failed.

At **Gräbschener Straße (ul. Grabiszyńska)** were *Hermann Langer umbrellas*, A. Lindner *cars*, *restaurant* Schuberet-Gaststätten, Patria and M. Rothenberg *department store*, Atlantik-Metropol *cinema*, Buchmann and Augustin Sprotte *furniture* stores, A. Winkler *tropical fruits* and Julius Schatzky *wine* store.

**Taschenstraße (ul. Kołłątaja)** had the *restaurants* Liebshöhe and Schubert Gaststätten, the *cinema* Olympia and Gottfried Friedrich *furniture* store, Fischer & Co *photo* store and at Alte Taschenstraße were Engel-Läden *typewriters* store and Quintern & Co *carpet* store.



At **Neue Taschenstraße (ul. Powstańców Śląski)** were the *hotels* Hansa, Breslauer Hof and Reichshof and the Herrmann Will *furniture* store, Otto Koschmann *bookstore*, Lindner & Co and K. Roeder *radio* stores and the Gustav Altmann *watch* store.

### The district south of the railway

South of the railway a large urban district developed in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the area was dense and closed urban blocks but in the southern part there were villa areas, down to *Südpark*. Both Arno Selten and Anita Lasker Wallfisch recall playing in *Südpark*. The largest street was Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße, a prolongation of Scheidnitzer Straße – Neue Schweidnitzer Straße. Other important streets were Hohenzollernstrasse, Höfchenstraße, Neudorfstraße and the crossing streets Goethestraße, Augustastraße and Victoriastraße. At Kürassierstraße was the Kürassier military barracks. Arno Selten remembers a Jewish Hanukkah celebration in the Roxy cinema at Kürassierstraße. **Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße** was a long and monumental street, mostly with middle class and upper middle class population. The shops had partly city centre character, partly local character. Among the shoperes were Felix Korn and Gerhard Guse, *cars*, *Konditorei* Hutmacher, the *photo shops* Breslauer Photohandlung – Camera and St. Hubertus-drogerie, Maria Püschel *glass and china* store. Geschw. Honiger *typewriters* and Karl Stein *carpets*. Anita Lasker Wallfisch grew up at Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße 69, near the intersection to Augustastraße, where her aunt lived. Later, the Nazis ordered them to move to Museumstraße. Halfway at the street was the circular **Kaiser-Wilhem-Platz**, also **Reichspräsidenten-Platz** or **Hindenburg-Platz (plac Powstańców Śląski)**. Here lived upper middle class inhabitants as bankers, lawyers, professors, doctors, dentists, diploma engineers, military officers and merchants. Here was also a *tobacconist*, a *pharmacy* and E. Vogt *fashion salon* as well as the Danish consulate. Nr. 12 was used by NSDAP with "Gruppenführer Schlesien" and "Motorbrigade Schlesien". In 1927, Nr. 12 was owned by the merchant widow M. Breslauer and inhabited by the families Blumberg, Böhm, Latte (cf. below), Lubliner, Scholtz and Wolff. Arno Selten remembers the Jewish Hospital at Neudorfstraße (now part of Aleja Akacjow), close to Hindenburg-Platz.

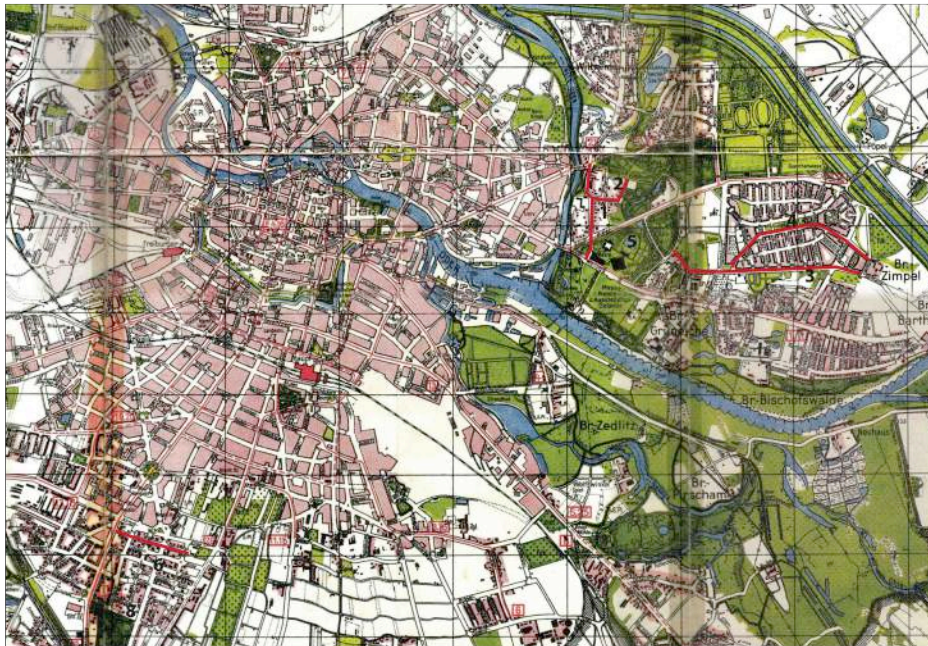
**Rehdiger Platz (plac Icchak Lejb Pereca)** was in the west end of Augustastraße. The population around the square was mixed. Here was two Jewish schools, *Höhere Jüdische Schule für Knaben und Mädchen* and *Jüdische Volksschule Breslau für Knaben und Mädchen*. Anita Lasker Wallfisch and her sister had to leave the private Weinhold school and move to the Jewish school at Rehdiger Platz. Anita Lasker Wallfisch was born at **Agathstraße (ul. Jantarowa)** 8, not far from Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße. This was an upper middle-class street. She also remembers **Kastanienallee (ul. Kasztanowa)**, one of the villa streets in the south. Here lived several directors, doctors, professors, teachers, merchants and public employees. The Lasker family also lived here for a period.

### The villa district east of Alte Oder

East of the river branch Alte Oder was an attractive district with the Zoological garden, the fair area, the *Hundertjahrhalle* (Centennial Hall) from 1913, designed by Max Berg, the Japanese garden and the Scheitniger park. Not far from Centennial Hall was the very modern *Park Hotel* from 1929, designed by Hans Scharoun and owned by I. Lampner. In 1937 the former Tiergartenstraße through the area had been renamed Adolf-Hitler-Straße. North of this street was **Parkstraße (ul. Parkowa)**, a villa street of upper and middle class character with remains of an old village. Its side street **Wardeinstraße (ul. Witelona)** was a villa street of rather upper-class character, with doctors, bank directors, lawyers, merchants and some widows. Arno Selten grew up in a villa at Nr. 7 at the corner between Wardeinstraße and a small cul-de-sac (on the west side). He remembers the "Schweizererei" café in the beautiful Scheitniger Park. His father, who had a Jewish background but had left Jewish faith for *monism*. He had to sell his bookstore and move the establishment to Gliwicz (Gliwice) in Upper Silesia in 1935. According to special rules from the treaty of Versailles, he was allowed to have his shop there, but in 1937 these rules were abandoned and the shop closed. The family returned

### Wrocław - Breslau. Streets studied in the outer districts.

Streets studied and described systematically.



1 Parkstraße / ulica Parkowa  
2 Wardeinstraße / ulica Witelona  
3 Zimpeler Straße / ulica Edwarda Dembrowskiego  
4 Möwenweg / ulica Partyzantów

5 Hundertjährralle / Hala Stolecia  
6 Villa district Kastanienallee / ul. Kasztanowa etc.  
7 Jewish hospital  
8 Südpark / Park Południowy

to Breslau but was not allowed to live in the villa that they still formally owned. They moved into a flat at **Wölflstraße (ul. Pocztowa)**, close to Hindenburg-Platz. Arno Selten's mother and the children were Lutheran, and not directly persecuted. The father died in 1942 of a bladder disease, maybe due to bad hospital treatment. Arno Selten began school at Scheitniger Straße. He never went to the Maria-Magdalenen-Gymnasium at Parkstraße. After returning from Gleiwitz he went to the private "Höhere Lehranstalt Dr. Mittelhaus" at **Neue Gasse (ul. Nowa) 11**, near the old bastion Liebichshöhe at Stadtgraben. Arno's younger brother Reinhard was Nobel laureate in Economic Science in 1994. Anita Lasker Wallfisch had a Jewish friend, Konrad Latte, at Parkstraße 36, son to the merchant, dr. jur. Manfred Latte. One day, an SS man came and took away their violin and grand piano for use in his own family. Manfred Latte had earlier lived at former Kaiser-Wilhelmsplatz 12 in the house taken over by NSDAP. There he had the shop "Henschel & Riess Nachfolger".

### Zimpel (Sępolno) and Bischofswalde (Biskupin) – two interwar suburban districts in eastern Breslau

Zimpel and Biskupin were two urban growth districts in interwar years. They were planned in the 1920s, inspired by the English and German garden city movements, with different levels of streets, most densely built up along the central main streets and smaller buildings, also villas, in the more peripheric streets. Zimpel had a central green area with school and church. **Möwenweg (ul. Partyzantów)** was the main street of Zimpel, with mixed middle class population. There were many public employed, especially by the municipality (e. g. "Stadtinspektoren"), and many engineers and merchants. Local establishments such as dairy, butcher, poultry shop, pharmacy, book store two paper stores, bank and Konditorei. School and congregation house. Almost the whole area was owned by Siedlungs-Gesellschaft Breslau AG. **Zimpeler Straße (ul. Edwarda Dembrowskiego)** was street along the southern edge of

Zimpel. Very few shops: B. Pohl candy store and Z. Obst bakery. Some buildings owned by Siedlungs-Gesellschaft Breslau AG, other were private villas. There was a library and a recreation place for "Krankenkassenverbände". Many "Stadtinspektoren" lived here. There were some Polish and, probably Jewish names.

### **The district north of the Oder (Odra)**

Between Oder river and the northern railway station Odertorbahnhof, a dense urban district had developed from the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The main streets towards north were Matthiasstraße, Rosenthaler Straße and the double street axis Bismarckstraße and Trebnitzer Straße up to the station. Also north of the railway there were some dense blocks along Kletschaugasse, which was a connection to the river harbour to the west. The northern districts was more characterised by workers and small craftsmen than the southern and eastern districts. There were also more Poles. Some sites had a higher social status, such as the Matthiasplatz between Bismarckstraße and Trebnitzer Straße with the adjacent Moltkestraße and Neue Matthiasstraße.

**Blücherstraße (ulica Poniatowskiego)** connected the old city islands with Matthiasstraße. There were many shops, mostly oriented at local inhabitants. There were one or more groceries, tobacconists, paper stores, coffee stores, bakeries, fish stores, butchers, watch stores, dairies, flower stores, pastry stores, photographers, bookstores and other establishments. There were artisans like goldsmiths, shoemakers, hat makers, brush makers, locksmiths, seamstresses and a sculptor. A special story is connected with Blücherstraße 23-27. When these three apartment houses were confiscated by Polish authorities in 1945, the inhabitants had 20 minutes to leave. Only the owner of Nr. 27, a baker, was allowed to stay, to provide the Polish official with fresh bread.<sup>31</sup> In 1937, the baker R. Scholz, was listed at this address.

**Moltkestraße (ulica Władysława Łokietka)** had also many shops. Here could be bought photo articles, chocolat, pastries, leather, flour, a tobacco, baby strollers, radios, shoes, watches, books, furniture, pianos, flowers, paper, newspapers and journals and underwear. There was the pharmacy Storch-Apotheke and the drugstore Moltke-Drogerie, a fish store and a food store. Among artisans were a violin builder, hairdressers, tailors, a plumber, a sausage factory and bakers. The innkeeper H. Gottschling was at Nr. 16. Among the inhabitants were several merchants, an architect, a dentist and a medical doctor. Scheindl-Charlotte Cohn (Nava Ruda)<sup>32</sup> recalls that when she and her parents, after having survived Holocaust in Lwów very narrowly, were directed to a flat at Nr. 8, where the former German inhabitants just before had been forced to leave with a very little time marginal. Almost all of their personal belongings remained in the flat, including photos. The address book of 1937 lists the inhabitants the merchants dr. G. Hartmann (flower shop), P. Jer (food store) and F. Wrzesinski (furniture) as well as the workers H. Gutschmann and M. Hübner, city secretary M. Batschick, restaurant assistant B. Gringmuth, widow A. Hilbig, engineer A. Licht, postman C. Sucker and shoemaker K. Wilksch.

**Kletschkauer Straße (ulica Kleczkowska)** had also shops, mostly for local costumers. There were grocers, butchers, dairies, a pharmacy, a drugstore and not less than 7 bakers. There was a paper store, coal store, a fish store, a confectioner and some shoemakers and watchmakers, hairdressers, a building material store and a furrier. Among artisans were masons, carpenters, plumbers, locksmiths, upholsters etc, maybe working elsewhere. The innkeepers H. Wolff at Nr 33 and W. Merten at Nr. 48 might have restaurants at the same addresses. The inhabitants were mixed: workers, tailors, a sculptor, an architect, waiters, merchants etc but no lawyer, medical doctor or university professor. Very special was a large number of persons working at the railway and tramway sectors. Several inhabitants had Polish or germanised Slavonic names.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Gregor Thum: *Uprooted*. Via Nova, Wrocław 2011.

<sup>32</sup> One of the interviewed persons, from L'viv (Lwów).

**Kaiserstraße (plac Grunwaldzki)**, also north of Oder, was the main street towards north-east. This beautiful, green street connected the historic city centre with the parks and villa districts to the east, and also, by Tiergartenstraße, with the Centennial Hall, the Zoological garden and the new suburban districts Zimpel and Bischofswalde. This monumental street had been constructed from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the map from 1911, the easternmost part of the street, and the intersection with Tiergartenstraße is edged by buildings, but the middle section is empty – the street does not yet exist – and the western part exists, but without buildings along. At the map from the 1930s, the street is complete, but there are still empty lots in the middle section. Generally, the buildings were well constructed, in Jugendstil and early modernism. Among the inhabitants were several lawyers, medical doctors, university professors, architects, military officers, teachers, artists, opera singers and other from the upper middle class. There were also several craftsmen and merchants, and shops of different kinds as well as restaurants. In 1945, the German authorities demolished the buildings along Kaiserstraße in order to establish a runway for military aircrafts.

### Jewish Breslau

Around 1930, 30.000 or 5 % of the Breslau inhabitants were Jewish and well integrated in the German society. Only Berlin and Frankfurt am Main had a larger Jewish population. In proportion to its size, the Jewish population had a very prominent role in science, culture and business. Of the 11 Nobel Prize winners, connected with Breslau<sup>33</sup>, 6 had Jewish background business<sup>34</sup>.

The magnificent New Synagogue from 1865-72 symbolized the Jewish significance in the town. Another Jewish centre was at Wallstraße, with the Storch Synagogue (1827–29), association premises, schools, canteens, etc. Among significant Jewish families in Breslau were Alexander, Barasch, Bielschowsky, Boden, Breslauer, Caro, Cohn, Fraenckel, Gottstein, Heimann, Kauffmann, Kolker, Lewy, Marck, Milch, Oppenheim, Priebatsch, Pringsheim, Rawack, Rinkel, Sachs, Schottländer, Schwerin, Singer, Werther and Wollheim.

Three Jewish commercial houses were precursors of architecture: The Jugendstil Gebrüder Barasch department store at Ringplatz and the early modernist Rudolph Petersdorff fashion house (1927-28, Erich Mendelsohn) and the Wertheim department store (1929-30, Hermann Dernburg).

Already three months after the Nazis came into power in 1933, they initiated a boycott against Jewish shops, with the nonsense sentence: "Who buys at Jews, help world bolshevism!" They made a boycott list, starting with the Wertheim department store. The next group was the fashion stores Caspari and Centawer, the ladies' coats stores Leuchtag and Louis Lewy, the cloth store Hecht & David, the silk house Michels & Cie, the wool store Saxonia and the Wolff Gebrüder restaurants and liquor factory. The third group was the opticians Ocular-

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<sup>33</sup> Theodor Mommsen (1902) and Gerhardt Hauptmann (1912) in literature, Philipp Lenard (1905), Erwin Schrödinger (1933), Otto Stern (1943) and Max Born (1954) in physics, Eduard Buchner (1907), Fritz Haber (1918) and Friedrich Bergius (1931) in chemistry, Paul Ehrlich (1908) in medicine and Richard Selten (1994) in economy. Erwin Schrödinger left Germany in 1933 in protest against anti-Semitism and Nazism.

<sup>34</sup> An important source of this passage is Norman Davies & Roger Moorhouse: *Microcosm. Portrait of a Central European City*, 2003. Jewish culture in Breslau is detailed described in Maciej Łagiewski: *Wrocławsky żydzi 1850 – 1944*, Muzeum Miejskie Wrocławie, Wrocław 2010. Among persons with Jewish background could be mentioned the Noble Prize Winners Lenard, Stern, Born, Haber, Ehrlich and Selten, the social democratic leader Ferdinand Lasalle, the philosophers Edith Stein and Ernst Cassirer, the sociologist Norbert Elias, the reporter Henry Kamm and the historian Walter Laqueur.

ium and Walter Gotel, the wine stores Philippi, Littauer and M. Kempinsky, the shoe stores Leopold Klausner and J. Speier, the menswear stores L. Prager and A. Kreutzberger, the ladies' coats stores Seidner & Co and Michaelis AG, the cloth store Kosterlitz & Litzner, the stocking store Etam, glass and china store Lippik & Hinke, the department store Kaufhaus am Dom, the printing house E. Shetzky and the cafés Fahrig and König. At this time, some Jewish enterprises had already been "aryanized" by sale, e. g. Gebrüder Barasch department store, Petersdorff fashion house, Bielschowsky linen house and Priebatsch bookstore. Some of the owners had already emigrated.

There were also many other Jewish stores and enterprises. In the following years and especially after 1938 all Jewish enterprises were "aryanized" or closed. The sale processes were organised in such way that the payment to the Jews was normally blocked for use and eventually confiscated by the state. Although thousands of Jews emigrated after the Nazis came into power in 1933, 10.000 remained at the *Kristallnacht* in 1938. The large synagogue was then destroyed, and around 2 500 Jews were sent to concentration camps. Jewish institutions were closed and companies and stores were "Aryanised". The remaining Jews were gradually excluded from the society. From July 1941 to June 1943 they were deported to Kaugas, Majdanek, Sobibór, Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. The Storch Synagogue at Wallstrasse and the police station at Odertor (today Nadodrze) railway station were assembling places for deportation.

### **Nazi Breslau**

The address book of 1937 presents Adolf Hitler and Hermann Göring as honorary citizens of Breslau. The Nazi party had given itself a central position in the society. The address book has a special section with Nazi addresses before the section of public authorities and administration. The "Gauleitung Schlesien", with "Gauleiter" Josef Wagner resided at Eichbornstraße 2 (construction site in 1927). The party headquarter of Breslau Stadt was at Bischofstraße 13 (in 1927 here was Hotel König von Ungarn and "Deutsche Hausratswerkstatt) and of Breslau Land at Am Wäldchen 12 (a house in 1927 owned by "Haarverarbeitungs AG" and inhabited by higher middle-class persons).

SA Gruppenführer Graf Fink von Finkenstein had his office at Hindenburgplatz 12 (cf. above). SS Gruppenführer von dem Bach-Zelewski resided at Ebereschentallee 14 (this house was in 1927 owned by the factory owner F. Kemna and also inhabited by the merchant H. W. Eisenhardt-Rothe and the chauffeur A. Kalusche) and Standartenführer Otto Jungkuntz at Ebereschentallee 17 (a house in 1927 owned by dr. engineer R. Brennecke, "Generaldirektor" and inhabited by the households Haase, Heine and Klinkradt). Hitler-Jugend had its central office at Ohlauer Stadtgraben 17-18 (a building 1927 owned by commercial counsellor G. Haase and inhabited by the Fiedler, Haase, Hallek, Nessler and Schaff households) and Bund Deutscher Mädchen at Gartenstraße 104 (in 1927 inhabited by many households and owned by Graf von Ballestrem).

The local government of Silesia was at Lessingplatz 1. The "Gendarmerie" head office was at Lutherstraße 27. Gestapo headquarter was at Eichbornstraße 1-3 (buildings erected for the "Polizeipräsidium" in the 1920s). There were three main levels of courts, all using their old buildings: "Oberlandesgericht" at Ritterplatz 15, "Landgericht", with prison at Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 2-3 and "Amtsgericht" at Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 4 and Museumstraße 1-11.

It is notable that the most important Nazi headquarter the Gestapo headquarter and two of the three main courts and a prison was located close together and also very close to the main synagogue, which was destroyed in 1938, and some central Jewish organisations.

## World War II destruction

When Soviet troops on February 15, surrounded the city, it still had 150.000-250.000 civilians and tens of thousands of forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates. The Soviet Army advanced into the affluent district around Hindenburgplatz followed by street-to-street and house-to-house battles, turning whole neighbourhoods into ashes and rubble. Buildings along Websky-, Tauentzien- and Freiburger Strasse and other streets, like the Museum of Applied Arts were burnt down in order to create German defence lines. Along Kaiserstraße a segment of buildings were demolished to give place for an aircraft runway (cf. above). The Gothic Cathedral and other churches and historic buildings were destroyed in battles. The commander, general Hermann Niehoff, did not surrender until May 6, a stubbornness leading to additional tens of thousands dead. Totally the battles and bombings claimed around 60.000 lives.

Having been rather intact in the beginning of February 1945, Breslau only 3 months later was one of the most damaged cities in Europe. 60 % of the buildings were destroyed, but still the old urban structure and many important buildings remained. Of 186.000 apartments, 52.000 were completely destroyed, 30.000 between 70 and 85 % destroyed and 15.600 between 50 and 70 %.<sup>35</sup>

## Summary, comparisons and conclusions

### Sources and limitation of the research.

The aim of this part of the research project is to describe the urban environment – physical and social – before World War II. This is, as expression of the mostly vanished population, the main object of the memories, memory treatment and attitudes studied in the project. The investigation includes both built structure – *urbs* – and urban society – *civitas* – and the relation between them. *Urbs* is on one hand a stage and condition of *civitas* and on the other hand an effect of *civitas*. In the cities studied, *civitas* was mainly destroyed during and after World War II, while *urbs* to different degrees prevailed. A new *civitas* entered the existing more or less preserved *urbs*.

The investigation initially focused on parts of the oldest urban districts, historically important but at rather low technical and social level. The “lower towns” of Chişinău and Černivci and the northwest part of central L’viv, including the area around Stary Rynek were such districts, also used for the Nazi ghettos in 1941. Breslau had no directly corresponding district, but the southwest part of the planned late medieval town had mixed old buildings, a rather low social status and important Jewish cultural centres. This rather multicultural area is today called “the district of four denominations”.

Soon it was evident that also some main commercial streets and squares should be included in the study, as well as some late 19th century and early 20th century middle and upper class areas and a few villa streets. Interviews with old inhabitants, having personal memories from interwar years, also suggested some streets to be more closely studied. In this way, the studies cover some comparable characteristic urban districts, but not claiming to be scientifically representative for the city life as a whole. The choice of street is partly pragmatic and practically decided, but it covers significant types of urban environment.

The sources – maps and archive material – are also somewhat different in the four cities – focusing on owners, households or enterprises in the years from 1929 to 1940. This is completed by some older archive material and special information, as well as old photos. The

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<sup>35</sup> This passage is mainly based on Thum 2011.

maps have different qualities and details. Also oral and written testimonies and history descriptions have contributed with useful information. Together this material has consisted inputs for descriptions of both *urbs* and *civitas*.

### **Urban fabric in historical context. Modern development in interwar years.**

Lwów and Breslau were both old, rather large Central European university cities with planned late medieval districts surrounded by 19th century development. Several Poles, expelled from Lwów, settled in Breslau. Even older than these planned areas were the Old Town (around Stary Rynek) in Lwów and Dominsel / Ostrów Tumski in Breslau. The planned Medieval town was surrounded by fortifications, removed in the 19th century and replaced by upper and middle class apartments, commercial buildings, monumental buildings and green areas. In Breslau the old moats were transferred to a canal. In this zone and outside it new commercial streets developed together with dense urban areas.

Chişinău and Cernăuţi had another structure. Their late medieval districts were like large villages, spontaneously and irregularly developed with a successive densification. Both towns developed from Moldovan provincial towns to regional capitals of empires having annexed the areas, but there was a difference: The Russian power in Chişinău planned a new, regular grid-net city beside, but connected with the old town, while the Austrian power in Cernăuţi / Czernowitz continued and adjusted an already existing network of roads and paths and added new streets, squares and parks in varying patterns. The Russian plan was more monumental than the Austrian one, but the building pattern was denser and more urban-like in Czernowitz than in Chişinău. In both cities, the new city centre was located uphill in relation to the old town.

Chişinău, Cernăuţi and Lwów were surrounded by hills with small villages, successively developing to garden suburbs. Breslau was surrounded by fields and flatlands also including villages, but more suitable to regular suburb development than the vicinity of the other cities. This also may have affected the social part of the suburb development. Breslau had large planned extension areas from the late 19th century to the interwar years, expressing the contemporary European development of urban planning ideology. Lwów had in interwar years a successive extension of existing street patterns, including mixed, smaller building schemes. In the south part of Cernăuţi there was also a successive growth, while in Chişinău, the Russian grid-net plan had still space for development. Both cities had a growing Romanian middle class, also affecting architecture. In all cities there were interesting examples of early modernism – Bauhaus style – in interwar years. In Chişinău and Cernăuţi there were two parallel lines – modernism and national Brâncoveanu style. In Breslau, Nazi takeover in 1933 implied national romantic or neo-classical style rather than modernist. Modernist architecture was in all four cities partly promoted by emancipated Jewish entrepreneurs or architects.

### **Ethnic and social settlement pattern.**

There were large differences between old, poor districts and higher standard districts in Chişinău, Cernăuţi and Lwów. Also Breslau had notable differences but nevertheless smaller. The settlement pattern was more economically than ethnically decided, but poor districts in Chişinău, Cernăuţi and Lwów had many Yiddish-speaking Jews keeping old traditions. The old, poorer districts in Chişinău, Cernăuţi and Lwów had predominantly Jewish inhabitants, many of them tailors and craftsmen. Synagogengasse in Czernowitz had as many as 109 merchant of different kinds and 66 tailors and numerous combined workshops and shops. There were also several small inns and cafés. The WW2 ghettos were established in these areas. Breslau had no ghetto.

## Ethnic cultural centres

The school buildings were mostly rather large and monumental. There were both public schools for all ethnic groups and schools organised by ethnic and religious organisations. All cities had special Jewish hospitals. All the cities had important sacral ethnic centres.

In Chişinău, there were several old, rather small Moldovan Greek-Orthodox churches in the Old Town, among them the Archangels Mihai and Gavriil church near the Piaţa Veche. As centre of the Russian gridnet town, the main Greek Orthodox cathedral had been erected in the 1830s. This church was in interwar also used by ethnic Romanians (Moldovans), while other churches were either Russian- or Romanian-oriented. The Roman Catholic church was most visited by Poles or Germans, and the Lutheran church most by Germans. There was also an important Armenian church. The most important synagogues were the Choral Synagogue in the gridnet town and the "Three synagogues" in the Old Town, but there were more than 60 smaller synagogues in the city, and several Jewish centres with schools and social institutions.

Cernăuţi had the most multiethnic structure and the most developed system of ethnic cultural palaces. The German, Romanian, Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian national houses were visited had cultural and social events, not only visited by their own ethnic group. In Cernăuţi, the centre of the Greek Orthodox community were the Metropolitan Residence, the main cathedral and the Paraschiva church. The Romanian Orthodox community built the Nicolae church in 1938. There were also the Greek-Catholic Peter-Paul church, the Roman Catholic Heiligenkreuz church (visited by many Poles), the Lutheran church and the large Armenian church.

In Lwów, there were Ukrainian centres in both ends of ulica Ruska, and also around the St. George cathedral and Stary Rynek. Lwów had mostly Roman Catholic churches, but also the St. George cathedral, "vatican" of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) community and the Greek Orthodox Uspenski cathedral. There were three main synagogues; the Old Synagogue and the Reform Synagogue in the Old Town and *Goldene Rose* in the "New" Town, with adjacent Jewish institutions, as well as a Jewish cultural centre near the Jewish hospital.

Dominsel was an ecclesiastical, Roman Catholic centre of Breslau, while the main Lutheran churches were the Maria Magdalenen and Elisabeth churches. Dominsel (Ostrów Tumski) reflected the early Polish history of the city and was to some extent a centre of Polish culture and Roman Catholicism. The areas around the White Storch synagogue and *Neue Synagoge* were main Jewish cultural centres in Breslau. The local Nazi power centre happened to be just next to the *Neue Synagoge* and adjacent Jewish cultural institutions.

## Ethnic conflicts

Lwów had an old conflict between Poles and Ukrainians and Cernăuţi between Romanians and Ukrainians. Imperial policy brought Austrians (Germans) to Cernăuţi and Russians to Romanian-populated Chişinău as a new upper class, creating combined social and ethnic differences. Poles in Cernăuţi were mostly outside ethnic conflicts. Jews approached the dominating ethnic groups, but were also pinched between ethnic groups.

In Breslau the Polish and Czech population had through centuries been reduced to a few percent and there were rather few Jews, well integrated in the German society. There were very limited ethnic conflicts, but the Nazi takeover in 1933 changed the situation.

## Main shopping streets, restaurants, cafés, hotels and cultural institutions.

The main commercial streets/squares were Strada Alexandru cel Bun in Chişinău, Strada Regele Ferdinand, Regina Maria and Iancu Flondor and Piaţa Unirii in Cernăuţi, Ulica



Legionowa, Akademicka and Kazimierzowska and Rynek in Lwów and Schweidnitzer and Ohlauer Straße and Ring in Breslau. In this areas were also many cafés and restaurants. Except for in Breslau, here were also the leading hotels situated. In Breslau many hotels were located between the railway station and the late medieval district, e. g. at Gartenstraße and Neue Taschenstraße. In Lwów, there was a concentration of hotels along ulica Legionowa and in the district behind. All cities had tramway systems, connecting the commercial centre with the railway stations.

In **Chişinău**, the commercial and cultural centre was very concentrated around the middle part of Strada Alexandru cel Bun (for a period called Bulevard Regele Carol II). Here were the hotels Suisse, Londra, Palace, Naţional, Petersburg and Bristol, the few three-storey buildings like the Eparhială, Barbalat and Schwarzmänn buildings, several fashion shops, the Bat'a shoe shop, the Capulschi delicatessen shop, book stores, the Fitov department store and the cafés and restaurants Manicov, Susana, Varşovia, Covalschi and Bernstein as well as the National Theatre, the Orfeum and Odeon cinemas, the City Hall, some museums and other public buildings. The main Cathedral with the adjacent Metropolitan residence, the Theological Seminar, the Triumph Arch and the Gradina Publică park were also included in this main centre. Other monumental buildings, such as the Ethnographic Museum, University and other educational buildings and some regional government buildings were located in the western and highest situated part of the gridnet city, near the slopes down to the valley Valea Morilor. In this area was also the international exhibition in 1925.

In **Cernăuți**, Strada Iancu Flondor (Herrengasse) had a special importance as the "corso" with strolling, often well-dressed people. People met there and photographers took photos for sale. Numerous preserved photos give impressions of people, shops and city culture of the interwar years. There were all kinds of shops along and near the street, as well as cinemas. Café de l'Europe, Café Viena and Restaurant Lucullus were popular meeting place. At Piața Unirii were the hotels Schwarzer Adler (Pajura Neagră), Goldener Löwe and Paris with cafés and restaurants. Former café Habsburg and Bellevue did not exist any more. Here was also the City Hall. At Strada Regina Maria (Rathausstraße) was hotel Palace. Three squares had mostly cultural or administrative importance: Piața Dacia (Rudolphsplatz) with the concert hall and hotel Bristol, Piața Alexandri (Elisabethplatz) with the city theatre, the Jewish and Romanian cultural palaces, the chamber of commerce and the old gymnasium nr. 1, and the Piața Ghica Vodă with the Greek Orthodox cathedral, the regional government building and the main police station. The Austrian city centre structure continued in Romanian time, as well as the tolerant "Czernowitz spirit", although the Romanian regime had an agenda of romanianization. The university buildings were located in the north west direction, towards the Metropolitan residence.

In **Lwów**, the boulevard passage Legionowa - Akademicka had the main importance for strolling. Here were the opera and the Skarbek theatre, the hotels Grand, George, New York, Elite, Francuski, Europejski and others, with cafés and restaurants. Other important cafés were Roma, Skoczka, de la Paix, Imperial and Zaleski. There were cinemas, fashion stores, department stores and many other shops, also at the siding passages and galleries Mikolasch, Hausmann and Fellerów and at the adjacent streets. Another main meeting point was the central Rynek square with a great variety of shops, cafés, restaurants and cultural institutions, as well as the city hall. In the late medieval part of Lwów, ulica Krakowska and ulica Halicka had a large number of clothing shops, such as men's and ladies' fashion shops, shoe stores, furriers and hat stores. There was a special concentration of furniture stores at ulica Rutowskiego and in the streets behind ulica Legionowa. This area had also several clothing stores. The southern part of the city centre, around ulica Akademicka, Batorego and Kopernika was characterised by bookstores and antiquarians, publishing houses and editorial offices of newspapers and reviews. This area also included the old university and the

university library Ossolineum. The other three cities had generally more mixed commercial centres.

In **Breslau**, the square Ring with the City hall was the evident centre of the whole city. There were *Ratskeller* restaurant and café *Goldene Krone* and a rich variety of shops. Among them were Barasch department store, Hecht & David textile store, Louis Lewy and Siedner & Co, both selling ladies' coats, A. G. Michaelis' ladies' coats factory, Littauer wine store, Leopold Klausner shoe store, Priebatsch's bookstore and Albert Markus's *95-Pfennig-Bazaar*, all of them with Jewish owners. Among numerous other Jewish-owned stores in the city centre were Rudolf Petersdorff and Caspari fashion houses, Wertheim department store, Priebatsch's bookstore, Eduard Bielschowsky linen house, Nathan Levy menswear, Gebrüder Wolff liquor industry and restaurants, L. A. Gottstein *Breslauer Kaffee-Rösterei* and the cafés Fahrig and König. Blücher-Platz, adjacent to Ring, had several shops, a restaurant and a café and Neumarkt had several inns. At Schweidnitzer Straße – Neue Schweidnitzer Straße were the opera, the cinemas Gloria-Palast and Palast-Theater and several cafés, among them Schloß-Café and the Spanish *Frucht-Konditorei*, owned by Pedro Coll. Tauentzien-Theater was at Tauentzienplatz, the *Landeshaus* concert hall at Gartenstraße and *Breslauer Konzerthaus* at Gartenstraße. Not far from there were the main museum and the police and courts buildings. At Gartenstraße were the hotels Adler, Hubertus-Hof, Vier Jahreszeiten and Nord and the cinemas Capitol and Regina.

#### **Local centres.**

All four cities have local main streets with daily shops as grocers, bakers, haberdasheries and fruit stores as well as small restaurants and cafés. In Chişinău, there were small shops around Piaţa Veche and Piaţa Nouă and along streets like Strada Vineri, Strada T. Râşcanu and Strada Cahul in the old town and Strada Haralambie, Strada Ştefan cel Mare, Strada Regele Carol I, Strada Mihai Viteazu and Strada Regele Ferdinand in the grid-net city. It was common with small shops at the streets, and courtyards with dwellings and workshops behind – the same pattern can be found in the lower town of Cernăuţi. A majority of these shopkeepers seem to have been Jewish. Important "local" main streets in this city were Strada Română (Russische Straße), Strada Ion Creangă (Springbrunnengasse), Strada Treimi (Dreifaltigkeitgasse) and Strada Mărăşeşti (Neuweltgasse).

In Lwów, the Kopernika, Sykstuska and Kazimierzowska - Gródecka had an inner part, integrated in the main city centre while the outer parts had a more local character. Important radial streets with local centre character were the Łyczakowska, Żółkiewska and Słoneczka streets. Ulica Szpitalna was a main street in the local north-west area, and ulica Leona Sapiehy was an important connection street in the south west area with many shops and restaurants. At this street were also the Polytechnic University, the Maria Magdalena and Elisabeth churches and several schools, and in the vicinity was the St. George cathedral. In Breslau, important radial, local centre streets were Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße and Gräbschener Straße towards south, Friedrich-Wilhelm-Straße towards west, Klosterstraße towards east, Sternstraße towards northeast and Matthiasstraße towards north. Here were all kinds of shop, mainly with costumers from the surrounding city district.

#### **Symbolic places and monuments.**

For the different ethnic and religious groups, their churches and other culture buildings were important symbolic places. But in all four cities, the central shopping streets and meeting points had importance as common spaces and symbols of the cities as a whole. The city halls and the most important department stores, other well-known shops, cafés and restaurants and universities and some schools, as well as some parks also had such symbolic values. A

number of statues were erected as a symbol of the city, the region or the nation. They were sometimes moved or destroyed, depending on the political situation. In Chişinău, the Czar Alexander I monument was replaced by Ştefan cel Mare, later moved to Gradina Publică and replaced by king Ferdinand I, who was later replaced by Lenin. The author of the Ştefan cel Mare monument, Alexandru Plămădeala, launched the idea of a sculptur park with prominent Romanian personalities of culture. After his death, in Soviet post-Stalin time, the project was in fact partly realised, with persons referred to as "Moldovan". In Cernăuţi, the *Mariensäule* was replaced by the *Unirea* monument, later replaced by Lenin and Ševčenko. Friedrich Schiller was replaced by Mihai Eminescu, later replaced by Olha Kobyljans'ka. In Lwów, the Jan III Sobieski, Maria, Adam Mickiewicz and Aleksander Fredro monuments were meeting places – only the Mickiewicz monument was left in Soviet time. Aleksander Fredro was later moved to postwar Breslau/Wrocław, replacing the Friedrich der Große monument. In Lwów, Fredro was replaced by the Mihajlo Hruševs'kyj monument. Another important monument in Breslau was Kaiser-Wilhelm-Denkmal, after 1944 replaced by Bolesław Chobry. In Chişinău and Cernăuţi, the buildings where the annexion to Romania in 1918 was voted for, had a special symbolic significance – the Sfatul Ţării building and the Metropolitan residence respectively.

### **Jewish urban life.**

All four cities had a well-integrated middle or upper class group of Jews, mostly speaking Russian in Chişinău, German in Cernăuţi and Polish in Lwów. In Breslau all Jews spoke German. All four cities had "modern, integrated" Jewish centres and, except Breslau, old, traditional Jewish centres. The Jewish inhabitant share was 50 % in Chişinău, 40 % in Cernăuţi, 33 % in Lwów and 4-5 % in Breslau, but the Jewish significance in cultural, scientific and commercial life was larger in all towns. In central Chişinău and Cernăuţi, especially the oldest parts, were most building and shop owners Jewish. In Lwów, the Jewish and Polish share seem to be rather similar, but the Ukrainian share seems to be smaller.

### **World War II and Holocaust.**

World War II and Holocaust was very different in the four cities, although there were also similarities. Breslau was as a German city affected by Nazism already in 1933 but not invaded by foreign troupes until the end of the war. The anti-Semite politic began already in April 1933 with a boycott campaign against Jewish shops. Although the Jews were deeply rooted in the German society, the Nazis managed in 6 years to detach them almost totally from the society, eliminate their civil rights and expropriate most of their possessions. Many Jewish citizen managed to emigrate in time – the Jewish population decreased from 23 000 in the 1920s to 10 000 in 1939. The final annihilation began in 1942.

The other three cities were first annexed by the Soviet Union (Lwów in 1939 and Chişinău and Cernăuţi in 1940) and then invaded by German troops in 1941 – in Chişinău and Cernăuţi together with Romanian troupes. For Lwów – in divided Poland – both invasions were occupations by foreign powers, but in Chişinău and Cernăuţi, the invasion in 1941 meant returning to Romania, but under the hard fascist Antonescu regime. There was no German occupation, but a cooperation between German and Romanian troupes, especially in Romanian occupied Transnistria.

In all three cities, Holocaust began immediately with the arrival of German troupes in summer 1941, and ghettos were soon delimited. The Jews were accused to be Soviet collaborators. In Lwów, Holocaust was extremely cruel, with systematic executions at Janowska camp in the city outskirts or deportations to the gas chambers in Bełżec. More than 130 000 Jews from Lwów perished, less than 1 % survived. Both Chişinău and Cernăuţi had around 50 000 Jews. Several thousands of them were murdered by German and Romanian

troups directly after their arrival in 1941, and then Holocaust was taken over by Romanian troups. Romanian Holocaust began with Bessarabia and Bucovina, where the Jews were most Russian and German speaking respectively, but in "the old kingdom" – except the city of Iași – the Jews were persecuted but not directly under death threat. In Chișinău, around 10 000 Jews were murdered in the first days, and a large number escaped to the "old kingdom" or with the leaving Soviet troups. Around 11 000 were locked into the ghetto and from there mostly deported to Transnistria. In 1943 there were almost no Jews left in Chișinău. In Cernăuți, almost 50 000 Jews were locked into the ghetto in autumn 1941, but around 19 000 were given permission by mayor Traian Popovici – who was against Holocaust – to leave the ghetto and work in the city. Around 30 000 were deported to Transnistria. Around 2/3 of the deported Jews in Transnistria perished there. In Cernăuți, around 1/3 of the original Jewish population, mostly German-speaking and European-oriented, might have remained in 1944, but most of them left very soon for Romania within its new borders and continued to Palestine, USA, Austria or other places. They had no wish to live in the Soviet Union.

### **Connections to the other parts of the research project.**

This chapter is connected with other parts of the project in several ways. The interwar city environment and the events during and shortly after World War II will be related to the continued development. This includes comparisons of war destruction of buildings postwar planning and changed and demolitions versus preservations in communist years. Memories, knowledge and attitudes to the interwar cities and their inhabitants are also central themes of the interviews and surveys of the project. This also includes treatment and presentation of built heritage or environment reflecting the vanished population. Future perspectives will be related to this.