

VOICES AMONG CULTURES IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN BORDERLANDS:
MUSIC IN CZERNOWITZ, 1862–1918

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by

Dietmar Friesenegger

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Dietmar Friesenegger, Ph. D.

Cornell University, 2020

Today a city in Ukraine, Czernowitz / Чернівці (Chernivtsi) / Cernăuți / Czerniowce / טשערנאָוויץ (Tschernowitz) – to give it its German, Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish, and Yiddish names – boasted five linguistic communities and five religious denominations around 1900. This dissertation examines the music culture of one of the most diverse cities in the Eastern European borderlands in this period, exploring the role of music in cultural and social relations and the imprint this culture left on the city’s compositional legacy. Although often regarded as a model of successful multiculturalism, Czernowitz has mostly been studied from national perspectives, and its music – arguably the *locus classicus* for the study of the aspirations and cultural negotiations of fin-de-siècle Central European society – has received little scholarly attention.

Making use of extensive archival research in eight countries, the dissertation explores a music culture that had been forgotten, erased, or rewritten in nationalizing histories. It examines intricate biographies of musicians with ties to several cultures, their compositions in several languages, and their music for the houses of prayer of different denominations; it analyzes “supranational” music institutions as well as sectarian ones and their outreach and reception across boundaries; and it reconstructs musical events aimed at cultural inclusiveness. By examining earlier historical accounts,

the dissertation offers a critique of musical historiography, drawing attention to the mechanics of constructing music history, and investigating the role of music in the construction of nation and the practice of national identification.

The project connects several currents in recent musicological, ethnographic, and historical scholarship: microhistory (especially urban and regional studies); migration and multicultural identities; and peripheries and borderlands. As became clear at the Mandyczewski Festival in Chernivtsi, founded in 2017 to bring to re-sounding life my recent archival discoveries, much remains at stake. This study shows how a musical legacy from a complex shared past, even with the many exclusive claims still being made on this heritage, has the potential to act as a bridge in a divided border region.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dietmar Friesenegger studied Music and French at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna and the University of Vienna (joint degree, Magister philosophiae); Vocal Accompanying at the *Konservatorium Wien* University (now MUK, M.A.); and Musicology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (M.A.). At Cornell University, he designed and taught a course titled “The Soundtrack to the Last Days of Mankind: Music and the Great War” and assisted in courses in music theory, Jazz, and Rock. He is a faculty member of the Institute for the International Education of Students (IES Abroad), Vienna, where he has taught courses on Viennese Classicism, the *Biedermeier*, art song, and Gustav Mahler, and tutored music research internships.

Dietmar’s research has been supported by a Sage Fellowship, a Don M. Randel Teaching and Research Fellowship, a Mario Einaudi Dissertation Fellowship, and a Michele Sicca Grant. He is the recipient of a Goethe Essay Award (German Studies Department, Cornell 2014), an award for the Best Annual Cultural Initiative from the City of Chernivtsi, Ukraine (2017), a research award from the Eastern Orthodox Metropolis of Chernivtsi and Bukovina (Ukraine, 2018), and two publication stipends from the Austrian Exchange Service (2017, 2018). To promote archival discoveries from his dissertation project, he founded the Mandyczewski Festival in Chernivtsi (2017–present), edited several scores which were published at KnyhyXXI and Breitkopf&Härtel, and produced a CD with the Choir of the Philharmonic in Chernivtsi and the Piano Duo Czernowitz-Wien.

dedicated
to
David Josephson
and
Ivanka Andreitsiv

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and the conference “Four-Hand Keyboarding in the Long 19th-Century” at the Westfield Center, Ithaca, NY (Feb. 3–4, 2017); as well as in invited lectures at the Department of History at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, and the National Music Academy in L’viv, Ukraine. As part of the *Mandyczewski Festival* in Chernivtsi, Ukraine (Sept. 1–2, 2017; Sept. 27–9, 2018; August 22–3, 2019), which promoted my archival discoveries in Chernivtsi, Bucharest, and Vienna, I gave introductory talks and interviews, and organized a symposium (“Czernowitz and Bukovina at the Turn of the Century,” Media Center *Belle Vue*, Chernivtsi, Sept. 25, 2018).

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NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS AND TOPONYMS

All translations, if not indicated otherwise, are mine.

In all periods of Czernowitz's history after 1775, several designations for the city coexisted, but for reasons of convenience I will resort to the official designations in use: Czernowitz when referring to city under Habsburg rule (1775–1918); Cernăuți for the Romanian period (1918–44); Черновцы (Chernovtsy) for the Soviet period (1944–1991), and Чернівці (Chernivtsi) for independent Ukraine (since 1991). In addition, designations in Polish (Czerniowce) and Yiddish (טשערנאָוויץ or Tschernowitz) can be seen in publications.

For the Ukrainian-speaking population in Bukovina I use both the historical toponym “Ruthenian,” which is used in most older sources, and the modern designation “Ukrainian.”

In the case of names of people, I use the most common designation in the period examined in this dissertation.

All translations, unless indicated otherwise, are mine.

Introduction

Viribus Unitis?

Every day at noon, a trumpet player performs a wistful folk tune from the tower railing of the City Hall in the Ukrainian town of Chernivtsi. When watching this spectacle from the large square in front of the building, one's eyes are also drawn to the inscription on its roof: since 2008, the words “СПІЛЬНИМИ ЗУСИЛЛЯМИ” and “VIRIBUS UNITIS” (Ukrainian and Latin for “in joint effort”) have stood out in large letters affixed to the lower roof edge (**Fig. 0.1**). This was the motto of Emperor Franz Joseph, who ruled the Habsburg Empire and with it this city – then named Czernowitz – from 1848 to 1916, and it was also chosen a century after Francis Joseph's death as a motto by Chernivtsi's City Council to symbolize a new era that sought to revive the spirit of a successful past.¹



Fig. 0.1:
City Hall, Chernivtsi.
Photo by D. F.
(August 2017).

¹ *Чернівці: Газета Чернівецької міської ради* [Chernivtsi: Newspaper of the Chernivtsi City Council], May 2, 2008 (the newspaper featured the motto – in Ukrainian and Latin – as a header). Dr. Sergij Nezhrubida, the former Head of Foreign Affairs in the City Hall, kindly provided me with information about the installation. In the Habsburg era, the motto also adorned a city flag (Irma Bornemann, Paula Tiefenthaler, and Rudolf Wagner, *Czernowitz: Eine Stadt im Wandel der Zeit, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres deutschen kulturellen Lebens* [Munich: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1988], 3).

Read as a bilingual sign, it seems to encapsulate historical Czernowitz in a nutshell: a city at the crossroads of East and West, of the Latin and Cyrillic scripts, of religious denominations imagined as Oriental and Occidental; a city with five different languages (German, Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Yiddish) and five large religious denominations (Judaism, Roman and Greek Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Lutheranism); a meeting place in a border region. The sign's message points to an overcoming of the challenges that may result from these contrasts: it espouses the so-called "myth of Czernowitz," the city's reputation for interethnic and interdenominational harmony as well as for a sense of community that transcended boundaries.² The veracity of this reputation – in reference to either or both the city's period under Austrian (1775–1918) and Romanian rule (1918–1944) – has been affirmed and defended by politicians, historians, writers, and ordinary Czernowitzers, and it has been challenged and dismissed by other politicians, historians, writers, and ordinary Czernowitzers, some of whom characterize the city as a hotbed of nationalism and anti-Semitism, and its social relations as "tense multiculturality."³

² Several publications even refer to this myth in their titles (e.g. *Mythos Czernowitz: Eine Stadt im Spiegel ihrer Nationalitäten* [Potsdam: Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa, 2008]; Othmar André, "Czernowitz gestern und heute: von der Aktualität eines Mythos," in *Czernowitz: Die Geschichte einer untergegangenen Kulturmetropole* [The history of a lost cultural metropolis], ed. Helmut Braun [Berlin: Links, 2005], 109–152), and a critical examination of the myth was the topic of a conference ("Mythos Czernowitz," Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa, Old City Hall, Potsdam, September 17–19, 2004).

³ For both Czernowitz and Bukowina at large, see for example: Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, "Urbane Kohabitation in Czernowitz als Modell einer gespannten Multikulturalität," *Neohelicon* 23 (March 1996): 77–93; Trude Maurer, "Eintracht der Nationalitäten in der Bukowina? Überprüfung eines Mythos." [A harmony of ethnicities in Bukovina? An examination of a myth.] *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 52, no. 3 (2001): 180–191; Fred Stambrook, "National and other identities in Bukovina in Late Austrian Times," *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 185–203. Numerous publications on Bukowina or Czernowitz discuss the question of intercultural relations at least in passing.

Music has largely been missing from this narrative. Czernowitz's history and culture have been studied from numerous angles: as context for the biographies and oeuvres of its outstanding writers, especially Olha Kobyljanska (1863–1942), Rose Ausländer (1901–1988), and Paul Celan (1920–1970);⁴ as a Jewish or Eastern European German-language or multicultural city;⁵ as capital of the Crown Land of Bucovina, which in its diversity was deemed as the epitome of the late Habsburg Empire; and even as historical turf that offers models for current European challenges.⁶ Numerous accounts tell the history of individual cultures or cultural groups. The few attempts to portray Czernowitz's entire cultural panoply have mostly treated each culture separately, even as they list "supranational" institutions, point to their relevance for social cohesion, or attribute some importance to "intercultural" collaboration in general; yet very little attention has been paid to *how* these cultures and cultural agents interacted. Even less consideration has been given to the terms of the examination of cultural relations: assumptions about the existence and nature of cultural groups and identities – the basis for an assessment of *intercultural* conflict or harmony – have only recently been challenged.⁷

⁴ Israel Chalfen, *Paul Celan: Eine Biographie seiner Jugend* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1993); Peter Rychlo, "Olga Kobyljanska als deutsche Dichterin," in Olga Kobyljanska, *Valse mélancolique: Ausgewählte Prosa*, ed. P. R. (Chernivtsi: Knyhy-XXI, 2013), 277–292.

⁵ Andrea Peschel, ed., 'Czernowitz war ein Familienbegriff: Jüdisches Leben in Europa vor der Schoah und dessen Einfluß in Israel heute' (Tel Aviv: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2004); Gaby Coldewey, ed., 'Czernowitz is gewen an alte, jidische Shtot ...: Überlebende berichten' (Berlin: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 1998). Several authors who later had to emigrate published their childhood memories of the city (see for example the account of historian Zvi Yavetz, who covers a wide range of topics, including post-1918 intercultural contacts, Jewish life, and a special local sense of humor: *Z. Y., Erinnerungen an Czernowitz: Wo Menschen und Bücher lebten* [München: Beck, 2007]).

⁶ See for example, Kurt Scharr, *Die Bukowina: Erkundungen einer Kulturlandschaft. Ein Reiseführer* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 11.

⁷ Hieronymus van Drunen, "'A Sanguine Bunch,' Regional identification in Habsburg Bukovina, 1774–1919," PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2013, 13–29.

I focus this dissertation on the role of music in multicultural Habsburg Czernowitz and the impact of the city's cultures on its music, filling a gap on the musical map of Europe. The time frame is 1862–1918; the first date reflects the beginning of significant institutional musical life in the city, which occurred in the aftermath of political upheaval in the Crown Land and coincided with the advent of the first relevant newspaper in the city; the second date marks the collapse of Habsburg rule, the end of the Great War, and the city's incorporation into Romania. I focus on the type of music most characteristic of urban European society in that period, commonly referred to as Classical, Western, or concert music, even as I take into consideration the construction of some of it as non-Western.⁸ Traditional music and popular song culture have been included with regard to their presence and popularity in the city or when important to the socialization of musicians. Following Rogers Brubaker, I treat cultural “identities” or cultural “groups” not as givens in my analysis but as constructs that call for scrutiny; similarly, perceptions of cultural differences are not static phenomena in my narrative.⁹

Music is a privileged angle from which to study Czernowitz's multifaceted cultural configuration. Of immense prestige in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it could function as a weighty symbol for an individual culture while being hailed for its potential to appeal across cultural boundaries. Music societies offered many opportunities for social interaction. Unlike educational institutions, they were voluntary meeting points; unlike political bodies, they were for their members usually

⁸ As a result of limited documentation, and owing to limits in access to music education at the time, most of the points of contact examined occurred among members of the (aspiring) middle and upper classes.

⁹ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

an end in itself; they did not focus on a shared value or “supranational” concern that would have bypassed questions of difference as sports clubs did; and they were less tied to a single language than literature or theater societies. Their instrumental repertoires circumvented language barriers without erasing cultural difference, and their vocal repertoires used languages in a manner accessible to non-native speakers. Both voluntary nature and purposelessness are relativized by the cultural capital involved, but this capital, and its economic and social impact, is itself important to understanding Czernowitz’s culture.

An attempt to discern how Czernowitz’s different languages, religious denominations, and constructions of ethnicity played into the city’s music culture between 1862 and 1918 raises a host of questions. Did Habsburg Czernowitz tend more towards a single, shared music scene across boundaries (however clearly they themselves may be defined), or towards separate scenes within individual communities, each with its own musicians and audiences? In what ways did musicians and musical organizations identify with Empire and the Crown Land, and what ideologies underlay these identifications? What was music’s role in contemporary manifestations of religion and nation? How did political changes and social challenges in this period alter the music scene?

At the beginning of my research, I had to confront more basic questions which even called into question the feasibility of the project: how much of this music culture can we reconstruct? Why has hardly any of the music written for Habsburg Czernowitz been performed in recent memory? How much of it continued to be performed after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, when the city became

part of the Kingdom of Romania even as its demographic remained much the same as it had been? Did it disappear with most of the city's population between 1940 and 1945, when the Holocaust, relocations, deportations, and emigrations resulted in a radical change of the city's population? Did any manuscripts survive, from a body of music of which little had been published? What happened to Mandyczewski's cantatas, Hřímalý's operas, overtures and chamber music, and Rosenstech's choral works – all pieces that were mentioned in contemporary reviews?

The complex search for sources points to a larger problem in any research on Czernowitz: the twentieth-century legacy of Holocaust, war, and forced migrations, as well as regime and system changes, resulted in unfathomable cultural disruption, destruction, and erasure. In the twentieth century, the city not only belonged to four states – Austria-Hungary, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Ukraine – but was also occupied by the armies of Tsarist Russia (WWI) and Nazi Germany and Fascist Romania (WWII). But however much the borders shifted, the city would remain in the borderlands (see **Fig. 0.2**). Official records that would have been kept in one or two local or national archives are now stored in national archives of three capitals¹⁰ and of several other cities, or are the holdings of diasporic archives. When it comes to cultural artifacts, such as scores, concert programs, or the correspondence of composers, another factor has enabled or prevented their survival: the establishment of such collections frequently depended on the ideology that prevailed at a given time, which in the case of “Czernowitz after Czernowitz” mainly meant that items that could be enlisted to serve a nation's or state's conception of its past were collected. The

¹⁰ These cities are Vienna, Bucharest, and Kiev. I did not find any holdings relevant to my research in Moscow.

music archive of the Austrian military band, for example, an ensemble that often cooperated with the city theater and various local music societies, has not survived. An even bigger loss concerns the music of Czernowitz's religious communities: none of the houses of prayer have an archive with relevant materials from before WWII, nor were their holdings preserved elsewhere.

The source situation, with many sources scattered or lost, is one challenge for a researcher that results from Czernowitz's rocky twentieth-century history. Another is the overwhelming presence of contradictory narratives, anecdotes and myths (often presented as historical truths), as well as the territoriality and sense of ownership lavishly expressed in scholarship (see Ch. 1). One origin of such a multiplication of viewpoints can be demonstrated by comparing the accounts of contemporary witnesses. Take, for example, three imaginary Czernowitzers born around 1890, one German-speaking Lutheran, one German-speaking Jewish, and one Romanian-speaking Eastern Orthodox, reflecting back in 1935 on Habsburg Czernowitz. This was a past that they would have experienced as children, teenagers, and young adults. By 1935, fascism and anti-Semitism were influencing politics and every-day life in the city, as they did in most places in Central and East Central Europe, a state of affairs that would have likely shaped their view of the past and resulted in differing viewpoints ranging from nostalgia for that past to attempts to justify the present. Fifteen years later, our three protagonists would likely be in exile (if they survived), and their view of the venue of their upbringing would have shifted again, in light of their experience of Holocaust, war, and relocation. One of them might lament her lost relatives and a lost home; another might mourn a lost territory. Their new homes

would be in a Socialist dictatorship with an increasingly oppressive rule; in a newly-founded country rife with optimism but a borderland no less contested than Bukovina; and in another (somewhat) newly-founded country that was embarking on a long journey to deal with a grim past and negotiate its future status. Any history of Czernowitz before 1918 also needs to grapple with accounts of the past written by people who experienced an immeasurable degree of disruption in their lives, which in many cases includes some of the worst experiences humans can endure. Even research on Czernowitz before 1918 needs to confront the themes of genocide, war, and totalitarianism.

My attempt to locate and understand historical Czernowitz begins with the present and an ethnographic account of my dissertation research, which has taken me to eight different countries on three continents, and resulted in a correspondence with people around the globe. Work on Czernowitz's music culture resembled an excavation: unlike the literature of several of the city's poets, who had international careers and have had a continuous following (Rose Ausländer, Paul Celan, and Itzig Manger), or whose work – at least from a Western standpoint – has recently been rediscovered (Karl Emil Franzos, Olga Kobylanska), and the city's architecture (which is, with a few notable exceptions, intact) music from Czernowitz had fallen into almost complete oblivion. In the dissertation's epilogue, I will discuss my attempt to revive some of Czernowitz's music culture in a festival – and how that attempt made palpable the contested nature of the city's past.

Diaspora

Starting in November 2015, I received several emails daily reminding me of my dissertation project. The listserv “Czernowitz-L discussion group,” established in 2002 and moderated by Bruce Reisch and Jerome Schatten, is an online community of the city’s Jewish diaspora.¹¹ Subscribers are people with Jewish backgrounds who grew up in the city before or during WWII, among them survivors of the ghetto; descendants of Jewish Czernowitzers;¹² and researchers and others with an interest in the city. The group also maintains a blog, edited by Edgar Hauster, and a webpage called “Ehpes.”¹³ The community combines a pursuit of questions of a private nature (e.g. genealogy, addresses) and an exchange of memories with a general interest in the city’s culture and history (not exclusively focused on Jewish culture). Listserv members post about and discuss new scholarly publications on Czernowitz and follow media coverage about the city. The listserv language is English, but subscribers frequently quote in German or Yiddish. In addition, Yiddish is sometimes used for expressive purposes, especially to express nostalgia or to convey humor.

A post by Edgar Hauster in December 2015 about plans to establish a Holocaust museum in the Ceremonial Hall of the mortuary at Chernivtsi’s Jewish cemetery sparked an animated debate that exemplifies the complex relationship of this

¹¹ The listserv is hosted at Cornell as one of its founders, Bruce Reisch, is a professor of enology at Cornell’s Geneva campus.

¹² “Czernowitzer” is the most common self-designation among this group; even though the city’s official name was Cernăuți after 1918, Czernowitz remained the more common designation among the city’s (German- or Yiddish-speaking) Jews and Germans.

¹³ עפּעס [epes] (Yiddish) = something.

diaspora to Czernowitz.¹⁴ The museum would serve a twofold purpose: to commemorate and to draw attention to the history of the Holocaust in the region, and to finance the restoration of an architectural landmark that had opened in 1906 and was in a dilapidated state.¹⁵ German government resources and an unnamed donor had agreed to fund the project;¹⁶ a driving force behind the project is Joseph Zissels, the president of the Ukrainian Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations (VAAD).¹⁷ One listserv subscriber raised questions of propriety and safety and suggested alternative venues, such as the former temple or the former Jewish Community House (both of which are used for different purposes today).¹⁸ Another subscriber requested to be involved in the decision-making process, alongside other holocaust survivors from Czernowitz.¹⁹ Other listserv members supported the project, suggesting that a renovation of the Ceremonial Hall would be unlikely without it.²⁰ Marianne Hirsch, a literary scholar with family ties to Czernowitz, and Leo Spitzer, a cultural historian, contributed to the debate by posting their letter to Zissels, in which they highlighted the awkward symbolism and lack of commitment implicit in the plans for a museum in the outskirts and at a cemetery:

¹⁴ Edgar Hauster, "Exciting News from the Jewish Museum Chernivtsi," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 25, 2016.

¹⁵ The *Bukowinaer Post* reported on the opening of the building and listed as architects Fünkel for the building and Proske for its dome (*Bukowinaer Post*, December 6, 1906, 2).

¹⁶ Hauster, "Exciting News."

¹⁷ See for example, Miriam Taylor, response to "Museum," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, Dec. 26, 2015.

¹⁸ Hardy Breier, response to "Exciting News from the Jewish Museum," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 25, 2015. Fred Weisinger agreed with Hardy Breier, requesting that these venues be given back to the Jewish community (Fred Weisinger, response to "100K Euros to restore the Jewish funerals building in Czernowitz cemetery," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 27, 2015).

¹⁹ Ruth Glasberg Gold, response to "Exciting News from the Jewish Museum," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 25, 2015.

²⁰ For example, Bruce Reisch, response to "Exciting News from the Jewish Museum," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 26, 2015.

The city would benefit from such a museum, but not in that location. It belongs with the Bukovina Jewish History Museum in the center of the city. Placing a Holocaust museum in the Jewish cemetery on the outskirts of town makes the deportations, persecution and murder of the city's Jewish community a strictly Jewish problem, for Jewish visitors. It places the community under the sign of death, rather than life.²¹

The exchanges in this thread, with more than a hundred posts within two weeks, highlight the attachment of this community to the remnants of Czernowitz's Jewish culture despite a great geographical (and temporal) separation, raising questions of religious sensibilities and propriety, and bringing to the fore diverging views on the culture of memory (it was three weeks into this discussion when I first visited the cemetery).

I posted several times on the listserv, at first with a request for private archival materials pertaining to the city's music culture up until 1918 (e. g. scores, pictures, yearbooks), and later with information about discoveries in my research and the music festival I founded in Chernivtsi (see Epilogue). One member shared materials about his grandfather's cabaret stage (of which I had read in Czernowitz's newspapers), but this path to obtain resources otherwise led to a dead end. The "Ehpes" webpage, however, proved an extremely useful resource for context on Czernowitz and Bukovina, as it includes historical maps, reproductions of original sources, literature about the city's history, and compilations of data from yearbooks (information on, for example, the graduates of Czernowitz's oldest and most prestigious high school).²²

²¹ Marianne Hirsch, response to "Project for renovation building at Jewish cemetery at Czernowitz," post to the Czernowitz-L listserv, December 31, 2015. The letter is signed by both Hirsch and Spitzer, but Hirsch sent the post.

²² "The czernowitz.ehpes.com Website: home of the Czernowitz-L discussion group," <http://czernowitz.ehpes.com> (last accessed Apr. 24, 2020). With two of the listserv's founding members, Edgar Hauster and Bruce Reisch, I was in regular contact throughout my project, including meetings in Ithaca (Bruce) as well as Vienna and Czernowitz (Edgar).

It has often been suggested that the spirit and flair of Habsburg Czernowitz survived the collapse of the monarchy in 1918, and at least during a long conversation one afternoon in November 2016 in Tel Aviv I concurred with that idea. Margit Bartfeld-Feller, born in 1923 in Romanian Czernowitz (Cernăuți), spent her childhood and youth in the city, where she went to school with Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, a precocious poet who died at age eighteen in a concentration camp in Transnistria. The tone color of Margit's German reminds me of the inflection in Austrian movies from the interwar period, and she speaks without accent even though she spent most of her life in Siberia, where the Soviets exiled her in the 1940s. Like many Jewish Czernowitzers she is thus a survivor of both Holocaust and Stalinist persecutions. Since her immigration to Israel after the collapse of the Soviet Union she has rediscovered her home city during several visits, after not having seen it in half a century. Her rediscovery was accompanied by extensive writings, mainly memoirs of pre-war Czernowitz published in Germany, that helped shape the rediscovery of Czernowitz by German-speaking audiences, including the nostalgia that accompanied this process. Today she has a circle of friends attached to the city, including scholars from Ukraine and Austria.

Since 2010, the international poetry festival *Meridian Czernowitz* has attracted poets, translators, and an audience of literature-aficionados to Czernowitz while becoming a focus for the visits of members of the diaspora. Three characteristics make the event exceptional: its role as a meeting place for authors from many European venues, the thoughtful use of the locale, and the fact that many readings are multilingual. In a poetry session in the City Theater in 2017, for instance, poets read

their own works in Ukrainian, German, Hebrew, Swiss German, and Romanian.²³ In 2018 venues included the newly-restored synagogue at Sadagora (a place associated with a famous “wonder rabbi”) and the courtyard behind Paul Celan’s birthplace. While the festival is named after a speech by Paul Celan, the city’s most famous poet, and thus commemorates the Jewish and German-language heritage of the city, it manages to act not only as a nostalgic get-together but as a vibrant event that also attracts young audiences. My dinner companions during *Meridian* season have included Margit’s daughter Anita and her husband, the Viennese writer Helmut Kusdat, and the historian Serhij Osatschuk. Lingua franca at such a table is German, with a panoply of colorings, accents, and idioms, but Russian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish often sneak into the conversation – and language itself frequently becomes the subject of conversation. We are in Czernowitz, after all. But I’ve gotten ahead of myself ...

Chernivtsi, Ukraine, January 2016

My trip to Ukraine, the first physical steps towards uncovering the distant musical past of a peripheral venue in the Eastern European borderlands, began with a train ride from Vienna to Budapest in January 2016. The two cities have moved closer recently: with an improved railroad connection it takes just over two hours to get from one former capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the other. My family has had ties to Budapest since the early 1930s, when my grandmother worked there as an au pair, and

²³ “Міжнародний поетичний фестиваль MERIDIAN CZERNOWITZ [sic] 2018, 7–9 вересня 2018 року, м. Чернівці” [International Poetry Festival Meridian Czernowitz 2018, September 7–9, 2018, Chernivtsi], <http://www.meridiancz.com/de/ix-internationales-lyrikfestival-meridian-czernowitz-2018/> (accessed May 23, 2020).

I stayed for the night with the third and fourth generation of our family friends, a couple in their sixties and their daughter. They were puzzled about my research interest. For them, the lands east of Hungary recalled a dark age that had irrevocably ended twenty-seven years before. In school, they had taken Russian for eight years, but like many Hungarians, had refused to learn it properly as a form of civil disobedience—in a tacit agreement between teachers and students that one does not make an effort to learn the language of the oppressor. Brief trips to the Soviet Union as members of the Young Pioneers (the Socialist youth organization) had not instilled in them any desire to revisit that part of the world. Ukraine may be at war with Russia today, but in my friends’ perception it belonged indiscriminately to a “Soviet” East.

The next day, a plane took me back to Vienna, and from there on to L’viv, Ukraine. Degrees of peripherality are assigned anew by a bizarre economy: the return ticket from Budapest to L’viv via Vienna cost 300 Euros, the one from Vienna to L’viv would have cost 600 Euros, even though one ends up in the same plane with either version of the trip (I am almost certain that those of my colleagues who claim to have more expertise in economic theory than I do would call this a “neo-liberal” program, though in its effect it privileges the economically less prosperous Hungarians over the Austrians; and it also illustrates the socio-economic dimension of mental maps).

Chernivtsi’s peripheral location, by contrast, is hardly a question of viewpoint: the city may be only 165 miles from L’viv, the largest center in Western Ukraine, but the car ride takes around four-and-a-half hours. A recent innovation, two express trains are offered per day and take an hour less than the car ride; the other trains are

old Soviet ones, presumably from the 1950s, and do the trip in more than five hours, thus averaging thirty miles per hour. In 1913, the train ride from Vienna to Chernivtsi was a matter of about nineteen hours; it is longer today.²⁴ I chose the Soviet train, as the express trains were running only early in the morning and late in the evening. On that train, which came from the capital, Kiev, there were only sleeping compartments, and so I found myself around lunchtime sitting in a sleeper for four. A single fellow passenger welcomed me. He was a Ukrainian citizen who worked in Chernivtsi, but was from the mainly Russian-speaking East of the country; he mentioned that he identified as Ukrainian, yet had grown up speaking exclusively Russian.

It was dark when I arrived in Chernivtsi, and to my surprise, I was met at the train station. Pavlo (Paul) Pivtorak, a translator at the Ukrainian branch of a German underwear factory and the vice-president of the local club of Austrian and German culture, welcomed me warmly. Although unlike most members of that club he does not have any German ancestors, he is the club member with the finest German language skills. He was born in Germany; his parents had been Ukrainian forced laborers during the Nazi period who had remained in West Germany after 1945. In the late 1950s, homesick, they migrated from booming West Germany “home” to the Soviet town of Chernovtsy (as Chernivtsi was called then). Paul was thirteen then; not only was he confined to spending the next three decades on that side of the iron curtain, but his professional opportunities were also limited by the fact that his family was deemed suspicious because of their extended stay in the West. Paul was not

²⁴ One may argue that a connection to Vienna and the West is less relevant for Chernivtsi today than one to Kiev, but the formerly fine connection to the West has not been replaced by a better one East. The train ride from Chernivtsi to Kiev takes twelve hours for 340 miles.

allowed to study, but instead was trained as a tailor. Throughout my project, he was a dedicated and supportive friend as well as an important source who helped me understand the social reality of Soviet Chernovtsy and Ukrainian Chernivtsi.

An hour later, Paul and I walked up Kobylanska Street, formerly *Herrengasse*, the city's elegant pedestrian precinct (**Fig. 0.3A–B**). It has preserved entirely its pre-WWII architecture and offers a combination of *Gründerzeit*, Art Nouveau, and Art Deco architecture. An odd stylistic exception is the *German House*, a building from the turn of the century combining the half-timber structures from the Black Forest with Art Nouveau elements (**Fig. 0.3C**). Inside the large, four-story building, Paul showed me a room that had been given to the club after the collapse of the Soviet Union as some form of restitution. The wall was adorned with a flag of the Austrian province of Carinthia and the current German coat of arms, given to them from government institutions in these countries.²⁵ National symbols also adorned a Romanian institution further up Kobylanska Street; this symbolic presence of nation states prepared me for many narratives I'd encounter in my research, from both a distant past and the present. I had expected them, but not to that degree. My topic was to be, after all, the music history of a city, not a nation, and the emphasis on those elements in that city culture that encompass more than a single group; yet the local or regional was frequently buried in nationalizing discourses, or stored as national heritage in national archives.

²⁵ The juxtaposition of a German coat of arms and a Carinthian flag may appear odd, given that Carinthia is indeed a region in Austria with a long tradition of German nationalism, frequently in conjunction with an animosity towards the local Slovene minority. The symbols at this club, however, are gifts from government institutions of two partner regions of the Chernivtsi district, Swabia (Germany) and Carinthia (Austria), and the coat of arms is one of post-war Germany (which is not popular in nationalist circles). That is not to say that far-right groups don't have an interest in Czernowitz; among the supporters of the club is the *Österreichische Landsmannschaft*, an organization with close ties in personnel to Austria's far-right Freedom Party.

The next day was dedicated to what I regarded at that point as my primary task: a visit to the State Archives and University Library in order to establish whether the source situation could sustain the dissertation project I envisioned. The State Archives, previously located in the building of the Jesuit Church (which meanwhile had been returned to the now tiny Roman Catholic community), had recently been moved to a former pharmaceutical depot in the outskirts of the city and could only be reached via several unpaved roads. The archivist, an educated and competent person with fluent German informed me about the state of affairs: the holdings were in the process of being electronically catalogued, but for now, I had to rely on keyword card catalogues (mainly chance finds) and Soviet catalogue books that gave only a very rough overview of the content of the files. Yet even a first glance at the files I received that week revealed that there was much material available that had not been mentioned in any of the literature, likely owing both to my research focus, which was outside the scope of previous researchers, and a general neglect of archival research in previous decades (in part due to the limitations in doing archival work in the Soviet Union).

The library of the Yuriy-Fedkovych-University has maintained the holdings of its predecessor institutions. The first university in town was founded in 1875, and its library had drawn from older local libraries. Perhaps unique is its system of card catalogues, with one catalogue in German from the Austrian period, which was continued in Romanian in the Romanian period; one in Russian from Soviet times; and a new catalogue in Ukrainian. Although several catalogues exist twice at different locations in the catalogue room, none is comprehensive. The library has a subdivision called *Österreich-Bibliothek*, funded by the Austrian Foreign Office and one of many

such libraries in Central and Eastern Europe; it does not collect primary sources.

Music was not a collection in its own right at this university library.

I spent much time during these January days visiting the architectural traces of Czernowitz's past. They are well-preserved, with a few prominent exceptions: the former synagogue, once an impressive orientalist-historicist building, does not even remotely resemble the original structure, which was burnt to the ground by the German and Romanian Armies in WWII. The main structural elements of the building miraculously survived and were converted into a cinema by the Soviets; this structure of Stalinist Classicism is also known as "cinemagogue" among some locals (**Fig. 0.4A**). A plaque in the entrance hall with a Ukrainian inscription and two names in Hebrew letters recalls its former function: on the left it shows the façade of the original building, on the right the singer and actor Joseph Schmidt, one of the city's most illustrious sons (**Fig. 0.4B**). Schmidt, a major opera singer in the early recording business and a film star during the last years of the Weimar Republic, gave his first performances as a singer in this synagogue. Neglected but preserved is the city's Jewish cemetery, one of the largest of its kind in Europe. It is a multilingual place, with grave stones in German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Romanian, and Russian (**Fig. 0.4C and D**). A metaphor by poet Rose Ausländer, a native of Czernowitz, comes to mind, in which she evokes a "silence in five languages."²⁶ Several acres of the cemetery had recently been cleaned up by volunteers from the city's Jewish diaspora and from Germany, but much remained hardly accessible. I was the only person in the cemetery

²⁶ "Der Spiegelkarpfen / in Pfeffer versulzt / schwieg in fünf Sprachen." (The mirror carp / jellied with pepper / kept silent in five language.) Rose Ausländer, *Gesammelte Werke in 8 Bänden*, ed. Helmut Braun (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1985), 2:16.

during my visit; from a distance, I spotted a few people in the Christian cemetery just across the street.

The Philharmonic Hall and the City Theater hardly differ from their images on the hand-colored postcards from around 1910. The latter building is an elegant neo-Baroque theater by two of the finest theater architects of the decades before the Great War, Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer; the former building was deemed inadequate almost since its inception in 1877. The State Archive in Chernivtsi owns beautiful architectural drafts from attempts in the 1910s to replace it; the building they imagined never materialized (see Ch. 2). Neither institution has kept its archives from pre-WWII times (archives of such institutions were often destroyed or nationalized in the Soviet Union), nor could I obtain such materials in the State Archive.

When looking at my ticket for a concert at the Philharmonic Hall (formerly *Musikverein*), I caught myself trying to hold back the judgment that it looked Soviet. It was not just looks: the currency printed on the ticket was the Ruble, which Ukraine had abandoned more than two decades before. Another Soviet tradition had also been kept there: the concert opened with a female announcer who read the entire concert program and who was dressed more formally than most of the performers; she was even listed on the advertising posters. The soloists in the performance, however, were no longer announced as “People’s Artists of the USSR;” they were now “People’s Artists of Ukraine,” or, if earlier in their careers, as “Honored Artists of Ukraine.” The orchestra, a professional ensemble, performed well. I would hear its outstanding concert master on later occasions as a soloist and chamber musician.

The repertory performed at the symphonic concerts during my first two stays (January and August to October 2016) was exclusively by canonical composers and mostly standard; the furthest afield from the canon was an arrangement of Grieg's Third Violin Sonata for violin and orchestra. In choral concerts, local Bukovinian and contemporary Ukrainian composers occasionally appeared on the programs; in concert programs from recent years, a liturgy by Isidor Worobkiewicz and small pieces by Eusebius Mandyczewski and Ciprian Porumbescu, three of the most important local composers from the Habsburg period, had been performed. None of the large-scale compositions of these or any of the composers mentioned in historical newspapers and the secondary literature had been performed recently. This neglect seemed surprising, especially in the case of Worobkiewicz and Mandyczewski, who received much praise in recent Ukrainian music histories, and, even more pertinent, whose Ukrainianness and relevance for Ukrainian culture had been emphasized in recent years.

I left Chernivtsi with the impression that the archival holdings would support a multifaceted general narrative about the city's music culture, but that none of the archives of the various music societies and the military music survive, and, most disappointingly, that there were few original manuscripts left of music that had never been published. I also began to reconsider the relationship between Chernivtsi and Czernowitz, which in most of the German- and English-language literature has been regarded as one of total discontinuity, and had sometimes been compared to a theatrical performance in which scenery and actors had no relationship to one another.²⁷ An alternative narrative, one that emphasized continuity, had been

²⁷ See for example: Braun, ed., *Czernowitz: Geschichte einer untergegangenen Kulturmetropole*, 12.

suggested to me during that first research trip. At that time I used Russian when addressing people in cafés and shops, a language that a native speaker of Ukrainian either had learned in school (if above age forty) or would understand well enough for a basic everyday communication because of the closeness of the languages. When I used Russian in L’viv, people frequently responded with a disapproving look or showed some sign of dismay; nothing of this kind ever happened to me in Chernivtsi. I mentioned my observation to two acquaintances in Chernivtsi, and received the following responses: “Yes, that does not surprise me. We here in Chernivtsi are tolerant.” and, “Well, this is Czernowitz. We’ve always been a multi-cultural community.” The point here is not the claim’s veracity – in fact, a colleague from L’viv suggested that today, inter-cultural relations in his city were far more relaxed than in Chernivtsi – but its implicit construction of continuity across unbridgeable historical rifts.²⁸

That was Chernivtsi in 2016: an omnipresence of Ukrainian symbols like the national colors, flag, and coat of arms; military ceremonies for soldiers who had died in combat in the country’s East; posters at shop entrances with crossed-out matryoshka dolls accompanied by the slogan “don’t buy Russian” (in a city where Russian can be heard on every corner and where many citizens have family and work ties to Russia);

²⁸ Several authors have recently pointed to the role of this image in branding the city (as well as other post-Soviet East Central European cities) as European (see for example: Cristina Florea, “City of Dreams, Land of Longing: Czernowitz and Bukovina at the Crossroads of Empires” [PhD diss., Princeton University, 2016], 3; Niklas Bernsand, “Returning Chernivtsi to the Cultural Map of Europe: The Meridian Czernowitz International Poetry Festival,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33, no. 1 [2019]: 238; Gaëlle Fisher, “Looking Forwards through the Past: Bukovina’s ‘Return to Europe’ after 1989–1991,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33, no. 1 [2019]: 196–217; and Karolina Koziura, “The Spaces of Nostalgia(s) and the Politics of Belonging in Contemporary Chernivtsi, Western Ukraine,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33, no. 1 [2019]: 219).

cafés and restaurants replete with Habsburg memorabilia; and recent monuments for Emperor Francis Joseph (from 2009; **Fig. 05A–B**), Constantin Tomaszczuk, a Habsburg-loyalist politician of Romanian and Ukrainian descent (from 2015), and Paul Celan (1992).²⁹ While a boycott of Russian products in times of a Ukrainian-Russian military conflict does not likely provoke a conflict of loyalty for Ukraine’s Russian-speaking or ethnically Russian population, a rejection of Russian culture, as might be read into the crossed-out matryoshka, does (**Fig. 05C**). Two years later, the exclusionary stance had become even more explicit and visible, when posters with the slogan “Army! Language! Faith!”³⁰ for President Poroschenko’s reelection campaign littered the country.

“Romanian” Bukovina

The reception of Czernowitz’s and Bukovina’s culture in Romanian Southern Bukovina differs significantly from that in Ukrainian Northern Bukovina, which was occupied by the Soviet Army in 1940 and incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. After various shifts of borders during WWII, South Bukovina was under Romanian Communist rule for more than four decades, of which the extremely oppressive period between 1965 and 1989 under Nicolae Ceaușescu (which combined a Socialist

²⁹ A first monument for Tomaszczuk was erected in 1897, but destroyed in 1944; the current monument was erected on the preserved foundation of that monument (Markus Winkler, “Tomaszczuk-Denkmal,” *Digitale Topographie der multikulturellen Bukowina*; <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/306-Tomaszczuk-Denkmal>, accessed May 6, 2020).

³⁰ “Армія! мова! віра! Геть від Москви. Петро Порошенко.” (Army! Language! Faith! Away from Moscow. Petro Poroshenko.)

economic program with Romanian chauvinism in a brutal police state) left a particularly strong imprint on public opinion and scholarship.

When I first visited South Bukovina in August 2018, the region was celebrating the hundredth anniversary of Bukovina's unification with Romania. A logo created for the occasion adorned every public building in the regional capital, Suceava, at times clashing with an extant Austrian coat of arms above it. The Palace of Culture featured monumentally enlarged photographs of four politicians who had been involved in the unification process, as well as two pictures of 1918 unification ceremonies (**Fig. 0.6A**). All politicians on the pictures were Romanians and both ceremonies featured took place in Czernowitz.³¹ It was a typical example of the selective usage of history in nationalist propaganda: historical accuracy served as a pretext to cross the modern border to Ukraine and to feature Czernowitz, a town with fewer than 20% Romanians in the last census before WWI,³² but no historical considerations informed the representation of the political establishment of multiethnic Bukovina, which, across ethnic boundaries, in its large majority had supported the unification with Romania in 1918. In this propagandistic arrangement, the image of an undivided Romanian Bukovina with its capital Czernowitz emerged, and its showing on a public building in the center of Suceava's main square hardly suggested that it only served as a historical exhibit. Monumentalism and blatant propaganda fit here uncannily to the architectural language of the building that formed the background, a brutalist beauty from the heydays of Romanian Socialism.

³¹ The politicians were Iancu Flondor, Iakob Zadik, Eusebie Popovici, and Ion Nistor.

³² "Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern," Vol. 1.2 (Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914), 90–1.

An afternoon trip to the scenic countryside outside Suceava led me to the site where the composer Ciprian Porumbescu (1853–1883), the unchallenged musical hero of Romanian Bukovina, died.³³ His biography as usually told contains all attributes and deeds for the creation of a national icon: he fought for the cause of an oppressed ethnicity and was even imprisoned and tried in court for his political activities; his modest background limited his educational opportunities so he remained mostly an autodidact; and he died young, presumably as a result of an illness he had contracted while incarcerated. The story of an unrequited love – in which difference in religious denomination likely played a role – complements this life’s tragedy. Few compositions by Porumbescu gained repertoire status; even in Romania, where he is considered one of the nation’s foremost composers only his Ballad for Violin and Piano, his operetta *Crai nou*, regarded as the “first Romanian operetta,” and a few choir pieces receive regular performances. One song, “Trei colori” (Three Colors), gained an even wider reception, as it was used (with an altered text) as the Romanian national anthem in the last thirteen years of Ceausescu’s rule (1977–1989).

Porumbescu is hardly less a cult figure in Romania than Chopin is in Poland, with his destiny often explicitly equated with that of the nation, and his pictures frequently adorned with Romanian national symbols. His exceptional status is confirmed by the fact that a village in South Bukovina, known as Stupca until 1954, bears the composer’s (full!) name; such an honor is unusual for a composer (search on a map for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart or Piotr Ilitsch Tchaikovsky), but not unique in Romania, where there is also a village called George Enescu. Ciprian Porumbescu, a

³³ “Romanian Bukovina” refers here to South Bukovina in modern-day Romania, but Porumbescu was also celebrated in undivided Bukovina in the Romanian period (1918 – 1940).

village of a mere two-thousand inhabitants, hosts two museums for the composer but has no restaurant and no café; the composer's grave in the local cemetery is wrapped with a Romanian flag (**Fig. 0.6B**). Porumbescu (the composer) has also enjoyed a substantial reception by music scholars and other writers, which began immediately after his death; this reception was, however, almost exclusively limited to the Romanian sphere.³⁴

Turning Porumbescu into an icon palatable to nationalist demands required some wrestling with major facts of his life. During most of his life, he had a Polish name, Gołębowski, which was changed to Porumbescu only two years prior to his death.³⁵ One theory says that this family name had originally been Romanian but was changed to Polish by the Austrian authorities some time before his birth; yet while such changes did occur they were not as frequent as nationalist circles want people to believe, and no evidence has been shown in the case of Porumbescu. One can hardly underestimate how crucial a distancing from any Slavic heritage has been for a significant portion of historical research and scholarship in Romania: even a branch of archeology owes much of its prestige in the country to its focus on providing “evidence” for an exclusively Western, Latin, non-Slavic origin of the Romanian people.

³⁴ See for example, Mihail Poslușnicu, *Ciprian Porumbescu: Viața și opera sa muzicală* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1926); Viorel Cosma, *Ciprian Porumbescu – Monografie* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Imprimare și Publicații, 1957); Nina Cionca, *Ciprian Porumbescu* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor, 1974); Paul Leu, *Ciprian Porumbescu*, 2nd rev. ed. (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1978). An odd exception is the use of a melody by Porumbescu as the National Anthem of Albania.

³⁵ Regarding the Polish origins of Porumbescu's family, see for example, George Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical al Bucovinei (Cu referiri critice la mișcarea muzicală din România de azi). Conferințe ținute la Universitatea liberă în zilele de 5, 9, și 12 Aprilie 1932* (Cernăuți (Czernowitz): Tipografia Mitropolitul Silvestru, 1932), 18. Onciul regards Porumbescu's family background as Polish, but completely Romanianized.

In the case of Porumbescu, the intricacies and ambiguities of a borderlands biography and identity needed to undergo a process of nationalization and centralization, a shift away from the border, to make him a cultural icon. A glance at Porumbescu's oeuvre hardly suggests that a nation was trying to claim a composer as her own for his artistic achievements; instead, it is his value as a national hero and suffering artist that seem to provide the reason for an interest in his music. Weaknesses in his music, if acknowledged at all, are explained as a result of his lack of opportunities, a fact contradicted by his opportunity to study in Vienna with a stipend.³⁶

Most institutions for historical research and culture in Suceava subscribe to a Romanian nationalist agenda with respect to Bukovina and Czernowitz, even though they acknowledge to some degree the presence of non-Romanian players in the region's culture or collaborate with institutions of non-Romanian ethnic diasporas, such as the German Bukovina Institute in Augsburg. At Suceava's *Centrul Cultural Bukovina*, a local ethnomusicologist could hardly conceal her skepticism about my project. She warned me of "getting betrayed" by Ukrainian scholars, complained about the difficulties of doing research in Ukraine, praised her own objectivity, and admonished me to do my work in a similarly objective way.³⁷ The most important impulse in Romania for a critical engagement with Czernowitz has come from a university outside of Bukovina, in a field that cares less about alleged objectivity: for

³⁶ Gheorghe Duțică, "Orient-Occident: 'Cazul' Porumbescu între oglinzi paralele," 20–35, *Ciprian Porumbescu Necunoscut: Festivalul European al Artelor 'Ciprian Porumbescu'*, vol. 1, ed. Constanța Cristescu (Suceava: Editura Lidana, 2012), 24.

³⁷ It was the third time during my research in East Central Europe that someone qualified their own work as objective without a prompt of mine: the first time was a journalist who referred to his work in Soviet times as objective, the second was self-appraisal in a scholarly paper that included much fanciful bending of facts toward nationalist ends.

the last few decades, German Studies scholars at the University of Iași have studied the city's famous German-language poets and, as a by-product, have examined the city's history and culture.

*

My research experience thus already brought to the fore many of the reasons why much of the music written in or for Czernowitz had disappeared, and why there had been little effort to resuscitate it; responses to my attempts, beginning in 2017, to revive the city's musical repertory yielded additional pieces of the puzzle (see Epilogue). Apart from the fact that the intercultural aspect of Czernowitz's music culture was not regarded a worthwhile focus of study (and some cultures were deemed more worthy of a rediscovery than others), additional circumstances assisted a culture's having fallen into oblivion: the lack of a tradition of reexamining primary sources, partly owing to previous limitations in archival research; an expectation to accept earlier, authoritative scholarship; language barriers; and boundaries, which, despite visa-freedom between Ukraine and Romania since 2017, have remained selectively permeable, as mental border walls have been continually fortified.

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Chapter Overview

Following a historical overview and examination of the general literature on Czernowitz and Bukovina (Ch. 1), four angles (Ch. 2–5) serve to illuminate Czernowitz's music culture: "People," "Events," "Texts," and "Places." This structure

allows for the focus to remain throughout on the city as a whole, exploring it from different viewpoints, and bringing to each examination a wide range of materials.

Chapter 2, “People,” examines the largest music society in the city, as the most important musical – if not cultural – network in the city. The account is mostly chronological and covers the entire period. Source materials include press coverage; memoirs; published histories; yearbooks; scores; and the correspondence with authorities (which include lists of members, concert programs, and architectural drafts).

Chapter 3, “Events,” reconstructs events in the compositional career of Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857–1929) that occurred in his home city. Following a narration of Mandyczewski’s early socialization, the chapter looks at the composer’s contributions to Czernowitz’s musical life, beginning with the genesis and premiere of his First Liturgy (1880) and ending with a cantata he composed in 1913. All of the compositions discussed bear traces of the city’s culture; many of them represent attempts to negotiate difference. The basis for this chapter is a study of the composer’s musical autographs; of the family correspondence with more than seven-hundred extant letters; and of press coverage.

Chapter 4, “Texts,” looks at traces of the divided reception of a music culture in the borderlands as it is visible in autographs, published scores, and music histories. The focus of this study is the question of how different sorts of texts from the Habsburg period fared under four different political regimes.

Chapter 5, “Places,” reconstructs the musical events and overall soundscape in a single week in 1913, as experienced by a fictitious visitor to the city. While the focus

is on the present, the narrative also relates the histories of each place and its role in intercultural relations. Fiction, told in internal focalization, and historical accounts are clearly separated.

The chapters differ in their approaches to time, focus, narrative angle, and coverage of source materials: Chapters 2 (focused inward) and Chapter 3 (focused outward by presenting a dialogue with a local who had migrated West) are both chronological accounts that span the entire period; Chapter 4, by contrast, abandons the main time frame as well as chronology; Chapter 5 attempts synchronicity. Chapter 2 traces the activities of several dozens of agents; Chapter 3 follows the activities of a single family; and Chapter 5 narrates the city from the viewpoint of a single agent.

Many materials have been examined here for the first time in scholarship, based on extensive archival research. The most important musical scores examined include compositions by Vojtěch Hřímaly (kept at the Plzeň City Archive) and Eusebius Mandyczewski (held at the University Library in Chernivtsi, the Austrian National Library in Vienna, and the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest), as well as numerous pieces of sheet music (mostly kept at the University Library in Chernivtsi, but some of them available through online portals). An important manuscript source for the dissertation was the Mandyczewski family correspondence, more than seven hundred letters distributed among institutions in three different countries (Chernivtsi Oblast State Archive, Ukraine; Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest; Archiv and Library of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna). Relevant archival materials on Czernowitz's music institutions and theaters, as well as petitions from individual musicians, are kept at the Chernivtsi Oblast Archives and the

Austrian State Archive (Vienna); these two archives also provided the most important archival materials for the larger context. The most important printed sources for this project, apart from a few music histories printed in the Habsburg era, are Czernowitz's newspapers, many of them available via the online collection of the Austrian National Libraries (*Bukowinaer Post*, *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*; other newspapers, such as *Czernowitzer Zeitung* and *Буковина* [Bukovyna] were available at the University Library in Chernivtsi). The *Wienbibliothek im Rathaus* holds several autograph scores, including some in the *krypto-nachlass* of psychoanalyst and Freud-student Wilhelm Stekel, who received his schooling in Czernowitz. Music journals and a few newspapers from other cities (Vienna, Plzeň, Prague, and L'viv) complemented the newspaper pool. I was also able to benefit from access to the Mandyczewski collection of Christian Lambour, a legacy of Mandyczewski's daughter Virginia, which includes numerous photographs of the composer and his family as well as original documents.

The approach to my subject is mostly qualitative, and includes a range of methods, including source criticism, text analysis, biographical research, and music analysis. Occasional detours to quantitative data (e.g. in Chapter 2, where I generated charts for the music society for a comparison with population statistics) serve to refute charges in some previous histories that the music society examined was just a matter of a small, exclusive elite. Theoretical angles for my examination draw from Pierre Bourdieu to assess the various economies involved in music culture (an occasional antidote to my own, likely too idealistic conception of the musical realm); Eric Hobsbawm to consider the ideological underpinnings in national, but also

supranational music traditions; Rogers Brubaker for examinations of so-called ethnic conflict and national indifference; and recent scholarship on music and borders.

The Epilogue of the dissertations, “Bridges,” brings us back to Chernivtsi, and today’s reception of the city’s musical past. Following the discovery of several scores by Eusebius Mandyczewski in the University Library in Chernivtsi, I initiated a collaboration with local musicians to organize a concert and later a festival to get this music re-performed. The initiative resulted in numerous interactions with musicians, scholars, journalists and ordinary locals, conversations that laid bare the contested nature of this musical heritage in the Eastern European borderlands. The experience of this festival and its media reception reminded me of questions I had partially suppressed in the optimistic phase of my research, regarding both the subjectivity of experience and the selectivity of written records (resulting in an ambiguous and fragmentary historical documentation of a culture, in Czernowitz, or Chernivtsi, perhaps even more so than in many other places).

The title of my dissertation spells out its focus: the points of contact among cultures at venues, in events, in texts, or in a person’s biography, not the cultures in their individual existence. Neither my understanding of cultures nor that of “borderlands” should be misconstrued as an acceptance of a nationalist framework:³⁸ numerous contemporary accounts conceive of Bukovina as a border region (referring to an Imperial border that is not a “national” divide) and in later times, the notion of the border has reinforced in historiography “[...] segregating discourses that the idea

³⁸ Hieronymus van Drunen has suggested that “scholarly work on ‘borderlands, ‘hybrid culture,’ and ‘transnationalism’ [...] legitimises nationalist claims.” Drunen, “‘Sanguine Bunch,’” 23.

of the border helps to create,” as Alejandro Madrid once pointedly suggested.³⁹ Similarly, the idea behind “voices among cultures” does not propose different “ethnic” or “national” cultures and their merger, but rather distinctive cultural practices associated with different religious cults, linguistic practices, and social status. The account includes national or sectarian music institutions, like *Armonia*, the Jewish Singing Society, and the Church Music Society, as they, too, received the larger community’s attention or even practiced considerable outreach to that community (the nature of Czernowitz’s constellation has created little in the realm of music making that was completely segregated and without cross-influences). The protagonist in this narrative is a city’s music culture; accordingly, the supporting cast was chosen with respect to its relevance for this culture. The city’s most famous musical daughters and sons – Karol Mikuli, Viorica Ursuleac, Josef Schmidt, and Ciprian Porumbescu – are not at the center of this project; instead, those who contributed to the city’s music culture during the decades examined here, like the Mandyczewski family, Vojtěch Hřímaly, Eleonore Poras, and Emma Neuberger, are at its heart. It is that story about Czernowitz that had been forgotten, buried in national narratives that had no room to remember a local, regional, and diverse past. Hieronymus van Drunen has pointed out that “it is still mildly ironic that a region which has entered into the public memory as quintessentially multicultural has only been described along nationalist lines.”⁴⁰ Tracing these lines is sometimes a prerequisite in the effort to leave them behind.

³⁹ Alejandro Madrid, “Transnational Musical Encounters at the U.S.-Mexico Border: An Introduction,” in *Transnational Encounters: Music and Performance at the U.S.-Mexico Border*, ed. Alejandro Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

⁴⁰ Drunen, ““Sanguine Bunch,”” x.

Fig. 0.2: Shifting borders. The city's location in 1914, 1938, 1956, and 1992

(Source for the silent maps: <https://historicalmapchart.net>)



Czernowitz in 1914, in the Easternmost part of Austria-Hungary, less than 25 miles from the borders to Romanian and the Russian Empire.



Czernowitz (then Cernăuți) in 1938, in Northern Romania, close to the Polish and Soviet borders.



Czernowitz (then Черновцы / Chernovtsy) in 1956, in Soviet Ukraine, close to the Romanian border.



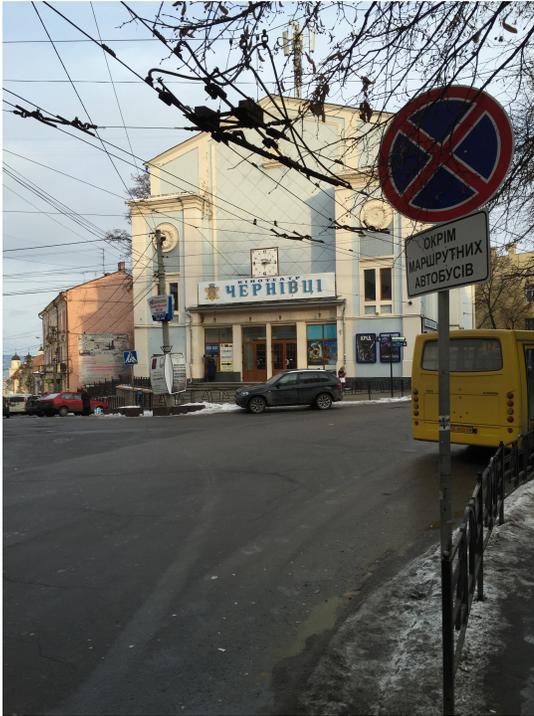
Czernowitz (now Чернівці / Chernivtsi) in 1992, in Ukraine, close to the Romanian and Moldavian borders.

Fig. 0.3A–B: Kobylanska Street (formerly *Herrengasse*), Chernivtsi. Pictures by D. F. (January 2016)



Fig. 0.3C: The “German House,” erected in 1910, today the club location of the German and Austrian Society in Chernivtsi.

Fig. 0.4A–D: Jewish traces (January 2016).
Photos by D. F.



Top right: A commemorative plaque for the singer and actor Joseph Schmidt in the vestibule of the “cinemagogue.” Schmidt had his debut in the synagogue.

Top left: “Kinoteatr Chernivtsi,” formerly the city’s largest synagogue. After its destruction by the German occupants in WWII, it was rebuilt as a cinema in Stalinist Classicism.

Bottom right: Interior of the dilapidated mortuary (January 2016). At the time, plans for a renovation of this building sparked heated discussions on the listserv of Czernowitz’s Jewish diaspora.

Bottom left: Chernivtsi’s Jewish cemetery, one of largest Jewish cemeteries in Europe.





Fig. 0.5A–B: Imperial nostalgia.

Left: Monument for Emperor Franz Joseph, erected in 2009. Photo by D.F. (September 2017)

Below: Imperial presence in one of Czernowitz's cafés. Photo by D.F. (September 2017)

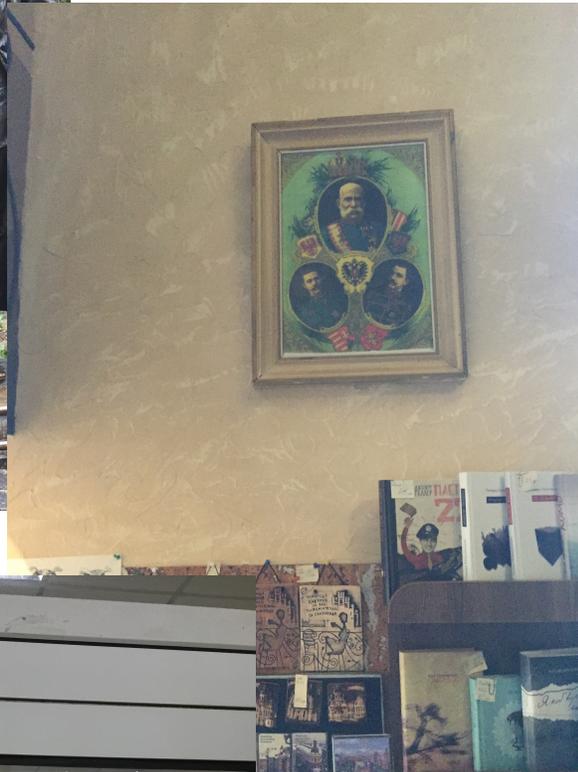


Fig. 0.5C: Купуй українське! – Buy Ukrainian (products)!
Photo by D.F. (August 2016)

Fig. 0.6A: The House of Culture in Suceava (“Southern Bukovina”). Photo by D. F. (August 2018)



Still serving its original purpose as a tool for political propaganda: the House of Culture (Casă de Cultură, erected 1965–9) in Suceava, Romania, here in August 2018 displaying monumental photographs to commemorate the unification of Bucovina

with Romania in 1918. All four politicians featured, Iancu Flondor, Iacob Zadik, Eusebie Popovici, and Ion Nistor, were Romanians even though the unification with Romania was supported by politicians of most of Bucovina’s ethnic groups. The venues shown on the large-scale photographs are both in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi (today Ukraine). Ironically, what is being celebrated here lavishly is the incorporation in

1918 of a province into Romania that no longer exists as a political entity (not even as the name of a district), and of a territory half of which is in a neighboring country today.



Fig. 0.6B: Grave of the composer Ciprian Porumbescu. Photo by D. F. (August 2018)

Ciprian Porumbescu’s grave at the cemetery in the village named after him (formerly Stupca). His song “Trei culori,” an ode to the Romanian flag, became Romania’s national anthem during the last years of Socialist rule (1977–1989).

“Czernowitz, City of Music”

For a special edition of the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* on the occasion of the newspaper’s tenth anniversary in 1913, Eusebius Mandyczewski contributed a guest editorial titled “Czernowitz, City of Music” (“Die Musikstadt Czernowitz”). If all of Austria through its “mix of many peoples” was already a fertile soil for musical activities,

Mandyczewski reasoned, Bukovina was exceptionally blessed:

Here nations come together, which despite all of their other differences in character and cultural development have one thing in common, an inclination towards music that runs in their blood. The Ruthenian, the Romanian, the Pole as well as the German, they have all in their own manner brought music to a high level, all drawing from their national individuality, and thus it is self-evident that in this relatively small province, which unites these four people, music was blessed.¹

But Mandyczewski also registered a different approach to the city’s diverse

configuration when comparing the 1913 state of affairs to the time of his youth:

I left Czernowitz, where I spent my earliest youth, in 1874. At that time, there was no national fragmentation, and even less so in the city’s artistic life [Kunstleben]. Today this seems to have changed. Today the nations even rival with each other in art, strangely enough, whereas formerly, all united across political boundaries. Much to the detriment of the cause! Only a strong personality like Hřimalý could contain these destructive phenomena, and therefore the heyday of Czernowitz’s musical life is tied to the name of this rare man, who combined with his eminent musical skills an unusual education and admirable energy.²

¹ “Wenn man von Oesterreich allgemein als dem Lande spricht, das durch sein eigenartiges Völkergemisch ganz besonders für die Musikpflege geschaffen erscheint, so gilt das von der Bukowina

² “Ich verließ Czernowitz, wo ich meine früheste Jugend verbrachte, im Jahre 1874. Damals gab es noch keine nationale Zersplitterung, und im Kunstleben der Stadt schon gar nicht. Heute scheint das anders geworden zu sein. Heute rivalisieren die Nationen merkwürdigerweise auch in der Kunst, während sich früher alles über politische Gegensätze hinweg zusammenfand. Sehr zum Schaden der Sache! Nur die starke Persönlichkeit eines Hřymali [sic] konnte noch diese destruktiven Erscheinungen

A multilingual city, diversity regarded as a cultural asset, and the contrast between national indifference or intercultural collaboration on the one hand and national fragmentation on the other: the themes that later preoccupied much writing on Czernowitz date back to Habsburg times, as Mandyczewski's example shows. The decades that lay between Mandyczewski's youth and the 1913 testimony correspond precisely to the period that Hobsbawm regarded as momentous in the spread of *invented traditions*: "Once we are aware how commonly traditions are invented, it can easily be discovered that one period which saw them spring up with particular assiduity was in the thirty or forty years before the first world war."³ Lamenting the existence of a movement that thrived on invented traditions – nationalism – Mandyczewski contributed to a different construction of the past: the "myth of Czernowitz" (or "myth of Bukovina" at large), the image of a glorious past without or with little national prejudice, or at least a time in which such prejudice was kept in check.

Before exploring how diversity played out in musical institutions and Czernowitz's soundscape, a closer look at the surviving sources of information on the city's cultural development at large and the establishment of its institutional music culture in particular is in order. The main facts of Bukovina's history will help us understand the various Habsburg constructions of this Crown Land's set-up and its

beschwören und deshalb knüpft sich auch an den Namen dieses seltenen Mannes, der mit seinen hervorragenden musikalischen Fähigkeiten eine ungewöhnliche Bildung und eine bewundernswerte Energie verband, die Glanzepoche des Czernowitzer Musiklebens." E. M., "Die Musikstadt Czernowitz."

³ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263.

character. These constructions, which changed considerably over time in order to take into account demands raised on behalf of various ethnicities and religious denominations, or to respond to political developments at large, had a direct impact on the creation and destiny of the city's music institutions. No less important are factors of the city's history: extensive migration to the city and a rapid population growth in the nineteenth century as a social challenge and promoter of cultural change; efforts in urban planning to match the expectations for a Crown Land capital; and the development of a salon culture in the first half of the century, which provided some of the soil for the music institutions that developed after 1850. Several processes that took centuries in other Central European towns unfolded here in mere decades: the establishment of a bourgeoisie, and this bourgeoisie in turn becoming the main bearer of educational and cultural affairs, as well as a province's genesis and the development of a small city into that province's capital.

Locating Czernowitz: The Crown Land and its Capital

Bukovina as a political entity was created in 1775, when the Ottoman Empire ceded an area of approximately 4000 square miles to the Habsburg Empire.⁴ The name of this entity had no historical precedent but is based on a diminutive of the Slavic word *buk*

⁴ Hannes Hofbauer, "Bukowina 1774 bis 1918: Österreichs Osterweiterung," in *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina. Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil*, ed. Cecile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002), 14. May 7, 1775 was the official date of the transfer, but the occupation had already occurred in the previous year (Hofbauer, "Bukowina 1774 bis 1918," 15). The voluntary nature of the transfer, claimed in Habsburg history books, has frequently been questioned (Drunen, "'A Sanguine Bunch,'" 2).

(for beech tree) and suggests “little land of beeches.”⁵ Three years earlier, the Habsburgs had obtained a share of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a result of the First Partition of Poland and had given the new province the name of Galicia (later enlarged and known as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria). The land that would become Bukovina bordered on both Galicia and another Habsburg province, Transylvania, and was occupied by the military in 1774 as it was deemed a desirable strategic bridge and economic link between these two provinces.⁶ After a decade under military administration, Bukovina became a district (“Kreis”) of Galicia in 1786. Autonomy, and with it the impulse to develop a distinct regional identity, came only in the aftermath of the revolution of 1848: in 1849, Bukovina became a separate duchy and Crown Land within the Austrian Empire, a move that addressed numerous local demands for greater autonomy voiced at the time.⁷ As a consequence, Czernowitz turned into a Crown Land Capital and Bukovina subsequently received its own Governor office (“k.k. Statthaltere”). In short, these are the most important facts of political history about the time that immediately precedes the years examined in this dissertation: the creation of a new province out of lands that had never formed an entity before; the development of this province into an Austrian Crown Land with a Diet; and the elevation of Czernowitz to that Crown Land’s capital.

⁵ Drunen, ““A Sanguine Bunch,”” 35–6.

⁶ Ion Lihaciu, *Czernowitz 1848–1918: Das kulturelle Leben einer Provinzmetropole* (Kaiserslautern: Parthenon, 2012), 9.

⁷ Lihaciu, *Das kulturelle Leben*, 12. Bukovina’s autonomy was first granted by the March Constitution of 1849, but only put into practice (and proclaimed) in 1854 (Raimund Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* [Czernowitz: Pardini, 1908], 57). For a brief period in 1860–1, Bukovina was again part of Galicia, but became autonomous once again after petitions by local dignitaries (Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu, “Der Landtag der Bukowina,” in *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 7 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000], 2175).

Before the Habsburg annexation, that territory had a varied history within several domains or spheres of interest, many of which were later construed as the basis for national claims. These include settlements of the Dacians; the Roman province of Dacia; an early Slavic Kingdom; Poland-Lithuania; and the Moldavian Principality, which was first independent, then under Ottoman rule. In most histories of Bukovina, the existence of these domains was not disputed as such, but shifting domains and spheres of interest were construed as if they had been modern territorial states and their continuity was exaggerated. For example, Romanian histories tend to suggest a continuity in population and statehood between the Moldavian principality and modern-day Romania; the Moldovans, the inhabitants of the multiethnic and multilingual Moldavian principality, are usually regarded as Romanians.⁸ Notably, Habsburg historian Raimund Kaindl, who wrote Czernowitz's first comprehensive city history in 1908, pointed out that religious denomination carried more weight than ethnicity during the times before the Habsburg occupation, and implied that a distinction between Romanians and Ukrainians was difficult for that time: "It is certain that one should not assume exclusively Romance inhabitants subsumed under the then-common designation 'Moldavian.'"⁹ Soviet and Ukrainian histories, in contrast to Romanian ones, emphasized the various Slavic affiliations of the region. All these interpretations – exclusively Romanian; historically Slavic; or mixed for a

⁸ For examples of such historical accounts, see Drunen, "A Sanguine Bunch," 1 (fn. 1); regarding the constructions of continuity, see also Kurt Scharr, *Die Landschaft Bukowina* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 70.

⁹ "Da man in jener Zeit weit größeres Gewicht auf den Glauben als auf die Nationalität legte, so trifft die Unterscheidung zwischen rumänischen und ruthenischen Bewohnern auf große Schwierigkeiten. Sicher ist, daß man unter dem damals üblichen Ausdrucke 'Moldauer' nicht romanische Bewohner allein verstehen darf." Kaindl, *Geschichte*, 36. This view has been disputed in other accounts (Drunen, "A Sanguine Bunch," 44).

long time – can be traced back to historical accounts that already appeared in print in Habsburg times.

“Official” Habsburg accounts, by contrast, tended to regard both Ukrainians (or Ruthenians) and Rumanians as “native” population.¹⁰ An example is Cornel Kozak’s and Eduard Fischer’s *Heimatskunde der Bukowina*, a local history book from 1899 for usage in schools, which identified the “Ruthenians and Romanians as the core of the native population,” and suggested in separate sections on each *native* ethnicity that the Romanians had come to Bukovina from Hungary and Transylvania, and the Ruthenians from Galicia, both arriving in the twelfth century.¹¹ Yet sometimes even more or less official publications included exclusionary narratives. The Bukovina volume of the massive encyclopedia *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture), a project initiated by Crown Prince Rudolf – and therefore often referred to as *Kronprinzenwerk* or Crown Prince’s Work) – included an essay on the Romanian population by Ion (here: Johann) Sbiera and Simeon Florea Marian, in which the authors regarded the Romanians as the “almost exclusive ethnic people in these lands” at the time of the Austrian occupation, and listed as only exceptions a region with Hutsul settlements as well as Armenian and Jewish families in some cities.¹² The Hutsuls, an ethnic group

¹⁰ Drunen, “A Sanguine Bunch,” 37 and 48 (early accounts).

¹¹ Cornel Kozak and Eduard Fischer, eds., *Heimatskunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1900), 44 (core, Romanians) and 45 (Ruthenians).

¹² “Zur Zeit der Einverleibung der Bukowina in die österreichischen Staate bildeten die Rumänen fast ausschließlich das einheimische Volkselement im Lande [...] Die wenigen armenischen und jüdischen Familien, die damals nur in den Städten und Marktflecken des Landes Handel trieben, verschwanden in der Masse der rumänischen Bevölkerung.” Johann [Ion] Sbiera and S. [Simeon] Fl. [Florea] Marian, “Die Rumänen,” 191–228, in *Bukowina*, vol. 20 of *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Vienna: Hof-und Staatsdruckerei, 1899), here: 191. Other essays in the volume referred to the

that mostly live in the Carpathian mountain regions, speak a Slavic language but were declared Ukrainianized Romanians by Romanian nationalists.¹³ Jews and Roma also populated Bukovina before the Habsburg annexation, but although mentioned in various accounts as having had a presence in the region for centuries, these cultural groups have no place in the logic of autochthony.¹⁴

Undisputed is the fact (but not the minutiae) of massive waves of migration that took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which increased the Crown Land's diversity considerably and created the exceptional configuration for which Bukowina and Czernowitz were famed. They included Germans from Banat and Bohemia, Ruthenians and Poles from Galicia, and Jews from Galicia and Tsarist Russia (to name just a few places of origins).¹⁵ Hieronymus Drunen has suggested that this mass migration "deepened the divide between 'metropolitan' and 'indigenous' culture" (a divide that was conceptualized along "national" lines only later).¹⁶ The census of 1880 – to cite relatively reliable data that includes statistics about language and religious denomination – listed a total population of 571,671 inhabitants for the entire Crown Land, a tenfold increase since 1775.¹⁷ Of these, 70,7% were Eastern Orthodox, 14,4% Catholic (which includes all three rites – Roman, Greek, and

status quo with Romanians and Ruthenians as the Crown Land's most important current ethnicities (*Bukowina* in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie*, 228 and 363).

¹³ For an overview of the claims about the Hutsuls, see Drunen, "A Sanguine Bunch," 112–118.

¹⁴ Kozak and Fischer, *Heimatkunde*, 47–8.

¹⁵ Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944* (Munich: Oldenburg, 2001), 29–40.

¹⁶ Drunen, "A Sanguine Bunch," 80. See also: Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, "Urbane Kohabitation in Czernowitz als Modell einer gespannten Multikulturalität," *Neohelicon* 23, no.1 (1996): 78.

¹⁷ Emanuel Turczynski, "Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien in der Bukowina," in *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft: Vereine, Parteien und Interessensverbände als Träger der Politischen Partizipation*, ed. Helmut Rumppler and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 8.1 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 860.

Armenian Catholicism), and 11,8% Jewish.¹⁸ The *Umgangssprache* (language of conversation) of 41,9% was Ruthenian, of 33,2% Ruthenian, and of 19,0% German (which includes Yiddish, widely regarded a German dialect at the time).¹⁹ These proportions did not change significantly in the subsequent three decades.²⁰ Debates about demographics in Imperial times included the suggestion that migration of non-Romanians occurred strategically in order to weaken “the” autochthone population; mutual charges by Ukrainians and Romanians of allegedly forcing members of the respective other group to assimilate or misrepresent their affiliation; and the position of the Jews as part of the Germans or a group in their own right.²¹

As its main tasks in the first decades after the annexation, the new rulers saw the creation of a basic infrastructure, a coherent administration, and an educational system. The administration tried to strike a balance between accepting the prerogative of an old elite – local nobility (e.g. boyars) and the Eastern Orthodox Church – on the one hand, and centralizing as well as standardization efforts of the Habsburg bureaucracy on the other. Political participation and proto-democratic structures developed concurrently with other places in the Empire. From 1861 on Bukovina had its own State Diet, which was staffed according to class suffrage and included great landowners (8 members), cities (5), chamber of trade and commerce (20), and rural

¹⁸ *Bukowina*, Vol. XIII of *Special-Orts-Repertorien der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* (Vienna: Verlag der K. K. Statistischen Central-Commission, 1885), 26. The percentages are generated from this raw data: Catholic 82,039; Eastern Oriental 404,450; Jewish 67,418; Others 17,764.

¹⁹ Here’s the raw data: Germans 108,820; Ruthenians 239,690; Romanians 190,005; Others 29,938 (*Bukowina*, Vol. XIII of *Special-Orts-Repertorien*, 26).

²⁰ E.g. in 1910: 38,0% Ruthenian, 34,2% Romanian, 21,1% German (“Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern,” vol. 1.2 [Vienna: Kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914], 38).

²¹ Drunen, “A Sanguine Bunch,” 53 (“Slavicization”), 176 (“Romanisation”), 184–5 (Jewish-German identification).

communes (12).²² At 11% the percentage of eligible voters was high compared to other provinces in the empire where it was at 6–8%.²³ The system favored an old elite, at the expense of a proportional representation of the population structure; for example, in the first Diet in 1861, the Ruthenians, who accounted for more than thirty percent of the population at that time, had only 6,6% of the seats in the Diet.²⁴

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Even though Czernowitz developed into a significant urban structure late, especially for a venue that would become the capital of a province, a first mention of its name occurred as early as 1408 in a document issued by a Moldavian Prince in Church Slavonic.²⁵ Such a first mention of an obscure trading place would hardly be worth mentioning, as little had developed there in subsequent centuries, were it not for the importance of such firsts in constructing historical longevity – manifest in celebrations of centennial jubilees that glorify these mentions as some kind of founding moment – and the practice among many historians in the region from the nineteenth century onward to equate the “essence” of a place with its (alleged) origins. In such foundational claims, the Slavic name (“cer-” is Slavic for “black”) would be a point in favor of regarding it as Ukrainian; the document’s origins in the Moldavian Principality as a point for Romania; the use of Church Slavonic again as one for Ukraine; until a votary for the Romanian side points out that Church Slavonic had been widely used within Moldavian territories, which makes that point questionable;

²² Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 867. In addition, two offices were granted a seat in the Diet (the Eastern Orthodox bishop (later archbishop) and, later, the rector of the university).

²³ Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 867.

²⁴ Ceaușu, “Der Landtag,” 2184.

²⁵ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 7–8.

and so on.²⁶ While today most historians in Western Europe or the United States, following Anderson and Hobsbawm, would consider such debates as hardly relevant since their terms are misguided (after all, neither the modern territorial state nor a concept of national identity existed in the fifteenth century), historians in both Ukraine and Romanian still relish such debates. What Svitlana Frunchak has pointed out with respect to scholarship on Bukovina from before 1991 still rings true: “The present study [...] deals primarily with historical studies whose authors not only take national identities for granted but also often have strongly politicized opinions about the numbers and roles of certain national groups in the area under consideration.”²⁷

Habsburg accounts of what the town looked like in 1774 paint a dark picture: the place was described as economically underdeveloped, bare of culture (except religious services), with swamps and a thicket in the town’s center, and jurisprudence in the hands of a judge who could not write.²⁸ While wars, looting, disease, and fires in the preceding decades make such accounts generally plausible, the image conveyed – from ducks being chased on the square that would later boast the impressive cathedral and the howling of wolves in the city’s vicinity – also serves to legitimize the new order.²⁹ In Habsburg history books – such as Raimund Kaindl’s city history published on the occasion of Emperor Franz Joseph’s sixtieth jubilee – the civilizing achievements of Habsburg rule shine all the more when, on the pages with the description of such chaos, there appears a drawing of early-twentieth-century

²⁶ For a neat overview of the ideologies and traditions that underlie historiography on Bukovina, see Svetlana [Svitlana] Frunchak, “Studying the Land, Contesting the Land: A Select Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina. Vol. 1: Essay,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies* 2108 (2011): 1–62, especially 9.

²⁷ Frunchak, “Studying the Land,” 6.

²⁸ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 33 (underdevelopment), 102 (judge), 168–9 (swamp).

²⁹ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 168–9.

Czernowitz featuring impressive architecture and elegant city dwellers.³⁰ A report from 1762 gives insight into the population of Czernowitz at the time of the occupation, which was mainly Eastern Orthodox and Jewish. One estimate suggested that the population consisted of 290 families, 112 of which were Jewish, amounting to a total of 1400 people (2280 including the suburbs).³¹

Between 1775 and 1900, Czernowitz's population grew by a factor of thirty.³² Its location just a few miles from the border accounts for the choice of Czernowitz as the venue for negotiations in 1823 between the Russian Tsar Alexander and the Austrian Emperor Franz I.³³ By then, the construction of several of the city's oldest landmarks such as the Roman Catholic Church (1814) and the Greek Catholic Church (1821) was complete, and the building of the Old Synagogue had begun. In the 1830s, the largest public park (*Volksgarten*) opened. The foundation stones of several other important landmarks were laid in the 1840s: the City Hall (1843–7), the Eastern Orthodox Cathedral (1844–64), and the Lutheran Church (1847–9).³⁴

“Like a suburb of Vienna”

Czernowitz had changed fundamentally within a few decades, as a travel report

³⁰ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 169.

³¹ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 185. Such numbers can at best serve as a heuristic estimate, as Julia Lienemeyer has shown with a slightly later example (Julia Lienemeyer, *Stadtentwicklung und Architektur in Czernowitz: Eine stadtmorphologische Untersuchung* [Berlin: Dom publishers, 2019], 52–3).

³² Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141. The population growth in Galicia and Bukovina was at 47% in the period between 1790 and 1850, the second biggest in the Empire after Bohemia (Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* [Vienna: Herold, 1985], 287–8).

³³ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141.

³⁴ For an overview of city planning and development in this period, see Lienemeyer, *Stadtentwicklung und Architektur in Czernowitz*, 67–113.

from 1841 by the Northern German travel writer and historian Johann Georg Kohl (1808–1878) illustrates. For Kohl, who arrived in Czernowitz after extensive travels in the Russian Empire, the city had the appearance of a suburb of Vienna – “if 150 miles away from the capital” – with shops that sold fine Viennese merchandise, and he praised local government for its social efforts (“the government here is in a very reasonable opposition against the nobility to the benefit of the underprivileged”).³⁵

Kohl also emphasized the city’s role as a meeting point in the borderlands:

... all Russian civil servants from Khotin, Kamianets, and neighboring Bessarabia, if they want to treat themselves to something good, attempt to get a brief vacation and come to Czernowitz for a few days, drink here good Hungarian wine and buy their wives pretty Viennese merchandise. It seemed to us that nowhere else did Russian and German nature [Wesen] face each other in such an abrupt manner [...]³⁶

In this city with its “agitated mix of Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Armenians, Jews, and Romanians,” a form of musical colonization also did not escape Kohl’s sharp eye: “In all of Galicia one finds tables set in an Austrian manner, and the archducal organ and the Tyrolean zither sound in Bukovina as they do in Italy.”³⁷

³⁵ “[...] die Stadt kam uns nicht anders als wie eine Vorstadt von Wien vor, freilich 150 Meilen von der Hauptstadt entfernt.” “... denn die Regierung macht hier eine sehr vernünftige Opposition gegen den Adel zu Gunsten der Nichtprivilegierten.” Johann Georg Kohl, *Die Bukowina, Galizien, Krakau und Mähren*, vol. 3 of *Reisen im Inneren von Rußland und Polen* (Dresden: Arnold, 1841), 17.

³⁶ “... und alle russischen Beamten aus Chotin, Kamenjez und dem benachbarten Bessarabien, wenn sie sich einmal gütlich thun wollen, suchen einen kurzen Urlaub zu erhalten und kommen auf ein paar Tage nach Tschernowitz, trinken dort guten Ungarwein und kaufen ihren Frauen hübsche Wiener Waren. Nirgends so schroff wie hier schien uns russisches und deutsches Wesen einander gegenüber zu stehen; [...]” Kohl, *Reisen im Inneren*, 17.

³⁷ “... Deutsche, Ungarn, Polen, Armenier, Juden und Walachen in unruhigem Gemische [...]” “Durch ganz Galizien hin findet man österreichische Tafeln gedeckt, und die erzherzogthümliche Orgel und die tyroler Cither klingen in der Bukowina wie in Italien durch.” Kohl, *Reisen im Inneren*, 18. On the role of zither culture in the region, see Igor Glibovytskyj [Ігор Глібовицький], “Цитра [Tsytra] в контексті розвитку інструментальної музики Західної України другої половини XIX – початку XX століття” [The Zither in the Context of the Development of Instrumental Music of Western Ukraine in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century], *Вісник Прикарпатського університету: Мистецтвознавство* 6 [Visnyk Prykarpatskoho universytetu: Mystetstvoznavstvo; Bulletin of the Pre-Carpathian University] (2004): 103–109. Glibovytskyj briefly mentions theories about the instrument’s origin and relationship to traditional local instruments (ibid., 105) and lists

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The most important overview of Czernowitz's music history before the foundation of music institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century is still an essay written by the local high school teacher Adalbert Mikulicz on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the local music society in 1902. Mikulicz, plausibly representing the mindset of these early times, suggested that a form of musical colonization was necessary before music could fulfill its true mission:

In the churches and monasteries of the mainly Eastern Oriental inhabitants chant was a fundamental part of the services. Despite all oppression from the Turks, despite all the hardship and poverty in the province, the inhabitants managed to preserve their chants and dances true to old traditions. It had been quite uncertain when these undoubtedly valuable treasures of traditional music would be brought into daylight and developed artistically. They had to be transcribed in our modern music notation, which was entirely unknown in this province. For music as a cathartic and refining art to take roots in Bukovina, and for the music of the people and the church to be elevated to a higher step, it was first necessary that the works of the great musical heroes, the works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and other masters, became known here.³⁸

As music practices that existed already at the time of the Habsburg occupation, Mikulicz cited singing in unison in Eastern Orthodox churches (presumably by the clergy with some participation of the congregation). By contrast, Greek Catholic services featured three-part choral singing, but in a manner that was “not related to

several famous Bukovinians who performed the zither, including the writer Olga Kobylanska (ibid., 105).

³⁸ “In den Kirchen und Klöstern der zumeist griechisch-orientalischen Bewohner bildete der Gesang einen wesentlichen Bestandteil des Gottesdienstes. Trotz aller Bedrückungen seitens der Türken, trotz des großen Elends und der Not im Lande hatten die Bewohner ihre Gesänge und Tänze nach alten Überlieferungen treu zu erhalten gewußt. Es war ganz ungewiß, wann diese unzweifelhaft wertvollen Schätze der Volksmusik [...] ans Licht gezogen und einer künstlerischen Entwicklung [sic] zugeführt werden konnten. Sie mußten zunächst [...] in die Zeichen unserer jetzigen Notenschrift gesetzt werden, denn diese war im Lande noch ganz unbekannt. Sollte die Musik auch in der Bukowina als läuternde und veredelnde Kunst feste Wurzeln fassen, [...] so mußten vorher die Werke der großen Musikheroen, die Werke Haydns, Mozarts, Beethovens und anderer Meister hier bekannt werden.” Adalbert Mikulicz, “Die Musik in der Bukowina vor der Gründung des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst 1775–1862,” in Anton Norst, *Der Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* (Czernowitz, 1903), 9–10.

polyphonic music in the Occident nor influenced by it.”³⁹ Mikulicz also suggested that the Greek Catholic Church had been exposed to five-line notation and “other foreign influence” already two-hundred years earlier; such Western influences should perhaps not surprise in a Church in union with Rome. In addition to sacred music, Mikulicz also looked into the secular music traditions of the Romanians and Ukrainians (see Ch. 5), an existing variety that was soon amplified by the music imported by Polish, German, and Hungarian migrants.⁴⁰ From early Habsburg days on – beginning with the province’s oath of homage to the Emperor in 1777 – large public celebrations with music accentuated important events in the province.⁴¹

Different sonic cues represent different ages in Mikulicz’s account, with economic and infrastructural changes altering a soundscape: when Emperor Joseph II disbanded local monasteries and incorporated their forests into the newly-founded “Eastern Orthodox Religious Fund” in 1783, “splendid hunting fanfares found their way to the forests, where formerly only thieves and wolves dwelled.”⁴² With the advent of the postal service, the Austrian authorities imported an even more important sonic cue, the sound of the post horn.⁴³ Mikulicz alluded to its one-time presence by quoting from Nikolaus Lenau’s famously nostalgic poem *Der Postillion* (1833), but suggested the instrument had become rare. It had indeed become a potent symbol with which to evoke nostalgia by the time Mikulicz’s account was published in 1903, as

³⁹ “Merkwürdig ist, daß dieser meistens dreistimmige Gesang mit der polyphonen Musik des Abendlandes gar nicht verwandt ist und von ihr auch nicht beeinflusst wurde.” Mikulicz, “Musik vor der Gründung,” 12.

⁴⁰ Mikulicz, “Musik vor der Gründung,” 13–14.

⁴¹ Mikulicz, “Musik vor der Gründung,” 14.

⁴² “Mit ihnen hielt die prächtige Jagdfanfare ihren Einzug in die Wälder, in welchen vordem nur Räuber und Wölfe gehaust hatten.” Mikulicz, “Musik vor der Gründung,” 13.

⁴³ Mikulicz, “Musik vor der Gründung,” 13.

can be seen in its use in Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony, premiered the year before.⁴⁴ The successor sound, which stood for the current, modern age, was the "shrill whistle of the locomotive," which first arrived in Bukovina in 1866.⁴⁵ It thus happens that one potential way of classifying local sonic history – into an age of the post horn and one of modern technology as symbolized by the train whistle – virtually coincides with the division of Czernowitz's music history into a pre-history, i.e. the time before the foundation of the Music Society, and one for the time thereafter as an age of institutionalized musical life.

Balls and dance events, which will be discussed in Chapter 5 for their role in "national" representation and ethnically indifferent sociability, give insight into early attempts to acknowledge the local demographic structure. In Bukovina's early history, they had to follow a strict set of police regulations and seem to have mainly played a role among members of the military and families of wealthy traders.⁴⁶ One set of regulations for the ball season of 1803 gives insight into what was deemed necessary to be specified: no weapons were allowed, smoking was not permitted, and lackeys could not attend.⁴⁷ The dances were specified in these regulations as follows:

[...] the Ball opens as usual at 7, and from this hour until 9 there will be Polish dances, [...] from 9 to 10 German ones, from 10 to 10:30 minuets, from 10:30 to 11 Masurian dances or a Quadrille, from 11 and 12 a resting hour; from 12 to 1 a Sauvage, from 1 to 2 Polish dances, from 2 to 2:30 again German ones, from 2:30 to 3 Masurian or Krakoviak, and from 3 to 4 Polish dances.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Timothy Freeze, "Gustav Mahler's Third Symphony: Program, Reception, and Evocations of the Popular" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 124 and 138; Lawrence Kramer, *Interpreting Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 224.

⁴⁵ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 201.

⁴⁶ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141.

⁴⁷ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141.

⁴⁸ "[...] so wie der Ball gewöhnlich um 7 Uhr abends sich eröffnet, so wird von dieser Stunde an bis 9 Uhr polnisch getanzt [...] Weiters wird getanzt: von 9 bis 10 Uhr deutsch, von 10 bis ½11 Menuette, von ½11 bis 11 Mazurisch oder Quadrille, von 11 bis 12 Ruhe-Stunde, von 12 bis 1 Uhr Sauvage, von 1

The dominance in the representation of two linguistic groups points to their status in local society: Polish, as Czernowitz was part of Polish-dominated Galicia at the time, and German, the language of Habsburg civil servants and military as well as some colonists. A postscript to the regulations confirms that they did not just cater to some fashion that might have crossed borders but indeed served specified groups: if Moldavian burghers appear, it said, their dances should also be included in the arrangement of separate time slots.⁴⁹ Such distinctions, however, operate within a frame of mostly social loyalties, not “national” ones: Andrei Corbea-Hoișie has characterized the city’s urban population at the time as “heterogeneous and rather ‘undifferentiated’ in the sense that the solidarities that are formed are eminently social [...]”⁵⁰

Concert music and the typical musical entertainments of the upper and middle classes in Central and Western Europe arrived late in Bukovina. According to Mikulicz, the first household keyboard instrument, a virginal, arrived in the province in 1809 during the Napoleonic Wars. Soon keyboard instruments were in great demand. *Streicher* pianos arrived from a trader in Lemberg, and a great variety of other instruments – from harpsichord to square piano – were brought along by public servants. Used instruments often ended up in the households of Eastern Orthodox priests. By far the most common instrument, however, was the guitar, according to

bis 2 polnisch, von 2 bis ½3 deutsch, von ½3 bis 3 Mazurisch oder Krakowiak, von 3 bis 4 polnisch.” Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141.

⁴⁹ Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, 141.

⁵⁰ “Deux traits fondamentaux distinguent la population urbaine: du point de vue ‘nationale,’ c’est une population hétérogène et plutôt ‘indifférenciée,’ en ce sens que les solidarités qui se constituent sont éminemment sociales [...]” Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, *La Bucovine: Éléments d’histoire politique et culturelle* (Paris: Centre d’Études slaves, 2004), 19.

Mikulicz an instrument present in almost every household during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵¹

More significant developments in the city's musical scene occurred after 1830. By that time, Czernowitz had a high school (founded in 1808) and two other institutions of higher education; numerous civil servants, who mostly migrated to the city from the West, populated Czernowitz.⁵² With the arrival of Franz Pauer, who came as bandmaster of the army band, a tradition of musical migration from the Kingdom of Bohemia began.⁵³ From no other part of the Empire did Czernowitz receive such a number of outstanding musicians, which included over the course of the next eight decades three bandmasters and two orchestral and two choir directors, as well as teachers for the music school. Important contributions during that time also came from the judge Karl Ritter Umlauff von Frankwell (1796–1861), who had earlier frequented the circles of Franz Schubert and Johann Vogl in Vienna, and who entertained a musical salon in Czernowitz in the 1830s and 1840s; according to Mikulicz, not only string quartets but even Haydn oratorios were performed on such occasions.⁵⁴

An account like Kohl's about Czernowitz's highly developed cultural standards should not mislead one into believing that such a view predominated in the West. In that journey, Kohl had come from the East, and was comparing Czernowitz to his impressions formed during travels in the Russian Empire. From a Viennese

⁵¹ Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 15.

⁵² Kaindl, *Geschichte*, 187.

⁵³ Stefan Stefanowicz, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," in *Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, ed. Franz Lang (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961), 490. According to Stefanowicz, Pauer (spelled "Paur" in his account) had even performed as a clarinetist under the baton of Beethoven (Stefanowicz, "Musikleben," 490).

⁵⁴ Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 17.

point of view, Czernowitz was a provincial town, and its provincial cultural standards an easy target of ridicule. The Viennese journal *Der Humorist*, for example, described the enthusiasm over Franz Liszt's visit to the city in 1847 with dry sarcasm:

Poetry from Czernowitz. During the stay of Liszt in Czernowitz the following poem has been created for him.⁵⁵

<p>Edler Lißt! / Nicht durch List, / Ist Franz List / Was er ist, / Nur durch Kunst, / Nicht durch Gunst / Nur durch Kraft, / Die erschafft / Steigt der Mann / Himmelan, / Grenzenlos / Bist Du groß! – / Blumen blüh'n / Nimm sie hin / Wie sie heut / Dankbarkeit / Dir nur beut: / Musikfürst / Du nur wirst / Unerhört / So geehrt: / Du nur bist / Einzig Lißt. –</p>	<p>Noble Liszt / Not through guile / Is Franz List / What he is, / Only through art / Not through favor / Only through the power / which creates / The Man rises / Towards Heaven / Without boundaries / You are great! – Flowers bloom / Take them / As today / Gratitude / is offered to you: / Prince of Music / Only you / Unprecedented / Are so honored: / Only you are / Sole Liszt.</p>
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Whether this doggerel really originates from the *escritoire* of some Czernowitzer bourgeois or is instead a brilliant satire by one of the magazine's authors is beside the point; from the perspective of the metropolis, provincial excitement and aspiration are aptly portrayed here.⁵⁶ The appearance of a musician of European stature was certainly an important step in the city's efforts to gain recognition as a major regional center. Liszt reportedly graced his concert with his piano version of a *Kolomyjka*, a dance associated with the Hutsuls and named after a town about fifty miles from Chernivtsi,⁵⁷ and a local dignitary, Eastern Orthodox bishop Eugen Hakmann, thanked Liszt for this nod to regional culture with a call for a repetition.⁵⁸ Liszt also benefitted

⁵⁵ "Czernowitzer Poesie. Bei der Anwesenheit Lißts in Czernowitz wurde folgendes Carmen auf ihn gemacht: [...]" *Der Humorist*, June 21, 1847.

⁵⁶ Other poetry written on the occasion include a sonnet by Umlauff von Frankwell (Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 24).

⁵⁷ "Als Zugabe spielte er endlich eine Kolomyjka nach seiner eigenen Bearbeitung." Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 22.

⁵⁸ "Dieses Werk wurde auf besonderen Wunsch des Bischofs Hakman wiederholt. Es ist jedoch im Stiche nicht erschienen." Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 22. While Norst suggests that the piece

from the encounter with Czernowitz's elite, in a domain that was an important source of inspiration for him as a performer and composer: at a dinner given by Baron Hormuzaki he heard the exceptional *lautar* Mos Nikulai, a famous Roma musician.⁵⁹

In the years after the revolution of 1848, choirs were established in Czernowitz, a first step toward a regular institutional music life. In 1848, the Jewish cantor Salomon Ketten (1814–1889) took up employment in Czernowitz.⁶⁰ A student of Vienna's famous cantor Salomon Sulzer, Ketten founded a distinguished temple choir during his five-year tenure in the city.⁶¹ Singing had been taught at Czernowitz's High School since 1849, and in the 1850s, a high school choir was established, which performed for special occasions such as the local celebration of Emperor Franz Joseph's wedding in 1854.⁶² The choir singers soon received the support of an organ, commissioned from a builder in Troppau in Silesia. Sponsored by generous funds from the Dowager Empress Caroline Augusta and the Ministry of Education, this instrument was consecrated in May 1858 in the recently erected High School chapel.⁶³

did not appear in print before the time he wrote his account (1902/3), a piece by Liszt titled "Ballade Ukraine [sic]" survives from the period of this tour and was printed in Leipzig shortly thereafter (No. 1 in *Glanes de Woronince* [Leipzig: Kistner, 1859]). That piece is identified as a Dumka (not a Kolomyjka), but such an error would not be unusual given that Norst based his account on oral reports (Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 22).

⁵⁹ Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 23.

⁶⁰ Mikulicz, "Musik vor der Gründung," 30.

⁶¹ In 1855, Ketten became cantor in the prestigious synagogue on Nazareth Street in Paris. He was the father of the pianist Henri Ketten (Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, vol. 6, ed. Sabine Henze-Döhring [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004], 697).

⁶² Romuald Wurzer, *K. K. I. Staatsgymnasium in Czernowitz. Festschrift zur Hundertjährigen Gedenkfeier der Gründung des Gymnasiums 1808 – 16. Dezember – 1908* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt'sche Universitätsbuchdruckerei, 1909), 104 and 188.

⁶³ "Am 2. Mai 1858 wurde das treffliche von Kuttler in Troppau gearbeitete Orgelwerk auf einem zweistufigen Podium in der Kapelle aufgestellt und in Gegenwart des Herrn Landespräsidenten [...] eingeweiht." (Wurzer, *Staatsgymnasium*, 96). Several newspapers reported that the Dowager Empress had donated 150 fl. for the project in October of 1857 (*Oesterreichische Zeitungshalle*, October 28, 1857; *Fremden-Blatt*, October 28, 1857; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, October 30, 1857; *Salzburger Zeitung*, October 31, 1857). Shortly thereafter, the ministry granted 215 fl. (Wurzer, *Staatsgymnasium*, 96). The school organ was in use for two decades until the space used as a chapel was turned into

Clubs and societies in Czernowitz first emerged in the form of welfare societies in the immediate aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, and institutionalized sociability began with a “Bürger-Corps” (Burger Corps) that turned into the “Czernowitzer Privat-Schützen-Verein” (Burger Shooting Club) in 1825.⁶⁴ More relevant for intellectual life was the society for the establishment of a library for the Crown Land, which opened in 1851 and formed the basis of the university library.⁶⁵ Eight years later, the first singing society was founded, which turned into the Crown Land’s most important music society, the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina*, three years later (see Ch. 2). 1862 was also the founding date of a Romanian Reading Society (*Reuniunea română de lectură în Cernăuți*; from 1865 on *Societatea pentru cultura și literatura poporului român din Bucovina*), which stimulated literary publications in Romanian and was later involved in generating teaching materials after Romanian had switched from the use of the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet.⁶⁶ A Ruthenian society, *Rus’ka Besida* (Ruthenian Club) was founded in 1869.⁶⁷

classrooms in 1880 (Wurzer, *Staatsgymnasium*, 86). The organ was then donated to the local teacher’s training institute (Wurzer, *Staatsgymnasium*, 174).

⁶⁴ Turczynski called the successor society “Bürger-Corps” and indicated 1817 as the founding date (Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 860). The accurate name of the shooting club appeared on the title page of the by-laws (*Statuten des Czernowitzer Privat Schützen-Vereins* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, [no date]). On the development of less organized sociability, including cafés and restaurants, see Kateryna Valiavska [Катерина Валявська], “Світське [Svitske] життя на Буковині: соціальний та культурний простір (1848–1914)” [Social Life in Bukovina: Social and Cultural Space (1848–1914)] (PhD diss., University of Chernivtsi, 2016), 52.

⁶⁵ Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 862.

⁶⁶ Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 864. Hannelore Burger, “Mehrsprachigkeit und Unterrichtswesen in der Bukowina 1869–1918,” in *Die Bukowina: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Ilona Slawinski and Joseph Strelka (Bern: Lang, 1995), 93–127, here 102–3.

⁶⁷ Kateryna Stetsevych, “Ruska besida,” *Digitale Topographie der multikulturellen Bukovina*; <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/140-Anton-Norst> (accessed July 7, 2020).

Bourgeois Revolutionaries

Several developments in the aftermath of the revolution of 1848/9 transformed Czernowitz's culture, enabling many of the social structures, opportunities for individuals, and forms of expression that are the focus of this dissertation. The end of the revolution dispersed many former revolutionaries from the Empire's center to its peripheries, some escaping actual persecution and others fearing limits in their professional opportunities if they remained too close to their prior spheres. Among them was the poet Ernst Rudolf Neubauer (1822–1890), whose many activities for Czernowitz in the 1850s and 1860s included his seminal role as a high school teacher and journalist.⁶⁸ A glowing activist in the revolution who was wounded during street fights in Vienna in March 1848, Neubauer later acted more carefully, switched political affiliations, and even published a volume of patriotic songs dedicated to the Emperor in 1849.⁶⁹ Once he found himself between all stools, a former professor of his who had risen to a position in a ministry advised him to go “as far East as one can within Austria” – which took him to Czernowitz.⁷⁰

Neubauer's importance for Czernowitz's cultural life can hardly be overestimated: the high school students whose literary aspirations he cultivated included the poet Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889), often regarded as the finest Romanian-language poet of the nineteenth century, and Karl Emil Franzos (1848–

⁶⁸ Neubauer's birth year often appears as 1828, a mistake that roots in incorrect information he had provided himself (Alfred Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer: Der Mann und das Werk*, vol. 1 (Czernowitz: Mühldorf, 1931), 16.

⁶⁹ Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer*, 26 and 31.

⁷⁰ Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer*, 30–31.

1904), who rose to fame as journalist, writer, and editor of Georg Büchner's works (and is known in musical circles as the originator of the famous spelling error that earned us the opera title *Wozzeck*). Another mentee was the celebrated Ukrainian-language poet Jurij Fedkowytsh (1834–1888), whose early poetry appeared in Neubauer's publications.⁷¹ The former revolutionary Neubauer supported Eminescu's and Fedkowytsh's aspiration to write in their mother tongues, and both authors later played central roles in their linguistic communities and in the constructions of national cultures.⁷² Another student of his later studied German literature, but became famous as a musician: Eusebius Mandyczewski (see Ch. 3).

Neubauer was the most important provider of literary texts for musical events in the 1860s and 1870s. His poetry heralded the two founding hours of the *Musikverein*: he supplied a prologue for the music society's first concert in 1862 and a poem – set to music by the society's director Vojtěch Hřimalý – for the laying of the cornerstone of the music society's concert hall in 1876.⁷³ In the latter he praised the force of harmony in reconciling opposing powers, alluded in one of the verses to a major recent educational achievement in Czernowitz, the foundation of the university (“You [Harmony] turned wilderness into a center of education”), and celebrated the institution's future (“A temple edifice / In Bukovina”).⁷⁴

Even though the decade after 1849 was characterized by a rigid rule referred to as neo-Absolutism in Austrian historiography, some of the demands raised during the

⁷¹ Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer*, 39.

⁷² Corbea-Hoișie, *La Bucovine: Éléments*, 138 (Eminescu); Emanuel Turczynski, *Die Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 130 (Neubauer, Turczynski, Eminescu).

⁷³ Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer*, 41.

⁷⁴ “Du schufst die Wildnis ihm zu Bildungssitzen.” “Ein Tempelbau / Im Buchenland [...]” Klug, *Ernst Rudolf Neubauer*, 41–2.

revolution, such as the question of equal rights for the Empire's various national groups and demands for various kinds of freedom, continued to play a role. As Gerald Stourzh has pointed out, "not just sufferance, but equality recognition and acceptance in law" was demanded by an increasing number of "nations" in the Empire, and this demand "would not lose ground on the agenda of Austrian politics to the end of the monarchy in 1918."⁷⁵ The Imperial concession to establish Bukovina as a separate Crown Land in 1849 met a demand by petitioners of all linguistic groups,⁷⁶ as the potential to tackle the challenges of Bukovina's ethnic and linguistic configuration was higher in this entity than in the union with Galicia. A decree by the Ministry of Interior Affairs from December 1860 declared German, Romanian, and Ruthenian as official languages in the Crown Land, which meant that any requests to public authorities could be made in either of these languages.⁷⁷ Article 19 of the Constitution of 1867 declared the equality of all ethnicities (*Volksstämme*) and their right to cultivate their languages, but the interpretation of this article spurred many debates and legal battles to come.⁷⁸ This constitution, together with a law from 1862

⁷⁵ Gerald Stourzh, "Die Gleichberechtigung der Volksstämme als Verfassungsprinzip 1848–1918," in *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 3.2 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 975–1206, here 975.

⁷⁶ Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu, "Der Landtag der Bukowina," in *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 7 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 2171–2198, here 2171.

⁷⁷ Ernst Hellbling, "Die Landesverwaltung in Cisleithanien," in *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 2 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 190–269, here 251. In that year, Bukovina had briefly been made part of Galicia again, but immediate local reactions resulted in a revision of this decision (Ceașu, "Der Landtag," 2175).

⁷⁸ "(Abs. 1) Alle Volksstämme des Staates sind gleichberechtigt, und jeder Volksstamm hat ein unverletzliches Recht auf Wahrung und Pflege seiner Nationalität und Sprache." Stourzh, "Die Gleichberechtigung der Volksstämme," 1014; on interpretations and legal battles, see *ibid.*, 1016–1041. When the Austrian Empire turned into the Dual Monarchy (Austria-Hungary) in 1867, Bukovina remained part of Austria, even though situated East of Hungary.

(“Preßgesetz”), provided the basis for a guaranteed freedom of press – “within legal boundaries” – until the collapse of the Empire in 1918.⁷⁹

Political representation of the Crown Land’s linguistic groups in the Diet remained a contested topic for decades. In the first few decades of its existence, the majority was usually held by either Centralists or Romanian nationalists; the latter should, however, not be construed as irredentists, but mainly as advocates of regional autonomy with a strong Romanian inflection.⁸⁰ It was not until 1910 that a widely accepted reform of the Diet took effect (labeled, notably, *Ausgleich*), which historian Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu has regarded a “model solution for national conflicts in a multi-ethnic and multi-denominational province.”⁸¹ Numerous members of the Diet were involved in Czernowitz’s music scene, most prominently the Ruthenian university professor Smal-Stockyj (party of the Young Ruthenians), who performed as vocal soloist in many performances of the music society (see Chapter 2).⁸²

Czernowitz’s population structure and political representation in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries differed significantly from that of the Crown Land. Including the suburbs, its population grew from 33,884 inhabitants in

⁷⁹ Thomas Olechowski, “Das Preßrecht in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 8.2 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 1512.

⁸⁰ Ceaşu, “Der Landtag,” 2187–8.

⁸¹ “Diesen Konflikten sollte der nationale Ausgleich von 1909 ein Ende setzen, der trotz seiner kurzen Wirksamkeit [...] als eine Modellösung für nationale Auseinandersetzungen in einem multiethnischen und -konfessionellen Gebiet betrachtet werden kann.” Ceaşu, “Der Landtag,” 2198. See also, John Leslie, “Der Ausgleich in der Bukowina von 1910: Zur österreichischen Nationalitätenpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung – Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Emil Brix, Thomas Froeschl, and Josef Leidenfrost (Graz: Styria, 1991), 113–144; Rudolf Wagner, *Der Parlamentarismus und nationale Ausgleich in der ehemals österreichischen Bukowina* (Munich: Der Südostdeutsche, 1984).

⁸² Ceaşu, “Der Landtag,” 2189.

1869 to 85,458 in 1910.⁸³ It is important to note that the Austrian census surveyed the religious denomination (*Confession*) and the “language of communication” (*Umgangssprache*), not ethnicity.⁸⁴ According to official data, the language of communication of almost half of the population during the last decades of Habsburg rule was German, but the counts for Germans included the speakers of Yiddish, then considered a German dialect (see **Tab. 1.1**).⁸⁵ Romanian, Ukrainian, and Polish were each the main conversational language of about fifteen percent.⁸⁶ Languages of the three largest language groups in Europe were thus well-represented in Czernowitz: two Slavic and two Germanic languages as well as a Romance one.

Tab. 1.1: Main languages of conversation in Czernowitz, 1880 and 1910⁸⁷

Year	Total population	German and Yiddish	Romanian	Ukrainian	Polish
1880	45,600	50,9%	14,4%	18,4%	15,0%
1910	85,458	48,8%	15,7%	17,8%	17,4%

The largest religious denomination was, depending on the viewpoint, either Judaism, to which almost a third of the population adhered, or Catholicism, if one combines into a single group Roman Catholics, between 25 and 30% of the population, and Greek Catholics, around ten percent (the latter follow the Eastern rite, but are in unity

⁸³ *Orts-Repertorium des Herzogthums Bukowina: Auf Grundlage der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1869 bearbeitet* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1872), 3; *Special-Orts-Repertorien der im oesterreichischen Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder. Neubearbeitung auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890*, vol. 13 *Bukowina* (Vienna: K. K. Statistische Central-Commission, 1894), 1.

⁸⁴ The statistics for religious denominations usually include all inhabitants of a place, whereas the ones for languages only include those with citizenship.

⁸⁵ On the complex question of the proportion of Yiddish speakers, see Susanne Marten-Finnis, “Wer sprach Jiddisch in Czernowitz? Ein Ansatz zur Erforschung von sozialen und situativen Faktoren gemeinsamer Textrezeption,” in *Presselandschaft in der Bukowina*, ed. Markus Winkler, 67–73.

⁸⁶ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774–1918): aspecte etnografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003), 256.

⁸⁷ The categories remained consistent from 1880 on and thus allow for better comparison.

with Rome). Eastern Orthodox numbered between 20 and 25%. Lutherans were a small group of around five percent (**Tab. 1.2**).

Tab. 1.2: Religious denominations in Czernowitz, 1880 and 1910⁸⁸

Year	Judaism	Eastern Orthodoxy	Roman. Cath.	Gr. Cath.	Lutheran
1880	31,7%	21,2%	29,3%	12,3%	4,6%
1910	32,8%	23,7%	26,9%	11,0%	4,9%

In addition, a small but influential Armenian community existed in the city, a few hundred of them Armenian Catholic, and just a few dozen Armenian Orthodox.⁸⁹ Most of them spoke Polish and were often referred to as *Armenopolen*.⁹⁰ All religious denominations were represented with architectural landmarks in the city center, of which the Residence of the Eastern Orthodox Archbishop (erected between 1864 and 1882 to plans by Josef Hlávka and today a UNESCO World Heritage Site), two Eastern Orthodox Churches (Cathedral and Paraskewa Church), the Main Temple, two Catholic Churches (Parish Church and Jesuit Church), the Lutheran Church, and the Armenian (Catholic) Church were the most prominent.

Even more intriguing than these two configurations are their points of intersection. Eastern Orthodoxy encompasses members of two linguistic groups, Romanians and Ukrainians, and so does Roman Catholicism, with German and Polish members of the congregation. Jews are either speakers of German or Yiddish. Only Greek Catholicism and Protestantism are (mostly) limited to a single group, Ukrainians and Germans respectively. Or, viewed from the point of view of

⁸⁸ Source: Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada*, 256.

⁸⁹ Armenian Catholic: 249 in 1880, 311 in 1910; Armenian Orthodox: 27 in 1880, 31 in 1910 (Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada*, 256).

⁹⁰ Turczynski, "Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien," 900; for an example in a contemporary newspaper, see *Bukowinaer Post*, April 30, 1899.

languages: German speakers were either Jewish, Roman Catholic, or Lutheran; speakers of Ukrainian were either Greek Catholic or Orthodox. Religion was generally a more rigorous boundary than ethnicity: marriages between Christians and Jews were not permitted (a prohibition usually circumvented by the conversion, or leaving the religious denomination, of one partner), and even marriages between Christians of different denominations were rare: in 1881, for example, 15 of 420 (less than 4%) of the marriages were of this kind (for a comparable year, 1886, we have documentation of 36 conversions).⁹¹

Mandatory schooling started in 1873, but illiteracy remained high for a long time.⁹² In 1880, only 34% of Czernowitz's population could read and write, and 1,5% could read; in other words, almost two thirds were illiterate.⁹³ By 1910, the number of illiterates dropped to 25,2.⁹⁴ For a comparison, illiteracy rates in the capitals of central provinces of the Empire in 1910 were below 5% (e.g. Prague: 0,9%), and between 10 and 15% in the largest towns of Galicia (Krakow: 10,4%, Lemberg 14,0%).⁹⁵

The foundation of Czernowitz's university in 1875, considered by contemporaries a milestone for the city's educational aspirations, is undoubtedly a key date in its history yet the nature of the social and cultural changes it brought about is contested among historians. Emanuel Turczynski, for example, claimed that there was

⁹¹ *Czernowitz: Statistischer Bericht über die wichtigsten demographischen Verhältnisse* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1887), 6 (mixed marriages 1881) and 9–10 (conversions). No data was available for comparison in a single year.

⁹² Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Das multinationale Schulwesen in der Bukowina*, vol. 1 *Volksschulen, Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Bildungsanstalt nebst einer Beschreibung der Bukowina von Balthasar Hacquet* (Munich: Der Südostdeutsche, 1985), 33–45.

⁹³ *Czernowitz: Statistischer Bericht*, 4.

⁹⁴ Adalbert Rom, "Der Bildungsgrad der Bevölkerung Österreichs und seine Entwicklung seit 1880, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung d. [der] Sudeten- u. Karpathenländer," in *Statistische Monatsschrift* (January 1914): 589–652, here: 612–613.

⁹⁵ Rom, "Der Bildungsgrad der Bevölkerung," 612.

“by all means no doubt that the university’s foundation with the help of liberal forces facilitated the reduction of national tensions to a bearable degree for almost three decades.”⁹⁶ Other historians have suggested that the university – especially through the importation of professors – was a key factor in the increase of nationalism and anti-Semitism.⁹⁷ The origins of the institution, however, were doubtless inspired by Liberal ideals: a key promoter of the project was Constantin Tomaszczuk (1840–1889), a legal scholar and a Liberal member of the Bukovina State Diet and the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) in Vienna. Czernowitz won its bid for a university in competition with important centers such as Laibach (Ljubljana) and Trieste.⁹⁸ Tomaszczuk – whose descent from a Ruthenian father and a Romanian mother is emphasized in most accounts – became the institution’s founding rector and advocated for German as the institution’s main language, in part as a reaction to the alleged lowering of standards at Lemberg’s university as a result of its switching from German to Polish in the early 1860s.⁹⁹

The new university, the Easternmost in the monarchy, offered a few exceptional features: it was the only university in the Empire with a faculty of Eastern Orthodox theology – in which some courses were taught in Romanian (later also

⁹⁶ “[...] feststeht jedenfalls, daß die Universitätsgründung mit Hilfe liberaler Kräfte für nahezu drei Jahrzehnte die Reduzierung nationaler Spannungen auf einträgliches Maß erleichterte.” Turczynski, “Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien,” 871.

⁹⁷ Drunen, ““Sanguine Bunch,”” 49 and 135. Even Turczynski conceded elsewhere that professors and students played an important part in a “turning to nationalism of Western European provenance,” but regarded Bukovina as generally weak terrain for nationalism (Turczynski, “Czernowitz als Beispiel,” 198–9).

⁹⁸ Turczynski, “Czernowitz als Beispiel,” 190.

⁹⁹ Emanuel Turczynski, “Czernowitz als Beispiel einer integrativen Universität,” in *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern: Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiessee vom 26. bis 28. November 1982* (Munich: Oldenburg, 1984), 190.

Ukrainian), and which also attracted students from other Slavic provinces, e.g. Serbs – and it had a chair for Ruthenian and one for Romanian language and literature.¹⁰⁰ A number of famous scholars taught in Czernowitz, if often in the early stages of their careers. They included Romance studies professor Matthias Friedwagner (1861–1940, in Czernowitz between 1900 and 1911), who initiated scholarly studies of local Romanian folk song; legal scholar Karl Hiller (1846–1905), who taught in Czernowitz from 1875 to 1898 and composed music for local Catholic services (Ch. 5); Leon Kellner (1859–1928), professor of English philology, Zionist, and member of the State Diet; economist Friedrich von Kleinwächter (1838–1927); Ion Sbiera (1836–1916), professor of Romanian language and literature; economist Alois Schumpeter (1883–1950; during his brief tenure he wrote his early theory of economic development); and Eugen Ehrlich (1862–1922), a pioneer in sociology of law.¹⁰¹

Czernowitz’s turning into a student city added a new feature to its soundscape and visual appearance: on the streets, young men with colorful caps and ribbons appeared and chanted student songs. They were members of fraternities that adhered to a tradition that dates back to the end of the Napoleonic wars in Germany and established roots in Austria in the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁰² An unusual aspect of Czernowitz’s “frat scene” was its breadth with regard to worldviews and affiliations: the more than two dozen fraternities included supranational fraternities; fraternities for each large ethnic group (Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Romanian, and German);

¹⁰⁰ Turczynski, “Czernowitz als Beispiel,” 193.

¹⁰¹ The faculty was decidedly German-dominated: according to Turczynski, 87 of the 127 professors in Habsburg times were identified as Germans, 20 as Romanians, 12 as Jews, 5 as Ukrainians, 2 as Slovenes, and one as Czech (Turczynski, “Czernowitz als Beispiel,” 198).

¹⁰² Harald Lönnecker, “‘... harmonische und tolerante Zusammenarbeit?’ – Das Czernowitzer Studentenvereinswesen 1875–1914,” *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 21 (2013): 277–8.

fraternities associated with political aims (Zionist fraternities, *Burschenschaften*); and fraternities affiliated with religious denominations (Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Jewish).¹⁰³ Particularly important for Czernowitz is an exclusionary turn in the 1880s, when one brand of these fraternities, which had always been German nationalist, turned anti-Semitic.¹⁰⁴ As a result of their exclusion and other political developments, Jews established their own fraternities, which numbered half a dozen after the turn of the century.¹⁰⁵ Fraternities were often politically active and visible, and they also left an imprint on the city's music culture, not just with their songs but also with a theatrical scandal (see Ch. 5).

No single religious denomination was more defining for Czernowitz in the decades examined in this dissertation than Judaism. The Jews had an astounding presence in the architectural landscape of the city, which included more than a dozen of synagogues, the buildings of Jewish welfare organizations such as the Jewish hospital, and the venues of cultural institutions such as the Jewish House on *Elisabethplatz* and the *Toynbee-Halle*. Most of these buildings belonged to a sphere of Judaism that had abandoned a more traditional Jewish lifestyle. *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment in the nineteenth century, and assimilation (in different gradations) were among the factors that enabled a degree of political participation that was unprecedented in the Empire: for example, in 1905 Eduard Reiss became mayor of

¹⁰³ Raimund Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz* (Hilden: WJK, 2013), 34–111.

¹⁰⁴ Harald Seewann, "Das 'Waidhofener Prinzip.' Die versuchte Ehrabsprechung Juden gegenüber als Manifestation studentischen Antisemitismus an österreichischen Hochschulen im Jahre 1896," *Einst und Jetzt* 40 (1995): 149–190, especially 150 (Franzos) and 154 (Herzl). Members with Jewish backgrounds who left their fraternities or were excluded from them include Theodor Herzl, the father of political Zionism, and Karl Emil Franzos.

¹⁰⁵ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 93–109.

Czernowitz – the first Jew to be elected mayor of an Austrian provincial capital.¹⁰⁶ Czernowitz was the capital in the Empire with the largest proportion of Jews, and its “fourth-largest Jewish city” in absolute numbers.¹⁰⁷ But this was only one side of Czernowitz’s Judaism: just outside Czernowitz, in Sadagora, there was the court of a Chassidic wonder rabbi (tzadik), which to visitors – whether Jewish or not – seemed like a picture book from ancient times, far from assimilationist tendencies.¹⁰⁸

Among Czernowitz’s Jews, a wide range of cultural positions and outlooks on the world had developed. In the decades after the mid-century, many Jews in Czernowitz not only identified with German language and culture, but also regarded themselves as Germans. Historians have often stylized these ties to a quintessential definition of Czernowitz’s character, regarding the Jews as the main bearers of German culture, and considering the city’s culture as the result of a “German-Jewish cultural symbiosis.”¹⁰⁹ The increase of anti-Semitism in German nationalist circles in the last quarter of the nineteenth century loosened the ties to the German “nation,” and, to a lesser extent, to German culture.¹¹⁰ Zionism (represented by Mayer Ebner) and one brand of Jewish nationalism (represented by the politician Benno Straucher) became increasingly attractive options (these debates were also spurred by the news of pogroms in the Russian Empire; Kishinev, the site of a particularly atrocious pogrom

¹⁰⁶ Franka Kühn, *Dr. Eduard Reiss – Der erste jüdische Bürgermeister in Czernowitz, 1905–1907* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004), 23.

¹⁰⁷ Drunen, “A Sanguine Bunch,” 209.

¹⁰⁸ See for example Martin Buber, “Der Zaddik,” in *Jüdisches Städtebild Czernowitz*, ed. Andrei Corbea-Hoişie (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), 143–6.

¹⁰⁹ For a critical assessment of this relation (here in reference to Karl Emil Franzos), see Andrei Corbea-Hoişie, *Czernowitzer Geschichten: Über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), 36.

¹¹⁰ Markus Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum: Presse, Sprache und Theater in Czernowitz bis 1923* (Bremen: Edition lumière, 2007), 26.

in 1903, was only 150 miles from Czernowitz).¹¹¹ Debates about an alternative language for the Jews – especially Yiddish, but also Hebrew – gradually gained ground in Czernowitz’s media and politics around 1900.¹¹²

Andrei Corbea-Hoisie has suggested that a decisive turn towards anti-Semitism occurred in Bukovina’s public sphere beginning in 1907, fueled by the Social Darwinist rhetoric of the Romanian politician and journalist Aurel Onciul. Onciul became an ally of Karl Lueger, Vienna’s mayor notorious for his targeted use of anti-Semitism for political campaigns.¹¹³ As a reaction to anti-Semitism, efforts among Jews to become officially recognized as a nation increased, and yielded a result in the last years of Habsburg rule. Unlike in other parts of Austria, where the Jews were not officially regarded as a nation or ethnic group but only as a religious denomination, Bukovina would offer such an option: after the “Bukowiner Ausgleich” of 1910 the Jews were (more or less) their own curia in the Diet, and in 1912/13, Jewish students could enter “Jewish” as nationality in the university’s register.¹¹⁴

Jews played an important role in the establishment and maintenance of the main music society, the Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina, and the *Gesangverein*; the fact that Mayor Reiss was a member of both these societies is just one indicator of their prestige and importance in the social fabric. In 1907, a Jewish Singing Society was founded. Several Jewish Czernowitzers, first trained at the local music society, continued their musical studies in Vienna or Lemberg and later had

¹¹¹ Drunen, “‘A Sanguine Bunch,’” 216–7.

¹¹² Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten*, 140.

¹¹³ Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, “‘Wie die Juden Gewalt schreien:’ Aurel Onciul und die antisemitische Wende in der Bukowiner Öffentlichkeit nach 1906,” *East Central Europe* 39 (2012): 13–60, especially 43–4.

¹¹⁴ Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten*, 26.

careers in Vienna or even internationally. They include Ludwig Rottenberg, Beatrice Sutter-Kottlar; Norbert Salter, and Theodore (Isidor) Stier (see Ch. 2).

Another peculiarity that granted Czernowitz an exceptional rank was its role as the seat of the Eastern Orthodox Metropolis of Bukovina and Dalmatia, an institution established in this form in 1873. The odd juxtaposition of two regions far apart from one another was an indirect result of the Settlement of 1867, after which some Orthodox faithful found themselves in Cisleithania (the “Austrian” part of the Empire) and others in Transleithania (Hungary). The Church was the result of an effort to create a “nationally indifferent” institution within Cisleithania rather than a “mono-national” one, and united Romanians, Ukrainians, and Serbs in a single institution.¹¹⁵ In reality, the institution was frequently charged with favoring one ethnic or linguistic group over the other, and its archbishops were the target of much criticism – most notably, Sylvester Morariu-Andriewicz (Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici, 1818–1895) for supporting a Romanian nationalist cause, and Basil von Repta (Vladimir de Repta, 1842–1926) for both conciliatory efforts and divisive actions, as well as his outreach to the Jewish community.¹¹⁶ In Jewish history books, Archbishop Repta was hailed as a “protector of the Jews” for having safeguarded the Torah scroll in the Episcopal Palace during the Russian occupations in World War I.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Lucian Leustean, “Eastern Orthodoxy and National Indifference in Habsburg Bukovina 1774–1873,” *Nation and Nationalism* 24, no. 4 (2018): 1117–1141.

¹¹⁶ Drunen, ““A Sanguine Bunch,”” 128–9 (Morariu-Andriewicz), 156 and 231 (Repta).

¹¹⁷ Hermann Sternberg, *Zur Geschichte der Czernowitzer Juden* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1962), 45.

Collapse and Continuity

While the major historical and cultural developments in Czernowitz between 1862 and 1914 have been integrated into Chapters 2 to 5, a brief glance at the war years will conclude this overview. Institutional musical life mostly ceased during World War I, and for the few events that took place at that time – mainly army band concerts to support the war effort – there is little documentation.¹¹⁸ Three times between 1914 and 1917 the Imperial Russian Army managed to capture Czernowitz, and during the first of these occupations, Mayor Salo Weisselberger and the head of the music society, Basil von Duzinkiewicz, were taken in captivity to Siberia, from where they returned fourteen months later as a result of a prisoner exchange.¹¹⁹ On new year's eve of 1915 – Czernowitz was then under Habsburg control – a new regiment march by band master Josef Lassletzberger (see Ch. 4 and 5), titled “War March 1914/15 of the 41st Regiment,” received its first performance.¹²⁰

If operetta provided a nostalgic bridge between the citizens of some successor states of the monarchy and their lost Empire,¹²¹ Czernowitz should be regarded as a trendsetter in that movement. In the months before the Empire's collapse a degree of

¹¹⁸ Concerts include regular military band concerts at Café Habsburg (e.g. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, October 23, 1915).

¹¹⁹ Julius Weber, *Die Russentage in Czernowitz: Die Ereignisse der ersten und zweiten russischen Invasion* (Czernowitz: Kanarski, 1915), 34 (captivity); *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, November 16, 1915 (return).

¹²⁰ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 31, 1915. For a recent study of the war events and their political and cultural implications (based on extensive archival research), see Cristina Florea, “City of Dreams, Land of Longing: Czernowitz and Bukovina at the Crossroads of Empires,” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2016, 125–173 (Chapter 3, “World War at the Edge”).

¹²¹ Moritz Csáky, *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Moderne: Ein kulturhistorischer Essay* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 291–3; Micaela Keeney Baranello, “The Operetta Empire: Popular Viennese Music Theatre and Austrian Identity, 1900–1930” (PhD diss., Princeton, 2014), 294.

normal life had been reestablished in the city, a state of affairs mirrored by musical activities: that year's Easter service at the Orthodox Church featured a liturgy by Mandyczewski performed by the Romanian singing society *Armonia*,¹²² and in the same month, Basil von Duzinkiewicz again played chamber music with his colleagues from the music society.¹²³ May 1918 also saw an impressive number of theatrical performances by the Ukrainian National Theater, many of them with music (Ch. 5). That month newspapers even speculated about the possible enlargement of Bukovina, replacing debates about a Triple Empire with a Polish Kingdom that had been in the news during the previous months.¹²⁴ Only the admonition to refrain from any resistance against the removal of organ pipes (as tin was needed for war purposes) may have reminded a cautious observer that the war had not yet been won.¹²⁵

In spring 1918, the city administration of Czernowitz negotiated with several candidates for the directorship of the City Theater, which was scheduled to reopen in September after four years without a regular ensemble. On March 16, 1918, a week before the job was officially posted, a candidate already submitted his application letter.¹²⁶ This applicant, Paul Guttman (1879–c.1942), a Viennese actor and assistant director at the Theater an der Wien, was backed by two of the most illustrious personalities in Vienna's operetta business, Wilhelm Karczag, the principal of the Theater an der Wien, and the composer Franz Lehár. Karczag offered to support a

¹²² *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 3, 1918.

¹²³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 11, 1918.

¹²⁴ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, January 11 and May 24, 1918.

¹²⁵ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 3, 1918.

¹²⁶ Application Letter Paul Guttman, March 16, 1918 (Chernivtsi Oblast Archive Chernivtsi [henceforth DACHO], f. 43, op. 2/32). According to a stamp on the reverse of the letter, the city had received the letter on the same day, thus Guttman was likely in Czernowitz at the time.

theater under Guttman with access to operatic novelties by Lehár, Fall, and Straus.¹²⁷ In his letter of recommendation, Lehár even played what he likely considered the ultimate trump card: “Should H. Paul Guttman become director, I am willing to accept an invitation and do a guest performance in Czernowitz.”¹²⁸ A week later, Guttman revealed to the city council that Wilhelm Popp, who had received a contract for the directorship earlier in the war years, had attempted to sell that contract to him.¹²⁹ In May, Czernowitz offered the position at first to another candidate, who even signed the contract, but shortly thereafter claimed to remain tied to a contract in Silesia.¹³⁰ Guttman was offered the contract, and the season’s first operetta was an iconic piece of Great War escapism: Imre Kálmán’s *The Csardas Princess* (1915), first witnessed on Czernowitz’s stage on September 14, 1918.¹³¹ Less than two months later, Habsburg Czernowitz was history.

¹²⁷ “Ich brauche wohl nicht hinzuzufügen, dass der meinen Unternehmungen angehörige Bühnenverlag Herrn Paul Guttman durch Ueberlassung der Novitäten von Lehar, Fall, Straus, etc. in weitgehendster Weise unterstützen wird.” Letter of recommendation for Paul Guttman by Wilhelm Karczag, March 15, 1918, DACHO, f. 43, op. 2/32.

¹²⁸ “Wenn H. Paul Guttman Direktor wird, bin ich gern bereit, einmal einer Einladung Folge zu leisten und in Czernowitz ein Gastspiel zu absolvieren.” Letter of recommendation for Paul Guttman by Franz Lehár, DACHO, f. 43, op. 2/32.

¹²⁹ “Herr Director Popp hat mich schlecht informiert indem er sagte er liese [sic] die Direction auf meinen Namen übertragen und zwar auf die Dauer von 2 Jahren und dafür müsste ich ihm eine Absetzungssumme von 20.000 Kronen bezahlen. Nun wie ich jetzt den Sachverhalt kenne, hatte er gar kein Recht dazu im Gegentheile er ist ja nach meinem Begriffe der Stadt Czernowitz gegenüber kontraktbrüchig.” Letter Paul Guttman to the unnamed head of the application committee, Vienna, March 25, 1918, DACHO, f. 43, op. 2/32. The matter is particularly delicate given that Popp would later become Guttman’s successor.

¹³⁰ “In der Theaterfrage ist neuerlich eine unvorhergesehene Wendung eingetreten. Herr Theaterdirektor Gärtner aus Teschen, dem das Stadttheater bereits für drei Jahre vergeben war, hat in einem Schreiben dem Magistrate mitgeteilt, dass er die Leitung des Theaters nicht übernehmen könne, weil die Stadtgemeinde Teschen, mit der er einen noch für mehrere Jahre bestehenden Vertrag besitze, ihn nicht freigebe.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 28, 1918.

¹³¹ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung / Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 8, 1918.

Czernowitz and History

“Does Ukraine have a history?” Mark von Hagen inquired in 1995, defining history as “a written record” of an “experienced past that commands some widespread acceptance and authority in the international scholarly and political communities [...]”¹³² His response was, by and large, in the negative: as a field outside Ukraine, Ukrainian history was at that time almost exclusively the focus of members of a diaspora community, with little tracking and recognition beyond that community.¹³³ If one tried to formulate a similar question with the city in the center of this dissertation in mind, but limiting the time frame to avoid the added complexity of the post-1918 layer, one might be led to the following thought process: half a century ago, Habsburg Czernowitz still had a history (in Hagen’s sense), which was mostly construed by members of two diaspora communities, Germans and Jews, and which was also accepted by the few scholars from outside who were tangentially interested in the subject (the accounts of these communities differ in focus, but similarities abound; many of them characterized the two decades following the Habsburg era as some kind of silver age). This scholarship, while emphasizing Czernowitz’s good interethnic or interdenominational relations, was often quite explicitly ethnocentric. Histories by members of the German diaspora, for example – until recently the largest contributors to the literature – often emphasized that phenomena omnipresent elsewhere in Europe such as nationalism and anti-Semitism were insignificant in Czernowitz and Bukovina,

¹³² Mark von Hagen, “Does Ukraine Have a History?,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 658.

¹³³ The second part of the rationale for Hagen’s response rings less true today – quite a few fields of scholarly inquiry mainly attract scholars who emphasize their close ties to their objects of study.

but could hardly hide their own ethnocentric and paternalistic approach to the subject.¹³⁴

Scholarship on Czernowitz or Bukovina after the opening of the Iron Curtain, which yielded several outstanding monographs and dissertations, thus built on a complex heritage (to which my Introduction has already alluded), and today there seems to be no clear sense of “a history” of Czernowitz or Bukovina. Recent scholarship has questioned many of the tropes in earlier accounts and often debunked them as myths. Themes of conflict, a critical assessment of nostalgia, and charges of ethnocentrism toward earlier scholarship have entered the scholarly discourse on the city and region.¹³⁵ An increase in the exploitation of the mythical, shiny version of the narrative – whether in city branding for tourism or in nostalgic books about a lost world – occurred in parallel to this development.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ See for example: Wagner, *Der Parlamentarismus und nationale Ausgleich*, 271; Irma Bornemann, Paula Tiefenthaler, and Rudolf Wagner, eds., *Czernowitz: Eine Stadt im Wandel der Zeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres deutsche kulturellen Lebens* (Stuttgart: Der Südostdeutsche, 1988.).

¹³⁵ See especially Andrei Corbea-Hoişie, “Urbane Kohabitation in Czernowitz” (1996); *La Bukovine: Éléments d’histoire* (2004); Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Corbea-Hoişie, “Wie die Juden Gewalt schreien” (2012); David Rechter, *Becoming Habsburg: The Jews of Austrian Bukovina 1774–1918* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013); Martin Hainz, “Nostallergie. Die Czernowitzer Inkongruenzkompensationskompetenz,” *CAS Working Paper* 1 (2009); https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/fub188/18654/CAS-WP_No_2-09.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (accessed May 7, 2020); Bálint Varga, “Rise and Fall of an Austrian Identity in the Provincial Historiography of Bukovina,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015): 183–202.

¹³⁶ For a critical assessment of these developments, see for example Karolina Koziura, “The Spaces of Nostalgia(s) and the Politics of Belonging in Contemporary Chernivtsi, Western Ukraine,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33, no. 1 (2019): 219). For a recent high-quality nostalgic coffee table book with remarkable illustrations, see Gregor Gatscher-Riedl, *Czernowitz – Klein-Wien am Ostrand der der Monarchie* (Berndorf: Kral, 2017). Overall, no easy categorization of the literature into anti-nostalgic / scholarly / thorough on the one hand and nostalgic / market-oriented / perfunctory on the other should be assumed; in several cases, anti-nostalgia operates as a template no less ready-made than nostalgia. For a particularly uneasy example of grandiose anti-nostalgic claims based on a very limited field experience or research, see Otto Brusatti and Christoph Lingg, *Apropos Czernowitz* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999).

As mentioned in the introduction, the most important impulse for a critical appraisal of Czernowitz's history and culture issued from a team of scholars at the University of Iași. Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, who departed from an examination of German literature in the interwar period, has recently reassessed those junctures in politics that resulted in an increase of nationalism and anti-Semitism in the city during Habsburg times.¹³⁷ Ion Lihaciu (2012) has attempted to reconstruct the “cultural life of a provincial metropolis,” departing from the establishment of a “German cultural field” around the mid-nineteenth century.¹³⁸ His account examines a wide spectrum of literary genres and forms of publication (from house calendars to anthologies) as well as the press, but also includes a brief overview of music culture.¹³⁹ Lihaciu has also suggested a periodization of the local writings in German, which encompasses four periods in the Habsburg era: the beginnings until 1862; a second period that starts with Neubauer's periodicals in 1862; a third period that begins with the advent of the first long-standing literature journal in 1890, Isidor Nussbaum's *Im Buchwald*; and a fourth period starting in 1903 and characterized by a large number of periodicals, including several daily newspapers.¹⁴⁰ Two volumes on Bukovina's German-language press have recently appeared, one edited by Markus Winkler and another edited by Andrei Corbea-Hoișie and Ion Lihaciu alongside Markus Winkler; the latter includes a

¹³⁷ Corbea-Hoișie, “‘Wie die Juden Gewalt schreien’ (2012)’;” Corbea-Hoișie, “Czernowitz 1892. Die ‘nationale’ Wende in der Bukowiner Innenpolitik aus Wiener Sicht,” in *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens*, ed. Hans-Christian Maner (Münster: Lit, 2005), 89–101.

¹³⁸ Lihaciu, *Das kulturelle Leben einer Provinzmetropole*, 7–8, 14.

¹³⁹ Lihaciu, *Das kulturelle Leben einer Provinzmetropole*, 7–9.

¹⁴⁰ Lihaciu, *Das kulturelle Leben einer Provinzmetropole*, 239–243.

dictionary of German-language periodicals.¹⁴¹ These publications provide an excellent basis for future scholarship, but – owing to disciplinary constraints – they are almost exclusively focused on German-language culture.

A particularly useful contribution to Bukovina scholarship is Svitlana Frunchak's historiography essay "Studying the Land, Contesting the Land: A Select Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina" (2011), in which the author lists some of the most important accounts of the region's history and assesses the most relevant historiographical trends in their ideological contexts.¹⁴² A thorough examination of historiography on "Bukovinian identity" is Hieronymus van Drunen's 2013 dissertation "'A sanguine bunch.' Regional Identification in Habsburg Bukovina, 1774–1919." The author looks at the development from indifference to the rise of nationalism; explores different kinds of nationalism and their interactions across 'national' boundaries; and suggests that nationalist agitation in Bukovina often obscured other, more pertinent dichotomies, such as that between 'colonizers' and

¹⁴¹ Markus Winkler, ed., *Presselandschaft in der Bukowina und den Nachbarregionen: Akteure – Inhalte – Ereignisse (1900–1945)* (Munich: IGKS, 2011); Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, Ion Lihaciu, and Markus Winkler, eds., *Prolegomene la un dicționar al presei de limbă germană din Bucovina istorică (1848–1940)* (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2012).

¹⁴² Svetlana [Svitlana] Frunchak, "Studying the Land, Contesting the Land: A Select Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina. Vol. 1: Essay" and "Vol. 2: Notes," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies* 2108 (2011): 1–62 (Vol. 1) and 1–64 (Vol. 2). Erich Beck's bibliographical project of several decades, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina* (1965–present), the most comprehensive attempt to list publications about the region, has yielded five volumes so far (the last volume will be published posthumously and is in preparation) and is a valuable entry to the literature (Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina: Literatur bis zum Jahr 1965* [Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1966]; Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina: Literatur bis zum Jahr 1965–75* [Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1985]; Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina 1976–1990. Mit Nachträgen zu den Jahren 1966–1975* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999–2003]; Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina 1991–1995* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006]; Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina 1996–1999* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010].).

‘colonized.’¹⁴³ In her 2016 dissertation “City of Dreams, Land of Longing: Czernowitz and Bukovina at the Crossroads of Empires,” Cristina Florea provides a thorough examination of how concepts of place shaped the history of Bukovina’s culture and politics, as a peripheral but desired region subjected to different strategies of development (beginning with German notions of *Kultur* und *Bildung* during the Habsburg era).¹⁴⁴ Of particular importance is her analysis of the economic roots and impact on politics of the steep climb in emigration from Bukovina in the decades before World War I.¹⁴⁵

Several recent publications have featured approaches new to the study of Bukovina. A field of inquiry particularly suited to exploring a defunct political entity is historical geography. In *Die Landschaft Bukowina* (The Landscape Bukovina, 2010), historical geographer Kurt Scharr has explored the processes that shaped Bukovina as a region, including the development of an understanding of borders, types of settlements, approaches to administration, and politics.¹⁴⁶ Scharr’s monograph also provides an excellent overview and assessment of the historical and geographical literature on Bukovina from 1991 until 2010.¹⁴⁷ Another exploration of history, geography, and space, albeit on a much smaller scale, is Julia Lienemeyer’s 2019 study of Czernowitz’s urban development and architecture. Lienemeyer examines city planning and urban development during the entire Habsburg period, providing detailed

¹⁴³ Drunen, “‘A Sanguine Bunch.’”

¹⁴⁴ Florea, “City of Dreams, Land of Longing.”

¹⁴⁵ Florea, “City of Dreams, Land of Longing,” 65–80.

¹⁴⁶ Kurt Scharr, *Die Landschaft Bukowina* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010).

¹⁴⁷ Scharr, *Die Landschaft*, 45–78.

plans of each phase of land development.¹⁴⁸ In recent years, Constantin Ungureanu has examined the history of Bukovina's education as well as population structures, bringing a statistical approach to highly contested subjects.¹⁴⁹ Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu has provided detailed studies of Bukovina's parties and political bodies, which include biographical research on politicians (see Ch. 2).¹⁵⁰

Among the first Ukrainian scholars to study the culture and history of Habsburg Czernowitz outside a Soviet or mainly Ukrainian-national framework were historian Sergij Osatschuk and literature scholar Petro Rychlo. Osatschuk drew attention to the contributions of Czernowitz's Germans to the city's social and cultural fabric,¹⁵¹ while Rychlo unearthed texts by German-language authors and, in many cases, provided their first translations into Ukrainian.¹⁵² Rychlo's numerous publications, which include several anthologies in Ukrainian and German, provide an important bridge between Old Czernowitz and Chernivtsi. Kateryna Valiavska's 2016 dissertation on the development of social life in Habsburg Bukovina – focused almost

¹⁴⁸ Lienemeyer, *Stadtentwicklung und Architektur in Czernowitz*.

¹⁴⁹ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774–1918): aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003); Constantin Ungureanu, *Învățământul primar din Bucovina (1774–1918)* [Primary Education in Bukovina] (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003); Constantin Ungureanu and Călin Pantea, *Atlasul etno-lingvistic și confesional al Bucovinei (1774–2002)* (Suceava: Editura Romstorfer, 2018).

¹⁵⁰ Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina Habsburgică (1848–1918): contribuții la istoria parlamentarismului în spațiul central-est european* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2004).

¹⁵¹ Sergij Osatschuk [Сергій Осачук], *Німці Буковини* [Germans in Bukovina]: *Історія Товариського Руху (друга Половина XIX-початок XX Ст.)* (Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi University, 2002). Sergij Osatschuk, "Czernowitz – das Werden einer Kulturmetropole. Soziokulturelle Skizzen aus der deutschsprachigen Czernowitzer Presse vor 1914," in *Regionalpresse Österreich-Ungarns und die urbane Kultur*, ed. Vlado Obad (Vienna: Feldmann, 2007), 165–214.

¹⁵² Peter Rychlo, "Der 'Mythos Wien' in der deutschsprachigen Literatur der Bukowina," *Modern Austrian Literature* 30, no. 3–4 (1997): 13–23; Rychlo, ed., *Czernowitz: Europa erlesen* (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2004); "Rychlo, Czernowitz als geistige Lebensform: Die Stadt und ihre Kultur," 7–29 in *Czernowitz: Die Geschichte einer untergegangenen Kulturmetropole*, ed. Helmut Braun (Berlin: Links, 2005).

exclusively on Czernowitz – is among the rare attempts to portray social and cultural developments in the city across boundaries of ethnicity or religious denomination.¹⁵³

Very few scholarly studies have been written on the music history of Czernowitz or Bukovina, in part resulting from an interrupted performance history of this music owing to regime changes and from the fact that the largest share of the compositions by the city’s most important local composers has not yet been published. Furthermore, many of Czernowitz’s musicians were outside the scope of rediscoveries in the context of a national reawakening after 1989 and 1991, as they were neither considered Romanian nor Ukrainian. Notable exceptions are the recent dissertations of Igor Glibovytskyj (2009), Yarina Melnychuk (2009), Aurel Moraru (2011) and Sorin Marciuc (2016). All music histories on Bukovina and Czernowitz embrace particular concepts about the city’s and region’s history at large – they have therefore been examined closely in Chapter 4 in the context of other “Texts.”

Recent developments in historical scholarship have provided fruitful models for the study of Czernowitz’s culture. The projects of two scholars will stand here for a number of recent reassessments of the late Habsburg Empire. Pieter Judson has looked into its political and cultural institutions and has come to a fairly positive assessment of their ability to function. He challenges the paradigm of the Empire’s failing in the face of nationalism, illustrating both the “functioning” of nationalism within Imperial institutions and pointing to an interpretative default that leads to

¹⁵³ Kateryna Valiavska [Катерина Валявська], “Світське [Svitske] життя на Буковині: соціальний та культурний простір (1848–1914)” [Social Life in Bukovina: Social and Cultural Space (1848–1914)] (PhD diss., University of Chernivtsi, 2016).

misinterpretations of social and economic tensions as “national” conflict.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, Christopher Clark, who demonstrated how to avoid constructing history in a teleological manner in *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, has concluded the following: “From the perspective of today’s European Union we are inclined to look more sympathetically – or at least less contemptuously – than we used to on the vanished imperial patchwork of Habsburg Austria-Hungary.”¹⁵⁵ Returning to the micro-level that is the focus of this dissertation, two city studies should be mentioned here as points of reference for my project: *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City* (2002) by Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, a study of Wrocław/Breslau, a place that faced a similar degree of disruption, and an attempt by the authors to foreground neglected elements resulting from competing narratives; and Börries Kuzmany’s *Brody: Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (2011), which portrays a city in the neighboring province of Galicia and a venue with a similarly pluralistic configuration as Czernowitz.¹⁵⁶

Sociologist Rogers Brubaker has based several of his recent studies on research in Transylvania, a neighboring region of Bukovina with a similarly multicultural composition. Brubaker examined so-called “ethnic conflict” in the Transylvanian town of Cluj in recent years, concluding that the nature of that conflict has been largely misconstrued. The basis for such constructions was typically a common understanding of groups and “groupness” alongside an overestimation of the importance of

¹⁵⁴ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

¹⁵⁵ Christopher Clarke, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper, 2013), xxviii.

¹⁵⁶ Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City* (London: Cape, 2002); Börries Kuzmany, *Brody: Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011).

“national” or “ethnic identities.”¹⁵⁷ Brubaker’s findings and concepts are a particularly apt guide to reassessing the role of ethnicity and religious denominations as well as the nature of conflict in Czernowitz’s history.

¹⁵⁷ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Brubaker, *Grounds for difference* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

II

Люди / Oameni / Menschen / ludzie / מענטשן

A Music Society for the Crown Land

The year 1862 was a milestone in the cultural and intellectual history of Czernowitz, for it saw the founding of the city's first significant newspaper and, hardly less relevant, the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina (*Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina*; also referred to as *Musikverein*). Within a decade, that society would become the Crown Land's most important cultural institution through its concert series, teaching mission (which linked Czernowitz to the Imperial capital, Vienna), and its ability to engage many of the city's most influential residents. Like no other cultural society, it united Czernowitzers of different cultural backgrounds, and its impressive agenda, network, and symbolic capital made it a key player in interethnic and interdenominational relations as well as an important factor in the Habsburg Empire's mission of "cultivating" its eastern borderlands.¹

¹ No comprehensive historical study of Czernowitz's *Musikverein* has been undertaken thus far. Two pre-1918 internal histories exist: for the society's twentieth anniversary in 1882, Ludwig Staufe-Simiginowicz wrote one "in consultation of the Society's files" ("nach den Acten des Vereins"), which was published in a small book (Ludwig Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Die Geschichte des Entstehens und der Entwicklung des Musikvereins in Czernowitz. Nach den Acten des Vereins* [Czernowitz: Verlag des Musikvereins, 1882]). For the fiftieth anniversary, an impressive illustrated volume in A4 landscape format appeared, which combined a 'prehistory' of music in Czernowitz (i.e. the time before the *Musikverein* was founded), Anton Norst's account of the history of the society, and a list of the board members and concert programs of the preceding five decades (Anton Norst, *Der Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina, 1862–1902* [Czernowitz, 1903]). Igor Glibovytskyj dedicated a subchapter of his dissertation (2010) to the *Verein* (Ігор Глібовицький [Igor Glibovytskyj], "Музичне життя Буковини ХІХ – початку ХХ століття як прояв полікультурного середовища" [Musical life in Bukovina in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as a manifestation of a polycultural environment] [PhD diss., Lysenko Music Academy, Lviv, Ukraine, 2010], 54–66). A textbook on Bukovina's music culture from 2011, written mainly for use at the University of Chernivtsi, also dedicated a brief section to the society (Andrii Mykolaiovych Kushnirenko, Oleksandr Vasylovych

Major political changes in the Empire during the preceding decade and a half opened the doors for such a cultural engagement of self-assured – or, given the disaster of the revolution of 1848, self-re-assured – citizens, and for a bottom-up organization of musical life. These included Bukovina’s becoming an autonomous Duchy in 1849, the first election of a State Diet in 1861, and the codification and considerable strengthening of civic rights in the Constitution of 1867.² And, especially important for Czernowitz, the decades after 1848 had seen a gradual improvement in the status of the Austrian Jews, which lead to their full emancipation as citizens in that very Constitution.³

The first public music societies in the Austrian Empire had already been founded at the beginning of century, in among other places Prague (1810), Vienna (1812), Graz (1817), and Innsbruck (1818); a dozen would follow in the subsequent thirty years.⁴ A real boom, however, did not occur until after the restrictive years of

Zalutskyi, and Yaryna Manoliivna Vyshpynska [Андрій Миколайович Кушніренко, Олександр Васильович Залуцький, Ярина Маноліївна Вишпінська], “Музична школа ‘Товариства плекання музичного мистецтва на Буковині’ (1862–1918 рр.)” [The Music School “Society for the Promotion of Musical Art in Bukovina (1862–1918)], in *Історія музичної культури й освіти Буковини* [History of Musical Culture and Education in Bukovina] [Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi National University, 2011], 45–59). The latter two accounts are mostly based on Norst’s aforementioned history and Kuzma Demochko’s music history of Bukovina from 1990, the first of its kind in Ukrainian (see also Ch. 4; Kuzma Makarovych Demochko [Кузьма Макарович Демочко], *Музична Буковина: Сторінки історії* [Musical Bukovina: Pages from History] (Kyiv: Музична Україна [Muzychna Ukraina]), 1990).

² Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, “Der Landtag der Bukowina,” in *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 7 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 2171–2198.

³ Wolfdieter Bihl, “Die Juden,” in *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 3 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 890–896.

⁴ A report from 1857 only lists societies that still existed at that time, so the number of societies founded was presumably larger. Other than the ones mentioned, the report also lists thirteen music societies founded before 1848, at these venues: Agram/Zagreb (1827), Warasdin/Varasdin (1827), Arad (1833); Klausenburg/Cluj (1835), Lemberg/Lviv (1838), Hermannstadt/Sibiu (1839), Salzburg (1841), Venice (1844), as well as two additional societies in Prague (both founded in 1840) and one in Vienna (1845)

the Metternich period and the turbulent revolutionary years of 1848/9: an official account from 1857, published at the behest of the Austrian Ministry of Interior Affairs, lists fifteen music societies founded since the revolution, including ones in quite small cities like Troppau/Opava and Bozen/Bolzano.⁵ Most of these societies defined their purpose in general terms, as “promoting *Tonkunst*,” which usually included the maintenance of a music school; few were dedicated to vocal music or church music only.⁶ Such cultural developments across the Empire must have made it all the more necessary for Czernowitz, a Crown Land capital since 1849, to follow suit.

In 1859, fifteen civil servants and two businessmen – “thrilled about all things beautiful,” as one account describes them – founded the *Bukowinaer Männergesangverein* (Men’s Choral Society of Bukovina), which was the first choral society in Czernowitz and the direct predecessor of the *Musikverein*.⁷ Within a year, this choral society counted fifty-five members in its ranks, forty of whom were active members and fifteen supporters, and gave its inaugural concert.⁸ Two years later, in February 1862, one of the founding members, Karl Wexler, suggested that the

(Moriz von Stubenrauch, *Statistische Darstellung des Vereinswesens im Kaiserthume Österreich* [Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857], 346–364).

⁵ Founding years and venues listed in the account: 1849: Reichenberg/Liberec; 1851: Olmütz/Olmouc and Linz; 1852: Torda/Turda and Lugos/Lugoj; 1854: Temeswar/Timișoara, Görz/Goricia, and Troppau/Opava; 1855: Bozen//Bolzano, Padua/Padova; Mirano (Venice); 1856 Pest-Ofen (later Budapest); as well as two societies in Prague (founded 1850 and 1852) and one in Vienna (1851) (Stubenrauch, *Statistische Darstellung*, 346–364).

⁶ Stubenrauch, *Statistische Darstellung*, 346–364.

⁷ “So kam es, dass im Jahre 1859 siebzehn für alles Schöne durchglühte junge Männer bei dem noch heute als Musiklehrer tätigen Franz Kalousek zusammentraten, die [...] jenen Verband gründeten [...]” (“It thus happened that in 1859 seventeen young men thrilled about all things beautiful convened with Franz Kalousek, who is still active to this day as a music teacher, to found the society [...]”) Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 7. In the decades before 1859, regular choral activities had only existed in the context of services in houses of prayer, for example in an Orthodox church (Norst, *Verein*, 12) and in a synagogue (ibid., 30). The by-laws from 1860 stated as purpose of the society the “cultivation of men’s quartet and choral singing” (“Pflege des Männerquartetts und Chor-Gesanges;” *Statuten des Bukowinaer Männer-Gesang-Vereins* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1860), 3).

⁸ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 8.

Männergesangverein transform itself into a society dedicated to both vocal and instrumental music.⁹ *Bukowina*, Czernowitz's newspaper established just the month before, regarded these efforts as a response to a "deeply-felt desideratum," and predicted ample financial support owing to "the social sense [*Gemeinsinn*] of the Bukovinians, which had been proven so many times."¹⁰ On November 19, the name day of Empress Elisabeth, the new Society was officially inaugurated and Wexler became its first chairman.¹¹ At 50 *kreutzers* per month, the membership fee was fairly moderate.¹²

Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina – the clumsy name, although not out of the ordinary at the time, captures the discrepancy between the Society's high aspirations and its meager reality during its early years.¹³ The first concert, on November 18, 1862, took place at the Mikuli Hall (*Mikuli'scher Saal*) of the *Hôtel de Moldavie*, and featured the following motley mix of choral and orchestral music: Mozart's overtures to *Don Giovanni* and *La clemenza di Tito*; a violin concerto by Bériot; men's choruses by Franz Abt, Mendelssohn, and Kreutzer; and an *Andante*

⁹ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 9.

¹⁰ *Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, July 22, 1862 ("In der Tat ist ein Musikverein in der Bukowina ein längst und tief gefühltes Bedürfnis und der bereits in so vielen Fällen bewährte Gemeinsinn der Bukowiner lässt wohl nicht den mindesten Zweifel übrig, dass auch für den neu erstandenen [sic] Musikverein von allen Seiten sich kräftige Zuflüsse eröffnen werden.").

¹¹ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 9. 61 members were present in the first general assembly (*Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, November 21, 1862).

¹² "Statuten des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina mit dem Sitze in Czernowitz" [By-laws of the Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina Seated in Czernowitz] (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1862), 4. According to the historical currency converter of the *Oesterreichische Nationalbank* (Austrian National Bank) the buying power of the annual fee (12x50 *Kreutzers* = 6 florins) compares to roughly \$80 today (<https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/>; accessed and converted May 18, 2020).

¹³ The inspiration for the name presumably came from a music society founded in Bohemia six decades before, the *Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Böhmen*, and traveled to Bukovina via its neighboring province, Galicia, where a local music society had been established in 1838 under the name of *Verein zur Beförderung der Tonkunst in Galizien* (Leszek Mazepa, "Karol Mikuli, der künstlerische Direktor des Galizischen Musikvereins in Lemberg, 1858–1887," *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa* 5 [1999]: 3–15).

from a Haydn symphony, as well as Beethoven's *Fidelio Overture* arranged for two pianos.¹⁴ The orchestra consisted of eleven violins, three violas, one cello, two basses, two flutes, one clarinet, and two horns.¹⁵ In other words, the opening concert of a music society that aspired to become the leading musical establishment in the capital of an Imperial Crown Land resembled an afternoon concert at a small-town music school.

The orchestral repertory would not change much over the course of the next decade, and mainly consisted of the following: symphonies and overtures by the Viennese Classical composers; opera overtures by French and Italian composers; and arrangements of Schubert songs for choir and orchestra. Frequently, the orchestra was more a chamber ensemble, consisting, for example of “a string quintet, flutes, clarinet, one trumpet, two horns, and piano four-hands.”¹⁶ More often than not, only individual movements were performed from a given symphony. None of the repertory performed was remotely local (see **Appendix 2.1**). Overall, in this first decade, the *Musikverein* imported a combination of Germanic and cosmopolitan European repertoires, a program undoubtedly oriented to the West; thus in this respect, it mainly contributed to “Austria’s mission in the East,” the project of westernizing (or ‘cultivating,’ in contemporary jargon) Austria’s Eastern borderlands that had started under Joseph II.¹⁷

The names of the participants in the founding concert suggests a wide array of backgrounds: Bendel, Koffler, König, Kasprzycki, Kaufmann, Klemensiewicz,

¹⁴ Norst, *Verein*, 37; *Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, November 21, 1862.

¹⁵ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 13.

¹⁶ Norst, *Verein*, III.

¹⁷ Emanuel Turczynski, *Die Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 27–41.

Lederer, Lepszy, Liszka, Margulies, Neronowicz, Pallasz (Pallasch), Pauer, Pierzchala, Rosenzweig, Schindler, Schönbach, Syrkal, Wexler, Wilhelm, and Zwoniczek.¹⁸ The first head of the society, Karl Wexler, self-identified as German, the second, Nikolaus von Mustatza, as Romanian, and the third, Jakob von Petrowicz, as Armenian;¹⁹ the first music directors, Franz Pauer (Paur; 1862–64) and Johann Zwoniczek (1864–72), were both Czech.²⁰ Another indicator suggests the Society’s active embrace of inclusiveness from the beginning. On the day after the first concert, the *Verein* performed the *Te Deum* and the *Volkshymne* (the Austrian Anthem) in both an Eastern Orthodox and a Catholic Church.²¹

In his satiric novella “Der Stern von Lopuschna” (The Star of Lopuschna; published 1893), Karl Emil Franzos portrayed the tragic life of Frantisek Majir, a young composer from Czernowitz. While his father Gottfried Mayer had been a German nationalist active in the revolution of 1848, Majir professed his Czech background at every opportunity and lamented the German dominance in the city.

¹⁸ Norst, *Verein*, III; Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 9. Hermann Pallasch and Leon Koffler are identified as Jewish in an article from 1937 (Salomon Kassner, “Die Juden im Musikleben der Bukovina [sic]. Kleine historische Notizen anlässlich der bevorstehenden 60-Jahrfeier des Musikvereines in Cernăuți” [The Jews in the music culture of Bukovina. Little historical notes on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Cernăuți’s music hall.], *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov. 21, 1937).

¹⁹ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 13.

²⁰ Zwoniczek’s birthplace, Sobětuš (Sobietusch), and birth year (1814) are listed in a catalogue of teachers in the Archdiocese of Lemberg (*Katalog des an den Volksschulen der Lemberger lat. Erzdiözese angestellten Lehrpersonals für das Jahr 1847/8* [Lemberg: Piller, 1847], 57). A few biographical dates about Pauer are mentioned in Mikulicz’s account: he was “from Bohemia,” trained at the conservatory in Vienna, played clarinet in the Vienna court opera, and came to Czernowitz as a military bandmaster, where he stayed after his retirement (Norst, *Verein*, 17). Pauer’s son was the conductor Emil Paur (1855–1923).

²¹ “Ebenso wenig darf unerwähnt gelassen werden, daß der Verein [...] in seiner vorangegangenen letzten Sitzung einstimmig beschlossen hatte, sowohl in der römisch-katholischen Pfarrkirche, als auch in der griechisch-orientalischen Kathedrale das Tedeum und die Volkshymne zum Vortrag zu bringen, was denn auch in den Vormittagsstunden des 19. November geschah.” (Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 14). A newspaper reported that the “*Te Deum* and the *Volkshymne* were performed at the same time in both churches.” (“In beiden Kirchen wurden zugleich das Tedeum und die Volkshymne gesungen.” *Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, November 21, 1862.)

Some locals regarded Majir a great natural talent or even genius, but the local musical establishment – Franzos sneaked in here the only real historical figure, the first director of the *Musikverein*, Pauer – remained skeptical about the young artist. In 1865, as a result of a scheme by a local pharmacist, Majir faced accusations of having misrepresented a waltz by Johann Strauss as his own piece, and even though Strauss was the real plagiarist, the disgraced Majir changed profession and turned into a businessman named Franz Mayer. In addition to supplying a trenchant satire on national self-stylization and anti-assimilationist attitudes, Franzos portrayed Czernowitz’s music scene as a village of colonists from Bohemia (leaving it in some cases open if they were Czech or German).²²

Irony aside, Franzos’s novella points to an important element of Czernowitz’s music scene: all four of the *Verein*’s music directors in the Habsburg era as well as most of the music school’s teachers were from Bohemia (Czech or German) – a form of “internal musical colonization” (i.e. within the Empire) that was not uncommon.²³ While most of the founding members were from families that had migrated to the region in the Habsburg era (speakers of Polish, German, and Czech; Jews and Catholics), most of the society’s heads in these early times belonged to established local elites (Petrowicz, Mustatza, Styrcea).

In the domain of gender, the Society was slower to reach inclusiveness, though the beginnings might have suggested a different course. At the first board meeting in

²² Karl Emil Franzos, “Der Stern von Lopuschna,” *Westermanns Jahrbuch der Illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte* 73 (October 1892, March 1893): 80–100. While the overall trajectory of the story does not suggest that Franzos intended to write a “novella à clef,” some elements seem to have been borrowed from the biography of the composer Ciprian Porumbescu (a composer fighting for a nationalist cause; a “natural genius;” a tragic love story with a woman from another ethnic group).

²³ Drunen, “A sanguine bunch,” 79–80 (see also Ch. 5).

1862, the board voted unanimously for the possibility of admitting women.²⁴

However, with the exception of two honorary members, there were no women in the ranks of the founding and early members.²⁵ The first documented participation of women in a performance of the *Musikverein* occurred at the third concert, in 1863, where a mixed choir performed two choral pieces by Mendelssohn.²⁶ In 1864, a “women’s choir supported by the female students of the Verein” performed Ferdinand Hiller’s *Nachtlied* and an (unspecified) folk song.²⁷ The first extant member register after 1862, however, which appeared in the Society’s Yearbook from 1877, lists only 12% female members, and these figures would remain stable for the next two decades (both 1884 and 1895 show a percentage of 15%); a considerable increase to almost one third female members occurred at the turn of the century, and these higher figures would remain stable (1904: 31%; 1913: 29%).²⁸

The business records printed in the annual reports show that the *Verein*’s financial basis changed considerably in the decades between 1862 and 1914, evolving from a reliance mainly on private funds to a model in which subsidies and income

²⁴ *Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, November 30, 1862. The first published by-laws from 1862 do not mention gender at all but list as the only prerequisite for joining the society as active members a clean record (“Unbescholtenheit des Charakters”), musical training (“musikalische Vorbildung”) and contributing a member fee (*Statuten des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina, mit dem Sitze in Czernowitz* [Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1862], 4). The published by-laws from 1897 are explicit in this regard: “Any adult person regardless of gender or residence can be a member of the society.” (“Mitglied des Vereines kann jede grossjährige Person ohne Unterschied des Geschlechtes und ohne Rücksicht auf ihren Wohnsitz sein.”) *Statuten des Vereines* (1897), 4.

²⁵ Anna Countess von Amadei, the wife of Bukowina’s *Landespräsident*, and Anna von Romaschkan were made honorary members on October 8, 1863 (*Erster Rechenschaftsbericht des Ausschusses des Vereines zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* [First Annual Report of the Board of the Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina] [Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1863], 10. In the same report, Isabella von Flondor is mentioned as a supporter of the society (*Erster Rechenschaftsbericht*, 8).

²⁶ Norst, *Verein*, III.

²⁷ Norst, *Verein*, III.

²⁸ The percentages are calculated from the membership lists (*Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 15 [1878], 16–21; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 22 [1885], 19–24; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 33 [1896], 21–23; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 42 [1905], 30–35; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 51 [1914], 37–44; the years in brackets refer to the publication date of the report).

from rent for the building played a key role. In the early years, membership fees and school fees accounted for the largest share of the revenue (1871: member dues 38,9%, school fees 34,4%, ticket sales 4,6%, no subsidies).²⁹ From the 1880s on, subsidies formed an important component of the revenue, with the city, the Ministry of Education, and a local bank contributing (1881: member dues 21,0%, school fees 12,3%, ticket sales 7,1%, subsidies 23,9%).³⁰ While the subsidies remained a large proportion of the revenue in subsequent decades (around 35% in the 1890s, 21,6% in 1913), renting out the hall became increasingly profitable, peaking at 31,1% of the income in 1913 (1913: member dues 9,3%, school fees 17,1%, ticket sales 2,0%, subsidies 21,6%, rent income 31,1%).³¹ Subsidies from the Ministry of Education – in 1913 an amount of 3500 crowns (almost half of the total subsidies for the *Verein*) – were part of a long-term strategy in the Imperial administration which supported a few outstanding institutions in important regional centers to acknowledge these venues and to confirm Austria's place as a country of music.³²

Given the lack of professional standards at the beginning, confirmed by the fact that the orchestra was unable to cover all instrumental parts in its early years, it is surprising that the society saw itself fit to make plans for a decent concert hall already in 1868, but Czernowitz's ambitious cultural elite possessed the entrepreneurial spirit

²⁹ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 10 (1872), 8 (total revenue 2126 fl.; member dues 828 fl., school fees 729 fl., ticket sales 98 fl., no subsidies).

³⁰ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 20 (1882), 12 (total revenue 5021 fl.; member dues 1056 fl., school fees 618 fl., ticket sales 357 fl., subsidies 1200 fl.); *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 33 (1895), 14; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 34 (1896), 16.

³¹ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 51 (1914), 20 (total revenue 34,241 cr.; member dues 3182 cr., school fees 5869 cr., ticket sales 670 cr., subsidies 7400 cr.).

³² Andreas Gottsmann, *Staatskunst oder Kulturstaat? Staatliche Kunstpolitik in Österreich 1848–1914* (Wien: Böhlau, 2017), 170–176.

and knew the practical steps to success.³³ A first share of the amount needed was raised in a lottery, drafted by the society's founding president, a notary. 20,000 lots were sold at 50 crowns each, with 500 strikes.³⁴ The drawing took place on July 1, 1869, and the lottery yielded a net profit of 3500 florins.³⁵ The amount, even though far from the estimated 60 000 florins needed for the building, was sufficient to impress the city administrators in charge, who gave the society some centrally located building land.³⁶ Construction began in 1876 and the building opened on December 10, 1877, with a large ceremony.³⁷ In the months after the opening, the society hired the painter Carl Jobst (1835–1907), who worked at the time on the murals of Czernowitz's Episcopal Residence, to paint the murals and ceiling of the new concert hall.³⁸ Major renovations took place in 1895, which included the introduction of electric lighting, a water pipeline, and a sewage system.³⁹ The building still serves as the main venue for Classical music in the city – although efforts to replace it date back to the early twentieth century.

³³ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, November 29, 1868 (discussion of early drafts for the building); *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, March 17, 1869 (lottery); Norst, *Verein*, 41.

³⁴ Norst, *Verein*, 41.

³⁵ Norst, *Verein*, 42–3.

³⁶ Norst, *Verein*, 41.

³⁷ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 14 (1877), 5 (laying of the foundation stone on May 29, 1876); *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 15 (1878), 4–5 (opening ceremony). The building plans were drawn by Alois Bulirz, the builder was Emil von Regius (*Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 14 [1876], 5 and 13).

³⁸ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 16 (1879), 4 and 11.

³⁹ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 33 (1896), 12; *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 34 (1897), 11.

Vojtěch Hřimalý and the inclusive project of a divisive figure

The most significant change in the first two decades of the Society occurred in 1874, when its executive committee hired the thirty-two-year-old conductor, composer, and violinist Vojtěch (Adalbert) Hřimalý. With this move, it inaugurated an era that would last for more than three decades and finally grant the city a musical landscape befitting the capital of an Imperial Crown Land.

Presumably neither Hřimalý nor the committee expected such a long tenure. Born into a family of musicians in Pilsen/Plzeň in 1842, Hřimalý had held positions as concertmaster in Gothenburg (1862), concertmaster and director at Prague's Interim Theater (1868), and *Second Kapellmeister* at the city's Estates Theater before going to Czernowitz.⁴⁰ Given that promising start, his position as music director of an amateur society in a provincial capital might have been only a brief intermezzo. One only need to look at the careers of two of Hřimalý's siblings: after a similar start, Jan, an accomplished violinist and teacher, taught at the Moscow Conservatory; and Bohuslav, a violist and conductor, became Kapellmeister at the opera in Helsinki.⁴¹ Vojtěch did obtain job offers from Lemberg (L'viv) and Odessa during his Czernowitz tenure, but he declined for political and financial reasons.⁴²

Hřimalý's cultural background and family ties made him an ideal choice for Czernowitz. He came from a Czech-speaking family and was fluent in both Czech and

⁴⁰ Cyril Šálek, "Hřimalý," in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (Kassel, 2016); <https://www-mgg-online-com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/article?id=mgg06534&v=1.0&rs=mgg06534> (accessed May 2, 2020).

⁴¹ Šálek, *MGG Online*, "Hřimalý."

⁴² Adalbert Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre Musik in der Bukowina: Erinnerungen vom Jahre 1874 bis 1904* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1904), 17.

German; in other words, he belonged to none of Czernowitz's largest linguistic communities but was fluent in the city's lingua franca.⁴³ Through his siblings he cast a wide musical business net that encompassed Eastern, Northern and Central Europe.⁴⁴ Hiring this man from the province of Bohemia offered the Czernowitzers an opportunity to show that they were not (literally) provincial. When Hřimalý was offered the position of concert conductor in Lemberg a few years later, by contrast, his appointment faced criticism since he was not from that province, and he withdrew despite a signed contract; though he criticized just about everything about Czernowitz, he never mentioned any xenophobic sentiment there.⁴⁵

A newspaper report from Prague regarding Hřimalý's departure points to a personality trait that was a major theme in his life, his impulsive temper: "Summoned by the directorate to dedicate more diligence in rehearsing the choir, Mr. Hřimalý responded with his sudden departure to – Czernowitz, where he is alleged to have taken the leadership of the municipal band."⁴⁶ In his memoirs, Hřimalý confirmed that

⁴³ A small number of Hřimalý's letters survive at the Austrian National Library (including a letter to Eduard Hanslick from February 2, 1900, ONB Autogr. 485/22-1 Han) and the City Archive in Plzeň/Pilsen (Archiv města Plzně, henceforth AMP; the latter are mostly in Czech).

⁴⁴ Three of Hřimalý's other siblings became musicians as well: Anna and Marie became singers and were active in Salzburg; Jaromír, an outstanding cellist, played in Helsinki's opera orchestra (Šálek, *MGG Online*, "Hřimalý").

⁴⁵ Adalbert Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 17. In a letter to Theodor Kretschmann, Hřimalý mentioned details of the affair in Lemberg: "The position in Czernowitz is regrettably again filled by me as I withdrew voluntarily from my already signed contractual obligations in Lemberg. Polish newspapers started to protest against filling the position of a director of the Galician Conservatory with a foreigner." ("Die Stelle in Czernowitz ist leider wieder durch mich besetzt nachdem ich von meiner bereits kontraktlich eingegangenen Verpflichtung in Lemberg freiwillig zurückgetreten bin. Es haben nämlich die polnischen Zeitungen angefangen zu protestieren daß die Stelle des Directors am galizischen Konservatoriums mit einem Fremden besetzt werde.") Adalbert Hřimalý, Letter to Theodor Kretschmann [undated, but likely from 1887], Music Department, Austrian National Library (henceforth ONB), F34.Fickert.628.

⁴⁶ "Von der Direktion [sic] aufgefordert, mehr Fleiß auf das Studiren mit dem Chorpersonal anzuwenden, antwortete Hr. Hřimalý mit der plötzlichen Abreise nach — Czernowitz, woselbst er die Leitung der städtischen Kapelle übernommen haben soll." "Vom deutschen Landestheater," *Prager*

he left his position without approval of the theater director.⁴⁷ The m-dash in the newspaper report is likely to be read as an expression of the journalist's amusement that translates roughly into: how dare this whippersnapper leave his post in the Royal Capital Prague for the directorship of a band in a remote provincial town in the Empire's eastern outskirts, a place devoid of culture?

Hřimalý, too, had mixed feelings about his decision.⁴⁸ In his memoirs he shared the following:

On September 4, 1874, I arrived in Czernowitz following the call to become artistic director of the "Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina." I openly admit that the ride from the train station to the city made not just a very depressing impression on me but an outright crushing one. To become artistic director of the society "for the Promotion of Music" in this run-down city of wooden huts, which outwardly carried the proud title of "State Capital," did not occur to me then as a desirable task, and inwardly I considered travelling back as soon as possible.⁴⁹

Even the title of his memoirs, "Thirty Years of Music in Bukovina," suggests that he regarded his arrival as the zero hour of music in the city. Granted, Czernowitz in 1874 was likely a depressing place for a musician coming from Prague, but his account also

Abendblatt, October 9, 1874. Hřimalý had been hired at this theatre in January of the preceding year (*Prager Abendblatt*, January 20, 1873; the paper abbreviates his first name, falsely, with "H.").

⁴⁷ Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 4.

⁴⁸ See Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 4. See also page 26: "Der Eine sitzt vor dem Hofopernorchester und dirigiert das herrlichste Ensemble, das es in der Welt gibt. Der Andere sitzt in Czernowitz und ärgert sich halb zu Tode, bevor er etwas Konzertmäßiges zusammenbringt. Da darf man nie nach rückwärts schauen oder fragen, was man hätte werden können." ("One sits in front of the Court Opera Orchestra and conducts the most magnificent ensemble that exists in the world. Another sits in Czernowitz and is half annoyed to death before he manages to mount something acceptable for a concert. In such a situation one shall never look back and ask what one could have achieved.")

⁴⁹ "Am 4. September 1874 traf ich in Czernowitz ein, dem an mich ergangenen Rufe folgend, die artistische Leitung des 'Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina' zu übernehmen. Ich gestehe ganz offen, dass die Fahrt vom Bahnhof zur Stadt auf mich nicht nur stark deprimierend, sondern geradezu vernichtend wirkte. In dieser verwahrlosten Plankenstadt, welche nach Außen den stolzen Titel 'Landeshauptstadt' führt, einen artistischen Leiter des Vereins 'zur Förderung der Tonkunst' abzugeben, dünkte mir in diesem Momente als nicht gar zu verlockende Aufgabe, und ich erwog im Stillen bereits meine Rückfahrt sobald wie möglich anzutreten." Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 3–4.

fits his narrative of a gardener who left the Royal Bohemian gardens to cultivate the desert.⁵⁰

Hřimalý started his appointment with a chamber music soirée in December 1874. According to the records it was the *Verein*'s first concert exclusively dedicated to chamber music.⁵¹ It featured string quartets by Haydn and Mendelssohn and a violin sonata by Grieg, and it gave Hřimalý an opportunity to collaborate with three of the Society's most active members, Leon Koffler, Leon Gojan, and Basil Duzinkiewicz.⁵² Hřimalý's new quartet consisted of native speakers of German, Romanian, Polish, and Czech; and of adherents of Judaism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Roman Catholicism. In the first orchestral concert, on January 22, 1875, he introduced himself to his new audience as the soloist in the first movement of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, and he acquainted the Czernowitzers with recent compositions for string orchestra: Robert Volkmann's Third Serenade (1870) and Otto Julius Grimm's *Suite in Canonform*, op. 10. Already in 1878, local dignitaries acknowledged Hřimalý's achievements for Czernowitz with a remarkable gift: the nobleman Georg von Flondor initiated a collection among members of the music society to purchase a Stradivarius violin for the music director.⁵³

⁵⁰ A statement towards the end of Hřimalý's narrative confirms the impression that he parallels the city's upswing with his own efforts: "From a run-down city of wooden domiciles, Czernowitz has turned into a quickly flourishing State Capital and moves in several ways at a very quick speed forward." ("Czernowitz ist heute aus der verwahrlosten Plankenstadt zu einer rasch aufblühenden wirklichen Landeshauptstadt geworden und schreitet in mancher Beziehung ziemlich rasch vorwärts.") Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 30.

⁵¹ The concert was even announced in Leipzig's *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (*Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, November 27, 1874). Chamber music repertoire had been played previously in the context of mixed-program concerts.

⁵² *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, November 27, 1874.

⁵³ "Der Vereinsausschuß vermeint nicht zu fehlen, wenn er der geehrten Generalversammlung zur Kenntniß [sic] bringt, daß über Anregung und persönliches Bemühen des [...] Herrn Georg von Flondor, von Seiten einiger Vereinsmitglieder und Freunde des Herrn Adalbert Hřimalý [...] eine

The music school of the *Verein* experienced a slow but steady growth in numbers and a decided professionalization with respect to artistic standards during Hřimalý's tenure. Hřimalý taught violin, piano, and voice; the overall number of teachers at the school increased from three (before his arrival and in his early years) to four (in the early 1880s) and remained stable with five or six (from the mid-1890s onward).⁵⁴ In the mid-1880s, the number of students reached 100, remained around 150 in the 1890s and reached almost 200 at end of his tenure in 1908.⁵⁵

Hřimalý staged his introduction as a composer in a cautious fashion, likely mindful of the mixed reception he had received in that domain and the fact that he considered the forces in Czernowitz insufficiently trained to play his music.⁵⁶ In Bohemia, he had had considerable success with one piece, his opera *Zakletý princ* (*Der verwunschene Prinz*; *The Enchanted Prince*), premiered in Prague in 1872.

werthvolle Geige vom Meister Antonius Stradivarius aus dem Jahre 1718, durch freiwillige Beiträge angeschafft, und dem in so hohem Grade verdienstvollen artistischen Director des Musikvereines, Herrn Adalbert Hřimaly, gewidmet wurde." *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 16 (1879), 5. It seems Hřimalý sold the instrument to his brother Jan just a few years later ("Din memoriile muzicale ale lui Leon cav. de Goian," *Viața nouă*, March 5, 1916).

⁵⁴ The numbers only include professional teachers. The cellist Basil von Duzinkiewicz, a local civil servant, occasionally had a single student as well. Teachers during Hřimalý's tenure include Ferdinand Medlarz (Medlarsch; violin), Antonia Exelbirth (piano), Hans Horner (piano, violin, voice, and cello), Otto Wilhelm (piano), Martin Horner (piano), Philipp Koller (violin), Emil Weitzsecker (piano), Sophie Niedenthal (piano), Johanna Brunstein (piano), Alfred Schlüter (violin), Georg Eidler (violin), Jakob Krämer (violin), Aglaia Feigel (piano), and Katharina Mandyczewski (piano). In 1886/7, the conductor Franz Schalk, who worked as *Kapellmeister* at the theater, also taught at the school (Sources: *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 12–47; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 26, 1888).

⁵⁵ Sources: see footnote 48. Yaryna Melnychuk has dedicated a section of her dissertation to the *Verein*'s music school, which includes an examination of the school's structure and curricula (Yaryna Melnychuk [Ярина Мельничук], "Становлення та розвиток музичної освіти на Буковині (кінець XVIII – початок XX століття)" [Formation and Development of Music Education in Bukovyna (end of the eighteenth to beginning of the twentieth century) (PhD diss., University of Chernivtsi, 2009), 132–141. A Ukrainian music school headed by the choral conductor Modest Levitsky was founded in the city in 1904 and gained an official status in 1905; it was much smaller than the *Verein*'s school (around two dozen students in most years), had two thirds Ukrainian students, and a teaching staff that was mostly German or German-Jewish (Melnychuk, "Formation and Development," 141–151).

⁵⁶ Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 4.

It was given at several theaters there and, after Hřimalý had left for Czernowitz, in Graz (1875), Zagreb (1885), and several cities in Bohemia.⁵⁷ Other music received a lukewarm reception. A piece performed in Prague in 1876 was reviewed thus in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*: “An Overture by Adalbert Hřimalý of marginal content, skillful thematic execution and workmanship, and pompous instrumentation, was followed by a graceful Serenade by Robert Fuchs.”⁵⁸

No piece by Hřimalý seems to have been performed in the first year and a half of his tenure, at a time when his orchestra consisted of “a bunch of undisciplined dilettantes alongside the remaining musicians of what was called the city band,” as he wrote in his memoir.⁵⁹ It comes as no surprise that he chose a small-scale vocal piece, “Die Wasserfee” (The Water Fairy; for female choir, string orchestra, harp, and organ), for his first appearance as composer in May 1876.⁶⁰ That year, he composed a concert overture for string orchestra that he later revised for full orchestra, but for his

⁵⁷ Pavel Petránek, “Hřimalý Vojtěch,” in Jitka Ludvová, *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích: Osobnosti 19. století* (Prague: Divadelní ústav, 2005), 217–8. Two examples of favorable (but not enthusiastic) reviews: “Vom böhmischen Landestheater,” *Prager Abendblatt*, May 9, 1877; and “Neues böhmisches Theater,” *Prager Tagblatt*, May 15, 1877.” The latter review calls the opera “pleasant,” (oddly) questions the “practicality of this musical lavishness” (“die Zweckmäßigkeit dieser Musikverschwendung”), but lauds the piece’s opportunities to showcase the abilities of the performers.

⁵⁸ “Einer Overture Adalbert Hřimalý’s [sic] von geringem Gehalt, gewandter thematischer Durchführung und Mache und pompöser Instrumentation folgte die anmuthige Serenade von Robert Fuchs.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 72, no. 8 (February 18, 1876): 78.

⁵⁹ “Es wird Jedermann zugeben müssen, daß doch ein gewisser Unterschied darin besteht, ein vollständiges gut geschultes Theaterorchester, wie es im deutschen Landestheater in Prag war, zu leiten und einem Häuflein disziplinloser Dilettanten, nebst einem letzten Reste einiger sich Stadtkapelle nennenden Musiker gegenüberzustehen, mit denen Konzerte zu veranstalten mir zugemutet wurde.” (“Anyone must admit that there is a certain difference between directing a complete and well-trained theatre orchestra, as at the German theatre in Prague, and facing a bunch of undisciplined dilettantes next to the remaining musicians of what was called the city band, with which I was expected to work.”) Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre Musik*, 4.

⁶⁰ No score survives for this piece, but the full instrumentation is indicated in a later review (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, January 22, 1904).

orchestra concert in November he chose works for string orchestra by Handel and Volkmann.⁶¹

It was not until 1883 that Hřimalý presented his first ambitious composition to the Czernowitzers (**Appendix 2.2**). This piece, the Serenade for String Orchestra in F major, bears traces of the many purposes it had to serve: as composer he sought to impress with an artifice of counterpoint and to cater to contemporary audiences' appetite for "ethnic" flavors (in this case, Czech folk music); as educator he wrote a didactic piece that featured numerous challenges in the interplay of the different string sections; and as director of a music society he scored the piece in a way that would honor with a long solo passage an important musical and administrative partner, the cellist Basil von Duzinkiewicz.⁶² Within a few years, the Serenade saw performances in Vienna, Lemberg (L'viv), Prague, and Salzburg (the performance in Czernowitz was the third, which confirms the importance Hřimalý attributed to getting recognition from larger musical centers). Newspapers in several of these venues commended the piece, but nowhere did it elicit more praise than in the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* from November 8, 1883 (signed "L. R.," which likely stands for the composer and conductor Ludwig Rottenberg):

The exquisitely performed Serenade is one of the most gratifying, tuneful, and charming orchestral works of this genre. Already the first movement is a pearl of most delicate sensations and Hřimalý managed to strike the true tone of a serenade. The scherzo is a truly striking and inventive orchestral piece. The Adagio is governed by the dramatic element and it is here that the frame of the

⁶¹ The piece, simply entitled "Konzertouverture für Orchester," is dated thus: "For string orchestra composed and completed on March 8, 1875; for full Orchestra orchestrated and completed on November 10, 1875." ("für Streichorchester componirt u. beendigt den 8ten März 1875. für großes Orchester instrumentirt u. beendigt den 10. November 1875.") AMP, H2925, HU 5/1.

⁶² Even though only the third movement features a long cello solo, the entire score uses the following distribution into five staves: violin I; violin II; viola; first cello; and, in one staff line, second cello and bass (the latter mostly perform the same lines).

string orchestra, which lacks the expressive capacity of a large orchestra, was too narrow for the composer. The execution of the Adagio was much to the credit of the basses, the cello solo that dominated in this piece was performed by Duzinkiewicz in his individual, elegiacally breathing, warm tone. The last movement of the charming Serenade draws its effect from the contrast between its two main thoughts, as well as the repetition of the theme from the first movement, which passes by like a sweet memory [...] ⁶³

Recognition as a composer on the large theatrical stages in the Empire

remained an important goal, but with Czernowitz's devoted audience, Hřimalý had an alternative when commissions from outside fell through. In 1895, he published a polemic titled "The Royal Bohemian (Czech) National Theater and the Bohemian (Czech) Composers," in which he decried the rejection of his second opera, *Švanda dudák* (*Švanda, the Bagpiper*) as a typical example of the Czech National Theater's alleged adverse treatment of Czech operas. ⁶⁴ The details of the rejection seem odd, if we believe his account: when he first contacted the theater about the opera he was offered a contract, but he withdrew his score after his wishes for contractual changes

⁶³ "Die vorzüglich reproducirte Serenade ist eines der dankbarsten, klangvollsten und liebenswürdigsten Orchesterwerke dieses Genre's [sic]. Gleich der erste Satz ist eine Perle zartester Empfindung und hat Hřimaly in diesem Satze den eigentlichen Serenaden-Ton sehr glücklich getroffen. Das Scherzo ist ein äußerst wirkungsvolles und originelles Orchesterstück. Im Adagio waltet das dramatische Element vor und für dieses eben wurde dem Componisten der Rahmen des Streichorchesters, welchem denn doch die Ausdrucksfähigkeit eines großen Orchesters abgeht, zu enge. Die Ausführung des Adagio's [sic] war eine namentlich die Contrabaßspieler höchst ehrende Leistung. das darin dominirende Violincell-Solo spielte Duzinkiewicz mit seinem ihm eigenthümlichen elegisch angehauchten, warmen Tone, entzückend schön. Der letzte Satz der reizenden Serenade wirkt durch die Kontrastirung seiner beiden Hauptgedanken, ferner durch die Wiederholung des Themas aus dem ersten Satze, gleich einer süßen Erinnerung an uns vorüberschwebend, ungemein effectvoll [...]" *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, November 8, 1883. Other reviews: *Die Presse*, December 13, 1882, and *Morgen-Post*, December 13, 1882 (both Vienna); *Prager Abendblatt*, May 7, 1883, and *Prager Tagblatt*, May 8, 1883 (both Prague). Given the status of the piece as a milestone in the establishment of a local Czernowitz repertory, I decided to edit it and initiate its first local performance in a century, which took place in Chernivtsi in September 2018.

⁶⁴ Vojtěch Hřimalý, *Královské Národní divadlo české a čeští skladatelé. Slovo k české žurnalistice pronáší a k laskavému povšimnutí na uvážení doporučuje* (Prague [no editor], 1895); Adalbert Hřimalý, *Das königl. [sic] böhmische Nationaltheater und die böhmischen Componisten. Ein Wort an die böhmische Journalistik* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1895).

were denied.⁶⁵ When a Viennese lawyer tried to follow up with negotiations on his behalf, the theater replied that they had never considered performing the opera, and the theater's director even wrote to a friend of Hřimalý's that it was in the composer's interest that the opera was not performed.⁶⁶ Hřimalý attempted to involve Antonín Dvořák and Zdeněk Fibich, but nothing came of that initiative.⁶⁷ The pamphlet also shows that Hřimalý regarded himself as on a par with Smetana in the realm of Czech opera. Following a lament about a disparaging of his opera by (it seems) followers of Smetana, he concluded: "It does not strike me as obvious that the 'Bartered Bride' should lose any of its value if the 'Enchanted Prince' is also considered a good opera, for which there is currently no better equivalent in Czech music."⁶⁸ The pamphlet appeared in a Czech version in Prague, and in a German version in Czernowitz.

Švanda dudák was premiered in Pilsen, Hřimalý's home city, on January 20, 1896,⁶⁹ and a commentator from Czernowitz considered the red carpet rolled out for the composer an attempt to compensate him for the affronts he had experienced in

⁶⁵ His word choice, together with the acceptance, suggests that he actually submitted a score and not just a libretto ("ich reichte ... meine Oper ... ein"), and that he later withdrew it ("Zurückziehung meiner Partitur") (Hřimalý, *Nationaltheater*, 9).

⁶⁶ "Unter Anderem stand in diesem interessanten Briefe folgender für mich vollständig rätselhafter Passus: 'Im eigensten Interesse Hřimalý's glauben wir von einer Aufführung seiner Oper ein für allemal gänzlich absehen zu müssen.'" ("Among other things, there was the following completely mysterious passage in this letter: 'In Hřimalý's very own interest we believe that we should stay clear of a performance of this opera entirely once and for all.'" Hřimalý, *Nationaltheater*, 14). In a subsequent passage of his essay, Hřimalý claims that the scores had not been reviewed, but it is unclear if he refers to the score in general or just to the revised version (Hřimalý, *Nationaltheater*, 15). It also remains obscure why the opera was originally accepted and then rejected; one possible explanation is that the original offer was extended based upon his reputation as a composer of a successful opera, and not upon an examination of the score, but that his demands for contractual changes prompted such an examination – which yielded a negative verdict.

⁶⁷ Hřimalý, *Nationaltheater*, 15.

⁶⁸ "Es leuchtet mir aber nicht ein, dass die 'Prodaná nevěsta' deshalb nur an Wert verlieren sollte, wenn der 'Zakletý princ' auch für eine gute Oper gehalten wird, für dies es vorläufig in der böhmischen Musikkultur kein besseres Gegenstück gibt." Hřimalý, *Nationaltheater*, 21.

⁶⁹ *Bukowinaer Post*, February 6, 1896.

Bohemia.⁷⁰ According to the newspaper *Pilsner Reform* the opera was greeted warmly by the audience and the critic believed that he had witnessed the premiere of what would become a repertory piece:

[The opera,] with its wealth of artistic beauties, with its abundance of beautiful and authentic, pure Czech folk melodies, was enchanting. The freshness of musical invention, shaped with a rich and brilliant harmonization [Harmonisierung] of the score, the milieu of the whole, with an apt local color – all this makes the novelty a very rewarding repertory piece. The most rapturous applause occurred after the village scene in Act I and after the musically highly significant and effective scene at the place of execution.⁷¹

A year later, the opera premiered in Czernowitz in a German version titled *Walde, der Dorfmusikant* (“Walde, the Village Musician”). The production elicited the expected positive reviews but also drew harsh criticism for its set-up. Both the *Bukowinaer Post* and *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Czernowitz’s largest independent newspapers, noted the oddity that the piece had three premieres, the first two given privately for the *Gesangverein* and the Czech community and only the third open to the public.⁷² The *Rundschau* critic emphasized the importance of Hřimalý’s relationship to the “population of Czernowitz” and called separatist demarcations an “affront” to both the Czernowitzers and to Hřimalý.⁷³ Dividing the audience along

⁷⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, February 6, 1896.

⁷¹ “... welches mit dem Reichtum seiner künstlerischen Schönheiten, mit der Fülle schöner und dem echten, reinen Borne der böhmischen Volksmelodien [...] hinreißend wirkte. Die Frische der musikalischen Invention, ausgestaltet mit der reichen und glänzenden Harmonisation der Partitur, das einen zutreffenden Localcolorit aufweisende Milieu des Ganzen – all’ dies macht diese Novität zu einer sehr dankbaren Repetoirpiece. Den stürmischsten [sic] Beifall riefen hervor die Dorfszene des ersten Aktes und die musikalisch überaus werthvolle und wirksame Szene auf der Richtstätte.” *Pilsner Reform*, January 25, 1896; a selection of this review was cited in *Bukowinaer Post*, February 6, 1896.

⁷² The *Bukowinaer Post* calls the incident a “Krähwinkliade,” in reference to Johann Nestroy’s much-quoted farce *Freiheit im Krähwinkel*, which mocks the philistine administrators of a small town (*Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897). The *Bukowinaer Rundschau* doubted that Hřimalý should have any reason to be grateful to the *Gesangverein* or the Czechs; with regard to the latter group, the paper cited from Hřimalý’s pamphlet on the Czech National Theater (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897).

⁷³ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

“national” lines (explicitly with respect to the premiere for the Czech audience, implicitly in the case of the premiere for the German-dominated *Gesangverein*) was thus regarded as a threat to the image of social unity of the city and deemed wrong even in cases where exclusivity was presented as an act of dedication. The *Bukowinaer Post* even charged the *Gesangverein* with an anti-Semitic act in this context, claiming that Jews could not obtain decent seats for the performance in the society’s restricted sale.⁷⁴ To be sure, the journalists’ claiming of Hřímalý for Czernowitz was also an act of provincial (or local) pride at the expense of another province; yet at the same time it was an argument for inclusiveness within the community and for an undivided access to a symbol of that community – Hřímalý and his music – for all of its members.

The two reviewers in Czernowitz’s largest newspapers agreed in their harsh criticism of the libretto: the (unnamed) critic in the *Rundschau* considered “the dramatic core of the opera lively and strong,” but dismissed the handling of the structure as betraying “a helplessness and astounding lack of experience regarding basic stage expertise.”⁷⁵ He characterized the Prelude (which includes a texted scene) as “unnecessarily drawn out,” the first act as “dragging along” and the end as having been “brought about without motivation and almost by force.”⁷⁶ His colleague from

⁷⁴ “Eine große Anzahl von jenen, die vom Gesangvereine brüskiert wurden, deren Anmeldungen auf Logen und Sitze man ignorirte [sic], weil – nun, weil sie Juden sind, ließen sich von der Neugierde überwältigen, vergassen das Selbstbewußtsein und stürmten jene noch vorhandenen Sperrsitze und Parterrsitze [sic], wo die Exklusivität des Gesangvereines gnädig aufhörte!” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁷⁵ “Der dramatische Kern der Oper ist lebensvoll und kräftig; die Gliederung des Stoffes zeigt eine Hilflosigkeit und eine staunenswerte Unerfahrenheit der grundlegenden Bühnenkenntnisse.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

⁷⁶ “Das Vorspiel ist textlich matt, unnötigerweise in die Länge gezogen, anstatt knapp und dezidiert zu sein; der erste Akt schleppt sich in die Unendlichkeit fort, ohne den Gang der Handlung zu fördern,

the *Post*, Moritz Stekel, regarded the libretto the “lead weight” of the opera, suffering from “repetitions, lengths, and, especially, a lack of unified action.”⁷⁷ The critics agreed that the opera could benefit from major textual revisions, with the assessment in the *Rundschau* (“[...] the libretto would have to be reworked entirely, then a lasting success on all stages could be secured for the opera.”)⁷⁸ more optimistic about the overall potential of the opera than the one in the *Post* (“some hearty cuts would be of great advantage and would make the piece effective on the stage”).⁷⁹

Both critics lauded Hřimalý’s project; one emphasized its qualities as an artistic project, the other treated it as a social event. The *Rundschau* critic praised the musical structure (“In the manner of composition there is a system, but a completely independent, freely devised one, which is stimulating and enchanting for the listener [...]”) and suggested that Hřimalý managed, at least in part, to overcome the obstacle of the weak text: “One senses here in a way that the composer, with superior mental power, is the leading part.”⁸⁰ Assessing Hřimalý’s artistic abilities, that critic’s enthusiasm was unbridled, invoking pathos, Schopenhauer, and a vision of

Kunstreligion:

In this opera, Hřimalý has expressed the inner life [Seelenleben] in a touching manner; not enthralling with elemental force, but smoothly fondling with that peculiar depth of the mind that goes from heart to heart, and where the

während der Schluss unmotiviert und nahezu gewaltsam herbeigeführt wird.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

⁷⁷ “[...] er ist das Bleigewicht des Werkes, leidet an Wiederholungen, Längen und insbesondere Mangel an einer geschlossenen Handlung.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁷⁸ “[...] müsste das Libretto total umgearbeitet werden, dann könnte der Oper ein bleibender Erfolg auf allen Bühnen gesichert werden.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

⁷⁹ “Einige herzhaftere Kürzungen würden dem Ganzen sehr zum Vorteile gereichen und es bühnenwirksam machen.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁸⁰ “Man fühlt es hier gleichsam heraus, dass der Komponist mit souveräner Geisteskraft der führende Teil ist [...]” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

rejoicing soul floats to the artist, to rest with him, will-less, in the bright spheres of the holy art.⁸¹

Moritz Stekel, the *Post* critic, flavored his appraisal with occasional sarcasm. The opening of his long review conceded that the opera “displays considerable skill, an uncommon capability of expression, and an art of orchestral writing [Orchesterführung] that compares to the best works of this genre.”⁸² Nowhere else did he praise the music, however; instead, he cited a half-column from a previous – as he called it, “official” – report about the opera.⁸³ As rationale for that odd wholesale citation he indicated that “the subject’s [Untertan] limited ability to reason does not allow for any doubt in its [the report’s] accuracy.”⁸⁴ Both the length and pathos of the description of the scenes that surround the performance suggest the critic’s annoyance:

What gave the evening a special sense of sanctity was the conductor: Hřimalý. When he appeared on the flower-bedecked rostrum, thunderous acclaim greeted the master, which turned into ovations after the particularly effective First Act, offered up by a grateful audience.⁸⁵

When at the end of his review Stekel assessed the social function of the event, his appraisal was likely again sincere, as it was in line with his Liberal worldview and concern for social cohesion in Czernowitz:

⁸¹ “In dieser Oper hat Hřimaly das Seelenleben in ergreifender Weise zum Ausdrucke gebracht; nicht packend mit elementarer Gewalt, sondern lieblich kosend mit jener eigenartigen Gemütstiefe, die das Herz zum Herzen zieht und wo die Seele froh aufjauchzend dem Künstler zuschwebt, um mit ihm willenlos in den lichten Sphären der heiligen Kunst zu weilen.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 17, 1897.

⁸² “Zeugt es doch von bedeutendem Können, von einer nicht gewöhnlichen Ausdrucksfähigkeit und einer Kunst der Orchesterführung, die an die besten Werke dieses Genres heranreicht.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁸³ *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁸⁴ “[...] weil ja dem beschränkten Unterthanenverstande kein Zweifel an dessen Richtigkeit gestattet ist.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁸⁵ “Was aber dem Abende seine besondere Weihe gab, war der Dirigent: Hřimaly. Als er beim blumengeschmückten Pulte erschien, begrüßte brausender Beifall den Meister, der nach Schluss des besonders wirkungsvollen I. Aktes zu einer Ovation wurde, dargebracht von einem dankbaren Publikum.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

The compatriots of the person celebrated, as well as the majority of the audience, appeared in festive dress and, even though different in rank and profession, nation and denomination, all agreed about the homage for the master and the music, a master who has contributed so much to the elevation of musical understanding in Bukovina. The art has proven, once again, to be a unifying force: may this be the case many more times in Bukovina.⁸⁶

In the months after the premiere, an acerbic exchange in Czernowitz's newspapers exposed the reasons for Stekel's skepticism but at the same time revealed much that confirmed the stature of Hřimalý for Czernowitz's cultural life. The trigger for the argument was a review of Hřimalý's opera in a Viennese journal on January 31, 1897, in which a critic with the initials "M. P." praised Hřimalý's musical taste – as demonstrated in his heavy borrowing from other operas:

The music reveals to us the exquisitely refined musical taste of the composer, as we recognize in it with pleasure the most beautiful passages from the classics of music. The introduction begins with the shawm melody from the shepherds' scene in Rossini's *Wilhelm Tell*, used here as a leitmotiv. Endless triplets pervade the opera, a somewhat clumsy imitation of Richard Wagner, whom, by the way, we recognize in the entire orchestration. The operas *Carmen*, *Faust*, *Un ballo in maschera*, even the Waltz 'Waves of the Danube' were pressed into service. The entire music is of a cumbersome mysticism and comes to life only in the first act with the dance scene; this passage is also the only original [originell] one.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ "Die Landsleute des Gefeierten, ebenso die Mehrzahl der Anwesenden, waren im Festgewande erschienen und wenn auch verschieden nach Stand und Beruf, Nation und Konfession, stimmten Alle überein in der Huldigung für den Meister und Musik, welcher soviel für die Hebung des Musikverständnisses in der Bukowina getan. Die Kunst hatte sich wieder einmal als einigende Macht erwiesen, möge dies noch oft im Buchenlande der Fall sein." *Bukowinaer Post*, January 10, 1897.

⁸⁷ "Die Musik verrät uns den äußerst feinen musikalischen Geschmack des Komponisten, denn mit Freude erkennen wir in derselben gerade die schönsten Stellen aus den Klassikern der Musik. Die Introdution beginnt mit der als Leitmotiv benutzten Schallmeienmelodie aus der Hirtenszene von Rossinis 'Wilhelm Tell.' Durch die ganze Oper ziehen sich endlose Triolen hin als eine etwas ungeschickte Nachahmung Richard Wagners, den wir übrigens in der ganzen Orchestrierung erkennen. Die Opern: 'Carmen', 'Faust', 'Maskenball', ja sogar der 'Donauwellenwalzer' mussten herhalten. Die ganze Musik ist schwerfällig mystisch gehalten und kommt nur im ersten Akte mit der Tanzszene etwas Leben auf die Bühne; diese Stelle ist auch die einzig originelle." *Die Gesellschaft*, January 31, 1897, cited after *Bukowinaer Post*, April 11, 1897. The German term "originell" is at the time used for either "original" (which seems to fit well in this context on plagiarism) or "inventive."

The subsequent course of events seems to borrow from a farce: Hřimalý accused Stekel of having written this review and questions Stekel's ability to judge music. The main charge in the review – the accusation of heavy borrowing and eclecticism – he dismissed as “the silliest hunt for reminiscences [Reminiszenzenjägerei]!” and attributes such a focus on “the remotest melodic resemblance” to an inability to follow the structure and development in music.⁸⁸

Stekel responded with a reckoning entitled “My friend Hřimalý,” which may be the longest newspaper article written on any music topic in the history of Habsburg Czernowitz. Stekel's opened by paying tribute to “our” Hřimalý's important role for the city as a conductor, musician, and teacher, but in the rest of the article he disparaged him for his inadequacies as an intellectual and as a composer.⁸⁹ He disclosed his relationship to Hřimalý (by attributing his alleged inability to judge music to his music studies with the latter) and alleged that the latter anonymously reviewed his own concerts in the *Czernowitzer Zeitung*.⁹⁰ While in his review of the opera Stekel had cited at length the “official report” about the opera's structure, here revealed as Hřimalý's own text, Stekel included in this reckoning a long passage from the Viennese review dismissive of the composer. Stekel attributed the sympathetic part of his original review to his generosity:

Why this anger? The opera ‘Walde,’ Hřimalý's problem child
[Schmerzenskind], received from me an appraisal in true jubilee mood.

⁸⁸ “Die blödeste Reminiszenzenjägerei! In seiner ratlosen Hilflosigkeit klammert er [der Kritiker] sich nämlich an die geringste Ähnlichkeit einer Melodie, deren Aufbau und Weiterverarbeitung er aber nicht verfolgen kann.” *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, March 28, 1897.

⁸⁹ “Man kennt und achtet in Czernowitz ‘unseren’ Direktor Hřimaly – als Dirigent, als Musiker und als Lehrer.” (“One knows and respects in Czernowitz ‘our’ Director Hřimalý – as a conductor, musician, and teacher.”) *Bukowinaer Post*, April 11, 1897.

⁹⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, April 11, 1897.

Criticism slept the sleep of the just and took that as pertaining to the subject that was only meant to be for the person.⁹¹

The fact that Hřímalý had also published his defensive pamphlet on the Czech National Theater in Czernowitz with no obvious reason, since the matter was of little concern for the Czernowitzers but presumably was an attempt to explain his lack of success as a composer, now turned against him: Stekel cited Hřímalý's citation of the National Theater's dismissive verdict and made it clear that he agreed with it.⁹²

The reception of *Walde* and the exchange between Stekel and Hřímalý highlights the state of affairs in Czernowitz's music criticism and, to some extent, its music scene at the time. The same newspapers that wrote in a critical, often divisive, and occasionally even acerbic manner on most other topics softened their tone when it came to reviewing musical performances. Both reviews of *Walde* contained rudiments of a critical stance and one even hinted at a dissatisfaction with an uncritical press, but praise prevailed. Major criticism came to the fore when a critic felt a need to sharpen his pen in order to defend himself against charges of incompetence. While Hřímalý's writing of reviews for his own productions belongs to the realm of provincial farces, the other critics' largely uncritical writing does not mainly result from dependencies in a small community, but confirms the political stance of the largest newspapers and the relevance of music culture for Czernowitz's social cohesion. As much as Stekel enjoyed using sarcasm as a tool, he deferred to "art as a unifying force" in the

⁹¹ "Warum diese Wut? Die Oper 'Walde,' Hřímalys Schmerzenskind, hatte von mir eine wahre Jubiläumsstimmung-Beurteilung gefunden. Die Kritik hatte sich dem Schlaf der Gerechten hingegeben und nahm dasjenige als der Sache gelten, was nur für die Person bestimmt war." *Bukowinaer Post*, April 11, 1897.

⁹² *Bukowinaer Post*, April 11, 1897.

conclusion of his original review – a project for which Hřimalý, the indefatigable conductor, violinist, and teacher, was crucial.

The surviving performance materials suggest a long and complicated genesis during which Hřimalý even concerned himself with the language in which the piece should be premiered: the score of the *Vorspiel* bears the German title “Der Dudelsackpfeifer” (The Bagpiper) on its cover and is dated to 1885;⁹³ an undated piano draft for Act I is mostly in Czech;⁹⁴ and the surviving full score, dated to October 31, 1890, was set to the German text, but contains a Czech translation dated to October 19, 1895.⁹⁵ One interpretation is that Hřimalý chose the German libretto, had it translated into Czech, and drafted the opera in Czech with hopes to get it premiered at the Czech National Theater. Hřimalý mentions in his essay that he redrafted his opera after the first unsuccessful negotiations, and this revised version, which he tried to market via his Viennese lawyer, is likely the surviving score. The fact that the revised score was first set in German is presumably owed to an attempt to reach out to a larger audience – the choice of a Viennese lawyer is another indicator – or to mount it in Czernowitz as a makeshift.⁹⁶ Only when the theater in Plzeň accepted

⁹³ The surviving manuscripts, held at the City Archive in Plzeň/Pilsen, include a libretto (in German), a full score of the Orchestral Prelude and Acts II and III; a piano score of the Prelude, as well as parts for orchestra and singers. The full title on the cover of the Orchestral Prelude score reads “Orchestral Einleitung / zur lyrisch romantischen / Oper / Der Dudelsackpfeifer / von / A. Hřimalý,” and the inscription at the end indicates “Finis 18 6/9 85” (AMP, H 2941 HU 7/3).

⁹⁴ AMP, H 2946 HU 8/7.

⁹⁵ Of the full score, only Acts II and III survive. The following facts suggest that this score was first set to a German text: next to the dating at the end of the score in black ink (“Czernowitz, am 31ten Oktober 1890”) there is a later entry in red ink by the translator (“Karel Želenský, Plzeň 19./10./95”). Red ink is used for the Czech text throughout the score, and spacing, musical details (e. g. pickups ‘left empty’ in the Czech version), and passages without Czech text confirm that this version was generated for the German text.

⁹⁶ Already on March 29, 1891, the *Bukowinaer Post* reported about plans to perform the opera “Walde,” which were allegedly “in a concrete planning stage.” (“Das Projekt gewinnt nun greifbare Formen.”) *Bukowinaer Post*, March 29, 1891.

his opera did he ask his translator to adapt the Czech translation to this revised version, which occurred shortly before the premiere.⁹⁷

No performance of the entire opera is documented after the Czernowitz series in 1897, and a glance at the surviving performance materials suggests that the reviews were correct in their pointing to a weak libretto. The score is less Wagnerian than Stekel suggested, with leitmotifs playing a less pervasive role and a structure with clearer self-enclosed entities than in Wagner's late operas; yet this score is decidedly more ambitious, and at the same time less successful, than the music of *Zakletý princ*.

Hřímaly's success in his main profession – as music director and teacher – and his impact on Czernowitz's cultural life, however, can hardly be overestimated. His efforts in training and showcasing amateur forces peaked in the first Czernowitz performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in 1903, an event that was at the same time a significant contribution to the city's cultural and social equilibrium, as it united on stage the *Musikverein* orchestra and three (more or less) "national" choirs in times of increased "national" tensions.⁹⁸ Throughout his tenure, he pursued an ambitious

⁹⁷ Hřímaly's essay makes it seem likely that even after the rejection he remained hopeful of getting his piece performed at the Czech National Theater. An attempt to launch a German version of the opera first would not contradict this goal: as he pointed out elsewhere in his essay, "the Czech musicians should actually be grateful to German criticism, which, with objective and wholehearted appreciation, saved many talents from being misjudged by their compatriots" (Hřímaly, *Nationaltheater*, 11).

⁹⁸ Stekel characterized these choirs with the following words: "In it [the performance] the societies 'Armonia,' 'Bojan' and the Christian-German Singing Society participated (only the Jews sadly do not yet have their own choral society)." ("Da wirkte [sic] die Vereine 'Armonia,' 'Bojan,' der christl.-deutsche Gesangsverein [nur die Juden besitzen leider noch keinen eigenen Gesangsverein] mit [...]") *Bukowinaer Post*, Nov. 22, 1903. The *Gesangsverein* did not self-identify as "Christian" or "Christian German," but Stekel reported on several occasions about increasingly anti-Semitic tendencies in this society: "It is well known that in tolerant Czernowitz it was the choral society which – in this respect highly modest – adorned with just a few honorary Jews wanted to be exclusively Christian, that is, it toyed with anti-Semitism." ("Es ist ja bekannt, daß in dem toleranten Czernowitz gerade der Gesangsverein derjenige war, der – in diesem Punkte höchst bescheiden – blos mit einigen wenigen Ehrenjuden geschmückt, rein christlich sein wollte d. h. antisemitelte." *Bukowinaer Post*, March 21,

chamber music agenda with numerous string quartet performances as well as other configurations, especially string quintet, piano trio, and piano quintet. Most important was Hřimalý's educational work, which he extended beyond the music school in his final years: in 1903, he became the inaugural lecturer for music at Czernowitz's university, and in 1907, he was awarded the title of "University Music Director," which confirmed his prestige and importance for the musical community of the university town.⁹⁹ Two Imperial decorations suggest that his position was acknowledged beyond the borders of the Crown Land.¹⁰⁰

In the Hřimalý era, Czernowitz also improved its connections to major musical centers as it was increasingly included in the itineraries of touring musicians. A regular visitor was the famous pianist Alfred Grünfeld, who praised Czernowitz's audience in his travel report for a Viennese newspaper and regarded his trip there as an opportunity to spend time with his "dear and talented fellow countryman and friend, music director Adalbert Hřimalý."¹⁰¹ Other guest performers at the *Musikverein*

1899). The female singers of the Romanian (Armonia) and Ukrainian (Bojan) choirs were dressed in national costumes (*Bukowinaer Post*, Nov. 22, 1903).

⁹⁹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, Oct. 27, 1903 ("Lektor"); *Bukowinaer Volks-Zeitung*, Nov. 28, 1907 ("Universitäts-Musikdirektor"). A successor of his in the position of lecturer was the theater scholar Joseph Gregor (1888–1960), who taught at the university from 1912 to 1914 (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 11, 1912; appointment). A native of Czernowitz, he is particularly known for his collaboration with Richard Strauss, for whom he wrote several operatic libretti.

¹⁰⁰ In 1896, he received the "Golden Cross of Merit with the Crown" ("Goldenes Verdienstkreuz mit der Krone;" *Extrapost*, May 4, 1896) and in 1905 the "Knight's Cross of the Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Joseph" ("Ritterkreuz des Franz-Josephs-Ordens;" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 5, 1905). Hřimalý had already been made an honorary member of the music society in Lemberg in 1885 (Teresa Mazerá [Тереца Мазера], *Галицьке [Halaytske] Музичне Товариство у культурно-мистецькому процесі XIX - початку XX століття* [The Galician Music Society in the Cultural-artistic Process, Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century] [PhD diss., L'viv Music Academy, 2018], 516).

¹⁰¹ "Ich freue mich jedes Jahr, wenn ich in der letztgenannten Stadt [Czernowitz] und bei dem für künstlerische Bestrebungen sehr zugänglichen Publicum, sowie bei meinem lieben und begabten Landsmanne und Freunde, Musikdirector Adalbert Hřimaly, als Gast weilen kann." *Morgen-Pressse*, May 3, 1896. Grünfeld is today best remembered for his waltz paraphrases for piano. He was from Prague, which is, like Hřimalý's hometown Plzeň, in Bohemia.

include the pianists Anton Rubinstein, Géza Zichy, Mieczysław Horszowski, Wanda Landowska, Eduard Steuermann, Emil von Sauer, Moritz Rosenthal, Ignaz Friedmann, and Wilhelm Backhaus; the violinists František Ondříček (who premiered Hřímaly's Violin Concerto in 1889), Bronisław Huberman, Stefi Geyer, and Joan Manén; the cellist David Popper; the bandura player Hnat Chotkewytsch; and the singers Grete Forst, Alice Barbi, Selma Kurz, Hedwig Francillo-Kaufmann, and Leopold Demuth (who died during a performance at the *Musikverein*).¹⁰² In addition to these outstanding soloists, excellent string quartets such as the Czech String Quartet, the Marteau Becker Quartet, the Ševčík Quartet, and the Brussels String Quartet, as well as fine orchestras (Münchener Tonkünstlerorchester, Wiener Tonkünstler-Orchester and Wiener Konzervereinsorchester) performed in the city.¹⁰³ An unusual case is that of the tenor Don Fuchs, who reportedly came to Czernowitz in 1888 to receive his first vocal instruction with Hřímaly and later returned for a guest performance; he ultimately became a famous Jewish cantor.¹⁰⁴

When Adalbert Hřímaly died in June 1908 in a hospital in Vienna, an era of thirty-four years ended at the *Musikverein*.¹⁰⁵ Eusebius Mandyczewski supported Hřímaly during his final days and was the *Verein*'s representative at the funeral at Vienna's Central Cemetery. Hřímaly's son Otakar (1883–1945) graduated from Vienna's Conservatory that month. Later that year, he completed a symphony

¹⁰² Moritz (Maurycy) Rosenthal (1862–1946) received his early instructions from Mikuli (Leszek Mazepa, "Schüler von Karol Mikuli," *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Leipzig* 6 [2000]: 99).

¹⁰³ Sources: *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 19–51; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 3, 1910 (Leopold Demuth).

¹⁰⁴ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, December 30, 1888; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 21, 1892.

¹⁰⁵ Obituaries appeared in Bukovina, Bohemia, and Vienna; see for example: *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 17, 1908; *Bukowinaer Post*, June 18, 1908; *Čech*, June 18, 1908; *Prager Tagblatt*, June 18, 1908; *Neues Wiener Journal*, June 18, 1908.

dedicated “to the memory of my Father,” in which he borrowed a theme from his father’s song cycle *Menschliches* (publ. 1901; poetry by Moriz Paschkis).¹⁰⁶

Deputy Director Hans Horner (1856–1929), the last director in the Habsburg era, succeeded Hřimalý in 1909 and remained in charge of the *Musikverein* for the five seasons until the outbreak of WWI.¹⁰⁷ The press did not regard Horner a worthy successor to Hřimalý, but several of his projects drew acclaim, for example an ambitious “Historical Concert Series” in 1912 (from the Renaissance to Romanticism; see **Appendix 2.1**) and performances of Beethoven’s *Missa solemnis* in 1912 and 1913.¹⁰⁸

Journalism and the *Musikverein*

Tensions notwithstanding, Hřimalý’s interactions with the press confirm that the development of the media at the time is an important key to understanding the history of the *Musikverein*: all its important activities received newspaper coverage from the outset; editors and journalists frequently put their abilities as poets, presenters, and historians in the service of the Society; and they took an active, critical interest in the *Musikverein* ranging from attempts to interpret its mission to efforts to change it. All four functions – reporting, promoting, joining forces, and criticizing – bear traces of Czernowitz’s particular social and cultural configuration at the time: as a rapidly

¹⁰⁶ AMP, H 2974, HU 13/14.

¹⁰⁷ The yearbook included short biographies of Hans Horner and the new Deputy Director, Alfred Schlüter (*Jahresbericht Verein* 47 (1910), 7–9), which were also printed verbatim in a newspaper (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 13, 1909).

¹⁰⁸ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 15, 1912; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 3, 1913.

growing town that sought to live up to the cultural expectations for a Crown Land capital; as a focal point of cultural diversity; and as a cultural outpost in the borderlands of the Empire.

The quality and frequency of music criticism in Bukovina's papers progressed from dutiful, benevolent reports in the government-run paper *Bukowina* (1862–67), at that time the city's only newspaper, to a detailed, regular, and critical coverage of concert life in five newspapers by the early 1900s (see **Tab. 2.1**). The increase in presence of music criticism mirrored the rapid growth of Bukovina's press, which advanced in those decades from a taillight to a showcase chandelier among the Empire's regional presses: until 1918 more than two hundred periodicals appeared in this small Crown Land, and by 1910 the readership of daily newspapers among the German-speaking population of Bukovina was proportionally the highest in the monarchy after Lower Austria, the province that included Vienna.¹⁰⁹ Given such a wide coverage, the press was not only key to promoting the city's cultural institutions, but also of significant influence in shaping their culture agendas.

The most fundamental change in Czernowitz's music criticism occurred in tandem with the advent of independent daily papers in the 1880s and 1890s, when the *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, the government paper that had succeeded *Bukowina*, had to contend with competition from the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* (1882–1907) and the *Bukowinaer Post* (1893–1914). The latter two, despite shifting political allegiances in local and regional politics, subscribed to pro-Habsburg and – broadly conceived –

¹⁰⁹ Markus Winkler, "Deutschsprachige Presse und Öffentlichkeit in Czernowitz vor 1918," in *Presselandschaft in der Bukowina und den Nachbarregionen: Akteure – Inhalte – Ereignisse (1900–1945)*, ed. Markus Winkler (Munich: IGKS, 2011), 13–4. For Czernowitz, the German-language press is the most relevant indicator for this growth owing to the status of German as lingua franca.

Liberal ideals and claimed to have an egalitarian stance when it came to the rights of ethnicities and religious denominations; the government paper was generally committed to remain neutral, which meant promoting ideologies that had become state doctrine in the late Habsburg Empire.¹¹⁰ That remained the configuration of Czernowitz's dominant press for the remaining decades: one (more or less neutral) government newspaper and at least two (more or less) Liberal newspapers, which from 1903 on included the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (1903–1918) and the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* (1903–1940).¹¹¹ Newspapers in languages other than German, newspapers with an exclusionary target audience (e.g. German nationalist papers), or newspapers with a party affiliation appeared less frequently, and usually contained little music criticism.

A common essence can be distilled from the coverage of all mainstream newspapers across time: they unequivocally declare the *Musikverein* a necessity for Czernowitz; they concede it a task far beyond the promotion of music; and they consider its thriving as a yardstick to measure the state of Czernowitz's civilization.

¹¹⁰ An apt assessment of the *Bukowinaer Post* can be found in a recent publication on Bukovina's press: "Dincolo de opțiunile politice imediate ale finanțatorilor săi, ziarul și-a păstrat direcția de fond liberală și prohabsburgică [...]" ("Beyond the immediate political choices of its sponsors, the newspaper maintained its Liberal and pro-Habsburg background stance [...]" Cristina Spinei, "Bukowinaer Post," in *Prolegomene la un dicționar al presei de limbă germană din Bucovina istorică (1848-1940)*, ed. Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, Ion Lihaciu, and Markus Winkler (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2012), 227. The paper's chief editor was Moritz Stekel (1861–1932), the brother of psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel (1868–1940).

¹¹¹ According to Francisca Solomon, the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* was characterized by a "[...] neutral, 'denationalized,' apolitical tone, constituting itself as a pendant to the German-language press affiliated with certain parties or the Jewish press which represented a national or Zionist program." ("[...] se caracterizează printr-un ton neutru, 'deznaționalizat,' apolitic, constituindu-se ca un pendant la presa de limbă germană aservită anumitor partide sau cea evreiască reprezentând un program național ('jüdisch-national') ori sionist." Francisca Solomon, "Czernowitzer Tagblatt," in *Prolegomene la un dicționar*, 239. For a thorough examination of the complex relationship between "Germanness" and Liberalism and its impact on the musical culture of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, see David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum. Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

The question of necessity already appeared in the aforementioned earliest newspaper entry on the *Musikverein*, when *Bukowina* suggested that the foundation of such a Society in Bukovina was a “deeply felt need.”¹¹² That need was identified in the subsequent decades as a desire for culture, sometimes promoted as a value in itself, but no less often as an aspiration crucial for the self-regard of the Crown Land Capital.

From the 1880s on, the press increasingly emphasized the most relevant function of the *Musikverein* from a social standpoint: its role as a cohesive supranational force. The prerequisite for recognizing this role was the increase in open ethnic and religious tensions across the Empire in the previous decades, which affected Bukovina; the increased freedom of press that created mass newspapers at liberty to report those tensions; and the proliferation of societies and clubs that promoted national and denominational agendas. In such an environment, the *Musikverein* stood for supranational secular values to which Czernowitz’s mainstream press and a dominant group in Bukovina’s political elite subscribed.

In each of the main papers, regular coverage of the *Musikverein* included several pre-announcements of concerts (usually indicating the entire program and listing the performers) and a detailed review two to seven days after a concert; announcements of upcoming annual general meetings including a publication of their agendas; reports on the results of elections; and detailed reviews of the annual final exams of the music school in late June or early July, often with complete lists of the students. Occasionally, newspapers also printed announcements on behalf of the *Musikverein*, such as the beginning of rehearsals for a large project or even complaints

¹¹² “In der That ist ein Musikverein in der Bukowina ein längst und tief gefühltes Bedürfnis [...]” *Bukowina: Landes- und Amts-Zeitung*, July 22, 1862.

about the lack of regularity in rehearsal attendance. Newspapers occasionally accompanied a single event deemed a milestone in the civilization of Czernowitz, such as the first performance of Beethoven's Ninth in the city, with several announcements, feuilletons, and reviews.¹¹³

The *Musikverein* as a “supranational” meeting point

A brochure from 1911 testifies to the abundance and variety of privately organized social life in Bukovina: Hermann Mittelman's *Bukowiner Vereins-Schematismus* lists a total of 1350 societies and clubs in the small Crown Land, an impressive 315 of which were situated in Czernowitz.¹¹⁴ One third of Czernowitz's societies and clubs were humanitarian; the remainder encompassed a wide range of organizations, from student fraternities (with any conceivable national, religious, and political affiliations) to thirty-seven societies for civil servants, and explicitly political societies (a mere nine, however).¹¹⁵ About 60% of all societies were at least to some degree exclusive,

¹¹³ For example, the *Post* coverage of Beethoven's Ninth: *Bukowinaer Post*, Oct. 6, 1903 (rehearsal attendance); *Bukowinaer Post*, Nov. 5, 1903 (concert announcement); *Bukowinaer Post*, Nov. 10, 1903 (feuilleton); *Bukowinaer Post*, Nov. 22, 1903 (review).

¹¹⁴ Hermann Mittelman, *Bukowinaer Vereins-Schematismus auf Grund statistischer Daten mit Unterstützung der k. k. Polizeidirektion und der k. k. Bezirkshauptmannschaften* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1911).

¹¹⁵ Mittelman lists Czernowitz's societies in 12 different, somewhat arbitrary, categories: 32 Jewish-national welfare and charity societies (“Jüdisch-nationale Wohltätigkeits- und Unterstützungsvereine”), 25 student societies, 33 “Church, sociability, sports and veteran clubs” (“Kirchen-, Geselligkeits-, Sports- und Veteranen-Vereine”), 27 Christian and 35 Jewish humanitarian societies, 37 societies for civil servants, 15 German national societies, 26 Romanian national societies, 32 Ukrainian national societies, 9 Polish societies, 9 Political societies, and 35 societies remain uncategorized (Mittelman, *Vereins-Schematismus*, 10–51). Mittelman's booklet mainly serves to give an overview; the data is frequently incorrect or incomplete (e.g. an important music society is missing and the founding dates of various societies are incorrect).

either pertaining to language, or ethnicity, or religious denomination (for example, most welfare organizations were either Jewish or Christian).¹¹⁶

At that time, Czernowitz had seven important music societies (see **Tab. 2.2**). A configuration of four important societies had existed since the early 1880s, and it included, besides the *Musikverein*, the *Männergesangverein* (Men's Choral Society, est. 1872), a Romanian Choir, *Armonia* (est. 1881), and the *Verein zur Förderung und Pflege der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz* (Society for the Promotion and Cultivation of Church Music in Czernowitz, est. 1881).¹¹⁷ In the 1900s, three other societies, the Ukrainian society *Bukowynskyj Bojan* (est. 1899), the Ukrainian choir *Mishanskyj Choir* (1901), and the *Jüdischer Gesangverein* (Jewish Choral Society, est. 1908) further enriched the city's musical landscape.¹¹⁸ In addition to these large, long-standing societies, many smaller, often short-lived, societies catered to the population's demand for choral activities.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Mittelmann, *Vereins-Schematismus*, 10–51.

¹¹⁷ For an overview of *Armonia's* history in the Habsburg era, see Alis Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei: teatrul și muzica (1775–1940)* [From the History of Cultural Life in Bukovina: Theater and Music (1775–1940)] (Bucharest: Floare Albastră, 2009), 111–17 and 165–173.

¹¹⁸ For a brief history of the *Bukowynskyj Bojan*, see Demochko, *Bukovina: Pages from History*, 51–58; for summary of the activities of the Jewish Singing Society, see Heinrich Rubel, “Der Gesangverein ‘Hasamir’ in Czernowitz,” in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1862), 179–180 (“Hasamir” was the society's name after World War I).

¹¹⁹ At least two attempts to found a university choir (“akademischer Gesangverein”) were documented in the press: the first in 1883/84 on the initiative of Ludwig Rottenberg (at the time a law student) and his fellow law student Theodor von Flondor who appeared as secretary (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 25, 1883 [Rottenberg]; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 1, 1884 [by-laws accepted]); and a second initiative in 1911 (explicitly supranational; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 3, 1911). It seems both attempts were unsuccessful. Between 1896 and 1902, various activities of a choral society *Buchenland* appeared in the papers; its focus appears to have been on social events such as dances (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, February 22, 1896; *Bukowinaer Post*, January 6, 1898; *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, January 8, 1902). Choral activities are also documented in the context of the Polish gymnastic club *Sokol* (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, January 21, 1896). Important especially in Ukrainian circles was the *Mishanskyj Choir* (also *Miszchanskij*), founded in 1901 (*Альманах 25-літнього ювілею товариства «Мищанський хор» в Чернівцях* [Almanac for the 25th anniversary of the society ‘Mishanskyi khor’] (Czernowitz, 1926); a reviewer in 1910 was impressed with the choir of seventy singers (“Ein stattlicher Chor von 70 Sängern erregte unsere Bewunderung.” *Bukowinaer Post*,

There was a complex balance in this configuration: on the surface, a single “supranational” society, the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst* – until 1906 also the only society that offered opportunities to study and perform instrumental music – competed with six other music societies, all of them with religious or linguistic affiliations as well as missions to promote a single culture.¹²⁰ There was one for German and there were two for Ukrainian language and culture, another for Catholic church music, and two at the intersection of linguistic and religious traditions, albeit in a secular framework: the *Jüdischer Gesangsverein*, which promoted Jewish culture in both secular and sacred traditions and performed music to Hebrew and Yiddish texts; and *Armonia*, dedicated to Romanian song and Orthodox Church music.

No strict division between the transcultural or supranational on the one hand and the exclusive on the other should be mapped onto this division in Czernowitz’s music scene. While the foundation of these national and religious choral societies coincided with the rapid spread of exclusionary chauvinist movements in Bukovina (as much as in many other places in Europe), no direct causal link should be drawn between the two. The late nineteenth century witnessed vast efforts to emancipate

December 15, 1910). In 1905, the *Deutsche Gesangskränzchen* was founded (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, Jan. 18, 1905), but seems to have remained a small enterprise of which little press coverage survives. According to Hanns Ludwar, the author of a short unpublished essay on Czernowitz’s *Gesangsverein*, the *Gesangskränzchen* was formed with dissatisfied members of the *Gesangsverein* and was an explicitly nationalist (“rein völkisch”) organization (Hanns Ludwar, “Czernowitzer Deutscher Männergesangsverein (1872–1940)” [unpublished manuscript, Munich, undated], 1–2). The choir’s conductor, Alfred Schlüter, was a teacher at the *Verein*’s music school. Activities of a choir called *Typographia* appear in the press between 1905 and 1908 (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 17, 1905 [first concert; choir master Christian Müller]; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 21, 1907 [Josef Jozefowicz elected new choir master]).

¹²⁰ The *Männergesangsverein* or *Gesangsverein*, originally without any affiliation, turned increasingly German-nationalist and even anti-Semitic from the 1890s on (see for example, *Bukowinaer Post*, March 21, 1899; and *Bukowinaer Post*, December 12, 1899). Two small private music schools were founded in 1906, one of them explicitly Ukrainian (*Bukowinaer Post*, September 2, 1906; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, March 8, 1906).

Romanian and Ukrainian, with increased opportunities for schooling, and opportunities for authors to be published, in these languages. Romanian and Ukrainian *intelligenza* who had previously resorted to German in cultural matters now used “their” languages increasingly, and musical societies mirrored and promoted this linguistic emancipation.

None of the surviving by-laws of Czernowitz’s music societies includes explicit exclusionary provisions regarding the background of its members, nor is there an indication that implicit exclusionary provisions were common. On the contrary, the choir dedicated to Catholic Church music included Jewish and Eastern Orthodox members;¹²¹ perhaps more surprising, the choir directors of *Armonia* were Hans Horner, Emil Weitzecker, and Philipp Koller, none of them Romanian but all of them Catholic (not Eastern Orthodox).¹²² Another indicator that suggests a non-binary landscape in Czernowitz’ musical societies is the preferences of audiences, which seemed not at all dictated by audience members’ own affiliations: several times, the press referred to *Armonia* as a favorite with Czernowitz’s audience, after all an amateur society that sang in a language that was the mother tongue of a mere 15% of the city’s population.¹²³

In other words, chauvinist tendencies were not inscribed into the structure of Czernowitz’s large choral societies, even if they did emerge from time to time and were passionately discussed in the media. The press in turn emphasized the

¹²¹ Supporting members include Victor Korn, Moritz Paschkis, and Victor Styrcea; active members include Marie Mandyczewski (*Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 3, 13–15; *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 9, 10).

¹²² *Raportul Annual pe anul administrativ 1907. Societatea muzicala ‘Armonia’ in Cernăuț* [sic] (Czernowitz, 1908), 13.

¹²³ See for example *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, July 6, 1884.

importance of the supranational *Musikverein* for the city's social and cultural cohesion and frequently expressed a concern that political battles might also result in rifts in the cultural scene:

As yet we still have our Musikverein, Saint Cecilia still spreads her arms to protect this house, but how much time do we have until the tender connection between 'Armonia' and the mother society will detach and another relic of the old beautiful unity of all friends of the province in the cult of the noble and good will be smashed, never to be seen again! Does it have to be like that? Is there really no quiet place outside the reach of partisan turmoil? ¹²⁴

It was a combination of great symbolic capital and an institutional network that allowed the *Musikverein* to keep its position as the (unwritten) umbrella organization of all music societies, even when the Society struggled to attract members; and this continued and uncontested position as parent company allowed it to rally all music institutions, even in times of "ethnic tension."¹²⁵ Symbolic capital arose from its role as the oldest institution and accumulated when in 1877 the society erected a concert hall that for decades remained the only landmark in the city owned by a music institution, and one that represented institutional power, for it was the venue of most large concerts that took place between 1877 and 1918, regardless of which organization mounted them. It was, for long stretches, the rehearsal venue for several

¹²⁴ "Noch haben wir den Musikverein, noch breitet St. Cäcilia schützend ihre Arme über dieses Haus, aber wie lange dauert es und das zarte Band, das die 'Armonia' an den Mutterverein knüpft, löst sich und damit ist wieder ein Ueberrest der alten schönen Einheit aller Freunde des Landes im Cultus des Edlen und Guten zertrümmert auf Nimmerwiedersehen! Muß es wirklich so sein? Gibt es wirklich keinen stillen Ort, den das lärmend Parteigetümmel nicht erreicht?" "Ein Vorschlag," *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, August 24, 1884.

¹²⁵ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 19, 1907. The paternalistic model offered in this review considered the *Musikverein* and the *Gesangverein* as sister organizations ("Schwestervereine") and Armonia and Bojan as daughters ("Töchervereine").

of the aforementioned choruses; and it hosted notable non-music events, among them the now-famous first Yiddish Language Conference of 1908.¹²⁶

Presumably the strongest ties in daily business between the *Musikverein* and its “subsidiary enterprises” was the sharing of personnel (**Tab. 2.3**): the *Musikverein*’s director was also head choir director of the *Gesangverein*, an active member of the *Kirchenmusik* society, and a contributor to the activities and honorary member of the Romanian chorus, *Armonia*. In 1885, four years after the foundation of *Armonia* and the *Kirchenmusik* choir, four out of five teachers at the *Musikverein* doubled as First or Second choir directors of one of the choral societies.

Tab. 2.3: Teachers at the *Musikverein* and their professional liaisons (1885)

Teacher	Society	<i>Musikverein</i> (est. 1862)	<i>Gesangverein</i> (est. 1872)	<i>Armonia</i> (est. 1881)	<i>Kirchenmusik</i> (est. 1881)
Adalbert Hřímalý	Director	Director	Choir dir.	Hon. member	(active) member
Hans Horner	Teacher	Teacher	2 nd Choir dir.	Choir dir. ¹²⁷	Choir director
Martin Horner	Teacher	Teacher			2 nd Choir director
Emil Weitzsecker	Teacher ¹²⁸			Choir dir.	

A Political Music Society

Another feature of the *Musikverein* testifies to its key role in interethnic dialogue, its function as a meeting place for politicians. (A context deemed apolitical was no disadvantage for this role.) An emblematic picture of Czernowitz’s Jewish past features a stopover in front of the *Musikverein* during the funeral procession for Eduard Reiss, the city’s first Jewish mayor (**Fig. 2.1**). We see an assembly of

¹²⁶ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 1, 1908.

¹²⁷ Horner resigned as choir director of *Armonia* in early 1885 and Weitzsecker was announced as his successor in April that year (“Aus der musikalischen Welt,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 2, 1885).

¹²⁸ Weitzsecker was hired at the *Musikverein* in 1885 (*Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 23, 8–9).

mourners rallying around a large rectangular open space for two horse-carriages, one of them carrying the coffin. A report in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* from May 1, 1907, provides a detailed legend for the image:

The Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina with its chairman, State Government Councilor Duzinkiewicz, in front, and the Men's Choral Society, led by its chairman, State School Superintendent Dr. Pawlitschek, awaited here their longtime board member in order to say farewell forever. The façade of the building was decorated befitting the occasion; at a gateway under a glass roof decorated with black cloth, a platform was erected around which the singers gathered. When the cortege arrived at the music hall, Councilor Duzinkiewicz stepped forward and delivered a heartfelt eulogy for the deceased. [...] Thereafter, the Men's Choral Society performed Haller's deeply moving song "Still ruht das Herz" (The heart rests in peace). When the last notes died away, the ceremony at the *Musikverein* ended.¹²⁹

Along with the City Hall and the Main Synagogue, the Music Hall was one of three stops during the procession between the railway station, where Reiss's body arrived from Vienna (he had died of a stroke while on vacation there), and the cemetery. Each stop was symbolic: the City Hall, where he had sat as a mayor, the Synagogue, where he had prayed, and the Music Hall, where he served on the Board of the *Verein*, which exemplified the close ties between the city's political elite and the Music Society.

Between 1862 and 1918 three mayors and four deputy mayors served as board members, twenty-two board members were elected to the City Council (*Gemeinderat*) in Czernowitz and fifteen to the State Diet (*Landtag*) of Bukovina. Overall, a total of

¹²⁹ "Der Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina mit dem Obmann, Landesregierungsrat Duzinkiewicz an der Spitze, ferner der Czernowitzer Männer-Gesangverein unter Führung des Obmannes Landeschul-Inspektors Dr. Pawlitschek erwarten hier ihr langjähriges Vorstandsmitglied, um von ihm für immer Abschied zu nehmen. Die Kopfseite des Gebäudes war dementsprechend dekoriert; in der unter einem Glasdach, das mit schwarzen [sic] Tuch bedeckt war, gebildeten Einfahrtsstelle war die Rednertribüne aufgestellt, um welche die Sänger aufgestellt waren. Als der Leichenzug bei der Tonhalle angelangt war, trat Regierungsrat Duzinkiewicz vor und hielt dem Verstorbenen einen tiefempfundenen Nachruf. [...] Dann sang der Männergesangverein Hallers tiefergreifendes Lied: 'Still ruht das Herz!' Als die letzten Töne verklungen waren, hatte die Feier beim Musikverein ihr Ende gefunden." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 1, 1907.

thirty-three (out of 101) board members in the sixty-two years under consideration served in one of the two elected councils (**Tab. 2.4**). Even if one takes into account that an accumulation of offices was common among Austrian politicians at the time, and granted that a people's fascination with administrative duties often extends to several spheres of certain people's lives, these numbers are impressive.

While the direct impact of the *Verein* on the city's and Crown Land's politics is impossible to assess, we can see how this Society connected politicians from different parties and political camps, and attracted adherents of the party that did the most for transcultural dialogue and supranational causes in the city and the Crown Land. In the 1870s, the Liberal Members of the State Diet, Theodor von Mehoffer and Anton Kochanowski, served on the Board alongside Viktor von Styrcea, a Conservative;¹³⁰ in the 1910s, Nikolaus (Niku) von Flondor, active in the State Diet for the Romanian National Party,¹³¹ served on the board alongside Stefan (Stepan) Smal-Stocki, who was a representative of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party ("Young Ruthenians").¹³² The most common political orientation was the German Liberal Party and its successor organizations, which stood for an *Ausgleich* between Czernowitz's ethnic and religious groups; Anton Kochanowski, who was Polish, Anton Norst, a Jewish convert to Catholicism, Eduard Reiss, and the Protestant German Wilhelm Pompe were close to that party. Two men who spent their

¹³⁰ Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu, "Die historische Entwicklung der rumänischen politischen Parteien in der Bukowina und ihre bedeutendsten [sic] Vertreter im Reichsrat und Landtag (1861–1914)," *Codrul Cosminului* 17, no. 2 (2011): 100.

¹³¹ The political representation of the Romanians underwent several transformations at the time; Flondor was first active in the Romanian National People's Party, later in the Romanian Christian Democratic Party and finally in the Romanian National Party (Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina Habsburgică (1848–1918)* (Iaşi: Editura Junimea), 483).

¹³² Stefan (Stepan) Smal-Stocki (Smal-Stotsky) (1859–1938) was a professor of Ruthenian language and literature at Czernowitz's university.

professional lives at the crossroads of politics and religion, serving both as politicians and as high-ranking representatives of their respective religious communities, rubbed shoulders on the board for thirteen years: Naftali Tittinger, for decades the chairman of the Jewish *Cultusgemeinde*, and Basil von Repta, the General Vicar of the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Dalmatia and Bukovina (he resigned from the board when he became Archbishop).

The careers of two long-time board members of the *Verein* mark extremes in the city's politics. The aforementioned Eduard Reiss (1850–1907) served on the board of the *Musikverein* for almost twenty years, including a tenure as Secretary (1889–1893) and one as Interim Chairman (1895–1896). During the latter tenure on the Board, he had already been one of Czernowitz's Vice Mayors for a decade (1884–1905), and in 1905 he was elected the city's first Jewish mayor, with forty-eight of fifty votes in the City Council—a result all the more extraordinary given the vast increase in anti-Semitism in the Empire, which Reiss's contemporary Karl Lueger had helped to incite and used to his advantage in getting elected mayor of Vienna.¹³³

A complex case is that of Josef Wiedmann (1856–1925), whom we will encounter in Chapter 3 as Eusebius Mandyczewski's librettist and collaborator. Wiedmann had a long and distinguished career as a civil servant in Czernowitz, which peaked with his appointment as head of the city administration (*Magistratsdirektor*) in 1897.¹³⁴ During the 1880s and 1890s, he was active as a poet, providing the libretto

¹³³ Franka Kühn, *Eduard Reiss: Der erste jüdische Bürgermeister von Czernowitz, 1905–1907* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004), 43.

¹³⁴ Wiedmann is listed as *Magistratsdirektor* in the “Court and State Handbook” for the first time in 1898 (*Hof- und Staatshandbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie für 1898* [Vienna: K.K.

for Mandyczewski's Cantata *Im Buchenland* and writing occasional poetry for city celebrations, including a *Festprolog* read at the concert to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the *Musikverein*.¹³⁵ His German adaptation of Romanian folk poetry was set to music by Mandyczewski alongside the originals and appeared in a bilingual edition.¹³⁶

In politics, Wiedmann underwent a conversion from a respected Liberal to a populist anti-Semitic agitator. In 1904, still considered a Liberal, he was elected to the State Diet as a candidate of the *Freisinnige Vereinigung* (Alliance of Freethinkers).¹³⁷ This Alliance assembled politicians from several ethnicities who were united in their goal to reform the electoral law along more democratic lines and to make it more representative of Bukovina's ethnic composition.¹³⁸ Wiedmann was second candidate for Czernowitz after Benno Straucher, a politician who dedicated much of his career to fighting anti-Semitism. After the Alliance of Freethinkers fell apart in 1905, Wiedmann searched for new partners and joined Bukovina's People's Party, which was allied with Lueger's anti-Semitic Christian Socialist Party.¹³⁹ Wiedmann's agitations – which include the demand for a quota to limit the number of Jewish students at the university – had considerable impact: in 1909, the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* identified him as the main cause of deterioration in the social

Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1898], 781; according to its preface this volume appeared in January 1898 and reports the status at the end of 1897); the position as such had been created that year.

¹³⁵ “Das Jubiläumskonzert anlässlich des 30jährigen Bestandes des Vereines zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina (18. November 1892).” *Genossenschafts- und Vereinszeitung*, December 1, 1892.

¹³⁶ Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Rumänische Lieder (Cantece Romănesci)*, op. 7, translated into German by Josef Wiedmann (Vienna, Rebay&Robitschek, 1885).

¹³⁷ Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, “‘Wie die Juden Gewalt schreien:’ Aurel Onciul und die antisemitische Wende in der Bukowiner Öffentlichkeit nach 1907,” *East Central Europe* 39 (2012): 41.

¹³⁸ Corbea-Hoisie, “Aurel Onciul,” 20; “Zu den Landtagswahlen,” *Czernowitzer Presse*, July 23, 1904.

¹³⁹ Corbea-Hoisie, “Aurel Onciul,” 41; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina Habsburgică (1848–1918)* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2004), 537.

climate in the city: “All of a sudden, religious agitations appeared, inaugurated by the city’s former head administrator, who is spurred on by some insane ambition, and they clouded the city in a shroud of mist.”¹⁴⁰

Wiedmann served as the *Musikverein*’s secretary from 1897 to 1901 and, after three years as Deputy Secretary, again from 1905 to 1906.¹⁴¹ Thereafter he does not appear in any member register published in the *Verein*’s Annual Yearbook (*Jahresbericht*). Is the concurrence of Wiedmann’s political radicalization and his departure from the *Verein* a coincidence? Or did the Music Society no longer find a member who had gained a reputation for inciting hatred among its cultural groups acceptable?

Musical Inclusion

Transcultural encounters were not only a consequence of Czernowitz demographics and the society’s design, but also resulted from thoughtful socio-cultural engineering. Soon into his mission, Hřimalý began to incorporate local composers into the society’s repertory, a first in its history. The most exceptional such move was the premiere of Eusebius Mandyczewski’s First (Eastern Orthodox) Liturgy, a composition outside the Western canon by a young local composer with ties to Bukovina’s largest two ethnic communities, at the *Musikverein*. The performance redirected Orthodox church music to the concert hall, adapted it for concert purposes, and made it available to audiences

¹⁴⁰ “Da tauchten plötzlich, von einem von wahnsinniger Ehrsucht aufgestachelten ehemaligen Magistratsdirektor inaugurierte, konfessionell Hetzen auf, die über die Stadt einen Dunstschleier warfen.” “Was nicht gesagt wurde,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 8, 1909.

¹⁴¹ *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 42, 10; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 16, 1906.

from all other religious denominations (for a detailed examination of this composition and its premiere, see chapter 3).

In the early 1890s, Hřimalý wrote a series of articles on the folk repertoires of Bukovina's largest ethno-linguistic communities, the Romanians and Ukrainians. Published in Czernowitz's ambitious but short-lived literary journal *Im Buchwald*, Hřimalý's four essays attempted to assess the musical characteristics of these repertoires and place them in their larger historical contexts.¹⁴² A reflection of ideological contradictions quite common at the time is Hřimalý's praise of *both* the beauty of these repertoires when untouched by forces of "civilization" *and* the elevating power of Germanic influence on them.¹⁴³ Hřimalý's perspective here is not German nationalist: he does not ascribe any inherent superior qualities to German-ness, but contemplates the importance of cultures in an advanced state, like the Dutch or Italians at other times, as crucial influences on "less-developed" cultures.¹⁴⁴ More important than such views, which were mainstream at the time, is the fact that he

¹⁴² The editor of *Im Buchwald* was Anton Norst (1859–1939; originally Oswald Isidor Nußbaum), a local civil servant and important contributor to the city's cultural life (on Norst and the journal, see Ion Lihaciu, "Die Zeitschrift *Im Buchwald*, ein Spiegel der kulturellen Zustände in Czernowitz um 1890," in Lihaciu, *Das kulturelle Leben einer Provinzmetropole*, 133–170). Norst's sister was the Viennese pedagogue Eugenie Schwarzwald, known in musical circles for her affiliation with Arnold Schoenberg. A concert program of the *Verein*'s annual final concert from July 1886 survives, in which Eugenie is listed as Hans Horner's student and the performer of a song by Felix Mendelssohn (DACHO, f. 39, op. 1/1434).

¹⁴³ "Song in the form described above continues to live with and rejoice the soul of the common people – it gets more artistic with the progress of political structures [des politischen Daseins] – but it loses the charm of its natural sensibility! This natural sensibility of the musical soul of the people is at the same time an inexhaustible fountain of original invention. Where it runs dry, art turns into artificiality [Unnatur]. God preserve [Gott erhalte] the Ruthenian people their folk song." ("Das Lied in seiner bereits vorher beschriebenen Form lebt und erfreut immer noch die einfache Volksseele – es wird kunstvoller im Fortschritt des politischen Daseins – aber verliert die Anmuth des natürlichen Empfindens! Dieses natürliche Empfinden der musikalischen Volksseele ist zugleich ein unerschöpflicher Brunnen der originellen Erfindung. Wo diese versiegt, artet die Kunst in Unnatur aus. Gott erhalte noch recht lange dem ruthenischen Volke sein Volkslied.") *Im Buchwald* 7 (1891): 106.

¹⁴⁴ *Im Buchwald* 7 (1891): 106.

attempted to study the folk and church music in his environment carefully and praised it.

No less noteworthy is Hřímalý's emphasizing of intercultural contact for the development of art, culminating in a proclamation of culture's contribution to a peace project:

It [the fact that recognition of artistic achievement often occurs first from outside] is a new proof of the necessity that peoples are in touch with each other and that they should not seclude themselves, as they would otherwise harm their cultural lives. Only from this uninhibited mutual contact can the elevated humanity of the future arise, and with it, an art that encompasses the entire humankind, because it emanated from this humankind. The peace nation [Friedensstaat] of the future.¹⁴⁵

In other words, in Hřímalý's vision the art of the future does not arise from a quest for cultural purity (as contemporary nationalists would preach), but from transcultural contacts; no less important is his explicit linking of artistic aspirations to political ones by calling this project the "peace nation" of the future.

Hřímalý's engagement with Romanian and Ukrainian folk music resulted in several instrumental compositions that incorporate folk songs, including a Kolomeyka (a Ukrainian folk dance) and a set of "Variations on a Romanian folk dance" as the third movement of his First String Quartet. The latter also drew much textual inspiration from the second movement of Haydn's Emperor quartet, which, incidentally, also features a tune that is based on the folk music of one of the Empire's non-Germanic nations.

¹⁴⁵ "Ein neuer Beweis dessen, wie notwendig es ist, daß die Völker mit und unter einander in Berührung kommen und sich vor einander nicht abschließen sollen, wenn sie ihr Kulturleben damit nicht schädigen wollen. Erst aus dieser ungehinderten wechselseitigen Berührung dürfte sich das hohe Menschenthum der Zukunft und mit ihm auch eine, das ganze Menschengeschlecht umfassende, weil aus demselben hervorgegangene hohe Kunst entwickeln. Der Friedensstaat der Zukunft." *Im Buchwald* 7 (1891): 107.

The new *Musikverein*

Around 1910, the Music Society commissioned plans for a new *Musikverein* building. Although the music hall was a mere thirty-five years old, it needed replacing for numerous reasons (**Fig. 2.2A and 2.2B**). It had become too small for the growing audiences. Its growing music school needed additional classrooms. Built a few years before Vienna's devastating *Ringtheater* fire in 1881, an event that triggered rethinking of security precautions for theaters and music halls across the Empire and beyond, it did not meet modern safety standards.¹⁴⁶ Finally, it had become too small to represent its society: a two-story house, recently overshadowed by an impressive hotel across the street, was hardly a work of architecture that matched the status and ambition of the *Verein*.

Czernowitz's citizens at the turn of the century were no doubt sensitive to architecture's ability to mirror and increase symbolic capital, as the lack of historical structures in the city that had grown so late gave plenty of opportunity for a new display of its current power. By the turn of the century Czernowitz's architectural landscape mirrored the contemporaneous distribution of power and cultural values. The most visible landmarks (**Fig. 2.3A–F**) were the Residence of the Archbishop of Bukovina and Dalmatia (1882), the Orthodox Cathedral (1864), and the Synagogue (1878), which represented the crown land's and the city's largest religious denominations; the City Hall (1847) and City Theater (1905), which epitomized civic pride; and, most recently, the stunning *Jugendstil* seat of the local bank, the

¹⁴⁶ Michael Sell, *The Theatres and Concert Halls of Fellner & Helmer* (Cambridge, UK: Entertainment Technology Press, 2014), 26–7.

Bukowinaer Sparcasse (1900), and the *Hotel Bristol* (1906), which represented the business world.¹⁴⁷

Two of these landmarks were visual focal points of the squares on which they were located: the City Hall at the Ring Square and the City Theater at the Elisabeth Square. The *Musikverein*, though just a two-story building of almost Josephinian simplicity, had been a similar focal point at the Rudolf Square for three decades when it was surrounded by modest residential architecture. But with the construction in 1906 of the Hotel Bristol, a modern, five-story building with large shop windows alongside the length of the façade now commanded the square, rendering the *Musikverein* an anachronistic and somewhat shabby monument (**Fig. 2.4**).

Valentin Seybold, an architect and teacher at the local trade school, provided a suitable response to the challenge: he delivered a draft for a grand, elegant building—a second neo-Baroque landmark in the city as counterpart to the City Theater that would restore the *Musikverein*'s pride of place on Rudolf Square (**Fig. 2.5**).¹⁴⁸ Seybold's front façade vaguely recalls the original, but he added a story and an impressive mansard roof crowned by a lantern, and he changed the decorative elements from simple Classicism to flamboyant neo-Baroque. The side façades, with enormous windows, resemble contemporary school buildings and thus point to the secondary function of the building (**Fig. 2.6**). The roof from the cornice to the top of the lantern is almost half the height of the building, confirming its symbolic prominence.

¹⁴⁷ All dates indicated are completion dates. For an overview of Czernowitz's architectural styles, see Dagmar Redl, "Zwischen Wien und Czernowitz: Zu Werdegang und Wirken historistischer Architekten der K. K. Monarchie," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 54, no. 1 (Feb. 2002), 2–12; Margareta Vyoral-Tschapka, "Der Einfluss der Otto-Wagner-Schule auf die Czernowitzer Architektur des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 54, no. 1 (Feb. 2002), 13–21.

¹⁴⁸ Seybold's drafts survive in the Chernivtsi Oblast Archive (DaChO f.39, op.1, 1045).

The effort to realize the project was considerable: the Music Society needed to request adjacent empty land owned by the city and substantial financial support. An even greater hurdle was getting the permit. The new building would have narrowed the already narrow streets adjacent to it. The city council debated if the new width would be lawful.¹⁴⁹ In a meeting with members of the council in April 1913, the chairman of the Society, Basil von Duzinkiewicz, attempted to circumvent a discussion by arguing that the new *Musikverein* was no more than a refurbishing of the old building, an argument that would have given him more leeway in navigating the legal question; but the argument was weakened by the simultaneous display of the plans for an entirely new building.¹⁵⁰

The legal objections might have been a pretext. Proceedings in the city council suggest a conflict of interest between business and art worlds, mirroring the decline of art's significance for the liberal bourgeoisie. Several members of the city council wanted to erect a *Geschäftshaus* (a business center) to replace the old *Musikverein*, and proposed that the Music Society build a new house in another, less central, venue. But the Music Society objected to giving up its central location.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ DaChO f.2, op.1, 790.

¹⁵⁰ DaChO f.2, op.1, 790.

¹⁵¹ "Ausserdem wurde auf Grund eines vom Architekten Herrn Gottesmann ausgearbeiteten Projektes aus der Mitte des Gemeinderates der Vorschlag gemacht, das alte Musikvereinsgebäude im Wege der Transaktion für die Stadtgemeinde abzulösen und dort ein Geschäftshaus zu errichten, hingegen den Neubau des Musikvereinsgebäudes auf dem von der Bukowiner Landesbank erworbenen Bauplatz der ehemaligen Militärverpflegungsgründe in der Nähe der Universität aufzuführen." ("Furthermore it has been proposed from the midst of the City Council and on the grounds of a project prepared by the architect Mr. Gottesmann that the old Musikverein should be acquired by the City by way of a transaction and that a business center should be erected at the venue; the new *Musikverein* should be built at the building area on the former military plot near the university, which has been acquired by the Bukowiner *Landesbank*." "Musikvereinsenquete" (Inquiry pertaining to the Musikverein), April 9, 1913," DaChO f.2, op.1/790.

The debates triggered a discussion about the future of music education in Czernowitz. The city council decided to get in touch with the government of the Crown Land in order to “potentially procure the founding of a music school, respectively a Music Society for the Crown Land, which would have to be subsidized by the Crown Land appropriately.”¹⁵² For the music school, the prospect of state subsidies would have been desirable: in the fall of 1913, the school offered, for the first time, lessons for winds and brass, adding eight instruments to its offerings – a major challenge for the institution.¹⁵³ Yet the council’s plan implies a nationalization of the entire music society, likely a contentious proposal.

In May 1913, Fortuna solved one of the society’s problems: the Music Society won a lawsuit against the City over some of the land surrounding the *Musikverein*. The content of the proceedings is material for a farce: in 1877, the Society had received a piece of land for its *Musikverein* as a donation from the City but left some of it empty. The lawsuit concerned this empty space: did it belong to the Society or to the City? Oddly, the Society had rented this land from the City since 1898, had petitioned to

¹⁵² “Der Gemeinderat hat beschlossen diesfalls eine Enquete einzuberufen und sich überdies auch mit dem Bukowiner Landesausschusse in’s Einvernehmen zu setzen, um eventuell die Gründung einer Landesmusikschule, bezw. eines Landesmusikvereines herbeizuführen, welchen auch das Land entsprechend zu subventionieren hätte.” DaChO f.2, op.1, 790.

¹⁵³ “Der Lehrplan der Schule erscheint wesentlich vergrößert, da zu den Streicherklassen (Violine, Cello, Kontrabaß), zum Klaviere und zu den Gesangsklassen (Solo- und Chorgesang) nun zum ersten Male auch die Bläserklassen treten. Es wird Flöte, Klarinette, Oboe, Fagott, Horn (Waldhorn), Trompete (Flügelhorn), Posaune und Tuba gelehrt.” “The curriculum of the school has been expanded considerably. In addition to lessons on string instruments (violin, cello, bass), piano lessons and the vocal lessons (solo and choir), woodwind and brass lessons are being offered for the first time. The offer comprises flute, clarinet, oboe, bassoon, horn [French horn], trumpet [flugelhorn], trombone and tuba.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 24, 1913.

receive it as a donation, but was now found to be the rightful owner, as the court dismissed the City's argument for adverse possession.¹⁵⁴

In February 1914, the Music Society and the City finally agreed on an exchange of land that would enable the Music Society to enlarge its building, if presumably in smaller dimensions than the Seybold draft: the Music Society relinquished to the City the land it had just won in the lawsuit, and the City granted the Society some hundred acres of land behind the *Musikverein* building.¹⁵⁵ According to the agreement, the Music Society had five years to turn these plans into reality.

June 28, 1914, made all these plans obsolete, and most of the war years were likely spent with little consideration for a new music hall. When in 1918 the Crown Land's capital became the Romanian city Cernăuți, there were neither funds available nor support for continuing the projects of old Czernowitz. The *Musikverein* building of 1877 remains the city's main temple for art music today, and none of the changes to the building in the last hundred years was remotely on the scale of Seybold's plan. His plan earned a place next to the charming overhead railway that adorns the popular turn of the century postcard entitled "Czernowitz in der Zukunft" (Czernowitz in the Future, **Fig. 2.7**).

¹⁵⁴ DaChO f.39, op.1/1045. Shortly thereafter a private initiative proposed the foundation of a cooperative society entitled "Czernowitzer Stadtsäle" ("City Halls") to buy land on *Herrengasse* and to erect a large complex with "concert halls, salesrooms, a large restaurant with a garden terrace, a winter garden, music pavilion, and apartments." ("[...] Konzertsäle, Geschäftslokale, ein großes Restaurant mit Gartenterasse, Wintergarten, Musikpavillon und Wohnungen [...]") *Bukowiner Post*, July 13, 1913. The signatories of the proposal included, among many other prominent citizens, Czernowitz's major and vice mayor, as well as Duzinkiewicz and Norst, in other words, the two opponents in a recent lawsuit joined forces for a new project. It is unclear why nothing came of the project.

¹⁵⁵ DaChO f.39, op.1/1045.

Memory

Borderlands historiography has been particularly imaginative with respect to the *Verein*. Most histories have portrayed this supranational institution as a national one, alleging that it was dominated by or served a single ethnicity. Such an attribution appeared either in the form of a claim enlisting the Society in one or another cultural heritage, or of a charge against the *Verein* for its alleged exclusiveness. Thus the present Philharmonic Society in Chernivtsi enlists the *Musikverein* building of 1877 in Ukraine's national history by claiming that it was erected by a Ukrainian choral society.¹⁵⁶ To allow the national designation to pass in silence, and to stick to history by identifying the Society as Bukovinian or simply local, was not an option: the adjective "Ukrainian" suggested how the *Musikverein* should *not* be interpreted, i.e. as a Romanian legacy. In contrast, accounts from Ukrainian times that focus on the long-extinct Society itself, not on its building, refer to it as a "German music society," at the same time alleging a suppression of Ukrainian culture.¹⁵⁷ Both national designations, Ukrainian and German, thus serve the same purpose in Ukrainian historiography, different only in their emphases on cultural glory or oppression.

¹⁵⁶ "У цьому чудовому краї, в м. Чернівці в 1876–1877 р.р. на кошти любителів музики, було збудовано концертний зал українського музичного товариства, яке займалося пропагандою українських пісень і музичних творів, організовувало концерти відомих співаків." ("In the years of 1876 and 1877, in this wonderful land, in the city of Chernivtsi, music lovers built the music hall of the Ukrainian Music Society, which was preoccupied with promoting Ukrainian songs and musical pieces, as well as organizing concerts of famous singers.") Website of the Chernivtsi Oblast Philharmonic Society; <http://www.filarmoniya.cv.ua/ua/about/> (accessed Dec. 2, 2017).

¹⁵⁷ See for example, Ігор Глібовицький [Igor Glibovyt'skyj], "Діяльність німецького 'Товариства сприяння музичному мистецтву на Буковині.' Музичне та театральне життя краю у дзеркалі німецькомовної преси [Activities of the "German Society for the Promotion of Musical Arts in Bukovina." Musical and theatrical life of the region in the mirror of the German-language press," in Glibovyt'skyj, "Musical Life in Bukovina," 54–66.

Romanian accounts did not claim the Society for their national history, as that place of pride was already occupied by the Romanian Choral Society “Armonia.” Yet as in many Ukrainian accounts a supranational regional take on the Society was not an option, since it would have emphasized positive social relations among the various ethnic groups, an image at odds with most Romanian historiography of the Habsburg Empire. In 1939, Liviu Rusu proudly listed the numerous Romanians active in the *Verein* before 1918, including chairman Styrcea and secretary von Goian, but dismissed it with the following verdict: “Until the war, the society remained committed to the ideal of Austrian rule, and, with a variety of nations that participated in its development, served German culture. After the war, it fell completely into the hands of the Jews.”¹⁵⁸

The two post WWII-accounts in German that address the *Verein* (if only in passing) were written by emigré Bukovina Germans in the 1960s and 70s. If Romanian and Ukrainian histories tend to emphasize histories of oppression and colonialism—conflict, in other words—the German accounts portray Bukovina as a conflict-free zone and the *Verein* as another piece of evidence of the mutual respect among the province’s peoples. It is difficult not to read these accounts as attempts to gloss over recent history, for example when in 1977 Paula Tiefenthaler praised the peaceful relations of Germans and other people and the spirit of a Bukovinian

¹⁵⁸ “Până la războiu, societatea s’a menținut pe linia idealului trasat de stăpânirea austriacă și a slujit, cu tot amestecul de națiuni ce au luat parte la propășirea ei, cultura germană. După războiu, a căzut cu totul în mâinile Evreilor.” Liviu Rusu, “Muzica în Bukovina,” in *Muzica Românească de azi*, ed. Petre Nițulescu (Bucharest: Sindicatul Artiștilor Instrumentiști din România, 1939), 805–6.

“friendship among peoples” (“Völkerfreundschaft”), as if the Holocaust and WWII were the history of some other peoples.¹⁵⁹

A similar rosy picture of the past was drawn in the one Jewish history of Czernowitz’s music culture, a 1937 essay by Salomon Kassner (“Die Juden im Musikleben in der Bucovina”).¹⁶⁰ Kassner listed the contributions of Jews to the *Verein*, put them in dialogue with non-Jewish agents and claimed an important role for the Jews without diminishing that of others. Kassner also stressed good interethnic and interdenominational relationships in the past.¹⁶¹

Just how inclusive was this organization? The assertion of “German” domination is beside the point, since it constructs a unit that existed only in statistical accounts: if in 1908 75% of the *Verein* students are listed as native German speakers, they include native speakers of at least two languages (German and Yiddish), adherents of three religious denominations, and at least two ethnic groups.¹⁶² Native German speakers, Jews, and Catholics were proportionally over-represented in the music school, reflecting their socio-economic status and the status that art music held in their communities.¹⁶³ But all major cultural communities in the city were

¹⁵⁹ Paula Tiefenthaler, “Das Musikleben in der Bukowina,” *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, ed. Adolf Armbruster, vol. 2: *Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Frau Dr. Paula Tiefenthaler* (Augsburg: Hofmann, 1993), 41.

¹⁶⁰ Salomon Kassner, “Die Juden im Musikleben der Bukovina: Kleine historische Notizen anlässlich der bevorstehenden 60-Jahrfeier des Musikvereines in Cernăuți,” *Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 7, 14, 19, 21, 26, and Dec. 12, 1937.

¹⁶¹ Kassner, “Die Juden im Musikleben der Bukovina,” *Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 21, 1937. Three years later Kassner and some 3,000 other Jews were deported to a Siberian gulag, where he died in 1941 or 1942 (Markus Winkler, “Salomon Kassner,” *Digitale Topographie der multikulturellen Bukowina*; <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/112-Salomon-Kassner> [accessed September 13, 2019]).

¹⁶² Sometimes Romanians, Ukrainians, and Poles would indicate German as their native language, since indicating two languages was not possible.

¹⁶³ For example, there were several scholarships by external donors for Jewish students to study at the *Verein*.

represented by a significant number of students (**Fig. 2.8**), just as they were by chairmen and other functionaries of the *Verein*.

The *Musikverein* left a rich legacy: many students trained at the *Verein* continued their studies at conservatories, mostly at the *Conservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* and its successor institution, the *k.k. Akademie für Musik und darstellend Kunst*, in Vienna.¹⁶⁴ Alumni of the music school with professional careers as musicians include Emil Paur (who had an outstanding career as a conductor, which included positions as head conductor of the Boston Symphony and New York Philharmonic), Julie Salter (singer and voice teacher at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory in Berlin), Norbert Salter (cellist in Hamburg under Mahler and later impresario), Ludwig Rottenberg (conductor and composer, active in Frankfurt), Josef Knecht (violinist at the Metropolitan Opera and conductor of the Waldorf-Astoria Orchestra), Isidor (Theodore) Stier (conductor associated with Anna Pavlova), Emma Neuberger (composer and singer, see Ch. 5), and Charlotte Eisler (née Demant, singer and choir conductor in Schoenberg's circle).¹⁶⁵ Ottokar (Otakar) Hřímalý, Adalbert's son, returned to Czernowitz after his studies in Vienna and a

¹⁶⁴ Erwin Strouhal kindly compiled a list of the students from Bukowina from 1909 on (the year when the institution was nationalized and turned into the *Akademie*).

¹⁶⁵ "Todesfälle," *Zeitschrift für Musik* (October 1925): 611 (Julie Salter); *Bukowinaer Post*, Feb. 4, 1912 (Knecht); "Theodore Stier attacks Chauvinism in Art," *Musical America*, Oct. 7, 1916 (Stier). Stier wrote a memoir (Theodore Stier, *With Pavlova Round the World* [London: Hurst&Blackett, 1927]). Charlotte Demant was married to the composer Hanns Eisler between 1920 and 1935 (on her activities see a recent article: Hannes Heher, "Weit über's Ziel geschossen. Charlotte Eisler: Sängerin, Pianistin, Musikologin, Kommunistin – und Ehefrau und Mutter," *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 69 [April 2020]: 4–10. Ulrike Anton kindly pointed me to this article). At the *Verein*, she took piano and voice lessons, the latter with director Horner (*Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 51 [1914], 31 and 33). The musicologist Otto Karsten (born in 1896 in Hliboka), who studied conducting at Vienna's Academy (1918/19), was not trained at the *Verein* but privately (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 19, 1914). The composer and conductor Norbert Gingold (born in 1902 in Czernowitz), famous as the premiere conductor of Brecht and Weill's *Threepenny Opera*, and the singer Orest Rusnak (stage name Rudolf Gerlach; born in 1895 in Duboutz near Czernowitz) also do not appear in the *Verein*'s records.

career in the Russian Empire to become second music director of the society that succeeded the *Verein* (see **Tab. 2.5**).

Several stars on the operatic stage were trained in Czernowitz: Viorica Ursuleac, whose mentor at the Conservatory in Vienna was Mandyczewski, had an outstanding career during which she premiered leading roles in operas by Richard Strauss. Filomena Lopatynska, who was trained at the conservatory in Lemberg and sang in Lemberg's opera, frequently returned to Czernowitz for guest performances.¹⁶⁶ Another exceptional singer active in the *Verein* was Beatrice Sutter-Kottlar, a soprano who performed at major German opera houses and taught in Frankfurt.¹⁶⁷

While most of the *Verein*'s repertory was imported from the West (mainly from of Austria-Hungary and Germany, but also France and Italy, or these countries' predecessor states), local premieres marked a particular point of pride in the annals of the Society and the local press. Local repertories performed included numerous compositions by Hřimalý, cantatas and liturgies by Mandyczewski, and a liturgy and vocal pieces by Mikuli. Perhaps the pinnacle of the *Verein*'s educational, (inter-)cultural, and artistic efforts had been reached in 1881 with the premiere of Eusebius Mandyczewski's First Liturgy. Consider the following facts about the premiere: the composer, a former student of the *Verein*, of Romanian and Ukrainian descent; the

¹⁶⁶ Filomena Lopatynska (1873–1940, née Krawczuk), see *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 29 (1891), 22; *Bukowinaer Post*, April 28, 1908 (guest performance in Czernowitz with Lemberg's Ruthenian Opera ensemble); *Bukowinaer Post*, January 5, 1909 (guest performance with the City Theater ensemble).

¹⁶⁷ It is unclear if Beatrice Sutter-Kottlar (1883–1935; née Bassia Kottlar) took voice lessons at the *Verein*'s school, but she appears in the yearbooks as a piano student (e.g. *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 34 [1892], 23) and her participation as a vocalist in a *Verein* concert, where she performed songs by Adalbert Hřimalý, is documented (*Bukowinaer Post*, December 17, 1899). She later taught at *Dr. Hoch's Konservatorium* in Frankfurt (42. *Jahresbericht, Dr. Hoch's Konservatorium für alle Zweige der Tonkunst zu Frankfurt am Main* [Frankfurt: Voigt&Gleiber, 1920], 4). For a detailed appraisal of the abilities of both Rottenberg and Sutter-Kottlar, see Paul Bekker, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol.2 *Klang und Eros* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014), 195–7.

composition, an Eastern Orthodox Liturgy sung in Romanian; the choir, consisting of Jews and Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant Christians; and the performance venue, the *Musikverein*, which facilitated an outreach across ethnicities and religious denominations – a pioneering deed in bringing sacred Eastern Orthodox music to the attention of a non-Orthodox audience.



Fig. 2.1: A photograph of the funeral procession for Eduard Reiss (1850–1907), Czernowitz’s Mayor from 1905 to 1907, with the *Musikverein* in the background. Reiss was a board member of the *Verein* for almost two decades. Private Archive Natalija Shevtchenko.



Fig. 2.2A:
Czernowitz’s
Musikverein.
Postcard (c1900).

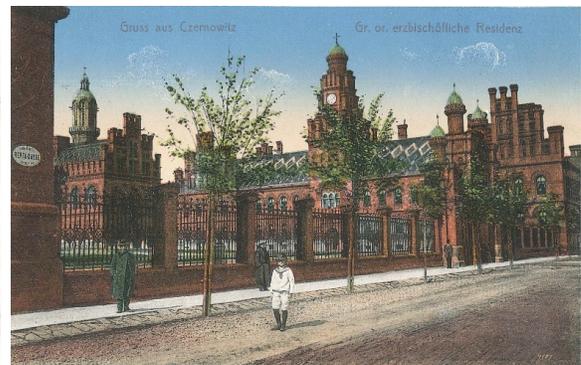


Fig. 2.2B:
Chernivtsi’s
Philharmonic Hall.
(Picture by D. F., 2017)

Fig. 2.3A–F: Czernowitz’s architectural landmarks at the Turn of the Century.
Postcards, c1900.



Classicism: Cathedral (1844–64) and City Hall (1843–47)



Orientalist Historicism: Residence of the Eastern Orthodox Archbishop (1864–82) and Synagogue (1873–77)



Fin-de-siècle eclecticism: the Neo-Baroque City Theater (1904–05) and the Art Nouveau *Sparcassa* (1899–1900)



Fig. 2.4:
Rudolf Square around 1910:
the *Musikverein* (left) and
Hotel Bristol.
Postcard c.1910.



Fig. 2.5 and 2.6: Valentin Seybold's plans for a new *Musikverein* (1911),
Chernivtsi Oblast Archive, f. 2, op.1/790 (printed with kind permission).



Fig. 2.7:
"Czernowitz in der Zukunft."
Postcard c.1910.

Music School Statistics

From the outset, the society considered as one of its most important means to achieve the aim of “promoting music in Bukovina” the maintenance of a music school – a successful venture, as the student figures show (**Fig. 2.8**). The school kept increasingly detailed records about cultural backgrounds and gender. Boys and girls were at first taught separately in the *Musikverein*’s music school, and access to education was limited for girls: while boys received six hours of instructions, two hours of vocal and four of instrumental music instruction, girls only received vocal instruction, yet four hours. The gender distribution among the music students deviates significantly from that of the (exclusively adult) *Verein* members: at the end of the first school year, the school had 26 male (65%) and 14 female students (35%) and this distribution would tilt more towards male students with an increase in students in the next five years (1868: 68 male and 23 female students, which is 77 vs. 23%). The data for 1884 shows a return to a more equal gender distribution (58% male and 42% female).

The yearbook of 1908 for the first time includes statistics about linguistic affiliations and religious denominations: 147 of 196 students are listed as speakers of German (75%), 12 with Romanian (6%), 18 with Ruthenian (9%), 15 with Polish (8%). 96 were Jewish (49%), 54 Roman Catholic (28%), 23 Eastern Orthodox (12%), 11 Greek Catholic (6%), and 10 Protestant (5%) (*Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 46, 14).

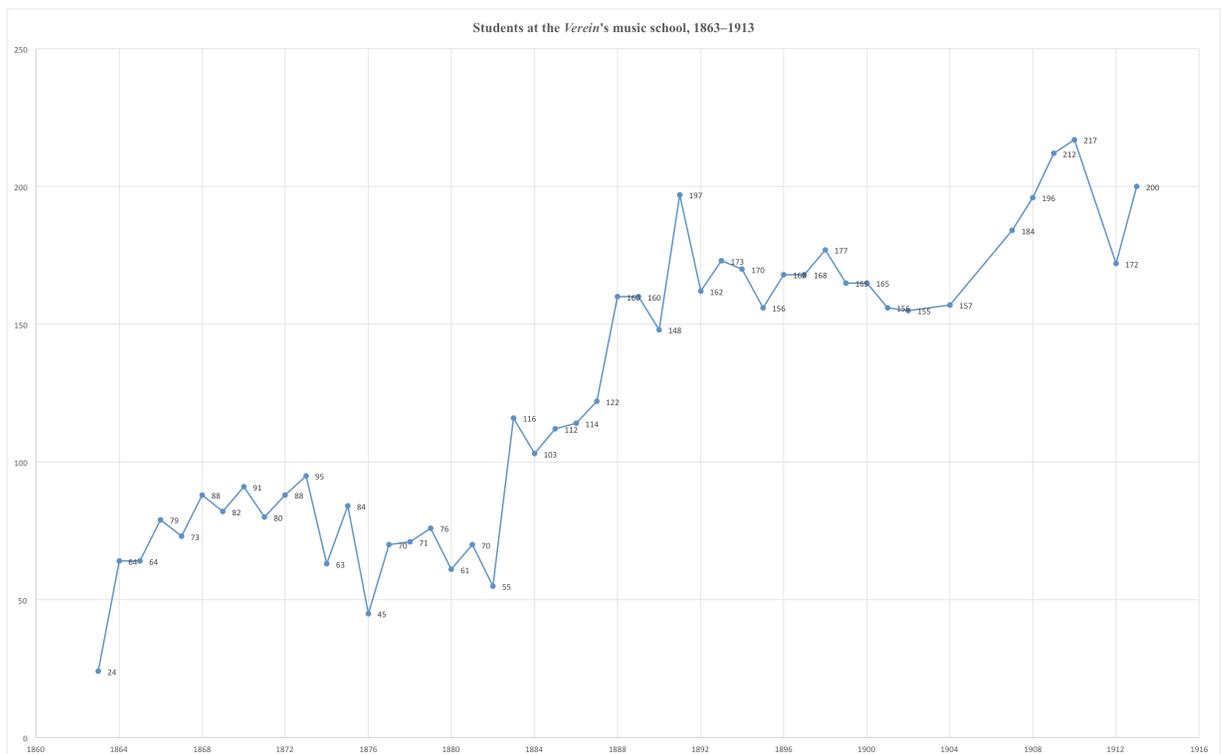


Fig. 2.8: Students at the *Verein*, 1862–1913.

Member statistics

Quantitative data, if limited, backs the qualitative description of the *Verein's* history. Below the overall membership statistics (**Fig. 2.9**): the Society started with an impressive 154 members (in a city with 30,000 inhabitants), and, after stagnation in the first decade, reached membership numbers around 200 several times in its second decade. A decline began in the 1880s in the aftermath of the foundation of other music societies (such as *Armonia* and the Society for the Promotion of Church Music in Czernowitz) and following a long-term, mainly personal, conflict between the *Musikverein* and the *Männergesangverein*, which had detrimental effects for both societies. At the turn of the century, exceptional performances (such as the first performance of Beethoven's Ninth in Czernowitz, in 1903), and the long-term effects of the *Verein's* successful music school, helped the *Verein* to overcome its low, and reach a peak for (and likely, in part due to) its fiftieth anniversary.

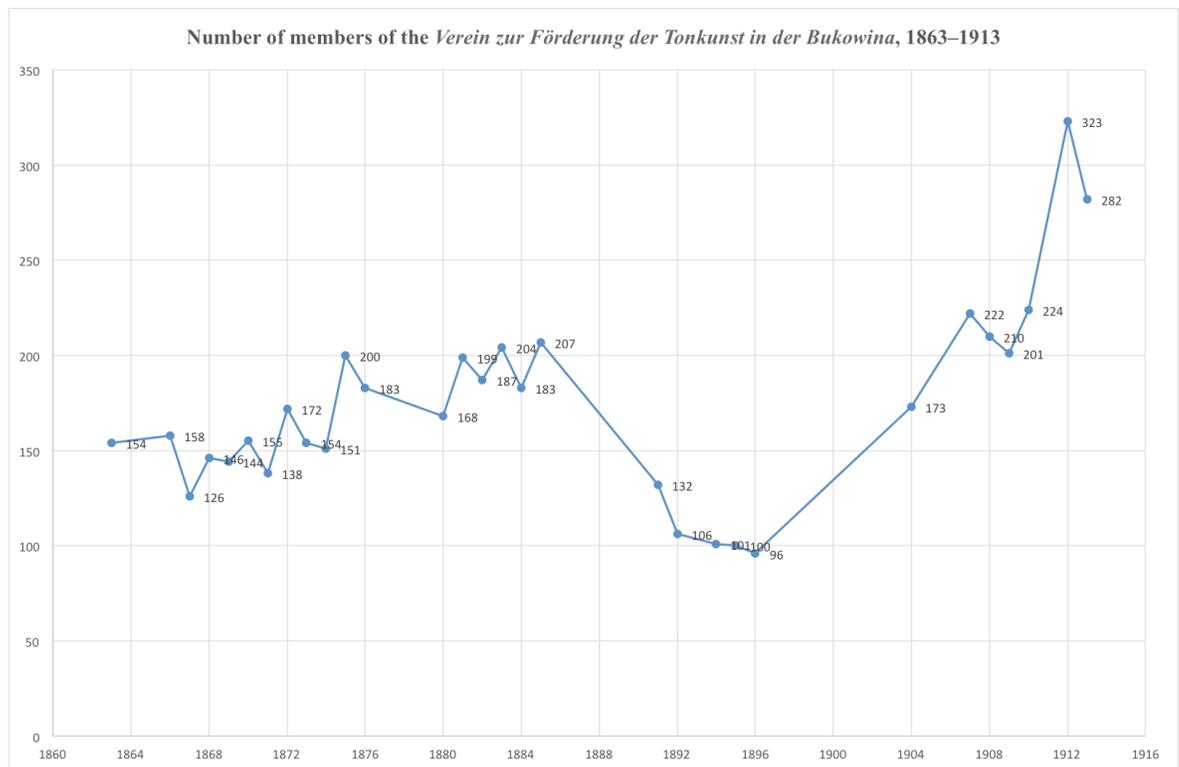


Fig. 2.9: Number of members of the *Verein* 1863–1913 (including active and supporting members, excluding honorary members). These figures were compiled from the 28 surviving yearbooks of 1863–1913, held at the University Library and the Regional State Archive in Chernivtsi; usually, the yearbooks were published in the third or fourth month of the subsequent year and listed the numbers for the preceding two years. (A table in the 1903 *Festschrift* of the *Verein* would have given figures for the years not covered in the surviving yearbooks, but this table seems to contain slight inaccuracies so I generated the chart exclusively based upon the yearbooks as sources closest in time to the events).

Tab. 2.4: Czernowitz's Newspapers with Regular Music Criticism (1862–1918)

Newspaper	appeared	Language	Critics
<i>Bukowina</i> (1862–1867)	3x/week	German	Ernst Rudolf Neubauer
<i>Czernowitzer Zeitung</i> (1868–1918)	4x/week	German	occasionally (?) Adalbert Hrimaly (identified e.g. in <i>Bukowinaer Rundschau</i> , May 7, 1885)
<i>Bukowinaer Rundschau</i> (1882–1907)	2x/week (– 1886), 3x/week (– 1893), 6x/week (– 1907)	German	1882–95 mainly unsigned, but on April 12, 1885 Julius Patak announced as the paper's new music critic. 1885 J. P. [= Julius Patak] 1895–97 frequently “–onko–”; 1897–1907 frequently “erant–” 1883 twice “L. R.” [Ludwig Rottenberg?], introductory essays to a Wagner recital
<i>Bukowinaer Post</i> (1893–1914)	3x/week	German	1893–1898 unsigned; thereafter occasionally “st” (Moritz Stekel, the editor-in-chief) 1910–14 frequently “b” 1898 polemic signed “st.”; 1903 article on a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony signed “Stekel”
<i>Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung</i> (1903–1918)	6x/week (briefly 7x/week in 1913)	German	at first mainly unsigned; April 1, 1904 long polemic signed “Alois Munk;” 1907–09 Wilhelm Hillwig long article February 25, 1912, signed “Wilhelm Eichel” long review Grünfeld, March 20, 1912 signed “Adolf Klausner”
<i>Czernowitzer Tagblatt</i> (1903–1918)	6x/week	German	critics not identified

Tab. 2.2: Czernowitz's largest music societies and their religious-denominational or linguistic affiliations				
Founding Date	Name	Affiliation	Purpose	Member numbers (active / total)
1862	<i>Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina</i>	None	Vocal and instrumental music; music education	1885: 22 / 207
1872	<i>Männergesangverein</i> (Men's Choral Society)	None / German	Choral music and sociability	1885: 73 / 106
1881	<i>Armonia</i>	Romanian	Cultivation of secular and sacred music by Romanian composers	1885: 61 / 196
1881	<i>Verein zur Förderung und Pflege der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz</i> (Society for the Promotion and Cultivation of Church Music in Czernowitz)	Catholic	Promotion of church music; providing music for Catholic services	1885: 60 / 142
1899	<i>Bukowynskyj Bojan</i>	Ukrainian	Choral and orchestral music by Ukrainian composers, drama; music education (Lysenko Music School)	1899/1900: 24 / ?
1901	<i>Mishanskyj Choir</i>	Ukrainian	Ukrainian choral music, drama	1910: app. 70 / ?
1908	<i>Jüdischer Gesangverein</i> (Jewish Choral Society)	Jewish	Cultivation of song and sociability and of Jewish music; promotion of research on Jewish music history	1913: app. 60 / ?

Sources: "Statuten des Vereins," 1863 (purpose); *Jahresbericht Tonkunst* 23 (1886), 5; *Bukowinaer Post*, March 21, 1899 (*Gesangverein* as "German"); *Jahresbericht Gesang-Verein* 13 (1886), 4 (numbers); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Sept. 23, 1890 (purpose *Armonia*); *Satzungen des Vereines zur Pflege und Förderung der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz* (Czernowitz: Kanarski, 1898) (purpose); *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 4 (1886), 4 (numbers); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 4, 1886 (active members *Armonia*); *Bukowinaer Post*, December 15, 1910 (number of singers *Mishanskyj Choir*); Glibovytskyj, "Musical Life in Bukovyna," 101 (purpose and numbers of performers *Bojan*), 108 (purpose *Mishanskyj Choir*); "Statuten des Jüdischen Gesangvereines in Czernowitz" (Bylaws), 1911 (typescript), DACHO, f. 3, op. 2/21380 (purpose); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 9, 1913 (number of performers *Jüdischer Gesangverein*).

Tab. 2.4: Politicians in the *Musikverein*: Board Members of the Society and their Political Functions, 1862–1914

DCC = Delegate of the City Council (to the Board of the <i>Musikverein</i>)	Sources: <i>Rechenschaftsbericht, Jahresbericht Tonkunst</i> (1963–1914); <i>Hof- und Staatshandbuch des Österreichischen Kaiserthumes</i> , 1866–68 (Vienna: Manz, 1866–68); <i>Hof- und Staatshandbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie</i> , 1874–1914 (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1874–1914); Ceaușu: <i>Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică</i> .
DSD = Delegate of the State Diet (to the Board of the <i>Musikverein</i>)	
MAP = Member of the Austrian Parliament (<i>Reichsrat</i>)	
MCC = Member of the City Council of Czernowitz	
MSD = Member of the State Diet of Bukovina (<i>Landtagsabgeordneter</i>)	
CC = City Councilor (<i>Stadtrat</i>)	

Name	Time in office as board members	Political Functions
Duzinkiewicz, Basil R. v.	Secretary 1885–9; 1899; Chairman 1902–14	MCC 1913–4
Fiala, Anton	1862–4	MCC 1874–85; Deputy Mayor 1881–5
Flondor, Georg R. v.	1881–2	MSD 1874–92
Flondor, Nikolaus R. v.	Deputy Chairman 1910–3	MSD 1909–15
Jasienicki, Wladimir R. v.	Economist 1881–4; 1895–1903	MCC 1896–1913
Kiesler, Heinrich Dr.	1887–1903 (DCC)	MCC 1874–7, 1886–1912
Kochanowski, Anton	Chairman 1868–73; 1887–1903 (DCC)	Mayor 1866–70, 72–6, 87–1905; 1868–1904 MSD
Korn, Wenzel Dr.	1868–9	MCC 1874–96
Lupul, Johann v.	1870	1868 MSD and CC; MSD 1877–91; MCC 1877–86; Governor 1892–1904; MRR 1885–94; MAP
Mehoffer, Theodor Edler v.	1870–5	MCC 1876–9, 84–6
Mustatza, Nikolaus Freiherr v.	Chairman 1864–5; 1899–1901 (DSD)	MSD 1879–04; MCC 1896–1904
Negrusz, Anton	Secretary 1869	MSD 1874–82
Negrusz, Nikolaus	1862–4, 66, Economist 1867–8	MCC 1890–7
Norst, Anton, Dr.	1904	MCC 1901–13
Onciul, Ilarion	1902–3 (DSD)	MSD 1883–1904
Popper, Heinrich	1879	MCC 1876–83, MAP

Tab. 2.4: Politicians in the Musikverein (cont.)		
Name	Time in office as board members	Political Functions
Pauli, Adolf	1873–8	Deputy Governor 1874–9
Petrowicz, Jakob R. v.	Chairman 1866–7	Mayor 1864–6; MSD 1866–8
Pompe, Wilhelm	Chairman 1896–1902	MSD 1891–2, 4–9
Reiss, Eduard Dr.	1884; 87–8; Secretary 1889–93; Interim Chairman 1895–6; 1897–1903	MCC 1886–95; Deputy Mayor 1894–1905; Mayor 1905–7
Repta, Basil Dr. v.	1886–1902	MSD 1884, 1903–8; MCC 1895
Rosenzweig, Emanuel	Treasurer 1867–1880; 1881–3; Economist 1884–5; Deputy Chairman 1886–1905	MCC 1879–82, 85–1906; CC 1901–6
Schönbach, Anton	1862–3	MSD 1874–7
Smal-Stocki, Stefan	1907–8, 10–1	MSD 1893–1912; Deputy Governor 1904–12; MAP 1911–8
Stefanowicz, Stefan	1910–3	MSD 1893–1900
Styrcea, Viktor Freiherr v.	1872; Chairman, 1874–83	MSD 1882–97; MAP
Tabora, Alois R. v.	Economist 1871–2; Secretary 1873–4; 76–80	MCC 1879–98; CC 1878–83; Deputy Mayor 1893–8
Tittinger, Naftali	1890–1903	MCC 1874–1909
Wazl (Watzl), Julius v.	1870–2	MCC 1890–7; CC 1890–6
Wexler, Karl Dr.	Chairman 1862–4 and 1884–95; Dep. Chairman 1878–1884	MCC 1876–90; Deputy Mayor 1886–91
Wiedmann, Josef	Secretary 1897–1901 and 05–6; Dep. Sec. 1902–4	MSD 1905–11
Wilhelm, Friedrich	1881–3; Treasurer 1884–5; Economist 1891–2; 1893–8	MCC 1896
Wilhelm, Martin	Deputy Chairman 1862–3; 1864–9; 1871–2; 1875; 1880	MCC 1876–7

Tab. 2.5: Musikverein alumni at Vienna's Music Conservatory and Academy

Entry year	Name	Birthplace	Age	Course and duration of study (in brackets the sources that confirm their studies at Czernowitz's <i>Verein</i>)
1870	Emil Paur	Czernowitz	15	violin, 2 years; 1871 counterpoint, 2 years (Kassner)
1881	Julie Salter	Czernowitz	19	voice, 2 years (BRS April 4, 1884)
	Norbert Salter	Czernowitz	13	cello, 6 years (Kassner)
1882	Josef Knecht	Czernowitz	19	violin, 4 years (Kassner)
1884	Ernestine Gelber	Czernowitz	20	voice and opera, 2 years (BRS Nov. 8, 1883, concert)
1885	Auguste Amster	Czernowitz	18	voice and opera, 1 year (JB 1885, concert)
1888	Jeanette Wischoffer	Suczawa	19	piano, 3 years (BRS July 8, 1886, student)
1889	Rosa Bernfeld	Czernowitz	21	voice, 3 years; 1890 opera, 2 years (JB 1884)
	Isidor Stier	Czernowitz	16	violin, 4 years (JB 1884)
1890	David (Erwin) Jerich	Czernowitz	19	violin, 1 year; 1894 violin, 3 years (JB 1884, 28, stipend)
1891	David Mayer	Sereth	23	violin, 3 years (Norst 1903; perhaps guest)
1893	Josef Reiner	Czernowitz	21	voice, 4 years; 1895 opera, 2 years (JB 1891)
	Caroline Reiß	Czernowitz	13	piano, 3 years (JB 1892)
1894	Anna Aberle	Czernowitz	18	piano, 2 years (JB 1891)
	Bertha Redinger	Czernowitz	20	piano, 3 years (JB 1891)
	Josefine Redinger	Czernowitz	20	voice, 3 years; 1900: voice and opera, 2 years (JB 1891)
1898	Alfred Adler	Czernowitz	21	piano, 3 years (JB 1891)
	Dr. Ludwig Winter	Storozynetz	26	voice, 1 year (JB 1892)
1899	Elsa Gruder	Czernowitz	18	piano (left Nov. 1899) (JB 1891)
1900	Emma Neuberger	Czernowitz	18	piano, 1 year; 1901 voice, 1 year; 1902 piano, 1 year (JB 1891)
1901	Hedwig Bucher	Czernowitz	17	piano, 2 years (JB 1896)
	Mina Juvelier	Czernowitz	19	voice, 4 years; 1902 opera, 3 years
	Josef Zimblér	Sadagora	22	violin, 3 years (Kassner)
1902	Eusebius Hostiuc	Omut	27	voice, 3 years (BUP Sept. 14, 1899; listed as a member)
1904	Ottokar Hřímalý	Czernowitz	20	counterpoint, 4 years (director Hřímalý's son)

Tab. 2.5: Musikverein alumni (continued)

1907	Konstantin Sandru	Czernowitz	27	voice and teaching course, 4 years (BRS March 15, 1905; concert)
1908	Adolf Frank	Czernowitz	22	cello, 2 years, voice and opera, 2 years (JB 1894)
	Rudolf Funkenstein	Czernowitz	18	violin, 2 years; 1910 viola, 2 years; 1912 conducting 1 year, composition 1 year (JB 1904)
1909	Regina Frucht	Czernowitz	[?]	voice, 1 year (JB 1910)
	Helene Groß	Illischestie	20	voice, 2 years; 1911 teaching course, 1 year (JB 1904)
	Natalie Pihuliak	Czernowitz	22	piano, 5 years (JB 1904)
1910	Adolf Kirmayer	Unter-Stanestie	16	violin, 3 years (JB 1904)
	Alma Tellmann	Czernowitz	17	voice, 8 years; 1917 auditor (JB 1904)
1911	Bianka Neuberger	Czernowitz	19	piano, 2 years; 1916 continuing education, 1 year (JB 1904)
	Isidor Salzinger	Zezawa (Gal.)	23	viola, music theory, 1 year (1911/12) (JB 1896)
	Karoline Sperber	Czernowitz	23	voice, 3 years (no entry 1912) (JB 1904)
	Julita Zankowski	Czernowitz	19	piano, 2 years (JB 1910)
1912	Filomene Pihuliak	Czernowitz	27	harmony, 2 years (JB 1904)
	Sophie Rosenthal	Czernowitz	21	piano, 1 year (JB 1904)
	Viorica Ursuleac	Czernowitz	18	voice, 5 years (JB 1912)
1913	Malvine Blumrich	Gurahumora	17	piano, 1 year (JB 1912)
	Flora Milch	Czernowitz	18	piano, 3 years; 1916 organ and harmony (JB 1909)
1914	Elisabeth Gerbel	Czernowitz	11	violin, 7 years (JB 1913)
1916	Blanka Seidner	Czernowitz	14	piano, 3 years (left Jan. 24, 1919) (JB 1912)
	Sinclitica Ursuleac	Czernowitz	23	voice, 3 years (left April 1919) (JB 1904)
1917	Friederike Fuhrmann	Czernowitz	18	piano, 1 year (JB 1913 as Sami Fuhrmann [?])

Sources: *Jahresbericht des Ausschusses des Vereines zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* 5–16, 19–20, 22–23, 29–30, 33–4, 42, 45–8, 50–1 (Czernowitz, 1868–79, 1882–3, 1885–6, 1891–2, 1896–7, 1905, 1908–11, 1913–4); Salomon Kassner, “Die Juden im Musikleben;”; “Matrikel,” Students of the Conservatory of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Archive GdM (1864–1909); “Matrikel,” Students of the *Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst* (1909–1919); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*.

III

אויפגאבעס / Події / evenimente / Ereignisse / wydarzenia

Ман - дич - evschi

When Eusebius Mandyczewski died in 1929 in a sanatorium near Vienna, obituaries throughout Europe praised him for a life dedicated to music research, performance, and teaching. He was remembered as archivist of Vienna's *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*; as Brahms's confidant and executor of the composer's *Nachlass*; as editor of the first editions of the collected works of Haydn, Schubert, and Brahms; as an exceptional teacher of composition and music history; and as an outstanding conductor of numerous Viennese choirs and orchestras. Perhaps Stefan Zweig summarized Mandyczewski's significance and reputation most succinctly by comparing the fictitious protagonist of his short story "Buchmendel" – published in the year of Mandyczewski's death – to the musical savant: one consulted with Mendel for advice about books,

just as one went to Eusebius Mandyczewski at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* when one wanted advice about a sheet of music, who, wearing a grey skullcap, sat in the midst of his files and scores and, on first looking up, solved the most difficult problems with a smile¹

For his hometown Czernowitz, however, Mandyczewski remained throughout his lifetime what he had been when he left the city as a seventeen-year old: a composer.

Compositions for Czernowitz were central to Mandyczewski's oeuvre and he was in turn a key supplier of occasional music for the city: over the course of four decades, he enriched musical life in the Crown Land capital with five cantatas, at least

¹ Stefan Zweig, "Buchmendel," in *Neue Freie Presse*, November 1, 1929 (author's translation).

half a dozen Eastern Orthodox Liturgies, and numerous songs and part songs. With these compositions he catered to a wide range of festivities, from Imperial anniversaries to school celebrations. If Habsburg Bukovina had its own signature composition it was a piece by Mandyczewski, the cantata *Im Buchenland*, premiered in 1889 in the City Theater. As Liviu Rusu has pointed out, Mandyczewski had abandoned his ambition for a career as a composer when consumed by his philological work, but revived his commitment when invited by those dear to him:

The creation, to which his heart was drawn, called upon him on every occasion when he was reminded of a family anniversary, or of a music society in his homeland, or – of greatest importance – of the care for the musical education of the youth.²

The negotiation of cultural difference is a key feature of Mandyczewski's compositional project, betraying his commitment not only to several of Czernowitz's cultures but also to the alleviation of socio-cultural tensions. Such a negotiation occurred in numerous ways, ranging from choices of languages and plots to musical structures. The compositions set five different languages, German, Romanian, Ukrainian, Church Slavonic, and Greek. One approach to contributing to a reconciliation between Romanians and Ukrainians, the two linguistic communities within Bukovina's Eastern Orthodox Church, was to set two liturgies in Greek; another was to show his appreciation of both linguistic communities by setting three of

² “Copleșit de activitatea sa filologică, el nu stăruie pînă la sfîrșit să se realizeze în domeniul compoziției muzicale, după cum avea intenția cînd a venit pentru studii la Viena. Creația însă, spre care într-una îl îndeamnă inima caidă, îl atrage cu orice prilej, de cite ori îl recheamă vreo aniversare în familie, o societate muzicală din patrie sau – ceea ce este extrem de important – grija educației muzicale a tineretului.” Liviu Rusu, *Eusebie Mandicevschi: Opere alese* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1957), VIII.

his liturgies bilingually. Conflict resolution also appeared as an important theme in his three extant cantatas, providing the audience with explicit or metaphorical examples.

Mandyczewski's background and early socialization give clues to the experience and values that informed this commitment. He was born in 1857 in Molodyia, a village just outside Czernowitz. His father Basil, an Eastern Orthodox priest, had Ukrainian background, and his mother, Veronica (née Popovici), was from a Romanian-speaking family. The family – Mandyczewski had seven siblings – was educated, but of modest means, as various deliberations in the family correspondence suggest.³ Mandyczewski attended the *Kaiserlich-Königliches Erstes Staatsgymnasium*, Czernowitz's oldest high school, where his education was conducted in German.⁴ A photograph survives from his high school times, with a dedication on the back, “to my dear friend Isaak Baltinester in remembrance of Eusebius Mandyczewski.”⁵ (Fig. 3.1) Baltinester, from a Jewish family that owned a shop on *Herrengasse*, would later become a notary in Vienna and remained Mandyczewski's friend until the former's death in 1924. In the school registers, Romanian was indicated as Mandyczewski's mother tongue, but German was the language in the numerous letters he exchanged with his parents and siblings; rare exceptions were occasional quotations of musical

³ See for example, E. M., letter to his mother, March 11, 1880; E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, August 23, 1880; both Mandyczewski family correspondence, Archive and Library of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (henceforth GdM).

⁴ According to a surviving school register from 1869/70, Mandyczewski's teachers included Ion Sbiera, who would later become professor of Romanian language and literature at Czernowitz's university, as teacher of Romanian, and Ernst Rudolf Neubauer, already mentioned for his activities as a journalist, as history teacher (DACHO, f. 228, op. 3/27; Vladimir Acatrini kindly pointed me to this file).

⁵ “Meinem theuren Freunde Isaak Baltinester zur Erinnerung von Eusebius Mandyczewski. Czernowitz am 11 / 9 1873.” Private archive Christian Lambour. Baltinester later altered his first name to Johannes and is mentioned several times in the correspondence (e.g. E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, July 13, 1911, S-14–145, CCCXLIX, *Biblioteca Academiei Române* [Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest], henceforth BAR).

pieces in Romanian and Ukrainian.⁶ Such a use of several languages – none of which was really identified as “foreign” – and a privileging of German for intellectual matters as a result of schooling was common at the time among educated families in Bukovina.⁷

Mandyczewski received his earliest musical training at the local *Musikverein*. One of his teachers at that institution, the voice teacher and music theorist Heinrich Josef Vincent (1819–1901), encouraged him in 1873 to write a piece that would be his public debut, the *Cantata for the 25th Anniversary of Emperor Franz Josef's Ascendance to the Throne*.⁸ In a letter of recommendation from July 1874 in support of an Imperial Artists' Stipend, Vincent claimed that Mandyczewski had only received instruction in violin and voice, but was an autodidact in piano and composition.⁹ He listed the young student's compositions from the previous three years – including two symphonies, two overtures, a cantata, a string quartet, as well as numerous piano compositions, choir pieces, and songs voice¹⁰ – and concluded:

Who, like Mr. Eusebius Mandyczewski, has tried his hands at manifold compositions in a period of only three years, already demonstrates in the urge to express himself in such polydirectional ways a decided talent for

⁶ The share of the extant correspondence is divided between two institutions, each holding several hundred letters: the library and archive of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna, Austria), and the Romanian Academy Library. For an example of a surviving school register, see DAChO, f. 228, op. 3/27.

⁷ Lihaciu, *Czernowitz 1848–1918*, 11.

⁸ “Kantate zum 25jähr. Regierungsjubiläum Kaiser Franz Josef I.” (as cited in: Eusebie Mandicevschi [E. M.], “Schiță autobiografică, Originalul din 2 Dec. 1923” [Autobiographical sketch. Original from December 2, 1923], BAR, Arh. Muzicienilor, E. Mandicevski II [sic], mss. 3a.)

⁹ Heinrich Josef Vincent, letter to the board of the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* in support of Eusebius Mandyczewski, July 29, 1874 (DAChO, f. 3, op. 2/9861). Other letters sent on Mandyczewski's behalf include one by his school's headmaster, Stephan Wolf, and one by the board of the music society (ibid.).

¹⁰ “Nichts desto weniger hat derselbe im Laufe der letzten 3 Jahre folgende Compositionen geliefert: für's Klavier ungefähr 20 Stücke darunter Tänze, Bagatellen, Märsche, Fantasien, Elegien; Lieder mit Piano ungefähr 25; Chöre (gemischte u. Männerchöre) ungefähr 20; [...]; 2 Sinfonien für Orchester[,] 2 Overturen, 1 Cantate.” Vincent, letter in support of Mandyczewski, 1874.

composition, all the more so since the same, not in possession of a piano, brings to paper all of his efforts in no time at all without the assistance of an instrument, a capacity that even notable composers do not always possess.¹¹

Regardless of whether Vincent played down his own contributions to his student's development to foreground the latter's talent, it appears he was Mandyczewski's only relevant teacher in these early years.¹² Several accounts, by contrast, cite Adalbert Hřimalý and Isidor Worobkiewicz (Vorobchievici) as Mandyczewski's composition teachers.¹³ While both are logical choices for constructions of local, regional, and national lineages – one the long-time *Musikverein* director, the other an important Eastern Orthodox composer and Ukrainian-language poet – their actual influence on Mandyczewski was limited. Hřimalý only arrived a few months prior to Mandyczewski's departure and functioned mainly as a mentor for later performances. Nothing points to intensive instruction in composition with Worobkiewicz, who was Mandyczewski's choir master in high school, but the latter charged the former with musical amateurism in several of his letters from a later period.¹⁴

¹¹ "Wer nun, wie Hr. Eusebius Mandyczewski im Zeitraum von nur 3 Jahren in den verschiedenartigsten Compositionen sich versucht hat, bekundet schon allein durch den Drang, in allseitigster Weise sich auszusprechen, ein entschiedenes reiches Compositionstalent, umsomehr, als derselbe, nicht im Besitz eines Piano, alle seine Versuche ohne Nach- und Beihülfe eines Instruments in kürzester Zeit zu Papier zu bringen versteht, eine Eigenschaft, die namhaften Componisten nicht immer gegeben ist." Vincent, letter in support of Mandyczewski, 1874.

¹² A quarter of a century later, their roles were reversed: Vincent asked Mandyczewski, "who has known me better than anyone in this world since the year of 1872," for a letter of support to receive a grant for impecunious composers ("Wer könnte mir füglich am ersten die erforderliche Zeugnisse ausstellen, als gerade Sie, zumal in Ihrer Stellung als Archivar, der mich seit dem Jahre 1872 besser kennt als irgend jemand auf der Welt." Heinrich Josef Vincent, letter to Eusebius Mandyczewski, Vienna, April 13, 1897; GdM). A request for money to support Vincent also appeared in a Czernowitz newspaper (*Bukowinaer Post*, February 23, 1899).

¹³ Rusu, *Mandicevski: Opere alese*, V; Lambour, *Eusebius Mandyczewski: Nachklänge eines Meisters* (Innsbruck: Traditionsverband "Czernowitzer Pennäler," 2014), 13; Енциклопедія історії України [Encyclopedia of Ukrainian History] Vol. 6 (Kyiv: Наукова Думка [Naukova Dumka], 2009), sub verbum Mandychevs'kyj, Yevsebij Vasyľ'ovyč.

¹⁴ A short biographical sketch which Konstantin Mandyczewski submitted for publication in 1925 was perhaps the source of this ascription. Konstantin wrote that Eusebius had been introduced to Church Music by his choir master Worobkiewicz and to the art of composition by Vincent (Eusebiu

In 1875, Mandyczewski moved to Vienna for his studies. He did not choose the obvious path for a budding composer, an education at the city's celebrated *Conservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst* of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, but instead took private lessons with Gustav Nottebohm (1817–1882), a student of Mendelssohn.¹⁵ These studies were supported by the aforementioned Imperial artists' stipend, an annual award he received five times.¹⁶ In addition, he enrolled in studies of German language and literature, geography, and musicology at the University of Vienna.¹⁷ One of his teachers there was Eduard Hanslick, who would also review his early compositions favorably.¹⁸ This education was interrupted by his

Mandicevschi [Mandyczewski], "Date biografice adunate din memorie în baza compozitorului, de fratele său," *Muzică* 6 (June 1925), 165. The basis for the publication is a handwritten autobiographical sketch which Eusebius had sent to his brother; it does not contain information about his studies in Czernowitz (Mandicevschi, "Schiță autobiografică). Derogatory comments on Worobkiewicz's skills as a composer occur several times in the correspondence (E.g. E. M., letter to his father Basilius, Sept. 19, 1876: "[...] the well-known Worobkiewicz, whose way of composing and manner is plumpness in person [...]" ([...] der bekannte Worobkiewicz, dessen Compositionsart und Weise die Plumpheit selbst ist, [...]); E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, May 9, 1895: "[...] he [Georg] would have to learn much more than Worobkiewicz ever did, [...] with compositions like Worobkiewicz's, the ministry will not appoint him." ("[...] aber müßte weit mehr lernen, als es Worobkiewicz jemals gethan hat, denn die Welt bleibt nicht stehen, und mit Compositionen à la Worobkiewicz wird ihn das Ministerium nicht ernennen."); both Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

¹⁵ E. M., "Schiță autobiografică."

¹⁶ The recipients for 1875 listed in *Die Presse* also included the composers Antonín Dvořák and Robert Fuchs, as well as the writers Peter Rosegger and Ferdinand von Saar (*Die Presse*, January 15, 1875). On the award of the stipends and Mandyczewski's studies with Nottebohm, see: Johannes Behr, "'Seinen Unterricht kann ich ernstlich empfehlen.' Kontrapunkt bei Gustav Nottebohm und Eusebius Mandyczewski," in *Musik und Musikforschung – Johannes Brahms im Dialog mit der Geschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Sandberger and Christiane Wiesenfeldt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 163.

¹⁷ His university teachers include the art historian Rudolf Eitelberger, the literary historian Karl Tomaschek, German studies professor Richard Heinzl, and the philosopher Franz Brentano ("Nationale der Studierenden der Philosophischen Fakultät," *Phil. Nat.* 72 [1875/6], 74 [1876], 76 [1876/7], 79 [1877], 82 [1877/8], 91 [1879], 93 [1879/80], 96 [1880], 99 [1880/1]), Archive of the University of Vienna).

¹⁸ Mandyczewski enrolled in six courses with Hanslick during his nine semesters at the university: "Allgemeine Musiklehre" (General Music), "Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven" (History of Music since Beethoven), "Geschichte der Oper und des Oratoriums" (History of Opera and Oratorio), "Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik" (General History of Music), "Geschichte der Musik vom Tode Beethovens bis auf unsere Zeit" (History of Music since the Death of Beethoven until our time), "Geschichte der Oper" (History of Opera) ("Nationale der Studierenden der Philosophischen Fakultät").

mandatory military service¹⁹ and participation in the Austro-Hungarian campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878.²⁰

The Eastern Orthodox *Missa Papae Marcelli*

Early in his Viennese years, Mandyczewski developed a daring plan to reform the music of the Eastern Orthodox Church. He shared his ideas in letters to his father, the Orthodox clergyman Basilius (Vasile) Mandyczewski; as the father's responses are not extant, we can only deduce from the occasional defensiveness in the tone of the son's letters how he reacted to his son's challenge. Eusebius introduced the subject of his plans for a church with an excursion into music history:

Father Haydn's famous and great Masses were banned from performance in the church by many church fathers at his time because they were deemed 'too cheerful.' That was then, around 1750 to 1800, sometimes also longer. Today these Masses are not lacking in any decent Catholic church. Father Haydn assumed that one could praise God better with music that was cheerful than with sad music.²¹

To paraphrase these thoughts: Haydn's masses, now universally accepted, had once been controversial and were even banned. Mandyczewski placed this narrative

¹⁹ Conscription was introduced in Austria in 1866 and confirmed by both parliaments of the Dual monarchy two years later.

²⁰ Mandyczewski relates details about his military service in his letters to his parents and siblings, which allow us to establish the time frame (Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM); in his autobiography, he only cites the "Feldzug in Bosnien" (campaign in Bosnia), but not the military service that preceded it ("Autobiographische Mitteilungen des Eusebius Mandicevschi [sic]" (1923), GdM).

²¹ "Vater Haydns berühmte und großartige Messen wurden seiner Zeit von vielen Kirchenvätern in der Kirche aufzuführen verboten, weil sie „zu lustig“ wären. Dass war anno dazumal, etwa 1750–1800, auch bis länger. Heute fehlen diese Messen in keiner ordentlichen katholischen Kirche. Der Vater Haydn ging aber von dem [...] aus, er könne Gott durch eine etwas bewegtere, in ihrer Art lustigere Musik eher lobpreisen als durch eine traurige [...]" Eusebius Mandyczewski, letter to his father Basilius, January 14, 1876, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

seamlessly in a long essay on Haydn, but its purpose became evident a few paragraphs later:

Your letter encourages me to write about something totally different as well. This concerns church music in the Greek Church. The Roman Church also did not have instrumental music at first, and at St. Peter in Rome they still only perform vocal music in line with the tradition. But Western culture brought about the inclusion of instrumental music (side by side with vocal music) in the church, as it had been made necessary by its [the culture's] progress, and even the Councils of the church fathers could not be opposed to it, as they understood the necessity of it themselves.²²

In Hegelian fashion, Eusebius thus stipulated that the inclusion of instrumental music in the Catholic Church had been made necessary by a general cultural trend; implicitly, he thereby suggested that this step was similarly inevitable for the Greek Church, if she wanted to participate in cultural progress. As a next step, he openly demanded a change in the Eastern Church's approach to music and proposed his own contribution to it:

But anyone who has a cultural-historical education will admit and confirm that the Greek Church, if she wants a future, and arguably she wants one, by necessity must abolish some customs that contradict our times decidedly – tempora mutantur!; and this concerns especially an issue that I've raised in my letters many times: church music.

I have already begun the composition of a Greek mass [...] I plan to perform it at first privately, when I get to in Czernowitz; this should be my start; the Greek chapel in Vienna I will also keep in mind; I also hope to get to St. Petersburg and Moscow. But this just between us. I know who will be on my side; an opposition can only be useful in so important a matter, as it brings attention to it, and does not harm. Every opinion, even the most minor, has to attract some opposition, if it does not, it is not worth much.²³

²² "Ihr Brief bringt mich aber auf etwas ganz anderes ausführlich zu schreiben. Es ist dies in puncto Kirchenmusik in der griechischen Kirche. Die römische Kirche hatte anfänglich keine Instrumentalmusik und in der Peterskirche in Rom wird noch heutzutage getreu der Tradition nur Vocalmusik gemacht. Die occidentalische Kultur hat aber mit ihrem Vorschreiten notwendig gewordene Aufnahme der Instrumentalmusik in die Kirche (neben der Vocalmusik) bewirkt, und die Concilia der Kirchenväter konnten nichts dagegen haben; sahen sie ja selbst die Notwendigkeit davon ein." E. M., letter to his father Basilius, January 14, 1876, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

²³ "Aber Jedermann, der kulturhistorische Bildung besitzt, wird zugeben und bekräftigen, daß die griechische Kirche, wenn sie eine Zukunft haben soll, und das will sie wohl, notwendig gewisse

Mandyczewski foreclosed any possibility for theological objections to his reform plans for Orthodox church music: the *Zeitgeist* demanded a change and if the church wanted to survive, it had to succumb to it. A few months after this take-no-prisoners plea for a reform, which was at the same time a rapprochement of East and West (or an Eastern adoption of Western trends), he mentioned another feature of his reform plans, one that reflected his socialization:

This idea of my Greek mass is the following: in order to avoid any conflict, the text should neither be Romanian nor Ukrainian, but instead really Greek. Furthermore, because of its metrics, the Greek language is better suited for musical treatment than Ukrainian or Romanian, where one often does not really know what part of a word should be emphasized.²⁴

Here we have a fine example of a diplomatic attitude acquired in Czernowitz. In an attempt to bring together two linguistically distinct groups, a third language will function as compromise, a language that happens to have symbolic significance as the traditional liturgical language of the denomination. The model for that compromise was the Salomonic solution to the language dilemma regarding the planned university in the city: in the 1870s, Constantin Tomaszczuk, a Czernowitzer with a Romanian

Gebräuche, die der Zeit entschieden widersprechend geworden – tempora mutantur! – abschaffen oder ändern müsse; dafür gehört hauptsächlich der von mir in meinen Briefen an Sie schon so oft ventilirte Punkt: Kirchenmusik. –

Ich habe mich bereits an die Composition einer griechischen Messe gemacht [...] Ich gedenke Sie, wann ich einmal nach Czernowitz komme, zunächst privatim [...] aufzuführen; dies soll mein Anfang sein; die griechische Kapelle in Wien lasse ich dabei nicht außer Acht; nach Petersburg oder Moskau kann ich auch zu kommen hoffen. Aber dies unter uns gesagt. Wer mir zur Seite stehen wird, weiß ich; Oppositionsgeister können einer wichtigen Sache nur förderlich sein, indem sie die Aufmerksamkeit der Welt auf die Sache richten, nie schaden. Jede Meinung, auch die geringste, muß Opposition merken, wenn sie es nicht thut, so ist sie – nicht viel werth.” E. M., letter to his father Basilius, January 14, 1876, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

²⁴ “Diese meine Idee von einer griechischen Messe ist nun folgende: der Text sei weder rumänisch noch ruthenisch, damit kein Streit entstehe, sondern wirklich griechisch. Auch ist die griechische Sprache zur musikalischen Behandlung in folge ihrer ausgebildeten Metrik weit geeigneter, als die ruthenische oder rumänische, bei denen man oft nicht recht weiß, wie im Wort eigentlich richtig betont werden soll.” E. M., letter to his father Basilius, September 19, 1876, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

mother and a Ukrainian father, and a deputy to the Austrian parliament, suggested German as the language of the university, and his proposal was accepted. This choice was not obvious in a crown land with Romanians and Ukrainians as dominant linguistic groups. In fact, it ran counter to the recent trend to feature local languages at universities; the university at Lemberg (L'viv), for example, had turned Polish in the 1860s.

It was not until 1880, four years later, that Mandyczewski finished his first liturgy. By that time, he had abandoned his most daring plan, the inclusion of instrumental music; had chosen Romanian instead of Greek as the language of his liturgy; and had specified the tonal design of his compositions:

According to this plan, the Mass will be composed strictly contrapuntally in the old church modes, so that one section will be Dorian, another Ionian, a third Mixolydian, a fourth Phrygian etc. These modes have a very special imprint, which makes them especially suited for church compositions. There are some aspects of these modes that are not to be found in modern (normal) modes, which is why, especially in earlier centuries, they have been used for the composition of church music.²⁵

The first liturgy, titled – notably, in German – “Die Gesänge einer rumänischen Messe nach griechisch-orientalischem Ritus für gemischten Chor” (The chants of a Romanian mass in the Eastern Orthodox rite for mixed choir),²⁶ was premiered in

²⁵ “Nach diesem Plan wird die Messe streng contrapunktisch in den alten Kirchentonarten componirt, so zwar daß ein Theil dorisch, ein anderer jonisch, ein dritter mixolydisch, ein vierter phrygisch u.s.w. sein wird. Diese Tonarten haben nämlich ein ganz eigenes Gepräge, welches sie für Kirchencompositionen besonders geeignet scheinen läßt. Es liegt in diesen Tonarten manches, was in unseren heutigen modernen (gewöhnlichen) Tonarten nicht zu finden ist, dafür sie auch, besonders in früheren Jahrhunderten, mit Vorliebe zur Composition von Kirchenmusiken benützt wurden. [...]” E. M., letter to his father Basilius, January 11, 1880, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

²⁶ “Griechisch-orientalisch” (in English literally “Greek Oriental,” but rendered in this dissertation with its English standard designation as “Eastern Orthodox”) was the official designation for the Eastern Orthodox churches in the Habsburg Lands since Joseph II’s Patent of Toleration (“Toleranzpatent”) in 1782.

Czernowitz on May 1, 1881.²⁷ When he finished the piece in mid-1880, he reported to his sister Virginia about the difficulties of its genesis:

I've worked on the mass for almost half a year [...] In addition, I had to overcome difficulties of a truly extraordinary kind. For example the text of the chants, which is linguistically inadequate and in expression most awkward, and of which one often does not know if it is Romanian or Ruthenian and what it wants to tell us. The musical content of the composition was of the greatest importance to me. To my knowledge, there is no Romanian mass that has musical value and is in its musical expression strictly churchly, appropriate to the expression of the churchly act. I do not want to be presumptuous, but I created my Mass as the first and only one of its kind, because I am aware that I have achieved an aim I had envisioned.²⁸

Mandyczewski's ruminations on the inadequacy of the liturgical texts and the alleged difficulty of distinguishing between Romanian and Ruthenian can be explained partly with reference to the strong impact of Slavic languages on the Romanian vocabulary (manifest especially prior to the efforts in Romanization in the late nineteenth century).²⁹ Yet the text problem mattered little for the organization of the music, for he

²⁷ There are two extant full score manuscripts of this Liturgy, one of them bearing the following dedication: "To his dear and highly esteemed friend Herr Director Adalbert Hřimalý in grateful remembrance of his preparation of the first performance of this work, the composer. Czernowitz, May 1, 1881." ("Seinem lieben und vielgeschätzten Freunde Herr Director Adalbert Hřimalý in dankbarer Erinnerung der von demselben vorbereiteten 1. Aufführung dieses Werkes, der Componist. Czernowitz, 1. Mai 1881." MR 1290, BAR). To the second score, the original concert program, including translations of the text into German, has been appended (MR 2742, BAR). In addition, Mandyczewski wrote an arrangement of the liturgy for piano four hands, perhaps a residue of his former plan to include instruments (MR 1291, BAR). It bears the following title on the cover: "Missa Graeca / für Clavier zu vier Händen eingerichtet" (Missa Graeca / arranged for piano four hands).

²⁸ "Ich habe an der Messe fast ein Jahr fleißig gearbeitet [...] Außerdem waren bei dieser Composition andere Hindernisse ganz außergewöhnlicher Art zu überwinden. So der sprachlich mangelhafte und im Ausdruck höchst ungeschickte Text der Gesänge, von welchem man oft nicht weiß, ob er rumänisch oder ruthenisch ist, und was er besagen will. [...] Über Alles war mir aber der musikalische Gehalt der Composition. Meines Wissens gibt es keine rumänische Messe, die einen musikalischen Werth hat und im musikalischen Ausdruck streng kirchlich, dem Ausdruck der kirchlichen Handlung angemessen ist. Ich will mich nicht überheben, aber ich machte [?] meine Messe für die erste und einzige in ihrer Art, weil ich mir bewußt bin, ein mir selbst vorgestecktes künstlerisches Ziel erreicht zu haben." E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, July 14, 1880, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

²⁹ See e. g. Willibald M. Plöchl, *Die Wiener Orthodoxen Griechen: Eine Studie zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte der Kirchengemeinden zum Hl. Georg und zur Hl. Dreifaltigkeit und zur Errichtung der Metropolis von Austria* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1983), 99.

viewed the former as subordinate to the latter: he cared for his music's adequacy to support the solemnity of the rite, not the minutiae of the text.³⁰

In August 1880, when he had completed his liturgy, Mandyczewski sent it to the archbishop at Czernowitz along with a programmatic letter to petition for what we may call, nodding to Bach, a “well-regulated church music.”³¹ In it he lamented the state of Eastern Orthodox church music, both regarding repertory and performance (in Czernowitz and beyond); expressed his envy in light of the extraordinary aesthetic developments in Catholic and Protestant church music; but indicated that he had come to accept that an inclusion of instrumental music was not possible for theological reasons.³² He then proposed several changes: regarding repertory, he suggested his own piece as a replacement for other, artistically inadequate church music; more generally, he advocated for the use of Latin church modes for future liturgical compositions.³³ To improve the chapel at Czernowitz's Cathedral, he suggested

³⁰ The argument about the relationship of text, rite, and music recalls Richard Wagner's reconceptualization, influenced by his studies of Schopenhauer, of the relationship between music and dramatic text (see for example, Richard Wagner, *Beethoven* [Leipzig: Fritzsche, 1870], 48).

³¹ The archbishop's official title was “Archbishop of Bukovina and Dalmatia” (combining into a single organizational unit two provinces quite far apart from each other).

³² Eusebius Mandyczewski, letter to Archbishop Silvester, August 1880, MR 1291, BAR. It is noteworthy that Mandyczewski drafted this letter in German and then had someone else translate it into Romanian: “The introduction that I have written is now being translated into Romanian and towards the end of the month, the metropolit should hold the work in his hands.” (“Die Einleitung, die ich dazu geschrieben habe, wird jetzt ins Rumänische übersetzt, und gegen Ende dieses Monates dürfte der Metropolit das Werk in Händen haben.”) E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, July 14, 1880, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

³³ “Subsemnatul a ajuns în decursul studiilor sale la convingerea, că la compozițiunea unei muzice bisericești corespunzătoare ritului oriental se pot întrebuința numai tonurile vechi bisericești, care singure numai posed facultatea a da textului cântărilor bisericești, cuvenița expresiune muzicală.” (“During his studies, the undersigned has reached the conviction, that the composition of a church music suitable for the Oriental rite can only use the old church modes, because only they possess the faculty to render the church texts as appropriately expressive music.”) E. M., letter to Archbishop Silvester, MR 1291, BAR. I would like to thank Kristina Opaiets for assisting me with the translation of this letter.

replacing the all-male choir with a four-part choir; Vienna's Eastern Orthodox church at *Fleischmarkt* served him as an example for a chapel with a mixed choir.³⁴

Unusual is the fact that Mandyczewski's liturgy was reviewed extensively in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. After all, it is a piece outside the Western canonic repertoire, and had only received one performance – in Czernowitz, a city that did not receive much attention in German musical circles. The reviewer, who dedicated more than three columns to the subject, praised Mandyczewski's use of the (Latin) church modes – thus a rapprochement with the West (if to an earlier Western standard):

With his mass, he charts new territory in so far as he is the first who uses the old-classical time-proven forms of Western music sacra for the Greek Oriental cult in Romanian language, in that the 14 numbers of his mass, if very small or longer, are written in the authentic church modes.³⁵

The reviewer praised Mandyczewski's "most perfect technique of counterpoint" and took pains to point out unusual voice leading solutions, which he attributed to the composer's extensive repertoire studies. As an illustration (**Fig. 3.2**), he compared Mandyczewski's progression (a.) with the simple, more obvious textbook version (b.).

³⁴ "Ca introducerea de voci femești pentru biserica noastră nu poate fi împiedicată din considerațiuni rituale, precum se afirmă din mai multe părți, cred a argumenta indicând numai instituțiunea unui cor mixt cu voci femești ce există de mai mulți ani în biserica grecească din Viena (strada Fleischmarkt)." ("In order not to have any ritual reasons as obstacles to a female choir, I dare to give as an example the mixed choir with female voices that has existed for several years as a part of the Greek church in Vienna on Fleischmarkt.") E. M., letter to Archbishop Silvester, MS 1291, BAR.

³⁵ "Er betritt mit seiner Messe ein neues Feld in sofern, als er der erste ist, der für den griechisch-orientalischen Cultus in rumänischer Sprache sich der altclassischen bewährten Formen der abendländischen Musica sacra bedient, indem die 14 Nummern seiner Messe, ob noch so klein oder breiter gehalten, in den authentischen Kirchentönen geschrieben sind." "Eine griechisch-orientalische Messe von Eusebius Mandyczewski," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 29 (1881): 452.

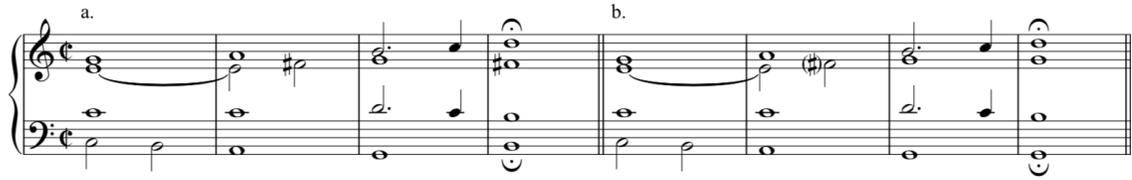


Fig. 3.2: E. M., First Liturgy, excerpt as printed in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1881)

It is noteworthy that the reviewer did not examine such progressions as a possible link to harmonic traditions in Orthodox music. Yet the praise, which culminated in declaring the Liturgy an “altera Missa Papae Marcelli,” has to be read with caution.³⁶ “X,” as the reviewer signed himself, was none other than Heinrich Josef Vincent, at the time active as a teacher and conductor in Vienna, but a decade earlier Mandyczewski’s teacher in Czernowitz.³⁷

A contemplative mood characterizes Mandyczewski’s First Liturgy, owing to almost exclusively slow tempo indications, a predominance of duple meter, an alternation of different Church modes, and a prevalence of polyphonic textures (**Tab. 3.1**). Of the fourteen movements, which combine to a total length of about half an hour, three are Largos (with added gravity suggested by characterizations such as *con espressione* and *religioso*), and two are Adagios; the only faster tempos are indicated with provisions of restraint: *Un poco Allegro* and *Allegro moderato*. While this piece, unlike Mandyczewski’s later liturgies, contains no polychoral movement, the abundance of imitative textures, and, especially, the frequent pairing of two voices

³⁶ “Falls es sich bewahrheitet, daß die griechisch-orientalische Kirche in Rumänien diese Messe acquirieren sollte, so darf sie dieses Opus immerhin als eine Wendung zum Bessern, wenn nicht als altera missa Papae Marcelli betrachten.” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 29 (1881): 452.

³⁷ Reviewers in the AMZ are often not mentioned in the paper, or only with pseudonyms. Vincent is identified in the table of contents of that year’s volume of the AMZ (*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 29 [1881]: iii). Vincent conducted Czernowitz’s *Gesangverein* from 1872 to 1878.

within these textures appears to present this feature of Eastern Orthodox music in a transformed guise.

The peak of complex musing is arguably the combined ninth and tenth movements. Mvt. IX is a fugue exposition; the finalis of its mode – which Mandyczewski identified as hyperaeolian in his register of the liturgy’s keys (thus with half steps between $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{2}$ as well as $\hat{4}$ and $\hat{5}$) – is $\hat{5}$ in the key of the subsequent tenth movement, which follows seamlessly. Given the dominant-tonic relation (at least with regard to pitch), the move from mvt. IX to mvt. X announces itself as a release, but turns out to be a dominant pedal of twenty-six measures ($\#4$, which initiates the actual modulation to the target key, appears only towards the very end of the movement).³⁸ The delicate expressive effect of this lingering on the dominant, which extends through more than half of the movement, is heightened by the fact that mvt. X is the only movement in the entire liturgy that features five voices instead of four (**Appendix 3.1**).

Mandyczewski’s liturgy from 1880 was only the beginning of a much larger project: the following chart (**Tab. 3.2a–b**) gives an overview of this compositional project of three-and-a-half decades and testifies to its diversity in languages (Romanian, Church Slavonic, and Greek) and scoring. The pieces also differ in purpose and ambition: some scores consist of ten numbers, others of thirty; some are aimed at school choirs, others at professional ensembles; some seem only conceived as

³⁸ This is perhaps the most “Brahmsian” moment in Mandyczewski’s choral oeuvre, reminiscent of a passage in the third movement of *Ein Deutsches Requiem* (mm. 164–173; the process is somewhat reversed: Brahms initiates the pedal with $\#4$). I would like to thank David H. Miller for pointing me to what appears to be the closest parallel to this passage in Brahms’s oeuvre.

music for services, while others seem to double as concert pieces.³⁹ While in most cases, the pieces were premiered soon after their genesis (as they were commissions or as Mandyczewski composed them with his siblings' ensembles in mind), others saw their premieres only many years after their completion. The premiere dates and locations of eight liturgies could be established: seven were premiered in Czernowitz and one in Suceava (for sources, see **Tab. 3.3**).

The Conquest of a New Field for Musical Creativity

Mandyczewski's Liturgy from 1891, his second in chronology although listed as fourth in the composer's own catalogue, delivered on an additional one-and-a-half promises in his early reform plans: it is in Greek, and he added instrumental music (albeit to a modest degree). At that point, the choice of Greek likely served a dual purpose: it still had the diplomatic valence as an intermediary between speakers of Romanian and Ukrainian in Czernowitz, but was also the liturgical language in Vienna's most prominent Eastern Orthodox church, located on *Fleischmarkt* in the Inner City and the church that Mandyczewski and his patron Nikolaus Dumba attended. The existence of two manuscript scores, both from 1891, likely confirms the aim to cater to different Orthodox communities: one is in original, the other in transliterated Greek.⁴⁰

³⁹ These facts also had an influence on information about performances (i.e. there is excellent press coverage for some liturgies and none for others).

⁴⁰ It has not yet been possible to establish detailed information about early performances of Mandyczewski's liturgies in Vienna. When he was considered for appointment as Hanslick's successor at the university, a newspaper report suggested that Mandyczewski's liturgies "are likely to be known

The concept of this piece differs considerably from Mandyczewski's contribution to the genre from a decade earlier: the characteristic variable here is scoring, not tonality (**Tab. 3.4**). Five different vocal configurations ensure variety: four-part mixed choir (SATB); five-part mixed choir (SATBB); choir and three soloists (SAT), as well as choir and four soloists (SATB), in a double-choir configuration; and bass (solo) accompanied by a mixed choir (SATB). The composition shares with its predecessor a penchant for imitative textures and exceptional contrapuntal artifice. Stylistically, the liturgy is eclectic, even including numbers that seem to imitate, or borrow heavily from, early-eighteenth-century models (e.g. Nos. 4 and 25).

While most of the liturgy's music displays an exemplary adherence to the rules of counterpoint (Mandyczewski would soon become one of Vienna's most sought-after teachers in that domain), two pieces, Nos. 27 and 28, depart from any pretensions to independent voice leading and draw instead from Eastern harmonic traditions. In No. 27, "Idomen to fos," the lower two voices alternate almost exclusively between fifths and octaves, with the tenor remaining on the same pitch almost throughout the piece, while the upper voices progress in thirds and sixths (**Fig. 3.3**). With this voice leading, Mandyczewski likely attempted to recreate (or at least allude to) the effect of the *ison* in Byzantine Chant. In No. 28, the four-part mixed choir supports a bass recitative with a single chord per measure. Both pieces exude simplicity and an

from their performances at the local Greek church on Fleischmarkt" ("Seine griechischen Messen dürften von ihrer Aufführung in der hiesigen griechischen Kirche am Fleischmarkt bekannt sein.") *Neues Wiener Journal*, December 31, 1894. Scores: E. M., *Die Gesänge einer Messe nach griechisch-orientalischem Ritus* [Liturgy No. 4 in D major], Mus.Hs.190, Music Collection of the Austrian National Library (henceforth ONB); E. M., *Die Gesänge einer griechischen Messe nach orientalischem Ritus für Chor und Solostimmen*, MR 1295, BAR.

archaic atmosphere (particularly to an audience used to the Western musical tradition), a strong effect after the many polyphonic pieces that preceded them, and given their placement close to the liturgy's end. While contemporary critics did not pinpoint the musical source of the piece's effect, No. 27 drew attention in reviews from both 1897 and 1913: "There are passages in this mass of a positively poetic mood, for example the 'Idomen to fos to abithinon' (No. 27)" (*Bukowinaer Post*, 1897);⁴¹ "A gorgeous achievement is the passage 'Idomen to fos to abithinon ...' [...]" (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1913).⁴²

The most innovative feature of the piece – even radical from the point of view of Eastern Orthodox church music – is not documented in the original scores, but partly survives as an appendix to a score copy: the inclusion of a harmonium. Its use in the performance is described as follows in a review from 1897:

Similarly pleasant were the interludes on the harmonium, which connected the distinct, self-contained chants in a tasteful way. The support of the harmonium at individual spots appealed to me less, because it appeared odd in the Eastern rite.⁴³

No part for the harmonium as a support instrument for the choir survives, but two sets of short preludes (likely transcribed by Mandyczewski's sister Ecaterina, but attributed to him). In performance, each of these preludes, which are between four and fourteen measures long, preceded a number of the liturgy (for example, the Prelude to No. 27 from the first set, **Fig. 3.4**).

⁴¹ "Es gibt Stellen in dieser Messe von geradezu poetischer Stimmung, wie beispielsweise das 'Idomen to fos to abithinon' (No. 27)." *Bukowinaer Post*, May 6, 1897.

⁴² *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 21, 1913.

⁴³ "Ebenso angenehm waren die Zwischenspiele auf dem Harmonium, durch welche die verschiedenen, für sich abgeschlossenen Gesänge in stilvoller Weise verbunden wurden. Weniger gefiel mir die Unterstützung des Harmoniums an einzelnen Stellen, weil sie im orientalische Ritus befremdend wirkte." *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 4, 1897, 3.



Fig. 3.4: E. M., Liturgy No. 4, Prelude to No. 27 (MR 2734, BAR).

The premiere of the liturgy in Czernowitz’s *Musikverein* on April 30, 1897 occurred in turbulent times for Mandyczewski, as his mentor and friend Brahms had died at the beginning of that month, leaving Mandyczewski in great distress and with numerous obligations.⁴⁴ A more banal change had occurred earlier that year as well, with the awarding of an honorary doctorate (“Doctor sine examine”) from the University of Leipzig. Czernowitz’s newspaper already announced in mid-April the arrival in the city of “Dr. Mandyczewski” and the doctorate would remain associated with his name.⁴⁵ His new composition certainly substituted for the dissertation he never had to write and its skill, sophistication, and breadth did not go unnoticed by Czernowitz’s press. The reviewer from the *Bukowiner Rundschau* praised the complexity and artifice of the composition (“it contains from simple thematic movements to four-part canon and fugue almost everything that is possible in this domain”), but also points out vocal challenges of the piece, among them the high register and the length of almost an hour.⁴⁶ The reviewer in the *Bukowiner Post* considered the chant itself as ‘strange’ (*befremdlich*) for the uninitiated and lauded

⁴⁴ E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, March 12, 1897, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁴⁵ *Bukowinaer Post*, April 22, 1897.

⁴⁶ “Die Messe ist zum größten Theil contrapunktisch durchgeführt und enthält von einfach thematischen Sätzen bis zum vierstimmigen Canon und Fuge fast Alles was auf diesem Gebiete möglich ist. [...] Eine Hauptschwierigkeit des Werkes liegt [...] in der ungemein hohen Stimmlage, welche bei der fast einstündigen Dauer auf die Sänger ermüdend wirkt.” (The mass is mostly contrapuntal and contains from simple thematic movements to four-part canon and fugue almost everything that is possible in this domain. [...] An exceptional challenge of the piece is [...] the incredibly high register, which wears the singers out given the almost half-hour long duration.) *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 4, 1897.

Mandyczewski's attempt to make this musical tradition palatable to the audience by "deepening its musical content and by combining the new, his own, with the old and existing."⁴⁷ He concluded that the composer would be "path-breaking in this domain and will conquer a new field for musical creation."⁴⁸

The premiere of this liturgy not only paid homage to the city's most successful musical representative in Vienna, but also celebrated Czernowitz's diverse community in an event that featured intercultural dialogue in a musical composition. Three choirs participated, the *Czernowitzer Gesangsverein*, the Romanian choral society *Armonia*, and the Catholic *Kirchen-Musikverein*, and, along with the voice students of the *Musikverein*, this amounted to a choir of almost one hundred singers.⁴⁹ While the reviewers clearly commented from an outsider's perspective (regarding the Orthodox chant tradition) and emphasized the great potential of such a project for the Western compositional tradition, the Eastern side of the equation also showed an interest in Mandyczewski's project: two of Czernowitz's highest Orthodox dignitaries, Archbishop Arcadie and Vicar-General von Repta, attended the concert.⁵⁰

We should pause here for a moment and return to Mandyczewski's letter to Arcadie's predecessor, Archbishop Silvester Morariu-Andriewicz, and the young composer's even more daring plans as revealed to his father. While neither Basilus Mandyczewski's nor the archbishop's answer (if there were any) is extant, we can expect them to have cautioned or even admonished him. Whether in response to an

⁴⁷ "Mandyczewski machte den nicht leichten Versuch, diesen Kirchengesang uns musikalisch näher zu bringen, indem er dessen musikalischen Gehalt vertieft und Neues, Eigenes dem Alten und Vorhandenen verwebte." *Bukowinaer Post*, May 6, 1897.

⁴⁸ "Auf diesem Gebiete wird er bahnbrechend sein und dem musikalischen Schaffen ein neues Feld erobern." *Bukowinaer Post*, May 6, 1897.

⁴⁹ *Bukowinaer Rundschau* May 4, 1897.

⁵⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, May 6, 1897.

intervention or not, some modifications to his early reform plan likely made it more palatable to his Orthodox authorities: for his first liturgy, he chose Romanian, not Greek, a preferred option for an archbishop known for his strong pro-Romanian sentiment. For the 1897 liturgy, he finally followed through with Greek and added instrumental music, yet the inclusion of the harmonium was a far cry from a reform plan that had once suggested Haydn's great masses as a model. But was this perhaps still too unorthodox (no pun intended)? Does the inclusion of the harmonium explain why the liturgy was not given at the city's cathedral, but at the *Musikverein*?⁵¹

Family Liturgies

Mandyczewski's continued effort to compose liturgies for his home city celebrated the ties to his musically active siblings. His brother Georg, who had studied with Eusebius in Vienna and who served as a music teacher at Czernowitz's Eastern Orthodox High School, conducted a performance – likely the premiere – of the Liturgy in F major for male voices (1892; in Romanian) at the local cathedral in June 1900.⁵² The Liturgy in F major for mixed choir (1894; in Romanian) seems to have been composed exclusively for a private purpose, his father's birthday. In a letter to his sister Ecaterina, Mandyczewski suggested the performers for the premiere and assigned preparatory work:

I am hereby sending you the mass. I am thinking of Marie and Vica performing the soprano; Virginia, you, and Lola the alto; Costaki and Georg the tenor; and me and Erast the bass. The mass is very easy. We will need at the most two

⁵¹ *Bukowinaer Post*, May 6, 1897.

⁵² *Bukowinaer Post*, May 31, 1900.

rehearsals. But each must know their part before the rehearsals. I am asking that one of my brothers excerpts the parts.⁵³

Six of the suggested performers – Marie, Virginia, Ecaterina, Costaki (Konstantin), Georg, and Erast – were Mandyczewski’s siblings; two others, Vica and Lola, were his nieces.⁵⁴

Two liturgies for three-part female choir owe their existence to Ecaterina’s profession as a music teacher at a girl’s high school in Czernowitz, and to her skill and dedication as the director of a choir with 40–50 students.⁵⁵ One of these compositions was Eusebius’s first serious effort to compose a bi-lingual liturgy, with Romanian appearing on the left and Ukrainian on the right side of each opening in the score. There was a precedent for this composition, a bi-lingual two-part liturgy co-authored with Isidor Worobkiewicz and published in 1896. That liturgy consisted of very short, simple, and mostly homophonic pieces and it appears that Worobkiewicz had decided questions regarding the alignment of metric and musical accents. When embarking on his own project in 1909, Mandyczewski was skeptical about the results of this earlier effort, and he attributed great importance to resolving questions of proper accents in Church Slavonic, as ruminations in several letters show:

⁵³ “Hier schicke ich die Messe. Ich denke mir den Sopran von der Marie und der Vica, den Alt von Virginia, dir u Lola, den Tenor vom Costaki und Georg, Baß von mir u Erast gesungen. Die Messe ist sehr leicht. So werden wir höchstens 2 Proben brauchen. Vor den Proben muß aber Jedes seine Partie kennen. Einen der Brüder lasse ich bitten die Stimmen herauszuschreiben.” E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, Nov. 5, 1894, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁵⁴ In a letter from 1904, Mandyczewski referred to this piece as “Molodier Messe” (Mass for Molodia), and the cover of the printed edition from 1929 indicated that it was written for the “biserică din Cosmin” (Church of Cosmin, the neighboring village; it seems his father was in charge of both villages). E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, Aug. 26, 1909 (S14–125, CCCXLIX, BAR).

⁵⁵ “Hast doch in deinem Chor etwa 40 bis 50, wenn ich mich recht erinnere.” E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, Aug. 27, 1909 (S14–131, CCCXLIX, BAR). In an article from 1976, Ligia Toma Zoicaş gave an overview of the collaboration between the siblings as constructed from their correspondence (Zoicaş, “Probleme de creație oglindite în pagini din corespondența lui Eusebie Mandicevschi,” *Lucrări de muzicologie* 12–13 (1976): 39–50.

In the Cherubic Hymn there is the word жегейское [alt. житейское, Engl. worldly], which has four syllables. I remember that Worobkiewicz always emphasized the third syllable, as was done in the printed 2-part mass. But I have this vague feeling that this is wrong and that the second syllable should be emphasized! Is that so?⁵⁶

His intuition was right, and in his Liturgy for three-part choir in E minor (1909), the correct word stresses in the Cherubic Hymn align with the downbeats.⁵⁷ Ecaterina chose the language for each piece for the performance, which took place on June 12, 1910.⁵⁸ Mandyczewski used part of his subsequent summer retreat in Carinthia to compose an “Appendix in E major” to the liturgy. The six pieces addressed his sister’s request for music in the major mode, which she thought easier for her students, but compensated for this by providing a new challenge in the form of triple canons (**Fig. 3.5**; printed here is only the Romanian version).⁵⁹

⁵⁶ “Im Cheruvic kommt das Wort жегейское vor, viersilbig. Ich erinnere mich, daß Worobkiewicz immer die 3. Silbe betont hat, so wie auch in der gedruckten 2stimmigen Messe. Aber ich habe eine dunkle Empfindung, daß das falsch ist, und daß die 2. Silbe betont werden soll! Ist das so?” E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, Aug. 10, 1909 (S14–122, CCCXLIX, BAR). For similar discussions, see E. M., letters to Ecaterina, Aug. 14, and Oct. 20, 1909 (S14–124 and S14–272, CCCXLIX, BAR). In the latter letter, Mandyczewski even wrote that he wanted to “do things in such a way that no Ruthenian has a reason to complain.” (“Also möchte ich doch alles so machen, daß kein Ruthene Grund hat sich zu beklagen.”)

⁵⁷ E. M., Liturgy for three-part choir Nr. 9 in E minor (MR 1297, BAR), No. 17, mm. 45 and 47.

⁵⁸ “I’d be very interested in knowing what language you used for the individual pieces, and how you dealt with the two languages during rehearsals.” (“Es würde mich auch sehr interessiren, zu erfahren, welche Sprache du bei den einzelnen Stücken benützt hast, und wie es mit den beiden Sprachen in den Proben gehalten worden ist.”) E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, Aug. 1, 1910, S14–130, CCCXLIX, BAR.

⁵⁹ E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, Aug. 27, 1910, and Sept. 1, 1910, S14–131, S14–133, CCCXLIX, BAR; E. M., Liturgy for three-part choir Nr. 9 in E minor (MR 1297, BAR), Appendix in E major (Nos. 53–58).

The image shows a musical score for a three-part choir. It is titled "Să se umple" (No. 9) and is in E minor. The tempo is marked "Larghetto". The score is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "Să se umple gu - ri - le noa - stre de lau - da Ta Doam - ne e - a să lă -". The score includes parts for Coro 1 and Coro 2, with Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), and Tenor (T.) staves. Dynamics include mp and mf.

Fig. 3.5: E. M., Liturgy in E minor for three-part choir [No. 9], “56. Să se umple” (MR 1297, BAR)

The liturgy projects also helped Mandyczewski maintain close relations to other members of Czernowitz’s music scene, enabling him to keep track of emerging local talent. In 1910, another liturgy by Mandyczewski was premiered as well, and that time his brother Konstantin was in charge of the preparations. In November 1909, he announced the project with a handwritten open letter that contained as header the following description:

The chants of the Eastern Orthodox Mass composed to Romanian and Ruthenian texts for mixed choir 1. in B minor and 2. in A minor by Dr. Eusebius Mandyczewski, Professor at the Academy of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. Preparation of a performance of these chants during a service.⁶⁰

Rehearsals with Anton Koller, the conductor of *Armonia*, took place in the Eastern Orthodox High School, where Konstantin was headmaster. Conducted by the composer, the Liturgy in A minor for mixed choir was premiered on March 27 (shortened version) and April 3, 1910 (complete performance).⁶¹ A special treat,

⁶⁰ “Die Gesänge der gr.-or. Messe komponiert auf rumänischem und ruthenischem Text für gemischten Chor 1. in H-moll und 2. in A-moll von Dr. Eusebius Mandyczewski, Professor an der Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Wien. Vorbereitung einer Aufführung dieser Gesänge beim Gottesdienste.” Konstantin Mandyczewski, Open letter from Nov. 15, 1909, Arhive muzicienilor, E. Mandicevski [sic], BAR.

⁶¹ *Bukowinaer Post*, March 27, 1910.

especially when judged from the standpoint of posterity, was the participation of the sixteen-year-old Viorica Ursuleac (1894–1985), who sang in the soprano section of the choir; she would later become one of the world’s leading dramatic sopranos and premiered several roles in Richard Strauss’s operas (in between, she studied voice at Vienna’s *Conservatorium* and took music history and theory courses with Mandyczewski).⁶²

The original score of the liturgy contains two lists with the signatures of the participants of the two premieres.⁶³ The project attracted both Romanian and Ukrainian adherents of Eastern Orthodoxy (the latter signing in Cyrillic), but also singers with German or non-Ukrainian Slavic names – who were thus (most likely) Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish).

In a letter to his sister Ecaterina from June 1913, Mandyczewski not only elucidated the rationale behind the three bi-lingual compositions, providing insight into the environment in which the pieces originated, but also articulated what was likely his most pointed statement about nationalist bigotry. Ecaterina had reported to him about a complaint regarding an alleged privileging of one language over the other in the chants of a recent service. In response to such criticism, he suggested an experiment:

My last two masses (B minor and A minor) for mixed choir, as well as the E minor mass for children’s voices, can be sung equally well in Romanian and Ruthenian to the same music. What would it be like if one were to have them

⁶² The extant autographed manuscript of this liturgy (MS 1265, BAR) contains two lists with signatures of the premiere participants, one for the “first performance, on Saturday, March 27, 1910, at the Cathedral Church” (“Bei der ersten Aufführung am Samstag, 27. März 1910 in der Kathedrankirche haben mitgewirkt: [...]”), the other for the “first complete performance” of the piece on April 3, 1910 (“Namen der Mitwirkenden bei der ersten vollständigen Aufführung am Sonntag, den 3. April 1910”).

⁶³ MS 1265, BAR.

sung in Romanian and Ruthenian simultaneously, so that every choir member sings the language he or she is most familiar with. That should be possible. And if they all pronounce the text well, then the rabble-rousers [Hetzer] may make a bit of an effort while listening to hear the language they prefer. This will all be easier given that they likely understand the other language little. As permanent conductor I would have solved the problem that way long ago; it strikes me as the purest kind of Columbus's egg! [...] To introduce this in the church as a last escape from the dilemma was my secret intention when I arranged the masses in such a way that they are completely equal in Romanian and Ruthenian.⁶⁴

He even bolstered his proposition with a reference to contemporary operatic practice, where several languages in the same performance were quite common.⁶⁵ As an alternative to the provocation of bi-lingual singing he suggested "to ignore the yahoos, to follow one's path without flinching. One cannot please everybody; and to please such people would be as stupid as they themselves are."⁶⁶ The letter thus not only testifies to Mandyczewski's efforts in reconciliation and cultural negotiation, but also betrays a certain annoyance, or even resignation, in the face of an ongoing challenge.

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⁶⁴ "Meine beiden letzten Messen (H moll u Amoll) für gemischten Chor, sowie die in Emoll für Kinderstimmen, lassen sich ebensogut rum. wie ruth. singen, auf dieselbe Musik. Wie wäre es, wenn man versuchen würde, sie gleichzeitig rum. und ruth. singen zu lassen, so daß jedes Chormitglieder die ihm geläufigste Sprache singt. Das müßte doch möglich sein. Und wenn alle gut aussprechen, so mögen sich die Herren von Hetzer beim Zuhören ein bißchen anstrengen und diejenige Sprache heraushören, die ihnen lieber ist. Das wird um so leichter sein, als sie die andere Sprache wahrscheinlich ohnedies nur mäßig verstehen. Ich hätte als ständiger Dirigent das Problem längst auf diese Weise gelöst; mir scheint das reinste Kolumbus Ei! Auch rein sachlich genommen wäre weiter nichts besonderes dabei, da man dergleichen Praxis auf mehreren Gebieten der Musik bereits kennt. [...] Dies in der Kirche als letzte Ausflucht aus dem Dillema [sic] einzuführen, war eigentlich die heimliche Absicht, als ich die Messen so einrichtete, daß sie ganz gleich sind rum. u. ruth." E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, June 24, 1913, S14–155, CCCXLIX, BAR.

⁶⁵ "Auch rein sachlich genommen wäre weiter nichts besonderes dabei, da man dergleichen Praxis auf mehreren Gebieten der Musik bereits kennt. Wie oft singt in der Oper ein Solist seine Partie italienisch, oder französisch, sogar russisch, und alle anderen deutsch [...]" E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, June 24, 1913, S14–155, CCCXLIX, BAR.

⁶⁶ "Denn es hat auch was für sich, in solche Fällen um die Krakehler sich nicht zu kümmern, und seinen Weg unbeirrt zu gehen. Allen Leuten kanns niemand recht machen; und solchen Leuten recht machen, wäre ebenso blöd, wie sie selber sind." E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, June 24, 1913, S14–155, CCCXLIX, BAR.

‘Oh Land of Songs and Beeches:’ Mandyczewski’s Secular Music for Czernowitz

While Mandyczewski’s Liturgies mediated between East and West, Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, Romanian and Ukrainian, Czernowitz and Vienna, they addressed questions of conflict and its mediation in an oblique manner. His secular pieces, by contrast, offered opportunities to preach values – such as a collaborative spirit and mutual respect – in a direct way. These compositions were targeted at the entire breadth of Bukovina’s population, which they addressed as a single community, and thereby served the local incarnation of the Habsburg state’s ideology that regarded a diverse country as *indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter* (indivisible and inseparable). German was the language of these compositions, as the local lingua franca of the many ethno-linguistic groups. Given that Habsburg ideals and those of Czernowitzer (or Bukovinian) political elites and cultural consumers often coincided, it was possible to both cater to the expectations from above and create an attractive and meaningful narrative for local audiences.⁶⁷

Tab. 3.5 gives an overview of Mandyczewski’s secular occasional music for Czernowitz. Beginning with his earliest publicly performed piece, which he wrote in 1873 when he was a sixteen-year-old high school student, Mandyczewski composed cantatas for important festivities in the city every five to ten years and contributed

⁶⁷ Whereas this chapter’s section on Mandyczewski’s sacred music focuses on a body of music that had previously been studied only in a compartmentalized way (i.e., within the boundaries of a single language), the pieces discussed here were entirely overlooked by scholarship. This neglect resulted in part from the fact that the pieces had not been performed in a century before my recent attempts to revive them, in part from an assumption that their scores had been lost.

short choral pieces for smaller occasions.⁶⁸ The first and third cantatas were conceived in the context of imperial jubilees; the second crowned the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the *Musikverein*; and the other five pieces (two cantatas, two choirs, and a part song) were written for anniversaries at two different high schools.

While the language choices for the liturgies were the result of careful consideration – with Greek as a pan-Orthodox ideal and the settings with two optional languages as a pragmatic stance – the use of German for the occasional pieces was a default: German was not only Czernowitz’s lingua franca but also the main language of the institutions for which the pieces were written. It was, however, not prescribed or even suggested from above: loyalty in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (at least in its Austrian part) could be expressed in any of the country’s official languages. The Austrian anthem (“Gott erhalte”), for instance, was sung in all these languages, and a request to a public authority could be made in any official language used in a given Crown land. The programs of high school celebrations in Czernowitz often made a point of including at least three languages: German, Romanian, and Ukrainian.⁶⁹ A local girl’s school celebrated Franz Joseph’s seventieth birthday in 1900 with a festival hymn by Mandyczewski’s younger brother Georg set in Ukrainian, Romanian, and Polish.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Four of the pieces, *Der Harmonie Gewalt* (1882), *Im Buchenland* (1889), *Der Alpenjäger* (1905), and *Cantate zur 50Jahrfeier der gr. or. Oberrealschule in Czernowitz*, are extant in the Manuscript Collection of the University Library at Chernivtsi/Czernowitz. They have meanwhile appeared with KnyhyXXI in my editions (2017–9) and were performed in Chernivtsi as part of a concert series and festival (see epilogue).

⁶⁹ See for example the Schiller celebrations of 1905 (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 9, 1905).

⁷⁰ Another piece performed was the song “Mein Österreich,” sung in German, so the celebrations had music in four languages on the program; the text was by Emanuel Worobkiewicz, the son of composer Isidor Worobkiewicz, who was, like his father, a priest (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 5, 1900).

Der Harmonie Gewalt, Mandyczewski's earliest extant cantata, was premiered on October 12, 1882 at the local *Musikverein* during the music society's jubilee concert.⁷¹ A letter by Mandyczewski to his sister Virginia suggests that he received the commission about four months prior to the concert and, pleased about the invitation to write the piece, was hardly less enchanted about the prospect of spending time at home:

[...] I am delighted to be able to relate to you lovely and pleasant things. The most important is that Czernowitz's Music Society has invited me to write a cantata or some other larger piece for their gala concert on October 12. [...] Should the piece materialize, which I do not doubt, I will by all means attempt to get a leave from October 1 to 15, to spend time in Czernowitz, in both my personal interest and in the interest of this gala concerto.⁷²

He chose to set a text by John Dryden entitled *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1687), in Georg Gottfried Gervinus's German translation; the original text had been set by Handel as *An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* (1739). Mandyczewski adapted the text slightly by adding a quatrain (presumably his own poetry) and by moving a passage with great potential for a powerful musical setting from the opening to the end (**Tab. 3.6**).

As generic as this text may seem, suitable for *any* celebration of *any* music society, it likely possessed more specific meaning with the dignitaries of Czernowitz's

⁷¹ "Zur Feier des 20jährigen Bestandes des 'Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina' in Czernowitz geschrieben und dort aufgeführt am 12. Oktober 1882 unter meiner Leitung. E [sic] Mandyczewski." ("Written for the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the 'Society for the Promotion of the Musical Art' and premiered there on October 12, 1882 under my direction.") E. M., *Der Harmonie Gewalt*, Manuscript Collection, UCh, BPK 80 IN 353669.

⁷² "Nun komme ich endlich dazu, dir wieder einmal zu schreiben, und es freut mich, dir Liebes und Angenehmes mittheilen zu können. Das Wichtigste ist, daß ich vom Czernowitzer Musikvereine eingeladen worden bin, für das am 12. October stattfindende Festconcert eine Art Cantate oder sonst ein größeres Werk zu schreiben [...] Sollte das Werk, woran ich kaum zweifle, zu Stande kommen, so werde ich für alle Fälle trachten vom 1. bis zum 15. October einen Urlaub zu erhalten, um diese Zeit im Interesse des Festconcertes und in meinem persönliche Interesse in Czernowitz zu verbringen." E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, July 1, 1882, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

Music Society and with Czernowitz's audience at large.⁷³ Just as Habsburg histories portrayed Bukovina before the Austrian annexation in 1775 as some depopulated and impoverished land of chaos, accounts of Czernowitz's music history in the second half of the nineteenth century emphasized the very recent arrival of musical culture in Austria's Far East. The audience at the premiere had recently been reminded of this genesis narrative, as a concert reviewer pointed out:

On the occasion of its twentieth jubilee, the Society published the history of its origins and development, which Professor Staufe-Simiginowicz wrote up according to the society's records and which testifies to the difficulties with which the Society struggled until it got beyond the question of its permanent existence.⁷⁴

To couch it in slightly hyperbolic terms, Bukovina's early history and the heroic struggles of Czernowitz's Music Society were both allegorically represented to the jubilee concert audience through Dryden's text and Mandyczewski's music.

While the libretto originated from some remote past but acquired specific meaning in its Czernowitz context, Mandyczewski seems to have written the music with the very specificity of Czernowitz's ensemble in mind, as the many unusual ensemble configurations and solo assignments suggest. **Tab. 3.7** lists the colorful instrumentation and shows the contrast between large orchestral settings and intimate, unusual chamber timbres.

⁷³ These dignitaries included Carl Mikuli, who also got a piece of his performed in that concert. Mandyczewski met him for the first time on the occasion ("Carl Mikuli lernte ich vor 5 Jahren bei Gelegenheit eines Jubiläums Concertes des Czernowitzer Musikvereins in Czernowitz kennen." E. M., letter to Ferdinand Bischoff, April 20, 1887, Archive of the Kunstuniversität Graz [henceforth KUG]. Sven Nielsen kindly scanned the correspondence between Mandyczewski and Bischoff for me).

⁷⁴ "Gelegentlich dieses zwanzigjährigen Jubiläums veröffentlichte der Verein seine Entstehungs- und Entwicklungs-Geschichte, die Professor Staufe-Simiginowicz nach den Vereinsacten schrieb und die klar darlegt, mit welchen Unzukömmlichkeiten der Verein rang, bis er über die Frage seiner dauernden Existenz hinaus kam." *Bukowinaer Zeitung*, October 10, 1882.

Tab. 3.7: Mandyczewski, *Der Harmonie Gewalt*, synopsis

	Tempo indications	Keys	Time sig.	Instrumentation	Vocals
I	<i>Allegro maestoso</i>	E \flat	ϕ	strings; 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 bs, cb; 2 trp, 2 cr, 2 trb; timp	choir SATB
II	<i>Larghetto</i>	G	3/4	strings; solo: oboe, horn; harp	solo S and A
III	<i>Allegro marziale</i>	D	6/8	see I	choir TTBB
IV	<i>Mesto</i>	c	6/8	1 flute, 1 oboe, 2 clarinets, viola solo	solo A
V	<i>Allegro moderato</i>	b	C	solo violin; strings	solo T
VI	<i>Andante religioso</i>	E – e	ϕ – 3/4	organ – bass trombone and strings	choir I: SSA choir II: TTBB
VII	<i>Molto moderato – Allegro maestoso</i>	C – E \flat	ϕ – ϕ	see I	choir SATB

The tonal concept of the cantata is unusual, to say the least. While the opening and final chorus feature E-flat major, four of the inner movements are set in sharp keys quite distant from the main key; only one, in the center, is set in a flat key, the relative minor. The narrative in the outer movements tackles the grand questions of the music of the spheres, while the movements in sharp keys all portray earthly scenes with vigorous instruments in various passionate states; in other words, these instruments are not in tune with the universe, but operate in a sphere apart. Only the flute, which performs no passionate song but instead a dirge of hopeless love, seems to operate within the sphere of the universe. The overall impression the tonal concept gives is more that of a music of two spheres, a narrative of the coexistence of incompatibles, without an attempt to fully reconcile opposites. All of this is, perhaps, not a bad metaphor for Czernowitz.

The third cantata, *Im Buchenland (In Bukovina; 1888/9)*, has no pretensions to veiled meaning, but displays its original purpose and practical ideological significance openly. This piece, at least with regard to scope Mandyczewski's most ambitious composition, was originally intended for a celebration in December 1888 of the fortieth anniversary of Emperor Franz Joseph's ascension to the throne.⁷⁵ The first mention of the project occurred in a letter from June 1888 when the composer informed his sister Virginia about ongoing negotiations with Czernowitz's Music Society and a need to get reacquainted with the local music scene in order to adapt the piece:

This much I can say, that I will likely come to Czernowitz in August, once I reach a consensus with the local Musikverein about the cantata which I have been asked to write for the Imperial Jubilee in the Fall. On that occasion I want to get to know the individual participants so that I can write the cantata better and more tailored to their means. But the matter is not decided yet.⁷⁶

Mandyczewski's collaborator for the piece was the civil servant Josef Wiedmann (see Ch. 2 and 5), whose fraternity song he had set to music in the late 1870s and who had provided him with adaptations of Romanian poems for his Romanian Songs op. 7, published bilingually in 1885.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ The introductory essay for the cantata's first published edition has drawn in part from this section of the dissertation (E. M., *Im Buchenland*, ed. Dietmar Friesenegger (Chernivtsi: KnyhyXXI, 2019), xi-xii).

⁷⁶ "So viel kann ich sagen, daß ich wahrscheinlich im August nach Czernowitz komme, wenn ich mich mit dem dortigen Musikverein bis dahin wegen der Cantate geeinigt haben werde, welche ich für den Herbst zum Kaiser-jubiläum schreiben soll. Ich möchte dann die einzelnen Mitwirkenden gerne kennen lernen, damit ich die Cantate desto besser und ihren Mitteln passender schreiben kann. Sicher ist die Sache aber noch nicht." E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, June 17, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁷⁷ On the latter collaboration with Wiedmann, see E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, May 2, 1884, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

Mandyczewski worked intensively on the score throughout the fall, reporting to his sister a workload of five to six hours per day in October.⁷⁸ At the end of that month, the local newspapers announced the upcoming performance and gave the composition's title as *Der Bukowina Huldigung* (Homage to Bukovina).⁷⁹ In November, Mandyczewski claimed to be working even seven to eight hours per day on the cantata, and he performed excerpts for its dedicatee, Dr. Victor Korn.⁸⁰ The concert, however, never happened. Officially Franz Joseph requested acts of charity for his jubilee instead of theatrical performances, but the true reason for the cancellation remained unknown to the larger public, as Mandyczewski's letter to his sister suggests (references to such inside knowledge appear in several of Mandyczewski's letters, marking a certain pride in his status attained and accentuating the distance between metropolis and provincial town):

The gentlemen from the Music Society are not responsible; what has happened to them, happened to many other societies in many cities of vast Austria. Even in Vienna, similar things and worse has happened. [...] When I come home for the cantata I will relate to you the reasons, why this matter has been done in such a way from above; this is highly interesting, but, of course, hardly known.⁸¹

Mandyczewski saw advantages in the cancellation, as previous restraints on the project's artistic freedom owing to the nature of the festivity no longer obtained:

I must say that only now am I really looking forward to the Cantata, as the

⁷⁸ E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, October 14, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁷⁹ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, October 27, 1888; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 28, 1888.

⁸⁰ E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, November 1, 1888 (work hours), and E. M., letter to his sister Konstantin, November 9, 1888 (Korn); both Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁸¹ "Die Herren vom Musikverein trifft kein Vorwurf, so wie es denen ergangen ist, ist es vielen anderen Vereinen in vielen Städten im weiten Österreich ergangen. Ja selbst in Wien hat es Aehnliches und Aergeres gegeben. / Wenn ich zur Cantate nach Hause komme werde ich dir die Gründe erzählen, warum die Geschichte von oben eigentlich so gemacht wurde; das ist höchst interessant, aber natürlich sehr wenig bekannt." E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, December 15, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

piece will be the way I want it. At the beginning, in consideration of the imperial festival I had to give the cantata a patriotic turn, and that was, between us, not exactly to my taste. Thus I am not unhappy about the withdrawal of the concert, quite the opposite, I am very happy. The cantata would have been the way others wanted it to be, now it will be the way I want it to be.⁸²

The new version of the cantata was less imperial and more local: “As the Cantata will no longer be performed for the Emperor, we will alter the part that served to honor the Emperor and the cantata will be a general Cantata to the praise of Bukovina.”⁸³ With noticeable delight he revealed to his sister some details about the piece’s local color:

You will find in it: [the allegories of] mining, the abundance of forests, farming, culture, and [the allegory of] Bukovina herself, with the crown land’s subjects, who form the choir. In addition there will be: a hunters’ chorus, a chorus of miners, a chorus of mowers, a chorus of homecoming vacationers and more similarly pretty things.⁸⁴

It would take another five months before the cantata saw its premiere. Even in the project’s final phase, a postponement of the premiere had been deemed necessary, as the piece presented unexpected challenges for Czernowitz’s amateur forces.

Mandyczewski had to file for an extension of his vacation from his job as archivist of Vienna’s *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*:

⁸² “Ich muß sagen, daß ich mich erst jetzt so recht auf die Cantate freue, denn jetzt wird sie erst so, wie ich sie haben wollte. Aber ich mußte anfangs dem kaiserlichen Feste zu lieb der Cantate eine patriotische Wendung geben, und das war, unter uns gesagt, nicht sonderlich nach meinem Geschmack. Drum bin ich über den Wegfall des Concertes gar nicht unglücklich, im Gegentheil sehr froh. Die Cantate wäre so geworden, wie sie die Anderen haben wollten; jetzt wird sie so sein, wie ich sie haben will.” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, December 15, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁸³ “Denn weil die Cantate nicht mehr für den Kaiser aufgeführt wird, werden wir den Theil, der dem Kaiser zu Ehren geht, ändern und die Cantate wird eine allgemeine Cantate zum Preise des Buchenlandes.” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, December 15, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

⁸⁴ “Da kommen dann darin vor: der Bergbau, der Waldreichthum, der Ackerbau, die Cultur, und die Bukowina selber mit den Landeskindern, welche den Chor bilden. Dann kommen vor: ein Jägerchor, ein Chor der Bergleute, ein Chor der Schnitterinnen am Felde, ein Chor der heimkehrenden Urlauber und ähnlich schöne Sachen mehr.” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, December 15, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

I asked my assistant Kehlendorfer to give me a report [...], and he reported that there is nothing to report. [...] With some reassurance I will thus permit myself a request, of a kind that is perhaps not rare among people on leave: the request for a prolongation of the leave for another 8 to 10 days. Given the local [musical] forces it was not possible to perform the cantata a day earlier than the 18th, and, as ticket sales suggested a large showing, an additional performance had been scheduled for the 19th [...] Since yesterday, both performances had been sold out and we were almost forced to put on a third one for the 20th, which, I hope, will be the last. [...] To save you superfluous writing I will regard my request as granted if I do not receive a negative response [...]⁸⁵

Both the nonchalance with which Mandyczewski requested the extension of his time in the East and the flexible concert calendar in Czernowitz give insight into the contemporary approach to time and work.

The cantata's premiere was an exceptional event for Czernowitz, as the press coverage suggests. In the days before the premiere, the *Czernowitzer Zeitung* provided a detailed report about it, a short passage of which is quoted here:

It should be of interest to learn in advance about the exceptional beauties of the musical performance. In the first instance, the cheerful, unconstrained freshness of the musical invention of the choirs has to be mentioned. One imagines oneself in the forest of beeches in our home province [Heimat], when after a brief orchestral introduction the choir presents the first and only main theme in the most joyful of all keys, D major. Up and down it sways and rustles, as in the forest of beeches in our home province. [...] Everywhere reigns the spirit of a mature, judicious and educated musician. An understanding for the whole shouldn't be tough to understand for the audience, as the composer did not offer musico-philosophical contemplations on the text. To the contrary, everything sounds fresh and joyful; it has been

⁸⁵ "Von meinem Adjuncten Kehlendorfer habe ich mir [...] berichten lassen, und er berichtete mir, daß nichts zu berichten sei [...] Mit einiger Beruhigung erlaube ich mir daher eine Bitte vorzubringen, wie sie bei Beurlaubten nicht selten sein dürfte: die Bitte um Verlängerung des Urlaubs um 8 bis 10 Tage. Mit Rücksicht auf die hiesigen Kräfte war es nicht möglich die Aufführung der Cantate auf einen früheren Tag als auf den 18. anzuberaumen, und der sich eine sehr lebhaft Theilnahme für dieses Aufführungen zeigte wurde auch gleich eine Wiederholung am 19. festgesetzt [...] Seit gestern nun sind beide Aufführungen ausverkauft, und wir waren geradezu gezwungen eine dritte auf den 20. festzusetzen, die hoffentlich die letzte sein wird. [...] Um Ihnen [...] überflüssiges Schreiben zu ersparen, werde ich mir erlauben, mein Ansuchen als bewilligt zu betrachten, wenn ich keine abschlägige Antwort erhalte [...]" E. M., letter to a superior in Vienna, May 9, 1889, Manuscript Collection, ONB 486/17.

invented in an unconstrained manner and should thus be received such. [...] Poet and composer united to sing a heartfelt song to their home province. Now it is their compatriots' turn to understand it and to empathize with it.⁸⁶

The premiere review provides an unusual degree of detail about the performing forces, an orchestra of “50 musicians, with 26 strings and 24 winds” and a choir of “50 female choristers and the strong appearance of the 45 male singers.”⁸⁷ The excitement of the historical moment in Czernowitz's music history, which took place on May 18, 1889 at the City Theater, was given much room in the premiere report:

Again a long, enthusiastic applause when the composer and conductor Mr. Mandyczewski appears and when he signals the beginning with his baton. Thereafter profound, almost devotional silence, a focused listening to the sounds of the orchestra and the singers. And the more chant and music progress, the longer we listen to these sounds, the more our tension disappears and gives way to the feeling of satisfaction, which everything beautiful inspires in us, to pleasure, delight, to admiration. And the more we listen to this wonderful composition, the more we get acquainted with it, the more the individual beauties come to our consciousness, in addition to a general impression.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ “Es dürfte von Interesse sein, wenn man schon im Voraus auf die einzelnen hervorragenden Schönheiten des musikalischen Theiles aufmerksam macht. Vor Allem muß die fröhliche, ungezwungene Frische der musikalischen Erfindung der Chöre erwähnt werden. Man fühlt sich so recht im heimatlichen Buchenwald, wenn der Chor nach einer kurzen orchestralen Einleitung das erste und einzige Hauptthema in der fröhlichsten aller Tonarten, D-dur, anschlägt. Auf und nieder wogt und rauscht es, wie im heimatlichen Buchenwald. [...] Überall waltet der Geist des reifen, kunstverständigen und gebildeten Musikers.

Das Verständniß für das Ganze dürfte den Zuhörern nicht schwer werden, da der Componist hier über den Text keine musikalisch-philosophischen Betrachtungen angestellt hat. Im Gegentheil klingt alles frisch und fröhlich wie es auch ungezwungen erfunden wurde und dürfte auch dem entsprechend wirken.

Dichter und Componist vereinigten sich, um ihrem geliebten Heimatlande ein herzliches Lied zu singen. Nun ist es an ihren Landsleuten, dasselbe zu verstehen und mitempfinden zu lernen.”

Czernowitzer Zeitung, May 12, 1889.

⁸⁷ “50 Musiker, davon 26 Streicher und 24 Bläser”; “50 Sängerinnen und die kräftigen Männergestalten der 45 Sänger.” *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, May 21, 1889.

⁸⁸ “Wieder lang anhaltender stürmischer Beifall, beim Erscheinen des Compositeurs und Dirigenten Herrn Mandyczewski und bis dieser mit dem Taktirstocke das Zeichen zum Beginne gab. Dann tiefe, beinahe andächtige Stille, ein gespanntes Lauschen den Tönen des Orchesters und der Sänger. Und je weiter Gesang und Musik in der Cantate fortschreiten, je länger wir diesen Klängen lauschen, desto mehr löst sich die Spannung, um dem Gefühle der Befriedigung, die jedes Schöne in uns weckt, dem Gefallen, dem Entzücken, der Bewunderung Platz zu machen. Und je häufiger wir diese wunderbare Composition hören, je mehr vertraut wir mit ihr werden, desto mehr treten neben dem Gesamteindruck die einzelnen Schönheiten derselben zur Geltung und zu unserem Bewußtsein.”

Czernowitzer Zeitung, May 21, 1889.

The social function of the project can hardly be overestimated: the quartet of the main soloists (Bukowina – Mina Kleinwächter, Rusticia – Helene Salter, Silvanus – Fritz Wilhelm, Montanus – Dr. Smal-Stocki) and the composer who doubled as conductor already encompassed most of the city’s large linguistic communities and religious denominations; with the military band, the *Musikverein* orchestra, and the *Gesangverein*, the entire breadth of Czernowitz’s cultural diversity was represented on stage.⁸⁹

Mandyczewski created here a cantata with the dimensions of an oratorio and submitted to his home city a festive, grand tableau in the fashion of Handel’s *Israel in Egypt* rather than a dramatic piece (see **Tab. 3.8A and B**). The plot, a simple allegorical play, is rather unexciting: *Rusticia*, the allegory of culture, and *Silvanus*, the spirit of the forests, argue about their respective hegemony in the Crown Land. Their dispute is interrupted by *Montanus*, the representative of the mountains and of mountaineering, who reconciles them. *Bukowina*, the allegory of the Crown Land enters the stage, and several choirs and soloists perform their songs for her. *Bukowina* contemplates the oncoming evening and all forces on stage join in a prayer. Akin to a sequence of allegorical paintings, the cantata accomplishes in music something similar to what the majolica frieze on the façade of Czernowitz’s *Bukowinaer Sparcasse*, next to City Hall, accomplishes in art (**Fig. 3.6**). Entitled “Austria welcomes her youngest daughter Bukovina” (1900/1), this *Jugendstil* work of art likely features the very tableau that Mandyczewski cut out when he no longer needed to cater to an imperial

⁸⁹ *Bukowiner Rundschau*, May 5, 1889, 4–5. “Dr. Smal-Stocki” was Stepan Smal-Stocki (1859–1938), a professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Czernowitz and later a member of the Austrian parliament (*Reichsrat*).

visit, the scene that connects the crown land to the Imperial House of Habsburg (the scenes in Mandyczewski's final version focus on various relations within the crown land, but leave out the Empire).

The cantata's outstanding feature is the abundance of choral settings, which range from four-, five- and six-part mixed choirs to three- and four-part men's choruses and a two-part women's chorus. A particularly original choir setting is "Liebliche Mädchen seid ihr" (You are lovely girls), in which the returning vacationers (men's choir) try to allure the female mowers ("Schnitterinnen") with a Viennese waltz, the only dance in the cantata that points to an identification (**Appendix 3.2**).

Only one of the twenty-one numbers of the otherwise Classicist Romantic cantata draws inspiration from the traditional music of the ethnic groups regarded as Bukovina's autochthones at the time, the Romanians and Ukrainians, but that piece has a prominent place. After having followed solo performances by *Silvanus* and *Montanus* as well as choral performances by the hunters, miners, women harvesters, and soldier vacationers, *Bukowina* still laments an absence in the program:

Bukowina.

In diesem Strauße bunter Blüten,
Den ihr mir heut' gepflückt,
Fehlt eine zart bescheidne Blume,
Die Herz und Sinn berückt.

Rusticia.

Die Blume, die mit feuchtem Glanze
Und süßem Dufte winkt?

Bukowina.

Ein Lied aus unschuldsvollem Herzen,
Das wie ein Zauber klingt.

Bukowina.

In this colorful bouquet of flowers
Which you picked for me today,
One tender, humble flower is missing
Which captivates the heart and the mind.

Rusticia.

The flower that beckons with a moist glance
And sweet smell?

Bukowina.

A song from an innocent heart,
That sounds like a magic spell.

Beide.

Ein Lied, das durch die Abendlüfte
In weichen Wellen schmeichelnd
zieht.

Bukowina.

Bald schmerzlich klagend,
Wehmuthsvoll ergreifend,

Rusticia.

Bald wieder jauchzend,
Wie an Tollheit streifend,

Beide.

Doch dann in Töne tiefer Schwermuth
Sanft ausklingend.

Both.

A song, that floats sweetly
Through the evening skies in enticing waves.

Bukowina.

At times grievously lamenting,
Wistfully moving,

Rusticia.

Soon again jubilating,
As if flirting with madness,

Both.

But then the sounds of profound melancholy
Gently dying away.⁹⁰

The response to her wish is a shepherd song (*Hirtenlied*), performed by a tenor.

Numerous musical features allude to folk traditions: the solo instrument is the flute, associated with shepherds; much of the accompaniment consists of long drones; the tempo is free (there are numerous *ad libita*, *ritardandi*, and fermatas in the score); and flute and singer trade and vary freely between each other tunes.

Most striking is the use of a raised scale degree 4 (see e.g. m. 6 in **Fig. 3.7**), which is common in the traditional music of both Ukrainians and Romanians (but not in the Alpine Habsburg lands) and thus provides local “ethnic” color.⁹¹ While the entire plot of the cantata exudes archaic timelessness and only vaguely alludes to

⁹⁰ The English translation of the cantata (by D. F. in collaboration with Max Hylton) has appeared in the appendix of the first published edition (E. M., *Im Buchenland*, ed. D. F., 270–282).

⁹¹ Two pieces in Mikuli’s “airs nationaux roumains” feature this mode, see Charles Mikuli [Karol Mikuli], *Douze airs nationaux roumains (Ballades, chants des bergers, airs de danse etc.)* (L’viv: Kallenbach (Vols. 4), [undated]), nos. 9 and 12. It is likely that Mandyczewski knew these pieces composed by a fellow Czernowitzer.

moments in Bukovina’s history, the shepherd is even more abstract a character as he is even nameless.

Fig. 3.7: E. M., *Im Buchenland*, no. 20 “Hirtenlied” (Shepherd Song), m. 1–8.

After the cantata’s enthusiastic premiere reception, sections of it were performed in various concerts in Czernowitz in subsequent years, for example the fortieth anniversary concert of the *Musikverein* in 1892.⁹² It was also on the program in a concert given in honor of an important visitor, Archduke Eugen, in 1901.⁹³ The piece’s patriotic significance became evident in a newspaper column: the *Bukowiner Rundschau* vented at length its anger about the fact that the libretto was printed in Leipzig and not with a domestic publishing house.⁹⁴

Another Family Affair

An important sphere of Mandyczewski’s compositional activities in Czernowitz was constituted by schools, since three of his siblings worked as teachers. Ecaterina (Kathi) taught at the *Mädchenlyzeum* (Girls’ High School) and Georg (or Gheorge),

⁹² *Genossenschafts- und Vereinszeitung*, December 1, 1892.

⁹³ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 30, 1901.

⁹⁴ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 23, 1889.

who had studied counterpoint with Eusebius in Vienna, taught at the *griechisch-orientalische Oberrealschule* (Eastern Orthodox High School), where another brother, Konstantin (1859–1933), served as director. Founded in 1863, that school was supported by the Eastern Orthodox Religious Fund (*griechisch-orientalischer Religionsfonds*) and under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bukovina.⁹⁵ Although Eastern Orthodoxy was by far the largest religious denomination in the Crown Land, only a quarter of the capital's population adhered to it, and it thus comes as no surprise that the school accepted students from other denominations as well. In 1906/7, for example, 316 of the school's 613 students were Jewish, 153 Roman Catholic, and only 100 Eastern Orthodox (the remainder was Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, or Protestant).⁹⁶

In 1905 many schools, including Czernowitz's Eastern Orthodox High School, held festivities to mark the hundredth anniversary of Friedrich Schiller's death. Various local dignitaries, among them Archbishop von Repta and Mayor Eduard Reiss, attended and enjoyed a varied program:

The school's headmaster, Konstantin Mandyczewski, opened the celebration with a speech [...] Following the very well-received festive speech, the students, conducted by Professor Horner, sang the chorus from "Ode to Joy." Next the students Gregor and Dulberg performed scenes from "Wallenstein's Death" and thereafter, a men's quartet, consisting of A. Tucek, G. Prelici, Dr. J. Werenka and Dr. K. Bilinski, sang "Der Alpenjäger" [The Alpine Hunter] composed by Eusebius Mandyczewski; they were accompanied by Georg Mandyczewski. [...] an interesting variety was brought about by several scenes from "Mary Stuart," translated into Romanian and declaimed highly

⁹⁵ The introductory essay for the first published edition of Mandyczewski's part-song *Der Alpenjäger* has drawn in part from this section (E. M., *Der Alpenjäger*, ed. Dietmar Friesenegger (Chernivtsi: KnyhyXXI, 2017), xi-xii).

⁹⁶ *XLIII. [43.] Jahresbericht der gr.-or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz* [43rd yearbook of the Eastern Orthodox High School in Czernowitz.] (Czernowitz: Gr.-or. Ober-Realschule and Eckhardt'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1907), 63.

competently by the students Weißmann and Gottlieb, as well as by a felicitous rendering of “Bürgschaft” [The Hostage], translated into Ruthenian, by the student Soroczinski.⁹⁷

An extraordinary school performance: scenes from Schiller’s *Mary Stuart* in Romanian; his ballad “The Pledge” declaimed in Ukrainian; and scenes from *Wallenstein’s Death*, in which a student, Joseph Gregor, performed, who would later become famous as a theater scholar and as librettist for Richard Strauss.

Given that conflicts between Romanians and Ukrainians within the Orthodox Church were a major source of tension at the time (see Ch. 5), Mandyczewski had chosen a particularly apt Schiller text for the celebration at a school in which the majority of teachers and many students were adherents of that denomination.⁹⁸ In Schiller’s poem *The Alpine Hunter* (1804), a mountain spirit prevents a young man from shooting a mountain goat in a scene that culminates with the words: “Why should my herds before thee fall? There’s room upon the Earth for all!”⁹⁹ The choice of performers for the occasion assisted in driving the piece’s message home: the vocal quartet that premiered the part song consisted of five school teachers, Vojtech

⁹⁷ “Direktor Konst. Mandyczewski eröffnete die Feier mit einer kurzen Ansprache, [...] Nach der mit lebhaftem Beifall aufgenommenen Festrede sangen Schüler der Anstalt unter der Leitung des Musikprofessors Horner den Chor aus ‘An die Freude.’ Nachdem die Schüler Gregor und Dulberg Szenen aus ‘Wallensteins Tod’ vorgetragen hatten, sang ein Männerquartett, bestehend aus den Herren: A. Tucek, G. Prelici, Dr. J. Werenka und Dr. K. Bilinski ‘Der Alpenjäger’, komponiert von Eusebius Mandyczewski, begleitet von Georg Mandyczewski [...] Eine interessante Abwechslung brachte das [...] Programm durch einige ins Rumänische übersetzte Szenen aus ‘Maria Stuart,’ die von den Schülern Weißmann und Gottlieb sehr gut gesprochen wurden, sowie der gelungenen Vortrag der ins Ruthenische übersetzten ‘Bürgschaft,’ die der Schüler Soroczinski sehr gut wieder gab.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 9, 1905.

⁹⁸ There was a provision in the school’s bylaws to ensure that a majority of the teachers was Eastern Orthodox (Viktor Olinschi, “Die gr.-or. Oberrealschule in Czernowitz. Ihre Gründung und Entwicklung” [The Eastern Orthodox High School in Czernowitz: her foundation and development.], in *XLIX. [=50.] Jahresbericht der gr.-or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz* [Czernowitz: Eckhardt’sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1913], 32).

⁹⁹ Friedrich Schiller, *The Poems and Ballads*, trans. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton (New York: Clark and Maynard, 1864), 60. The original verse is: “Raum für alle hat die Erde, was verfolgst du meine Heerde [sic]?” (Friedrich [sic] Schiller, *Gedichte. Zweiter Theil*. Second, enlarged edition [Leipzig: Crusius, 1805], 337.)

(Adalbert) Tuček (who taught mathematics and physics), Dr. Ilarion Verenca and George Prelici (both teachers of Romanian for non-Romanians), and Dr. Klaudius Bilinski (who taught Ukrainian for non-Ukrainians), as well as Georg Mandyczewski (Gheorghe Mandicevski, the school's music teacher) on the piano.¹⁰⁰ In other words, three of the singers in the quartet were mediators between cultures in their professional lives.

A premiere of a piece by Mandyczewski also adorned the celebration of the school's fiftieth anniversary in 1913; these festivities had a strong integrative character with ample outreach across cultural divides.¹⁰¹ On one of the days of the celebration, services were held at several churches and the Temple. Chief Rabbi Dr. Rosenfeld delivered a particularly noteworthy speech for the occasion, in which he emphasized the warm relations between the Eastern Orthodox and Jewish communities in Czernowitz:

[...] in seven times seven years it was seven generations, who each attended this educational institution for seven years and received in it a preparation for life, a preparation for academic studies, and may they all celebrate the fiftieth year. [...] The Eastern Orthodox High School has been attended by Jewish boys in no small number, and they did not encounter any prejudice there, but found a convivial home, an institution that welcomed them like a loving mother. We thus observe to a holy duty when we commemorate this festive occasion in gratitude and great reverence the truly venerable men who led the Eastern Orthodox Church in this state and [...] also the headmasters and teachers, who gave our children their very best – their knowledge and love [...]¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 9, 1905.

¹⁰¹ My introductory essay for the first published edition of Mandyczewski's part-song *Der Alpenjäger* draws from an earlier draft of this section (E. M., *Kantate zur Fünfzigjahrfeier der griechisch-orientalischen Oberrealschule in Czernowitz*, ed. Dietmar Friesenegger [Chernivtsi: KnyhyXXI, 2017], xi-xii).

¹⁰² "In sieben Mal sieben Jahren sind sieben Generationen, die je sieben Jahre diese Lehranstalt besuchten und in ihr die Vorbereitung fürs Leben, die Vorbereitung für ein wissenschaftliches Studium fanden, aus derselben hervorgegangen und sie alle mögen das fünfzigste Jahr feiern. [...] Die gr.-or. Oberrealschule wurde auch nicht zum geringen Teile von jüdischen Jünglingen aufgesucht und sie beegneten dort keinem Vorurteil, sie fanden vielmehr ein gastliches Heim, die Lehranstalt nahm sie

The speech of headmaster Konstantin Mandyczewski, in which he expressed his gratitude and loyalty to the Emperor and suggested that a telegram be sent to Franz Joseph immediately, reminds today's reader of the decades of continuity that had preceded the event and of the integrative role the ruler had at the time. After all, Franz Joseph had already been in power when the school was inaugurated fifty years earlier.¹⁰³

A gala concert featured the new cantata, which in the composer's autographs bear the apt but not quite concise title *Cantate zur 50Jahrfeier der gr. or. OberRealschule in Czernowitz* (Cantata for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Eastern Orthodox High School in Czernowitz).¹⁰⁴ If the choice for Mandyczewski's Fourth Liturgy, which was also given on the program, avoided privileging one of the two vernaculars of Bukovina's Eastern Orthodox congregants by using Greek instead, the cantata libretto addressed the religious backgrounds of the entire student body—Jews and Christians alike—by selecting texts from the Hebrew Bible.

This libretto, compiled by the composer himself, consists of passages from the biblical *Book of Proverbs* amended by an exclamation for dramatic purposes – “Weisheit, Weisheit, Freude!” (Wisdom, Wisdom, Happiness) – and a quote from Baron van Swieten's libretto to Haydn's Oratorio *The Seasons*, “O Fleiß, du edler Fleiß, von Dir kommt alles Heil” (O toil, you noble toil, from thee springs every

wie eine liebevolle Mutter auf. Wir erfüllen darum eine heilige Pflicht, wenn wir bei diesem festlichen Anlasse der wahrhaft ehrwürdigen Männer in Dankbarkeit und hoher Verehrung gedenken, die an der Spitze der gr.-or. Kirche in diesem Lande stehen und [...] ebenso der Leiter und Lehrer, die auch unseren Kindern ihr Bestes gaben, nämlich ihr Wissen und ihre Liebe.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 21, 1913.

¹⁰³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 21, 1913.

¹⁰⁴ BPK 80/353671 (full score) und BPK 379650 (vocal scores), Manuscript Collection, UCh.

good).¹⁰⁵ The review in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* summarized

Mandyczewski's choices well:

[...] the passage he chose as his basis is lyrical and reflective: 'Happy is the man that findeth wisdom ...' and has a center section, in which laziness is apostrophized, which in a strange way differs from the beginning and end of the Biblical passage, which praises wisdom and diligence. One knows what an inexhaustible treasure of poetry is in the Bible. [...] The choice of the piece is decidedly brilliant if one considers the occasion for the composition, as the institution celebrated teaches wisdom and diligence. The composer adheres strictly to traditional forms and molds the construction of the choirs and solo passages closely to the old style on the one hand and to the text on the other.¹⁰⁶

The approximately fifteen-minute-long piece is mainly scored for choir and orchestra, but also contains a passage for men's quartet and a bass solo. That three of the soloists were teachers at the institution must have given the act even more power, as well as a comic effect. In one of the cantata's most lyrical passages, the men's quartet, which included two science teachers and the school's librarian, preached the value of wisdom over material goods (**Fig. 3.8**):¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, a paper that had recently been in contact with the composer for a feuilleton, identified him as the compiler of the libretto text ("Der Text ist vom Komponisten nach Worten der Bibel äußerst geschickt zusammengestellt, [...]"; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1913). The quote from *The Seasons* is exclusively verbal.

¹⁰⁶ "[...] die von ihm als Unterlage gewählte Stelle ist lyrisch-reflexiv: 'Wohl dem Menschen, der Weisheit findet' und hat ein Mittelstück, eine Apostrophierung des Faulen, das sich eigenartig abhebt vom Beginn und Schluss der Bibelpartie, die das Lob der Weisheit und des Fleißes singt. Man weiß, welch ein unerschöpflicher Schatz von Poesie in der Bibel ruht; [...]; die Wahl des Stückes ist als eine entschieden glänzende zu bezeichnen, wenn man noch den Anlass der Komposition bedenkt, da die Jubilarin dazu bestimmt ist, Weisheit und Fleiß zu lehren. Der Komponist hält sich streng an die traditionellen Formen und schmiegt den Bau der Chöre und Solis dem überkommenen Stil einerseits und dem Text andererseits enge an." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 21, 1913.

¹⁰⁷ The teachers were Laurint Tomoiaga (who taught biology and physics), Vojtech (Adalbert) Tuček (a teacher of mathematics and physics; and Emil Forgaci (who taught German and served as librarian). Tuček already sang in the quartet that premiered the *Alpine Hunter*.

Mandyczewski's text (after Proverbs 4:7 (in Luther's translation) ¹⁰⁸	English translation (author's transl.) ¹⁰⁹
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Der Weisheit Anfang ist, dass man sie gerne höret, und die Klugheit lieber hat denn alle Güter.	The beginning of wisdom is that one enjoys hearing it, and that one prefers prudence to goods.
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The musical score consists of three systems. The first system (measures 178-189) features vocal parts for Tenors 1 and 2 (T. 1, 2) and Basses 1 and 2 (B. 1, 2), along with an orchestral part (Orch.). The lyrics are: "Der Weisheit Anfang ist, dass man sie gerne höret, und die". The second system (measures 190-202) continues the vocal parts and orchestra. The lyrics are: "Klugheit, und die Klugheit, die Klugheit, lieber hat denn alle Güter." The score includes dynamic markings like *p* and various musical notations such as rests, notes, and chords.

Fig. 3.8: E. M., *Kantate zur Fünfzigjahrfeier der griechisch-orientalischen Oberrealschule*, m. 178–202 (piano score by the composer; ed. D. F.)

An even more striking pedagogico-comical effect was achieved by the bass solo, in a section, which, according to the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, “proclaims the punishment for the lazy.”¹¹⁰ In a sudden, highly agitated manner (*Allegro*, A minor, with an Aragonaise-like accompaniment) the bass performed a scriptural rant against idleness, in which the ant is cited as a model of economical housekeeping (**Fig. 3.9**):

¹⁰⁸ *Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, rev. ed. after Martin Luther (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1912).

¹⁰⁹ The rendering in the King James Bible lacks the didactic tone (and thus does not convey the potential for irony as Luther's version): “Wisdom is the principal thing; / therefore get wisdom: / and with all thy getting get understanding.”

¹¹⁰ “Der nächste Satz, ‘Allegro,’ für Baßsolo und Chor, der effektivste Teil der Kantate, verkündet die Strafe, welcher die Faulen verfallen.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1913.

Nr. 5. Allegro

300

S. *f* du Fau-ler und ler - ne

A. *f* du Fau-ler und ler - ne

T. *f* du Fau-ler und ler - ne

B. *f* du Fau-ler und ler - ne

B. Solo *f* Ge-he hin zur A-mei-se, du Fau-ler, sieh ih - re Wei-se und ler - ne! Ob

Nr. 5. Allegro

Orch. *sfz* *sfz* *sfz*

307

B. Solo sie wohl kei - nen Fürs-ten noch Haupt-mann noch Herrn hat, be - rei - tet sie sich doch ihr Brot im Som - mer und

Orch. *p* *p*

Fig. 3.9: E. M., *Kantate zur Fünfzigjahrfeier*, mm. 300–13.

Mandyczewski's text (after Proverbs 6:6–8 in Luther's translation)¹¹¹

Gehe hin zur Ameise Du Fauler
sieh ihre Weise und lerne
Ob sie wohl keinen Fürsten
noch Hauptmann noch Herrn hat,
bereitet sie sich doch ihr Brot im Sommer
und sammelt ihre Speise in der Ernte.

English version (King James Bible)

Go to the ant, thou sluggard;
consider her ways, and be wise:
Which having no guide,
overseer, or ruler,
Provideth her meat in the summer,
and gathereth her food in the harvest.

¹¹¹ *Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift*, rev. after Luther.

The choir's interjections – i.e. several dozen schoolboys exclaiming “thou sluggard” – crowned the comedy. The reviewer in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* was content, and so was the audience:

A vivid bass solo apostrophizes laziness in an excellent way, to which the choir responds. The finale culminates in a jubilating fortissimo. The school choir functioned outstandingly, the bright, sharp boys' voices cannot be replaced by anything for church music regarding their tone color. Much acclaim recognized the treat.¹¹²

The school's internal music forces were supported on this occasion by three of the city's largest music institutions, the *Musikverein* (which provided the conductor, Alfred Schlüter), army band, and Men's Singing Society.¹¹³ The involvement of these organizations, a crowded concert hall,¹¹⁴ and the wide-ranging press coverage (comprehensive reports, texts of speeches and detailed concert reviews) make the status of the school abundantly clear, and the content of the speeches suggests that a city celebrated here its self-image, of a collaborative spirit across linguistic, ethnic, and denominational boundaries.

This image, however, was not uncontested. A protest accompanied the performance of the second piece on the concert program, Mandyczewski's Fourth Liturgy (here referred to – generically – as “Greek Mass”):

¹¹² “Sehr gut charakterisiert ist die Apostrophierung des Faulen durch ein lebhaftes Bass-Solo, dem der Chor antwortet. Der Schluss steigert sich zu einem jubelnden Fortissimo. Der Schülerchor wirkte vorzüglich, die hellen, herben Knabenstimmen sind doch in der Kirchenmusik nahezu unersetzlich, was die Tonfärbung betrifft. Starker Beifall dankte für den Genuss.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21. Mai 1913.

¹¹³ There were three conductors involved in the performance: the Liturgy was prepared by Hilarion Verenka, but conducted by Mandyczewski in the concert (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1913). Hilarion (Ilarion, Ilarie) Verenka (Verenka) (1877–1923) studied voice and counterpoint at the Conservatory in Vienna between 1907 and 1911 (see for example, *Jahresbericht Akademie* 1910/11, 122).

¹¹⁴ “Stürmischer Beifall löste sich vom vollbesetzten Hause los, als die letzten Akkorde verklungen waren.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1913.

An embarrassing incident threatened to endanger the performances of the Greek Mass. A few fanatical politicians thought themselves obliged to protest with whistling and yelling against the participation of other denominations in the performance of the Greek Mass. We do not want to preoccupy ourselves with politics here, yet we do want to raise a question of taste: the proceedings of these men were decidedly tasteless. And then: is it not known to these fanatics that in the entire world church music – not only in concerts but also in houses of prayer – gets performed with members of all denominations in an indiscriminately artistic [‘promiscue künstlerisch’] manner?¹¹⁵

The *Bukowiner Post* identified the protest as a “Russophile manifestation” and delivered background information about the incident: a local lawyer and his brother had shouted boos and started whistling from the second gallery as protest against the participation of Jews in a Christian Mass.¹¹⁶

The circumstances of the celebration illustrate particularly well how the social configuration of historical Czernowitz lends itself to a wide array of interpretations and how it could elicit such a divided overall assessment. The event at large was framed with speeches by the school’s headmaster and the Chief Rabbi about loyalty and mutual respect. The concert program acknowledged with one piece the nominal school provider – the Eastern Orthodox Church – and with another the student body as

¹¹⁵ “Ein peinlicher Zwischenfall drohte die Produktion [der] griechischen Messe zu gefährden. Einige fanatische Politiker hielten sich für verpflichtet, gegen die Mitwirkung anderer Konfessionen an der Aufführung der griechischen Messe durch Pfiffe und Pfui-Rufe zu demonstrieren. Wir wollen uns an dieser Stelle nicht mit Politik befassen. Wohl aber mit dem Geschmack: Das Vorgehen der Herren war entschieden geschmacklos. Und dann: Ist diesen politischen Fanatikern nicht bekannt, dass in aller Welt bei Aufführung[en] von Kirchenkompositionen, nicht nur in Konzerten, sondern sogar in den Gotteshäusern selbst, alle Konfessionen promiscue künstlerisch tätig zu sein pflegen?” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1913.

¹¹⁶ “Kaum hatte das Konzert begonnen, als man von der zweiten Gallerie Pfuirufe und gleich darauf zwei gellende Pfiffe vernahem. [...] aus dem Grunde, weil sie es mit ihren Grundsätzen für unvereinbar [sic] hielten, daß in einer christlichen Messe Juden mitwirken sollen. Zum Zwecke einer wirksamen Demonstration haben dieselben u. a. 40 Freikarten an halbwüchsige Jungens verteilt, die nach dem Signal der Rädelsführer gleichfalls in das Geschrei einstimmen sollten. Im Momente der Entscheidung scheinen dieselben den Mut verloren zu haben, denn die Demonstration blieb auf die beiden Gierowskis beschränkt.” *Bukowiner Post*, 22. Mai 1913. One of the four soloists in the Liturgy, Amalie Eigermann, was Jewish (*Die Stimme: Mitteilungsblatt für die Bukowiner* 123, March 1, 1960).

a whole. Eastern Orthodoxy was the concert's focus, but adherents of other religious denominations were included on stage. And the composer chosen for the occasion was not only the city's most important musical export to Vienna but also had personal ties to the school, as he was the headmaster's brother. *In other words: Czernowitz straight out of a picture book with hand-colored postcards.*

Yet the concert's planning can also be read as taking into account underlying tensions – and as a response to previous conflict. Some of the decisions made for that purpose could even be read as an exclusionary narrative (especially from a later vantage point): While Greek made perfect sense for liturgical reasons and German had its place as the local lingua franca, the two languages became meaningless once national identification took center stage; after all, the two vernaculars of the Orthodox congregants, Ukrainian and Romanian, were not represented.

Mandyczewski, borders, and oblivion

A dictionary from Soviet Ukraine identified Mandyczewski in 1976 as a “Ukrainian and Austrian musicologist, composer, and conductor,”¹¹⁷ and a New Grove entry from 2001 considered him as a “Romanian musicologist active in Austria.”¹¹⁸ Recently he was declared an ambassador between “Western European music practice and that of his country of origin [i.e. Romania]” who was allegedly delighted to hear about

¹¹⁷ “[...] український і австрійський музикознавець, композитор і диригент.” Шевченківський словник у двох томах [Shevchenko Dictionary in 2 Volumes] Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Shevchenko Institute of Literature, 1976), sub verbum “Мандичевський Єусебій” [Mandyczewski Eusebii].

¹¹⁸ Maurice Brown, revised by Valentina Sandu-Dediu, “Mandyczewski, Eusebius,” *Grove Music Online*; <https://doi-org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17615> (accessed April 9, 2020).

performances of his music in that home country.¹¹⁹ Borders that had not existed during his lifetime, or that played a negligible role in his life, were inscribed into his biography. Posthumously, his being at home in several cultures but without borders turned into travels among countries, and his profession in the capital of his home country was declared a workplace in a foreign metropolis.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ “Sein Schaffen erfüllte eine Brückenfunktion zwischen der westeuropäischen Musikpraxis und jener seines Herkunftslandes.” (“In Briefen zeigte sich Mandyczewski über die Aufführungen seiner Werke in Rumänien begeistert.”) Haiganuş Preda-Schimek, “Eusebius Mandyczewski in Wiener Musikkreisen der Jahrhundertwende: Abschlußbericht,” unpublished, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Sig. 289644B, 2007, 9.

¹²⁰ Most of the relevant literature on Mandyczewski was published in German and Romanian. The literature on the composer’s life includes the only monograph on Mandyczewski, written by keyboardist Christian Lambour and drawing from interviews with the composer’s daughter Virginia Cysarz in the 1980s, as well as from numerous archival materials he inherited from her (Christian Lambour, *Eusebius Mandyczewski: Nachklänge eine Meisters* [Innsbruck: Traditionsverband Katholische Czernowitzer Pennäler, 2014]; Christian Lambour kindly gave me access to his archive and greatly supported my project). Mircea Bejinariu published several letters with memoirs written by Mandyczewski’s niece Maria von Kulmer (1890–1983) in the late 1970s (Mircea Bejinariu, ed., “Die Erinnerungen der Baronin Marie von Kulmer an Eusebius Mandyczewski,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 34 [1983]: 85–109). Kulmer’s account provides information about family life in Czernowitz and gives insight into the musical activities in the Mandyczewski household in Vienna around 1910, when she lived with her uncle while studying the piano. Several publications in Romanian draw from a short autobiographical account by Mandyczewski from 1923, which his brother Constantin annotated and published in 1925 (Eusebiu Mandicevschi, “Date biografice sdunate din memorie,” *Muzica* 6 [1925]: 165–75; the essay includes the first published catalogue of Mandyczewski’s compositions). An overview of the composer’s life and work is appended to Liviu Rusu’s edition of selected works (Liviu Rusu, *Eusebiu Mandicevschi: Opere alese* [Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1957], III–XV); according to Maria von Kulmer (Bejinariu, “Erinnerungen,” 88) Rusu had planned to write a biography on the composer, but other than the edition, only a short biographical article made it to the printing press (Liviu Rusu, “Un veac de la naşterea lui Eusebiu Mandicevschi,” *Musica* VII, no. 5 [May 1957]: 14–7. A detailed overview of Mandyczewski’s activities was written by Ligia Toma Zoicaş (Zoicaş, “Eusebie Mandicevschi,” *Studii de muzicologie* [1980]: 133–174). Her account is largely based on Aspasia Şandru’s translations of selected letters by Mandyczewski as well as on the printed scores; the account constructs Mandyczewski as a composer of Romanian vocal music, leaving out most traces of contribution in other languages. Haiganuş Preda-Schimek published an article on Mandyczewski and his friendship with Brahms (Haiganuş Preda-Schimek, “Eusebius Mandyczewski, Brahms' Vertrauter: Ein Beitrag zum 150. Geburtstag,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 62, no. 6 [2007]: 24–33), and examined Mandyczewski’s place in Vienna’s artistic circles (Preda-Schimek, “Eusebius Mandyczewski in Wiener Musikkreisen,” 22 p., includes a catalogue of the composer’s works). Of his letters, only the correspondence with Brahms has been published (Karl Geiringer, ed., “Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Eusebius Mandyczewski,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15 [May 1933]: 337–70; engl. translation see Karl Geiringer, ed. *On Brahms and His Circle: Essays and Documentary Studies*, rev. George Bozarth [Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006], 211–310. In an unpublished talk kept at the Romanian Academy Library, Aspasia Şandru discussed Mandyczewski’s relationship to his homeland Bukovina (with Bukovina constructed as part of Romania). She praised Mandyczewski as Bukovina’s greatest musician and encouraged the publication of his music and the writing of a

Mandyczewski's self-identification and sense of belonging provide no basis for such claims. To the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 he reacted with apathy¹²¹ and three years later he still considered himself homeless: "The preoccupation with these songs brought me closer to home [*Heimat*]. But since the end of the war – one can sadly not say: since peace has come – I don't have a home any longer. At least that is my feeling."¹²² He refused any national identity imposed on him, not even the one closest to his family heritage and tradition: "I also do not feel 'Romanian,' but only human, general. I also want to see the person that dictates to me that I am a 'Romanian.'"¹²³ It appears he regarded his identity ties as defined by various practices, not as a single trajectory exclusively rooted in his background. The degree of flexibility in this approach showed in a conversation about traits in personality as shaped by an environment: when he discussed Brahms's character traits with their

biography, but did not add information to what had already been provided by Eusebius respectively Constantin in 1925 ("Mandicevschi și Bucovina," Conferința de Dr. Aspasia Șandru [Talk by A. Ș.], undated, Arh. Muzicienilor, E. Mandicevski II mss. 6). A short essay in Russian by Yakov Soroker and Orest Yatskiv appeared in 1974 in the journal *Sovetskaya muzyka* (Yakov Soroker and Orest Yatskiv [Яков Сорокер, Орест Яцкив], "Достойный изучения и популяризации" [Worthy of study and popularization], *Советская музыка* [Sovetskaya muzyka] 6 [1974]: 92–98). Yatskiv also published an essay in Ukrainian in 1999 (Yatskiv, "Свєвій Мандичевський – музикознавець, композитор, педагог" [Eusebius Mandyczewski – musicologist, composer, pedagogue], *Musica Galiciana. Kultura muzyczna Galicii w kontekście stosunków polsko-ukraińskich (od doby piastowsko-książęcej doroku 1945)* 3 [1999]: 237–253). Both essays seek to draw attention to Mandyczewski's Ukrainian ties. Recently, Vladimir Acatrini has begun to examine the history of the Mandyczewski family (see for example, Vladimir Acatrini [Владимир Акатрини], "Повернути втрачені імена: сім'я мандичевських" [Returning Lost Names: The Mandyczewski Family], *Молодий вчений* [Molodyi vchenyi] 22, no. 7 [July 2015]: 32–36).

¹²¹ "Denke dir nur: manchmal stellt sich bei wieder die Sehnsucht ein, noch einmal die Heimat zu sehen. Das kommt mir jetzt selbst sehr merkwürdig vor, weil ich schon seit November dachte, ich kann wohl nie wieder dahin und hätte gar keine Lust dazu. Wie so viele andere war ich im Innersten ganz apathisch und gleichgültig geworden." E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, March. 29, 1919, S14–186, BAR.

¹²² "Die Beschäftigung mit diese Liedern hat mich der Heimat wieder etwas näher gebracht. Denn seit der Krieg aus ist – man kann leider nicht sagen: seit der Friede da ist – habe ich keine rechte Heimat mehr. Wenigstens ist meine Empfindung so." E. M., letters to his sister Ecaterina, Sept. 13, 1921, S14–192, CCCXLIX, BAR.

¹²³ "Ich habe auch kein rumänisches Empfinden, sondern nur ein menschliches, ein allgemeines." ("I do not feel 'Romanian,' but only human, general.") Underlined as in the original. E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, May 2, 1884; Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

mutual friend Richard Heuberger, Mandyczewski even referred to himself as a Southern German: “This character trait, engrained in him with Northern German rigidity, may appear to us Southern Germans uncongenial and not collegial.”¹²⁴

Neither his refusal to declare himself Romanian, nor his one-time self-characterization as Southern German, should be misconstrued as hints to a fixed concept of self-identification: he neither abjured his Romanian heritage nor considered himself an assimilated German Austrian (as many Habsburg citizens did despite their Slavic names or other different backgrounds). What he refused was being co-opted by a group, in the sense of a “bounded collectivity with a sense of solidarity [...] and capacity for concerted action” (Rogers Brubaker), i.e. to a rigid form of internal identification as well as to a political cause.¹²⁵ This refusal did not translate into any cultural distancing: his Romanian heritage not only played into his decision to compose several liturgical compositions in that language, but also inspired numerous other compositions of his as well, including his *Romanian Songs* and a Romanian *Singspiel* for children for the celebration of his father’s birthday (1893).¹²⁶ When in the early 1900s the Austrian government initiated a research project to study folk song across the Empire, Mandyczewski joined the committee for Romanian folk song in Bukovina, and as a result of this commitment arranged several hundred Romanian folk songs.

¹²⁴ “Diesen Charakterzug, der norddeutsch starr in ihm ausgeprägt ist, mögen wir Süddeutschen unsympathisch finden und uncollegial [...]” E. M., letter to Richard Heuberger, August 1, 1889, Teilnachlass Richard Heuberger, currently held at the Research Center *Johannes Brahms Gesamtausgabe* (JBG) at the Institute of Musicology at Kiel University, Germany. The trait in question is an alleged lack of support and caring for others.

¹²⁵ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2004), 12.

¹²⁶ The piece is titled *Un bal mascat* [A masquerade]; a surviving program indicates that the cast included three of Mandyczewski’s nieces (text manuscript, program, and score, see MR 1322, BAR).

The question of Mandyczewski's Ukrainian ties is even more complex. A recent publication declared that Mandyczewski, "as the son of a Greek Catholic priest, was Ukrainian."¹²⁷ Mandyczewski's father was indeed a priest, but not Greek Catholic; in any case, patrilineage is certainly not the only or definitive marker of ethnic or cultural identity.¹²⁸ In none of the extant letters did Mandyczewski regard himself as Ukrainian (or Ruthenian), but he did refer to himself as "half-Slavic" (and, according to Heuberger, Brahms even called Mandyczewski on one occasion a "Slavic pighead").¹²⁹ The assertion in most Romanian scholarship – that the Mandyczewskis had been completely assimilated Romanians for generations, despite a Slavic heritage – is not plausible either. Basilius Mandyczewski was active in both a Ukrainian and a Romanian cultural club, and in an 1877 letter to his mother Eusebius sent Easter greetings that explicitly addressed the family's Slavic heritage.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ "В енциклопедіях, довідниках, в тому числі і у всіх доступних на сьогодні Інтернет-ресурсах, чомусь більшість європейських джерел (німецькі, польські, чеські) подають його як румуна за походженням, натомість англломовні слушно зазначають, що як син греко-католицького священика він таки був українцем." ("In encyclopedias, reference books, including all online resources available today, the majority of European sources [in German, Polish, Czech] state that he was Romanian by birth, instead of pointing out correctly that he was, as a son of a Greek Catholic priest, Ukrainian.") Люба Кияновська [Lyuba Kyuanovs'ka], "Євсей Мандичевський у мусичній українській" [Eusebius Mandyczewski in Ukrainian Music], *Українська Музика*, no. 1 (2012): 38-47, 39. I am grateful to Ivanka Andrejziw for her assistance with this translation.) See also: Luba Kyuanovska, "Ukrainische Kontakte von Eusebius Mandyczewski," *Musikzeitung: Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Musikkultur im Südöstlichen Europa e.V.* 6 (December 2008): 27–39, esp. 28.

¹²⁸ The assertion that Mandyczewski's father had come from Galicia (Kyuanovska, "Ukrainische Kontakte," 38), a region where Greek Catholicism was more common than in Bukovina, is similarly false: Mandyczewski's father was born in Bährinești [today Багринівка [Bahrynivka], Ukraine], a village in Bukovina (see the – Eastern Orthodox – baptismal register of his village, "Colectia de stare civila – Parohia Bährinești," No. 1/1802, "Bährinești Nascuti [Bährinești Births], 1802–1871," 70–71, Arhivele Naționale ale României, Suceava, Romania).

¹²⁹ "Dickköpfig, wie ich als halber Slave nun schon bin, weiß ich am besten zu berurtheilen, was das heißt, in eigener Sache seine Meinung ändern; [...]" E. M., letter to Johannes Brahms, April 2, 1895, in Geiringer, ed., "Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel," 365. Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms. Tagebuchnotizen aus den Jahren 1875 bis 1897*, ed. Kurt Hofmann, 2nd ed. (Tutzing: Schneider, 1976), 167.

¹³⁰ f. 3, op. 1/5918, DACHO.

I am greeting father with a Христоць боскресь [Ch. Slavonic; “Christ has risen”], great-grandmother as well, to Onesim, Ginia, Konstantin, Erast, Marie, Tinzia and brother Georg I am also sending greetings, but particularly to you, as I am your son Eusebius.¹³¹

An appreciation of his two lineages can also be seen in a passage from a letter to his sister, in which he addressed their donations to student dormitories in Czernowitz:

Thank you very much for the information about the dormitories. I wish they were international! That would be a real blessing, in my view. But given the way they are, I send you 25 florins, that is, 10 florins for the Eastern Orthodox Ruthenian dormitory and 15 florins for the two Romanian ones. I am very much in agreement with you regarding the non-mentioning of our names.¹³²

One claim frequently adduced to argue for Mandyczewski’s dedication to a particular national cause alleges that he was especially devoted to Romanian students. Only a very selective reading could enable the construction of such a dedication; his correspondence, by contrast, suggests a key role as contact for students from his home region Bukovina, regardless of their background:

A violinist Stier from Czernowitz was with me; a student of Hřimalý who has also enrolled at the conservatory. [...] It is indeed the case that all music-making Czernowitzer Jews come to Vienna. All to the conservatory and all to me. As if I could free them all of tuition!¹³³

For two such Jewish students from Czernowitz, the singer Julia Salter and the composer and conductor Ludwig Rottenberg, Mandyczewski had already become an

¹³¹ “Den Vater begrüße ich mit Христоць боскресь, die Urgroßmutter ditto, Onisim, Ginia, Konstantin, Erast, Marie, Tinzia und Bruder Georg grüße ich auch, dich aber ganz insbesondere, denn ich bin dein Sohn Eusebius.” E. M., letter to his mother, April 8, 1877, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

¹³² “Ich danke dir sehr für die Auskunft über die Internate. Ich wollt’, sie wären international! Das wär nach meiner Vorstellung der richtige Segen. Wie sie aber nun sind, schicke ich dir 25 fl [= Gulden, Anm.] und zwar 10 fl für das gr. or. ruthenische Internat und 15 fl für die beiden rumänischen. Mit dem Nicht-Nennen unseres Namens bin ich natürlich auch sehr einverstanden.” E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, January 1, 1897, BAR, S14-259/CCCXLIX.

¹³³ “Auch ein Geiger Stier aus Czernowitz war bei mir; Schüler des Hřimaly, der auch ins Conservatorium eingetreten ist. [...] Es kommen thatsächlich alle musiktreibenden Czernowitzer Juden nach Wien. Alle ins Conservatorium und alle auch zu mir. Als ob ich alle vom Schulgelde befreien könnte!” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, September 22, 1889, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

important mentor five years before: “Styrcea calls her [Salter] and Rottenberg with justification my apostles. They are two excellent Jewish kids [Judenkinder].”¹³⁴ In a list of fifteen of his most important private composition students in his 1923 “autobiographical note,” in which he included Leone Sinigaglia, Hans Gál, George Szell, and Elsa Wellner, he mentioned only of one student from Bukovina, Ludwig Rottenberg (the Romanian students on the list were added by his brother).¹³⁵

While these two quotations in combination may suggest that Mandyczewski supported his Jewish students despite reservations, his views on Jews and anti-Semitism seem to have undergone considerable development. As mentioned, one of his close high school friends, Isaac Baltinester, was Jewish, and on one occasion, Mandyczewski mentioned him as the only capable poet among his friends: “Baltinester would be the only one, but this talented guy has the despicable quality of being a Jew – a new difficulty.”¹³⁶ “Despicable” was likely a reference to how others would see Baltinester’s being Jewish (and hence make his contribution difficult), but in two other contexts from his student days, Mandyczewski used anti-Semitic slurs. In 1878 he made derogatory comments about a fellow soldier during his military service; and he once said about his own sister that “the girl is as lazy and as idle as a

¹³⁴ “Sie und den Rottenberg nennt Styrcea mit Recht meinen Apostel. Sie sind zwei ausgezeichnete Judenkinder.” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, May 1, 1884, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

¹³⁵ E. M., “Schiță autobiografică.”

¹³⁶ “Baltinester wäre der einzige, aber dieser talentirte Junge hat die verabscheuungswürdige Eigenschaft ein Jud zu sein – eine neue Schwierigkeit.” Eusebius Mandyczewski, letter to his sister Virginia, April 11, 1880, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

Czernowitz Jewess.”¹³⁷ Later in his life, anti-Semitism was his target of irony or even scorn, as is evident in a letter to his sister Ecaterina from 1899:

That you give more lessons than you receive is self-evident, as according to Christ’s teaching it is more blessed to give than to receive. But that you prefer taking lessons to receiving them, that I would – were I a modern person, that is, an anti-Semite – attribute to the region where you live, even though the majority of people elsewhere also prefer receiving than to giving, especially when it comes to lessons.¹³⁸

In Mandyczewski’s correspondence, he hardly ever mentioned that he felt mistreated, but one remark from 1887 suggests that he had experienced his share of prejudice based upon his background:

That my essay on Heuberger found your acclaim delighted me very much. I only regret not having put my complete name below it. But after having had some experience I feared that my Slavic name could be an obstacle with this specifically German paper. As currently it does look rather grim in our beloved Austria regarding such matters.¹³⁹

Such experience, in conjunction with Mandyczewski’s reflective and sensitive nature, certainly provides an additional indication as to why and how he held his own biases in check.

*

The impact of redrawn borders on Mandyczewski’s multifaceted biography and oeuvre can hardly be overestimated. In 1928, Mandyczewski signed a contract with

¹³⁷ “Das Mädels verfügt über eine Faulheit und Bequemlichkeit, als wie eine Czernowitzer Jüdin.” E. M., letter to his sister Virginia, September 14, 1883, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

¹³⁸ “Daß du mehr Stunden gibst als nimmst, ist ja selbstverständlich, weil nach Christi Lehre Geben seliger ist denn Nehmen. Daß du aber lieber Stunden nimmst als gibst, das könnte mich, wenn ich ein moderner Mensch, also ein Antisemit, wäre, verleiten, es auf die Gegend zurückzuführen, in der du lebst, obwohl die Menschen auch anderwärts mehrstentheils lieber nehmen als geben, besonders wenn es nicht gerade Stunden sein müssen.” E. M., letter to his sister Ecaterina, April 4, 1899, BAR, S14-77/CCCXLIX.

¹³⁹ “Daß Mein Aufsatz über Heuberger Ihren Beifall fand, hat mich sehr erfreut. Ich bedaure nur, nicht meinen vollen Namen unter denselben gesetzt zu haben. Aber ich habe nach öfter gemachten Erfahrungen befürchtet, daß mein slavischer Name für das specifisch deutsche Blatt ein Hinderniß sein wird. Denn heutzutage sieht es in diesen Dingen in unserem lieben Österreich leider trostlos aus.” E. M., letter to Ferdinand Bischoff, June 4, 1887, Archive KUG.

the Metropolis of Czernowitz/Cernăuți for the publication of his twelve liturgies and provided a catalogue of the pieces for a letter to archbishop Nectarie Cotlarciuc, his niece's husband.¹⁴⁰ Mandyczewski revised them and added a Romanian version for the sixth liturgy, the only one that had originally been exclusively in Church Slavonic. Only four liturgies were actually published, all exclusively in Romanian (three that had originally been Romanian and the altered piece). The catalogue appeared on the last page of the published scores, but with one alteration: the sixth liturgy appeared as exclusively Romanian, without information about its original version. Given the importance of published editions for a piece's wider circulation, a multifaceted liturgical oeuvre had been mainstreamed along national lines.

Recent developments on the other side of the border that divides Bukovina today display a similar problem: while Ukrainian scholarship and journalism since the 2000s – drawing on some Soviet antecedents – have attempted to “reclaim” Mandyczewski as Ukrainian, several of his most important pieces (cantatas, a mass, a set of piano miniatures) lay ignored but easily accessible in a Ukrainian library when I came upon them in 2016.¹⁴¹ Such negligence partly resides in scholarly culture that relies heavily on established scholarship and a bowing to authority at the expense of archival research, but one also gets the impression that the position of Mandyczewski

¹⁴⁰ E. M., letter to the Archbishop of Cernăuți, Nectarie Cotlarciuc, October 19, 1928, f.320, op. 1/2145, DACHO (Svitlana Leonidivna Konstantin kindly pointed me to this letter).

¹⁴¹ These include the cantatas *Der Harmonie Gewalt* (1882), *Im Buchenland* (1888/9), and *Cantate zur 50Jahrfeier der gr. or. Oberrealschule in Czernowitz* (1913); the part song *Der Alpenjäger* (1905); the Latin Mass *Tattendorfer Messe* (1886), and the *Kleine Kadenzen, Kanons u. Präludien für Pianoforte* (Little Cadences, Canons, and Preludes for Piano, 1916). The library must have come into the possession of the cantatas before 1957, as Liviu Rusu mentioned in his publication a phone call with the rector of Chernivtsi's university during which the latter confirmed that the scores had recently been found (Rusu, *Mandicevschi: Opere alese*, IX). The earliest entries on the index cards date from 1992 and 1993, but it seems that very few people accessed the scores.

as a national icon has to be secured before his oeuvre can be fully considered (see Epilogue).

Indeed, Mandyczewski, the non-Romanian Romanian, “half-Slavic,” Southern German, Habsburg-loyal musician and scholar does not fit the description of any of the nation states that claim him today, whether it is Austria, Romania, or Ukraine. His outlook can best be described from the negative with the concept of “national indifference,”¹⁴² or, as David Brodbeck has suggested in the case of Mandyczewski’s friend Carl Goldmark, with the affirmative concept of “patriotic cosmopolitanism.”¹⁴³ When Mandyczewski referred to his home – “Heimat” – in his letters, it was with one exception in reference to a city (Czernowitz) or region (Bukowina); for example, the gratitude to the “heimatlichen Musikverein.”¹⁴⁴ The exception is the Empire, which was so self-evident that it had to be conceptualized as a palpable home only once it no longer existed.

¹⁴² For a discussion of the concept of “national indifference” in the context of Bukovina’s Eastern Orthodox Church (covering the time of Mandyczewski’s upbringing), see Lucian Leustean, “Eastern Orthodoxy and National Indifference in Habsburg Bukovina 1774–1873,” *Nation and Nationalism* 24, no. 4 (2018): 1117–1141.

¹⁴³ David Brodbeck, “Carl Goldmark and Cosmopolitan Patriotism,” 47–57, in *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, eds. Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö, and Derek B. Scott (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019).

¹⁴⁴ “I owe so much gratitude to the Musikverein in my home (in Czernowitz), and I know its situation well, so that I can estimate what merits the Styrian music society has in its region.” (“Ich bin nämlich meinem heimatlichen Musikverein (in Czernowitz) so viel Dank schuldig, und kenne seine Lage gut, daß ich sehr wohl ermessen kann, welche Verdienste der steirische Verein in seinem Lande hat.”) E. M., letter to Ferdinand Bischoff, June 4, 1887, Archive KUG.



Fig. 3.1. Eusebius Mandyczewski (Photography, Schrank&Massak, Vienna, 1873).

Verso with dedication: “Meinem theuren Freunde Isaak Baltinester zur Erinnerung von Eusebius Mandyczewski. Czernowitz am 11 / 9 1873.” (“To my dear friend Isaak Baltinester, a memento from Eusebius Mandyczewski. Czernowitz, September 11, 1873.”)

Private collection Christian Lambour. With kind permission of the owner.

Fig. 3.3: E. M., Liturgy No. 4, No. 27 (“Idomen to fos”)

27.

Eusebius Mandyczewski
ed. Dietmar Friesenegger

Molto moderato

p

S. I - do-men to fos to a - li - thi - non, e - la - vo-men pnev - ma e - pu - ra - ni - on,

A. I - do-men to fos to a - li - thi - non, e - la - vo-men pnev - ma e - pu - ra - ni - on,

T. I - do - men to fos, e - la - vo - men pnev - ma

B. I - do - men to fos, e - la - vo - men pnev - ma

8

ev - ro-men pi - stin a - li - thi, a - di - e - re-ton tri - a - da pros-ky-nun - tes, av - ti gar.

ev - ro-men pi - stin a - li - thi, a - di - e - re-ton tri - a - da pros-ky-nun - tes, av - ti gar.

e - vro - men pi - stin, tri - a - da pros - ky - nun - tes av - ti

e - vro - men pi - stin, tri - a - da pros - ky - nun - tes av - ti

17

i mas e - so - se.

i mas e - so - se.

gar i - - mas e - so - se.

gar i - - mas e - so - se.



Fig. 3.5: Majolika on the façade of Czernowitz's *Bukowinaer Sparcasse* (today Chernivtsi Regional Art Museum).

Photography by Michaela Seewald (October 2016).
Printed with kind permission.

Tab. 3.1: Eusebius Mandyczewski, First Liturgy (original version from 1880)

No.	Text Original Romanian text from the autograph score English adaptation after Hapgood 1906	Musical features	
I	Veniți să ne închinăm și să cădem, cătră Christos, [...] (O come, let us worship and fall down before Christ.)	Adagio moderato, C	Aeolian chorale-style
II	Sfinte Dumnezeule, sfinte tare, sfinte fără de moarte, miluescene pre noi. (O Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us.)	Non troppo lento, C	Mixolydian chorale-style
III	Carii pre cheruvimi cu taină inchipuim [...] (Let us, the Cherubim mystically representing)	Largo con espressione, 8/4	Ionian motet-style
IV	Ca pre imperatul tuturor primind [...] (That we may raise on high the King of all)	Un poco Allegro, $\frac{3}{4}$	Ionian motet-style
V	Pre tatăl, pre fiul și pre Sfântul Duch [...] (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit)	Andante, C	Dorian motet-style
VI	Cu vrednicie și cu dreptate este a ne închina; [...] (Meet and right is it that we should adore)	Andante, C	Dorian motet-style
VII	Sfânt, sfânt, sfânt, Domnul, Savaoft; [...] (Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth)	Molto moderato, $\frac{3}{4}$ – Un poco più mosso, $\frac{3}{4}$ – Allegro moderato, C	Mixolydian – Ionian chorale-style – double canon in the lower fifth – fugue
VIII	Pre tine te laudăm, pre tine bine te cuvîntăm, [...] (We praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks unto thee)	Largo, molto espressivo, C	Lydian motet-style
IX	Cadesă să te fericim cu adeverat [...] (Meet is it, in truth, to bless thee)	Sostenuto, C	Hyperaeolian fugue
X	Ceea ce esci mai cinstită decît cheruvimi [...] (More honorable than the Cherubim, [...])	Andante con sentimento, C	Ionian motet-style
XI	Tatăl nostru carele esci în ceriu [...] (Our Father, who art in heaven)	Adagio sensibile et molto sostenuto, C	Ionian mixed-style
XII	Unul sfânt, unul domn, [...] (One only is Holy, one is the Lord)	Largo religioso, C	Phrygian chorale-style
XIII	Bine este cuvîntat, cel ce vine întru numele domnului [...] (Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord)	Andante moderato, C	Lydian mixed-style
XIV	Lăudați pre domnul din ceriuri pre el întru cele înalte! aleluia. (Be thou exalted in heaven, O God, and thy glory above all the earth.)	Un poco Allegro, 6/4	Dorian motet-style

Translation: English Adaptation of the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy by Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church* (Cambridge: Riverside, 1906).

Keys: Mandyczewski listed the keys in a “key register” (Tonartenverzeichnis) at the end of one the two surviving autographs (BAR, MR 2742).

Tab. 3.2a: Eusebius Mandyczewski, Eastern Orthodox Liturgies: An Overview.

No.	Composed / Premiered	Key / Scoring / Lang.	Incipit	
1 [1/1]	1880 May 1, 1881 Czernowitz	Church modes mixed, 4–5 Romanian	<p>Adagio moderato</p> <p>S. A. <i>p</i> Ve - niți, ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm</p>	
2 [4/4]	1891 [1899/ 1897]	April 30, 1897 Czernowitz	D major mixed, 4–5, soloists Greek	<p>Andante religioso</p> <p>S. A. <i>p</i> Dev - te pros - ky - ni - so - men</p>
3 [2/2]	1892 June 3, 1900 Czernowitz	F major male, 4 Romanian	<p>Andante</p> <p>T. 1, 2 <i>mf</i> Ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm și să că - dem,</p>	
4 [3/3]	1894 Nov. 1894 (?), Czernowitz	F major mixed, 4 Romanian	<p>Andante moderato</p> <p>S. A. <i>mf</i> Ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm și să că - dem,</p>	
	1896 [likely no formal prem.]	<i>with I.</i> Worobkiewicz G major male, 2 Romanian, Ch. Slav.	<p>Andante</p> <p>T. 1, 2 <i>p</i> Ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm și să că - dem,</p> <p>Andante</p> <p>T. 1, 2 <i>p</i> Sfin - te Dum - ne - ze - u - le</p> <p>Свя - тий Бо - же,</p>	
5 [5/5]	1897 ?	E-flat major male, 4 Romanian	<p>Con moto</p> <p>T. 1, 2 <i>p</i> Ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm și să că - dem,</p>	
6 [6/6]	1897 ?	B minor male, 3 Ch. Slavonic [2: Rom.]	<p>Moderato</p> <p>T. 1, 2 <i>p</i> Свя - тий Без - мерт - ний, по - ми - луй нас.</p> <p>Свя - тий Крпн - кий,</p> <p>Свя - тий Бо - же,</p>	
7 [7/7]	1899 April 4, 1899 Suceava (May 31, 1900, Czernowitz)	E major mixed, 4 Romanian	<p>Largo, ad. lib. Andante</p> <p>S. A. <i>f</i> <i>mf</i> Ve - niți, ve - niți, ve - niți să ne în - chi - nâm și să</p>	

Tab. 3.2b: Eusebius Mandyczewski, Eastern Orthodox Liturgies: An Overview. (cont.)

No.	Composed / Premiered	Key / Scoring / Lang.	Incipit
8 [8/8]	? ? [?/ 1909]	F minor male, 4 Romanian	<p>Andante</p> <p>T. 1,2 B. 1,2</p>
9 [9/9]	1909 and 1910 (App.)	June 12, 1910, Czernowitz (?) E minor equal, 3 Romanian, Ch. Slavonic	<p>Molto moderato</p> <p>S. 1,2 A. 1,2</p> <p>Molto moderato</p> <p>S. 1,2 A. 1,2</p>
10 [11/10]	1909 May 5, 1918, Czernowitz	B minor mixed, 4 Romanian, Ch. Slavonic	<p>Moderato</p> <p>S. 1,2 A. 1,2</p> <p>Moderato</p> <p>T. 1,2 B. 1,2</p>
11 [12/11]	1909 April 3, 1910, Czernowitz	A minor mixed, 4 Romanian, Ch. Slavonic	<p>Molto moderato</p> <p>S. 1,2 A. 1,2</p> <p>Molto moderato</p> <p>T. 1,2 B. 1,2</p>
12 [10/12]	1913 Nov. 23, 1930, Czernowitz/ Cernăuți (?)	A-flat major female, 3 Greek	<p>Andante</p> <p>S. 1,2 A. 1,2</p>

Tab. 3.3: Mandyczewski's Eastern Orthodox Liturgies: Sources.

No.	Comp.	Source type	Source location
1	1880	Mss. (autograph): Printed score:	1. Score, MS 1242, BAR (Vienna, 1880) 2. Score, MS 1290, BAR (May 1, 1881) 3. Arrangement pn 4-hd, MS 1291, BAR ("Missa graeca," 1880) 1929, Cernăuți (Czernowitz), Ed. Mitropoliei Ort.-Rom. a Bucovinei
2	1891	Mss. (autograph): Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 1295, BAR (transliterated Greek, Vienna, 1891) 2. Score, ÖNB Mus.Hs.190 (Greek, 1891) 1. Score, MR 2734 BAR (incl. appendix with preludes).
3	1892	Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 1263, BAR (signed Gheorge Mandyczewski, 1894) 2. Score, MR 1273, BAR (revision, 1928)
4	1894	Ms. (non-autogr.): Printed score:	1. Score, MS 1293, BAR 2. Score: MS 1294, BAR 1929, Cernăuți (Czernowitz), Ed. Mitropoliei
5	1897	Ms. (autograph): Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 1264 BAR 1. Score, MR 1284 BAR
6	1897	Ms. (autograph, ?): Mss. (non-autogr.): Printed score:	1. Score, MR 1283, BAR (Ch. Slavonic) 1. Score, MR 1282, BAR (Ch. Slavonic) 2. Score, MR 1296, BAR (Rom., autograph, revisions 1929) 1929, Cernăuți (Czernowitz), Ed. Mitropoliei (in Romanian)
7	1899	Printed score:	1929, Cernăuți (Czernowitz), Ed. Mitropoliei
8	?	Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 2735, BAR (likely revision 1929) 2. Score, MR 1267, BAR
9	1909	Ms. (autograph): Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 1297, BAR (biling., incl. app. dated "Weißensee, 1910") 2. Score, MR 1323, BAR (only "Tatăl nostru") 1. Score, MR 2736, BAR (revised version, Ch. Slavonic text, 9b)
10	1909	Ms. (autograph):	1. Score, MS 1266, BAR (biling.)
11	1909	Ms. (autograph): Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MS 1265, BAR (biling., 1909, incl. app. in A major) 1. Score, MS 2740, BAR (incl. app.)
12	1913	Mss. (autograph): Ms. (non-autogr.):	1. Score, MR 1292, BAR (incl. revisions from 1928) 1. Score, MR 2741, BAR

Tab. 3.4: Eusebius Mandyczewski, Fourth Liturgy (performance version from 1913)

Source: “Die Gesänge einer griechischen Messe nach orientalischem Ritus für Chor und Solostimmen componirt von Dr. Eusebius Mandczyewski.” Concert program. Printed at Eckhardt, Czernowitz, [1913 (?)] (MR 1295, BAR, appended to the score autograph). The Roman numbers refer to the piece’s placement in the concert; the Arabic numbers are used in the score (the intervening numbers are short cadential formulae used in the service).

No.	Text Greek original (transliterated; from the program) English adaptation (Hapgood, 1906)	Musical features		Tempo indication, time signature
		Scoring	Key	
I	1 Devte proskynisomen (O come, let us worship)	Choir SATB	D	Andante religioso, ♩
II	3 Aghios o theos (O Holy God)	Choir SATB, Soli SATB (double choir)	D	Andantino, $\frac{3}{4}$
III	4 Alilulia, Alilulia, Alilulia! (Alleluia)	Choir SATBB	g	Un poco lento, ♩
IV	11 Ita cheruvim (Let us, the Cherubim)	Choir SATB, Soli SATB (double choir)	D	Adagio, ♩
V	12 Os ton vasilea ton olon (That we may raise on high)	Choir SATB	D	Allegro, ♩
VI	14 Patera, yon ke (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit)	Choir SATBB	B \flat	Andante, ♩
VII	18 Axion ke dikeon (Meet and right is it)	Choir SATBB	B \flat	Andante, ♩
VIII	19 Aghios, Aghios, Aghios (Holy, holy, holy)	Choir SATBB	D	Adagio, 6/8
IX	20 Se ymnumen (We praise thee)	Choir SATB	G	Andante religioso, ♩
X	21 Axion estin (Meet is it, in truth, to bless thee)	Choir SATB	D	Moderato, ♩
XI	23 Pater imon (Our Father)	Choir SATB	a – E	Lento ma non troppo, ♩ – Allegro, ♩ – Tempo I, ♩
XII	24 Is aghios, is Kyrios (One only is Holy, one is the Lord)	Choir SATB	D	Moderato, ♩
XIII	25 Enite ton kyrion (Be thou exalted in heaven)	Choir SATBB	b	Allegro moderato, ♩
XIV	26 Evloghimenos o erchomenos (Blessed is he that cometh)	Choir SATB, Solo SAT (double choir)	D	Andante, $\frac{3}{4}$
XV	27 Idomen to fos (We have beheld the true Light)	Choir SATB	d	Molto moderato, $\frac{3}{4}$
XVI	28 Plirothito to stoma (Let our mouths be filled with thy praise)	Choir SATB + Bass solo	B \flat	Un poco lento, ♩
XVII	29 Ii to onoma kyriu (Blessed be the Name of the Lord)	Choir SATB	D	[no tempo indication], ♩
XVIII	31 Doxa patri (Glory to the Father)	Choir SATBB	D	Allegro moderato, $\frac{3}{4}$

The printed concert program contains pencil entries that suggest a second version, in which Nos. 21, 29, and 31 were to be left out; No. 23 (the Lord’s Prayer) was shortened; and No. 25 was moved to the end. In this version, the liturgy thus ends with a movement in b minor (which, however, ends with a Picardie third), which suggests that tonal closure for the entire cycle was not an important consideration for Mandyczewski.

Tab. 3.5: Mandyczewski's Occasional Music for Czernowitz: An Overview.

Year	Title	Instrumentation	Ms. Location (M) and Edition (E)
1873	<i>Kantate zum 25jähr. Regierungsjubiläum Kaiser Franz Josef I.</i> (Cantata for the 25 th Crown Jubilee of Emperor Franz Josef I; text: Johann Georg Obrist)	?, orchestra	M: ?
1879	<i>Die frühe Gräber</i> (The Early Graves; text: Friedrich Klopstock)	mixed choir, orchestra	
1882	<i>Der Harmonie Gewalt</i> (The Power of Harmony; text: G. G. Gervinius after John Dryden)	soloists, choir, orchestra	M: UCh, BPK 80 IN 353669 E: KnyhyXXI, 2017 (D. F.)
1889	<i>Im Buchenland</i> (In Bukovina; text: Josef Wiedmann)	soloists, choirs, orchestra	M: UCh, BPK 80 IN 284663 E: KnyhyXXI, 2019 (D. F.)
1900	<i>Cantate für die gr. or. Oberrealschule</i> (Cantate for the Eastern Orthodox High School)	?	M: ?
	<i>Patriotischer Gesang für die gr. or. Oberrealschule</i> (Patriotic Song for the East. Orth. High School; text: Karl Merwart)	?	M: ?
1905	<i>Der Alpenjäger</i> (The Alpine Hunter; text: Friedrich Schiller)	TTBB, piano	M: UCh, BPK 80 IN 353672, IN 379651 E: KnyhyXXI, 2017 (D. F.)
1908	Dem k. k. Staatsgymnasium in Czernowitz zur 100 Jahrfeier: Schülerchor (Choir for the Centennial of the First State High School)	choir (SATB)	M: ? E: <i>Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung</i> , Oct. 28, 1908.
1913	<i>Cantate zur 50Jahrfeier der gr. or. Oberrealschule in Czernowitz</i> (Cantata for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Eastern Oriental High School)	choir, orchestra	M: UCh, BPK 80 IN 353671 and IN 379650 E: KnyhyXXI, 2017 (D. F.)

Tab. 3.6: Libretto to *Der Harmonie Gewalt*

Mandyczewski, <i>Der Harmonie Gewalt</i> (Text by John Dryden, transl. by Georg Gervinus; Mandyczewski's additions are printed in italics)	Mandyczewski, <i>The Power of Harmony</i> (John Dryden, <i>A Song for St. Cecilia's Day</i> (1687); Mandyczewski's additions are printed in italics)
Nr. 1: Chor	No. 1: Chorus
Durch Harmonie entstand dies weite Weltenall, durch Harmonie, durch heil'ge Harmonie entstand dies weite Weltenall. Als formlos die Natur noch lag, verworr'nen Mißklangs voll, in lebensloser Nacht, scholl wohllautreich des Schöpfers Ruf: Erwach, <i>erwach!</i> Aus starrem Tod!	From harmony, This universal frame began. From harmony, from Heav'nly harmony This universal frame began. When Nature underneath a heap Of jarring atoms lay, And could not heave her head, The tuneful voice was heard from high, Arise, <i>arise!</i> Ye more than dead.
<i>Und Form gewann was formlos war, das Wüste machte hell und klar der Harmonie Gewalt.</i>	<i>What had been formless, Took on form, The void was made bright and clear, by the power of harmony.</i>
Nr. 2: Duett	No. 2: Duet
Wie hebt und senkt Musik der Seele Flug! Als Jubal die erste Laute schlug, wie lauscht die Schaar da ihrem Sang, die staunend hin zur Erde sank, anbetend vor dem Wunderklang. Sie wähnt, ein gottgleich Wesen trug die Laute bergend in ihrem Hohl, die sprach so lieblich und so wohl. Wie hebt und senkt Musik der Seele Flug!	What passion cannot music raise and quell! When Jubal struck the chorded shell, His list'ning brethren stood around, And wond'ring, on their faces fell, To worship that celestial sound: Less than a god they thought there could not dwell Within the hollow of that shell, That spoke so sweetly and so well. What passion cannot music raise and quell!
Nr. 3: Männerchor	No. 3: Men's Chorus
Der Schall der Trompete er ruft uns zur Schlacht; der Zorn uns im Busen, der Kampfmuth erwacht, der Trommel donnerndes Geroll, ihr grollender Schlag stürmt auf an den Feind, bis der Siegruf erschallt.	The trumpet's loud clangor Excites us to arms With shrill notes of anger And mortal alarms. The double double double beat Of the thund'ring drum Cries, hark the foes come; Charge, charge, 'tis too late to retreat.
Nr. 4: Alt-Arie	No. 4: Alto Aria
Leis' ersterbend singt der Flöte Klage-ton hoffnungsloser Liebe schweren Jammer; Lautenschläge flüstern sanft ihr Grablied.	The soft complaining flute In dying notes discovers The woes of hopeless lovers, Whose dirge is whisper'd by the warbling lute.

Tab. 3.6: Libretto to *Der Harmonie Gewalt* (cont.)

Mandyczewski, <i>Der Harmonie Gewalt</i>	Mandyczewski, <i>The Power of Harmony</i>
Nr. 5: Tenor-Arie	No. 5: Tenor Aria
Die helle Geige singt von Eifersucht und von Verzweiflung; von heißer Lieb' und Sehnsucht tiefster Qual, von höchstem Leiden, um der stolzen Schönen Gunst.	Sharp violins proclaim Their jealous pangs, and desperation, Fury, frantic indignation, Depths of pain, and height of passion, For the fair, disdainful dame.
Nr. 6: Doppelchor	No. 6: Double Choir
Doch o! Wess' Stimme gleicht, und welche Kunst erreicht der heil'gen Orgel Klang! Ihren Klang, der Liebe singt, und sich auf zum Himmel schwingt, zum Engelchorgesang.	But oh, what art can teach, What human voice can reach The sacred organ's praise? Notes inspiring holy love, Notes that wing their Heav'nly ways To mend the choirs above.
Orpheus bezwang die wilde Brut; der Baum, entwurzelt seinem Grund, er folgt der Laute Schlag.	Orpheus could lead the savage race, And trees unrooted left their place, Sequacious of the lyre.
<i>Das Erdreich ragte sich und selbst des Meersturmes wogende Gewalt, sie weicht der Zauberkraft.</i>	<i>The earth rose up, and even the sea storm's undulant power, yields to the magical power.</i>
Doch sieh! Caecilia wirkte größ're Tat, als sie der Orgel Stimm' und Sang verlieh, da lauscht ein Engel still und wähnt entzückt sich auf der Erd' im Himmel.	But bright Cecilia rais'd the wonder high'r: When to her organ, vocal breath was giv'n, An angel heard, and straight appear'd, Mistaking earth for Heav'n.
Nr. 7: Schlusschor	No. 7: Final Chorus
So wie durch heil'ger Lieder Macht der Sphären Lauf begann, und sie des großen Schöpfers Preis lobsangen durch das All: So, wenn die letzte Stunde schlägt und ganz dies Erdenrund zerfällt, dröhnt der Posaune lauter Schall, was stirbt ersteht, was lebt vergeht, und der Sphärenklang verstummt im All.	As from the pow'r of sacred lays The spheres began to move, And sung the great Creator's praise To all the bless'd above; So when the last and dreadful hour This crumbling pageant shall devour, The trumpet shall be heard on high, The dead shall live, the living die, And music shall untune the sky.
<i>Durch Harmonie entstand dies weite Weltenall, von Harmonie zu Harmonie durchlief die Schöpfung aller Töne Reich und schloß im Vollklang ihrer höchsten Macht.</i>	<i>From harmony This universal frame began: From harmony to harmony Through all the compass of the notes it ran, The diapason closing full in man.</i>

Tab. 3.8A: Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland* (Text: Josef Wiedmann).

Sections, tempo indications, text incipits	Key areas	Vocal configurations
1. Prelude. <i>Allegro</i> (1–14) –	D	
Chorus. [Allegro] “Es rauschen die mächtigen Buchen.” –	D	Chorus SATB, TBB, TTBB, SA, SATB
2. Aria. Silvanus. <i>Andante</i> . “Ihr habt mich, edle Freunde.” –	D	T solo
Chorus. <i>Andante</i> . “Waldeszauber, Waldesstille.” – – <i>Più mosso</i> . “Hoher Geist.” –	G C	Chorus SATB
Silvanus and Choir. “Habet Dank.” –	C	Chorus SATB and T solo
3. Aria. Rusticia. <i>Andante</i> . “Welch’ wundervoller Morgen!” – <i>Andante religioso</i> . “Der du unser Vater bist.” –	B \flat E \flat	S solo
Choir. <i>Andante religioso</i> . “Der du unser Vater bist.” –	E \flat	SATB
Rusticia. <i>Poco allegretto</i> . “Trillernde Lerchen.” – Choir and Rusticia. “Und kommt mit nahenden Schritten.” –	A \flat	S solo
Nr. 4. Duett Rusticia and Silvanus. <i>Allegro moderato</i> . “Ei sieh, Silvanus hier.” –	D	Duet S – T
Nr. 5. Aria. Montanus. <i>Allegro</i> . “Ganz wunderbar.” – <i>Andante</i> . “Der schönen Wälder.” – <i>Allegro</i> . “Der öden Berge.” – <i>Andantino</i> . “Die jüng’re Schwester.” – <i>Andante</i> . “So seid ihr Beide.” –	B \flat – E \flat – b \flat – D \flat	Aria Bar.
Nr. 6. Choir and Soloists. <i>Allegro</i> . “Heil Dir Montanus.” –	E \flat	Chorus SATB; S, T, and Bar. solo
Soloists and Men’s Choir. <i>Meno mosso</i> . “Reichen wir uns dann die Hände.” – – <i>Moderato cantabile</i> . “Gesegnet sei.” –	A \flat D \flat	Chorus TTBB, Sop., Sop. and Ten. solo TTBB, TBB, SATBB
Nr. 7. Rec. Montanus. “Doch jetzt, eh uns’rer Herrin.” – – Aria. Montanus and Men’s Choir. “Das ist des rechten Bergmanns Tracht.” –	F – C	Bar. solo and Chorus TTBB
Nr. 8. Rusticia, Silvanus, Montanus. <i>Moderato</i> – <i>Meno mosso</i> . “Horcht, geheimnisvolles Flüstern.” –	C	S, T, and Bar. solo
Nr. 9. Choir. <i>Andantino</i> . “Sei begrüßt, Du Königin.” – – <i>Meno mosso</i> . “Waldumgürtet.” –	A	Chorus SATB TTBB, SATTBB, SATB
Nr. 10. Aria. Bukowina. <i>Allegro moderato</i> . “Ob solchem Ausdruck.” –	E \flat	S solo

Tab. 3.8B: Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland* (Text: Josef Wiedmann) (cont.)

Sections, tempo indications, text incipits	Key areas	Vocal configurations
Nr. 11. Aria. Silvanus. Moderato. “Erhab’ne Herrin.” – <i>Andante marciale.</i> “Dort hat sich einst.” –	d/F D \flat	Tenor solo.
Nr. 12. Rec. Silvanus. Langsam. “Doch nun, wenn ihr.” – Silvanus and Men’s Choir. Allegro. “Hört ihr schon rufen.” [cadence and fermata!]	D	Tenor solo. Chorus TTBB
Nr. 13. Aria. Montanus. Lebhaft. “Noch seh’ ich jeden.”–	D, unstable	Baritone solo.
Nr. 14. Men’s Choir. Gemessen. “Glück auf!”	a / A	Chorus TTBB
Nr. 15. Aria. Bukowina. Andante. “Die Jagd war wild.”	unstable [A / C / D]	Soprano solo.
Nr. 16. Rusticia and Women’s Choir. Andante grazioso. “Holde Gebieterin.” –	G	Soprano solo and Chorus SA
Women’s and Men’s Choirs. Mässiges Walzertempo. “Liebliche Mädchen seid ihr.” (cadence) –	E \flat	Chorus SA, Choir TTBB
Nr. 17. Rec. Montanus. “Das heiß ich.” –	[C]	Baritone solo.
Nr. 18. Men’s Choir. Andante marciale. “Für’s Vaterland.”	C	Chorus TTBB
Nr. 19. Duett. Bukowina and Rusticia. Moderato. “In diesem Strauße.” (cadence and G. P.) (– flute solo.)	F	Soprano duet.
Nr. 20. A shepard. Soprano solo. Langsam. “Wenn die Morgenstrahlen.”	B \flat (#^4)	Soprano solo.
Nr. 21. Finale. Bukowina. Adagio. “Schon neigt die Sonne.” – <i>Andante religioso.</i> “Allmächtiger Gott.”	B \flat	Soprano solo
Quartet. All soloists. “Allmächtiger Gott.”	D	Solo Quartet.
Chorus and Quartet. “Allmächtiger Gott.”		Chorus SATBB, SATB, TBB, SATBB, SATB plus Solo Quartet.

IV

Texte / тексти / Texte / teksty / טעקסטן

Czernowitz's Musical Texts – Rewritten, Erased, and Forgotten

The texts discussed in this chapter are characteristic samples from the written record of Czernowitz's musical heritage: autographed nineteenth-century scores, redacted decades later by a second hand; turn-of-the-century sheet music, collected and catalogued in the interwar period, and stored in an attic since Soviet times; local musical treasures, carried in haste to distant National Archives and Libraries in wartime and forgotten afterwards; and texts about a music culture, translated, retranslated and rewritten, until rewritings and translations were regarded as originals. The most exquisite treasure among these texts is arguably the manuscript score to Eusebius Mandyczewski's cantata *Im Buchenland*, a piece conceived to celebrate an Austrian Emperor and later performed to welcome a Romanian King, which had languished forgotten in a library until I came upon it in my research, but which has meanwhile even been dignified with a performance in Kiev's Philharmonic Hall. An examination of paratexts, particularly titles, dedications, publisher's peritexts, and editorial remarks, as well as "original, later, and delayed notes" as defined by Gérard Genette, will highlight how redrawings of borders have turned into textual phenomena characteristic of Czernowitz's legacy as a multilingual town in the borderlands.¹

¹ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 325–331.

The Crown Land Cantata – Annotated, Rewritten, and Forgotten

One afternoon in September 2016, the librarian of the Yuriy-Fedkovych-University in Chernivtsi handed me the autograph of Eusebius Mandyczewski's cantata *Im Buchenland*, the sole surviving score of the piece. Dating from 1888–89, the work – which lasts an hour-and-a-half and is scored for five soloists, choir, and large orchestra – is surely the grandest composition written expressly for Habsburg Czernowitz. To find a score of the piece, especially at that library was astonishing, as its monumental presence in concert reviews spanning four decades was matched only by the scarcity of its mention in the secondary literature.

The circumstances of this unearthing seemed peculiar. One source pointed to the holding library: Liviu Rusu mentioned in his 1957 edition of other music by Mandyczewski that the Rector of the University of Chernivtsi had informed him that the scores to three cantatas by Mandyczewski, including *Im Buchenland*, had recently been found in that library.² The context suggests that Rusu, based in Romania, could not travel to the Soviet Union to access them.³ When I received the piece, it had been catalogued for several years, but could only be found in one of the library's many card catalogues from different historical periods.⁴ The index card showed a single entry,

² Liviu Rusu, ed. Eusebie Mandicevschi, *Opere alese*, IX.

³ Liviu Rusu, ed. *Opere alese*, IX.

⁴ The library has card catalogues in German from the Austrian period (until 1918), which were enlarged and sometimes translated into Romanian in the Romanian period (1918–1940); card catalogues in Russian from the Soviet period; and recent card catalogues in Ukrainian. A stamp on the back side of the front cover indicates that the score was recorded in the electronic catalogue – which went online at the time I did my research – in 2008 (Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland*, autograph score, Manuscript Collection at the Library of the National Yuriy-Fedkovych-University Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), Ukraine, shelfmarks BPK 80/2846663).

from early 2014.⁵ Neither the piece nor selections of it had ever been published. No less peculiar was the condition of the score. Many of its three hundred pages were taped with adhesive tape and not accessible. Once the librarian cut the tapes, I was apparently the first person since the interwar period to inspect the entire score: the logic of the taped sections suggests they were cuts for a pre-war performance of an abbreviated version.⁶

While one may find such negligence unremarkable given that entries on Mandyczewski in music history books focus on the scholar, teacher, and friend of Brahms rather than the composer in his own right, the regional and national points of view would have suggested considerable interest in the composer's oeuvre. In a recent music history of Bukovina used as a textbook for the music students at Chernivtsi's university (the institution that owns the scores), several pages are dedicated to Mandyczewski. Other local literature praises him as a major contributor to local culture and one of the city's most important exports.⁷ Mandyczewski also figures prominently in some comprehensive Romanian music histories, and additional interest should have resulted from recent claims to the composer's alleged preponderant or exclusive Ukrainianness, which had been proposed by a musicologist from L'viv in

⁵ The choir conductor Nadiia Selezniova, whom I met later that fall and who became my most important collaborator in the project of reviving Czernowitz's pre-1918 music culture, had briefly inspected the score in early 2014. She cited the language barrier (the text is written in German cursive) as the reason why she had not pursued the matter further.

⁶ It is likely that the last performance of the piece before WWII took place in 1927 during a celebration on the occasion of the composer's seventieth birthday. Nothing in the secondary literature suggests a performance during the Soviet period (which, at any rate, would have been an unlikely project) or in the years since Ukraine's independence.

⁷ Kushnirenko, Zalutskyi, and Vyshpinska, *History of Musical Culture and Education in Bukovina*, 74–6; Demochko, “Жива музична енциклопедія” [Living Musical Encyclopedia], in *Musical Bukovina*, 42–50.

several articles since 2002.⁸ The score, however, alongside five others, had remained barely examined for decades in the university library.

These six scores' fall into oblivion illustrates well the situation of a cultural heritage in the borderlands after numerous border shifts. A person with a serious interest in the scores, Rusu, was not able to access them because of travel restrictions. His publication, which indicates the location of the scores, appeared in Romania but did not receive much attention in Soviet and Independent Ukraine, where the scores were located (although Rusu's book was likely available in libraries in the Soviet Union). The person who accessed the score in 2014 could not read the text in the manuscript, as it was written in the city's historical lingua franca in a now-extinct script, and decided not to pursue the matter. And local scholars interested in Mandyczewski focused on spurious discussions concerning the composer's ethnicity, but did not pursue his compositional legacy. For some (see the epilogue to this dissertation), an interest in his music was contingent upon an unequivocal settling of the questions about his ethnic background. For the process of getting "nationalized," his musical legacy was simply not relevant.

A study of *Im Buchenland*'s numerous paratexts reveals several layers of writings and rewritings. The autographed annotations in the score are entirely in German and include a dedication to Victor Korn (1845–1920), a high-ranking civil

⁸ Mihail Poslušnicu, *Istoria muziceii la Români de la renașterea până'n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1928), 478–487; Lyuba Kyuanovs'ka [Люба Кияновська], "Євсевій Мандичевський у мусичній українції" [Eusebius Mandyczewski in Ukrainian Music], *Українська Музика*, no. 1 (2012): 38–47; Kyuanovs'ka, "Ukrainische Kontakte von Eusebius Mandyczewski," *Musikzeitung: Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Musikkultur im Südöstlichen Europa e.V.* 6 (December 2008): 27–39.

servant who had taken an interest in Mandyczewski's career.⁹ The names of three people with ties to Czernowitz appear in front matter of the score: the composer, of Romanian and Ukrainian descent, and Eastern Orthodox; the poet, German and Catholic; and the dedicatee, Jewish and German-speaking.¹⁰ The crown land's three largest linguistic communities (the speakers of Romanian, Ukrainian, and German) and largest religious denominations (Eastern Orthodoxy, Judaism, and Catholicism) were thus represented in this paratextual trio.¹¹

While a composer, poet, and dedicatee may not appear to constitute a meaningful constellation in terms of diversity, and while such meticulous consideration given to a representation of cultural groups may seem unlikely at that time, the choice of the dedicatee may in fact have reflected such considerations.

Mandyczewski wrote to his brother Konstantin on November 9, 1888:

The story about the dedication [Widmungsgeschichte] about which you wrote me so much, does not exist for me. Dr. Korn, to whom you sent the cantata text, is here and visited me a few days ago; I played the cantata for him as well as I could render it on the piano, and he also had this idea about the dedication. My reasons against it [reference unclear] seemed plausible to him, even though we are both convinced that nowhere in all of Austria anything similar would appear on this occasion. But that's why we are Bukovinians. May the Others – be Others.¹²

⁹ E. M., Letter to his brother Konstantin, November 9, 1888; letters to his sister Virginia, March 16, 1891, November 25, 1896, and June 12, 1898 (all Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM). While a congruence of the autographed paratexts of a vocal score with the main lyrics may seem obvious, it is not a given in the case of Mandyczewski's scores. For example, the composer's First Liturgy, which is set in Romanian, bears a German (and not a Romanian) title and dedication.

¹⁰ For information about Wiedmann, see Ch. 2 and 3; for biographical data on Korn, see Emil Satco and Alis Niculică, *Enciclopedia Bucovinei: personalități, localități, societăți, presă, instituții*, vol. 2 (Suceava: Romstorfer, 2018), 348; an appraisal on the occasion of Korn's nobilitation (which includes references to his musical activities): *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 29, 1908. According to Mikulicz, Korn took piano lessons with Mikuli (Norst, *Verein*, 27).

¹¹ For a detailed examination of the economy of dedications of musical pieces, if in a more public context, see Emily Green, "A Patron Among Peers: Dedications to Haydn and the Economy of Celebrity," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8, no. 2 (2001): 215–237.

¹² "Die Widmungsgeschichte, von der du mir so viel schreibst, existirt für mich nicht. Dr Korn, dem du den Cantatentext geschickt hast, ist jetzt hier und hat mich vor einigen Tagen besucht; ich spielte ihm

These are the key facts in that equivocal message: the dedication is subject to some discussion (a discussion more relevant to Mandyczewski's brother than to him), and something about the piece, that discussion, or the dedication itself is unique to Bukovina but atypical for the rest of Austria. Whatever set apart Bukovinians from other Austrians was likely seen as positive by Mandyczewski.

Here's one explanation to this dedication question. Not many characteristics have been attributed to the Bukovinians as a group, since ethnic or regional traits, as they have been ascribed to people of other regions such as Tyrol, seemed meaningless given the cultural diversity of Bukovina.¹³ People in or near the capital frequently accused those remote from it of backwardness, but this charge would not distinguish the Bukovinians from the Galicians or other inhabitants of provinces far from Vienna, and would hardly have been raised in an exchange between Mandyczewski and his brother. What fits is the reputation, as well as the proud self-assessment of the Bukovinians as people willing to negotiate and cooperate across cultural boundaries ("that's why we are ..."), unlike "the others" in the Empire ("May the Others – be Others.").

die Cantate, so gut ich sie vom Clavier wiedergeben konnte, vor und er hatte auch diese Widmungsidee. Meine Gründe dagegen scheinen ihm einzuleuchten, trotzdem wir beide auch davon überzeugt sind, daß ~~Niemand~~ [sic!] nirgends im ganzen Österreich bei dieser Gelegenheit etwas ähnliches ans Tageslicht treten wird. Dafür sind wir eben Bukowiner. Mögen die Anderen – eben Andere sein.“ Eusebius Mandyczewski, Letter to his brother Konstantin, November 9, 1888, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

¹³ For a later period, Drunen has suggested that, “the Bukovinian people’ as a category had found a way into the discourse.” and cites as an example a statement in an article in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* which (self-)categorized the population of the province with the following words: “We are a sanguine bunch.” But this was much later (the article is from 1912), and the idea of a “sanguine bunch” would not fit the trait to which the exchange between Mandyczewski and his brother alluded (Drunen, “A Sanguine Bunch,” 347).

Cooperation among exponents of Czernowitz's different cultures was strengthened by involving Korn, and Korn was involved in the project beyond the symbolic act of a dedication: the poet sent him the text when it was still undergoing revisions and the composer played a draft for him on the piano.¹⁴ Such an inclusive attitude was perhaps mainstream in the liberal circles of Czernowitz around 1890, but it was by no means uncontested – which would explain Konstantin's objection or at least caution.

The second remarkable paratext is by an unknown hand: on 49 of the score's 296 pages, a Romanian text was added to the original German lyrics (**Fig. 4.1**). The score does not contain a date for those lyrics, but the existence of a Romanian version is discussed in the correspondence between Mandyczewski and his sister Ecaterina that suggests that they were written for a concert on the occasion of a visit of the Romanian king on October 24, 1920. The score that had served to hail a Habsburg crown land and had originally been commissioned to celebrate Emperor Francis Joseph was thus reused to welcome a new ruler, the Romanian King Ferdinand I (who happened to be a Hohenzollern Prince).

For that concert, works mostly by composers considered Romanian (Mandyczewski, Porumbescu, and Flondor) were chosen, along with a string quartet movement by Vojtěch Hřímaly, a set of variations on a popular Romanian tune. No surviving source tells us who chose the program, but the program choice is more than just a switch from one dominant language or culture to another: during the Habsburg period, the composer's ethnic or linguistic background was not an important

¹⁴ See Ch. 3.

consideration in choosing music for an official celebration, and the program would have included more cultural breadth.¹⁵

While writing the Romanian adaptation of the poetry directly into the original score was likely a practical choice (the score was presumably used for the performance), it is noteworthy that whoever added the lyrics had no qualms about annotating with red pen and pencil a beautiful autographed and dedicatory score of a piece by one of the region's esteemed composers. But placing Romanian lyrics directly into the autograph may also have reflected an assumption about how the piece would be performed from then on. "Indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter" (indivisible and inseparable) was the motto of the Empire that had collapsed just two years earlier, and at that point a new rule professed its claim to eternity. Those Romanian lyrics ensured a continued performance history of a composition that had been created in a Habsburg loyalist context by a composer who had never shown any interest in a Romanian national cause.

The added Romanian lyrics reflect a concern for the present and future – the past, in contrast, is mostly left behind, occasionally coopted for present purposes, but not actively rewritten. Generally, the cantata's plot (see Ch.3) did not require substantial changes for its new purpose, as it is political only in a broader sense. Nowhere does it mention Bukowina's ethnicities, languages, or religious denominations, while most of Bukowina's features cited, such as the importance of

¹⁵ See Ch. 3. On the efforts in Romanianization after 1918, see especially Mariana Hausleitner, "Zwangsrumanisierung und Widerstand nach 1918," in *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina* (München: Oldenbourg, 2001, 133–217, especially 169 (university).

forests and agriculture, were ideologically just as serviceable to the new regime as they had been to the old one.

A single instance in the score shows delayed and purposeful rewriting, however. Apart from Bukowina herself appearing in the text as an allegorical character, a symbol of the province is mentioned only once when the “Choir of the Province’s Subjects [Landeskinder]” welcomes *Bukowina* with the following words:

Im Buchenland, No. 9 (end)¹⁶

Translation by Max Hylton and D. F.

Sei begrüßt, du Königin der Frauen,
Sei begrüßt, der Heimat hehres Bild,
Sturmgehärtet, wie aus Fels gehauen,
Steh’n wir um dein blau-roth-gold’nes
Schild.

Be greeted, you Queen of the Ladies,
Be greeted, o noble vision of the homeland,
Strengthened by storm, as if carved from stone,
We stand around your blue-red-golden shield.

A pencil correction in the manuscript score changes the order of the three colors, turning “blue-red-gold” into “blue-gold-red” (**Fig. 4.2**):

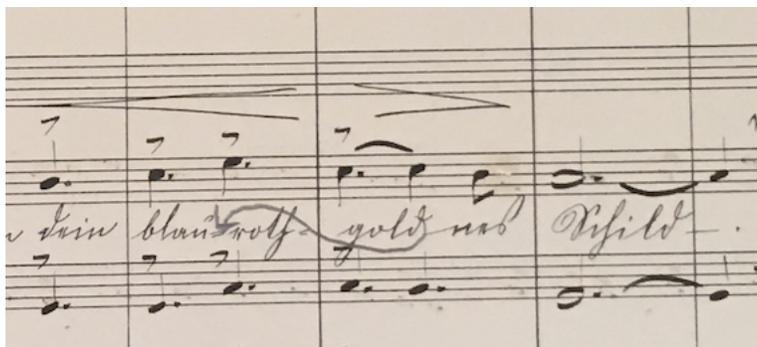


Fig. 4.2: Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland*, manuscript score, p. 157 (excerpt: choir, soprano and alto)¹⁷

¹⁶ The text is identical in the manuscript score (presumably from 1889) and in the printed libretto from 1889 (Joseph Wiedmann, *Im Buchenland: Eine Cantate von J. W., Musik von Eusebius Mandyczewski* (Czernowitz: Musikverein, 1889), 13. The English translation printed here was made for the program notes of the piece’s first post-WWII performance, which took place in 2018 as part of the Mandyczewski Festival in Chernivtsi (Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland*, ed. Dietmar Friesenegger [Chernivtsi: Knyhy, 2019], 275).

¹⁷ Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland*, manuscript score, p. 157, excerpt: choir, soprano and alto, Manuscript Collection, UCh, BPK 80/284663. Printed with kind permission of the library.

The order is significant: the original order of colors, “blue-red-gold” was used by the *Landsmannschaft Bukowina*, a supranational student fraternity in Vienna to which both Mandyczewski and the librettist Wiedmann had ties in the 1870s.¹⁸ “Blue-gold-red”, on the other hand, was only used in Romanian national and nationalist circles, and closely resembled the Romanian flag.¹⁹ Who made that correction and why? The composer is an unlikely candidate. On the one hand, he seems to have made corrections in the score with a pen only. On the other hand, he could have asked the librettist to make the change if this matter was important to him (but the printed libretto from 1889 also contains the original “supranational” version) or he could just have written the “Romanian” version into the score.

In 1927, the *Societatea filarmonică* in Cernăuți – the successor of the *Society for the Promotion of Music in Bukovina* in the Habsburg era – celebrated Mandyczewski’s seventieth birthday with a performance of the cantata. A review suggests that it was given in its entirety and in German:

Mandyczewski wrote the cantata “Im Buchenland” to honor his homeland [Heimat]; to his honor, this homeland now rendered a performance of his work. Since the time Mandyczewski penned the cantata, storms have swept over the world, and storms have swept over music. One pricks one’s ears [listen attentively] with surprise, when the first sounds appear. What noble, simple line; how pleasant, how natural the melodic writing! [...]

Over the course of two hours one immerses oneself into the spirit of the old times. In 1889, the work was premiered in Czernowitz with Mandyczewski himself conducting. One forgets the present of nerve-inflaming [nervenaufpeitschender] music and recovers following the spirit of the past, when creating was still a matter of the mind and heart.²⁰

¹⁸ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 33.

¹⁹ For example, it was used by Czernowitz’s Romanian student fraternity *Junimea* (Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 70).

²⁰ “Mandyczewski hat seiner Heimat zu Ehren die Cantate ‘Im Buchenland’ geschrieben; ihm zu Ehren hat nun seine Heimat sein Werk zur Aufführung gebracht. Seit Mandyczewski die Cantate verfaßt hat,

If the performance exuded an aura half as nostalgic as the review of it, one should not be surprised about the need for a counterweight to appease the new authorities, who had pursued an aggressive politics of Romanianization in the preceding decade and were not accommodating towards the country's many minorities (see Ch. 1). One such counterweight was the introductory speaker of the evening, Leca Morariu. A literary historian, folklorist, and professor at the local university, he had impeccable credentials as an advocate for the Romanian national cause dating back to the Imperial period. Morariu's speech, printed in the literature journal *Junimea literara*, emphasized all things Romanian attributable to Mandyczewski (his setting of Romanian poetry, his first Liturgy, his preoccupation with Romanian folk songs) and mentioned few of his many settings of texts in other languages. The most divisive comment he left for the publication: in a footnote to the published speech, he claimed that Riemann's *Musiklexikon* of 1908 had falsely attributed a "Ruthenian background" to the "Romanian E. Mandicevschi."²¹ The other counterweight to Habsburg nostalgia may have been the change of order of the colors, which turns a bow to Habsburg

sind Stürme über die Welt, aber auch Stürme über die Musik hinweggegangen. Man horcht überrascht auf, wenn die ersten Klänge ertönen. Welch' edle, einfache Linie; wie wohltuend, wie selbstverständlich die Melodienführung! [...] Durch zwei Stunden versenkt man sich in den Geist der alten Zeit. 1889 wurde das Werk zum erstenmale in Czernowitz aufgeführt, Mandyczewski selbst dirigierte. Man vergißt an [sic] die Gegenwart nervenaufpeitschender Musik und badet sich gesund folgend dem Geist der Vergangenheit, wo das Musikschaffen noch Sache des Gemütes und des Herzens war." "Mandyczewskifeier," *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt*, December 28, 1927, 6. In the review, the title is cited in German only (in the reviews for the 1920 celebration, the Romanian title (as "Țara fagilor") was indicated in both the German and the Romanian reviews (*Glasul Bucovinei*, October 29, 1920; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 26, 1920).

²¹ "Greșită e în acelaș *Musiklexikon* informația că Românul E. Mandicevschi e de obârșie ruteană (vezi iarăși citata revistă 'Muzică')." ("Die Information in that *Musiklexikon* that the Romanian E. Mandicevschi is of Ruthenian origins is wrong (see the quoted magazine 'Muzică'.)") "Eusebie Mandicevschi," *Junimea literară* 16, no. 11–12 (1927): 307.

Bukowina into one to (proto-)Romanian *Bucovina*, as if Mandyczewski had snuck in a moment of resistance into the cantata from 1889.²²

After the performances in the interwar period, the cantata was not heard for decades, and the score, though acquired by Chernivtsi's university library some time before 1957, remained taped until 2016.²³ The most recent additional marks to the score were Soviet and Ukrainian library entries and stamps, mainly from the 1980s and 1990s.

While it is not unusual for musical texts to be negotiated, translated, altered, recontextualized, forgotten, and restored – many operatic texts have suffered a similar fate – the politics that motivated the changes and the many traces in a composer's autograph make this case exceptional, and a particularly apt demonstration of the cultural politics of the borderlands. It was not plots that were adapted to reflect new political currents, but a historical object that was being recast in an attempt to rewrite history. It is also not a story that ended with the interwar or the collapse of the Soviet Union; the most recent attempt to enlist the cantata for current political purposes occurred in 2018 (see Epilogue).

Exotic Self-representation: Sheet Music in Czernowitz

Few musical scores were published in Imperial Czernowitz. These were almost exclusively limited to song and piano music (or music arranged for piano), and the

²² Incidentally, Wiedmann, the poet, is neither mentioned in Morariu's speech nor in the review.

²³ It is thus likely that at least one other performance of the piece took place after 1927, as that (complete or almost complete) version would not have required the tapes.

publishers were usually bookshops with a wide range of offerings. One such “Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung” (shop for books, art and music publications) was Heinrich Pardini’s store on *Ringplatz* Nr. 13, centrally located across the street from the City Hall.²⁴ Pardini, whose store already existed in 1862,²⁵ had two main competitors in that domain since before the turn of the century: Emanuel Rosenzweig, a founding member of the *Verein* and a factotum in musical Czernowitz (see Ch. 2), was in business since at least 1883,²⁶ and Romuald Schally, who had been Pardini’s apprentice and later worked in St. Petersburg, opened his store in Czernowitz in 1884.²⁷ All three had published sheet music regularly since the 1890s, often as a joint venture of two publishers. In 1911, Max Landau, who had owned a paper store in *Rathausstrasse* since at least 1896, started selling sheet music as well.²⁸ It is likely that hardly any music was printed in Czernowitz, as publications by all of Czernowitz’s music publishers identify printers in Vienna and Leipzig.²⁹

The standard format of the publications was the usual one for sheet music published around 1900: a cover page, often with colorful cover art, and a dedication in fancy type, introduce two or three pages of music. Most composers were Czernowitzers or had a strong connection to the city: Otto Wanisek and Victor

²⁴ *Oesterreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz* 44 (Nov. 1, 1884): 472.

²⁵ The bookshop already existed in 1862 (*Bukowina*, May 10, 1862); in December 1863 it was registered as a “store for books, art, and music” (*Buch, Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung*; *Bukowina*, Jan. 14, 1864).

²⁶ For an overview of Rosenzweig’s cultural and social activity, see the obituary in the *Bukowinaer Post* (January 30, 1906), which culminates in the statement “Rosenzweig was the *Musikverein*.”

²⁷ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Nov. 1, 1883 (Rosenzweig); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Nov. 23, 1884 (Schally).

²⁸ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 4, 1896.

²⁹ For example, Constantin von Buchenland’s *Pfutsch* (Czernowitz: Rosenzweig, 1890) was printed at Josef Eberle, Wien; Eleonore Poras’s *Studentenliebe* (Czernowitz: Schally, 1914) was printed at Engelmann&Mühlberg, Leipzig; Viktor Kostelecký’s *Jüdischer Brautzug* (Czernowitz: Landau, 1911) and Carl Georg Mikan’s *Marsch der Grünen* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1897) at Röder, Leipzig.

Kostelecký were bandmasters, and Curt Mayer an officer at the local regiment; Otton (Otto) Żukowski was a local teacher of Polish and music (later superintendent of schools), and Johann Józefowicz taught music in several towns in Bukovina.³⁰

Many of the scores catered to an appetite for ethnic (at the time called “national”) musics, in a city where the borders between a delight for things exotic and for items that ostensibly expressed one’s culture were often fluid. Already before 1900, a number of Polish, Romanian, and Ukrainian dances were published in Czernowitz (see **Tab. 4.1**). The publication of a Jewish dance in 1911, however, was a rare feat, and became quite a sensation, as a report in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* from May 21, 1911 suggests:

This inventive musical novelty, which has appeared recently in the publication house of the book and music store M. Landau in Czernowitz, has received such a splendid reception as has arguably never been achieved by a similar musical publication. Although the publisher produced a large run, the copies are already almost scarce due to the orders that arrive daily in large quantities from near and far, which will soon make a new run necessary.³¹

The paper also describes in some detail the cultural context of the piece, mainly for its non-Jewish audience but assuming the reader’s knowledge of at least one Yiddish expression:

³⁰ Mayer’s profession is mentioned on the cover of one of his publications (Curt Mayer, *Lieutenant-Liebe: Polka Mazur* [Czernowitz: Rosenzweig, 1895]). On Żukowski’s musical activities, see Emil Biedrzycki, *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 182–4; on his professional affiliations as a teacher, see Wurzer, *Staatsgymnasium*, 261. On Józefowicz, see *Deutsches Volksblatt für Galizien*, Oct. 11, 1912 (listed here as head of the music school in Sereth), and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, Jan. 23, 1914 (head of the Romanian choir in Sereth).

³¹ “Diese vor Kurzem im Verlage der Buch- und Musikalienhandlung M. Landau, Czernowitz erschienene originelle musikalische Novität hat bei dem Publikum und der Presse eine so glänzende Aufnahme gefunden, die wohl noch nie von einer ähnlichen musikalischen Veröffentlichung erreicht wurde. Trotzdem der Verlag eine große Auflage herstellen ließ, geht dieselbe infolge der aus Nah und Fern täglich in Massen einlaufenden Bestellungen beinahe zur Neige, so daß bald eine Neuauflage notwendig wird.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1911.

The motive of this opus is the Jewish traditional custom at the wedding ceremony. We first hear in a melodious and enticing march manner a wedding procession, when the bride walks to the wedding. Thereafter follows the “Chussid,” a Jewish folk dance with a prickling melody that ravishes and enthuses the listeners. It is quasi the “Maseltov” that is being expressed with this “Chussid” in an amusing manner.³²

The composer – or more accurately the compiler or arranger – of the composition was Victor Kostelecký, then the military bandmaster of the 41st Infantry Regiment stationed in Czernowitz.³³ In public concerts at the local *Volksgarten*, Czernowitz’s largest park, the military band often performed compositions by local composers, in addition to the standard patriotic repertory for Austrian military bands and recent operetta hits. Kostelecký “in his kindness dedicated compositions to all Bukovinian nations,” as the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* pointed out on the occasion of his retirement in 1910.³⁴

Kostelecký’s piece was not the first Jewish dance printed as sheet music in Czernowitz. Likely in 1890, a “Chusit,” composed by Constantin Dobrowolski von Buchenthal, was published by Schally.³⁵ Buchenthal, a nobleman and landowner, was an amateur composer who wrote a series of dances that represented all Bukovinian

³² “Das Motiv dieses Opus ist der jüdische Volksbrauch bei der Hochzeitszeremonie. Zunächst hören wir in melodischer und reizender Marschart den Hochzeitszug, als die Braut zur Trauung schreitet. Hierauf folgt der ‘Chussid,’ ein jüdischer Volkstanz, dessen prickelnde Melodie die Zuhörer hinreißt und begeistert. Es ist gleichsam der ‘Maseltow,’ der mit diesem ‘Chussid’ in belustigender Weise zum Ausdruck gelangt.“ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1911.

³³ Viktor (Victor) Kostelecký, born in 1851 in Jikev, Bohemia (today Czech Republic), began his career in the musical branch of the military as a violinist for the 41st Infantry Regiment. He became that regiment’s *Kapellmeister* in 1887 and remained at this post until his retirement in 1910 (for a short biography of his career see Collection Rameis, Austrian State Archive, War Archive).

³⁴ “Der hierzulande allgemein beliebte und hochverdiente Militär-Kapellmeister Herr Viktor Kostelecky, welcher allen Bukowiner Nationen in seiner Liebenswürdigkeit Kompositionen widmete ...” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 11, 1910.

³⁵ The publication date is unclear, but several opus numbers with close proximity to this one (his op. 48) had been published that year. The *terminus ante quem* for the publication is 1904, as an orchestral arrangement was written that year, but it is more likely that the piece was published during Buchenthal’s lifetime (he had died in 1897; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, Sept. 8, 1897).

‘nations’ (see **Fig. 4.3**). The cover of Buchenthal’s “Chusit” features a Hebrew title and the image of three dancing men with Chassidic hairstyle and garments, including payot, a beard, and a shtreimel (the hat of Chassidic Jews) – in other words, a picturesque scene as could be seen in the famed village of Sadagora just a few miles from Czernowitz, a center for Chassidic Judaism (a dynasty of miracle rabbis included).³⁶

Both Buchenthal and Kostelecký used the same traditional piece as a model for their Chusit, with only minor differences in harmony. But in Kostelecký’s version, a four-page-introduction in different tempos and with much ethnic flavour was added, creating a suspense that is released into the two-page-long Chusit. The result is a more dramatic and pianistically challenging piece – and the amateur performer purchased here the ticket to a whole wedding ritual, not merely to a short dance sequence.

Kostelecký’s ability to write a piano hit notwithstanding, the music was likely not the main reason for its success. In the decades between Buchenthal’s and Kostelecký’s pieces, much had happened to the idea of Jewish emancipation, from Herzl’s First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897 to the First Yiddish Language Conference in 1908, which had taken place in Czernowitz. Jewish identities, culture, and political participation were omnipresent topics in Czernowitz’s newspapers, and a

³⁶ Three literature recommendations shall illustrate this point: for a neat description of Sadagora, combining a historical account with anecdotes, see Mordechai Rubinstein [Ben-Saar], *Der jüdische Vatikan in Sadagora 1850–1950*, vol. 1: *Werdegang und Glanzzeit 1850–1914: Historische Notizen, Humoresken und Lieder* (Tel Aviv: Hitachdut Olei Sadagora, 1954); for exceptional historical photographs see Nataly Shevchenko and Helmut Kusdat, *Das Jüdische Czernowitz: Album* (Vienna: Album, 2009); and for philosopher Martin Buber’s account of his childhood visit at the Chassidic court, in Sadagora see Martin Buber, “Der Zaddik,” in *Jüdisches Städtebild Czernowitz*, ed. Andrei Corbea-Hoişie (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), 143–6.

Jewish *Gesangverein* – with the mission to promote music in Hebrew and Yiddish – was founded in 1908.³⁷

Notably, the cover for Kostelecký's 'Chusit' did not feature Jewish motives, like Buchenthal's, but was instead a typical art nouveau cover with a German title ("Jüdischer Brautzug u. Original-Chussid") (**Fig. 4.4**). If Buchenthal's cover had very little to do with Czernowitz's Jewish middle class, but indexes instead an exotic relic of a past left behind on the path to assimilation, Kostelecký's cover turned a traditional Jewish dance in a domesticized version into a piece of salon music. That domestication was not perceived as such, however. Again the report from the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*:

Those who know the leitmotiv of Jewish traditional music, which is still nascent, will thank the publisher that he made the first step and laid the roots for a generous undertaking, which enters in force now, as the opus has appeared as a 'Collection of Jewish Original Traditional Melodies No. 1.'³⁸

An understanding of the traditional music of a people associated with matters Biblical as still being in a state of nascence must have been odd even at that time (and contradicts the usual attribution of timelessness to such music), although large scholarly projects of collecting and publishing traditional music had only recently begun. What was in a state of nascence in fin-de-siècle Austria, however, was an acceptance of Jewishness and Jewish culture beyond Judaism as a religion: the Jews were not officially recognized as one of the country's "nations," despite various forms

³⁷ See Ch. 5.

³⁸ "Wer das Leitmotiv der jüdischen Volksmusik, die erst im Entstehen begriffen ist, kennt, der wird auch dem Verleger Dank dafür wissen [sic], daß er den Anfang gemacht hat und Wurzel für ein großzügiges Unternehmen gelegt hat, das zur Förderung des jüdischen Volksliedes hiemit in Kraft tritt, zumal das Opus als 'Sammlung jüdischer Original-Volksmelodien Nr. 1' erschienen ist." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 21, 1911.

of recognition in some crown lands (e.g. the *Bukowinaer Ausgleich* of 1913, see Ch. 1).³⁹

At a time when the Empire's "nations" put an increasing effort into researching, expressing, and developing their traditional cultures, and when that effort was subsidized by local governments and Imperial ministries, such a lack of official recognition had considerable ramifications, even in music. The early 1900s saw the beginning of an ambitious Austro-Hungarian research project titled "Das Volkslied in Österreich" (Traditional song in Austria), initiated by *Universal Edition* in 1902 and taken over by the government in 1904.⁴⁰ A venture with a vast scope, the project aimed to publish sixty volumes of traditional songs, thirty with texts in German, thirty in Slavic and Romance languages (the lands of the Hungarian Crown had a similar project of their own).⁴¹ Despite the project's claim to completeness, an inclusion of Jewish songs was not a given, as they were "not a product of an Austrian nation, but of a religious sect," as one government correspondence states.⁴²

In a petition to the Imperial-Royal Ministry of Culture and Education from January 23, 1907, Schloima Drimmer, president of a Jewish student fraternity in Czernowitz, attempted to forestall all objections to such an inclusion: the Jews, he elaborated, had a large presence especially in the Empire's Eastern territories, Galicia

³⁹ Bihl, "Die Juden," in *Habsburgermonarchie*, vol. 3, 903–4; Corbea-Hoişie, "Czernowitz: Bilder einer jüdischen Geschichte," in *Jüdisches Städtebild Czernowitz*, 13–4.

⁴⁰ Walter Deutsch and Eva Maria Hois, eds., *Das Volkslied in Österreich. Volkspoesie und Volksmusik der in Österreich lebenden Völker. Herausgegeben vom k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht. Wien 1918* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 9.

⁴¹ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 9.

⁴² "Soll das jüdische Volkslied in die Publikation aufgenommen werden, obwohl es sich hier zwar um inhaltlich wie musikalisch offenbar interessante Dokumente, jedoch nicht um Produkte einer österreichischen Nation, sondern einer Religionssekte handelt?" Austrian State Archive, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Fasz. 3270/15, no. 16176 (April 4, 1912).

and Bukovina, where they even used their own language.⁴³ According to Drimmer, Yiddish (yet not named such) had long been recognized as a language in its own right because of its widespread use and cultural level, and it is in that language that “the Jewish people [...] has performed [...] her songs, in which it expressed joy and pain. Thus in this language songs arose, that will appear as pearls in any collection of traditional songs.”⁴⁴ Drimmer concluded with an appeal to patriotism: the project would not be complete without that music, as those songs are being performed by “several hundred thousand Austrians.”⁴⁵

Drimmer received support from Matthias Friedwagner, a Romance Studies professor in Czernowitz who was the head of the study group for Romanian song, and, shortly thereafter, even from the provincial government of Bukovina.⁴⁶ Conflict, however, arose over the question of how to organise the committee for Jewish song. In 1912, there were discussions about organizing the Germans of both Galicia and

⁴³ “Das jüdische Volk, meist freilich zerstreut unter den anderen Völkern Oesterreichs lebend, wohnt doch namentlich in den östlichen Kronländern, Galizien und der Bukowina, auch in geschlossenen Massen.– Hier hat dieses jüdische Volk und zwar sowohl dort, wo es geschlossen beisammen wohnt, als auch wo es zerstreut mitten unter den anderen Nationen lebt, seit Altersher, seine eigenen Sprache ausgebildet – die jüdische.“ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 69.

⁴⁴ “Ihrer bedient sich das Volk im gegenseitigen persönlichen Verkehre, ihrer bedienten und bedienen sich zahlreiche Zeitschriften und Zeitungen, die das Sprachrohr gemeinsamer politischer Interessen und gemeinsamer Kulturbestrebungen sind. – Ebenso wie der mündliche Gebrauch haben namentlich diese Zeitschriften bewiesen, dass die jüdische Sprache eine Entwicklungs- und Modulationsfähigkeit besitzt, welche längst alle jene zum Schweigen gebracht hat, die diese Sprache als blossen Dialekt, als ‘Jargon’ gelten liessen. – [...] In dieser Sprache hat dieses jüdische Volk – gleich den anderen sangesreichen Stämmen unseres Vaterlandes – seine Lieder gesungen, in denen es seiner Lust und seinem Schmerze Luft gemacht hat. – So sind in dieser Sprache Lieder entstanden, die in jeder Sammlung von Volksliedern als Perlen erscheinen werden.” Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 69.

⁴⁵ “Nebst den genannten Gründen glauben die ehrfurchtsvoll Unterzeichneten auch die Bemerkung nicht unterlassen zu sollen, dass auch die Rücksicht auf die Vollständigkeit der Sammlung für die Aufnahme des jüdischen Volksliedes in seiner Eigenart massgebend sein müsste. Es würde doch der Vollständigkeit entschieden Abbruch tun, wenn diesen jüdischen Liedern die Aufnahme verweigert würde, da sie doch von mehreren hunderttausend Österreichern gesungen werden.” Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 69.

⁴⁶ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 68–9. The government of Bukovina supported the project from its onset in 1902 (Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 16–7).

Bukovina into a single study group; the Jews – whose lack of status as a nation prevented their receiving a group in its own right – should form a subcommittee in that study group. The plan, however, met with resistance: the head of the coordinating committee argued that the Jews in Galicia did not consider themselves as Germans but were nationally more closely affiliated with the Slavic nations.⁴⁷ In March 1913, the exact path to studying Jewish song was still undecided, but Benno Straucher, one of Czernowitz’s most illustrious politicians, was considered as chair of a study group for Jewish song of both Bukovina and Galicia.⁴⁸ No documents about the matter survive for the subsequent years; then came the war. In the Spring of 1918, a report on the project still lists the study group as “in the process of being formed” (“in Bildung begriffen”).⁴⁹

A year after the “Chussid,” Landau published a vocal piece titled “Jüdel mit dem Fiedel” (roughly translated as “Jew with the Violin”) as the second piece in his series of “Jewish Original Melodies,” as well as a song from an operetta in Yiddish and another Jewish dance.⁵⁰ If the information stated in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* is accurate (and not just an advertising ploy), the first run of this piece was almost entirely sold out before its release due to advance orders, and it attracted an interest

⁴⁷ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 70.

⁴⁸ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 71. Other people considered for a participation in the study group included Leon Kellner and Friedrich Kaindl (Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 71. Kaindl was also involved in the group for German song).

⁴⁹ Deutsch and Hois, eds., *Volkslied*, 71.

⁵⁰ In his travel report about a trip to Bucharest, Franz Porubsky, a feuilleton writer from Czernowitz, called this piece an “indestructible hit” and a “‘pearl’ of music in jargon” (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 26, 1913; “Jargon” stands here for Yiddish, and he pokes fun at a singer who rendered the song unintelligible by performing it in standard German).

“in all circles” – which would confirm an increasingly widespread interest in Jewish secular music.⁵¹

An entirely different kind of emancipation, but in a similarly “nascent” state, occurred in the domain of gender. Three of the two dozen composers in the compilation of sheet music published in Czernowitz (**Tab. 4.1**) are women: Emma Neuberger, Henriette Korngut, and Eleonore Poras. While this small share from an already small number of composers only allows for very limited conclusions, the biographies of two of these composers might yield insight into aspects of women’s careers, and their limited opportunities, in that domain.

Emma Heller-Neuberger, born in 1882 as Frimcie Neuberger into a Jewish family in Lachowce (Galicia), grew up in Czernowitz where she attended the music school of the *Verein*.⁵² When she was sixteen, her Polka-Mazur for piano, *Schmetterling* (butterfly), was published by Schally, and the *Bukowinaer Post* lauded her as one of the *Verein*’s best female students (*Schülerinnen*).⁵³ The next year, in 1899, the Emperor accepted her dedication of a march on the occasion of his fiftieth jubilee.⁵⁴ This march was incorporated into the Imperial Family Library (*k.k. Familien-Fideicommiss-Bibliothek*) and she received 10 ducats in Gold from the

⁵¹ “‘Jüdel mit dem Fiedel’ für Piano zweihändig, Violin oder Singstimme (ad libit.), arrangiert von Leop. Kaufmann [...] Diese in ihrer Eigenart höchst originelle Komposition wurde in allen Kreisen, besonders aber dort, wo man für echt jüdische Volksmusik Sinn hat, mit großem Interesse erwartet. Die erste Auflage ist durch Vorausbestellungen nahezu ausverkauft und wurde der Preis mit Rücksicht auf den überaus starken Absatz mit 80h. pro Exemplar festgesetzt.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, January 12, 1912.

⁵² Emma Neuberger, *Schmetterling: Polka-Mazur* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1898); *Jahresbericht* 30 (1892), 23.

⁵³ *Bukowinaer Post*, May 10, 1898.

⁵⁴ *Illustrierte Sportzeitung*, February 19, 1899, 13.

Emperor's chancellery.⁵⁵ The same year the regiment's band performed Neuberger's "Czernowitzer Mercur Walzer" at the dance of the local business community.⁵⁶

In the fall of 1900, Neuberger became a student at the Empire's most prestigious music conservatory, the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna. Her path at that institution seems to have been unusually erratic from the onset: in her first year, she switched from the harmony course to piano, in her second year she was enrolled as a voice student. During her third year she switched back to piano. Neuberger's conservatory education was cut short by a forgery case: in order to obtain a scholarship from the government of Bukovina, Neuberger had altered her school record considerably by adding numerous courses and improving her grades. The government at first awarded her the scholarship, but the fraudulent entries were eventually discovered. Despite heart-breaking letters to the conservatory's authorities, in which she explained her misstep as a temporary mental incapacity due to the strenuous care for her sick father, Neuberger's petition for readmission was not successful.⁵⁷

For Neuberger, the fact that news between Vienna and Czernowitz often travelled slowly, if at all, must have been a great relief. On October 1, 1903, the

⁵⁵ "Die Componistin Fräulein Emma Neuberger in Czernowitz hat anlässlich des diesjährigen Geburtstages des Kaisers zu Ehren des Monarchen einen Marsch, betitelt 'Habsburg,' componirt, welcher der k. und k. Familien-Fideicommiß-Bibliothek einverleibt wurde. Überdies erhielt Fräulein Emma Neuberger als Anerkennung für diese Composition von der kaiserlichen Cabinetskanzlei eine Spende von zehn Dukaten in Gold." *Neue Freie Presse*, October 14, 1899. The original manuscript of this march survives in the Austrian National Library (Emma Neuberger, "Marsch" (ONB Mus.Hs.31401 MUS MAG). A short article about this achievement also appeared in the feminist journal "Frauen-Werke" (*Frauen-Werke: Österreichische Zeitschrift zur Förderung und Vertretung der Frauenbestrebungen* 6, no. 2 [1899]: 4. Encouraged by this success, Neuberger wrote another march the next year, this time for the Emperor's birthday (Emma Neuberger, "Österreicher-Festmarsch," ÖNB Mus.Hs.31653 MUS MAG), and received another 10 ducats (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 2, 1900).

⁵⁶ "Kaufmännisches Kränzchen," *Bukowinaer Post*, December 24, 1899.

⁵⁷ "Matrikelblatt Emma Neuberger," GdM.

Czernowitzer Tagblatt alleged that she had passed her exam in “general composition” with excellence.⁵⁸ At least locally the forgery incident seems to have had few repercussions. Two years later the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* reported the presence of a well-known operetta composer by the name of Heller in the city; one of the next two of the operettas for which he already had a contract he would likely compose with “Ms. Emma Neuberger (Czernowitz), the well-known composer.”⁵⁹ It is unknown if the collaborative project actually happened, but Neuberger married Josef Heller (1876–1932), indeed a successful operetta composer, a month later.⁶⁰

Emma Neuberger appeared under various names (Emma Heller, Erika Heller, Emma Heller-Neuberger) as a singer and pianist during the interwar period.⁶¹ Her name still appears in Lehmann’s address book of Vienna for 1940, but not in subsequent ones.⁶² In October 1942, she was deported to the concentration camp of Maly Trostinec, where she was killed shortly after her arrival.⁶³

⁵⁸ “Die absolvierte Konservatoristin Fräulein Emma Neuberger, eine Czernowitzerin, hat, wie uns aus Wien telegraphirt [sic] wird, die Prüfung für ‘allgemeine Komposition’ mit sehr gutem Erfolge bestanden.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, October 1, 1903.

⁵⁹ “[...] und wird mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit eine von diesen mit Frl. Emma Neuberger (Czernowitz), der bekannten Tonkünstlerin, komponieren.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, August 30, 1905.

⁶⁰ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 26, 1905.

⁶¹ *Deutsches Volksblatt*, Jan. 21, 1913 (Emma Heller-Neuberger); *Neue Freie Presse*, Oct. 6, 1932 (Erika Heller).

⁶² “Heller, Emmy E., Opernsäng., IX. Porzellang. 60.” *Wiener Adreßbuch. Lehmanns Wohnungsanzeiger* 81, vol.1: *Haushaltsvorstände und Gewerbebetrieben nach Namen geordnet* (Vienna: August Scherl Nachfolger, 1940), 436.

⁶³ Waltraud Barton, ed., *Maly Trostinec – Das Totenbuch. Den Toten ihre Namen geben. Die Deportationslisten Wien – Minsk / Maly Trostinec 1941/1942* (Wien: Edition Ausblick, 2015), 208. The date of birth listed on the transport list for the train to the concentration camp is December 22, 1896 (“Datenbank Shoah-Opfer,” Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, <https://www.doew.at/erinnern/personendatenbanken/shoah-opfer>, Erika Heller [last accessed June 15, 2020]), while Heller-Neuberger’s real birthday was exactly sixteen years earlier. The name (Erika Heller), date of birth (December 22), and location (around the corner from her last address) indicated on the list nonetheless suggests that this was her; one possible reason for the inaccurate birth year might have been an attempt on her part to escape immediate death.

Eleonore Poras (née Wender, 1876–1948) represents a different type of provider of sheet music: she was an amateur with little training in composition. The wife of a reputable physician who directed a sanatorium in Solka (Bukovina, now Romania), she spent the summers in Solka and the winters in their apartment on *Herrengasse*, one of Czernowitz’s finest addresses.⁶⁴ Eleonore’s musical activities were part of the offerings for sanatorium guests, and are even hinted at by a picture in a brochure on the sanatorium, which features Eleonore leaning at the piano.⁶⁵

Eleonore Poras had the distinction of crowning Czernowitz’s ball season of 1914 with a musical hit, her waltz *Studentenliebe* (Students’ Love). The piece was premiered at the ball of the “Academic Society to Support Sick and Needy People” (“akademischer Kranken- und Unterstützungsverein”), an event that was an important first of its kind, as the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* pointed out:

Since the foundation of our alma mater, this is the first time that Czernowitz’s academic youth without difference of nationality or religious denomination has joined forces to organize an academic ball and has worked indefatigably for many weeks for the success of this celebration.⁶⁶

The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* similarly stated that “with the academic ball, for the first time a representative event also on the basis of internationality has appeared on the scene.”⁶⁷ What made this event so unusual? The last decade before WWI brought to

⁶⁴ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, September 19, 1900 (wedding in the Jewish temple); Joe Poras, Eleonore’s grandson, kindly provided the information about her address in Czernowitz.

⁶⁵ Josef Poras, ed., *Bericht aus dem Sanatorium Dr. Poras im Kurorte Solka in der Bukowina für die Jahre 1892–1902* (Leipzig: Deuticke, 1902), 83.

⁶⁶ “Seit dem Bestehen unserer alma mater [sic] ist es zum erstenmal der Fall, daß sich die Czernowitzer akademische Jugend ohne Unterschied der Nationalität und Konfession zur Veranstaltung eines akademischen Balles zusammenschloß und an dem Gelingen dieses Festes schon seit vielen Wochen unermüdlich arbeitete.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 18, 1914.

⁶⁷ “Wir können uns die Konstatierung nicht versagen, daß zum ersten Male eine repräsentative Veranstaltung auch auf der Basis der Internationalität mit dem Akademischen Ball auf den Plan getreten ist.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 18, 1914.

the fore unprecedented national tensions in the Crown Land's political arena (see Ch. 1). Yet these tensions did not prevent inclusive cultural events across ethnic or denominational boundaries (see Ch. 2 and 3). What is exceptional here is the arena: it has often been argued that much of Czernowitz's nationalist activity was imported with professors and students beginning with the foundation of the university in 1875.⁶⁸ Student fraternities, which organized the ball, were particularly known for inciting "ethnic" conflict.⁶⁹ Thus their gathering to organize a ball was an unusual step – an episode during which the myth of Czernowitz was briefly made real, and, unbeknownst to those attending the event, a final opportunity to indulge in this aspect of Habsburg Czernowitz's image.

Poras's waltz followed the opening Polonaise and "elicited lively acclamations and had to be repeated time and again."⁷⁰ The event, which took place in the Festival Hall of the German House, must have been impressive: a reported 140 couples danced the first quadrille.⁷¹

Three months later, Czernowitz's newspapers reported again about the waltz:

Students' Love. Waltz by Mrs. Eleonore Poras. This melodious waltz composition, which was first executed at the academic ball and which found such universal acclaim that it was included thereafter into our military band's repertory for most events of the last carnival season, has now appeared in print

⁶⁸ Erich Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz (Bukowina–Buchenland)* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Pieper, 1955), 70; Claire Anselme, "Das kulturelle Leben in der Bukowina 1875–1918: Die Rolle der Universität Czernowitz" (Master's thesis, University of Strassbourg, 1999), 103.

⁶⁹ Anselme, "Rolle der Universität," 106.

⁷⁰ "Nach der Polonaise wurde der dem 'Akademischen Balle' von Frau Dr. Eleonore Poras gewidmete Walzer 'Studentenliebe' vorgetragen, der lebhaften Beifall hervorrief und immer von Neuem wiederholt werden mußte." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 18, 1914.

⁷¹ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 18, 1914.

at the publishing house of Romuald Schally's music store, and can be purchased there for a price of 2 crowns.⁷²

Poras's waltz is thus musical testimony to an optimistic celebration that united Czernowitzers across nations and religious denominations in the last ball season during peace time. Little did she know that it was her farewell gift to the city. Two months after the release of the Waltz's print version, World War I began, and Eleonore Poras spent at least part of the war time outside of Vienna; with her husband, she settled in Vienna after the collapse of the monarchy, never to return to Czernowitz. It was not her last major migration: in 1938, she fled to Switzerland. Having survived the holocaust, she died in her new home in 1948.⁷³

Poras's and Neuberger's dedicatory pieces for Czernowitz's balls, and Neuberger's patriotic pieces for the Emperor, reflected the opportunities available to female composers at the time.⁷⁴ Admission into the composition program of the country's most prestigious conservatory was possible, as the examples of Mathilde von Kralik and Elsa Wellner show; but careers as composers were usually quite limited (Neuberger's case does not allow in itself for any conclusions: we do not know why she switched from composition to piano, but we do know another reason why her career suffered a setback). All three female sheet music composers were Jewish,

⁷² "Studentenliebe, Walzer von Frau Eleonore Poras. Diese melodiöse Walzerkomposition, welche am akademischen Balle zum ersten Male exekutiert wurde und so allgemeinen Beifall fand, daß sie nachher an den meisten Veranstaltungen des letzten Faschings von unserer Militärkapelle in das Tanzprogramm aufgenommen wurde, ist nunmehr im Verlage der Musikalienhandlung Romuald Schally in Druck erschienen und dortselbst um den Preis von 2 K erhältlich." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 16, 1914 (The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* printed the same text that day).

⁷³ Joe Poras kindly provided this information.

⁷⁴ Little is known about Henriette Korngut, the third female composer in the compilation, who in 1908 performed at a *Makkabäerfeier* of Czernowitz's Jewish Reading Society "Emunah." A review mentions that she was from Lemberg and lauded her "graceful and soulful" piano playing and her virtuosic abilities, but there is no indication that she had any closer connection to Czernowitz's music life (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 24, 1908).

which parallels the general increase of Jewish composers as providers of sheet music during the last two decades, and mirrors the value the Jewish middle-class placed upon musical education. All in all, female composers were still rare in Czernowitz, which the cover of Poras's *Studentenliebe* illustrates well: no other composer ever received a gendered address on a cover (only a title, like "Kapellmeister"), but here the title page announces in large letters a composition by "*Frau* Eleonore Poras."

Music Histories, 1882–2018

Austria-Hungary

The first history of music in Czernowitz was written by Ludwig Adolf Stauffe-Simiginowicz (1832–1897) in answer to a commission by the *Verein* on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in 1882 (the same anniversary featured the premiere of Mandyczewski's cantata *Der Harmonie Gewalt*, see Ch. 3). Born in Suceava, Stauffe-Simiginowicz, an outstanding Bukovinian poet and writer, received his schooling at Czernowitz's German-language *Erstes Staatsgymnasium* (First High School), and continued his studies at the University of Vienna. His account relates Czernowitz's music history to the origins of the Crown Land itself:

When in such a manifold way the claim completely corresponds to the truth: 'Austria has its mission in the East!', this Austrian mission has proven itself hardly anywhere more than in this land, which we call our fatherland in a narrower sense, our home.

This reference is sufficient to let us suspect in what a state of culture Bukovina was before its having been taken over by the Imperial-Royal Austrian government [...] Only one hundred years have passed since, and the same terrain that was characterized by waste land and wilderness has turned little by

little into a place of culture, in which even the arts and sciences have found a home, and which has counted for a number of years among its achievements, dedicated to ideal striving, Czernowitz's Music Society.⁷⁵

Staufe-Simiginowicz, son of a Ukrainian-speaking father and a German-speaking mother, thus placed the *Verein's* history into a larger narrative of civilization and colonization that occurred under Austrian rule. He cites migration – the population growth in the cities and “especially the increase in immigrant families” – as a precondition for ambitious musical activities in Bukovina.⁷⁶ With numerous lists of people involved as founders, early members, and supporters in Czernowitz's earliest music organizations (i.e. the *Verein* and its immediate predecessor organization) he substantiates this point in his account, as the names suggest that all of the city's major cultural groups were represented well in these organizations.⁷⁷

In addition to delivering due praise for those who commissioned his text, Staufe-Simiginowicz also promotes civic and local pride when he claims that “an achievement like the [...] Society's building can be found in only one other Austrian

⁷⁵ “Wenn in so vielfacher Beziehung die Behauptung mit der Wahrheit vollkommen übereinstimmt: ‘Oesterreich habe seine Mission im Osten!’, so hat sich diese österreichische Mission wie kaum auf einem andern Fleck Erde in jenem Lande bewiesen, das wir unser engeres Vaterland, unsere Heimat nennen.

Diese Andeutung genügt, um ahnen lassen zu können, welche traurige Culturstätte unsere Bukowina vor ihrer Uebernahme durch die k. k. österr. Regierung [...]. Nur hundert Jahre sind seither verflossen, und eben dasselbe Terrain, das durch Oede und Wildniß in der trübseligsten Weise sich auszeichnete, ist nach und nach eine Culturstätte geworden, auf der selbst Künste und Wissenschaften ihre Heimat gefunden, und die zu den zahlreichen Errungenschaften, die dem idealen Streben gewidmet sind, auch den Czernowitzer Musikverein seit einer Reihe von Jahren zählt.” Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Die Geschichte des Entstehens*, 5.

⁷⁶ “Erst nach und nach, mit dem numerischen Steigen der Bevölkerung in den Städten und namentlich mit dem Zuwachsen einwandernder Familien waren vereinzelt Musikbestrebungen bemerkbar geworden.” Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 5.

⁷⁷ The lists were presumably created for a different reason: the events described in his accounts dated back no more than twenty-five years, thus most of these people were still alive and the target audience for the booklet.

provincial city, a fact that should fill the hearts of us Bukovinians with joy.”⁷⁸ Being on a par with or even superior to “German-Austrian cities” is important for the young Crown Land capital (“the Singing Society towers far above the Singing Societies of other German-Austrian cities with respect to schooling and solidity”),⁷⁹ and when Staufe-Simiginowicz lauds men who dedicate their entire “Dichten und Denken” (an allusion to the common designation of the Germans as the people of “poets and thinkers”) to the “realization of such a soaring, meaningful idea,” he praises them with an attribute associated with German-ness.⁸⁰

In 1903, the *Verein* published its second history, this time not just in a small booklet but an impressive hardcover volume in (roughly) A4 landscape format that exudes pride in a status attained. It contains much more than a history of the *Verein*’s four decades of existence. Anton Norst, a civil servant and one of the city’s most prolific intellectuals, served as the volume’s editor and provided a foreword and a rhymed prologue, the latter modeled closely after the Austrian anthem (a fact that is even revealed at the end).⁸¹ The next item is a long essay titled “Die Musik in der Bukowina vor der Gründung des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst 1775–1862”

⁷⁸ Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 40.

⁷⁹ “... repräsentiert heute einen Männerchor, der viele Gesangsvereine der deutsch-österreichischen Städte an Schulung und Gediegenheit weit überragt.” Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 34.

⁸⁰ “Wenn wir bedenken, daß eine solche Errungenschaft, wie das [...] Vereinsgebäude, sich nur in einer zweiten österreichischen Provinzstadt wiederfindet, so muß uns Bukowinern das Herz um so freudiger schlagen, als wir diese Errungenschaft, diesen schönen und edlen Erfolg Männern verdanken, die zumeist innerhalb unserer Mauern ihre musikalische Bildung genossen und in ihrem Feuereifer für die Kunst ihr ganzes Dichten und Denken der Verwirklichung einer so erhebenden, bedeutungsvollen Idee widmeten.” (“If we consider that such an achievement as the [...] *Verein* building can only be found in a single other Austrian provincial town, our heart as Bukovinians jumps higher, as we owed this achievement to men, who within our walls received their musical education and who dedicated with great zeal for the art their entire writing and thinking to the realization of such an uplifting, significant idea.”) Staufe-Simiginowicz, *Geschichte des Entstehens*, 41.

⁸¹ For a short biography see Markus Winkler, “Anton Norst,” *Digitale Topographie* der multikulturellen Bukovina; <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/140-Anton-Norst> (accessed July 2, 2020).

(Music in Bukovina before the Foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Music, 1775–1862) by Adalbert Mikulicz. Norst wrote the chapter on the *Verein*'s history, expanding Staufe-Simiginowicz's account.

Mikulicz's essay accomplishes more than providing an overview of musical activities in Bukovina (mainly Czernowitz) before 1862. It proposes a division of Czernowitz's music history into a pre-history (the time before the advent of the *Verein*) and an actual history (in which the *Verein* is the protagonist).⁸² The account of this pre-history promotes the pragmatic Habsburg stance on Bukovina's history: it pays tribute to a culture that precedes Habsburg rule (and that is associated with an ethnic group still powerful in the province) by pointing out its achievements and by attributing its downfall to an external entity ("three centuries of Ottoman rule"), while praising the blessings of Habsburg colonization and the impact on culture of recent migration.⁸³ For Mikulicz, music from the Empire's center was needed for a larger mission of cultural elevation, including the music of Classical composers (see Ch. 1). Remarkably, in Mikulicz's view, even traditional music would benefit from the blessings of Austrian colonization. Yet even in his narrative at times the downside of this process of elevation shimmers through, for example when he credits the Roma (in his account "gypsies") with an important role in the dissemination of Romanian music and laments that it ended with their settling down.⁸⁴

Just four years earlier, an "official" music history of Bukovina had been published for the first time, as a chapter in the Bukovina volume of *The Austro-*

⁸² The division is plausible and in part the basis of the delineation of the focus of the dissertation.

⁸³ Norst, *Verein*, 9.

⁸⁴ Norst, *Verein*, 10.

Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture (1899).⁸⁵ The author of this essay, Isidor Worobkiewicz (1836–1903), was an Eastern Orthodox priest who had gained fame as a poet and musician and whose role in elevating the state of Bukovina’s Orthodox Church music made him an important player in the province’s music history. His essay appeared as a subchapter of the chapter titled “Folklore,” which includes essays on each ethnicity, on the structures of dwellings, and on cottage industry; notably, music does not have its own chapter, unlike literature and the visual art.

Worobkiewicz combines an attempt to give a broad overview of important musical activities in his homeland with considerable bias. As was common in any Austrian account of the time he calls the “Romanians and Ruthenians the original stock [Urbestand] of the population,” but goes further by claiming, without qualification, that “both these people adhere to the Eastern Orthodox Church” (while in truth, a share of the local Ukrainians were Greek Catholic).⁸⁶ In the essay’s first section, “Church Music,” he recounts the pitiful state of choir singing in the first half of the nineteenth century and an early attempt by Bishop Eugen Hakman around 1840 to elevate it with the help of local musicians. Their success was limited as these musicians (several of whom would later be among the founding fathers of the *Verein*) knew neither Romanian nor Church Slavonic – which suggests that none of them was Eastern Orthodox.⁸⁷ A breakthrough was only achieved after 1868, when an Eastern Orthodox priest, who had already proven himself worthy with printed liturgical

⁸⁵ Isidor Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, Vol. 20 of *Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 363–375.

⁸⁶ “In der heutigen Völkermusterkarte des schönen, grünen Buchenlandes bilden die Rumänen und die Ruthenen den Urstock der Bewohner. Beide Völker bekennen sich zur griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche [...]” Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 363.

⁸⁷ “[...] er berief Fachmusiker, wie Prohaska, Zwoniczyk [sic], König, Konopassek, Pauer, [...]” Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 364.

compositions, was sent to Vienna to study at the Conservatory – this priest was none other than Worobkiewicz himself.⁸⁸ Three pages devoted to Orthodox Church Music are followed by a third of a page on the music of all other religious denominations, each with an appreciative comment about the music in their services or the societies founded to support their church music.⁸⁹

Two sections of almost exactly equal length on Romanian and on Ruthenian traditional music form the second part of Worobkiewicz's essay. It is noteworthy that he mentions the Roma as essential participants in the performance of one type of traditional Romanian music making, the *Hora*, which he explains as the interaction between a Roma band and singing Romanians.⁹⁰ One Roma, the violinist Mosz Nikulai, carries the distinction of being the only musician depicted in the entire volume; his robe, hat, and beard make him a representative of a fascinating Oriental Other, yet one whom the reader of this encyclopedia would have expected to encounter in this part of the Empire.⁹¹

Worobkiewicz portrays Roma musicians as skilled violinists (“geübtes Violinspiel”) and attributes to them a natural giftedness (by calling them

⁸⁸ Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 365–6. Worobkiewicz praises the high standards of the Cathedral choir, however, this view was contested (see Ch. 3 and 5).

⁸⁹ The societies listed are the *Verein zur Pflege und Förderung der römisch-katholischen Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz* (founded in 1882) and the *Czernowitzer evangelischer Kirchengesangsverein* (in Worobkiewicz's words, “founded recently”). Worobkiewicz praised the choir singing in the Greek-Catholic Church as an “uplifting choir singing, which has been turned into a true communal church singing due to the bringing together of male and female voices.” (“[...] erklingt bei gottesdienstlichen Handlungen ein erhebender Chorgesang, welcher durch das Zusammenwirken von Männer- und Frauenstimmen zum wahren Kirchenvolksgesange geworden ist.” Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 366). He also lauds the mixed choir in the Jewish temple, which renders “on high feast days remarkable compositions in a flawless fashion.” (ibid.)

⁹⁰ Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 367.

⁹¹ Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 369.

“Naturmusikanten”), a common cliché.⁹² Like Mikulitsch, he laments their vanishing presence as well as the disappearance of their artistry, but does not mention the source for that decline:

These brown, wandering people enlivened with their playing the festivities of the nobility, the clergy and the people; their fame extended far beyond the borders of the country and often their wistful doina or their rousing dance music sounded in neighboring Moldova, in Transylvania, Galicia or Bessarabia [...] Their wedding songs that speak to the hearts, the elegiac popular doinas, their melancholic yet fiery horas can only be heard rarely and any trace of their former verve and magic has disappeared.⁹³

There is perhaps an almost subversive quality (a deconstructive intervention, one is tempted to think) in the fact that Worobkiewicz lists three Roma performers – but none others – by name in his text, one of whom is also the only musician depicted with a photo in the entire essay; other people listed in his article are composers or archbishops (and one amateur musician).

In both sections on traditional music, Worobkiewicz ends with information that links traditional music to its bourgeois reception. He lists the “homeland’s most important composers of Romanian songs, salon compositions and dance music,” a word choice owed to the fact that he includes here composers who were not Romanians.⁹⁴ By contrast, in the Ukrainian section he does not make such a distinction but claims instead that, “There are very few composers among the Ruthenians; among

⁹² Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 369.

⁹³ “Diese braunen, fahrenden Leute belebten durch ihr Spiel die Feste des Adels, der Geistlichkeit und des Volkes; ihr Ruf ging weit über die Grenzen des Landes, und oft erklang ihre wehmüthige Doina oder ihre zündende Tanzmusik in der benachbarten Moldau, in Siebenbürgen, Galizien und Bessarabien [...] Ihre zum Herzen sprechenden Hochzeitslieder, ihre elegischen volkstümlichen Doinas, ihre schwermüthigen und doch feurigen Horas hört man nur noch fragmentarisch und von ihrem alten Schwung und Zauber ist nun jede Spur verschwunden.” Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 369. Worobkiewicz also mentions in this context that Jewish music bands had recently achieved better results than the ones with Roma (Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 370).

⁹⁴ Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 370.

those, whose songs have already become a property of the people, is Professor Isidor Worobkiewicz.”⁹⁵ The fact that Worobkiewicz enlisted himself here as a Ruthenian is particularly noteworthy in the light of attempts in Romanian-language accounts to deny this identification. Towards the end of his essay, Worobkiewicz includes a paragraph about the development of secular concert music in Bukovina, in which he lists the major music societies of each city. He closes with an appeal to concord among the Bukovinian ethnicities and conjures up music’s power to assist it:

May the miraculous power of harmony unite all the peoples of different tongues who live here to a large uniform family of peoples, and may the motto of the Czernowitzer Singing Society become a truth for the entire province: “The tight tie of free song shall unite us in Bukovina!”⁹⁶

The years around 1900 also featured a first in another text genre on Bukovina’s musical past. Two major players in the music history of the Crown Land and its capital, Vojtěch Hřímaly and Leon de Goian, wrote their memoirs. Hřímaly’s account has already been examined in Chapter 2; it shall suffice to mention here that Hřímaly

⁹⁵ Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 374. Worobkiewicz is considered an important Ukrainian-language writer (Petro Rychlo, “Vorobkevyč [Vorobchievici, Worobkiewicz] Isidor [Sydyr Ivanovyč],” *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon: Vogelsang Karl Emil – Warchalowski August* [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018], 351–352). A talk by Viorel Kotik focused on Worobkiewicz’s efforts for both Romanian and Ukrainian culture was likely the first to mention the role of music in Bukovina’s interethnic relations in the title (“Музична культура Буковини ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст. як один з факторів міжетнічної злагоди” [Musical culture of Bukovina of the nineteenth and early twentieth century as one of the factors of interethnic harmony], in Біорел Котик [Viorel Kotik], *Природа, феноменологія та динаміка конфліктів у сучасному світі: Тези доповідей Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції* [The nature, phenomenology and dynamics of conflicts in the modern world: Abstracts of the International Scientific and Practical Conference], Oct.19–21, 1993, vol. 1 [Chernivtsi, 1993], 228–9).

⁹⁶ “Möge die Wunderkraft der Harmonie alle hier lebenden Völker verschiedener Zunge zu einer großen einheitlichen Völkerfamilie verbinden, und der Leitspruch des Czernowitzer Gesangvereines dem ganzen Lande zur Wahrheit werden: ‘Des freien Liedes festes Band vereine uns im Buchenland!’” Worobkiewicz, “Musik,” in *Bukowina*, 374.

regarded his account as a more personal supplement to Norst's "official" history, which, overall, reveals more about its author than its subject.⁹⁷

Leon de Goian (Leon Ritter von Goian; 1843–1911), a district attorney and a member of the Austrian Diet since 1889, had been one of the most active performers in Czernowitz's *Verein* until his final departure for Suceava in 1885, and his appointment as the first president of the Romanian Singing Society *Armonia*.⁹⁸ A Romanian, he had received his schooling in German, and this was also the language in which he wrote this memoir, titled "Mein Musikleben, 1850–1908. Gewidmet meiner lieben Geige" (My life in music, 1850–1908. Dedicated to my dear violin). It survives only in a Romanian-language version published as a sequel in the newspaper *Viața nouă* (New Life) in 1915, four years after his death.⁹⁹ That text is not a complete translation of the original, but alternates between paraphrased passages in the third person and (translated) quotes from Goian's text, often embedded with introductory comments by the editing journalist (the journalist is identified as Victor Morariu in a later source, but this is nowhere mentioned in the original article).¹⁰⁰

It seems Goian's Romanian credentials had been deemed insufficient for the pronounced national orientation of the newspaper, presumably given his career as an Austrian civil servant and a member of parliament as well as his clinging to the German language. His account was thus introduced with somewhat defensive claims:

⁹⁷ Hřimalý, *Dreißig Jahre*, 3.

⁹⁸ "Vierzigjähriges Dienstjubiläum des Staatsanwaltes v. Goian" [Goian's Fortieth Anniversary as District Attorney], *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 18, 1906.

⁹⁹ Leon Goian, "Din memoriile muzicale ale lui Leon cav. de Goian," *Viața nouă*, Sept. 12, 1915; Oct. 3, 1915; Oct. 17, 1915; Oct. 31, 1915; Nov. 8, 1915; Nov. 21, 1915; Dec. 5, 1915; Dec. 19, 1915; Jan. 14, 1916; Mar. 5, 1916 (the publication ends with "va urma" [will be continued], but remained unfinished).

¹⁰⁰ Ion Sbiera, Rudolf Gassauer, Leon cavaler de Goian, and Victor Morariu, *Istoria muzical-dramatică a Sucevei* (Suceava: Editura Mușatinii, 2014), 65.

On October 16, 1915, it will have been four years since Leon de Goian, first president of the Singing Society ‘Armonia,’ has died, who is known in the country as a virtuosic violinist and an amateur music enthusiast. The last gesture was a beautiful Romanian deed: he bequeathed in his testament his comprehensive library, his beloved violin and four other musical instruments to the Singing Society Ciprian Porumbescu, and proved even at the deathbed his Romanian feelings, which had sometimes been doubted [...] ¹⁰¹

Goian’s recollections of his musical socialization supply the reader with a vivid, multifaceted imaginary soundscape, which occasionally reads as if he wanted to introduce to the Crown Land’s many musical cultures, not just share a personal memoir. The first songs he recalls having heard in his youth were Kolomyjki, traditional dances with Hutsul origins and common among the Ruthenians. ¹⁰² No musician left a greater impression on him than Nicolai Picu (also called “Mos Nicolae”), whom we have already encountered in Worobkiewicz’s essay and whose performances of Romanian dances (and once even a Turkish dance, as he informs the reader) fascinated the youth. Nicolae taught him a piece from his repertoire, a *hora*, which Goian encountered again in print as one of Karol Mikuli’s 48 “airs nationaux roumains.” ¹⁰³ Goian’s first public performance also occurred when he spent time with Nicolae’s band. A large group of Jewish merchants came to the restaurant where Nicolae gave a performance and spotted young Goian in another room:

It seemed obvious that I was one of the “gypsies” and when I heard a request, I stood up [...], got a violin – perhaps my own, which I had with me – and they

¹⁰¹ “La 16 Octomvrie 1915, vor fi patru ani de la moartea lui Leon cav. de Goian, primul prezident al Societății de cântare ‘Armonia,’ cunoscut, la noi, în țară, ca virtuoz pe vioară și amator entuziast al muzicii. Ultimul său gest a fost o faptă frumoasă, românească: bogata sa bibliotecă muzicală, iubita sa vioară și încă alte patru instrumente muzicale le-a lăsat prin testament Reuniunii de cântare ‘Ciprian Porumbescu,’ dovedind, încă și pe patul de moarte, sentimentele sale românești, care i se contestau uneori [...]” *Viața nouă*, September 12, 1915. The paper also mentions that Goian wrote at the beginning of his manuscript of fifty and a half pages that it was not intended for publication (ibid.).

¹⁰² *Viața nouă*, Sept. 12, 1915.

¹⁰³ *Viața nouă*, Oct. 3, 1915.

asked me to play. Thus I sang, standing on the stove like a plaster figure, the band accompanied me and I performed a song that they gave me.¹⁰⁴

The performance was cut short by Goian's cousin, who reprimanded him; presumably this kind of music making (with Roma and for Jewish merchants!) was not considered appropriate for the child of a noble family of wealthy landowners.¹⁰⁵ His audience proved to be appreciative: the next day he received an apple pie from the restaurant, which had been ordered for him.¹⁰⁶ During his high school studies in Czernowitz, he received a more formal musical training, taking violin lessons with Heinrich Pöschl and Franz Pauer.¹⁰⁷

Ukrainian songs performed by peasants, Romanian music in their Roma garb, Jewish tunes provided by some merchants for an ad-hoc Roma-band performance, and a more conventional training from teachers with Polish and German names: these were some of the most memorable stages in Goian's musical upbringing. He also emphasizes the companionship without regard to background in the music-making with his high-school pals: "Joyful times! Our camaraderie encompassed all nations and confessions, no quarrel disrupted the harmony among us, we only thought about the beauty of the compositions."¹⁰⁸ Goian's account is generally characterized by an involved interest in his surrounding cultures. Prejudice is mainly implicit in a remark about Mos Nicolae's background, in which Goian emphasizes that according to

¹⁰⁴ "Se'nțelege de sine că eu eram printre 'țigani' și, până să prind de veste, mă ridică nu știu care în sus, mă puse pe vatra amintită, îmi deteră o vioară – poate că chiar a mea, pe care o adusesem cu mine – și mă rugară să cânt. Am cântat, deci, stând pe vatră ca o figură de ghips, iar banda mă acompania, cântând eu un cântec pe care el-am fost prins în ureche chiar de la ei." *Viața nouă*, Oct. 3, 1915.

¹⁰⁵ *Viața nouă*, Oct. 3, 1915.

¹⁰⁶ *Viața nouă*, Oct. 3, 1915.

¹⁰⁷ *Viața nouă*, Oct. 17, 1915.

¹⁰⁸ "Fericite vremuri! Tovărășia noastră cuprindea toate națiunile și confesiunile, nici o ceartă nu turbura armonia dintre noi, nu ne gândeam decât la frumusețea compozițiunilor." *Viața nouă*, Oct. 17, 1915.

Eastern Orthodox law the violinist was not a “gypsy” but a Romanian – as if this fact would ennoble Nicolae.¹⁰⁹

A different outlook on Bukovina’s ethnic configuration and a multicultural society in general distinguishes Goian’s text (from 1908) from the editing journalist’s peritext (from 1915). For example, Goian writes about an incident in which his friends performed for a Greek Catholic Ruthenian, who lauded their performance and hosted them thereafter. However, the man made a xenophobic comment in Ukrainian to his housekeeper about the need to stick together as they, the Ruthenians, had to fight Poles, Germans, and Romanians. Goian expresses his sorrow about the incident and claims that the words had remained in his mind for the rest of his life.¹¹⁰

The editing journalist called Goian a “cosmopolitan liberal of the old school of Bukovina” (not a compliment but more a reproach of backwardness and naiveté), but regarded his reaction to the incident as “a Romanian’s being offended in his national feeling by a Ruthenian [Ukrainian] chauvinist,” as if the incident had been a moment of national awakening. Goian’s own words, by contrast, suggest sadness and worry, but hardly a fundamental change in his outlook on the world:

The impression of his words remained with me for the rest of my life, and it was all the more intense, as we, when we as young people were together in school, never made a difference of religion or nationality, and even our beloved teacher Aron Pumnul, a Romanian with his entire body and soul, who always strove to awaken and sustain our national sentiment, never spoke words that would have incited hatred of another nation. [...] The aforementioned

¹⁰⁹ “Trebuie să adaug că Picu nu era Țigan, ci Român, de legea greco-ortodoxă, cetățean din Suceava; el se bucura, oriunde, de cea mai mare stimă, pe care o merita pe deplin, atât prin arta sa, cât și, mai ales, prin ținuta și purtarea sa foarte cinstită și plină de noblețe.” (“I must add that Picu was not a Gypsy but, by Eastern Orthodox law, a Romanian, a citizen of Suceava; he enjoyed, everywhere, the highest esteem, which he fully deserved, both by his art and, especially, by his very honest and noble conduct and demeanor.”) *Viața nouă*, Oct. 3, 1915.)

¹¹⁰ *Viața nouă*, Oct. 17, 1915.

words remained on my mind throughout my life and with regret I saw their echo in the political upheavals in the country.¹¹¹

For Goian, it seems, the incident was not “characteristic,” as the editing journalist called it, but a premonition of the dark times to come.¹¹²

Another amateur musician from Bukovina, one who left an impressive imprint on the Empire’s *Residenzstadt* as psychologist and Freud student, delivered a similar account in his memoirs of having growing up with no experience of ethnic or denominational prejudice and of an inclusive, diverse high school community; like Goian’s, his narrative also includes the plot twist of an incident of unexpected alienation. Wilhelm Stekel (1868–1940), born in Bojan just 10 miles outside Czernowitz and the brother of Moritz Stekel, the notoriously acerbic music critic whom we encountered in Chapter 2, grew up in a German-speaking Jewish family. A quarter of a century later than Goian he attended Czernowitz’s High School of which he reports:

In the small town of Czernowitz there was only a German high school and a German university. The inhabitants of the town were four nationalities: Rumanian, Polish, Ukrainian, and German. German was the colloquial language. Jews were considered as Germans. It never occurred to me that I was not a German. The word “anti-Semitism” was unknown in Czernowitz. In our class the students felt like brothers; the spirit of solidarity was so strong that it was impossible for the teachers to find a telltale if one of us misbehaved.¹¹³

¹¹¹ “Impresia vorbelor acestora îmi rămase pe toată viața și era cu atât mai intensivă, cu cât noi, tinerii, cât timp împlam, împreună, la școală, nu făcuserăm nicio deosebire de religie sau naționalitate și chiar iubitul nostru dascăl, Aron Pumnul, Român cu trup și suflet, care se silea mereu, din răspuțeri, să trezească și să susțină sentimentul nostru național, nu ne spusese niciodată vorbe care ar fi putut produce un sentiment de ură față de alte neamuri. [...] Cuvintele amintite m-au pus pe gânduri, pe toată viața, și cu părere de rău am văzut, apoi, ecoul lor în zvăcolirile politice din țară.” *Viața nouă*, Oct. 17, 1915.

¹¹² “Iată cum povestește Goian acest incident caracteristic: [...]” *Viața nouă*, Oct. 17, 1915.

¹¹³ Wilhelm Stekel, *The Autobiography of Wilhelm Stekel: The Life Story of a Pioneer Psychoanalyst*, ed. Emil Gutheil (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1950), 48–9.

Insight into a world of prejudice that existed outside his experience but in his close environment only came to him after his high school examination, when he was invited to the estate of a Romanian baron:

At Baron W.'s I learned about the lives of aristocrats from many angles. There was always an abundance of guests, and they did not think that the baron would have invited a Jew. Thus I had the opportunity to listen to many frank and unrestrained anti-Semitic talks. I was astounded. I had not realized that the Jew played such a part in the discussions of Gentiles. I felt sorry for these guests. Even then I realized that by blaming the Jew for all of their own failings and by projecting their own guilty feelings upon him, they were tragically depriving themselves of the opportunity for radical improvement and spiritual progress.¹¹⁴

Stekel wrote his account likely a few months before his death in London in 1940.¹¹⁵

By that time, he had witnessed the collapse of the Empire in 1918, the rough interwar years, and the radicalization of the political climate in Austria in the 1930s, a country he left on the day it ceased to exist in 1938.¹¹⁶ Old Czernowitz must have appeared to him like paradise at that point (which might have colored his memory and made him paint an even rosier picture of the past).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Stekel, *Autobiography*, 3.

¹¹⁵ Stekel, *Autobiography*, 11–12. The editor, Emil Gutheil, gives an account of the genesis of Stekel's memoirs in his preface.

¹¹⁶ Stekel, *Autobiography*, 271.

¹¹⁷ Stekel had remained attached to his home province during his time in Vienna. He founded and was active in an organization called *Landsmannschaft Buchenland*, which organized events for Bukovinians in Vienna. Stekel's oeuvre as amateur composer includes numerous children's songs, which were performed at *Landsmannschafts* events (*Bukowinaer Post*, April 16, 1905) as well as a waltz titled *Vom Pruth zur Donau* ("From the Pruth to the Danube") and a *Buchenland-March* ("Bukovina March"). Some of his musical manuscripts are kept in the Vienna City Library as part of the *Nachlass* of his son, the composer Eric-Paul Stekel ("Musikalischer Nachlass Eric-Paul Stekel: samt Kryptonachlass Wilhelm Stekel," Vienna City Library).

Romania

Mihail Poslușnicu's *Istoria muzicii la Români de la renaștere până'n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice* (The Music History of the Romanians from the Renaissance to the Era of the Consolidation of Artistic Culture; 1928), the first comprehensive Romanian music history, dedicated more than a tenth of its six hundred pages to Bukovina —a cultural justification of this recent territorial gain. Poslușnicu analyzed Bukovina's music as an example, and not even a particularly unusual case, of Romanian musical activity. To Music, he attributed a key role in expressing the nation ("the intellectual blanket of the Romanians from Bukovina"), providing a continuity of the "Romanian feeling."¹¹⁸ The suggestion of continuity in Romanian musical practice is important in this context.¹¹⁹ in this line of argument, cultural or spiritual continuity step in whenever continuity in statehood does not exist. Goian's memoir, the most important source for Poslușnicu's history, is the topic of an entire subchapter; other subchapters feature amateur music societies (*Armonia* and the Music Society "Ciprian Porumbescu" in Suceava) and composers.

The composers covered extensively were Ciprian Porumbescu (more than twenty pages), Eusebius Mandyczewski, his brother Georg, Isidor Worobkiewicz, and Carol Mikuli. Two statements about Mandyczewski suffice to illustrate style and content of these biographies:

¹¹⁸ "Pătura intelectuală a românilor bucovineni, a valorificat, întotdeauna, și cum se cuvine, cântul popular și cultul muzicii [muzicii] în general, întru trăinicia și dezvoltarea [dezvoltarea] simțirii românești [...]" Poslușnicu, *Istoria muzicii la Români*, 437.

¹¹⁹ Poslușnicu, *Istoria muzicii la Români*, 437.

[...] though distant from the bosom of his homeland, though in Vienna [...] educated in a circle of internationalism and led to saying that “Art has no nation,” his soul and feeling were for everything Romanian, his heart beat for the Orthodoxy and the song of the Romanian nation [...] ¹²⁰

To address the question of Mandyczewski’s Slavic name, Poslușnicu cited the nationalist historian Nicolae Iorga, who had solved the problem already in 1925 in a public (and later published) lecture through an insinuation: “Mandicevski [sic]. His name does not have an entirely Romanian sound; but one must not forget that in Bukovina it was customary to make Slavic almost every Romanian who took a secondary education.”¹²¹ A similar strategy of insinuation without actual refutation of facts is applied to Worobkiewicz’s case:

[...] by name he seemed to be a foreigner and for a long time he was suspected to be a Ruthenian, but his activity in the literary and artistic field not only dismissed this suspicion but also rehabilitate him owing to his undeniable benefit for the Romanian cause [...] ¹²²

Worobkiewicz’s many “Romanian” activities are mentioned (for example, the first manual of harmony in Romanian language), but his role as an important writer in Ukrainian and his self-identification are not.¹²³ Nor is Mikuli’s background mentioned at any point. What stands out the most in Poslușnicu’s account, however, is the fact

¹²⁰ Poslușnicu, *Istoria muziceii la Români*, 485.

¹²¹ “Mandicevski. Son nom n’a pas un son tout-à-fait roumain; mais il ne faut pas oublier qu’en Bukovine on avait l’habitude de slaviser les noms de presque tous les Roumains qui passaient par l’enseignement secondaire.” Nicolae Iorga, *La Musique Roumaine. Quelques mots sur les origines et le caractère de la musique religieuse et populaire des Roumains – tirés d’une conférence donnée pour la choral ‘Hora’ de Paris, le 15 Mars 1925* (Paris: Durassié, 1925), 14. Poslușnicu cited the French original (Poslușnicu, *Istoria muziceii la Români*, 485).

¹²² “După nume deși părea a fi străin și deși, multă vreme, bănuială, dar, pentru reabilitarea, cauzei românești, a adus netăgăduite foloase.” Poslușnicu, *Istoria muziceii la Români*, 491.

¹²³ Poslușnicu, *Istoria muziceii la Români*, 491–4. The manual was published in the aftermath of Worobkiewicz’s studies in Vienna (Isidor Vorobchivici [Worobkiewicz], *Manual de Armonia musicalae* [Cernăuți/Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1869]) and received a review in the local paper (*Czernowitzer Zeitung*, June 8, 1869).

that people or organizations that could not easily be Romanianized (most importantly, Hřimalý and the *Musikverein*) were completely sidelined.

The first “stand-alone” printed music history of Bukovina in the Romanian period, “Din trecutul muzical al Bucovinei” (Of the Musical Past of Bukovina; publ. in 1932), was a lecture by George Onciul, a teacher at Cernăuți’s conservatory and the son of the singer Aglaia Lupu.¹²⁴ Departing from a description of traditional song, Onciul construed Bukovina’s music history as a continuous integral part of Romanian music history across time and changes of borders.¹²⁵ While acknowledging the heterogeneity of Romanian folk song owed to foreign – “Slavic and Oriental” – influences (pointing out that differences between songs from different Romanian regions are often as great as those between a Romanian song and one from another nation), he nonetheless claims for this genre collective roots in the Roman era and an ability to spiritually unite all Romanians.¹²⁶ Onciul credits Austrian rule, even though painful for Bukovina, with major improvements in the region’s music culture (e.g. advances in composition; foundation of musical institutions)¹²⁷ and suggests that despite the immigration of foreigners (Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians) a “Romanian spirit” prevailed in Bukovina.¹²⁸ He attributes great importance in the country’s musical development to local Romanian nobility and even regards their support as a reason why local talent in Bukovina could thrive whereas the rest of the

¹²⁴ George Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical al Bucovinei (Cu referiri critice la mișcarea muzicală din România de azi). Conferințe ținute la Universitatea liberă în zilele de 5, 9, și 12 Aprilie 1932* (Cernăuți/Czernowitz: Tipografia Mitropolital Silvestru, 1932). Onciul identifies this relationship in his text, when he mentions his mother’s role in local music history (ibid. 15).

¹²⁵ Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 3–10.

¹²⁶ Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 4–5. He even constructs Bucovinian folklore as particularly purely Romanian (ibid., 8).

¹²⁷ Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 11.

¹²⁸ Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 12.

country (referring to Romania, anachronistically) depended on foreigners for its musical development.¹²⁹

After general reflections on Bukovina's music, Onciul narrates the biographies of four composers, Isidor Worobkiewicz, Ciprian Porumbescu, Eusebius Mandyczewski, and Tudor de Flondor. Similar to Poslušnicu's selection, this choice reflects these composers' relevance for Romania, not Bukovina: Vojtěch Hřímalý, the region's most important cultural import, and Karol Mikuli, one of the region's most important exports, are missing; Worobkiewicz is hailed for his achievements on behalf of Romanian culture, but his adherence to the Ukrainian community and role as an important Ukrainian poet is nowhere mentioned; Mandyczewski is exclusively claimed for Romania;¹³⁰ and while Porumbescu's family background is acknowledged as "Slavic (Polish)," his family is at the same time considered "completely Romanianized."¹³¹ For Onciul, Romanian music needed an elevation through Western compositional techniques, but also had to retain a (very abstractly defined) "Romanian feeling" ("simțire românească").¹³² His characterization of Flondor illustrates particularly well which cultural orientation is acceptable and which one is less preferable: "All these made him rather international in his original inspirations. But

¹²⁹ Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 14 ("Musikvereinul n'ar far exista fără boierii noștri. Miculi n'ar fi scris poate nici o infimă parte din lucrările sale fără îndemnul Hurmuzăcheștilor." "The Music Society would not exist without our boyars. Miculi would have written only a small portion of his work without the encouragement of the Horzumachi family.")

¹³⁰ Onciul considers Mandyczewski "the first Romanian representative in musicology" ("Fără îndoială, Mandicevschi este primul reprezentant internațional al muzicii românești.") Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 27.

¹³¹ "Familia Porumbescu e de origine slavă (polonă), ceeace, după cele spuse mai sus, ni se pare de două ori semnificativ. Familia s'a romanizat complet, așa că tatăl lui Ciprian, anume Iraclie, se decide să șteargă și ultima urmă a acelei origini schimbând numele din Golembiovschi în Porumbescu." Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 18.

¹³² Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 33.

where he is Romanian, he is from Bukovina, that is to say, authentic, without too strong Slavic or Oriental tendencies.”¹³³

Three published essays on the topic of music in Bukovina that appeared in the late 1930s reflect the increasingly chauvinistic political climate. Rudolf Gassauer opened his 1938 essay on Suceava’s musical past with a grim assessment of the present: “Even today, in an era of extreme and exclusivist nationalism, music, alone, has retained its role as an intermediary between cultured peoples.”¹³⁴ Gassauer attributed this role – not without nostalgia – to a Liberal Austrian past, in which Suceava’s music society, founded in 1867, managed to united citizens of all local ethnicities (“Armenians, Czechs, Germans, Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, and ‘last not least,’ a few Jews”), thereby depicting a “true Austria *en miniature*.”¹³⁵

Such exclusivist nationalism characterizes Liviu Rusu’s essay “Muzica în Bucovina” (1939).¹³⁶ According to Rusu, Bucovina’s history can only be understood as part of Romanian history, “given the same general ethnic conditions.”¹³⁷ He quotes the historian Ion Nistor, for whom Bukowina’s history was a battle between a Latin (i.e. the Romanians) and a Slavic race, which had recently been decided for good in

¹³³ “Toate aceste il făcură mai mult internațional în inspirațiile sale originale. Dar, acolo unde este românesc, este bucovinean, adică autentic, fără înclinări prea accentuate nici către slav, nici către oriental.” Onciul, *Din trecutul muzical*, 26–7.

¹³⁴ “Chiar și astăzi, în epoca naționalismului extrem și exclusivist, muzica, singură, și-a păstrat încă rolul de intermediară între popoarele de cultură.” Rudolf Gassauer, *Suceava muzicală de altă dată* (Suceava: Editura Reuniunii muzicale dramatice ‘Ciprian Porumbescu’ Suceava, 1938), 3. Although Gassauer’s essay is focused on Suceava, this statement hardly suggests it was meant as an assessment limited to that city.

¹³⁵ Gassauer, *Suceava muzicală*, 3.

¹³⁶ The same essay was printed in a large volume on Romanian music history edited by Petre Nițulescu’s (Liviu Rusu, “Muzica în Bucovina,” in *Muzica Românească de azi*, ed. by Petre Nițulescu (Bucharest: Sindicatul Artiștilor Instrumentiști din România, 1939), 781–827) and as a separate booklet (Liviu Rusu, *Muzica în Bucovina* [Bucharest: Institutul de arte grafice “Marvan” S. A. R., 1939]).

¹³⁷ Rusu, “Muzica în Bucovina,” 4.

favor of the Romanians.¹³⁸ The presence of Ruthenians in Bucovina Rusu attributes to a migration from Galicia and Podolia, which he does not date, but which he considers as favored by the Austrians (implicitly suggesting that the Ruthenians are not autochthone).¹³⁹

Rusu was perhaps the first writer on Bucovina's music history who deemed the influence of German, Jewish and Hungarian migrants to Bucovina as irrelevant to music culture and praises the music of Romanian peasants as untouched and superior to that of migrant cultures.¹⁴⁰ Characteristic of his selective reading of music history is his reductive and dismissive treatment of Czernowitz's *Verein*:

Since 1877 the Philharmonic Society has its own building with an excellent concert hall. Romanian leaders and boyars assumed positions at the top of this society. We cite Nicolae Mustață, president between 1864–1866, and Victor Stârcea, president between 1874–1884. Until the war, the company remained in line with the ideal prescribed by Austrian rule and served German culture, with all the mixture of nations that took part in its propagation. After the war, it completely fell into the hands of the Jews. Starting with 1939 the Philharmonic Society has come into the possession of the Romanians.¹⁴¹

Opposing concerns had to be integrated into this text: Rusu made an effort to emphasize the Romanian involvement in the *Verein*, a necessity given its undeniable prominence in the province's history. At the same time, it had never been Romanian

¹³⁸ Rusu, Rusu, "Muzica în Bucovina," 13.

¹³⁹ Rusu, Rusu, "Muzica în Bucovina," 14.

¹⁴⁰ "Influențele culturii apusene au atins în primul rând orașele. Nu se pot numi mandatarii acestei culturi nici Nemții, nici Evreii, nici Ungurii, care au venit și s'au așezat în mijlocul satelor românești. De aceea, ei nici nu merită vr'un interes mai mare din partea cercetărilor istorice, decât în măsura în care colorează harta etnografică. Față de produsele muzicale ale acestora, muzica țaranului român prezintă incontestabil o valoare estetică superioară și din cauza aceasta nu a putut fi influențată în structura ei arhaică." Rusu, "Muzica în Bucovina," 19–20.

¹⁴¹ "Dela 1877 societatea filarmonică are o clădire proprie cu o excelentă sală de concert. În fruntea societății au avut roluri de conducători și boerii români. Cităm pe Nicolae Mustață, președinte între anii 1864—1866 și pe Victor Stârcea, președinte între anii 1874—1884. Până la războiu, societatea s'a menținut pe linia idealului trasat de stărpânirea austriacă și a slujit, cu tot amestecul de națiuni ce au luat parte la propășirea ei, cultura germană. După războiu, a căzut cu totul în mâinile Evreilor. Începând cu anul 1939 societatea filarmonică intră în stăpânirea Românilor." Rusu, "Muzica în Bucovina," 27–8.

enough to be subsumed as a Romanian institution (unlike e.g. the Singing Society *Armonia*) and thus needed to be marginalized in the history books. The charge of the *Verein*'s having served German culture before the war is a reductive view of its history (see Ch. 2). Similarly, its alleged having been "in the hands of the Jews" after the war is nothing other than an anti-Semitic slur, as a glance at the yearbooks of the society shows (in reality, the society had a diverse composition).¹⁴²

Much room in Rusu's music history is given to Ciprian Porumbescu, an appraisal that shows how musical ideals are contingent upon national ones and that does not shy away from a clichéd romanticization:

Ciprian Porumbescu has to be considered as a phenomenon, a really exceptional one. He is the first composer to appear in a truly Romanian environment. None of his predecessors nor those who followed him have had such a determined commitment to the path of Romanian art. He confessed at some point that the only composer he studied was our Romanian people. This makes him one of the most brilliant Romanian musical figures of the 19th century, despite all his technical shortcomings.¹⁴³

Like many musicologists from Romania thereafter, Rusu seems more drawn to the image of Porumbescu as a historical and cultural icon than to the composer Porumbescu. Passages that describe the actual music praise it for its simplicity and some undefined "warm feeling" ("simțirii calde"), but overall come across as

¹⁴² Most of the teachers at the school during the interwar period were German, Jewish, or Czech. The list of members suggest the usual wide range of backgrounds (*Societatea Filarmonică: Raportul 62–64* (1923–25) and *Societatea Filarmonică: Darea de seamă 69–74* (1931–38)).

¹⁴³ "Ciprian Porumbescu trebuie considerat ca un fenomen, într'adevăr excepțional. Este primul compozitor care apare dintr'un mediu curat românesc. Nici unul din înaltașii săi și nici cei ce i-au urmat nu au o conștiință așa de hotărât îndreptată pe drumul artei românești. Insuși mărturisește undeva că singurul compozitor pe care l'a studiat a fost numai poporul nostru românesc. Aceasta face din el una din cele mai strălucitoare figuri muzicale românești din veacul XIX, cu toate neajunsurile de tehnică." Rusu, "Muzica în Bucovina," 31.

defensive (with the “technical shortcomings” already mentioned in the introductory paragraph being just one example).¹⁴⁴

If Gassauer chided contemporary nationalism, and Rusu practiced that nationalism by claiming to write a history of Bucovina’s music that in truth was a history exclusively dedicated to the Romanians (real or coopted), Salomon Kassner chose a third path to address the challenge of writing music history in times of a cut-throat tension in Bukovina’s politics: a history of the contribution of Czernowitz’s Jews to the province’s music culture (“Die Juden im Musikleben der Bucovina,” 1937). His account must have appeared as a defensive move in times when the Jews were still the relative majority in Cernăuți but increasingly marginalized and under attack. Kassner not only acknowledged his focus in title and content, but his Jewish music history is broader and more inclusive than Rusu’s general one.¹⁴⁵ Jews and non-Jews interact frequently in this narrative, but this interaction does not position main agents against some irrelevant Others; he reports, informs and puts facts in dialogue, but his agents do not triumph.

Despite the fundamental political changes in Romania in the years around WWII, which included the establishment of a fascist regime, the abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of a Socialist dictatorship, the writings on music history changed relatively little between the interwar and post-war periods: the exclusivist nationalist element remained omnipresent (arguably even exacerbated owing to an irredentism that lamented the loss of half of Bukovina to the Soviets), the Orthodox Church retained its place of pride (in contrast to the histories in other

¹⁴⁴ Rusu, “Muzica în Bucovina,” 32.

¹⁴⁵ Kassner, “Die Juden im Musikleben der Bukovina.”

Socialist regimes), and the nods to Socialist doctrine seemed more an occasional obligatory act. The prime example of a music history in Socialist Romanian Bucovina is Emil Satco's *Muzica în Bucovina*, published in Suceava in 1981 and the only encyclopedia exclusively dedicated to Bukovina's music culture. It contains a section with biographical entries on "composers, musicians, and other people in Bucovina's musical life" as well as one on performers (each with a short biography, a list of compositions (where applicable) and a list of bibliographical references); a section on works and documents; and one dedicated to institutions.¹⁴⁶ At the end there is a chronology of events from the fifteenth century to 1979. Included in the encyclopedia are people, works, and institutions relevant for the territory of Bukovina before it became Bukovina; for Bukovina's Austrian and Romanian period; or for the Romanian part of Bukovina after 1944.

Of the 42 biographies of "composers, musicologists, and other people in Bucovina's musical life," a third features people exclusively associated with the Habsburg period and another third people active in Habsburg and Romanian Bukovina.¹⁴⁷ Satco elaborates that he chose for the encyclopedia "personalities from musical life who were born or settled later in Bukovina, spiritually linked to these places" and specifies that "apart from composers and musicologists [...] who "have long found their place in the history of Romanian music," it also includes lesser-known figures such as amateurs or promoters of music, as well as "some people in culture who belong to other peoples, but who, in a certain historical context, had as

¹⁴⁶ Emil Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina: Ghid* (Suceava: Comitetul de Cultură și Educație Socialistă al Județului Suceava, Biblioteca Județeană, 1981). Pertaining to the Austrian and Romanian period it seems that each entry is more or less a compilation of the information from the sources listed below it.

¹⁴⁷ Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 10–93.

teachers, conductors, performers a significant role in cultivating musical taste and in educating future musicians.”¹⁴⁸ The latter three are identified in the subtitle of their entries, which usually only lists professions: “Hrimaly, Adalbert / (compozitor și dirijor ceh);” “Hrimaly, Otokar / (compozitor ceh);” and “Karnet, August / (dirijor german).”¹⁴⁹ None of the other entries indicates any information about ethnic or “national” backgrounds. The section on works features two dozen of entries, for instance on compositions by Porumbescu, such as his “Ballad for Violin and Piano” and his operetta “Crai Nou;” on anthologies of sacred music associated with the monasteries in Southern Bukovina; on the first manual on harmony in Romanian; and various other pieces, including a string quartet and a piano concerto from the interwar period. All entries only treat works that are considered to be Romanian. Among the three dozen entries on institutions, less than a handful have neutral headers like “String quartet” and “choirs” (which mention in passing non-Romanian groups) and one features a supranational institution (the *Verein*); all others focus exclusively on Romanian institutions or institutions considered Romanian.

Satco’s encyclopedia is arguably the most thorough rewriting of the music history of multicultural Bukovina (of both Imperial and interwar periods) as the music history of a single ethnic group. Of the thirty-five entries (out of 42) that deal with this period, only three feature a person identified as a non-Romanian. Two entries co-opt as Romanians people who did not self-identify as such (Worobkiewicz and Mikuli),

¹⁴⁸ “In afara unor compozitori și muzicologi [...] care și-au aflat de mult locul în istoria muzicii românești, sînt prezentați și compozitori diletanți, alți oameni de cultură, ramași în anonimat, dar care, la vremea respectivă, au avut partea lor de contribuție la impulsivitatea vieții muzicale bucovinene, fie prin compoziții ce n-au depășit un anumit nivel calitativ, marcat de însăși pregătirea autorilor, fie prin activitatea laborioasă desfășurată pentru propagarea actului muzical, activitate devenită crezul lor, așa cum e cazul la Leon Goian [...]” Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 20–22.

and in the case of two others, Mandyczewski and Porumbescu, the non-Romanian side of their heritage was left out of the picture.¹⁵⁰ The entries on the three people identified explicitly as non-Romanians show that the process of marginalization even continues when it comes to those included: while all other composer entries include work lists (which are usually extensive even in the cases of amateur composers and also include music that has never been printed), no work list is indicated for Vojtěch and Otakar Hřimalý, two of Bukovina's most prolific composers.¹⁵¹ Almost all bibliographical entries list Romanian-language sources.

According to the section on performers, Bukovina's two most famous Roma musicians, Nicolae Picu and Grigore Vindireu, were born into families of Romanian peasants.¹⁵² In Joseph Schmidt's biographical entry, only Alexandru Zavulovici is mentioned as his teacher, but not Felicitas Hřimaly-Lerchenfeld, the person usually credited with his voice training. We learn that Schmidt left Germany as a result of Hitler's coming to power and that he died in a Swiss internment camp; but nowhere does the entry mention he was Jewish. Schmidt's performances in Czernowitz's synagogue are not mentioned as his public debut; in this account this debut occurred "with a Romanian ballad" in a concert in Câmpulung Moldovenesc.¹⁵³ Completely

¹⁵⁰ Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 29–32 (Mandyczewski), 35–37 (Mikuli), 53–58 (Porumbescu), 88–90 (Worobkiewicz).

¹⁵¹ The neglect led to a grave error in Hřimalý's biography: Satco assumed that Hřimalý left Czernowitz in 1887 to become professor in Lemberg (which would somewhat justify the shortness of the biography). While Hřimalý indeed considered a position in Lemberg at the time (see Ch. 2), he remained in Czernowitz until a hospital treatment immediately before his death in 1908. The mistake suggests that Satco neither consulted Norst's history of the *Verein* nor Hřimalý's autobiographical sketch.

¹⁵² Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 123–4 (Picu), 142 (Vindireu).

¹⁵³ Satco, *Muzica în Bucovina*, 133–4.

omitted are numerous non-Romanian composers from or active in Bukovina (Ludwig Rottenberg, Victor Kostelecký, Anton Koller, and Otton Żukowski).

Texts on Bukovina's music written after the collapse of Ceausescu's regime, often published in Suceava or written by authors trained in South Bukovina, tend to continue to suggest a cultural unity of Bukovina as an exclusively Romanian territory populated mainly by Romanian cultural agents. Alis Niculică's monograph *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei: teatrul și muzica (1775–1940)* (From the History of Cultural Life in Bukovina: Theater and Music), attempted a comprehensive coverage of the theatrical and musical organizations in the region, from the Habsburg occupation to the (first) end of Romanian rule in the northern part of the province. A concern for the legitimacy of Romanian rule after 1918 structures the account, as is already visible in the main chapter titles, which all refer to the unification (e.g. "Theatrical movements in Bukovina before the Great Union"). In this passionate account, Bukovina, an "unhappy province," is land that between 1353 and 1774 belonged to the "medieval Romanian state," and in 1918 returned to the "natural borders of the Romanian state."¹⁵⁴ Numerous authors ("seduced or even paid by a regime") are seen to have misrepresented its history (especially Habsburg nostalgics), but the truth "is one, both for Romanians, foreigners, and neighbors."¹⁵⁵ The beginning of Bukovina's "ordeal" is Habsburg rule; Ukraine is charged to be the "heir and profiteer" of a Soviet conquest by not returning Northern Bukovina in 1991.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Alis Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei: teatrul și muzica (1775–1940)* [From the History of Cultural Life in Bukovina: Theater and Music (1775–1940)] (Bucharest: Floare Albastră, 2009), 11 and 281 ("[...] după revenirea Bucovinei în granițele firești ale statului român.")

¹⁵⁵ Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei*, 11.

¹⁵⁶ Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei*, 12.

While criticism of a rosy and all-too-nostalgic picture of Habsburg rule is justified, Niculică portrays Habsburg rule as one of marginalization and oppression of the Romanians (including charges of Ruthenization and Germanization),¹⁵⁷ but finds justification for the measures against “minorities” in Romania after 1918.¹⁵⁸

The overall coverage in the actual account is nonetheless impressive in its breadth, and Niculică gives room to all cultural groups in Bukovina and due credit to important agents of different cultural backgrounds. Her focus, however, is on “national” organizations (especially Romanian ones); very little room is given to supranational organizations and interactions among cultures. While Niculică includes the results of archival research, the main trajectory of the narrative in music is based on the Romanian-language publications (and, for some institutions, Norst and Demochko).¹⁵⁹

Aurel Moraru’s 2011 monograph *Muzica corală religioasă din nordul Bucovinei. Sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* (Religious Choral Music from Northern Bukovina. The End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th century) has the distinction of being one of the very few studies on music by Bukovinian composers that focus on music analysis and relate it to the

¹⁵⁷ Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Bucovinei*, 39.

¹⁵⁸ Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Bucovinei*, 200–5.

¹⁵⁹ Apart from the ideological bias of these authors (their accounts are from the Habsburg, interwar, and Socialist periods), these texts mostly do not meet scholarly standards; Norst and Rusu, for instance, were involved agents chronologically close to the events they reported rather than historians attempting to establish what is relevant. One result of using them as a source basis is the perpetuation of mistakes from Poslușnicu’s and Rusu’s accounts from the interwar, for example the misspelling of names (“Hörner” instead of “Horner;” *ibid.*, 230), and the misrepresentation of Hřímalý’s tenure (“1874–96” instead of “1874–1908;” *ibid.*, 160).

larger context of Orthodox church music traditions.¹⁶⁰ It covers the part of Bukovina that is now Ukrainian, which was not an entity during the specified period. “Religious choral music” refers exclusively to Orthodox music; neither “Romanian” nor “Orthodox” are specified in the title as they are taken for granted. The historical account is firmly rooted in the tradition of earlier music histories of Bukovina in Romanian, with the declared aim of restoring and reclaiming a Romanian musical heritage:

The present work attempts to bring back into musical life the works of those Romanian musicians who, although subjected to foreign influences dictated primarily by Bukovina’s geopolitical situation at that time, created a deeply Romanian music with a pronounced national character.¹⁶¹

Central to Moraru’s argument is the idea that Bukovina’s church music took part in a Romanian development (“closely linked to the other provinces populated by Romanians”) despite “having had to endure almost a century and a half of Habsburg rule.”¹⁶² While also emphasizing the compositional quality of Bukovina’s Orthodox church music, he puts forward as the main argument for this repertory its alleged display of Romanianness which persisted in the face of oppression:

To the music critics who claim that the works of these composers failed to rise to the level of those written by their compatriots (Kiriac, Musicescu), we remind them that the religious music of Porumbescu, Vorobchievici and Mandicevschi managed to maintain Romanianness in the Orthodox Church in

¹⁶⁰ Aurel Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă din nordul Bucovinei: Sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* (Bucharest: Editura Universității Naționale de Muzică din București, 2011).

¹⁶¹ Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 12. Unlike earlier accounts in Romanian, Moraru’s text is framed with biblical references and opens with a reflection on the divine power of music, reminiscent of pre-19th-century traditions of writing music histories.

¹⁶² “[...] deși Bucovina a fost nevoită să suporte aproape un secol și jumătate de stăpânire habsburgică, muzică și în general cultura bucovineană nu poate fi privită în mod separat, fără a lua în considerație climatul general al culturii românești. Cu toate că acest ținut s-a aflat timp îndelungat sub dominație străină, viața culturală a Țării de Sus a fost strâns legată de celelalte provincii populate de români.” Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 12.

the north of Bucovina for more than a century. The liturgical works composed by these creators of beautiful sound managed to survive during the period of Austro-Hungarian oppression, survived the Soviet occupation [...] ¹⁶³

It is important to note that Moraru's text, based on his dissertation at Bucharest's Music University, is guided by practical considerations regarding the "appropriate" repertory for Orthodox services and the music's "correct" execution – liturgically, not historically. For example, he points out that Mandyczewski chose liturgical text variants in his liturgies that are used in the Greek Catholic liturgy (according to Moraru, a result of the intercultural contacts in Bukovina's milieu); Moraru insists on replacing them for spiritual reasons. ¹⁶⁴ Overall, Moraru characterizes the style of Bukovina's music repertory as a "combination of foreign influences" and "local archaic elements," ¹⁶⁵ but praises this music for its Romanian spirit and spirituality—in contrast to the music of Gavril Musicescu, a leading composer of Orthodox Church music active in Romania's Iași, whose creations he regarded as removed from the spirit of the local liturgy owing to its strong Russian influence. ¹⁶⁶

This view is by no means uncontested in the Romanian-language texts by scholars and practitioners of Orthodox Church music. Sorin Marciuc, the author of a recent dissertation on the Byzantine tradition in Bukovina's Church music, lauded

¹⁶³ "Criticii muzicali care susțin ca opusurile acestor compozitori nu au reușit să se ridice la nivelul celor semnate de conașionarii lor (Kiriac, Musicescu), le amintim că anume muzica religioasă a lui Porumbescu, Vorobchievici și Mandicevski a reușit să mențină românismul în Biserica ortodoxă din nordul Bucovinei timp de mai bine de un secol. Lucrările liturgice semnate de acești făuritori de frumos sonor au izbutit să dăinuiască în perioada asupririi austro-ungare, au supraviețuit ocupației sovietice [...]" Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 37.

¹⁶⁴ Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 50–52.

¹⁶⁵ "[...] care în combinație cu elementele arhaice autohtone au reușit să contureze un stil componistic specific compozitorilor bucovineni." Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 33.

¹⁶⁶ Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 39–42. Moraru only examines the published repertoires (which in the case of Mandyczewski is the smaller share of the composer's oeuvre) and, apart from two exceptions, only draws on Romanian-language sources (Moraru, *Muzica corală religioasă*, 182–86).

Mandyczewski's sacred choir music as an "original, creative synthesis of the elements of classical music, in a distinguished academic style, with elements of Romanian folk song, with some Slavonic inflections of the Greek psalter," but regarded it as "foreign to the spirit of our church."¹⁶⁷ He assessed that most of Bukovina's Church music from the Habsburg period was marked "by a strong Western influence, foreign to the traditional style as manifested in the singing [...] in Orthodox churches [...]" and concluded that this was the reason for its neglect in religious practice.¹⁶⁸ While Moraru and Marciuc reach different conclusions with respect to the music's Romanianness and local Orthodox spirituality, their assessments confirm the continuing importance of arguments about music's embodiment of a national spirit to its place in the repertory.

Ukraine

The first music history of Bukovina in Ukraine was not published until the last year before the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, earlier Soviet dictionary entries

¹⁶⁷ "Lucrările coral religioase ale lui Eusebie Mandicevski, în special Liturghiile, constituie o sinteză originală, creatoare, dintre elementele de muzică clasică, într-un stil academic distins, cu elemente de melodie populară românească, cu unele inflexiuni slavonești de psaltire grecească. [...] Din păcate, cântările sale corale de acest gen sunt străine de spiritul muzicii noastre bisericești, cu care compozitorul, nu avuse timp să se familiarizeze în țară." Sorin Marciuc, "Muzica bisericească de tradiție bizantină din Bucovina în secolul al XIX-lea și prima jumătate a secolului XX" (PhD diss., University of Cluj-Napoca, 2016), 236–7. Marciuc's dissertation is an important source study of musical manuscripts in a specific tradition of Eastern Orthodox Church music; he also provides biographical information about the most important musicians active in the Eastern Orthodox Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (ibid., 184–242).

¹⁶⁸ "Totuși, majoritatea creațiilor corale bisericești ale compozitorilor bucovineni din această perioadă sunt marcate de o puternică influență occidentală, străină de stilul tradițional manifestat prin cântarea de strană îndătinată în bisericile ortodoxe [...]. Ca urmare a acestui fapt, doar un număr redus de Liturghii sau cântări religioase corale, compuse de vrednicii muzicieni bucovineni au reușit să se impună de-a lungul timpului în cadrul cultului liturgic al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române [...]." Marciuc, "Muzica bisericească, 246.

(1969, 1976) and a short essay (1974) on Eusebius Mandyczewski already anticipate one of the tendencies that would characterize Ukrainian musical historiography on Bukovina: Mandyczewski is designated a Ukrainian and Austrian composer, but his Romanian heritage is not mentioned, and his father is falsely labeled as an immigrant from Galicia.¹⁶⁹ The politics of these attributions are obvious: the Austrian heritage is needed to explain the many remnants from the Habsburg period in North Bukovina, and is less problematic than the Romanian one as it does not challenge current borders; and the Ukrainian side is strengthened by mentioning what is anachronistically subsumed under migration within Ukrainian lands (from Galicia to Bukovina).

The complex genesis of Kuzma Demochko's *Музична Буковина: Сторінки історії* (Musical Bukovina: Pages from History) is disclosed in its preface: the author, a journalist, published a monograph on art in Bukovina (1968), but his second book, ready for print a decade before it was actually published (i.e. around 1980), was not deemed politically relevant enough for publication at the time.¹⁷⁰ Demochko's narrative (finally published in 1990) covers activities of institutions and individual musicians during the Habsburg und Romanian eras. While heavily emphasizing

¹⁶⁹ *Історія міст і сіл Української РСР: Чернівецька область* [History of Cities and Villages in the Ukrainian SSR: Chernivtsi Region] (Kyiv: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1969), s. v. Молодія [Molodiya]; *Шевченківський словник у двох томах* [Shevchenko Dictionary in 2 Volumes], vol. 1. (Kyiv: Shevchenko Institute of Literature, 1976), s. v. Мандичевський, Єусевій [sic] (Євсевій); Soroker and Yatskiv, "Worthy of Study," 92.

¹⁷⁰ Kuzma Makarovich Demochko [Кузьма Макарович Демочко], *Музична Буковина: Сторінки історії* [Musical Bukovina: Pages from History] (Kyiv: Музична Україна [Muzychna Ukraina]), 1990), 6–7.

Ukrainian artists, he gives due credit to Hřímalý's and the *Verein*'s contributions to the music scene.¹⁷¹

The 2000s saw several ambitious Ukrainian-language contributions that shed light on Bukovina's and Czernowitz's music history. In his 2010 dissertation titled "Musical life in Bukovina in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as a manifestation of a polycultural environment," Igor Glibovytskyj has examined the activities of Bukovina's various "national" music cultures. This is one of the first studies on Bukovina's music that draws on literature in all of the relevant languages and includes archival research. While the title suggests some overlap with the topic of the present dissertation, the approach, scope, and angle of the two dissertations differ considerably. Glibovytskyj has focused on Czernowitz's culture for its role in the development of Ukrainian national culture, and as a special manifestation thereof: "Despite the socio-political conditions, Bukovina has always been an indispensable center of Ukrainian life, a guarantor of preserving its national consciousness."¹⁷² Bukovina's "polycultural environment" – Glibovytskyj does not deny to Bukovina its historical multiculturalism – is examined mostly in its relationship to Ukrainian culture, and to fill a "gap in the history of Ukrainian culture."¹⁷³ In doing so, he places his narrative in a "regional-national-universal" paradigm, where Bukovinian culture is seen as a local segment of national and – more broadly – European cultural

¹⁷¹ Demochko, *Musical Bukovina*, 13–17.

¹⁷² "Незважаючи на складні суспільно-політичні умови, Буковина завжди була незгасним вогнищем українства, гарантом збереження його національної свідомості." Glibovytskyj, "Musical Life," 4.

¹⁷³ Glibovytskyj, "Musical Life," 3.

processes.”¹⁷⁴ This paradigm reflects and is put in the service of a current, not a historical reality: the region is conceptualized as a proto-Ukrainian entity, and “national” refers to Ukraine.¹⁷⁵ Accordingly, other activities are placed in a national frame as well, from “Czech” musicians to the “German” music society (the *Verein*).¹⁷⁶

Glibovytskyj’s dissertation by no means follows chauvinistic or radically exclusive trends of Ukrainian scholarship – his account of the achievements of other cultural groups is respectful and detailed – but it does belong to a tradition of histories that take “nation” for granted and construct a teleology that serves to legitimize the current Ukrainian state, departing from (often apocryphal) arguments for the legitimacy of Ukrainian rule in Bukovina.¹⁷⁷

Yaryna Melnychuk’s 2009 dissertation on music education in Bukovina (notably, covering the entire Habsburg era) is based on an impressive amount of

¹⁷⁴ “Системний підхід передбачає дослідження музичного життя Буковини у парадигмі «регіонального-національного-універсального», де буковинська культура розглядається як локальний (місцевий) сегмент загальнонаціональних і – ще ширше – європейських культурних процесів.” (Glibovytskyj, “Musical Life,” 6.)

¹⁷⁵ “Системний підхід передбачає дослідження музичного життя Буковини у парадигмі «регіонального-національного-універсального», де буковинська культура розглядається як локальний (місцевий) сегмент загальнонаціональних і – ще ширше – європейських культурних процесів.” Glibovytskyj, “Musical Life,” 6. Reflections of “Europeanness” seem like a common denominator between present and past, but they differ in their drawing of borders: in many recent Ukrainian scholarly contexts, an emphasis on Europeanness reflects aspirations to integrate the (entire) country into the European Union; in historical accounts, however, Czernowitz is declared a Western outpost of European civilization, a place in “Half-Asia” (a view that would regard most of current Ukraine as non-European).

¹⁷⁶ Glibovytskyj mistakes the *Verein* for an “official” German organization that took no interest in the cultural activities of other “nations” (Glibovytskyj, “Musical Life,” 54–56). Mandyczewski appears in this account as a “Ukrainian,” without further qualification (*ibid.*, 57) and the relations among individuals with a diverse background read like encounters of diplomats from different nations (*ibid.*, 124). A complex case is that of “Czech” musicians, a category in which Glibovytskyj subsumes both German- and Czech-speaking Bohemians (*ibid.*, 154). There is no evidence for Mandyczewski’s alleged gratitude to “his teacher” Worobkiewicz, but it is unlikely given Mandyczewski’s attitude towards Worobkiewicz (*ibid.*, 167; see Ch. 3).

¹⁷⁷ For example, the assertion that “the lands of Bukovina” had been part of the Kievan Rus (Glibovytskyj, “Musical Life,” 13). For a study that portrays the music history of neighboring Galicia, especially its role in Polish national culture and in relations to the “West,” see Jolanta Pekacz’s *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia, 1772–1914* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

archival research and among the few studies on a musical topic that include a wide range of literature and are not structured along “national” lines, despite an emphasis on Ukrainian culture and an anachronistic Ukrainian frame.¹⁷⁸

Important for a local engagement with Bukowina’s musical heritage was the scholar Oleksandr Zalutskyi, who taught at the Department of Music Pedagogy at Chernivtsi University. He published several reprint editions of pre-WWII editions of music by Mikuli and Mandyczewski (these are in German and Romanian) as well as translations into Ukrainian of Anton Norst’s history of the *Verein*.¹⁷⁹ Of particular impact, as it is used locally as a textbook, is the 2011 *Історія музичної культури й освіти Буковини* (History of Musical Culture and Education in Bukovina), a collaborative work by Zalutskyi, Andrii Kushnirenko, and Yarina Vishpinska.¹⁸⁰ It covers music historical topics of regional relevance from the late eighteenth century to the post-Soviet era and includes a wide range of topics, from traditional music to choral societies and music education. While mainly a documentation of the past (with long lists of names and dates and little critical engagement) and with a Ukrainian trajectory (following Demochko), it attempts to present the activities of agents of all important local cultures, and – noteworthy for a textbook – includes bibliographies and even pointers to archival materials.

¹⁷⁸ Yaryna Melnychuk [Ярина Мельничук], “Становлення та розвиток музичної освіти на Буковині (кінець XVIII – початок XX століття)” [Formation and Development of Music Education in Bukovina (end of the eighteenth to beginning of the twentieth century)] (PhD diss., University of Chernivtsi, 2009).

¹⁷⁹ See for example, Karl Mikuli [Кароля Мікулі], *48 національних румунських арій*, Музичне краєзнавство Буковини [Muzychne kraieznavstvo Bukovyny; Musical local lore of Bukovina], ed. Oleksandr Zalutskyi (Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi National University, 2010).

¹⁸⁰ Kushnirenko, Zalutskyi, and Vyshpinska, *History of Musical Culture and Education in Bukovina*.

It is noteworthy that these efforts by local scholars are considerably more inclusive (and accurate regarding data) than a recent historical survey of Czernowitz by a prestigious scholar from outside. In her article for the *Österreichisches Musiklexikon online*, Luba Kyyanovska declares Worobkiewicz a Greek Catholic priest and turns the Romanian choir “Armonia” into a wind band by the name of “Armenia” (with an inaccurate founding date); and fails to mention Eastern Orthodoxy.¹⁸¹ Some credit is given to the Germans and the Jews (i.e. cultural groups that are not representatives of a nation state that shares borders with modern-day Ukraine). Given that Greek Catholicism – locally far less relevant than Eastern Orthodoxy – appears twice in the article, and that Worobkiewicz is already the second major composer from Bukovina who posthumously converts to Catholicism in Kyyanovska’s writings (despite an accurate attribution in an earlier article), a pattern of rewriting emerges.¹⁸² The still pervasive nation-state paradigm structures such a historiography, and an often indiscriminate view of an undifferentiated “Eastern Europe” in the “West” seems to underlie numerous commissions of lexical entries on “peripheral” regions by scholars native to the country in which these venues lie today (it is thus a historiographical problem created in the “centers,” not in the “peripheries”).

¹⁸¹ Luba Kyyanovska, “Czernowitz,” *Österreichisches Musiklexikon online*; <https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/?frames=no> (accessed May 26, 2020).

¹⁸² Luba Kyyanovska, “Isidor Worobkewytsch als Repräsentant des multikulturellen Milieus in der Bukowina,” *Musikzeitung: Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Musikkultur im Südöstlichen Europa e.V.* 8 (December 2010): 12–3. In this article, Kyyanovska mentions that Worobkiewicz’s father was an Eastern Orthodox priest and that Isidor taught liturgical chant at Czernowitz’s Theological faculty (ibid., 12).

German diaspora

Several short essays on Bukovina's music history, written by members of the German diaspora, appeared between 1960 and 1989. All were characterized by nostalgia expressed with references to "alte Heimat" or "verlorene Heimat." Stefan Stefanowicz's essay "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina" (Musical Life in Bukovina; 1961) is mostly a summary of earlier accounts (Worobkiewicz, Mikulicz, Hrimaly, Norst, and Rusu), listing historical facts pertaining to all relevant cultures and emphasizing good intercultural relations.¹⁸³ Only in the closing statement does the narrative take a turn:

World War II and its consequences have put a bitter end to all of this. Bukovina has ceased to exist. The thousands, that could survive the war, returned to the great German community, from which their ancestors had come to this land. What has remained is memories of a lost home and probably also the commemoration of the beautiful musical life in Bukovina.¹⁸⁴

It appears as if the "great German community" to which the Bukovina Germans returned and the forces that were responsible for the end of Bukovina's community ("World War II and its consequences") were two completely separate entities in Stefanowicz's mind and that he regarded the course of events mostly as an externally

¹⁸³ Stefan Stefanowicz, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," in *Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, ed. Franz Lang (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961), 487–508. Another short essay published in the diaspora newspaper of the Bukovina Germans *Der Südostdeutsche* is the printed version of a talk by Hans Prelitsch (mostly based on Norst; Hans Prelitsch, "Musik und Musiker von einst in der Bukowina," *Der Südostdeutsche*, April 1, 1968). Rudolf Wagner included a few pages on music in his booklet *Deutsche Kulturleben in der Bukowina*; his account is similar to Stefanowicz's (Rudolf Wagner, *Deutsches Kulturleben in der Bukowina*, Eckhardtschriften 77 [Vienna: Österreichische Landsmannschaft, 1981]: 48–55).

¹⁸⁴ "All dem hat der zweite Weltkrieg mit seinen Folgen ein bitteres Ende gesetzt. Die Bukowina hat zu bestehen aufgehört. Tausende, die den Krieg überleben durften, sind in die große deutsche Gemeinschaft heimgekehrt, aus der ihre Vorfahren einst in dieses Land kamen. Ihnen blieben nur Erinnerungen an eine verlorene Heimat und wohl auch das Gedenken an das schöne Musikleben in der Bukowina." Stefanowicz, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," 506.

inflicted German tragedy. Noteworthy here is less the Germano-centric pathos at the end, but the juxtaposition with an otherwise inclusive account with far fewer national categorizations and claims than most other music histories of Bukovina.

Paula Tiefenthaler's essay "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," a published version of a talk she gave at the meeting of Bukovina Germans in 1977, focuses on organized concert life and closely follows Norst's volume from 1903. For Tiefenthaler, both "Hauptvölker" (main peoples) of Bukovina—Romanians and Ukrainians—had "so-to-speak, music and rhythm in their blood." Yet she assumed that public musical life started in 1777 with the Austrian military and its bands – in other words, a typical colonialist narrative that contrasts native culture with the arrival of civilization.¹⁸⁵ The segment of the population that requested music teachers in the early nineteenth century, thereby encouraging musicians' migration from Central Europe, she characterized thus: "The bourgeoisie was mainly German, in the cities and the larger rural districts as well as in the noble families in their environment, mostly German was spoken."¹⁸⁶ She rarely mentioned the backgrounds of the new music teachers, but their names are mostly Slavic (e.g. Konopasek, Rowinski, Srkal, and Borkowski).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ "Beiden Völkern, sowohl den Rumänen als auch den Ukrainern liegt Musik und Rhythmus sozusagen im Blut. [...] Aber die ersten öffentlichen musikalischen Produktionen stammen von Militärmusikkapellen." Paula Tiefenthaler, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," in *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, vol. 2: *Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Frau Dr. Paula Tiefenthaler*, ed. Adolf Armbruster (Augsburg: Hofmann, 1993), 30.

¹⁸⁶ "Das Bürgertum war überwiegend deutsch, in den Städten und größeren Landgemeinden ebenso wie in den Adelsfamilien der Umgebung wurde zumeist deutsch gesprochen [...]" Tiefenthaler, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," 31. It is more likely that the noble families were at least bi-lingual, and the bourgeoisie was German or German-assimilated to varying degrees.

¹⁸⁷ Tiefenthaler rarely mentions ethnic backgrounds. One exception is Ciprian Porumbescu, to whom she falsely attributed a Ukrainian father and a Romanian mother (Tiefenthaler, "Das Musikleben in der Bukowina," 37).

Tiefenthaler espoused one common trope in texts written by Bukovina

Germans: the suggestion that nationalism was not a threat to inter-ethnic tolerance.

Her comparison of two compositions by Porumbescu illustrates this approach:

It is interesting and characteristic for Bukovina that Porumbescu composed in 1878 the fraternity song “Trei culori cunosc in lume” for the Romanian student fraternity “Junimea,” a patriotic anthem to the Romanian flag that has been adopted in all of Romania as a national song owing to its elated character; in the same year he composed for the German Club an almost equally elated national fraternity song. Given that Porumbescu always appeared as a nationalist Romanian, this episode gains importance, as it is symptomatic for the tolerance and respect in the inter-national life of the individual ethnic groups in Bukovina.¹⁸⁸

Czernowitz is celebrated here for its coexistence of nationalisms.¹⁸⁹

*

Overall, Bukovina’s musical texts surveyed here suggest that ample attention had been given to ethnicity and nation already in musical publications before 1918, and that border shifts heightened the stakes of most texts produced thereafter. Text criticism, however, requires a caveat, and can only be one approach among several: all of the texts examined here resemble late nineteenth-century genre paintings with splendid

¹⁸⁸ “Interessant und für die Bukowina charakteristisch ist es, daß Porumbescu 1878 für die von ihm mitbegründete studentische, rumänische Verbindung ‘Junimea’ das Bundeslied ‘Trei culori cunosc in lume,’ komponiert hat, eine patriotische Hymne an die rumänische Trikolore, die wegen ihres zündenden Charakters in ganz Rumänien als Nationallied übernommen wurde; im gleichen Jahr komponierte und dichtete er für den ‘Deutschen Klub’ ein fast ebenso zündendes nationales Bundeslied. Unter dem Aspekt, daß Porumbescu immer als Nationalrumäne auftrat, gewinnt diese Episode eine gewissen Bedeutung, weil sie für die gegenseitige Duldung und Achtung im zwischennationalen Leben der einzelnen Volksgruppen in der Bukowina symptomatisch ist.” Tiefenthaler, “Das Musikleben in der Bukowina,” 37.

¹⁸⁹ No larger account about Czernowitz’s music history from the Jewish or Polish diaspora communities exists. A three-page essay on music is included in Emil Biedrzycki’s *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* (History of the Poles in Bukovina; 1973). Biedrzycki’s account mainly lists the involvement of Poles in various cultural enterprises (e.g. Duzinkiewicz and Żukowski). Mikuli’s Armenian background is nowhere mentioned, but this is a negligible neglect (as has been mentioned, many Armenians had culturally merged with the Poles and were considered “Armenopolen”). Biedrzycki considered the involvement of German musicians (Horner and Koller) in Polish celebrations as a sign for good relations between Poles and Germans in the musical scene (Emil Biedrzycki, *Historia Polaków na Bukowinie* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 182–4).

colors and carefully constructed naturalness. And almost all of the painters were locals. Hrimaly, Worobkiewicz, Gojan, and Mandyczewski attempted to project supranational local patriotism, mitigate conflict, and celebrate cordial relations among cultures; most of the later accounts were – in different ways – focused on self-assertion, cultural dominance, and narratives of oppression. The education, professional credentials, and (potential) efforts in objectivity of these agents notwithstanding, it is the investment in their home region and the attempt to project an image that provided the most powerful colors in their accounts.

One common ground of most music histories on Czernowitz or Bukovina is territoriality and a reassignment or defense of borders, displayed in a number of features. First, the ostensible focus of almost all these texts, as shown in titles and expounded in introductions, is Bukovina, not a district within Bukovina or a single city, even though half of them cover exclusively Czernowitz or mostly only one part of Bukovina. Notably, there is only a single monograph on music (a small booklet) that carries the name of the city in its title.¹⁹⁰ Second, in most histories, an undivided Bukovina is portrayed as an integral part of a country and is alleged to display typical features of that country. In the case of Romania and Ukraine, these features were elements of a fairly recently constructed national culture; in the Habsburg Empire, which was not even remotely in the position to construct or suggest a uniform national culture, the feature was plurality: Bukovina was alleged to represent the Empire's

¹⁹⁰ The exception is Raimund Lang's booklet *Musiker in Czernowitz: Botschafter einer minder beachteten Kultur*. I have not examined it alongside the other music histories, as it is not focused on Czernowitz's or Bukovina's music history, but on the careers of musicians from Czernowitz. Lang (who is neither a Bukovinian nor a professional historian) provided here several informative short biographies; his coverage is remarkably broad and inclusive (Raimund Lang, *Musiker in Czernowitz: Botschafter einer minder beachteten Kultur* [Innsbruck: Traditionsverband Czernowitzer Pennäler, 2011]).

diversity in a nutshell. In the Empire, the strong regional identification that developed in Bukovina was desirable, as it served to balance increasingly strong national identifications. In most Romanian or Ukrainian music histories, by contrast, regional identity does not balance or transcend, but only confirms and exists within a national identity. Third, the national (or ethnic) identities and religious denominations of individual agents are central to attempts to back territorial claims with cultural arguments. The ethnic self-identification of a person, the most widely accepted form to ascribe ethnicity during the Habsburg Empire (if sometimes challenged by nationalists), is hardly ever mentioned in any accounts after 1918. Instead, attributions of the ethnicity of historical agents are either plainly asserted or assessed with the help of a pseudo-scholarly approach that combines genealogy, historical speculation (about forced conversions or assimilation), the valuation of one lineage over another (as is the case with Mandyczewski, Mikuli, and Worobkiewicz), or some alleged dedication to a nation (testimony to this dedication is record that diminishes or leaves out the person's contributions to other cultures). Major musical agents whose lineage could not be integrated into Romanian or Ukrainian nationalist narratives (Czechs, Jews, Germans) have been marginalized. Fourth, timeframe and geographical orientation also serve to resituate Bukovina in a national context. Romanian-language music histories on Bukovina include references to Bucharest; Ukrainian-language ones emphasize ties to L'viv and Kiev. Habsburg Bukovina is mainly an interlude in a Slavic, or elsewhere, a Romance history. Last, it seems that all of the longer surveys of music history were written by "Bukovinians."

The charge in an aforementioned history regarding scholars “seduced or even paid by some regime” points to an important feature of much Bukovina scholarship, hefty ideological bias. The literature that formed the basis of that scholar’s account, for example, was mostly by scholars who had state-funded positions in the increasingly authoritarian and anti-Semitic Romanian regime in the interwar period or in Socialist Romania. Other Bukovina scholars were members of the Nazi party. Yet others held positions in the Soviet Union (Cold War and Habsburg ideologies are other forms of bias found in much of the literature). These facts should not lead to an outright dismissal of their accounts, as they display different degrees of bias and might still provide some useful information. But a critical engagement with these histories – rather than mistaking them for reliable sources of information – is indispensable, as is a construction of history that draws from original research.

Svitlana Frunchak’s assessment, that the “historiography of this region is still dominated by competing ‘nationalizing’ accounts,” applies to most music histories and is no less true than it was a decade ago.¹⁹¹ Gellner, Anderson, and Hobsbawm still await their reception in most regional historiography, musical scholarship included.¹⁹² Even explicit territorial revisionism has its place in recent accounts.¹⁹³

The main methodological liability in most accounts is the emphasis on Empire, nation, and state power, as well as the tacit assumption of a top-down organization of culture, partly resulting from a legacy of authoritarianism or a back-

¹⁹¹ Frunchak, “Studying the Land,” 4.

¹⁹² Frunchak, “Studying the Land,” 6.

¹⁹³ Frunchak, “Studying the Land,” 20. Frunchak points out the role of a claim to historical “objectivity” claim that characterizes Romanian territorial revisionism, which also underlies some of the aforementioned histories (Frunchak, “Studying the Land,” 23).

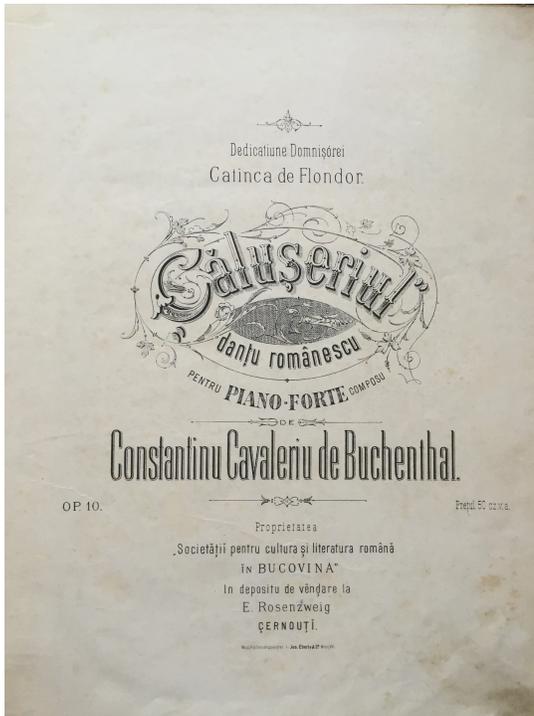
projection of the totalitarian structures in later periods. In such a frame, cultural institutions emerge as representatives of nations (not of cultural groups) with members rallied around a single vision (Imperialists, or irredentists in the service of an existing or future state); artists are portrayed as promoters of a national cause and representatives of nations (not as individuals); artistic creations considered as deeds for the nation; and cultural events as stepping stones in a history leading toward national fulfillment. The (unlikely) premise of this approach is that nation is the central identification for most if not all agents involved—and that religion, region, or city, if relevant, only operate to support this identification. An account that looks closely into the microcosm of individuals, their creations, their complex set of beliefs, and into human interactions yields a different picture of this culture. In it, the idea of “nation” becomes an invitation for reflection, and just one element among many.

Fig. 4.1: Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Im Buchenland*. Cantata for soloists, choir, and orchestra (1888/9), p. 20 of the autograph.

BPK 80/284663, Manuscript Collection, National Jurij-Fedkowytsh-University, Chernivtsi. Printed with kind permission of the library.

“Section border” in red: to its left both the original text in black ink (1889) and the annotated text from 1920 with red pencil; on the right (last two measures on this page): only the original text.

Fig. 4.3: Sheet music by Constantin Ritter von Buchenthal: Romanian, Jewish and Ukrainian dances, and a waltz. The covers are inscribed in Romanian; Hebrew and German; Ukrainian; and German. Three pieces were published in Czernowitz, the Ukrainian one in L'viv.



Tab. 4.4: Two Chussids:
 Constantin Ritter von Buchenthal's *Chasene Vorspiel "Chusit"* (c. 1890)
 and Victor Kostelecký's *Jüdischer Brautzug und Original-Chussid* (1911)

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Tab. 4.1: Secular Music published in Czernowitz (1862–1918).
(Titles as stated in the sources)

Year	Composer and Title	Genre	Publisher
1870	Isidor Worobkiewicz, <i>Flori din Bukovina, Opt cîntice cu acompaniare de piano</i>	duets; soprano alto, and pn.	Eckhardt
1875	Heinrich Vincent, <i>Weihelied zum Austria-Feste</i>	voice and pn.	Eckhardt
1885	Tudor de Flondor, Hans Horner, Eusebius Mandyczewski, Ciprian Porumbescu, Isidor Worobkiewicz, and Ștefan Nosievici, <i>Colecțiune [sic] de coruri pentru voci bărbătești</i>	choir music (mostly male a capella; one with 3 hn. and tbn.)	Tipografica arhiepiscopală
1885	Otto Wanisek, <i>Romanze</i> , op. 98	pn.	Rosenzweig [?]
1885	Otto Wanisek, <i>Die Jugend</i> , op. 102	pn., <i>Polka schnell</i>	Rosenzweig [?]
1885	Otto Wanisek, <i>Aus dem schönen Buchenlande</i> , op. 105	pn., Waltz	Rosenzweig [?]
1886	Isidor Worobkiewicz, <i>Das Echo vom Prut</i>	pn., Quadrille	Pardini and Schally
1890	Constantin von Buchenthal, <i>Pfutsch</i> , op. 10	pn., <i>Polka schnell</i>	Rosenzweig
1890	Buchenthal, <i>L'impatience</i> , op. 11	pn., <i>Valse elegante</i>	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Hora Elisabetei</i> , op. 12	pn.	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Karpaten-Klänge</i> , op. 18	pn., Waltz	Pardini and Rosenzweig
1890	Buchenthal, <i>In die Heimat</i> , op. 19	pn., Military March	Pardini and Rosenzweig
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Hora Junimei Romane Vienneni</i> , op. 23	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Heimatsklänge</i> , op. 25	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Emilien-Polka</i> , op. 26	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Mobilisirungs-Marsch</i> , op. 34	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Landsturm-Marsch</i> , op. 35	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Pruth-Wellen</i> , op. 41	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Ziehrrer-Polka</i> , op. 42	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Patru Hore</i> , op. 45	[pn.]	[?]
1890	Buchenthal, <i>Suferinata</i>	[pn.]	[?]
1891	Tudor de Flondor, <i>Serenadă</i>	men's chorus, baritone solo	Pardini
1892	Flondor, <i>Florile Bucovinei</i>	Waltz, pn.	Pardini
1892	Victor Kostelecký, <i>Das Leben ein Traum</i>	<i>Polka-Mazur</i> , pn.	Schally
1893	Anton Koller, <i>Sechs Lieder</i>	songs, voice and pn.	Pardini
1895	Curt Mayer, <i>Lieutenants-Liebe</i>	<i>Polka mazurka</i> , pn.	Rosenzweig
1895	Josef Sokal, <i>Jeunesse dorée</i> , op. 10	<i>Polka française</i> , pn.	Schally
1896	Mayer, <i>Kanarki</i>	<i>Polka française</i> , pn.	Rosenzweig
1896	Mayer, <i>Aus der schönen wilden Lieutenants-Zeit</i>	Waltz, pn.	Rosenzweig
1897	Carl Mikan, <i>Marsch der Grünen</i>	March, pn.	Pardini
1897	Heinrich Schäfer, <i>Die erste Blüte</i>	Waltz, pn.	Pardini
1897	Schäfer, <i>Donauperle</i>	<i>Polka française</i> , pn.	Pardini
1898	Eugen Negruz, <i>Grüße aus dem Helenental in Baden bei Wien</i>	Waltz, pn.	Pardini
1898	Emma Neuberger, <i>Schmetterling</i>	<i>Polka-Mazur</i> , pn.	Pardini

Tab. 4.1 (cont.): Secular Music published in Czernowitz (1862–1918).

1898	Otton Mieczysław Żukowski, <i>Polones jubileuszowy</i> , op. 17	choir (SATB) and pn.	Pardini
1898	O. Żukowski, <i>A kiedy u nas mgła ciężka pada</i>	song, voice and pn.	Pardini
1898	O. Żukowski, <i>Liebst Du mich? Ich fühl's, dass tief ich innen kranke</i>	song, voice and pn.	Pardini
?	O. Żukowski, <i>A u nas ...</i>	song, voice and pn.	Pardini
1899	Ben Akim, <i>Chasidem. Marche des Juifs</i>	pn.	Pardini
1901	Henryk Schöfer, <i>Gwiazda-Marsz</i>	pn.	Gwiadzda
1901	Kostelecký, <i>Süße Geständnisse</i>	<i>Polka française</i> , pn.	Pardini
1902	Henriette Korngut, <i>Backfisch-Humor</i>	[pn.]	Pardini
1902	O. Żukowski, <i>Na Sybir</i> , op. 9	song, voice and pn.	Pardini
1902	Alexandre Kasimir Żukowski, <i>Mélodie mélancholique</i> , op. 10	pn.	Pardini
1902	A. Żukowski, <i>Mazourka</i> , op. 15	pn.	Pardini
1902	A. Żukowski, <i>Polonaise</i> , op. 18	pn.	Pardini
1904	Józefowicz, <i>Abschied von der Bukowina!</i> , op. 90	pn.	Wiegler
1905	Anton Fieles, ed., <i>Romana-Quadrille</i>	[pn. ?]	Pardini
1911	Jakob Krämer, <i>Graf Meran Huldigungs-Marsch</i>	pn.	Landau
1911	Kostelecký, <i>Jüdischer Brautzug und Original-Chussid</i>	pn.	Landau
1911	Leo Tudorescu[!], <i>Rumänische Motive. Volksmelodien-Potpourri</i>	pn.	Landau
1912	Leopold Kaufmann, <i>Jüdel mit dem Fiedel</i>	voice or violin and pn.	Landau
1912	Hermann Lewinsohn, “Wenn me schnat mein Fleisch” (lament) from <i>Der Idiot</i> , op. 18	voice or violin and pn.	Landau
1912	Chune Wolfsthal, <i>Jüdischer Tanz</i> , op. 44	[pn. ?]	Landau
1914	Eleonore Poras, <i>Studentenliebe</i>	Waltz, pn.	Schally

Sources:

Archival holdings, ChU; *Oesterreichische Buchhändler-Korrespondenz* (1870–1888); *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Buchhändler-Korrespondenz* (1889–1918); (Hofmeisters) *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* (1860–1918); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, March 15 and 26; *Mährisches Tagblatt*, July 30, 1887; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, February 28, 1895; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 5, 1903; “Polona,” (Polish digital library, National Library of Poland), www.polona.pl (last accessed June 19, 2020).

Places, 1913

That evening in May 1913, the passenger train left Vienna's North Station at 7.45 pm, passed through Krakow and Lemberg, and arrived in Czernowitz at 2.10 pm the next day. For Joseph Roth, a similar train ride from Vienna served as an illustration of the Empire's vast scale: from Vienna to the Eastern border, "Lieutenant Trotta sat in the train for seventeen hours. During the eighteenth hour, the monarchy's final eastern railroad station emerged."¹ Czernowitz did not emerge until the nineteenth hour. But unlike Joseph Roth's border city Brody, which must have seemed like the end of the world, Bukovina's capital welcomed our traveler, Johann W., with the vibrant, varied soundscape of a metropolis in the borderlands.

It was an invitation from his colleague David D. that had prompted Johann W.'s journey. Their paths had first crossed during law studies in Vienna, where they had discovered a shared passion for the violin and played chamber music together. After decades as a civil servant in various cities in the Empire, David D. had returned to his home province, Bukovina, and was serving in the Crown Land administration. For Johann W., who had not left Lower Austria except for visits to spa towns in

¹ Joseph Roth, *The Radetzky March*, transl. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Overlook Press, 1995), 126.

² Karl Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn nebst Cetinje, Belgrad, Bukarest. Handbuch für Reisende*, 29th. ed. (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1913), 373.

³ Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 373.

⁴ "Von weiten [sic] gesehen, macht Czernowitz infolge seiner Lage, mit seinen vielen Kuppeln, auf den Fremden den Eindruck einer prächtigen orientalischen Stadt." Hermann Mittelmann, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina* (1907/8), reprint, ed. Helmut Kusdat (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2002), 63.

⁵ "Unterhaltung: Theater (Saison: 1. Oktober bis zu den Osterfeiertagen) mit Lustspiel, Posse, Oper, Operette, Drama. Konzerte und Bälle: im Musikvereinsaal; Platzmusik im Volksgarten von 1. Mai bis Oktober, einmal wöchentlich. Konzerte des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst im Musikvereinsaal.

Bohemia, it was the first trip to the Empire's Far East. His old colleague had drawn him to this journey with the promise of a week of concerts, music-making, and other cultural delights.

Apart from David D.'s letters, a pile of books had prepared Johann W. for his trip. The new Baedeker recommended Hotel Zentral on Rathausstraße, with rooms starting at 2 crowns 40, but Johann W. reserved a room at the Bristol across the street from the Musikverein, as its café offered late hours and a fine band.² That popular travel guide also listed the number of inhabitants – 87,000 – and specified in brackets, as if issuing a warning, “many Jews.”³ More detailed information than the two-page entry in the Baedeker was found in Herman Mittelman's *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina* (Illustrated Guide of Bukovina, 1907/8), a local publication that emphasized the city's non-Western allure: “Seen from a distance and thanks to its location, Czernowitz with its many domes gives the stranger the impression of a splendid Oriental city.”⁴ Of particular interest to Johann W. was the entertainment section of this guide:

Theater (Season: October 1 until the Easter holidays) with comedy, farce, opera, operetta, drama. Concert and balls: in the *Musikverein* building; weekly military band concert in the City Park from May 1 to October. Concerts of the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst* at the *Musikverein*, occasionally; amateur performances in the halls of the German, Ruthenian, Romanian and Polish National Houses; variety theater in Gruder's establishment on *Siebenbürgenstraße*.⁵

² Karl Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn nebst Cetinje, Belgrad, Bukarest. Handbuch für Reisende*, 29th. ed. (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1913), 373.

³ Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 373.

⁴ “Von weiten [sic] gesehen, macht Czernowitz infolge seiner Lage, mit seinen vielen Kuppeln, auf den Fremden den Eindruck einer prächtigen orientalischen Stadt.” Hermann Mittelman, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina* (1907/8), reprint, ed. Helmut Kusdat (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2002), 63.

⁵ “Unterhaltung: Theater (Saison: 1. Oktober bis zu den Osterfeiertagen) mit Lustspiel, Posse, Oper, Operette, Drama. Konzerte und Bälle: im Musikvereinsaal; Platzmusik im Volksgarten von 1. Mai bis Oktober, einmal wöchentlich. Konzerte des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst im Musikvereinsaal,

During the journey, Johann W. compared his impressions with the descriptions he had read in a novel by a local author as well as in a famous travel report. The protagonist in Anna Pawlitschek's novel, 'Ob ich Dich liebe –' (Whether I love you –), observed different kinds of motions, associated with different cultural groups, through the window of her train cabin:

The streets were infinitely stirred up. Occasionally a vehicle on them, hooked up badly, driven by a Ruthenian farmer dressed in sheep fur, moving slowly. Yet if a Jew sat on a vehicle – whether as owner or passenger – a Jew in a long caftan with curls on his sleeves, then it moved terrifically fast through holes and tarns so that the dung spurted up high, as the Jew is always consistently in a hurry.⁶

He had no opportunity to acknowledge this alleged difference (and instead reflected on the prejudicial nature of the account); but he noticed another distinction described in Pawlitschek's novel when he left Galicia to enter Bukovina: "Soon the last gotów [Polish for "ready"] sounded! The border to Bukovina has been reached. Now one again heard the names of the train stations announced in German [...]"⁷ In several feuilletons Johann W. had come across the Berlin journalist Karl Emil Franzos, born a Jewish German in Galicia and socialized in Czernowitz. Franzos even described the arrival in Czernowitz as a return to the West, in unabashed praise of a Germanic mission to cultivate the East:

fallweise; Dilletantenvorstellungen im Saale des deutschen, ruthenischen, rumänischen und polnischen Nationalhauses; Theater-Varietee [sic] in Gruders Etablissement in der Siebenbürgerstraße." Mittelmann, *Illustrierter Führer*, 70.

⁶ "Die Straßen bodenlos aufgewühlt. Ab und zu ein Gefährt darauf, schlecht bespannt, von ruthenischen Bauern im Schafspelz gelenkt, langsam sich fortbewegend. Saß aber ein Jude darauf – sei's als Eigentümer, sei's als Fahrgast – ein Jude im langen Kaftan mit Locken an den Schläfen, dann gieng's rasend schnell durch Löcher und Tümpel, dass der Koth hochaufspritzte, denn der Jude ist beständig in Eile." Anna Pawlitschek, *'Ob ich dich liebe –' Roman aus dem Kleinstadtleben der Bukowina* (Vienna: Konegen, 1897), 51.

⁷ "Bald ertönte das letzte 'gotów'! Die Bukowiner Grenze war erreicht. Nun vernahm man wieder nur deutsches Ausrufen auf den Stationen [...]" Pawlitschek, *'Ob ich dich liebe'*, 51–2.

The heathland behind us, the train roars towards the outliers of the Carpathians and across the foamy Pruth river to the blessed territory of Bukovina. The soil is better cultivated and the lodges are friendlier and cleaner. After an hour, the train arrives at the train station of Czernowitz. The friendly city is located in towering heights. Those who arrive here have a strange feeling: one is all of a sudden again in the West, where education, manners, and white table-linen can be found. And those who want to know who accomplished this miracle should listen to the language of the inhabitants: it is German.⁸

When the rattling of the train, the squeaking of the brakes, and the whistling of the steam engine abated, Johann W. heard the distant sounds of a military band.

Before leaving the train he set his watch: at least with respect to time, Czernowitz was ahead of Vienna, if only by forty-four minutes. David D. and his wife met him at the platform, welcomed him warmly, and led him through the spacious station building to a square with numerous horse carriages. Two full-page architectural drafts of both facades of the railway station in the Mittelmann tourist guide had already alerted Johann W. to the fact that it was the pride of the Czernowitzers.⁹ They seemed no less proud of the electric tram, as Johann W.'s hosts bypassed the horse carriages and led him to the tram stop. These trams were, according to Georg Drozdowski's sympathetic characterization, "in principle friendly vehicles, although they took their own peal of bells too seriously and squeaked horribly [...] in the curves."¹⁰

⁸ "Die Haide bleibt hinter uns, den Vorbergen der Karpathen braust der Zug entgegen und über den schäumenden Pruth in das gesegnete Gelände der Bukowina. Der Boden ist besser angebaut und die Hütten sind freundlicher und reiner. Nach einer Stunde hält der Zug im Bahnhofe zu Czernowitz. Prächtigt liegt die freundliche Stadt auf ragender Höhe. Wer da einfährt, dem ist seltsam zu Muthe: er ist plötzlich wieder im Westen, wo Bildung, Gesittung und weißes Tischzeug zu finden. Und will er wissen, wer dies Wunder vollbracht, so lausche er der Sprache der Bewohner: sie ist die deutsche." Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien. Culturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrußland und Rumänien*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Duncker&Humblot, 1876), 112–3.

⁹ When Mittelmann's guide appeared, the station building was not yet finished (Mittelmann, *Illustrierter Führer*, 72–3).

¹⁰ "Es waren an sich freundliche Fahrzeuge, obwohl sie das Geläut wichtig nahmen und gräßlich quietschten, wenn sie [...] in die Kurve bogen." Georg Drozdowski, *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum: Erinnerungen eines Altösterreicherers* (Klagenfurt: Verlag der Kleinen Zeitung, 1984), 39–40.

From David D. our visitor learned that it was indeed the military band he had heard: on a little plateau just a few hundred feet from the train station there was an upscale beer garden with an adjacent park called Göbelshöhe, a favorite place to spend leisure time among Czernowitzers. If one believed the local papers it could host almost two-thousand people.¹¹ A combination of visual delights, moderate physical exercise, and auditory pleasure lent it its appeal: a stroll through the beautiful park offered a fine view of the valley and that “pleasure [was] heightened by the fact that one hears the military music everywhere but is not forced to sit at the same spot all evening.”¹² Göbelshöhe functioned as one of the two regular outdoor performance venues for the military band of the 41st Infantry Regiment; the other was the Volksgarten, Czernowitz’s largest public park, which marked the rear end of the tram line a few miles away.

*

It is time to pause for a moment and leave our visitor with his local friends. Johann W., of course, is fictional, and so are his friends, but they serve as a lens through which we will explore Czernowitz’s musical offerings, and the city’s soundscape at large, during a week in 1913. What did the orchestra play in the local *Musikverein*? What music was performed in the churches and synagogues? What sounds structured the day? Our musical journey will lead to sites of cultural conflict but will also allow us to witness the results of cross-cultural collaboration, thereby enabling an

¹¹ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 26, 1891.

¹² “Nahezu an zweitausend Personen fanden theils auf der großen Terasse bequeme Plätze, theils ergötzen sie sich an Spaziergängen, für welche die ‘Göbelshöhe’ genügend Platz bietet. Man wird nicht müde, die schöne Aussicht wie die kunstvollen Anlagen zu bewundern. Der Genuß wird dadurch erhöht, daß man die Militärmusik überall hört und nicht gezwungen ist, einen ganzen Abend auf einem Fleck zu sitzen.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 26, 1891.

appreciation of music's central role in the social fabric of a diverse city in Habsburg's Eastern borderlands on the eve of the Great War.

The Army Band

Contemporary decision makers, historians, and writers such as Joseph Roth have all regarded the Austro-Hungarian Army as a principal cohesive force in the Empire. Military music played no small part in the process of integrating diverse forces into a supranational whole by uniting musicians of different backgrounds through the creation of musical symbols of Imperial unity.¹³ General conscription was introduced in 1866 and following the Settlement of 1867 the army had both separate Austrian and Hungarian regiments as well as joint ones.¹⁴

The representation of people from different cultural backgrounds is a more complex question in the military music than in the general forces, as the availability of adequate musical training was unequal across the various parts of the Empire. No complete lineup of Czernowitz's regimental band for any given point in time survives, but the band was likely composed of musicians from various parts of the Empire. Among the band masters, however, one Austrian province and a single ethnicity dominated: two were from Bohemia (both Czech), one was from Lower Austria. An overrepresentation of musicians from Bohemia was not uncommon in musical

¹³ Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, "Die bewaffnete Macht in Staat und Gesellschaft," in *Die bewaffnete Macht*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, vol. 5 of *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918* (Vienna, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 1–141; Tibor Hajdu, "Die Armee in der Gesellschaft der Habsburger-Monarchie zur Zeit des Ausgleichs," in *Die k.u.k. Armee*, ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: Europa-Institut, 1998), 67–73.

¹⁴ Hajdu, "Die Armee in der Gesellschaft," 68.

establishments anywhere in the Empire: as Fatima Hadžić has recently shown, ten out of seventeen military band masters stationed in Sarajevo were from Bohemia (a similar dominance can also be observed in Czernowitz's *Musikverein*, which was run by Bohemians for four decades).¹⁵

The three bandmasters (*Regimentskapellmeister*) who led the regimental music while the 41st regiment was stationed in Czernowitz were Otto Wanisek (1838–1886), who headed the band from 1863 to his death, Viktor Kostelecký (1851–1927 [?]), who served from 1887 to his retirement in 1910, and Josef Laßletzberger (1862–1938), who served from 1910 on and was Czernowitz's last bandmaster under Habsburg rule.¹⁶ During Wanisek's tenure, the regiment was stationed in seven different cities, including Lemberg, Vienna, Sarajevo, and Czernowitz.¹⁷ While many regiments were regularly moved or stationed in several cities at the same time, partially in order to maintain a distance between the regiment and the local population, the 41st Infantry Regiment remained from then on – during the entire tenures of Wanisek's successors – one of the few regiments with a single garrison, Czernowitz.¹⁸

¹⁵ Fatima Hadžić, "The Musical Migration: Czech Musicians in Sarajevo," in *Glasbene migracije: stičišče glasbene raznolikosti = Musical migrations: crossroads of European musical diversity*, ed. Jernej Weiss (Ljubljana: University of Primorska Press, 2017), 251–269. Hadžić lists all musicians as "Czech," usually used as an ethnic designation; Bohemian would be more accurate, as the list also includes German Bohemians (Hadžić, "Czech Musicians in Sarajevo," 257).

¹⁶ Dates of the band directors during their tenure, see "Rameis Collection," Austrian State Archive, *Kriegsarchiv* (War Archive); Laßletzberger's death date see Friedrich Anzenberger, "Zum 75. Todestag von Josef Laßletzberger – er komponierte den Marsch 'Für Österreichs Ehr'," *Blasmusikforschung: Mitteilungen des Dokumentationszentrums des Österreichischen Blasmusikverbandes* 12 (May 2014): 2–3.

¹⁷ "Rameis Collection," Austrian State Archive, *Kriegsarchiv* (War Archive).

¹⁸ For the years of 1911 to 1913, activities of another army band, that of the k.k. *Landwehr* Infantry Regiment No. 22, are mentioned in the papers. It played a marginal role in the city's music culture, as mentions are very rare and neither list the band master nor a program (e.g. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, August 17, 1911; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 8, 1912).

Below is a typical program of a band concert under Kostelecký's baton (**Fig. 5.1**), announced in the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* on April 2, 1889 for a concert that evening at Mayer's Beer Hall on *Tempelgasse* (the street where the main synagogue was located):¹⁹

1. Johann Nepomuk Král, March
2. Otto Nicolai, Overture from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
3. Johann Strauß, *Jubel-Walzer*
4. Daniel-François-Esprit Auber, Aria brillante from the opera *Domino noir* (flugelhorn solo)
5. Carl Michael Ziehrer, *Militärisch* ("Military"), Polka française
6. Carl Maria Weber, *Aufforderung zum Tanz*
7. Felix Mendelssohn, *Frühlingslied*
8. Viktor Kostelecký, *Neujahrs-Walzer*
9. Stanisław Moniuszko, Great Fantasy aus der Oper *Halka*
10. Carl Millöcker, *Postscriptum*, Polka mazur
11. Carl Zeller, Potpourri from the operetta *Der Vagabund*
12. Otto Wanisek, *Junimea*, Polka schnell

Mayer'sche Bierhalle
Tempelgasse.

Dienstag, den 2. April 1889:

Militär-Concert

der Regimentsmusik
des 41. Infant.-Reg. Freiherr v. Beckey.

PROGRAMM:

1. Marsch	von Král.
2. Overture aus: „Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor“	Otto Nicolai.
3. „Jubel-Walzer“ (z. Kaiserjubiläum componirt)	Joh. Strauß.
4. Arie brillante aus der Oper „Domino noir“ (Flügelhornsolo)	Aubert.
5. „Militärisch“, Polka française	Ziehrer.
6. Aufforderung zum Tanze	Weber.
7. Frühlingslied	Mendelssohn.
8. Neujahrs-Walzer	Kostelecký.
9. Große Fantasie aus der Oper „Halka“	Moniuszko.
10. „Postscriptum“ Polka mazur	Millöcker.
11. Potpourri aus der Operette „Der Vagabund“	Zeller.
12. „Junimea“, Polka schnell	Wanisek.

Entrée 25 kr. Anfang 8 Uhr.

Für vorzügliche Küche, gute Getränke und prompte Bedienung ist bestens geforgt.

Hochachtungsvoll
SIMON REISS,
Restaurateur.

Fig. 5.1: Newspaper ad for a military band concert at Mayer's Beer Hall on *Tempelgasse* (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 2, 1889).

¹⁹ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 2, 1889.

Much of this repertory could have been performed at any military concert throughout the Empire: a waltz by Strauss, French and German opera repertory (Auber and Nicolai), and music by a notable military bandmaster (Ziehrer). Three pieces are ingredients specific to the Bukovina *mélange*, addressing local production and consumption in different ways: Moniuszko, while not a local composer, was a prominent figure in the Polish community; Kostelecký conducted a piece of his own (as would be expected); and the concert concluded with music by his predecessor, Wanisek. The title of Wanisek's piece was in Romanian ("Junimea" is Romanian for "youth"); whether the title was generic or an homage to the Romanian organization *Junimea* is unclear.²⁰

The military band's repertory frequently surpassed the marches and occasional music needed for the army's public functions and celebrations. The press, mirroring the educated local elite, encouraged ambitious programming, as seen in a review from 1888:

The current bandmaster of our regiment music Mr. Kostelecki [sic] takes his profession quite seriously and does not limit himself to pleasant-sounding modern music, but also dedicates due attention and care to classical and serious music. A good band should play just about everything, but the old imperishable masterpieces should not be forgotten in favor of operetta and dance. Our regimental band is just such a good one, and thus we had the pleasure to hear in its last musical production the Andante from Haydn's Surprise Symphony conducted and performed in an equally insightful manner. The same evening the band's concert master Mr. Moritz earned well-deserved applause with the performance of the violin solo 'The Dream' by Oslislo.²¹

²⁰ The piece appeared in print with Czernowitz's publisher Rosenzweig and was announced as the composer's "op. 102 Junimea 'Die Jugend'" (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, March 26, 1885).

²¹ "Der gegenwärtige Kapellmeister unserer Regimentsmusik Herr Kostelecki faßt seinen Beruf sehr ernst auf und beschränkt sich nicht darauf gefällig klingende moderne Musik spielen zu lassen, sondern widmet auch der classischen und ernsten Musik die ihr gebührende Aufmerksamkeit und Pflege. Eine gute Musik soll eben Alles spielen, aber über Operetten und Tänze nicht der alten unvergängliche Meisterwerke vergessen. Unsere Regimentskapelle ist eine derart gute und so hatten wir das Vergnügen bei deren letzten Musikproduction das Andante aus der Paukenschlag-Symphonie von Hayden" [sic]

An ambitious Promenade concert in 1894 even included the Overtures to Smetana's *Bartered Bride* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, Liszt's Twelfth Rhapsody, and a piano concerto by Hummel.²² Yet for the press the gap between the band's aspirations and the larger audience's taste remained a source of frustration and led to a questioning of Czernowitz's status as a city of music. The critic in the *Bukowinaer Post*, for example, lamented in a review in October 1895 that some "Narrenalopp" (fool's gallop) performed as an encore elicited far more audience enthusiasm than all the Wagner, Liszt, and Leoncavallo played in the main program.²³

The review of the Haydn performance also points to the fact that the military band often boasted fine musicians who later enjoyed successful careers outside the military. The violinist Moritz, who assumed the name of Oskar Morini, had studied with Grün and Hellmesberger at the Conservatory in Vienna, where he later founded a music school; he became best known as the first teacher of his daughter, world-famous violinist Erica Morini.²⁴ During his time with the army band he composed occasional music, including a Polka française titled "Damenspende" (ladies gift) for the ball of the reading society *Zukunft* (future) and a Romanian Waltz "Ehret die Frauen" ("Honor your Women") for the ball of the "Erster Czernowitzer Frauen-Verein"

ebenso verständnisvoll dirigirt als wirkungsvoll vorgetragen zu hören. Am selben Abend erntete der Primgeiger der Kapelle Herr Moritz mit dem Vortrage des Violinsolos 'Der Traum' von Osliislo wohlverdienten Beifall." *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 30, 1888.

²² *Bukowinaer Post*, October 2, 1894 (announcement), *Bukowinaer Post*, October 7, 1894 (review).

²³ "Als aber als freiwillige Daraufgab ein Narrenalopp, oder Aehnliches gespielt wurde, da weckte er den bis dahin schlummernden Kunstenthusiasmus, da durchbrauste ein wahrer Beifallsorkan den Saal [...] Und bekanntlich nimmt Czernowitz für sich die Bezeichnung in Anspruch, eine Musikstadt zu sein — — —" *Bukowinaer Post*, October 24, 1895.

²⁴ On Oskar Morini's further career, see *Bukowinaer Post*, July 22, 1894, and *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, August 29, 1903; on Oskar and Erica, see Monika Kornberger, "Morini, Familie,"

Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online;

https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_M/Morini_Familie.xml?frames=no (accessed January 25, 2020).

(“Czernowitz’s First Women’s Society”).²⁵ In 1905, many years after Morini’s departure for Vienna, four of his compositions were published in Czernowitz at Rosenzweig.²⁶

On the occasion of Kostelecký’s twentieth jubilee as *Kapellmeister* in 1907, the local papers pointed to the wide array of the army band’s social functions. The *Bukowinaer Post* emphasized the inclusiveness of the institution with respect to the hierarchical structure of society, as entertainment and culture accessible to all classes:

Kosteletzky [sic] counts no doubt among the most popular figures of our city. Our military music is rather the only band in our city. Theater, balls, concerts, outdoor music and not last the various parades and marches of our regiment with his band give the various classes [Ständen] of our society an opportunity to see Kosteletzky in his work [Wirken] dedicated selflessly to the joy and distraction of his neighbor. No wonder that everyone knows him, the gamin, who follows the military band on May 1 in the morning from barracks to barracks [...] to the most elegant visitor of a ball or dance.²⁷

The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* pointed to the breadth of the army band’s opportunities and engagement in the community, from singing societies to clubs and student fraternities.²⁸ One can indeed trace a wide range of civilian and civic activities

²⁵ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, February 24, 1891 (the critic could have been mistaken with the dedicatory piece, as there exists a Polka française titled “Damenspende” by Johann Strauss II); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, March 17, 1891. Activities for the army band can be traced between 1888 and 1891 (review *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 30, 1888; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, March 17, 1891). The Waltz’s title was stated in German, not in Romanian.

²⁶ The pieces published were a *Reverie* for violin and piano; “Sonomir de Romanie” for piano; *Valse d’amour* for piano; and a piece titled “Japanischer Siegesmarsch” (Japanese Victory March), dedicated to the Japanese Emperor (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, November 4, 1905).

²⁷ “Kosteletzky gehört wohl zu den populärsten Gestalten unserer Stadt. Unsere Militärmusik ist so ziemlich die einzige Kapelle, die in unserer Stadt besteht. Theater, Bälle, Konzerte, Platzmusik und nicht zuletzt die diversen Durchzüge und Märsche unseres Regimentes mit seiner Kapelle, geben den verschiedensten Ständen unserer Gesellschaft, Kosteletzky in seinem selbstlosen auf Freude und Zerstreung seines Nächsten berechneten Wirken zu sehen. Kein Wunder, daß ihn jeder kennt, der ‘Gassenbub’, der früh morgens am 1. Mai der Militärkapelle von der Kaserne bis zur Kaserne folgt [...] bis zum vornehmsten Ball- und Redoutenbesucher.” *Bukowinaer Post*, January 24, 1907.

²⁸ This paper similarly praised Kostelecký, but also expressed a regret that the army band was no longer the finest in the Empire (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 24, 1907). Both *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* reported that the band had faced a rapid decline in quality after its heydays when it collaborated with the director of the city theater, Lowe. The *Tagblatt*

in contemporary newspapers: performances for student fraternities, including the Romanian *Junimea* and the Jewish *Hasmonea*; collaborations with choirs, including *Armonia* and the *Männergesangverein*; and participation in the activities of numerous clubs, from the bazar of the Romanian Women's Society to a concert with the newly-founded Ukrainian cultural society *Moloda Ukraina*.²⁹ The army band's engagements also included performing for the funerals of mayors Reiss and Kochanowski and a celebration of State Diet member Benno Straucher.³⁰

If one marked on a city map of Czernowitz every venue where the military band performed regularly between 1879 and 1914, few areas would remain untagged. If we were to imagine that the regular outdoor concerts that took place at different times at various locations took place synchronically, hardly a spot in the city would remain without music. Apart from the aforementioned parks on both ends of the tram, the *Habsburghöhe* behind the archbishop's residence and several garden restaurants hosted outdoor concerts.³¹ Indoor venues with regular military performances included numerous beer halls, restaurants, and cafés.³² Irregular but frequent performances led

indicated as reason cuts in wages and a subsequent drainage of decent musicians (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1907).

²⁹ Sample announcements and reviews of such events: *Bukowinaer Post*, April 3, 1894 (*Hasmonea*); *Bukowinaer Post*, February 13, 1894 (*Junimea*); *Bukowinaer Post*, February 21, 1895 (*Armonia*); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 14, 1903 (*Männergesangverein*); *Bukowinaer Post*, March 1, 1894 (Romanian women's society); December 6, 1900, *Bukowinaer Post* (*Moloda Ukraina*).

³⁰ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 1, 1907 (mayor Reiss); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, September 13, 1906 (mayor Kochanowski); *Bukowinaer Post*, August 11, 1907 (Straucher).

³¹ Sample announcements and reviews of such events: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 20, 1904 (*Habsburgerhöhe*); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 5, 1909 (Café Kaisergarten); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 31, 1894 (*Gartenrestaurant Landau*); *Der Volksfreund*, July 19, 1914 (*Müllersche Gartenrestauration*).

³² See for example: *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, April 11, 1889 (Beer Hall Reiss); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 7, 1909 (Café Habsburg); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 9, 1911 (*Hotel Central*).

the band to the city's national houses, the theater, and the *Musikverein*.³³ The band also accompanied events that celebrated technological advances, from the latest balloon (1892) and a celebration of electrification of the future tram (1900) to a “Paris Biophono-Theater” that featured “living and speaking images” to give the audience an impression of seeing “real living artists.”³⁴

Few indications in the local press give much information about contemporary performance practice and audience participation, but it can be safely assumed that this did not differ considerably from other bands in the Empire, given the standardized protocol as well as musicians' training at the same institutions and their migration among regiments. The *Bukowinaer Post* from May 14, 1895, informs readers that the “hitherto existing practice of singing of refrains, whistling, clapping etc. at military concerts [...] on the part of military people [...] was strictly prohibited,” an order issued for all military bands.³⁵ Another element that influenced the band's sound concerned tuning: as mentioned in a newspaper report, the military music did not use the “normal tuning” common in theaters but was a half step higher (the report also suggested that the instruments used by the military could not be tuned lower), which strained singers at the theater.³⁶

³³ See for example: *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 10, 1910 (German House); *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 8, 1908 (Polish House); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 9, 1909 (*Musikverein*).

³⁴ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, July 12, 1892 (balloon); *Bukowinaer Post*, February 6, 1900 (ball of the electricians); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, June 3, 1903 (“Pariser-Biophono-Theater”).

³⁵ “Das Pfeifen der Militärmusik verboten. Mittels Corpscommando-Befehles wurde den Militärkapellen der Wiener Garnison die bisherige Gepflogenheit des Singens von Refrains, Pfeifen, Paschens, ec. bei den Militär-Concerten in den Etablissements unter Hinweis auf das Ungeziemende ‘solcher Zuthaten’ seitens Militärpersonen auf das Strengste untersagt. Ein ähnlicher Befehl wurde seitens der competenten Commanden sämmtlichen Militärkapellen der Monarchie intimirt.” *Bukowinaer Post* May 14, 1895.

³⁶ *Bukowinaer Post*, October 8, 1899.

Kostelecký wrote numerous compositions to pay tribute to the wide breadth of Czernowitz's and Bukovina's culture. In November 1889, a potpourri titled "Czernowitzer Geschichten" (Stories from Czernowitz) premiered at the Winter Garden of Hotel Weiss; according to an announcement in a local paper it was a "mirror image of the melodic treasure of all nationalities in Bukovina."³⁷ When he retired in 1910, the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* praised Kostelecký as the "popular and highly merited army bandmaster Mr. Viktor Kostelecky, who dedicated in his kindness compositions to all Bukovinian nations."³⁸

The circumstances of the appointment of Czernowitz's last Kapellmeister under Habsburg rule, Josef Laßletzberger, again reminds us of another variable of Czernowitz's location, its remoteness: the provincial city far from Vienna could still function as a refuge for people who needed to start a new life, despite technological advances that had improved the connection between province and capital. In 1908, the newspapers reported that Laßletzberger, then bandmaster at the 84th Infantry Regiment, had gone missing as he had been charged with an "act of indecency."³⁹ He fled to the United States, but a year later the claimant withdrew his accusations when interrogated under oath and Laßletzberger was acquitted.⁴⁰ A year thereafter, in

³⁷ "Man darf darauf umso mehr gespannt sein, als dasselbe ein Spiegelbild des Melodienschatzes aller Nationalitäten in der Bukowina sein soll." *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, November 18, 1889. It seems the piece remained in the band's repertory for a while (see for example an announcement in the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* from August 30, 1891), but never appeared in print (and also does not survive in manuscript).

³⁸ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 11, 1910.

³⁹ "Der Kapellmeister des 84. Infanterieregiments Laßletzberger ist vor einigen Tagen geflüchtet, weil wider ihn die Beschuldigung erhoben wurde, er habe unsittliche Handlungen begangen." *Grazer Volksblatt*, July 16, 1908.

⁴⁰ *Die Neue Zeitung*, October 22, 1909. According to another paper, the claimant both withdrew the accusations against Laßletzberger, and maintained that the latter had been very fond of him and given him presents frequently (*Oesterreichische Land-Zeitung*, October 23, 1909).

October 1910, he started his new appointment in Czernowitz.⁴¹ His career in peace time was short; only two years after Johann W.'s visit, Laßletzberger composed the "41er Kriegsmarsch 1914/15" (War March 1914/15 for the 41st Regiment), a composition that was proposed for "permanent usage" as a regimental march and was predicted to be of "historical importance."⁴² Both permanent and historical were apt designations, yet in a different sense than the one intended.

*

During the tram ride from the train station, while the vehicle fought its way up a steep hill, Johann W. discerned the streets of the traditional Jewish quarter on the left; on the right he passed a Catholic church before arriving at the Ringplatz, a large sloped square towered over by the City Hall. After a brief walk of two blocks he arrived with his friends at Hotel Bristol, the city's most elegant hotel.⁴³ Upon their arrival, they heard the music of a band with the curious name of Karlsbader Sprudelgeister (Karlsbad Spring Spirits) from the hotel's restaurant.⁴⁴

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Since its opening in 1907, the Bristol had hired numerous bands to entertain its guests: in May 1908, for example, a Romanian band called *Nutzulescu* in the main restaurant

⁴¹ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 2, 1910. Laßletzberger had served at two regiments before coming to Czernowitz; his coming second in a competition for a march on the occasion of Emperor Franz Joseph's fiftieth throne jubilee in 1898 was noted in the press; the award was given to Karl Komzak, Laßletzberger's former teacher and one of the most renowned military bandmasters (Friedrich Anzenberger, "Zum 75. Todestag von Josef Laßletzberger," 2; for a brief contemporary report on the competition, see: *Prager Tagblatt*, November 14, 1898).

⁴² *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 31, 1915.

⁴³ For a description of the hotel at the time of its opening, see *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, November 17, 1907.

⁴⁴ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 18, 1913.

and a Viennese-styled *Schrammel* band in the basement restaurant;⁴⁵ two months later, the band *Nyari* (**Fig. 5.2**), announced as a Hungarian gypsy ladies' band,⁴⁶ and, in December 1908, the army band from Stanislau, a nearby town in Galicia.⁴⁷

Cafés, Restaurants, and Ladies' Bands

The spotty sources about the music of Czernowitz's cafés and restaurants – mainly newspaper advertisements and paper trails concerning permits – suggest the following characteristics: bands were usually hired for a period of a month or two; they were an important draw for customers; they were often defined along ethnic lines; and one type of band, “ladies' bands,” had become especially popular by the first decade of the twentieth century. Advertising in newspapers usually occurred either in poster-like notices that mentioned some unspecified but allegedly excellent music as one of the venue's amenities, or notices that highlighted a specific band as the attraction of the month. Occasionally ladies' band performances were even announced as “concerts:” their advertisements resembled concert posters, with the names of the stars shown in bigger print than the venue (yet these were still daily performances and not one-off events).⁴⁸ In addition to such advertisements, regular performances, single concerts in cafés and restaurants, or even the arrival of musicians were also announced in the

⁴⁵ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 24, 1908.

⁴⁶ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 7, 1908.

⁴⁷ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 6, 1908.

⁴⁸ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 24, 1911. The concert was announced as a “Nacht-Konzert eines Wiener Damen-Salon-Orchesters bestehend aus 6 Damen und 3 Herren” (Night concert of a Viennese Ladies' Salon Orchestra, consisting of six ladies and three gentlemen).

news sections of papers (though it is often unclear if these were paid advertisements or just information provided as a service to the paper's readers).⁴⁹

A glance at the advertisement section of an issue of the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* from early 1903 reveals just how popular bands featuring female musicians were at the time (**Fig. 5.3**): *Damenkapelle Hebling* performed at Aufmesser's Okocimer Bierhaus; *National-Damenkapelle* at Okocimer Bierhalle; *Damen-Kapelle Fauster* at Restaurant Koffler; *Damenkapelle Sternbach* at Restaurant Gross; and *Damen-Kapelle Brunner* at Restaurant "zum Weißen Roß;" in a single issue of this paper five out of six restaurants advertise female bands (the remaining one is unspecified).⁵⁰ In her study of the profession of female musicians in ladies' bands in the German Empire, Dorothea Kaufmann has foregrounded two expectations of such bands and their members:

On the one hand, they had to entertain as 'show objects' with their looks ('pretty' and 'handsome'), which meant that they preferably conformed to the prevalent ideals of beauty; on the other hand, their profession as musician required specific artistic skills.⁵¹

The range of *Damenkapellen* in Czernowitz was wide: on the one hand, reputable ensembles that performed in elegant venues, on the other, shady businesses that served as fronts for prostitution and sex trafficking. With regard to the latter, already the make-up of the bands – often two or three males and twice as many females – was reinterpreted, as an article in the *Neue Freie Lehrerzeitung* (New Free Teachers Journal) suggests:

⁴⁹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 24, 1911 (on a performance of the army band at *Café l'Europe*).

⁵⁰ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, January 29, 1903.

⁵¹ "Sie hatten einerseits als 'Schauobjekte' mit ihrer äußeren Erscheinung für die Unterhaltung des Publikums zu sorgen, was bedeutete, daß sie möglichst dem gängigen Schönheitsideal entsprechen sollten ('hübsch' und 'ansehnlich'). Andererseits forderte ihr Beruf als Musikerin bestimmte künstlerische Fertigkeiten." Dorothea Kaufmann, '... routinierte Trommlerin gesucht.' *Musikerin in einer Damenkapelle. Zum Bild eines vergessenen Frauenberufes aus der Kaiserzeit* (Karben: Coda, 1997), 2.

[...] the city is everywhere rife with so-called ladies' bands, which only serve to attract whoremongers. Such a ladies' band consists of two to three real musicians and a number of prostitutes, who only feign to play or who sit as exhibits [...], while the restaurants in questions are below the level of the most miserable honky-tonks.⁵²

Czernowitz's press reported several times about girls that were recruited by locals for ladies' bands in Egypt and ended up as mistresses, as well as of parents selling their daughters or trying to get their girls back from Egypt.⁵³ Some reports connected these accounts and business practices to local bands: the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, for example, claimed to have received a letter from a seventeen-year-old girl who had been previously employed by a band in Czernowitz and demanded that all such outfits be disbanded, as one "cannot imagine what nonsense these poor girls are forced to get up to."⁵⁴

The debates surrounding these bands were a trigger for anti-Semitism, deliberations regarding the social status of the Jews, and voicing of general social concerns. In 1907, the *Neue Freie Lehrerzeitung* accused Czernowitz's main papers of keeping quiet about the social evils associated with ladies' bands, claiming that a "Jewish press" allegedly spared a "Jewish gastronomy."⁵⁵ Such a line of argument tied

⁵² "[...] die Stadt [ist] übervoll von sogenannten Damenkapellen, welche lediglich die Aufgabe haben, 'Draher' anzuziehen. Eine solche Damenkapelle besteht zumeist aus zwei bis drei wirklichen Musikanten und einer Anzahl Prostituierten, die entweder das Spielen nur markieren oder überhaupt nur zu Ausstellung sitzen [...], wobei die betreffenden Gasthäuser als solche zumeist unter dem Niveau der elendsten Spelunken stehen." *Neue Freie Lehrerzeitung*, August 17, 1907, 3.

⁵³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 19, 1905; *Bukowinaer Volkszeitung*, January 12, 1908; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 7, 1909.

⁵⁴ "... so trachten Sie, daß den in Czernowitz spielenden Kapellen, die mit Mädchen arbeiten, die Konzession entzogen werde, denn zu welchem Umfuge [sic] diese armen Mädchen gezwungen werden, davon haben Sie keinen Begriff." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 19, 1908.

⁵⁵ *Neue Freie Lehrerzeitung*, August 17, 1907, 3.

into common themes of the anti-Semitic imagination.⁵⁶ One of the main papers, by contrast, complained that the “strange practice” of not hiring Jewish girls for other jobs—common even among Jewish employers—was responsible for their turning to dubious professions.⁵⁷ An article under the header of the *Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels* (Austrian League to Fight Trafficking in Girls) suggested that the problem threw a “searchlight on family life in the lower classes of our population.”⁵⁸

On the theatrical stage, the Czernowitzers had numerous opportunities to enjoy the literal dream image of a ladies’ band: Oscar Straus’s operetta *Ein Walzertraum* (A Waltz Dream) was first given in Czernowitz in October 1907, just half a year after its Viennese premiere, and saw numerous performances in the city thereafter. The critic in the *Bukowinaer Post* introduced the readers to the operetta’s plot:

With a comrade from Vienna, [the prince consort] spends his wedding night in the company of a travelling Viennese ladies’ band, whose bandmaster, Franz, conquers his quickly beating heart. The princess learns of her husband’s weakness for waltzes, and, after some lessons from Music-Franzi, she learns the skills that bring her husband back to her small feet.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Peter Becker, “Von Jamaica nach Kapstadt und Buenos Aires. Anna Königsberg und der Mädchenhandel in der Habsburgermonarchie,” 139–172 in ‘*Ostjuden.*’ *Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Philipp Mettauer and Barbara Staudinger (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2015), 149–50.

⁵⁷ “Da sitzen tagelang Mädchen mosaischer Konfession in unserem Vermittlungsbureau und harren einer Anstellung oder eines Dienstens als Verkäuferinnen, Stubenmädchen und dgl. doch keiner ihrer konnationalen Dienstgeber verlangt nach ihnen ‘wir wollen nur christliche Dienstboten’ ist die regelmäßige Antwort trotz unserer Vorstellungen! Was soll nun aus diese Mädchen werden?” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 19, 1908.

⁵⁸ “Österreichische Liga zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels. Das hierortige Vizesekretariat der Liga befaßt sich gegenwärtig mit einem Falle, der nicht vereinzelt dasteht und der ein grelles Streiflicht auf das Familienleben in den unteren Schichten unserer Bevölkerung wirft.” *Bukowinaer Volkszeitung*, January 31, 1908.

⁵⁹ “Mit einem Kameraden aus Wien verbringt er die Hochzeitsnacht bei einer reisenden Wiener Damenkapelle, deren Kapellmeisterin Franz, sein schnell schlagendes Wiener Herz gefangen nimmt. Die Prinzessin erfährt von der Walzer-Schwäche ihres Mannes und erreicht nach längerem Unterricht bei der Musik-Franzi jene Fertigkeit, die den Gatten ihr zahm zu ihren kleinen Füßchen zurückführt.” *Bukowinaer Post*, October 22, 1907.

The operetta band that Straus and his librettists imagined towers in a sphere far above the dubious businesses mentioned before; but both plot and reviewer attribute seductive qualities to bandleader and band. Unless one read this plot literally and located all magical power purely in the music (thereby reimagining dreams and Waltzes as innocent realms), furthermore, one can hardly fail to see how this plot exploited the ladies' bands as a projection of erotic desire. It seems that relatively few bands were under female leadership, like the one portrayed in *Walzertraum*; a rare example of a female bandleader mentioned in Czernowitz's press was Mitzi Pechotsch as head of the Viennese Damenkapelle *Tegethoff*.⁶⁰

Music's increasing importance in the coffee houses mirrored the process by which café entertainments supplanted bourgeois salon culture and made salon luxuries available to larger audiences. This change was acknowledged by contemporaries, as an article in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* on the occasion of a takeover of Café Habsburg in December 1909 makes clear:

One has recently noticed that social life has gradually moved from the salon to public gastronomy. This insight did not escape those factors who function as owners of modern cafés and other establishments. [...] One of the two owners [of Café Habsburg], Mr. Apisdorf, recently undertook a longer journey, which took him to London, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Monte Carlo, Nice, Paris, Berlin etc. where he collected studies and models, after which the coffee house was to be furnished.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, May 5, 1898.

⁶¹ "Man hat nämlich in der letzten Zeit die Wahrnehmung gemacht, daß das gesellschaftliche Leben sich allmählich vom Salon in die öffentliche [sic] Lokale verpflanzte. [...] Diese Erkenntnis konnte natürlich auch jenen Faktoren nicht entgehen, die sich als Besitzer moderner Kaffeehäuser und anderer Etablisements [sic] betätigen. [...] Einer der beiden Besitzer Herr Apisdorf unternahm nämlich eine längere Reise, die ihn nach London, Genua, Rom, Florenz, Monte-Karlo [sic], Nizza, Paris, Berlin ec. führte und wo er Studien und Vorbilder sammelte, nach denen das Kaffeehaus eingerichtet wurde. Und er hat die richtigen Vorbilder gefunden." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 25, 1909.

Café Habsburg, established in December 1898 as the most elegant café the city had ever had, was located in a building that formed the joint between *Ringplatz* and *Herrengasse*. The turret of the building in which the café was located accentuated a corner of the square and thereby offered a playful contrast to the massive tower of the City Hall, while at the same time it pointed to a street that functioned as the city's promenade. A trip to eight of Europe's most elegant cities in search of inspiration for the refurbishment of a café in Czernowitz may seem like overkill, but the effort and its reporting attest to the importance of cafés in defining a modern city (a heavy dose of local pride confirms that the provincial town regarded such emblems of metropolitan lifestyle as a way to prove they were not so provincial). At Café Habsburg, musical efforts to match the expectations of life in a self-respecting city included the mounting of ambitious concerts with orchestras, violin virtuosos, and operatic fantasies with interjected arias, as well as the performance of a string quintet each Wednesday operating under the name of a "five o'clock tea."⁶²

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At 7:30 pm, David D., his wife, and two of their friends picked up Johann W. at the Bristol. They left Rudolf Square, walked up Karolinengasse, passed the Main Synagogue, and arrived at Elisabeth Square, the location of Czernowitz's main theater. That evening's performance was a ballet-divertissement titled "Tanz in Bildern" (Dance in Tableaux), presented by the Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde in der Bukowina (Society of Friends of the Art in Bukovina).

⁶² *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, November 5, 1911.

City Theater

Since the autumn of 1905, Czernowitz's Elisabeth Square had been crowned with an impressive theater building designed by Vienna's foremost architecture studio for theatrical venues, Fellner & Helmer. By that time, Ferdinand Fellner (1847–1916) and Hermann Helmer (1849–1919) had already jointly realized more than forty theaters in numerous cities in the Habsburg Empire, Germany, and Switzerland, and had even catered to a commission from Tsarist Russia – an extravagant and exquisite theater in the Black Sea port town of Odessa.⁶³ They were considered pioneers in this business with respect to safety standards (in great demand after Vienna's notorious Ring Theater Fire of 1881) and their specialization and experience enabled them to deliver high quality in a short time frame at a moderate price. For Czernowitz, hiring these architects meant subscribing to the state of the art in fashion and technology, and, as a result, receiving an architectural symbol of a status triumphantly attained.

The history of Czernowitz's new City Theater, however, contains ingredients of a provincial farce. Instigated by the local Theater Society (*Stadttheaterverein*; founded in 1884), the city council began to inquire about a new building in 1898⁶⁴ and had established a funding concept and commissioned drafts from Fellner & Helmer

⁶³ Hans-Christoph Hoffmann, *Die Theaterbauten von Fellner und Helmer* (München: Prestel, 1966), esp. 21–31; Michael Sell, *The Theatres and Concert Halls of Fellner & Helmer* (Cambridge, UK: Entertainment Technology Press, 2014), 151–3 (Odessa).

⁶⁴ “Das neue Stadttheater,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 4, 1905, 1–2. In a city council debate on April 17, 1900, a city councilor (likely Benno Straucher) suggested that a new theater would help attract even more foreigners, who already cherish the city for its excellent schools and its “peace among religious denominations, which fortunately reigns here” (“den konfessionellen Frieden, der hier glücklicher Weise besteht;” Josef Blaukopf, *Zur Geschichte der Erbauung des neuen Stadttheaters in Czernowitz 1904/5* [Czernowitz: City Administration, 1905], 14).

(without a public call for bids) by mid-1900.⁶⁵ The architects sent the drafts in May 1902, but the city administration could not procure the plot for the construction site.⁶⁶ In 1904, when Fellner & Helmer had already built that theater elsewhere, Czernowitz's "old" City Theater had been shut down due to safety considerations that arose in the aftermath of the fire in Chicago's Iroquois Theater.⁶⁷ An urgent need for a new theater finally sped things up and the city obtained its building permit. Asked to deliver plans within a month, Fellner & Helmer resorted to the original plans with only small adaptations.⁶⁸ As a result, two almost identical theater buildings exist in the Franconian city of Fürth (1901/2), and 1100 km east of Fürth, in Czernowitz.⁶⁹

For Czernowitz, the opening of the theater on October 3, 1905 marked the cultural pinnacle of its efforts to become a self-respecting Crown Land Capital (**Fig. 5.4**). Less than half a century earlier Czernowitz's theater scene had consisted of nothing more than occasional performances in German or Romanian by traveling theater groups who performed on the stages of local restaurants.⁷⁰ In 1878, a wooden theater was built that seated an audience of 547 people (**Fig. 5.5**). It was the center of theatrical entertainments for two decades and served as the premiere venue of Mandyczewski's cantata *Im Buchenland* (see Ch. 2), but was already early on

⁶⁵ "Das neue Stadttheater," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 4, 1905, 2. According to one source, public bids mainly attracted young architects and not the type of "artists who had proven their worth" ("bewährte Künstler") they wanted (Blaukopf, *Geschichte der Erbauung*, 10). It seems the city also commissioned drafts from other architects, including Hubert Gessner, who had recently designed the *Bukowinaer Sparcassa*, the city's most spectacular *Jugendstil* building (Blaukopf, *Geschichte der Erbauung*, 10).

⁶⁶ "Das neue Stadttheater," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 4, 1905, 2; Blaukopf, *Geschichte der Erbauung*, 20.

⁶⁷ "Das neue Stadttheater," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 4, 1905, 2.

⁶⁸ "Das neue Stadttheater," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 4, 1905, 2.

⁶⁹ Sell, *Theatres Fellner & Helmer*, 104–7.

⁷⁰ See for example, Alois Munk, "Czernowitzer Theater bis 1877," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 4, 1905, 2–6.

considered inadequate due to safety considerations and its small size.⁷¹ The new building not only solved these questions but also served as an achievement of which Czernowitzers could be proud.⁷² The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, a paper that often preached supra-national consensus while also registering discord, emphasized the former in its appraisal of the theater's opening ceremony:

Five tribes, jumbled together, live in this city, and without envy or hatred they listen to the German sounds that come from the playhouse. Name a second city in Europe that possesses something similar! It is our pride and our joy that we can point to the fact that differences of language and religious denomination could not separate us, that we found one another in our collective work, when it came to serving our common welfare.⁷³

While an art form tied to language may not appear as an obvious integrative force in a multilingual city, Czernowitz's daily theatrical life displayed a remarkable degree of outreach across cultures, especially through music. There was a main season of around six months that mostly featured German-language performances and an after-season with Romanian and Ukrainian theater (usually 4–6 weeks for each language).⁷⁴ It is unsurprising that performances in German, as the city's lingua franca, attracted non-native speakers, but the esteem in which performances in other languages were held among non-native-speakers of those languages is noteworthy.

According to one newspaper report, Ukrainian theater, for example, “enjoyed a keen

⁷¹ Georg Drozdowski, “Zur Geschichte des Theaters in der Bukowina,” in *Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, ed. Franz Lang (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961), 451–472; 457–8.

⁷² “Das neue Stadttheater,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 4, 1905, 3; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 17, 1905.

⁷³ “Fünf Volksstämme wohnen bunt durcheinandergewürfelt in dieser Stadt, und ohne Neid und ohne Haß horchen sie den deutschen Lauten, die von der Schaubühne kommen. Man nenne uns die zweite Stadt Europas, die Aehnliches aufzuweisen hat. Es ist unser Stolz, und unsere Freude, wenn wir darauf hinweisen können, daß sprachliche und konfessionelle Unterschiede uns nicht trennen konnten, daß wir uns stets in gemeinsamer Arbeit gefunden haben, wo es galt, unserem Gemeinwesen zu dienen.” “Das neue Stadttheater,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, Oct. 4, 1905, 1.

⁷⁴ For example, six weeks of Ukrainian-language theater in 1910 (*Bukowinaer Post*, January 6, 1910) and four in 1912 (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, March 30, 1912).

interest from all circles of society.”⁷⁵ In the last decade of the Empire, the breadth and variety of Ukrainian performances in Czernowitz must have been extraordinary, as two cycles in the spring and summer of 1918 suggest (reconstructed here from advertisements and reviews in Czernowitz’s wartime newspaper). The first, a guest performance by Lemberg’s Ukrainian National Theater, presented seven dramas, four operas (one one-act, three full-length), and three operettas in eighteen days (the fifteenth performance was the first to repeat a piece). The second, by the local drama group of the Society “Narodnyj Dim” (National House), presented eighteen dramas (eight “with song and dance”), three operettas, and a one-act opera in a single month (see **Tab. 5.1**).⁷⁶

In numerous secondary sources written after 1918, as well as in a few texts from before that date, the theater is designated as “German City Theater.”⁷⁷ This designation was not official and served more often as a claim or charge than as a neutral assessment. On the one hand, it was an unnecessary distinction: Czernowitz’s majority was German-speaking and, unlike several Bohemian and Galician cities,

⁷⁵ “In Czernowitz gastiert das Lemberger Ukrainische Nationaltheater und erfreut sich eines regen Zuspruches aus allen Kreisen der Bevölkerung.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (joint issue), May 29, 1918.

⁷⁶ Selected reviews see *Буковина* (Bukovyna), May 31, 1918; *Буковина* (Bukovyna), June 28, 1918 (regarding guest performances from Lemberg); *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* (joint issue), August 1, 1918 (“Narodnyj Dim”).

⁷⁷ E.g. Horst Fassel, “Das Czernowitzer Deutsche Theater: Stationen einer Entwicklung,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 36–37 (1993–4): 121–6. For an overview of German productions, see Ion Lihaciu, “Zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters in Czernowitz,” in Cecile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat, eds., *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina. Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil* (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002), 71–86; Teodor Balan, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Theaters in der Bukowina / Istoria teatrului german în Bucovina, 1825–1877*, ed. Dumitru Vatamaniuc (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007). On Romanian productions, see Teodor Balan, *Istoria teatrului românesc în Bucovina istorică* ed. Dumitru Vatamaniuc (Bucharest: Academiei Române, 2005). For an overview of theatrical productions in all local languages, see Niculică, *Din istoria vieții culturale al Buconvinei*, 50–141. For neat examples of the press coverage of theatrical performances at the City Theater, see Osatschuk, “Czernowitz – das Werden einer Kulturmetropole,” 206–214.

Czernowitz did not have a regular second theater designated for plays in another language. A degree of subscription to German culture was common among a broad spectrum of the population, which included assimilated Jews as well as Slavs like Hrimaly and Duzinkiewicz, who regarded German culture as a source of elevation for their own cultures.⁷⁸ In other words, “German” was more self-evident than remarkable in Czernowitz. Yet the designation of “German City Theater” could serve to express a political point of view: on the one hand, as an expression of overbearing German pride in German nationalist circles, on the other hand, to construct a marginalization of the language that allegedly should have been featured in the theater (Romanian in Romanian sources and Ukrainian in Ukrainian ones; this happens mainly after 1918).

In the Habsburg Era, the most heated conflict in the theater with regard to an identity question had little to do with language (only in the broadest sense) but occurred on the occasion of the local premiere of Emmerich (Imre) Kálmán’s early operetta *Ein Herbstmanöver* (*An autumn maneuver*) in 1909.⁷⁹ Both genre and composer made the piece a particularly unlikely case for the degree of unrest it provoked. Unlike its French predecessor, Austrian operetta was not usually perceived as a political medium, despite a surface presence of harmless political jokes and some satirizing of the politics in foreign countries (with domestic allusions), as was the case in Lehár’s *The Merry Widow*. Both Kálmán and the librettist of *Ein Herbstmanöver*, Robert Bodanzky, were Jewish, yet this time it was not their Jewish heritage that was the target but rather a charge of anti-Semitism leveled at their piece.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁷⁹ The operetta was later known in English under the name of “The Gay Hussars.”

A report in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* from December 21, 1909,

divided its criticism equally between the production and the protesters:

Autumn maneuver under protest. What one saw this Saturday evening at the theater was not a pleasant sight. In the, by the way, quite pretty Kalman operetta 'An Autumn Maneuver,' a reservist cadet Wallerstein appears, who is a persiflage on the institution of reserve officers, and for this persiflage, the librettist chose a Jew. Following the old recipe. It has to be stated first that the satire is primarily targeted at reserve officers, but as precisely this reserve cadet among the many reserve officers in the operetta is a Jew, the matter contains a slight anti-Semitic touch, which should not be seen tragically only for the reason that this is an operetta which does not even spare a general [with satire]. The local director believed to help itself by making "Wallerstein" – speak with a Czech accent. That was precisely not a skilled way out.⁸⁰

The paper concluded that the operetta was not to be continued, as it had lost its "originality" (Ursprünglichkeit) and was not musically relevant enough to deserve further adaptations for Czernowitz.⁸¹

The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* of the same day had more background information: already some time before the premiere, members of the Jewish student fraternity *Zephirah* had demanded the piece's dismissal. An agreement was reached according to which "Wallerstein" would not appear as a Jew but as a Czech. According to the *Tagblatt*, the catalyst for the protests was the actor's lapsing into his former text and

⁸⁰ "Herbstmanöver unter Demonstrationen. Es war kein erfreulicher Anblick, den Samstag abends das Theater bot. In der übrigens recht hübschen Kalman'schen Operette 'Ein Herbstmanöver' [...] tritt ein Reservekadett Wallerstein auf, der eine Persiflage des Instituts der Reserveoffiziere bildet und für welche Persiflage sich der Librettist einen Juden auserkoren hat. Nach altem Rezept. Es wäre also zunächst festzustellen, daß die Satyre in erster Reihe die Reserveoffiziere trifft, weil aber unter den in dieser Operette auftretenden zahlreichen Offizieren just dieser Reservekadett ein Jude ist, erhält die Sache einen kleinen antisemitischen Einschlag, der nur aus dem Grunde nicht tragisch zu nehmen ist, weil es sich um eine Operette handelt, die schließlich auch den leibhaftigen General, der auftritt, nicht verschont. Die hiesige Direktion glaubte sich auf die Weise helfen zu müssen, daß sie den 'Wallerstein' — böhmeln ließ. Das war gerade kein geschickter Ausweg." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 21, 1909.

⁸¹ "Angesichts des Zwanges aber, welcher der Operette angetan wurde – von beiden Seiten – wäre es unserer Meinung nach am Platze die Operette vom Repertoire abzusetzen. Sie hat ihre Ursprünglichkeit verloren und ist anderseits nicht von so hohem musikalischen Werte, daß sie für Czernowitz besonders zugeschnitten werden müßte." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 21, 1909.

accent: "... once the comedian Nelton had spoken the words 'Do you know my friend Löbl,' suddenly a number of Jewish students [...] rose and burst into loud boos."⁸² The newspaper report suggests that the protests calmed down but reemerged with Nelton's next appearance. At a certain point, several minutes of catcalls competed with frenetic applause; meanwhile, several of the protesters were arrested.⁸³ After the intermission, the stage director asked the audience if it wanted to hear the couplet "This is my friend Löbl" ("Das ist mein Freund, der Löbl"), and the audience responded with a "yes of many hundreds of voices, only interrupted by isolated shouts."⁸⁴

The papers' description of the scandal's aftermath might lead one to believe it was nothing other than a brief moment of unrest in a frame of general un-eventfulness, an event without consequences – the kind of episode that in Joseph Roth's novels serves to underscore a longevity and timelessness frequently associated with Emperor Franz Joseph's late rule, a period when most citizens of the Empire had never lived under another Emperor. The thirteen protesters who were arrested were fined with fifty crowns each but dismissed. And, as was unavoidable in Czernowitz, "The protests were a subject of lively debates in all restaurants and coffee houses throughout the evening."⁸⁵

⁸² "Erst als der Komiker Nelton die Worte: 'Kenne Sie meinen Freund, den Löbl,' gesprochen hatte, erhoben sich plötzlich einige jüdische Studenten [...] und brachen in stürmische Pfuirufe aus." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

⁸³ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

⁸⁴ "Das Publikum beantwortete diese Ansprache mit einem vielhundertstimmigen: 'Ja,' das nur von vereinzelt Zurufen durchbrochen wurde." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

⁸⁵ "Die Demonstrationen selbst wurden den ganzen Abend hindurch in sämtlichen Gast- und Kaffeehäusern lebhaft besprochen." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

Yet two letters to the editor placed the incident in the larger contexts of the struggle against anti-Semitism and the complex debate about Jewish identities that filled numerous pages in Czernowitz's papers at the time. On December 24, the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* published a letter by theater director Martin Klein in which he condemned any "spiteful debasement of a people or tribe," but contrasted it with a "humoristic use of a genre for the impression of a play," thereby questioning the critics' ability to differentiate.⁸⁶

It is a coincidence that Wallerstein is a Jewish soldier. In general, the last thing a librettist wants to do is preach a tendency, but in this case, it can even be ruled out that the character is a persiflage of Judaism. If one were guided by such rigorous concerns, any photographer who reproduces a true-to-life picture of a Jew in a caftan would have to be lynched, although the last thing he wants to do is to caricature Judaism.⁸⁷

Director Klein attempted to recast the debate on anti-Semitism as one between reason and youthful overreactions. For this purpose, he not only cited his own background ("I am certainly a good Jew and my national attitude [Gesinnung] is not lower than that of some of those who get het up on this occasion"), but also praised the Jewish actor Max Pallenberg, who had performed the contentious operatic role to great acclaim in Vienna.⁸⁸ As closing statement, Klein offered a compromise: he invited the "opposition" to attend one of the subsequent performances, which would be done in

⁸⁶ "Ich verpöne jede Tendenz eines Stückes, welche auf die gehässige Herabsetzung eines Volkes oder Stammes hinzielt. [...] Streng davon zu scheiden ist jedoch die humoristische Verwertung irgend eines Genres für den Eindruck eines Stückes." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 24, 1909.

⁸⁷ "Liegt jedem Librettisten überhaupt ferne irgend eine Tendenz zu predigen, so ist es im vorliegenden Fall schon ganz ausgeschlossen, in dieser Figur eine Persiflage des Judentums zu erkennen. Ließe man sich von so rigorosen Bedenken leiten, so müßte jeder Photograph gelyncht werden, welcher das Porträt eines Kaftan-Juden naturgetreu reproduziert, wiewohl ihm ja nichts ferner liegt, als eine Karrikierung [sic] des Judentums." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 24, 1909.

⁸⁸ "Ich bin gewiß ein guter Jude und meine nationale Gesinnung steht nicht tiefer, wie manche derjenigen, welche sich aus diesem Anlasse so sehr echauffieren." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 24, 1909.

the original version – should the objections remain, he would be willing to remove the piece “that has cost [him] the biggest monetary sacrifice of the season” from the repertory.⁸⁹ It is unclear if the offer was genuine, as he declared himself “of one accord” with the entire public and the press in the city, which was certainly not accurate given the newspaper accounts.

From a historical viewpoint, the letter to the editor by lawyer Mayer Ebner is even more noteworthy. Ebner was a moderate Zionist and a few decades later he propagated the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867 as a model for Israel and Palestine. It seems Ebner attended the second, sanitized, performance: “In every corner of the theater,” he reported, “there were watchmen and people in uniform, as if one tried to prevent the assassination attempt of a prince. But nothing happened. In the intermission, a lady complained with voice choked by emotions that she had been deprived of her scandal.”⁹⁰ On the one hand, Ebner was relieved that there was no scandal that evening, but on the other he demanded a return to the original version.⁹¹ Jewish soldiers, Ebner asserted, had a reputation for their “skill and intelligence,” therefore the character in the operetta could not possibly be mistaken as a type (but only as portrayal of an individual).⁹² Like Klein, but for a different reason, he used his letter to admonish Jews to moderation in matters of cultural politics:

⁸⁹ “Wenn sie dann, nach reiflicher und ruhiger Überlegung denselben Standpunkt wie heute einnehmen, bin ich bereit, das Werk, welches mir in dieser Saison wohl die größten pekuniären Opfer auferlegte, vom Repertoire verschwinden zu lassen.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 24, 1909.

⁹⁰ “In jedem Winkel standen uniformierte und Wachmänner in Zivil, als gälte es ein Attentat auf irgend einen Großfürsten zu verhindern. Aber es geschah nichts. Im Zwischenakt klagte eine Dame mit bewegter Stimme, sie sei um ihren Skandal gekommen.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 21, 1909.

⁹¹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

⁹² “[...] daß gerade die jüdischen Soldaten in Österreich wegen ihrer Anstelligkeit und Intelligenz sehr leicht zu Unteroffizieren avanzieren [...]” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

I think that the real, undiluted Wallerstein, the way Pahlenberg performs him at the Theater an der Wien, will only elicit a cheerful laughter among Jews, including those, for whom national honor is important [...] It is a known, and among national Jews often lamented, fact that our fraternities try to outdo one another in their rivalry and activity in national Judaism.⁹³

Ebner not only suggested a limit to Jewish solidarity, but also pointed to self-caricature in Jewish writings:

Jewish solidarity does not extend to the pretentiousness of the stock exchange speculator or the Jewess with precious fur and jewels. Jewish literature itself caricatures the sad-ridiculous sides of folklore [Volkstum], and, if I do not err, Theodor Herzl himself has put this genre of Jews [...] on the German stage.⁹⁴

While both Klein and Ebner brought their own Judaism into the debate, the Jewish backgrounds of composer and librettist were nowhere mentioned. The operetta continued to be performed, as the press coverage suggests (but it is unclear in what version).⁹⁵

The most pertinent recurring debate regarding the *Stadttheater* had nothing to do with language or anti-Semitism, but rather with the theater's educational and cultural role. The question of whether it should include ambitious operatic performances, for example, reemerged whenever a change of the directorship occurred. Such changes occurred frequently: in the period from 1877 to 1905, most

⁹³ "Ich meine also, daß der echte, unverfälschte Wallerstein, wie ihn Pahlenberg [sic] im Theater an der Wien spielt, auch bei Juden nur ein herzlichen Lachen auslösen kann, und zwar auch bei jenen, die auf nationale Ehre halten [...] Denn daß unsere Verbindungen in gegenseitiger Rivalität sich und Betätigung des nationalen Judentums zu überbieten suchen [...], ist eine bekannte, von gut national gesinnten Juden wiederholt beklagte Tatsache." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 21, 1909.

⁹⁴ "Die jüdische Solidarität erstreckt sich nicht auf die Protzigkeit des Börseaners oder auf die mit kostbarem Pelzwerk und Juwelen behangene Jüdin. Die jüdische Literatur karriert selber die trauriglächerlichen Seiten unseres Volkstumes und, wenn ich nicht irre, hat Theodor Herzl selbst im 'Neuen Ghetto' diese Gattung von Juden auf die deutsche Bühne gebracht." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 21, 1909.

⁹⁵ E.g. *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, March 10, 1910.

theater directors stayed for a maximum of three years and a few left after only a year.⁹⁶ The music directors (“Kapellmeister”) changed even more often and fluctuation among actors and singers was similarly frequent. In this respect the theater resembled those in which a budding conductor such as Gustav Mahler would have started as an accompanist only to move to the next place after two years to advance to second *Kapellmeister*; Czernowitz’s “young Mahlers” included the conductors Franz Schalk (1887/8) and Hugo Bryk (1897/8).⁹⁷

The orchestra had business ties to the local army band. In some years, a fixed stock of hired musicians was occasionally complemented by the army band; in others, the army band was in charge of the entire music at the theater.⁹⁸ In the first three decades of the “old” theater’s existence, the orchestra consisted of only twenty musicians and the choir of eight singers, but in the 1890s, the orchestra gradually grew to thirty-five to forty, and the choir to twenty singers.⁹⁹ Until around 1900, there were no more than two Kapellmeisters or music directors; in 1913, the theater had one Kapellmeister for opera, two for operetta, and a choir director.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Directors who stayed for more than a year were Josef Dietz (1877–9), Berthold Wolf (1886–8), Adolf Ranzenhofer (1892–5 and 1905–7), Richard Lowe (1895–8), Leopold Kuhn (1898/9 and 1900–2). Leopold Kuhn died while in office in January 1902 (*Bukowinaer Post*, January 19, 1902); his co-director (from 1901 on) and successor was Adolf Müller (1902–4).

⁹⁷ *Bukowinaer Post*, January 13, 1898 (Bryk).

⁹⁸ For example, in 1884, the orchestra consisted of 24 hired musicians (*Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach* 48, ed. Theodor Entsch [Berlin, 1884], 455) and for the season of 1894/5 of “24 respectively 36 of the band of the Royal and Imperial Infantry Regiment” (“24 resp. 36 Mann der K. u. K. 41 Inf. Regts.”) (*Neuer Theater-Almanach: Theatergeschichtliches Jahr- und Adressen-Buch* 6, ed. Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnen-Angehöriger [Berlin, Günther&Sohn, 1895], 330).

⁹⁹ *Bühnen-Almanach* 48 (1884), 455. “Choir. 10 men, 12 women. Orchestra. 42 men of the Royal and Imperial Infantry Regiment” (“Chorpersonal. 10 Herren, 12 Damen. Orchester. 42 Mann des k. k. Inf.-Regts. Nr. 41” (*Neuer Theater-Almanach* 11 [1900], 319).

¹⁰⁰ “Dr. Hans Pleß, Kpllm. d. Op., [...] Rud. Gerhardt Schwar, II. Kpllm. d. Op.[.] Alex. Jemnitz, Kpllm. d. Optte [...] Josef Rosenstech, Chordir. [...]” *Neuer Theater-Almanach* 24 (1913), 373.

Only a handful of musical plays premiered in Czernowitz's City Theater: Tudor Flondor's operettas *Noaptea Sfântului Gheorghe* (1885; St. George's Night) and *Moș Ciocârlan* (1901); Karl Felix Krzewniowski's operetta *Rouge et noir* (1908); and a singspiel and an operetta by Noel Lutterotti, *Jery und Bäteley* (1910) and *Das vierblättrige Kleeblatt* (1911). While Czernowitz's theater was quick at importing the latest Viennese successes, especially in operetta, the lack of actual world premieres was lamented on the occasion when one finally happened:

We always get the art second hand. We first wait for approval from the capital [Residenz]. All salvation [Heil] comes from Vienna. The tragic and comic, the cheerful and the serious. What is granted to us even more rarely is [the opportunity] to welcome a native artist on his career path for the first time in our midst. In the present case both apply. We experience the premiere of an operetta, which has been penned and composed by a fellow citizen of ours.¹⁰¹

These lines point to the distinct role of *Residenz* (as creator and promotor) and *Provinz* (as receiver) in the realm of operetta and the mostly unidirectional path that musical plays took.¹⁰²

Flondor's *Moș Ciocârlan* (Father Lark King) was premiered in a production of the Romanian Singing Society *Armonia* on the occasion of the society's twentieth anniversary in 1901.¹⁰³ The two librettists were members of that society and the entire production seems to have been organized and executed exclusively by *Armonia*

¹⁰¹ "Wir bekommen die Kunst immer aus zweiter Hand. Wir warten erst auf die Approbation der Residenz. Aus Wien kommt das Heil. Das Tragische und Komische, das Heitere und Ernste. Noch seltener aber ist es uns vergönnt, einen heimischen Künstler bei uns auf seinem Werdegang zum ersten Male zu begrüßen. In dem vorliegenden Falle trifft nun beides zu. Wir erlebten die Uraufführung einer Operette, die von einem Mitbürger unserer Stadt verfaßt und komponiert wurde." "Rouge et noir," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

¹⁰² Marion Linhardt, *Residenzstadt und Metropole: zu einer kulturellen Topographie des Wiener Unterhaltungstheaters (1858–1918)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), 4.

¹⁰³ For biographical information about Flondor, including context for his operas, see: Nicolae Tcaciuc-Albu, *Vieața și opera lui Tudor Flondor* (Cernăuți/Czernowitz: Glasul Bucovinei, 1933); Corneliu Buescu, *Restituiri: Carol Miculi și Tudor Flondor* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1977), 93–179.

members.¹⁰⁴ The opera, which features a plot about an archaic love tale set in a mountain village (a scene with a bear hunt included), lasted for four hours at its premiere.¹⁰⁵ Flondor's music received outstanding praise from the critics: even Moritz Stekel from the *Bukowinaer Post*, whom we encountered as a harsh critic of Hrimaly's opera, considered the piece a "Kulturthat" (a cultural deed) and a "great work;" he lauded the music's local color rooted in Romanian folk idioms as well as its "elegant instrumentation."¹⁰⁶ And, paying an important tribute to an amateur composer, Stekel pointed out that, "Nowhere does dilettanism appear."¹⁰⁷

Both Stekel's review and that of Josef Czeikel for the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* illustrate well how moderates and Liberals approached national(ist) efforts at that time: they accepted and even embraced but at the same time tried to contain and channel them. For Stekel, the operetta is a "cultural victory of the nation, to which he [Flondor] belongs, the Romanians," and he attributed a "national character" to the music.¹⁰⁸ Yet he also emphasized the international reception and receptivity of art:

Art is the true *Internationale*. She includes all nations and confessions, she is the sign, under which she brings otherwise strangers closer together. A beautiful melody sounds through the entire world. One sings, one plays her, without asking much, if her creator was Russian or Romanian, if German or Italian. One is pleased about her, as if she were a property.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ The librettists were identified as a Mr. Berar and a Mr. Bokancea in one review (*Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901). According to Nicolae Tcaciuc-Albu, Flondor's first biographer, Constantin Berariu was the first to work on the libretto, but was not skilled enough for the task; Themistokles Bokancea (Temistocle Bocancea), who served at the local court, finished the work (Tcaciuc-Albu, *Tudor Flondor*, 32).

¹⁰⁵ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 7, 1901.

¹⁰⁶ "Die Orchestrierung ist eine durchwegs vornehme, [...]" *Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901.

¹⁰⁷ "Dilletantismus tritt nirgends hervor." *Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901.

¹⁰⁸ "...und einen nicht zu unterschätzenden culturellen Sieg der Nation, der er angehört, den Rumänen, zu erringen." "Die Musik, welche Flondor hiez zu schuf, verleugnet nicht ihren nationalen Charakter." *Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901.

¹⁰⁹ Denn Kunst ist die wahre Internationale. Sie umschließt alle Nationen und Confessionen, sie ist das Zeichen, in welchem sie sonst Fremde, gleich empfindend einander näher bringt. Eine schöne Melodie

After such reflections on the national and the international, Stekel closed his review by emphasizing the regional pride in the music: “Thundering applause raged through the house [...], all quite deserved – for the accomplished cultural deed, of which the Romanians can be proud, and which does honor to Bukovina.”¹¹⁰ Josef Czeikel emphasized the great contributions of *Armonia* to the cultivation and propagation of Romanian song and culture, and credited Flondor with having “without perceptible intention disseminated in a certain sense a national renaissance of the Romanian people in Bukowina.”¹¹¹ No less did he emphasize what Flondor was not: “no nationalist chauvinist; just a simple man, whose heart is full of love for the Romanian people [...]”; with his cultural engagement, Flondor even “divests the political hatred of its marshy breeding ground and makes it impossible for national chauvinism to spread.”¹¹² In other words, the critics regarded cultural self-actualization as an important antidote to political radicalization and narrow-mindedness, and music as a communicator across cultures.¹¹³ In 1906, Flondor’s opera was given at the National Theater in Bucharest, with the Romanian royal family attending, and it later became

durchklingt die ganze Welt. Man singt, man spielt sie, ohne viel darnach zu fragen, ob ihr Schöpfer ein Russe oder Rumäne, ein Deutscher oder Italiener war. Man freut sich ihrer, als wäre sie ein Eigentum.“ *Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901.

¹¹⁰ “[...] wahre Beifallsstürme das Haus durchtobten [...], alle wohl verdient – für das geleistete Culturwerk, welches den Rumänen zum Stolz, der Bukowina zur Ehre gereicht.” *Bukowinaer Post*, May 7, 1901.

¹¹¹ “Dieser ist es, welcher ohne merkliche Absicht im gewissen Sinne eine nationale Wiedergeburt des rumänischen Volkes in der Bukowina verbreitet.” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 7, 1901.

¹¹² “[...] kein nationaler Chauvinist; es war ein schlichter Mann, mit einem Herzen voll Liebe für das rumänische Volk [...]” “[...] entzieht er der politischen Verhetzung den sumpfigen Nährboden und macht es unmöglich, daß sich der nationale Chauvinismus breitmache.“ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 7, 1901.

¹¹³ The piece’s local fame also followed its creator in his professional life, as member of the Bukovina State Diet. When Flondor put forward as an argument for his vote in favor of a state subsidy for Czernowitz’s new City Theater the expectation that it would also serve Romanian, Ruthenian, and Polish performances, colleagues of his shouted the name of the opera (“Rufe: ‘Mosch Ciocarlan!’”); *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, November 17, 1905).

an important point of reference when Bukovina's Romanian identity was highlighted during the interwar period, as the assessment of Nicolae Tcaciuc-Albu, Flondor's first biographer, from 1933 demonstrates: "[...] this opera warmed the room more than the skilled work of a Western, established and famed composer. It was a work by a Romanian from Bukovina, a Romanian boyar from there, dedicated to Bukovina's peasant life [...]"¹¹⁴

In 1908, Czernowitz also witnessed the world premiere of a German operetta, *Rouge et noir* by Karl Felix Krzeszniowski, who composed and wrote the libretto under the pseudonym of Karl Felix. When reading between the lines in a newspaper announcement one gets a sense of how desperate Czernowitz was for such an event: the paper mentioned that theater directors and publishers from Cologne, Berlin, and Vienna had announced their arrival in town for the occasion, and it expressed the wish that "a new operetta star would rise in the East."¹¹⁵ The format of the reviews similarly suggested a mix of overwhelming provincial pride and hesitation in the face of a new challenge for the reviewer: in one paper, the first review only mentioned the outer circumstances of the premiere, and the reviewer admitted to needing more time to process the evening.¹¹⁶ In another review, in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, a third of a

¹¹⁴ "Totuși această operă a încălzit mai mult sala decât opera mult mai meșteșugită a unui compozitor din Apus, cu faima veche și mare. Lucrare a unui Român din Bucovina, a unui boier român de acolo, închinată vieții țărănești bucovinene [...]" Tcaciuc-Albu, *Tudor Flondor*, 39. Tcaciuc-Albu mentions in the biography that he had been able to sort through some papers by the composer in 1929; it is unclear where these have remained (Tcaciuc-Albu, *Tudor Flondor*, 52).

¹¹⁵ "Die Uraufführung dürfte auch dadurch an besonderem Interesse gewinnen, daß derselben aller Voraussicht nach, auswärtige [sic] Direktoren und Verleger beiwohnen dürften. Es wurden hiezu eingeladen: der Direktor Aman vom Karltheater, die Verleger Ahn in Köln, Weingartner in Wien und Blochs Erben in Berlin, die ihr Erscheinen zusicherten. [...] und es wäre nur zu wünschen, daß ein neuer Operettenstern im Osten aufgeht." *Bukowinaer Post*, December 29, 1908.

¹¹⁶ "Wir wollen heute nicht über die Operette selbst sprechen und ihre kritische Bewertung vornehmen, weil wir es für die Pflicht des Rezensenten halten, einem neuen Werke gegenüber mit dem Urteil

page was dedicated to the sensation made by the operetta premiere, for which “tout Czernowitz” was present.¹¹⁷ Before the actual review, the critic elaborated in two paragraphs about the challenges of mounting an operetta premiere in a provincial city thereby preparing for the piece’s shortcoming: unlike Vienna, Czernowitz did not have the long preparation during which every piece could be altered to make it more effective; and it did not have the workforce of a “Viennese operetta workshop” (*Wiener Operettenwerkstatt*), with “house poets, musical arrangers, ballet masters, and professional premiere directors” on top of the operetta’s main authors.¹¹⁸

The reviewer in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* was less than fully satisfied with Czernowitz’s rare operetta event. He conceded to the composer an individual style and a gift for small lyrical pieces.¹¹⁹ Two pieces, a cakewalk and a duet, elicited stormy applause and calls for a repetition.¹²⁰ But in the reviewer’s overall assessment, the “row of nice vocal numbers, which are interrupted in a more or less unpleasant manner by dialogues” did not result in an operetta, as the composer lacked the ability to write good roles, provide a characteristic instrumentation, and create convincing structures for

zurückzuhalten bis er eingehend über das ganze und die Einzelteile der Operette nachgedacht.” *Bukowinaer Volkszeitung*, February 2, 1908.

¹¹⁷ “Das vornehmste Publikum füllte in festlicher Toilette alle Räume des Stadttheaters, tout Czernowitz hatte sich ein Rendezvous gegeben, es war in erster Linie auch ein gesellschaftliches Ereignis, schließlich aber auch gehört die Uraufführung einer Operette in der Provinz nicht zu den alltäglichen theatralischen Ereignissen.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

¹¹⁸ “Wer je einmal Gelegenheit hatte, bei einer solchen Premiere einen Blick hinter die Koulissen zu machen, der weiß wie viel Faktoren sich bei einer solchen Gelegenheit zusammenfinden, außer den Autoren, die ständigen ‘Hausdichter,’ musikalische Retouchers, Ballettmeister und berufsmäßige Premierenregisseure treffen sich da zu gemeinsamer Arbeit.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

¹¹⁹ “[...] ich möchte sogar sagen, Felix hat eine individuelle Marke. Seine besten Sachen sind gewisse lyrische Stücke wie z. B. das Vogellied im zweiten Akte [...] weiters eine Gavotte im ersten Akt (Seine Chavotteneinfälle [sic] sind überhaupt alle schön) [...]” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

¹²⁰ “Den stärksten Beifall hatte er in einem heute schon unvermeidlichen Cake Walk und im Duett [...] Beides wurde stürmisch zur Wiederholung verlangt.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

the finali.¹²¹ Much more enthusiastic about the composer's talent, but just as dissatisfied about the overall result, was the reviewer of the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*. He regarded Felix as a "composer by grace of God, a musical artist of original briskness, a sorcerer of melodies and a ruler in the realm of rhythm," but one who had been "afflicted by the perils of the stage, [...] which always creep in when a man without experience attempts to conquer the theater."¹²² He went so far as to rank the operetta's musical potential among the finest creations of the time: "This music, with a more effective distribution, would be sufficient for three operettas and two *Spieloper*n. [...] We don't know an operetta from recent years that delivered anything more musically valuable [...]"¹²³ The reviewers of both of Czernowitz's large private papers cited the lack of a collaborator with theatrical experience as a key reason for the operetta's failure.¹²⁴ A lawsuit in the two months after the premiere, however, revealed that a few collaborators had considerable involvement in the operetta's genesis; the court ordered the composer to pay some compensation to the stage

¹²¹ "Das und noch mehreres sind ja alles sehr nette Musiknummern, jetzt kommt ein großes aber – ein paar nette Musiknummern machen noch lange keine Operette. Was da herauskommen kann, ist bestenfalls eine Reihe von netten Gersangsnummern, die in mehr oder weniger unangenehmer Weise durch einen Dialog unterbrochen werden. Speziell der Aufbau der Finalis [sic] läßt sehr viel zu wünschen übrig. [...] Weiters ist er nicht imstande, infolge seiner mangelnden Bühnentechnik, gute Rollen und Partien zu schreiben." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

¹²² "Ein Komponist von Gottes Gnaden, ein Musikkünstler von ursprünglicher Frische, ein Melodienzauberer und Herrscher im Reiche der Rythmen [sic], ist von den Tücken der Bühne heimgesucht worden, [...] die sich immer einschleichen, wenn ein Mann ohne Routine das Theater erobern will." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 2, 1908.

¹²³ "Diese Musik, wirkungsvoller verteilt, könnte für drei Operetten und zwei Spieloperen gut ausreichen [...] Wir kennen keine Operette der letzten Jahre, die musikalisch Wertvolleres gebracht hätte [...]" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 2, 1908.

¹²⁴ "Was hätte eine geschickte bühnenkundige Hand, aus diesem schönen Stoffe machen können! Und wie gottvoll schön hätte sich die Musik in diesen Szenen hineingerankt, wenn sie nur geschickter geführt worden wären!" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 2, 1908; "Herr Felix hätte entschieden gut daran getan, wenn er seinen Ritt ins Operettenland nicht allein gemacht hätte. [...] Selbst die größten Oeprettenkomponisten haben eine solche Hilfe nicht entbehren können, wie z. B. Johann Strauß." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 2, 1908.

director.¹²⁵ The journalist and politician Aurel Onciul, never shy of a sarcastic comment, suggested that the trial deserved to be set to music, in a play in which all parties involved could perform themselves, except the stage director, whose participation would be a risk as he might destroy the show if he were to lose the trial.¹²⁶ In a long gloss, theater *Kapellmeister* Eduard Czajaneck, who had not been involved in the performance, dismissed the attempt at mounting an operetta premiere in a provincial town like Czernowitz as doomed to fail and a waste of theatrical resources.¹²⁷

A composer with an Italianate name, a singspiel libretto by a German poet, and performers from the Ruthenian theater company in Lemberg: these were the ingredients for the 1910 premiere of Noel Lutterotti's music to Goethe's early singspiel text *Jery and Bäteley*. Very little information survives about the piece and its composer, a lieutenant in the army: the critic in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* lauded the music for containing some "very appealing melodic movements that decidedly display musical mastery" and a skilled instrumentation, and encouraged the composer to

¹²⁵ Felix claimed in the trial that the stage director had only been responsible for a few cuts, which harmed the operetta's overall impression (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 8, 1908). The claimant only received one third of the requested amount (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 9, 1908).

¹²⁶ "Vielleicht ließe sich dieses Motiv vertonen? Es wäre ganz nett und belustigend. Direktor Klein könnte seine Rolle selbst singen, auch könnte der Komponist seinem Verteidiger eine wirkungsvolle Vereidigungsarie in den Mund legen. Nur einen anderen Regisseur müßte man nehmen, weil Herr Steiner, falls er den Prozess verlieren sollte, aus Rache die ganze Aufführung verpfuschen könnte." "Theater," *Die Wahrheit*, April 10, 1908.

¹²⁷ Eduard Czajaneck, "'Rouge et noir.' Glossen zum jüngsten Theaterprozess," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, April 12, 1908. Czajaneck claimed that he had been shown the score before it got to the theater, had declared it unfit for the stage, and had suggested to the composer several librettists and musical arrangers who could improve the piece, but that would require an honorarium of several thousand crowns.

tackle a larger piece after this proof of talent.¹²⁸ That larger piece was the vaudeville-operetta *Das vierblättrige Kleeblatt* (The Four-leaf Clover), which premiered in January 1911. A “lady of the local society” provided the libretto under the pseudonym Eugenie Nikoroff.¹²⁹ The first act received critical praise for its dance and marching music, but “the last two acts failed almost entirely,” owing to an unclear plot and weaknesses in the language, which also hampered the quality of the music (an opinion shared by both reviewers).¹³⁰ The readers in Vienna, by contrast, received an exclusively positive account: “From Czernowitz we receive a wire: ‘Yesterday at the local theater the world premiere of the operetta ‘Das Vierblättrige Kleeblatt’ by [...] Noel Luterotti took place. Owing to its pretty music the operetta received much applause.’”¹³¹

¹²⁸ “Was die Komposition des Herrn Luterotti [sic] betrifft, läßt sich sagen, daß sie einige sehr ansprechende, melodische Sätze enthält, in denen sich entschieden ein musikalisches Können verrät. [...] Besonders zu vermerken ist die saubere Instrumentierung, die auf eine völlige Beherrschung der musikalischen Technik schließen läßt. Alles in Allem genommen: ein bescheidener Versuch, der den Komponisten ermutigen sollte, mit einem größeren Werke seine Leistungsfähigkeit zu erproben.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 24, 1910.

¹²⁹ *Czernowitzer Allgemein Zeitung*, March 7, 1911. One source renders the name as Nikorowicz, perhaps the author’s real name (*Czernowitzer Allgemein Zeitung*, January 18, 1911).

¹³⁰ “Der erste Akt läßt sich textlich und vor allem musikalisch sehr gut an. Ist es auch zumeist Tanz- und Marschmusik, welche den ersten Akt beherrscht, so ist sie doch so frisch und flott, daß man sich der Wirkung nicht entziehen kann. Die beiden letzten Akte aber versagen fast ganz. Die naive Szenenführung, die unklare Handlung und die nicht ganz einwandfreie Sprache scheinen auch den musikalischen Teil ungünstig beeinflusst zu haben [...]” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 7, 1911. The review in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* similarly praised Luterotti’s talent for dance music but complained about a weak libretto and a lack of musical development (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, March 8, 1911).

¹³¹ “Aus Czernowitz wird uns telegraphiert: Gestern fand im hiesigen Stadttheater die Uraufführung einer Operette: ‘Das vierblättrige Kleeblatt’ vom Oberleutnant des 8. Ulanenregiments Noel Luterotti statt. Die Operette verdankte ihrer hübschen Musik eine sehr beifällige Aufnahme.” (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, March 7, 1911.) Very few other traces of Luterotti’s musical activities can be found in the papers. A march of his, titled “Auersperg-March,” appeared in a piano version in Vienna (*Musikalisch-literarische Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, March 3, 1904, 168). In October 1914, a one-act operetta of his titled *Um die Geisterstunde* (Around Witching Hour) was performed at the Viennese cabaret “Die Hölle” (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, October 21, 1914).

A form of theatrical entertainment that took place mostly outside the City Theater, in various restaurants and variety theaters, was Yiddish theater.¹³² A German-Jewish theater company (*Deutsch-jüdisches Theater*) was founded in the 1870s, but Yiddish theater only began to flourish with the activities of actor Abraham Axelrad (1860–1925).¹³³ Charges of commercialism, low quality of performances, and debates about social and educational questions (Axelrad’s main audience was the lower classes) accompanied this enterprise throughout its existence, but it attracted a large audience.¹³⁴ When the City Council awarded Axelrad subsidies in 1911 a local lawyer who attempted to establish a more ambitious Yiddish theater stage even sought to fight this decision legally.¹³⁵

Music played an important role in Axelrad’s theater, with operettas frequently appearing on the playbill. A lucky strike was the hire of Chune Wolfsthal, a prolific operetta composer, as theater conductor.¹³⁶ One of Wolfsthal’s operettas, “Die Tochter Jerusalems,” reportedly saw performances in Kiev, Warsaw, Paris, London, and New York by 1912.¹³⁷ Just how important music was for Axelrad’s theater is evident from a list of the performers involved in the enterprise: for one summer season in 1911,

¹³² The exception is the off-season: for example, in 1913, Axelrad’s Jewish Theater was announced to perform at the City Theater between April 23 and 26 (*Bukowinaer Post*, April 17, 1913).

¹³³ Doris Karner, *Lachen unter Tränen: Jüdisches Theater in Ostgalizien und der Bukowina* (Vienna: Steinbauer, 2005), 50; Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten*, 198.

¹³⁴ Karner, *Lachen unter Tränen*, 51–2; Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten*, 205. The quality of Yiddish musical theater was the target of much criticism. In 1893, a booklet by Hermann Schärf titled *Ein jüdisches Operntheater und seine Primadonna* (A Jewish Opera Theater and Its Primadonna) was published in Czernowitz, in which the author complained about the general dramatic weakness in Yiddish drama and its monotonous music (which he compares unfavorably to the Classical music by German Jews; *ibid.*, 4). It appears that the pamphlet was mainly written to support a young singer (Hermann Schärf, *Ein jüdisches Operntheater und seine Primadonna* [Czernowitz: Pardini, 1893]).

¹³⁵ Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten*, 206–7.

¹³⁶ According to the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, Wolfsthal (1851–1924) was also a virtuoso on the cello (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, August 15, 1905).

¹³⁷ *Wiener Jüdische Volksstimme*, May 9, 1912.

Axelrad lists as his cast “twenty acting members, ten singers, ten choir members, seventeen musicians, and 15 extras.”¹³⁸ The musicians were members of the military band.¹³⁹ The music in Axelrad’s theater received praise in several reviews, for example for its Oriental allure: “There is no lack of ‘scenes’ in this play, but also none of exciting Oriental music, which caresses the ears in so sweet a manner.”¹⁴⁰

The last operetta premiere in Habsburg Czernowitz also took place outside the *Stadttheater*, at the variety theater *Czernowitzer Kolosseum*, on July 1, 1914 (i.e. three days after Franz Ferdinand’s assassination in Sarajevo). Author and composer of the one-act operetta titled *Der Onkel aus Amerika* (The Uncle from America) was the actor Fritz Schönhof. The piece, described by the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* as a “hit operetta” (*Schlageroperette*), was praised for its side-splitting plot. Wit and acting seemed to have been in the foreground, but, as the paper informed, “the music [...] is also catchy.”¹⁴¹ Commenting on this premiere, the paper predicted for the *Kolosseum* a splendid summer season ...¹⁴²

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¹³⁸ “Die monatliche Regie der gefertigten Theaterrichtung beläuft sich auf K. 8398, indem dieselbe 20 darstellende Mitglieder, 10 Sänger, Chorporsonal bestehend aus 10 Personen und endlich 17 Musikanten und 15 Statisten bei ihrem Unternehmen beschäftigen muss.” DaChO, f. 39, op. 1/5456.

¹³⁹ DaChO, f. 39, op. 1/5456.

¹⁴⁰ “An ‘Szenen’ fehlt es in dem Stücke nicht, aber auch nicht an prickelnder orientalischer Musik, die sich so süß in das Ohr schmeichelt.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 15, 1903.

¹⁴¹ “Fritz Schönhof [...] hat mit kundiger Hand alle Situationen glänzend ausgenützt und eine spannende und dabei zwechfellerschütternd komische Handlung ausgearbeitet. Auch die von ihm selbst komponierte Musik geht ins Ohr.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 3, 1914. “Fritz Schönhofs Schlageroperette ‘Der Onkel aus Amerika’ mit dem brillanten Komiker Robert Neubach in der Titelrolle ist eine Attraktionsdarbietung und ein künstlerischer Genuß [...]” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 4, 1914. The director of the Kolosseum was Heinrich Wartenberg (b. 1872), who had been highly active in Czernowitz’s small theater and cabaret scene (establishments that he owned at some point include the *Variété Wartenberg* (on Enzenberg Hauptstrasse), the *Restaurant Wartenberg* (same location), the *Apollo Theater* (on Blumengasse) and the *Czernowitzer Orpheum* (on Siebenbürger Straße 7), and the *Café Bellevue* (I would like to thank Jorge Gubitsch for sending me information about his great-grandfather Heinrich Wartenberg).

¹⁴² “Nach der heutigen Premiere, können wir dem Czernowitzer Kolosseum eine glänzende Sommersaison prophezeien.” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 3, 1914.

Substantial newspaper coverage had prepared for the performances of “Tanz in Bildern” as a major supranational Bukovinian endeavor. The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* of March 16, 1913 announced the dance performance for early May and informed readers that half of its net profit would benefit the nascent Austrian Air Force.¹⁴³ The announcement highlighted the symbolic meaning of the ten “dance tableaux” (*Tanzbilder*):

The arrangement will have an original character insofar as for the first time Romanian, Ruthenian, Polish, and Jewish dances will be performed united to a uniform whole and thus for the first time all nations that live in Bukovina will be represented in a ballet divertissement. In addition to the purely national dances there will also be charming fantasy dances presented which in these tableaux will not be sharply segregated according to nationalities.¹⁴⁴

The paper also gave information about the numerous societies that planned to participate in the project: the Romanian choir *Armonia*; the German student fraternity *Teutonia*; the Polish fraternity *Ognisko* and the society *Polnische Lesehalle*; the Ukrainian fraternities *Zaporoze* and *Sojuz*; the Jewish fraternities *Hasmonäa*, *Hebronia*, *Zephirah*, and *Emunah*; and the *Männergesangverein*.¹⁴⁵ The dancers were identified as “ladies and gentlemen of society,” among them many military officers.¹⁴⁶

The importance of the event was underscored by the foundation of an honorary ladies’ committee that consisted of 137 women. The formidable list that appeared in

¹⁴³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 16, 1913.

¹⁴⁴ “Das Arrangement wird insoferne einen originellen Charakter haben, als zum ersten Male rumänische, ruthenische, polnische und jüdische Tänze zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen vereint aufgeführt und zum ersten Male in einem Ballettdivertissement sämtliche in der Bukowina lebende Nationen vertreten sein werden. Neben den rein nationalen Tänzen werden auch reizende Phantasietänze aufgeführt werden, [...] die in diesen Bildern nicht nach Nationalitäten scharf geschieden sein soll, gebracht werden.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 16, 1913.

¹⁴⁵ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 16, 1913. A week later, the paper announced that three additional Romanian societies would participate, the fraternities *Junimea*, *Bucovina*, and *Moldova* (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 27, 1913).

¹⁴⁶ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 16, 1913.

several newspapers included women from numerous well-known local families (e.g. Anhauch, Ausländer, Baltinester, Duzinkiewicz, Flondor, Fürth, Kleinwächter, Pragenau, Mandyczewski, Norst, Simiginowicz, Smal-Stocki, Straucher, Styrcza, Wassilko, and Weißelberger) across ethnicities and religious denominations. All women were listed with their husbands' titles, from Mrs. Great Land Owner von Abrahamowicz to Mrs. Deputy of the State Parliament Zurkan.¹⁴⁷

The final program of the dance performance, which occurred on May 7, 8 and 9, with an additional performance added on May 10, combined five “national” tableaux, mainly group dances, with four other dances for soloists. An overture and an homage to the Emperor framed the show.¹⁴⁸

1. Opening: Count Meran Festival March (Krämer)
2. Grand-Minuet from the time of Louis XIV
3. *Romana-Quadrille* and *Salon-Hora*
4. Love, Gavotte-Idyll
5. Waltz-Quadrille
6. Harvest Festival in Palestine
(Intermission)
7. *Krakowiak* and *Mazurka*
8. Dance Journey across Europe
9. Ukrainian Quadrille (Viktor Kostelecký)
10. Youth Mill after Paul Mürich
11. Terpsichore and [the allegory of] Dance Pay Homage to the Emperor

In the press, each tableau except one was identified with a single nation, and adherents of the nation performed their own national dances; one tableau was identified in two different ways. No. 3 showed as Romanian, no. 7 as Polish, no. 6 as Jewish, and no. 9 as Ukrainian. The dancers of No. 5 are identified as “Germans” in the *Czernowitzer*

¹⁴⁷ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 27, 1913; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, April 29, 1913.

¹⁴⁸ The titles in German: “Graf von Meran-Festmarsch;” “Grand-Menuett aus der Zeit Ludwig XIV.,” “Romana-Quadrille und Salon Hora;” “Die Liebe, Gavotte-Idyll;” “Walzer-Quadrille;” “Erntefest in Palästina;” “Krakowiak und Mazur;” “Tanzreise durch Europa;” “Ukrainska Kadryla;” “Jugendmühle;” “Terpsichore und der Tanz huldigen dem Kaiser.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

Tagblatt,¹⁴⁹ but their dance is described as quintessentially Austrian (i.e. Imperial and supra-national, but not exclusively German Austrian) in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*:

The subsequent Waltz Quadrille made a strong impression. No wonder, the Waltz is the Austrian dance and when a felicitous idea suggests as a frame a dance event in an Old Viennese patricians' house, the quintessence of the Waltz has been exhausted.¹⁵⁰

An intention to project German dominance in the Empire directly by equating “ethnic German” and “Austrian” is unlikely in the context of a supra-national Czernowitz event; instead, a nod to German-ness occurs in a veiled form here. After all, the Germans were neither dominant in the city (where the Jews were by far the largest group) nor the Crown Land (where Ukrainians and Romanians dominated); the cultural groups in Czernowitz and Bukovina most often charged with attempts to dominate others were the Jews and the Romanians. In addition, the Jews, not the Germans, had the reputation for being the most Habsburg-loyalist group, and the proliferation of Zionism hardly changed that, as it was neither a pervasive ideology nor a threat to Austria's territorial integrity. An interpretation of the Waltz in this context needs to address the dance's ambivalent symbolic nature: although it worked as a German dance owing to its origins, it was not used as a symbol for German-ness at the time but rather as a symbol for Vienna (or *Alt-Wien*) or a metonym for the entire Empire (note for example its importance in Hungarian operetta, or its later use to evoke nostalgia for the lost Empire). In a way, the development from the German

¹⁴⁹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 9, 1913.

¹⁵⁰ “Die sich daran schließende Walzer-Quadrille wirkte sehr stark; kein Wunder, der Walzer ist der österreichische Tanz und wenn eine glückliche Idee als Rahmen eine Tanzunterhaltung in einem Altwiener Patrizierhause eingibt, so ist die Quintessenz des Walzers ausgeschöpft.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

dance to the Waltz – and the different receptions of these dances – paralleled the Empire’s and Bukovina’s journey from a “German mission in the East” under Joseph II to the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy which claimed to treat its “nations” equally (if under the rule of an Emperor who also regarded himself a German prince).

Hardly less complex is the question of the chosen dance – and its ability to be representative – in the Jewish group. No other group would have been more entitled to be represented by the Viennese Waltz, given the recent contributions to the genre by Jewish composers (e. g. Leo Fall, Oscar Straus, and Emmerich Kálmán) and the fact that on a metaphorical level, no other group danced the Imperial waltz with more dedication than this one (and continued to dance it long after the Empire had collapsed, in Czernowitz and elsewhere). But the Jewish tableau combined a (traditional or imagined) Jewish dance with recent political aspirations of a relatively small group within the Empire’s Jewish community: Zionism. The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* gave a legend for the Jewish dance tableau titled “Harvest Festival in Palestine:” “The process in the modern colony is such: workers return from the fields; harvest round dance of the female workers; dance of the male workers; dance of the dragoman.”¹⁵¹

While names can serve only as a heuristic indicator of a person’s ethnic heritage or national identification, a rough estimate suggests that most of the male dancers belonged to the national group whose dance they performed, while female

¹⁵¹ “Der Vorgang in der modernen Kolonie ist der: Arbeiter kommen vom Felde; Erntereigen der Arbeiterinnen; Tanz der Arbeiter; Tanz des Dragoman.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913. The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* even commented thus: “Only the Palestinian colony celebration appears to as something completely new and original in the round dance of nationalities.” (“Nur das palästinensische Kolonienfest erscheint uns im Nationalitätenreigen völlig neu und originell.”) *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 9, 1913.

dancers also danced in other groups. On the surface, the Waltz group seemed indeed more representative of the Austrian Empire than of its Germans, but varying degrees of assimilation would have complicated the picture even further: the female dancers were Aglaia and Ika Gallin, Olga Seemann, Erna v. Uscianowicz, Irene Iffeczescul, Dora and E. (?) Zelinka, and Grete Zybaczynska; and the male dancers were R. Brüll, Hein. Piotrowski, Erich Mayer, Edgar Mayer, von Medwecky, Schönhöfer, Dolinger, and Jäger.¹⁵²

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the performance is the fact that none of its individual parts were local or specific; only in the long shot of the show does “Bukovina” appear. The settings were all abstract: “Alt-Wien” for the Waltz; a wedding in Krakow for the Polish dances; an unnamed Ruthenian village for the Ukrainian dances; and the vague exotic setting in Palestine for the Jewish dances.¹⁵³ The most relevant limitation to such a degree of abstraction occurred in the case of the Romanian tableau, which staged a feast in a Romanian border village.¹⁵⁴ The show thus resembled a *concert des nations* as if in a diplomatic context, with one difference: for a Habsburg-loyal citizen, the concept of ethnicity or “nation” was not tied to the territorial idea of a nation state.¹⁵⁵ Yet it is worth mentioning that not all participants subscribed to this loyalty: the participating student fraternities included some with

¹⁵² *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 9, 1913.

¹⁵³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

¹⁵⁴ “Die Szene stellte ein Fest in einem rumänischen Grenzdorfe dar.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

¹⁵⁵ For an analysis of the concept of the “concert des nations” and its musical and political applications, see Damien Mahiet, “The Concert of Nations: Music, Political Thought and Diplomacy in Europe, 1600s–1800s” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2011), esp. 35–48 (“multi-national” publications at the time of the Congress of Vienna). An important difference between the French, Russian, and Austrian examples analyzed in Mahiet’s dissertation and the one discussed here is the latter’s regional context: not foreign Empires or nations are portrayed in the Czernowitz performance, but “Bukovina’s nations.”

explicit exclusionary and chauvinistic ideologies (and emphasized their loyalties to other countries, e.g. Romania or the German Empire).¹⁵⁶

The reviewer in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* differentiated between historical and national dance tableaux, a false binary that was not only common at the time but has to some degree remained part of the understanding of folk culture. It is often assumed to be ahistorical in nature (or, if at all historical, then as a representative of a frozen element from a distant past), but at the same time is held to produce insight into the relative stages of a culture's development:

Quite interesting is the comparison between the exhibited lusty [urwüchsigen] dances of the Romanians, Poles, and Ruthenes, which – while we cannot execute it here today – leads to illuminating results about origin and development of folk dance; one can on the whole only speak of rootedness to the soil [Bodenständigkeit], which is manifest in the rhythmic features and the capricious details of the dances.¹⁵⁷

It is noteworthy that the colonial gaze only concerned three ethnicities, Romanians, Poles, and Ruthenes; the Jews, whose dance must have appeared similarly archaic to an urban audience that did not practice folk dancing, were left out, but danced their own dance in a colonial setting in which they were the colonizers.

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¹⁵⁶ The theme of collaborations among explicitly chauvinistic groups is hardly ever analyzed as such in writings on Czernowitz. There are on the one hand those writers who play down the chauvinistic nature of these groups and emphasize the contemporary context of such expressions (which in the case of some authors is an act of rewriting their own past); for most others, on the other hand, the topic is either inconceivable or sits uncomfortably. Yet given the prominence of these groups, their integration or neutralization to varying degrees is an important key to understanding the cultural relations in Czernowitz.

¹⁵⁷ “Sehr interessant ist ein Vergleich zwischen den vorgeführten urwüchsigen Tänzen der Rumänen, Polen und Ruthenen, der – wir können ihn heute hier nicht durchführen – zu aufschlußreichen Ergebnissen über Ursprung und Entwicklung des Volkstanzes führt; man kann im Großen und Ganzen nur von der Bodenständigkeit sprechen, die sich, [...] in den rhythmische Grundzügen sowie im kapriolenhaften Detail der Tänze manifestiert.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

None of these thoughts troubled Johann W. when he witnessed the big round of applause at the end of the performance, especially for Jakob Krämer, the music director, and Anton Fieles, the main choreographer and factotum of Czernowitz's ballroom dance scene.¹⁵⁸ In the papers, Johann W. read that an additional, fourth performance would be given in order to meet the great demand. Some tickets were sold at half price "to allow additional strata of the population to visit this event."¹⁵⁹ A month later, long after Johann W. had returned to Vienna, he received a newspaper cutting that informed him of the enormous economic success of the event: the net profit was almost 4000 crowns. He also learned about the various expenses for the event: 628 crowns for the army band, more than 100 crowns for orchestration, score copying, and incidental music; and almost 1000 crowns for ballet master Fieles.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913. On Anton Fieles, see Kateryna Valiavska, "Anton Fieles," in *Digitale Topographie der multikulturellen Bukowina*; <https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/338-Anton-Fieles> (accessed February 2, 2020). Instructions for an "Ukrainiska-Quadrille" by Anton Fieles were marketed in November 1918 in Czernowitz's newspapers as items that should be purchased to support the unification ("Ein Werk, das heute, den Anschluß fördernd, in jedem Hause aufliegen soll." *Czernowitzer Allgemein Zeitung*, November 8, 1918).

¹⁵⁹ "Um den weiteren Schichten der Bevölkerung den Besuch an dieser Veranstaltung zu ermöglichen, hat sich das veranstaltende Komitee entschlossen, die Preise für einen Teil der Sitzplätze am letzten Abend (Freitag) zu reduzieren." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 9, 1913.

¹⁶⁰ Here's the full list of expenses, one of the few that survive from a musical event in Czernowitz (my translations in square brackets): "Die verkauften Karten und Spenden brachten einen Gesamtertrag von K 7697.30. Die Auslagen betragen: Militärmusik 628 K, Orchestrieren, Notenschreiben, Bühnenmusik K 105.26, Licht [light] K 212.01, Kartensteuer [ticket tax] K 314.63, Plakatierung und Druckereiarbeiten (Plakate, Einladungs- und Dankschreiben) [posting and print shop works (posters, invitations, and letters of thanks)] 378 K, Polizei, Feuerwehr, Inspektionsgebühr [police, fire brigade, on-site inspection fees] K 103.60, Professor Krämer für Barauslagen [for cash expenditures] 88 K, Blumen und Dekorationen [flowers and decorations] 134 K, an Restaurateur Stuban (Deutsches Haus) Ablösungsgebühr für die Militärkapelle (am 10. Mai) [to gastronomer Stuban (German House) redemption sum for the military band (on May 10)] 165 K, Bühnenarbeiter [shifters] 270 K, Belleleute [sic; ushers] 59 K, Garderobiere [cloakroom attendant] 223 K, Schreibgebühren, Porti, Friseur und kleine Spesen [office fees, postal chargers, hairdresser and small expenses] K 139.30 und Ballettmeister Fieles K 953.38. Die Gesamtausgaben [total expenses] belaufen sich daher auf K 3773.18. Es ergibt sich somit ein Reinertragnis [net profit] im Betrage von K 3924.12 [...]" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 23, 1913.

The next day, a Friday, Johann W. enjoyed a long morning walk in the city and a mélange at Café Habsburg. Just a block down the road from the Herrengasse he noticed a large brick church, quite heavy in appearance, and remembered from the Mittelmann guide that it must be the Armenian Church; he was entranced by its exquisite interior.

Armenian Church

Contrasts characterize Czernowitz's Armenian Church, a building designed by Josef Hlávka, the architect of the Episcopal Residence: an austere, almost monochrome exterior that resembles a fortified early Gothic church houses one of the city's most colorful and ornate interiors. Yet this impressive, centrally located church was built for a community, the Armenian-Catholics, that was already tiny when the church was commissioned.¹⁶¹ The school statistics of the First High School from the year of the church's consecration, 1875, give a glimpse into the size of the community and its degree of assimilation: of 521 students, only one indicated Armenian as his mother tongue; however, 19 students were Armenian-Catholic and one was Armenian-Orthodox. The nineteen students who subscribed to one of the two Armenian Churches, but did not indicate Armenian as their mother tongue, likely grew up

¹⁶¹ In 1863, *Bukowina*, Czernowitz's main paper at the time, reported that the means to erect this church had finally been secured (*Bukowina*, September 18, 1863, 2). In 1864, Josef Hlávka, the architect of the Residence of the Eastern Orthodox Archbishop, received the commission (<https://www.bukowina-portal.de/de/ct/252-Armenische-Kirche>). The Armenian priest behind the project, Florian Mitulski, was made an honorary citizen of Czernowitz in 1884, for his "service for the beautification of the city through the construction of an Armenian Catholic church;" the application for this honor was filed by vice major Dr. Atlas, who was Jewish and a member of the music society (see Chapter 2; *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, September 4, 1884).

speaking Polish, as the Armenian-Catholics had increasingly merged with the Polish community in the preceding decades (which led to their odd designation as “Armenopolen”).¹⁶²

In his essay on music in *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture*, Isidor Worobkiewicz credited Florian Mitulski, the Armenian-Catholic parish priest, with having encouraged musical performances in this church.¹⁶³ There were in fact several close connections between the Armenian Church and Czernowitz’s Catholic *Church Music Society* (founded in 1882), which performed regularly at the church: the Society counted among its eight founders three Armenians, including the Armenian-Catholic Archbishop of Lemberg, Isaak Issakowicz, and the great landowners Alexander Petrowicz and Severin Warteresiewicz.¹⁶⁴ Some of the repertory of these performances can be traced via Czernowitz’s newspapers, usually as announcements for upcoming services. For example, on Good Friday of 1889, the Society performed Franz Lachner’s *Stabat mater* for two-part female choir, soli, string orchestra, and organ, conducted by Music Director Hřimalý.¹⁶⁵ For Corpus Christi in 1895, the Society contributed Joseph Gregor Zangl’s St. Ludwig Mass and an *Offertorio* by Karl Hiller, who was a law professor at Czernowitz’s university.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² The school statistics at the time only indicate the categories of mother tongue and religious denomination, not “ethnicity” or “nation.” If one subtracts from the 128 Roman Catholics those who spoke German as their mother tongue (a group that one can roughly estimate by subtracting from the German speakers the number of Jews and Protestants), one gets to a number that is considerably lower than the number of Polish speakers (99 students); the difference are mostly the “Armenopoles” (Stephan Wolf, *Programm des k. k. Ober-Gymnasiums in Czernowitz in dem Herzogthum Bukowina für das Schuljahr 1875* [Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1875], 52).

¹⁶³ *Bukowina*, Vol. 20 of *Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 52.

¹⁶⁴ *Jahresbericht des Vereines zur Pflege und Förderung der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz* 3 (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1884), 12.

¹⁶⁵ *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, April 18, 1889.

¹⁶⁶ *Bukowinaer Post*, June 16, 1895.

From the standpoint of intercultural encounters, these performances of the *Church Music Society* at the Armenian Church add another colorful piece to Czernowitz's variegated music history. While the majority of the members of the *Church Music Society* were Polish and German Catholics, it also counted among its active members and supporters adherents of Judaism and Eastern Orthodoxy (including, for example, two members of the Mandyczewski family as active members).¹⁶⁷ It seems that the church of one of Czernowitz's smallest religious denominations and ethnic communities regularly assembled singers from across the city's entire cultural spectrum to perform (mainly) Roman Catholic Church music.

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Friday afternoon was David D.'s weekly quartet hour, but the quartet was turned into a string quintet on the occasion of his friend's visit. The twenty-four hours thereafter gave Johann W. a crash course in Judaism, beginning with a Shabbat dinner at the place of David D.'s friends and followed by a morning service at the Main Temple, which was just a block up the road from Hotel Bristol.

¹⁶⁷ For example, Heinrich Pardini and Victor Korn were listed as supporting members (*Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 3 [1884], 13; and *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 30 [1912], 9); Marie and Erast Mandyczewski as active members (*Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 3 [1884], 15–6).

Music in the Synagogue

Not only observance but also a terrific voice drew Czernowitzers to the city's largest synagogue on *Tempelgasse*. The chief cantor's

exquisite, sonorous, and technically very well-trained manner of singing has often assured that all flocked to the temple regardless of their Orthodox or non-Orthodox orientation to hear the valiant singer, who despite his long-standing service is still in full possession of his extensive, mellow, and agile vocal technique.¹⁶⁸

According to the same account, written in 1912 on the occasion of chief cantor Simon Schechter's thirtieth jubilee as cantor, his *Heldenbariton* "reached a high c and c sharp."¹⁶⁹ Schechter also proved his competence as author of a tutorial for cantorial singing, published in 1913 to favorable reviews.

Schechter's training and career exemplify a cantorial culture that crossed the Austrian-Russian border frequently. Educated in Russia, Schechter was active as cantor in two cities in the Russian Empire, Kremenczug (Kremenchuk, now Ukraine) and Odessa, and two others in the Habsburg Empire, Przemyśl (in Galicia) and Budapest.¹⁷⁰ Cantors from cities in the Russian Empire – among them, Odessa, Yelisavetgrad, and Jekaterinoslav – gave guest performances in Czernowitz announced in the local papers.¹⁷¹ Some performed in Czernowitz as part of a concert

¹⁶⁸ "Sein vorzüglicher, klangvoller und technisch sehr gut geschulter Vortrag hat es oft bewirkt, daß ohne Unterschied der orthodoxen oder nicht orthodoxen Richtung alles dem Tempel zuströmt, um den wackeren Sänger zu hören." *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 13, 1912.

¹⁶⁹ "[...] übt dieser Mann mit seinem unerschütterlichen Heldenbariton mit phänomenaler, bis zum hohen C und Cis reichender Höhe noch gegenwärtig seine Funktion aus." (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 13, 1912.)

¹⁷⁰ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 13, 1912. According to this paper, Schechter took up his position in Czernowitz on August 1, 1896.

¹⁷¹ For example, from Odessa, cantor Karmiöl (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 10, 1905) and cantor Rosenstein (*Bukowinaer Post*, January 6, 1906); from Yelisavetgrad (today Kropyvnytskyi)

tour to the West, others came from the West on their way to Russia, like Israel Tkats, chief cantor in Budapest. His performance, which got as much publicity as one by a famous performer at the *Musikverein* or City Theater, was announced as a “rare art event [Kunstereignis] in Czernowitz,” and a newspaper advertisement summoned the local Jewish community thus: “Jews, appear in masses! Don’t miss the chance to hear the Jewish Caruso!” (Fig. 5.6)¹⁷²

Seltenes Kunstereignis für Czernowitz.

Dem Ausschusse des Wohlthätigkeits-Vereines „Hachnuses Kale“ ist es gelungen, den berühmtesten jüdischen Kantor

Israel Tkats
Oberkantor des größten jüdischen Tempels in Budapest
(Oberkantor Bachmann's Nachfolger)

dazu zu gewinnen, während seiner Konzerttournee nach Rußland auch bei uns **im großen Festsale des jüd. Nationalhauses Freitag abends, am 31. Mai und Samstag früh, am 1. Juni l. J.** zu Gunsten des Vereines vorzubeten.

Oberkantor TKATS ist nicht nur weltberühmt durch seine herrlichen Vorträge auf kantorialem Gebiete, sondern besitzt einen prachtvollen Heldenenor (erreicht das hohe C) und bleibt jedem, der ihn gehört hat, durch seine süße, einschmeichelnde Stimme unvergeßlich!

Juden, erscheint massenhaft! Versäumet nicht den jüd. Caruso zu hören!

Beginn des Gebetes:
Freitag, präzise 8 Uhr abends und Samstag, halb 9 Uhr morgens.

Kartenpreise: Entree für Freitag und Samstag 1 K 50 h, für Freitag allein 70 h und für Samstag allein 1 Krone.

Karten sind erhältlich bei: Brüder Einhorn, Hauptstr. 37, Brüder Sandmann, Postgasse, Peritz Nadler's Sohn, Hauptstraße 10, Münzer & Schächter, Rathausgebäude und Hendl Fischmann, Uhrmacher, Rathausstraße 18 und Freitag ab 5 Uhr bei der Kassa.

**Wohlthätigkeitsverein „Hachnuses Kale“
Czernowitz.**

Fig. 5.6: Newspaper advertisement to announce the visit of cantor Israel Tkats (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 31, 1912).

While contemporary newspapers tell us about the voices in Czernowitz’s main temple, on the question of an organ they are mostly silent. The synagogue on *Tempelgasse* (usually referred to as “Temple;” erected 1873–77) was the

house of prayer of the assimilated liberal branch of Judaism, which allowed for organs; Orthodox congregants went to the Great Synagogue or one of the smaller synagogues in the Jewish quarter.¹⁷³ Apart from the language of the sermon, music seems to have been the most important distinguishing feature between the services of

cantor Isak Icht (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 17, 1913); and from Jekaterinoslav cantor Schneer (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 4, 1906).

¹⁷² “Seltenes Kunstereignis für Czernowitz. / [...] / Juden, erscheint massenhaft! Versäumet nicht den jüd. Caruso zu hören.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 31, 1912. The event was to take place at the Jewish National House.

¹⁷³ For example, fifteen years before, Budapest’s *Neológ* community (a reform branch of Hungarian Judaism) erected its temple on Dohány Street, which included an impressive organ that would be graced with performances by Liszt and Saint-Saëns.

Czernowitz's largest synagogues: "In our community the difference between Temple and Synagogue is merely that in the Temple the liturgy prefers choral singing with modern music, whereas in the synagogue the traditional tunes are chanted."¹⁷⁴ But was this modern music accompanied or *a capella*?

A report of Crown Prince Rudolf's visit to Czernowitz in 1887 indicated the use of an organ on that occasion:

The beautiful building of the temple, its grand furnishing and the uplifting song of the mixed choir conducted by chief cantor Mr. Rosenheck, which was accompanied by Director Hřimalý on the organ, made the most pleasing impression on the visitor.¹⁷⁵

The second mention of an organ comes from a text by Bernhard Pistiner titled "The Soul of Our Temple," published half a century later. After a paragraph on the role of the temple for mourners, Pistiner portrayed a happy side of the temple's use: "And when organ sounds and hymns hail the bond of matrimony, how bright and mysterious does the force of the soul radiate: 'Be embraced, millions!' And naturally the bride as the first of these millions."¹⁷⁶ Yet none of the surviving pictures of the synagogue's

¹⁷⁴ "In unserer Gemeinde besteht ja der Unterschied zwischen Tempel und Synagoge jedenfalls blos darin, daß im Temple die Liturgie den Choralgesang mit moderner Musik bevorzugt, während in der Synagoge die althergebrachten Weisen vorgetragen werden." *Bukowinaer Post*, October 1, 1899. This statement is from a letter to the editor by Isaak Kohn, in which he detailed (it seems particularly for a non-Jewish audience) that there were no relevant liturgical differences between the branches of Judaism. For Kohn, the preference of one service over the other did not by necessity coincide with a political outlook on the world, but was a matter of the heart ("Es gibt Juden von sehr fortschrittlicher Gesinnung, denen der Gottesdienst nach dem alten Ritus eher zu Herzen geht, als der neue. Und Religion ist ja zumeist Herzenssache." *Ibid.*).

¹⁷⁵ "Der schöne Bau des Tempels, seine prachtvolle Einrichtung und der erhebende Gesang des vom Oberkantor Herrn Rosenheck dirigirten gemischten Chores, den Herr Director Hřimaly zur Orgel begleitete, machten auf den Besucher den erfreulichsten Eindruck." *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, July 12, 1887.

¹⁷⁶ "Und wenn Orgelklänge und Hymnen den Ehebund umjubeln, wie hell und geheimnisvoll erstrahlt da seelische Kraft: 'Seid umschlungen Millionen!' Und naturgemäss als Erste von den Millionen die Braut." Bernhard Pistiner, "Die Seele unseres Tempels," in *Ediția festivă închinată jubileului 60 ani dela inaugurarea Templului* (Czernowitz/Cernăuți: Editura Comunității Evrești, 1937), 45.

interior shows an organ, nor is one mentioned in the context of the numerous other choir performances that took place there.¹⁷⁷

Although choral singing had a long tradition in Czernowitz's Jewish services, only in the early 1900s did the Jewish musical tradition receive the dedication of a special music society akin to *Armonia* for the Orthodox Church or the *Kirchenmusik* Society for the Catholic Church. After cantor Ketten's brief tenure in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution (see Ch. 1), performances of a synagogue choir were again mentioned in the papers from the 1880s on, first under cantor Rosenheck and subsequently under cantor Schechter.¹⁷⁸ One report from 1900 suggests that the choristers were paid 400fl per year and doubled as members of the theater choir to sustain themselves.¹⁷⁹

The Jewish Singing Society

A new level of seriousness in Jewish choral singing began in 1908 with the foundation of the Jewish Singing Society (*Jüdischer Gesangverein*). To trace this Society, we –

¹⁷⁷ See especially: *Ediția festivă închinată jubileului 60*, 15. It seems unlikely, but cannot be ruled out, that for Rudolf's visit, a harmonium was placed in the synagogue to accompany the choir. Pistiner's text from 1937 that suggests the presence of an organ does not indicate how long it had been there, but in this narrative the organ seems like yet another stock element that adds to the riches of the temple (thereby suggesting a rather long-standing presence). In his essay on the Jewish community in Czernowitz, David Sha'ari claims that there was no organ in the synagogue, but does give any evidence for the claim (David Sha'ari, "Die jüdische Gemeinde von Czernowitz," 103–127 in *Czernowitz. Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, ed. Harald Heppner [Wien: Böhlau, 2000], 116).

¹⁷⁸ For example, *Bukowinaer Post*, December 18, 1894 (in the temple); *Czernowitzer Presse*, June 15, 1897 (under Schechter, in the temple); *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, November 28, 1899 (under Schechter, opening of a new house of prayer on *Russische Gasse* No. 59). The choir also performed for occasions without liturgical context, for example choirs by Beethoven and Ignaz Brüll at the "Makkabäerfeier" (*Bukowinaer Post*, December 3, 1901).

¹⁷⁹ *Bukowinaer Post*, July 3, 1900. According to the paper, the head of the *Kultusgemeinde* considered banning the side job for the temple singers at the time.

following *Johann W.* – have to leave the synagogue and walk towards *Elisabethplatz* to step inside the Jewish House, as the activities of the *Jüdischer Gesangverein* belong to the realm of secular Jewish cultural practice.

Newspaper coverage and surviving government files suggest a long and complicated genesis for this Society: as early as April 1904, by-laws were sent to the State Government for approval, and in December, the *Bukowinaer Post* announced that the foundation of the Society, prepared by a committee of civil servants, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of all Jewish student fraternities, would occur within days.¹⁸⁰ Little was heard about it subsequently, apart from two newspaper announcements in late 1906 asking for rehearsal attendance, but the project apparently failed.¹⁸¹ An announcement in the *Bukowinaer Post* in November 1907 again mentioned an attempt to found a Jewish Men’s Choir and alluded to a non-musical reason to found such a choir: “Certain phenomena of recent times in a way force this course of action by Jewish youth.”¹⁸² The statement likely alluded to perceived anti-Semitism in the *Gesangverein* (see Ch. 2). Another year passed until finally, in November 1908, the constitutive assembly took place and Hans Arnold, a first baritone in the theater, and Josef Rosenstech were announced as choir directors.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ DACHO, f. 3, op. 2/21380 (April 19, 1904 – April 11, 1911); *Bukowinaer Post*, December 8, 1904. The report in the *Post* claimed that the by-laws had already been certified (*bescheinigt*); the term is vague, but in the government files, the full confirmation of the society did not occur until 1911. An aim stated in these by-laws was research on Jewish music history.

¹⁸¹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, October 23, 1906, and November 2, 1906.

¹⁸² “Gewisse Erscheinungen der letzten Zeit zwingen gewissermaßen zu diesem Vorgehen der sangesfreudigen jüd. Jugend.” *Bukowinaer Post*, November 17, 1907.

¹⁸³ The report, although in the same newspaper as the reports from 1904, did not mention the earlier efforts: “Jüdischer Gesangverein. Den Bemühungen einer Gruppe sangesfreudiger Männer ist es gelungen, hier einen jüd. Gesangverein zu gründen.” *Bukowinaer Post*, November 10, 1908. Arnold appeared in a few reviews (e.g. *Bukowinaer Post*, September 15, 1908), but likely stayed only for one season. Rosenstech first appeared in Czernowitz’s newspapers when he got engaged; as his profession or title, the papers indicate “Chormeister der isr. Kultusgemeinde in Czernowitz” (“choir master of the

Soon thereafter, the choir received a rehearsal space in the recently completed Jewish House.¹⁸⁴

The first concert took place on March 6, 1909, in the Festival Hall of the Jewish House. The mixed program consisted mainly of choir music in German – Franz Abt’s *Sabbatfeier* (Shabbat Feast), Viktor Keldorfer’s *Waldesweihe* (Consecration of the Forest) with string quartet, a psalm setting by Salomon Sulzer with piano and harp, and a waltz by Ignaz Brüll performed by a double quartet – as well as a poetry reading by a member of the city theater and a piano interlude.¹⁸⁵ A comment in the papers suggested that the choir attracted a young crowd: the Waltz functioned as “a transition to the second part of the evening, in which the youth in a merry and gay mood indulged in dancing until the grey morning.”¹⁸⁶

The choir’s professionalization occurred rapidly: soon, rehearsals took place twice per week and later three times, and by the summer of 1910 the choir had fifty singers.¹⁸⁷ The first concert outside Czernowitz took place in July 1910 in the German House in Radautz, a town in the southern part of Bukovina. By then, the choir had a signature piece composed by Rosenstech, which opened the concert. The program

Jewish Kultusgemeinde in Czernowitz;” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 6, 1907; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 6, 1907).

¹⁸⁴ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, February 18, 1909.

¹⁸⁵ *Bukowinaer Post*, March 9, 1909.

¹⁸⁶ “Ein Doppelquartett trug den Brüll’schen Walzer vor und schuf Übergang zum zweiten Teil des Abends, an dem die Jugend in froher und lustiger Stimmung bis in den grauen Morgen dem Tanz huldigte.” *Bukowinaer Post*, March 9, 1909. The combination of concert and dance event was a common format in the early days of this music society (see also *Bukowinaer Post*, January 18, 1910). The extant review of the first concert did not list the conductor; the second named Rosenstech as the only conductor.

¹⁸⁷ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, April 3, 1910 (“zweimal wöchentlich und zwar Montag und Donnerstag präzise 8 Uhr abends [...]”); *Bukowinaer Post*, August 11, 1910 (“[...] mitzuteilen, daß die regelmäßigen Proben allwöchentlich am Montag, Dienstag und Donnerstag, jedesmal präzise halb 9 Uhr abends im Probelokale des Vereines stattfinden.”). An article from 1913 suggests that the impressive schedule of three rehearsals per week was continued (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, June 29, 1913).

included choral pieces by Jacob Berman (in Hebrew; *Mishmar Ha-Jarden* and *Binorenu uvizkenenu*),¹⁸⁸ Mendelssohn, Keldorfer, and Rosenfeld, and solo folk songs by Mark Warschawskyj (presumably in Yiddish).¹⁸⁹ Several choir members performed solos.¹⁹⁰ The choir was establishing its trademark of performing in three languages, occasionally featuring solos by its members. Later that year concerts in the Bukovinian towns of Suczawa and Sereth took place, and in December, the choir was preparing for concerts in Stanislau and Lemberg (for an example of a printed concert program, see **Fig. 5.7**).¹⁹¹

A review in the *Bukowinaer Post*, the paper that prided itself in having instigated the foundation of a Jewish choir,¹⁹² pointed to the tension between the choir's political and cultural mission on the one hand and its aesthetic aspirations on the other:

The connection of national sentiment and choir singing likely originates from those times when one marched into the battle with music (the mechanization of war has reduced the regimental music to a mere peace institution). Under Metternich's regime the adherence to a singing society was deemed politically suspicious and, alongside athletic societies, singing societies continue to be the focal point of national efforts. Therefore their performances cannot be judged from a purely artistic standpoint. With this qualification it should be mentioned that the choir (in particularly its women) is not yet disciplined enough to execute a contrapuntally conceived piece like Handel's 'Halleluja' in an acceptable manner. The very interesting choirs from Rubinstein's 'Maccabees' were more successful, but not always flawless. Completely satisfying only was

¹⁸⁸ Berman's pieces had appeared as sheet music in Białystok (Poland, Russian Empire) in 1899 (Jacob Berman, *Mishmar Ha-Jarden* and *Binorenu uvizkenenu* (Białystok: Kaplan, 1899).

¹⁸⁹ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 28, 1910.

¹⁹⁰ Soloists include Jakob Oster and Isidor Schechter, a law student (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, July 28, 1910).

¹⁹¹ *Bukowinaer Post*, September 8, 1910 (concert review Suczawa); *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, September 17, 1910 (on Sereth); *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 1, 1910 (on Stanislau and Lemberg).

¹⁹² *Bukowinaer Post*, December 9, 1904.

Moragowski's 'Psalm 96,' sung in Hebrew. Only here did the national-cultural and artistic efforts align.¹⁹³

We also learn from the reviews for this concert that the choir had become a mixed one, though just when is unclear.¹⁹⁴ Soon thereafter, the *Jüdischer Gesangverein* began to define its larger mission: as a platform and meeting point of Czernowitz's Societies for Jewish culture (by inviting representatives of Jewish student fraternities to serve as councilors on the board), and as a cultural mission to bring Jewish music to other places in Bukovina and Galicia as well as to support the foundation of similar singing societies.¹⁹⁵ Concerts even included guest performers from abroad, such as a vocal ensemble from St. Petersburg.¹⁹⁶

The peak of the choir's activities in Habsburg times was an invitation to Vienna on the occasion of the Eleventh Zionist Congress. It performed twice: first at its own matinee at Beethoven Hall (Strauchgasse 2, now *Palais Ferstel*) on September 5, and then in the program of the Festival Concert of the Congress on September 7 at

¹⁹³ "Die Verbindung von Nationalgefühl und Chorgesang stammt wahrscheinlich aus jenen Zeiten, da man mit Musik in den Kampf zog (die Mechanisierung des Krieges hat die Regimentsmusik von heute zu einer bloßen Friedenseinrichtung herabgedrückt). Unter Metternich'schem Regime machte die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Gesangverein politisch verdächtig und noch immer sind neben den Turnvereinen die Gesangvereine Brennpunkte nationaler Bestrebungen. Ihre Darstellungen dürfen also füglich nicht vom rein künstlerischen Standpunkte beurteilt werden. Mit dieser Einschränkung wäre zu bemerken, daß der Chor (namentlich die Damen) noch nicht diszipliniert genug ist um ein kontrapunktisch durchgearbeitetes Stück wie Händels 'Halleluja' gehörig auszuführen. Die sehr interessanten Chöre aus Rubinsteins 'Makkabäern' gelangen besser, wenn auch immer nicht einwandfrei. Vollkommen befriedigte einzig der hebräisch gesungene 'Psalm 96' von Moragowski. Hier allein kamen die national-kulturellen und die künstlerischen Bestrebungen zur Deckung."

Bukowinaer Post, December 7, 1911; the review is signed with "M. R."

¹⁹⁴ See also *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 6, 1911.

¹⁹⁵ "Als Vertreter für die jüdischen akad. Verbindungen wurden in den Vorstand die Herren stud. phil. Biber für die 'Emnuah,' abs. iur. Greif für die 'Hebronia,' phil. Lewi Czeikel für die 'Jüd. Kultur' und jur. Rothfeld für 'Zephirah' gewählt. [...]" *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 2, 1912. According to the same paper, Vice Mayor Weisselberger was elected chairman of the society.

¹⁹⁶ According to the review, the ensemble was from a Society for Jewish folk music (*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 19, 1912).

the *Musikverein*.¹⁹⁷ The invitation to the event and the opportunity to perform at the *Musikverein* were an exceptional honor for a choir founded only five years earlier. The reception was enthusiastic, as a review in a Viennese newspaper suggests:

The beginning was a performance of the ‘Jewish Choral Society’ from Czernowitz. A choir of about sixty men, well trained, with fresh, strong voices and a beautiful, warm piano, but in faster tempos there are occasionally divergences between the sections and among the individual voices within the sections. Mr. Josef Rosenstech proved himself a capable, energetic conductor and society member Mr. Adolf Wand delighted with a warm and bright performance of a tenor solo. [...] Frenetic applause demanded more and more encores from the participants; these were willingly granted, so that the concert expanded far beyond its originally designated length and lasted until the late evening hours.¹⁹⁸

Of a choir that had already been much larger at the time, the Choral Society sent “a men’s choir, consisting of sixty of its best singers,” as a paper in Czernowitz informed its readers in August.¹⁹⁹ It is unclear why no female singers performed in Vienna: was it a concession to the organizer and the political nature of the event? Two female instrumentalists, a pianist and a violinist, performed at the event; but groups play a different role in the projection of power and resolve, and in an age where suffragettes were derided every week in most papers, an exclusively male group was likely considered preferable to represent and project the political cause.

¹⁹⁷ The concerts were advertised in several Viennese papers, e.g. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, September 5, 1913 (for the matinee, which actually took place at 1:30 pm); *Neue Freie Presse*, September 7, 1913. The collaborating artists were Margery Bentwich (violin) and Leo Gollanin (voice), who was later cantor at the synagogue on Oranienburger Straße in Berlin.

¹⁹⁸ “Den Beginn machten Vorträge des ‘Jüdischen Gesangvereines’ aus Czernowitz. Ein etwas sechzig Herren zählender Chor, gut geschult, mit frischen, kräftigen Stimmen, einem schönen, warmen Piano, bei rascherem Tempo aber gibt es mitunter einige Schwankungen zwischen den Stimmgruppen oder zwischen den einzelnen Stimmen innerhalb der Gruppen. Herr Josef Rosenstech erwies sich als ein tüchtiger, energischer Dirigent und Vereinsmitglied Herr Adolf Wand erfreute durch ein warm und hell gesungenes Tenor solo. [...] Der jubelnde Applaus verlangte von allen Mitwirkenden immer neue Zugaben, die auch gern gewährt wurden, so daß das Konzert sich weit über seinen ursprünglich präliminierten Umfang ausdehnte und bis in späte Abendstunden währte.” *Der Morgen*, September 8, 1913.

¹⁹⁹ “[...] wohlgeschulten Männerchor, bestehend aus 60 seiner besten Sänger.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 21, 1913.

*

On Sunday, Johann W. had to attend to his own religious duties. There were two options for Roman Catholic services that Sunday, Pentecost: the old parish church, erected in the early nineteenth century and one of the city's oldest stone buildings, and the neo-Gothic Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Jesuit Church), consecrated in 1894.²⁰⁰ The Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung offered Johann W. guidance for his choice: a notice informed readers that the Church Music Society performed at the parish church a mass for mixed choir by Reinecke and a Gradual by a local composer, Anton Koller.²⁰¹ This Society, which has already been briefly introduced in the context of the Armenian Church, usually sang on important Catholic feast days in one of three Churches, on average once or twice a month in most years.²⁰²

Music in Catholic Services

Polish and German Roman Catholics were united in the same service, which was conducted in Latin. As commentary in the paper suggests, the priest's fluency in both vernaculars of his congregants was nonetheless important, for practical reasons (to deliver sermons and to attend to congregants) as well as symbolic purposes.²⁰³ Prelate Schmid, the Catholic parish priest in the early twentieth century, was credited by Mayor Baron Fürth with having eased tensions between the two ethno-linguistic

²⁰⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, October 24, 1894.

²⁰¹ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 9, 1913.

²⁰² For example, 19 performances in 1886; 17 in 1888; 15 in 1910 (*Jahresbericht des Vereines zur Pflege und Förderung der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz* [Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1884–91, 1909–10, 1912]).

²⁰³ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 21, 1910.

communities.²⁰⁴ Shared symbolic representation even occurred on the highest level, literally: All three of Czernowitz's Roman Catholic languages were represented in the architectural space designated to signal the Church's sonic presence, the 200-foot tall bell tower of the Jesuit Church. Each of the three bells bore an inscription in another language. The largest, weighing 20 centner, had a Latin inscription; the second, of 13 centner, was inscribed in Polish, and the smallest bell, of 8 centner, had the longest inscription, in German:

Vos voco, qui fugitis Cor, quod tanto ardet amore,
Pellite corde deos, et redamate Deum.
(I am calling you, who flee the heart that burns of love,
go with God and love God again.)

Glos tego dzwonu wzuwa was, dziatki,
Z dróg grzechu wróćcie do Serca Matki.
(The bell of ore, summons you children,
From the path of sin to the mother's heart.)

Sanct Josef's Glocke bin ich genannt,
Hell tönt mein Ruf in's Buchenland.
O Christenhaus, gib Gehör meinem Tone!
Der Jesum gepflegt einst in der Welt,
Der an Tugend reich, arm an Gut und Geld,
Er flehet für Dich vor des Höchsten Throne!
(Saint Joseph's bell I am called,
Bright sounds my call into the Land of Beeches.
O House of Christians, listen to my sound!
Which once nursed Jesus in the world,
Who was rich in virtues, poor in property and money,
He pleads for you before the throne of the highest!)²⁰⁵

Despite the impressive dimensions of the Jesuit Church, which hosted two-thousand people, most church music performances with choir and orchestra took place

²⁰⁴ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, April 26, 1910.

²⁰⁵ *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, October 24, 1894.

in the old Parish Church or the Armenian Church.²⁰⁶ The third Catholic rite in Czernowitz, Greek Catholicism, hardly mingled with the two others, from which it was not only separated liturgically, but also with regard to language. At least one event certainly reminded Czernowitzers of the unity of these three rites under Rome, a celebration at the *Musikverein* of Pope Leo XIII's Golden jubilee of ordination. The Church Music Society and the *Gesangverein* performed a festival chorus with orchestral accompaniment and three choir pieces, one each in German, Polish, and Ruthenian.²⁰⁷

In its tenth yearbook, the Church Music Society commented on the rationale behind its repertory choices, which was to cover a broad range of music while avoiding what it perceived as extremes:

[...] on the one hand, the desecrating theatrical church music that runs counter to the mood of meditation, on the other hand the exaggeratedly sober, modern strictly 'Cecilian' church music, which is unswallowable for an ear that has been educated by the structured form of arias and the orderly succession of chords in today's Western and Central European Music.²⁰⁸

Masses performed at the services included music by a large array of composers, from Viennese Classicists and Schubert to moderate Cecilianists (e.g. Karl Attenhofer).²⁰⁹ Pieces to complement the ordinary of the mass (e.g. Graduals and Offertories) were

²⁰⁶ "Die in rein gothischem Style gehaltene Kirche ist im Innern 14 Meter, mit dem Thurme 60 Meter hoch und hat im Kirchenschiff, das 26 Meter lang und 17 Meter breit ist, einen Fassungsraum für 2000 Menschen." *Bukowinaer Post*, October 23, 1894. It seems during most years, the majority of performances took place in the parish church (e.g. in 1896, one performance took place in the Jesuit Church, four in the Armenian Church and seventeen in the parish church; *Bukowinaer Post*, January 21, 1896).

²⁰⁷ *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 7 (1888), 3.

²⁰⁸ "[...] sowohl die entweihende, der Andachtsstimmung zuwiderlaufende theatralische Kirchenmusik, als auch die übertrieben nüchterne, für ein durch den gegliederten Arienbau und die geordnete Accordenfolge der heutigen west- und mitteleuropäischen Musik gebildetes Ohr ungenießbare moderne streng 'cäcilianische' Kirchenmusik." *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 10 (1892), 4.

²⁰⁹ A few yearbooks list the complete repertory of the preceding year (e.g. *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 3 [1884], 4–5; *Jahresbericht Kirchenmusik* 10 [1892], 4).

often provided by local composers, including director Hřímalý, choir conductor Hans Horner, and the law professor Carl Hiller.²¹⁰

A brief excursion to Vienna will serve as an opportunity to glance at an ideal mass for the purposes of Czernowitz's Catholic community, local credentials included: neither progressive nor austere, manageable for a lay choir, with a decent solo for a merited choir member or a local dignitary, composed by a Czernowitzer, and, notably, equipped with the attribute of a symbolic outreach across cultures. In 1886, Eusebius Mandyczewski composed a Latin mass for the village church of Tattendorf just outside Vienna, where his patron, the illustrious Viennese industrialist Nikolaus Dumba, owned a spinning mill.²¹¹ The mass can be considered an ecumenical gift, as neither the composer nor his patrons were Catholic but Eastern Orthodox. Catholics were found in the choir, assembled by Mandyczewski in Vienna, as well as in the audience, which consisted of the local congregants for the feast day service.

Mandyczewski shared his enthusiasm about the premiere in a letter he sent to his sister Virginia in Czernowitz:

With a choir of some twenty singers (the Mass is scored only for choir and organ) made up of many acquaintances and relatives of the Dumba family and of several members of the Faber Choir, we had two rehearsals in Dumba's apartment and then traveled early on Ascension Day to Tattendorf, where we could finally premiere the Mass. I cannot describe to you the enthusiasm of these young people whom I had assembled for the purpose of performing my piece, which resulted in both the rehearsals and the premiere being unexpectedly splendid. Especially during the second rehearsal, which Styrcea

²¹⁰ For example, a *Tantum ergo* and an *O sacrum convivium* by Karl Hiller (*Bukowinaer Post*, April 14, 1895; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, May 22, 1913); an *Offertorium* by Hřímalý (*Bukowinaer Post*, June 16, 1895); a bass solo and choral fugue by Hans Horner (*Bukowinaer Post*, April 5, 1896).

²¹¹ The following passage draws from my introductory essay to the first edition of Mandyczewski's Mass (Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Tattendorfer Messe*, ed. Dietmar Friesenegger [Chernivtsi: KnyhyXXI, 2017], xi-xii. For information on Nikolaus Dumba and his patronage for the arts, see Elvira Konecny, *Die Familie Dumba und ihre Bedeutung für Wien und Österreich* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1986), especially 50–88.

and Faber attended, we were all deeply touched and moved, and I had tears in my eyes several times. And then the premiere at Tattendorf! The rehearsals had been with piano, but the performance was in a church and [therefore] with organ. During lunch, I was celebrated in a touching and uplifting way; to honor me, the choir sang one of my compositions with a new text that referred to the Mass and to the unforgettably beautiful day, and I received an enormous bunch of lilies of the valley, with a ribbon inscribed ‘Tattendorf, May 19, 1887.’²¹²

Mandyczewski’s mass has eight movements, with a Gradual and an Offertory complementing the settings of the *Ordinarium missae*. It is scored for three-part choir (SAB) and organ, except for the *Benedictus*, which includes an extended tenor solo, and the Offertory, a trio for soprano, alto, and bass (likely soloists recruited from within the choir). Some movements (e.g. the Kyrie) testify to Mandyczewski’s outstanding training in counterpoint, whereas others, like the *Benedictus*, show his lyrical gift. This movement also provides the one virtuosic moment in the otherwise unassuming mass: likely written for Dumba, who was famed for his fine tenor voice, it features a challenging solo.

No evidence shows that the mass was ever performed in Czernowitz during Mandyczewski’s lifetime, although he had a vague plan to bring it home which he shared with his sister: “Perhaps there is a chance that I could get the piece performed

²¹² “Mit einem Chor (die Messe ist nur für Chor und Orgel geschrieben) der aus einigen Bekannten und Verwandten der Dumba und aus mehreren Mitgliedern meines Faberchors bestand und gegen 20 Leute faßte, machten wir bei Dumba in seiner Wohnung zwei Proben und fuhren am Himmelfahrtstage zeitlich früh nach Tattendorf, wo wir diese Messe endlich zur Aufführung brachten. Ich kann es dir gar nicht beschreiben mit welcher Begeisterung all das begabte junge Volk, das ich mir für diesen Zwecke zusammengestellt hatte, an der Aufführung meines Werkes theilnahm. In Folge dessen fielen die Proben und die Aufführung über Erwarten glänzend aus. Wir waren, insbesondere bei der zweiten Probe, bei welcher auch Styrcia und Faber zugegen waren, alle tief ergriffen und erschüttert, und mir standen mehrmals die Thränen in den Augen. Und gar erst noch die Aufführung in Tattendorf! Die Proben waren mit Clavier, der Aufführung kamen die Orgel und die Kirche zu gut. An jenem Tage blieb unsere ganze Schar den ganze Tag in Tattendorf. Beim Mittagessen wurde ich in rührender und herzerhebender Weise gefeiert. Der Chor sang mir zu Ehren eine meiner Compositionen mit einem unterlegten Text, der sich auf die Messe und den unvergeßlich schönen Tag bezog, und es wurde mir ein enormer Strauß von Maiglöckchen überreich, mit der Erinnerungsschleife: ‘Tattendorf, 19. Mai 1887.’” Letter by Eusebius Mandyczewski to his sister Virginia, June 11, 1887, Mandyczewski family correspondence, GdM.

in Czernowitz. Then we will rejoice a second time through it.”²¹³ (The only copy of the score nonetheless survives in Czernowitz, where it arrived after the composer’s death. Its official Czernowitz premiere occurred in 2017.)

Very few accounts give insight into the quality of these performances, as music in services was rarely subjected to published criticism. One description of a performance survived in the form of a letter to the editor, written by an anonymous visitor and published in the *Neue Freie Lehrer-Zeitung* on June 1, 1907. The author introduced himself as an accomplished musician with experience as a singer in major Styrian church choirs (Graz, Marburg). Without indicating these credentials, he had expressed to the conductor of the Church Music Society his wish to sing in the choir in a mass by Reinecke, which the latter declined.²¹⁴ He then followed the service in close proximity to the choir. Our visitor’s verdict was scathing: the choir sang “[...] half reliably on shaky ground,” was “half-and-half trained,” and the sections did not manage to coordinate entries.²¹⁵ He regarded most of the choir singers as silent extras, lamented the tremolos in some female voices, and the fact that a member of local high society sang a solo despite her insufficient skills.²¹⁶ Just a month later, the choir received great praise for two performances on the occasion of its twenty-fifth

²¹³ “Vielleicht kommt es einmal dazu daß ich sie in Czernowitz aufführe. Dann freuen wir uns noch einmal darüber!” Letter Mandyczewski to Virgina, June 11, 1887.

²¹⁴ *Neue Freie Lehrer-Zeitung*, June 1, 1907.

²¹⁵ “Ja, er sang, so professionell, weil es eben sein mußte, so halb sicher mit wackeligen Beinen, halb und halb einstudiert [...] Von präzisen Einsetzen konnte überhaupt keine Rede sein.“ *Neue Freie Lehrer-Zeitung*, June 1, 1907.

²¹⁶ “Die meisten der Sänger und Sängerinnen waren Statisten. [...] Auffällig und ungemein störend wirkte das Tremolieren einiger Damenstimmen, das besonders beim Kirchengesange strengstens vermieden werden muß. [...] An dessen Stelle sang eine Dame aus den oberen Zehntausend ein Sopransolo. [...] vielmehr schoß diese Gnädige solche kolossal Böcke im Ansatz, der Vokalisation und Koloratur, die ein Gesangslehrer einer Schülerin schon in der ersten Gesangsstunde ausstellt [sic].” *Neue Freie Lehrer-Zeitung*, June 1, 1907.

anniversary: “On the occasion the Society performed the difficult mass by Max Filke in the most precise manner. [...] The entire vocal performance attained a degree of perfection that has probably rarely been offered by dilettantes in our Bukovina.”²¹⁷ A number of factors might explain such vastly different reports about the same ensemble within five weeks: the different standards of regular performances for a service with just one or two rehearsals on the one hand and an important festivity on the other; the negative bias of a visitor who felt disregarded versus the cultivation of local pride; and a judgment of the performance exclusively on musical grounds and in the present versus a taking into account of social aspects and development.

*

*Catholic services, even when embellished with a major musical mass to honor a feast day, were considerably shorter than Eastern Orthodox services, so Johann W. had a chance to catch the last hour of the service in Czernowitz’s Cathedral. Nothing he had heard before compared musically to the sound continuum – of pitched sounds! – of an Eastern Orthodox service, even though reciting and chanting were far more common in pre-Vatican-II Catholic services than they are today. An indicator of the importance of choir singing for the Orthodox cult is the fact that training and remuneration of Bukovina’s church singers (“Kirchensänger”) was not only discussed in the papers on several occasions but even brought to the attention of the Austrian parliament.*²¹⁸

²¹⁷ “Dabei brachte der Verein in exaktester Weise die schwierige Messe von Max Filke zur Aufführung. [...] Die ganze Gesangsaufführung erreichte einen Grad der Vollendung, wie er in unserem Buchenlande von Dilettanten wohl selten geboten wird.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 5, 1907.

²¹⁸ E.g. *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, March 28, 1903; *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 29, 1907.

Czernowitz's Cathedral

After almost two decades of construction, Czernowitz's Cathedral was inaugurated in July 1864 with a three-day celebration that also included the laying of the foundation stone for the chapel on the construction site of the Residence of the Eastern Orthodox bishop. It seems the newspaper *Bukowina* wanted to ensure the Czernowitzers would not miss any detail of the upcoming feast (printed here is only the first third of the program):

Saturday, July 4 / 16. 4pm: Little Vespers [...], announced with the Cathedral's third bell. Evening 8pm: Ringing of all bells, full illumination of the church, solemn Vigil (Previgiere) of several hours, celebrated by seven priests and a deacon with the participation of the entire clergy and congregation.
Sunday, [July] 5 / 17. 5am: Ringing of all bells, morning devotion (Matutina Utrenia), great consecration of the water by twelve acting priests and two deacons in the presence of the entire clergy and congregation. 9am: Arrival of the venerable bishop, solemn welcome by the entire ministry and the church procession [...] 9:30am: the act of consecration itself: Accompanied by singing of consecration psalms, washing of the altar stone and the altar table [...] 11pm: Closing of the church, procession through the northern church door [...]²¹⁹

The description provides numerous hints about the sounds heard during the event – specific bells, the number of clergymen involved, and the singing of psalms – but no contemporary press account listed the composer of the music for the occasion. And yet

²¹⁹ “Samstag den 4. / 16. Juli. Nachmittags 4 Uhr: Kleine Vesper [...], angekündigt durch die 3. Glocke der Kathedralkirche. Abends 8 Uhr: Geläute aller Glocken, volle Beleuchtung der Kirche, feierliche mehrstündige Vigilie (Previgiere) fungirt von 7 Priestern und einem Diakon unter Theilnahme der gesammten Geistlichkeit und des Volkes. Sonntag den 5. / 17. Früh 5 Uhr: Geläute aller Glocken, Frühandacht (Matutina Utrenia), große Wasserweihe durch 12 fungirende Priester und 2 Diakonen [sic] unter Anwesenheit der gesammten Geistlichkeit und des Volkes. 9 Uhr: Anlangen [sic] des hochwürdigsten Bischofes, feierlicher Empfang desselben von der gesammten Priesterschaft und der Kirchenprozession [...] Halb 10 Uhr: Der Weiheakt selbst: Unter Absingung der Weihepsalmen, Waschung des Altarsteines und des Altartisches [...] 11 Uhr: Schließung der Kirche, Prozessionszug durch das nördliche Kirchenthor [...]” *Bukowina*, July 15, 1864.

the musical performance on that occasion was likely a first highlight in Czernowitz's music history: the premiere of Karol Mikuli's Eastern Orthodox Liturgy.

Three months earlier, the new chairman of the *Musikverein*, Baron Nikolaus Mustazza, had emphasized the need for the Society to cultivate not only Classical repertory but also "national music," and he had announced an award of fifty gold ducats for the best composition of a Greek Mass (i.e., an Eastern Orthodox liturgy).²²⁰ No direct evidence about the competition (or whether it even took place) survives, but the close temporal proximity makes a connection between Mustazza's initiative and Mikuli's piece plausible.²²¹ Mircea Bejinariu has provided the only detailed analysis of the score (which seems to have gone missing): the piece consists of ten sections, which are all in major mode and exclusively in flat keys or C.²²² He lists as characteristics the aim to create a "simple atmosphere," achieved by means of a predominance of small intervals with only rare leaps in the melody, and a harmonic language that remains largely diatonic and only occasionally resorts to chromaticism.²²³ Some sections feature isorhythmic recitative, while contrasts of tutti and solo as well as recitative and cantabile contribute to the piece's expressivity.²²⁴

²²⁰ "Der neue Vorstand hielt eine längere Ansprache, in welcher er u. A. die Nothwendigkeit hervorhob, neben der klassischen Musik auch die Nationalmusik zu kultiviren, und begann hierauf seine Amtirung einerseits mit der großmütigen Erklärung, daß Er einen Preis von fünfzig Dukaten in Gold demjenigen Musiker bestimme, welcher durch eigene Composition die beste griechische Messe, dem Rituale der griech. orient. Kirche entsprechend, liefern werde, [...]" *Bukowina*, March 2, 1864.

²²¹ Corneliu Buescu considered the fact that no further mention of a competition survives as a possible indication that Mikuli received the commission without a competition (Corneliu Buescu, *Restituiri: Carol Miculi și Tudor Flondor* [Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1977], 77.

²²² The score was allegedly held by the Music Library of the *Uniunii Compozitorilor și muzicologilor din România* (Union of composers and musicologists of Romania). Inquiries in person and via email regarding the whereabouts of the score were to no avail, but a scholar not affiliated with the institution informed me that a considerable share of their collection has been lost in recent decades.

²²³ "[...] scopul urmărit era crearea unei atmosfere simple [...]" Mircea Bejinariu, *Carol Miculi: Viața și activitatea* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 1998), 101.

²²⁴ Bejinariu, *Carol Miculi: Viața*, 101.

Bejinariu concludes that “it is noteworthy that, in the case of this large work, by its very dimensions, it represented an outreach to the public and a kind of musical education. The Romanian text increased the music’s effect among the listeners.”²²⁵

It is no less noteworthy that Karol Mikuli (1821–1897) was not Eastern Orthodox but that the piece was likely his most ambitious sacred composition.²²⁶ Born in Czernowitz, Mikuli studied with Chopin in Paris, became an important editor of his teacher’s music, and rose to fame as a pianist and piano teacher. From 1854 on he was based in Lemberg (L’viv), first as head of the Galician Music Society, later as founder and director of the city’s music conservatory. His diverse background and cultural affiliations later made him the target of numerous (often exclusive) national claims: his father’s ethnic lineage was Armenian, his mother was German, and he was baptized in Czernowitz’s Roman Catholic church (as the Armenian community did not have its own church at the time; as has been mentioned, Czernowitz’s Armenian community had partly merged with the Poles, and these “Armenopoles” spoke Polish).²²⁷

Mikuli’s compositional oeuvre, predominantly piano music, songs, and choir pieces, casts a wide cultural net. The prominence of music associated with Polish culture mirrors on the one hand his affiliation with Chopin, who influenced his piano music with respect to style and choice of genre (Nocturnes, Mazurkas, and

²²⁵ “Este de remarcă, în cazul acestei lucrări ample, faptul că prin înseși dimensiunile pe care le avea, ea reprezenta o deschidere spre public și un mod de educare muzicală a acestuia. Textul în limba română sporea efectul muzicii în rândul auditorilor.” Mircea Bejinariu, *Carol Miculi: Viața și activitatea* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 1998), 101.

²²⁶ Alternative spellings: Carol Miculi (in Romanian publications) or Charles Mikuli (in French ones).

²²⁷ Ferenc László, “Carol Miculi in der musikgeschichtlichen Literatur Rumäniens,” *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Mitteilungen der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Leipzig* 5 (November 1999): 165.

Polonaises), and on the other hand his career in a Polish-dominated city for which he wrote several choral pieces to Polish texts.²²⁸ Romanian culture is not only represented in the Liturgy for Czernowitz and a few other vocal pieces, but also in Mikuli's four sets of character pieces, titled each *Douze airs nationaux roumains (Ballades, chants des bergers, airs de danse etc.)* (Twelve National Romanian Tunes [ballades, shepherd songs, dance songs etc.]).²²⁹ Ferenc László has evaluated Mikuli's ties to Romanian identity, demonstrating that the claims by Romanian scholars of Mikuli as ethnic Romanian have no factual basis, but emphasizing his engagement with Romanian culture and importance for Romanian music history.²³⁰ In addition to the liturgy and piano music, Mikuli composed numerous songs, mostly in German, but also in Polish, Romanian, and French.

Two questions remain regarding Mikuli's liturgy: one about the instrumentation, the other pertaining to the exact premiere date. The score inspected by Bejinariu contained an instrumental accompaniment, which Bejinariu considered apocryphal.²³¹ A violation of the Orthodox ban on music instruments during the consecration ceremony is unlikely, even more so in light of Mandyczewski's letters to his father on that subject (see Ch. 3). But who added instruments to the score, and for what purpose? Was the remainder of Bejinariu's score an autograph by the composer? The premiere date given by Bejinariu, "July 4 / 17, 1864" is flawed: the Julian 4th is not the same as the Gregorian 17th, yet both are dates on which ceremonies associated

²²⁸ For example, a "Hymn Jubileuszowy" to commemorate the victory of the Polish King John III Sobieski over the Ottomans at the 1683 Battle of Vienna (a perfect occasion for a celebration in Habsburg Galicia, as it commemorates the Polish heroism for an Austrian cause).

²²⁹ Charles Mikuli [Karol Mikuli], *Douze airs nationaux roumains (Ballades, chants des bergers, airs de danse etc.)* (L'viv: Wild [Vol. 1], and Kallenbach [Vols. 2–4], [undated]).

²³⁰ László, "Carol Miculi in der musikgeschichtlichen Literatur Rumäniens," 164–6.

²³¹ László, "Carol Miculi in der musikgeschichtlichen Literatur Rumäniens," 175.

with the cathedral's consecration took place. It is unlikely that the score contained the false double-dating, but if it was dated at all, which of the two did it contain?

When Bejinariu suggested that the choice of Romanian as the language of Mikuli's liturgical composition was a means to engage the congregation, he glossed over the fact that this congregation did not share a single vernacular. In fact, language choices would become the most contested matter in and around the Cathedral in subsequent decades, with musical performances frequently providing the trigger for conflict. In the first decades after the Cathedral's opening, Romanian prevailed, as the Romanians enjoyed considerably more representation in positions of power (e.g. among the local landowners), and one of the most important proponents of the Orthodox Church, Sylvester Morariu-Andriewicz, was an advocate for the Romanian cause, first as presatcacher in the Cathedral and later as archbishop (1880–95).²³² Depending on the church's leadership, Ruthenian demands for greater representation, increasingly prominent in the decades around 1900, met with either resistance or understanding.²³³

Two examples illustrate the nature of the conflicts that arose in a musical context. The first is a report on the music that was performed when Basil Repta, a conciliatory figure, was inaugurated as archbishop in November 1902:

In the Cathedral, the 28th Psalm set to music by Bortnianski was performed in the Slavic language in a beautiful and uplifting manner by a large choir, consisting of 180 students of the teachers' training college in Czernowitz and

²³² Satco and Niculică, *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 3, 594–5.

²³³ See for example, "Die Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina," *Bukowinaer Post*, January 25, 1914; Turczynski, "Vereine, Interessenverbände und Parteien in der Bukowina," 890–891.

directed by its choir master, the voice teacher Emanuel Worobkiewicz. [...] [The choral society] Armonia performed a psalm and the people's anthem.²³⁴

Thus both languages were represented in the music for the ceremony: Church Slavonic in the student choir, Romanian in the psalm sung by the Romanian choir *Armonia* (and perhaps also the anthem). However, a few weeks later the *Post* reported on complaints against the choir *Armonia* for having consistently responded in Romanian whenever the priests initiated a responsory in Church Slavonic.²³⁵ The charge was serious given that *Armonia* had received additional subsidies from the Crown Land government three years before upon declaring the intent to include Church Slavonic in its church singing practice.²³⁶

The musical equilibrium in the Cathedral remained fragile even during Repta's reign, as a sequence of open choral hostilities a decade later revealed. When the Cathedral choir was dismissed in early September of 1913, students of Czernowitz's (Romanian) Third High School and a teacher of the Ukrainian department at the teachers' college approached the church official in charge independently with an offer to substitute for the choir.²³⁷ The church official, Calistrat Coca, gave detailed

²³⁴ "In der Kathedrale wurde der von Bortnianski in Musik gesetzte 28. Psalm von einem Massenchor, bestehend aus 180 Zöglingen der Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Bildungsanstalt in Czernowitz unter Leitung ihres Chorleiters, des Gesangslehrers Emanuel Worobkiewicz [sic] in slavischer Sprache in ebenso schöner als erhebender Weise gesungen. [...] Die Armonia brachte einen Psalm und die Volkshymne zum Vortrag." *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, November 11, 1902.

²³⁵ "Die Veranlassung hiezu gab der Verein 'Armonia,' indem er bei der Installation des Erzbischofs in der Kathedralkirche die ruthenische Sprache gar nicht berücksichtigte und auf das Celebriren [sic] in der ruthenischen Sprache seitens der Prieser die Repusorien [sic] stets in der rumänischen Sprache sang." *Bukowinaer Post*, January 6, 1903.

²³⁶ "Laut Sitzungsbericht des Buk. Landtages vom 29. März 1899 [...] hat damals Abg. Dr. Zurkan den Antrag gestellt, daß mit Rücksicht darauf, daß der Verein Armonia sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, den Kirchengesang auch in ruthenischer Sprache zu pflegen, demselben nebst der Subvention von jähr. 75 fl. die Subvention zur Anschaffung von Noten von 100 fl. auf 200 fl. erhöht werde. Der Antrag wurde hierauf einstimmig angenommen." *Bukowinaer Post*, January 6, 1903.

²³⁷ Letter by C[alistrat] Coca to the Episcopal Consistory from October 2, 1913, DACHO, f. 320, op. 1/4504.

instructions for an arrangement that included both choirs: the choir masters of both schools had to be present for the services; the choirs should execute the responsories in the language initiated by the liturgy's priest; and while the larger choral pieces should be divided between the two choirs or languages in a fixed arrangement, the language for two central pieces, including the Lord's Prayer, should alternate each Sunday.²³⁸ The compromise failed after two peaceful services (according to Coca, the Ruthenian teachers' college choir abandoned the prescribed order), a failure that resulted in vociferous arguments between the choirs during the service on September 28.²³⁹ A week later, not the service itself, but its immediate aftermath provided the occasion for conflict: no incident occurred during the singing of the Austrian Anthem in Romanian, but when a new choir performed the anthem in Ruthenian thereafter, the students from the Ruthenian teachers' college choir, who had been strictly barred from any singing, joined in from their spots among the congregants.²⁴⁰ A police

²³⁸ "1. Beide Chöre dürfen nur unter verantwortlicher Leitung seitens eines der betreffenden Anstalt angehörenden Lehrers den Chorgesang in der Kathedalkirche ausüben. [...] 2. Die Chöre haben die Responsorien in jener Sprache zu exekutieren, in welcher der liturgisierende Priester die vorgeschriebenen Gebete spricht, das ist rumänisch beziehungsweise slawisch. 3. Die größeren, liturgischen Tonstücke sind in der Weise zum Vortrag zu bringen, daß in der rumänischen Sprache [list of pieces] ... in der slawischen Sprache [list of pieces], während die Tonstücke ‚Sfinte D-zeule ...‘ [sic] und ‚Tatăl nostru‘ an einem Feiertage rumänisch am folgenden Sonntage slawisch zu singen sind." Letter by Calistrat Coca, October 2, 1913.

²³⁹ "Die obigen, vom Unterzeichneten getroffenen Anordnungen wurden auch tatsächlich von beiden Chören während des Gottesdienstes am 8/21 und 14/27 September befolgt. Sonntag den 15./28. September jedoch hat der ruthenische Chor die in Rede stehende Disposition außeracht gelassen und die liturgischen Gesänge nach seinem Willen vorgetragen. Da nun der rumänische Chor gegen eine solche Eigenmächtigkeit protestierte, kam es zwischen den beiden Chören zu lärmenden Auseinandersetzungen, die vor den in der Kirche anwesenden Andächtigen nicht unbemerkt bleiben konnten und einen peinlichen Eindruck hervorriefen." Letter by Calistrat Coca, October 2, 1913.

²⁴⁰ *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 5, 1913.

investigation on account of obstructing religious observance was initiated but soon dismissed.²⁴¹

Given such tensions, musical projects that catered to both linguistic communities must have carried additional weight. One such project was a publication from 1896 of “simple liturgical songs” for two-part male choir, which identifies Isidor Worobkiewicz and Eusebius Mandyczewski as joint composers.²⁴² The cover of the little book is adorned with titles in both Romanian and Ruthenian, and each opening features a Romanian version on the left side and a Church Slavonic one on the right. The short and simple settings were intended for rural parish churches. In light of their biographies and oeuvre, these two composers were ideal choices for the task, as they had close ties to both languages and communities. Other projects that could be apprehended in the context of their contributions to conflict management were Mandyczewski’s liturgies in two languages from 1910 and the performance of his liturgy in Greek in 1913 on the occasion of the school celebrations (see Ch. 3; *examples of the beautiful music that Johann W. could listen to in the Cathedral are treated in that chapter as well*).

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National Houses

No less unique to Czernowitz than this mosaic of houses of prayer, but even more astonishing for a tourist from Vienna, were the city’s so-called *Nationalhäuser*

²⁴¹ Letter by the police marshall to the archepiscopal consistory, November 20, 1913, DAChO, f. 320, op. 1/4504.

²⁴² Isidor Worobkiewicz and Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Cântări liturgice ușoare pentru voci bărbățești destinate pentru bisericile rurale* (Czernowitz: Archepiscopal Publishing House, 1896).

(“National Houses”). In 1913, there were five of them: the Ukrainian House (opened 1887), the Romanian House (1900), the Polish House (1905), the Jewish House (1908), and the German House (1910). Four of the houses were newly built for their purpose as National Houses; only the Romanian House was an adaptation in 1900 of the former *Hotel Weiss*.

The National Houses have been central in attempts to assess the nature of Czernowitz’s socio-cultural structure as their existence and activities have served as the basis for arguments of two opposite poles in writings on Czernowitz: as testimony to outstanding tolerance and multicultural collaboration on the one hand, and as evidence for a “tense multiculturality” on the other. Those who highlighted the city’s tolerant atmosphere emphasized that each house, despite the dedication to an individual national culture, hosted events associated with other national cultures (most prominently, some of the sessions of the Yiddish Language conference took place in the Ukrainian House).²⁴³ The arguments about cultural tension focus on the national organizations and student fraternities that had their homes in the houses, among them decidedly radical ones with divisive agendas.²⁴⁴

A glance at the events with music hosted at National Houses already confirms a degree of permeability: for example, there were frequent performances of Yiddish theater in the festival hall of the German House, which was also the location for numerous Romanian and Polish balls; and the Catholic German student fraternity *Frankonia* held its *Weihnachtskommers* (Christmas ceremonial session) in the Polish

²⁴³ *Bukowinaer Post*, August 30, 1908.

²⁴⁴ Raimund Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz* (Hilden: WJK-Verlag, 2013), 49.

House.²⁴⁵ At least one supranational organization had its home in a National House: the *Schlaraffia*, a society dedicated to the wide spectrum of friendship, art, and humor, had rooms in the German House.²⁴⁶ Of course, external events were a source of income for the Houses as external organizers paid rent, but the possibility of such deals at least confirms that the Houses did not understand their national agendas in an all-too-literal, territorial sense. Even explicitly national events from one of the other ‘national’ cultures were held at National Houses: on April 12, 1913, the German House hosted a concert to honor the Ukrainian national poet Taras Schwetschenko, with a program “that should not only prompt Ukrainian nationals (*Ukrainisch-Nationalen*), but also other lovers of Ukrainian music to attend the concert.”²⁴⁷

Another culture that existed in many other places in the Habsburg Empire but had an exceptionally diverse flavor and sonic manifestation in Czernowitz was that of student fraternities. These communities were separated by differences of language, faith, and political commitment, but shared to some extent a set of practices and traditions and they were even occasionally united for academic events. A visitor like Johann W. would have noticed their visual and sonic omnipresence in Czernowitz, which even granted the city the honorific of a “Heidelberg of the East” (alluding to that city’s fame as a student city with an omnipresent fraternity culture). Fraternity

²⁴⁵ *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, December 19, 1907.

²⁴⁶ Сергій Осачук [Sergij Osatschuk], *Німці Буковини* [Germans in Bukovina], *Історія Товариського Руху (друга Половина XIX-початок XX Ст.)* (Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi University, 2002), 217; Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 128.

²⁴⁷ “Das reichhaltige Programm, welches durch die sorgfältige Zusammenstellung und die Mitwirkung einer Opersängerin des Stadttheaters an Interesse gewinnt, sollte nicht nur die Ukrainisch-Nationalen, sondern auch andere Liebhaber der ukrainischen Musik zum Besuche dieses Konzertes veranlassen.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 10, 1913. See also Sergij Osatschuk, “Das Deutsche Haus in Czernowitz – Mittelpunkt des national-kulturellen Lebens der Bukowina-Deutschen,” 9–42 in *Hundert Jahre ‘Deutsches Haus in Czernowitz: Eine Jubiläumsschrift*, ed. Raimund Lang and Sergij Osatschuk (Innsbruck: Verlag der Katholischen Czernowitzer Pennäler, 2010), 25.

members wore student caps and ribbons, and they often practiced their song repertory in public.²⁴⁸

While the birth hour of Czernowitz's student fraternities coincided with the inauguration of the city's university in 1875, the opening celebrations could nonetheless already draw on a "Bukowinian student song repertory." In 1868, students from Bukowina in Vienna had founded the *Bukowiner Studentenverein* (Bukovina Student Society; from 1874 known as *Landsmannschaft Bukowina*).²⁴⁹ Raimund Lang characterized this organization as follows: "The political orientation was German Austrian, the members were recruited among all Bukovinian ethnicities, and they could cultivate their own languages in the society."²⁵⁰ (The combination of an acceptance of German Austrian cultural and political leadership while advocating a future emancipation of one's own culture was common within many intellectual circles of non-German Austrians at that time.) Very little survives from this fraternity, but a few of its songs were printed in the *Commersbuch der Wiener Studenten* (Songbook of Viennese Students) from 1880.²⁵¹ The society's fraternity song ("Bundeslied") was composed by Eusebius Mandyczewski to a text by Josef Wiedmann and praises the Crown Land as a watch guard in the Empire's East and a

²⁴⁸ The German city of Heidelberg is particularly famous for its tradition of student fraternities, immortalized in Wilhelm Meyer-Förster's 1901 play "Alt-Heidelberg." The play was the basis for Sigmund Romberg's Broadway operetta *The Student Prince* (1924) and for several movies shot on both sides of the Atlantic.

²⁴⁹ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 33–4.

²⁵⁰ "Die politische Ausrichtung war deutsch-österreichisch, die Mitglieder rekrutierten sich aus allen bukowinischen Volksgruppen und konnten auch innerhalb des Bundes ihre Muttersprachen pflegen." Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 33.

²⁵¹ No archival materials of the *Studentenverein* and the *Landsmannschaft Bukowina* survive (in an E-mail from April 2, 2019, the Austrian State Archive informed me that the loss of files relating to these organizations is a result of the fire in the Palace of Justice in 1927).

pioneer of Austria's might (the duo would later collaborate on the cantata *Im Buchenland*, on which see Ch. 3).²⁵²

Of the numerous songs that were premiered at, dedicated to, or rewritten for the inauguration celebrations of the university in 1875, most copied a relatively apolitical (if culturally Germanic) repertory in use in other German-language cities, while others specifically served Bukovina ideologies, celebrating diversity, supranationality, or a “German mission in the East.” For the most famous student song, *Gaudeamus igitur*, the German philologist Gustav Schwetschke wrote an entirely new Czernowitz version.²⁵³ The official feast song for the commercium, “Verwundert hebt der Pruth sein Haupt” (Bewildered Pruth Lifts His Head) was commissioned by the aforementioned *Landsmannschaft Bukowina* and composed by Rudolf Weinwurm to a text by Joseph Victor Scheffel. Weinwurm was active as a composer and choir master in Vienna, while Scheffel was a widely read German author celebrated for his texts to student songs. The song narrates the amazement of the personified river Pruth about the transformation of Czernowitz into a university town. It praised twice the community of different cultures in Czernowitz (first as one of people of “Ruthenian, German, and Romanian blood, a community of many tongues” and later as a place “colorful in languages, but equal in spirit [Geiste]”) and applauded Austria for bringing knowledge to the East.²⁵⁴ Also for the inauguration,

²⁵² “... im fernen Osten hält sie Wacht auf altbewährten Bahnen, ein Pionier für Oest'reichs Macht ...” *Commersbuch der Wiener Studenten*, ed. Max Breitenstein (Wien: Hölder, 1880), 444–5. Two other songs by Mandyczewski are printed in this songbook, *Die Feuerprobe* (Trial by fire; lyrics: Wenzel Wenhart) and *Hymne an Österreich* (Hymn to Austria; lyrics: Anastasius Grün); a connection to *Landsmannschaft Bukowina* or one of Czernowitz's fraternities has not been established.

²⁵³ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 132–3.

²⁵⁴ “... Ruthenisch, deutsch, rumänisch Blut / Vielzünftig miteinander!” “Heil dir gewaltig Österreich, / Heil Wissen, dir im Osten, / In Sprachen bunt, im Geiste gleich / Zieh'n wir am Pruth auf Posten: [...]”

Karl Emil Franzos contributed the lyrics to a song that celebrated a German cultural colonization of the East. The poem celebrates a very young queen, only a few days old (thus a quite obvious metaphor for the new university) and the daughter of a noble, blond and blue-eyed father, and a local mother with brown hair (the background of the father needed no explanation, while that of the mother is left open to potentially include both Ruthenians or Romanians).²⁵⁵ The melody used for the song was the one that Friedrich Silcher had composed for Heine's *Lied von der Loreley*, a connection that must have impressed upon the students the seductive allure of their new alma mater.

In the subsequent decades, several local composers and poets contributed to the song repertory of the fraternities. Legal historian Friedrich Schuler von Libloy (1827–1900), who served as Czernowitz's university rector twice, wrote the lyrics, and Hřimalý the music to the song "Mein Österreich," dedicated to the supranational fraternity *Akademische Lesehalle*.²⁵⁶ The song celebrated multilingualism and declared Austria a League of Nations ("Völkerbund von Österreich"), but also asserted the German foundations of the Habsburg Empire.²⁵⁷ A duo of two local celebrities created another song for the *Lesehalle*, O. J. Nussbaum (recte Anton Norst), an important local journalist and poet, and composer Isidor Worbkiewicz; it was an occasional piece for

("Vivat, Crescat, Floreat Universitas Czernoviensis! Fest- und Commers-Lieder zum 4., 5. und 6. October 1875" [Program of the Commertium] [Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1875], 24).

²⁵⁵ "Der Vater ein edler Recke, blauäugig mit goldenem Haar / [...] doch am Pruth einer braunen Schönen gewann er das ganze Herz." Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 136.

²⁵⁶ "Liedertext für den am 28. Mai 1892 stattfindenden Fest-Commers [...]" (Czernowitz: Czopp, 1892), 1v. According to a report in the *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, the *Lesehalle* had commissioned the text from the rector, who was an honorary member and supporter of the fraternity (*Bukowinaer Rundschau*, May 24, 1891).

²⁵⁷ "Dein Bauherr war das deutsche Wort, [...]" (Your builder was the German word; "Liedertext 1892," 1v).

a celebration to honor Schuler von Libloy's fortieth jubilee as academic teacher.²⁵⁸

The same celebration also saw a performance of another recently composed song, "Bukowina" by Moritz Amster and Heinrich Josef Vincent, which explores the Crown Land's natural beauties and culminates in a verse that praises sounds that promote harmony: "And the joyfully moved sounds roam through the entire land / until they wrap around us true concord's tight ribbon."²⁵⁹ Hřimalý also composed the fraternity song for another supranational student fraternity, the *Corps Alemannia*, to lyrics by Eugen d'Albon.²⁶⁰ As Raimund Lang has pointed out, it is the rare instance of a student song that is partially through-composed (i.e. the music first repeats after two stanzas),²⁶¹ and the four-part song is generally among the more ambitious pieces in this repertory.

Even the song repertory of Czernowitz's "ethnic" fraternities displayed some noteworthy transcultural exchanges. It does not come as a surprise that Ciprian Porumbescu wrote the fraternity song (both text and music) for the Romanian fraternity *Junimea*. The song, "Trei colori," was written in 1878 and appeared in a songbook for Romanian students in Vienna in 1880 (and it later had the dubious distinction of becoming Romania's national anthem in the last twelve years of

²⁵⁸ "Liedertext 1892," 1v. Only the text survives.

²⁵⁹ "Und die frohbewegten Klänge grüssend zieh'n durch's ganze Land / Bis sie schlingen um uns alle wahrer Eintracht festes Band." (And the joyfully moved sounds roam through the entire land / until they wrap around us true concord's tight ribbon.) Two versions of the song, one for a capella four-part choir and one for voice (unisono) and piano, survive in the Music Department of the Austrian National Library (Mus.Hs.8837 and M.S.23261-4^o). The song is dated to February 11, 1891 (in both sources).

²⁶⁰ "Farbenlied des akademischen Corps 'Alemannia' in Czernowitz." *Commersbuch der Wiener Studenten*, 388.

²⁶¹ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 150–2.

Ceausescu's rule).²⁶² More surprising perhaps is his engagement to compose the music for the fraternity song of the *Deutscher Klub*, a nationalist German fraternity, in the same year.²⁶³

Everyday Sounds, Everyday Music

The army band, the sounds of bells and religious ceremonies, the omnipresence of numerous languages, frequently sung on the streets by students – all these elements had been part of Czernowitz's soundscape for decades, but in recent years, the sounds of new technologies had gained an increasing presence in the city and accompanied our fictional Johann W. during all of his strolls. Less than a year before his visit, in September 1912, the Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung found this sonic development worth a close examination and concluded that Czernowitz had found its own local color:

Every city has its own sound [Ton], born from the agglomeration of individual noises that are generated by the multifaceted modern life of traffic and industry. Also Czernowitz, this baby among metropolises, already has its voice, which receives its own color from the peculiar local utterances of life.²⁶⁴

Musical metaphors assisted the journalist in his description of the constant sonic impulses that characterized the booming city:

²⁶² Ciprian Golembiowski-Porumbescu, *Colecțiune de cântece sociale pentru studenții români* (Vienna, 1880).

²⁶³ Lang, *Couleur in Czernowitz*, 153. Paul Tiefenthaler cited these seemingly incompatible engagements as evidence for Bukovina's tolerance (see Ch. 4).

²⁶⁴ "Jede große Stadt hat ihren eigenen Ton, der aus der Verdichtung und Durchdringung der Einzelgeräusche, welche das vielgestaltige moderne Verkehrs- und Betriebsleben hervorbringt, geboren wird. Auch Czernowitz, dieses Großstadtbaby, hat schon seine Stimme, die aus den besonderen örtlichen Lebensäußerungen eigene Färbung erhält." *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 17, 1912.

In a hundred individual sounds and chords the city noise reaches the upper floors through the windows. What affects our ears down below in overwhelming immediacy softens upstairs to gentle harmonies, and it has its own allure to sit by the open window at nightfall to listen to the music of this nascent metropolis. [...] One distinguishes between the long drawn-out humming tone of the electric tram, the rattling of the car engines, the brisk thudding of the horse hooves on the cobbles, the moaning, crunching, and rumbling of the heavy carriages, the distant allure and threat of steam sirens, and inbetween the snorting chord of various indefinable sounds [...]: the breath of the city. And then again a chord of individual pitches, [...] and then for a while an immersion into the thunderous basic chord [Grundakkord] as into the sea [...] It is the symphony of the modern city. – – ²⁶⁵

A twist in these descriptions proved that all the poetic effort served the author to voice disapproval about a “new sound in the modern city symphony,” that of the gramophone:²⁶⁶

Here a tremolo soprano voice, there a twanging tenor, somewhere further the rasping sound of a variété clown, then again the tinny sounds of a dyspnoeic brass orchestra, the teeth-grinding singing of a bear trainer, the melting sound of a gypsy tune, twittering, the tolling of the bells, now even a sanguine operetta waltz, played by the gramophone and – also! – accompanied on the piano by the daughter of the house: all this strives in noble competition to impress itself on the mind [Gemüt] of the leisurely stroller and agonizes him with the ruthless elemental force of lifeless things.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ “In hundert Einzelklängen und Akkorden dringt der Lärm der Stadt durch die Fenster der oberen Stockwerke ein. Was unten mit überwältigender Unmittelbarkeit auf das Gehör einwirkt, dämpft sich nach oben zu leisen Harmonien, und es hat seinen eigenen Reiz bei einbrechender Dunkelheit am offenen Fenster zu sitzen und der Musik dieser werdenden Großstadt zu lauschen: der Musik von Czernowitz. [...] Da unterscheidet man den langgezogenen summenden Ton der elektrischen Tramway, das Rattern der Automobilmotore [sic], das hurtige Aufschlagen von Pferdehufen auf das Pflaster, das Ächzen, Knirschen und Poltern der Schwerfuhrwerke, und ferne Locken und Drohen der Dampfsirenen, und dazwischen den schnaubenden Akkord verschiedener undefinierbarer Töne [...]: der Atem der Stadt. Und dann wieder ein Zusammenklingen der Einzeltöne, ein sich Durchdringen, und dann für eine Weile ein Untertauchen in den brausenden Grundakkord wie in ein Meer [...] Es ist die Symphonie der modernen Stadt. – –” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 17, 1912.

²⁶⁶ “Seit etlichen Jahren aber schwingt ein neuer Ton in der modernen Stadtsymphonie mit: [...]”

Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, September 17, 1912.

²⁶⁷ “Hier eine tremolierende Sopranstimme, dort ein näselnder Tenor, etwas weiter die krächzende Stimme eines Varieteecloawns, dann wieder die blechernen Töne eines kurzatmigen Bläserorchesters, der zähneknirschende Sang eines Bärenführers, eine schmelzende Zigeunerweise, Vogelgezwitscher, Glockenläuten, nun gar ein leichtblütiger Operettenwalzer, vom Grammophon gespielt und – auch! – von der Tochter des Hauses am Klavier accompagniert – –; all dieses ist in edlem Wettstreit bemüht, auf das Gemüt des gemächlichen Spaziergängers zu wirken und ihn mit der mitleidlosen elementaren Gewalt der leblosen Dinge zu martern. –” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 17, 1912.

At the end of his rant the author thus reminded his readers of the instrument that had previously provided the main musical soundtrack to walks in the city, the piano. While some moments in his analysis (the indiscriminate repertory, the idea of lifelessness) prefigure Adorno's writings on the gramophone, our journalist does not present the live music from the piano as a better alternative: the piano is still too omnipresent to inspire sentimentality, and the gramophone too new to suggest a process at the end of which, according to Adorno, "the bourgeois family [...] gathers around the gramophone in order to enjoy the music that it itself – as was already sometimes the case in the feudal household – was no longer able to perform."²⁶⁸

Just six years prior to the soundscape-and-gramophone essay, in December 1906, the *Bukowinaer Post* featured a similar feuilleton in an attempt to explore what the newspaper considered the most widespread musical phenomenon in the Crown Land: piano music. The point of departure for the essay is the "Viljalied" from Lehár's *The Merry Widow*, a piece from an operetta that had premiered just the year before and seems to have been omnipresent in the Crown Land. The journalist described the piano culture in small villages, with a repertory mostly of famous pieces from opera and operetta (Weber, Meyerbeer, Millöcker, and Sullivan), but also the occasional showing of a "small, pale flower of solid music," i.e. sonatinas by Kuhlau and Clementi, the educational repertories by Czerny, Bertini, and Burgmüller, and Classical sonatas. After having examined smaller venues, the report tackled Czernowitz, where the relative density of piano supply is the highest in the province. Poised with irony and hyperbolic descriptions, the poetic invitation to a musical walk

²⁶⁸ Theodor Adorno, "The Curves of the Needle," 271–275, in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 272 (translation modified).

in the city nonetheless also gives plausible insight into the vivid presence of piano culture:

Czernowitz is a forest of pianos. I failed with my attempt to establish their number; no mode of counting proved of value. But the consumption, the genre of music, and the type of cultivation could be identified quite easily. When one has been to so and so many salons and piano rooms, and when one does contemplative walks in the city, equipped with some knowledge of the piano literature and with open ears, one obtains a fairly accurate image of the musical activities in the city.

[...] One can hear all manners of playing and styles, from the most trivial hit song to a Bach fugue, from the oldest salon piece to a Reger sonata.

[...] Beethoven's sonatas, Bach's inventions, the smaller compositions of Schumann are being performed here with infinite love and dedication.

Alongside *Fidelio*, the *Meistersinger*, Beethoven's symphonies, Schubert's C major Symphony, and Brahms's Sextet for piano four-hands. And, wonderful – again *Vilja*, the wood-maiden, whispers to us ...²⁶⁹

This description of a Kakanian “green lowland of pianos” also mentioned the societal incentive behind much music making, in a critical aside on salon culture:

In the salon of the elegant lady there is a cult of Bach, Schumann, Wagner, or Beethoven, depending on what master's bust fits to the milieu, the furniture of the salon. Music must be, as a necessary requirement of ‘society,’ and the noblesse of taste must be displayed – so the classical music shall begin. Yet one should not generalize; there are salons, where precious music gets performed with honest enthusiasm and real connoisseurship.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ “Czernowitz ist ein Wald von Klavieren. Ein Versuch, ihre Anzahl festzustellen, ist mir mißlungen; kein Modus des Zählens hat sich bewährt. Aber der Konsum, die Gattung der Musik und die Art der Pflege waren ziemlich leicht zu ermitteln. Wenn man in so und so vielen Salons und Klavierzimmern gewesen ist und wenn man beschauliche Spaziergänge durch die Stadt macht, mit einiger Kenntnis der Klavierliteratur und mit offenen Ohren ausgerüstet, so gewinnt man bald ein ziemlich genaues Bild vom musikalischen Treiben der Stadt. [...] Die Sonaten von Beethoven, die Inventionen von Bach, die kleineren Kompositionen von Schumann werden hier mit unendlicher Liebe und Hingebung gespielt. Daneben *Fidelio*, die *Meistersinger*, die Symphonien von Beethoven, die C-dur Symphonie von Schubert und das Sextett von Brahms vierhändig. Und, wunderbar – wieder säuselt uns *Vilja*, das Waldmägdelein, entgegen ...“ “Klaviermusik in der Bukowina,” *Bukowinaer Post*, December 25, 1906. Raimund Lang reprinted part of this essay in his 2011 booklet on musicians from Czernowitz (Raimund Lang, *Musiker aus Czernowitz: Botschafter einer minder beachteten Kultur* [Innsbruck: Katholische Czernowitzer Pennäler, 2011, 40–43]).

²⁷⁰ “Im Salon der noblen Dame wird ein Bach-, Schumann-, Wagner- oder Beethovenkultus getrieben, ja [sic] nachdem, welches Meisters Büste gerade in's Milieu, zur Garnitur des Salons, paßt. Musik muß sein, sie ist ein notwendiges Erfordernis der ‘Gesellschaft,’ und Noblesse des Geschmacks muß bekundet werden – also los mit der klassischen Musik. Das darf man aber nicht generalisieren; es gibt Salons, wo edle Musik mit aufrichtigem Enthusiasmus und echtem Verständnis gemacht wird.” “Klaviermusik in der Bukowina.”

The most international repertory was found in opera. In a city “flooded with piano scores,” the Italians dominated in this domain, followed by “Carmen, Faust, Figaro, the Huguenots, Manon, and Evangelimann.”²⁷¹ A gendered reception of music usually results in a dismissal, for example with Grieg, whose music the journalist associated with “teenage girls of the kind that find Ibsen ‘sweet.’”²⁷²

The only piece by a composer from Bukovina mentioned in this account received particular narrative attention to intensify the local color. The journalist described how in a small village, the parish priest’s daughter performed a “Hora” from Mikuli’s *Airs nationaux roumains*: “In these false chords, the entire sultry melancholy of her sad days should fade away; the sweet recollection of the last ball of [the student fraternity] Junimea weeps [...] And in these stamping rhythms in the bass trembles her love for the laughing lieutenant.”²⁷³ As everywhere else in this feuilleton, sarcasm and plausible analysis alternate at a quick rate (and their distinction blurs). The attribute of “old, eternally beautiful” seems an honest appreciation of the “Hora,” and the suggestion that the piano had only been tuned four times since being purchased was perhaps only a slight exaggeration.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ “Die Stadt ist überflutet von Klavierauszügen. Neben den vielfach genannten Operetten kommen auch massenhaft viel Opern vor, obenan natürlich die italienischen; dann Carmen und dann dem Grade der Vereitung nach: Faust, Figaro, Hugenotten, Manon, Evangelimann.” “Klaviermusik in der Bukowina.”

²⁷² “Dagegen wird Grieg massenhaft gespielt. [...] Meist sind es Backfische von der Sorte, die Ibsen ‘süß’ finden, die sich in einer allerdings unkontrollierbaren Griegschwärmerei gefallen.” “Klaviermusik in der Bukowina.”

²⁷³ “Da soll die ganze schwüle Schwermut ihrer traurigen Tage ausklingen, in diesen falschen Akkorden; [...] da schluchzt die süße Erinnerung an den letzten Junimeaball [...] Und in diesen stampfenden Rhythmen im Baß bebte ihre lechzende Liebe zum lachenden Leutnant [...]” “Klaviermusik in der Bukowina.”

²⁷⁴ “Sie spielt die alte, ewig schöne Hora lui Goian. [...] und aus dem Kasten steigt leicht beschwiegelt [sic] [...] der weiche Walzer, den auch die Großmutter auf eben diesem Klavier (Alois Kern, Wien

*

Before sending Johann W., our imaginary visitor in the Empire's borderlands, back to Vienna, we need to take stock of the overall sonic impression he received in Czernowitz. The "keynote sounds" in Czernowitz – defined by Murray Schafer as the "sounds that do not have to be listened to consciously; they are overheard but cannot be overlooked [...]"²⁷⁵ – were likely no musical sounds but sounds at the core of the city's diversity: the endless swirl of several languages combined, but languages that unlike those in a cosmopolitan train station had been given decades to influence one another in vocabulary, structure, and, most importantly, timbre.²⁷⁶ No different was Czernowitz's musical scene: each institution and venue had acquired a local timbre, a fact that was hardly challenged by efforts to align with "national" cultures, but by technological advances.

In André Delvaux's 1968 film *Un soir, un train (One Night ... A Train)*, the sound of a train whistle ends a sequence of events that culminate in the ecstatic dance of a young man, Val, with an enigmatic young woman. The scene is observed by the film's protagonist Mathias, a professor of linguistics, who had recently found himself caught up in the middle of Flemish nationalist language battles. The dancers do not

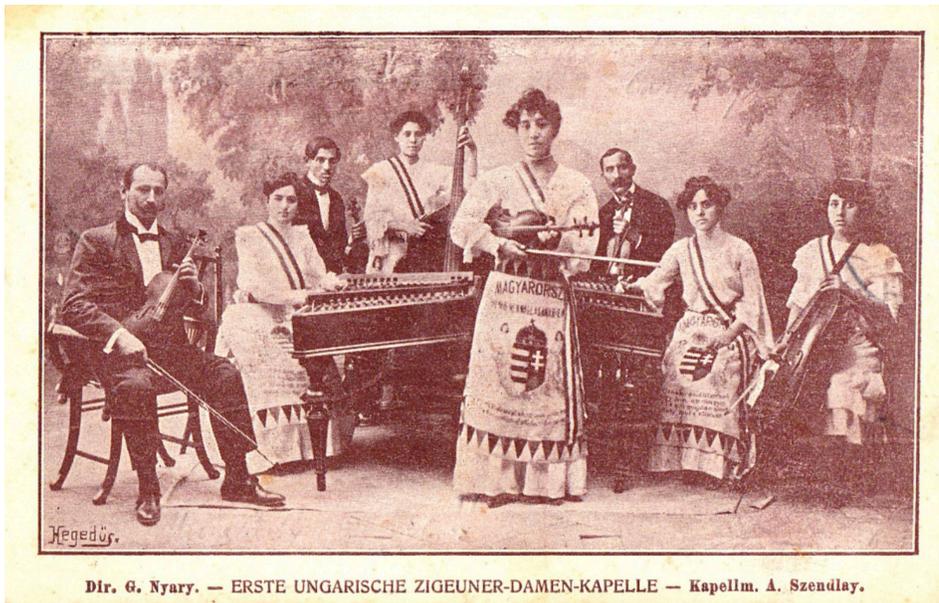
1878, bis dato viermal gestimmt) gespielt hat und der zum eisernen Inventar des Hauses gehört."
"Klaviermusik in der Bukowina."

²⁷⁵ Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny, 1977), 9.

²⁷⁶ Here's one account of many (written by people critical of this form of linguistic acculturation): "Das Deutsch der Bukowiner ist somit eine Mischsprache, es ist ein Fremdendeutsch, so dass es dem deutschen Bukowiner widerfahren kann, in einer deutschen Gegend wegen seiner Aussprache, seiner Redensarten und verschiedenen sprachlichen Eigenheiten für einen Slaven gehalten zu werden." ("The German of the Bukovinians is thus a mixed language, it is a foreigner's German, and it can happen to a German Bukovinian that he is mistaken in a German region for a Slav owing to his pronunciation, his idioms, and various linguistic peculiarities." *Bukowiner Deutsch: Fehler und Eigenthümlichkeiten in der deutschen Verkehrs- und Schriftsprache der Bukowina* (Vienna: Schulbücher-Verlag, 1901), v–vi.

communicate verbally (it seems they do not have a language in common), but a band reacts swiftly and in a precise manner to the non-verbal cues of the female dancer. The young man is overwhelmed by the impression of the dance, its ecstatic nature, a lack of restraint foreign to him. The train whistle ends what turns out to have been a dream.

Johann W. 's journey was not a dream (just fiction!), but, startled by the train whistle when approaching Vienna 's North Station, he was still unable to find words for the musical impressions from his trip to Austria 's Far East.



Dir. G. Nyary. — ERSTE UNGARISCHE ZIGEUNER-DAMEN-KAPELLE — Kapellm. A. Szendlay.

Fig. 5.2: Ladies Band Nyary, a “Hungarin gypsy’s ladies’ band” that performed at Czernowitz’s Hotel Bristol in the summer of 1908 (postcard, undated).

Seite 8

Die „kleinen Anzeigen“ können mit und ohne Adresse erscheinen und sind Anstalt über alle Anzeigen, mit Ausnahme der Hoffotografien, von uns in unserer Administration Czuzenberg-Hauptstraße 11, unentgeltlich mündlich, telefonisch oder brieflich erteilt.

<p>Bergnügungen.</p> <p>Stadttheater.</p> <p>Heute Donnerstag, den 29.:</p> <p>Der polnische Jude. Volksoper in 2 Akten von Karl Weiß, Text nach Edmann-Chartrian.</p> <p>Wochen-Repertoire:</p> <p>Freitag, den 30.:</p> <p>Der Burengeneral. Große Gefangenspieler in 3 Akten von Novini und Baum, Musik von Raimann.</p> <p>Samstag, den 31.:</p> <p>Der polnische Jude. Volksoper in 2 Akten von Karl Weiß, Text nach Edmann-Chartrian.</p> <p>Aufmesser's Okocimer Bierhaus Tempelgasse 3. Konzert der Damen-Kapelle = Hebling. = Entree frei.</p> <p>Okocimer Bierhalle Hauptstraße 48. Konzert einer National-Damenkapelle. Entree frei.</p>	<p>Café-Restaurant „Metropole“ Rathausstraße. Konzert einer berühmten Tamburitza-Kapelle. Entree frei.</p> <p>Restaurant Kofler Ruffischegasse 10. Konzert der beliebten Damen-Kapelle fauster. Entree frei.</p> <p>Restaurant Gross Postgasse 9. Konzert der beliebten Damen-Kapelle Sternbach. Entree frei.</p> <p>Restaurant zum „Weißen Hof“ Pflanzengasse 3. Konzert der Damen-Kapelle Brunner. Entree frei.</p> <p>Korrespondenzen.</p> <p>Heiratsantrag. Ein intelligentes, junges Mädchen, hübsch, Schneiderin, mit einigen hundert Gulden, sucht auf diesem nicht mehr ungewöhnlichen Wege behufs Ehe die Bekanntschaft eines in besserer Stellung befindlichen jungen Mannes. Gest. Anträge unter „Diskretion“ an die Administ. d. Bl.</p>
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Fig. 5.3: Czernowitzer Tagblatt, January 29, 1902; six beer halls and restaurants advertise with music, five of them with ladies’ bands.

Fig. 5.2 and 5.3: Ladies’ Bands in Czernowitz’s Cafés and Beer Halls.



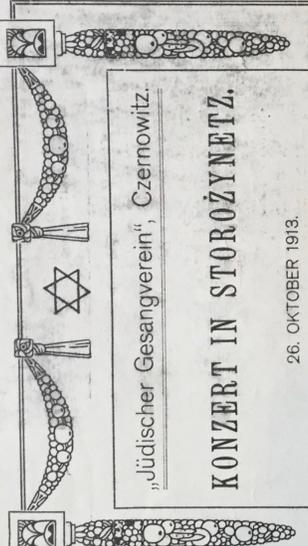
Fig. 5.4 (above): Czernowitz, “Old” City Theater (1878), postcard (undated; printed with kind permission of Helmut Kusdat).

Fig. 5.5 (below): City Theater (1904/5), interior, postcard (undated).



Fig. 5.4 and 5.5: Czernowitz’s theaters, new and old.

Fig. 5.7: Concert program of a concert by Czernowitz's *Jüdischer Gesangverein* (Jewish Singing Society) in Storozynetz (Bukovina), October 26, 1913
 Archive, UCh, printed with kind permission.



„Jüdischer Gesangverein“, Czernowitz.

KONZERT IN STOROZYNETZ.

26. OKTOBER 1913.



PROGRAMM:

- I.
1. BERGMANN: a) „Mischmoir Haiarden“, } Männerchöre.
 b) „Binorenu Uwiskenu“, } Männerchöre, arrangiert von
 2. Volkslieder: a) „Wiegliep“, } Männerchöre, arrangiert von
 b) „Elegie“, } J. ROSENSTECH.
 3. WARSCHAWSKI: a) „Wi halt ich, dus auf“, } Volkslieder,
 b) „Dem milners treuen“, } gesungen v. Herrn
 Sulzer, } Major Sabaner.
 4. SULZER: „Hallelujah“, Psalm 111, Männerchor.
 Tenorsolo: Herr Adolf Wand.
- II.
5. ROSENSTECH: „Des Zionu“, Festmarsch für Männerchor
 (Dem Vereine gewidmet).
 6. a) RUBINSTEIN: Chor a-der Oper „Der Dämon“, } Männer-
 b) Finnisches Volkslied: „Suomis Sang“, } Chöre
 7. a) WARSCHAWSKI: „Sure in Killeh“, } Doppelquartette
 b) ROSENTECH: „Zi der Pastscher“, }
 8. LEWANDOWSKI: „Hallelujah“, Psalm 150, Männerchor.

Dirigent: Chormeister Josef Rosenstech.

Druck: Hornik & Wila, Czernowitz.

Rechtlesen:
 Chor aus der Oper „Der Dämon“.
 Finstere Nacht ist es schon,
 Was das T. verschwindet die.
 Müssen schnell wir fort,
 Weicht erst die Dunkelheit,
 Licht uns der Sonnenstrahl
 Finden die Straße wir
 Leicht zu Quat.
 Lesse so Junge uns
 Tränen im Sonnenlicht
 Schön wird im Sonnenlicht
 Und am Ziele grüßet uns
 Freudenvoll jeder flucht.
 Tänze, Lieber wird man uns weihn.
 Lustens Nacht ist es schon,
 Abends, wenn die Sonne sinkt,
 Wird es Tag, morgen früh
 Müssen schnell wir fort.]

Finnisches Volkslied.
Suomis Sang.
 Hör die mächtigen Klänge schallen.
 Dort in Wainós Runen Hallen:
 Das ist Suomis Sang!
 Hör im Sausalen man sausen,
 Suomiswellen demernd brausen:
 Das ist Suomis Sang!
 In des Nordens eifigen Grenzen
 Sie die Nordensonne glänzen:
 Das ist Suomis Sang!
 An dem Himmelszelt, dem hohen,
 Sieh des Nordlichts Flammen lohen,
 Das ist Suomis Sang!
 Eberall die Weise klingen
 Tief in jedes Herz sie dringen:
 Das ist Suomis Sang!
 Brüder fühlest Du im Herzen!
 Höchste Wonne die sie schmerzen:
 Hör nur Suomis Sang!

צו דער פאמיטישקער
 שגינקע מיידלעך
 רוינגען ערליך
 לעבעדיגע בלום!
 נוב מיר דין שעינקע
 הערצעלעך רוינגען
 געטע מיר ארום!
 וקום וקום אנו קינדער דא
 און בין נאר איינער דא
 איינער אונד
 ריהר דיינע בלינדעך:
 לופעלעך גינדעך:
 קיש מיר מיר קינד!
 דא ביי דעם שייבעלעך
 שעינקע דאס א טאגליך
 לאו דא דין שעינקעלעך
 נעב מיר דאס בעקעלעך
 מון שון א סוף!
 דייליידיגע קינדן בוסט
 וועט פארשן בוסט
 וועט פארשן בוסט
 קום ווי מירן הייבעלעך
 קינד פון נאמור!
 הלום קינד
 הללות הללו אל
 הללות בייקע עו, הללות בגבורת
 הללות כרב גוה, הללות במקע שופ
 הללות בגבל ובעו, הללות בקה וסוה
 הללות במסע וענב, הללות בגלעזי
 שפס הללות בגלעזי חרונה, כל הנשמה
 הללו זה הללות.

5

Tab. 5.1: Ukrainian Theater in Czernowitz in May–July, 1918 (!)	
(Source: <i>Gemeinsame Kriegs-Ausgabe Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung und Czernowitzer Tagblatt</i> (some performances also announced in Буковина (<i>Буковина</i>), May–July, 1918)	
Lemberg Ukrainian National Theater (Director Mrs. Rubczak), City Theater, Czernowitz	
May 18, 8 pm	Artemowskyj, <i>Saporoger jenseits der Donau</i> . Operetta in 3 acts. Niszczynskyj, <i>Weczernyci</i> . Opera in 1 act.
May 19, 3 pm	Kropywnyckyj, <i>Der Sklave</i> . Historical drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 20 [n. t.]	Kropywnyckyj, <i>W I J</i> . Operetta in 4 acts.
May 21 [n. t.]	Korzeniowski, <i>Die Huzulen</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
[n. t.]	Suchodolskyj, <i>Die Wolke</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 22, 8 pm	Saryckuyj, <i>Der moderne Freier</i> . Comedy with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 23, 8 pm	Franko, <i>Gestohlenes Glück</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 24, 8 pm	Saryckuyj, <i>Marusia Bohuslawka</i> . Historical drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 25 [n. t.]	Moniuszko, <i>Halka</i> . Opera in 4 acts.
May 26, 3 pm / 8 pm	Kotlarowskyj, <i>Natalka Poltawka</i> . Operetta in 3 acts. Saryckuyj, <i>Oj ne chody Hryciu ta na weczernyci</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
May 27 [n. t.]	Saryckuyj, <i>Czornomorci</i> . Opera in 3 acts.
May 28, 8 pm	Arkas, <i>Katheryna</i> . Opera in 3 acts.
May 29, 8 pm	Kropuwnyckyj, <i>12 heiratsfähige Töchter</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.
May 30, 8 pm	Moniuszko, <i>Halka</i> . Opera in 4 acts. [First repetition of a performance!]
May 31, 8 pm	Halasewycz, <i>Zigeunerin Aza</i> . Drama with song and dance.
June 1, 8 pm	Arkas, <i>Kateryna</i> . Opera in 3 acts.
June 2, 3 pm	Artemowskyj, <i>Saporoger jenseits der Donau</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.
8 pm	Suchodolskyj, <i>Die Wolke</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
June 3, 8 pm	Kropywnyckyj, <i>W I J</i> . Operetta in 4 acts.
June 4, 8 pm	Saryckuyj, <i>Oj ne chody Hryciu ta na weczernyci</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.

Ukrainian Theater of the Society “Narodnyj Dim,” City Theater, Czernowitz	
July 8, 8 pm	Kocebue, <i>Der Wirrwar</i> . Comedy in 5 acts.
July 9, 8 pm	Tohobocznyj, <i>Die getaufte Jüdin</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 10, 8 pm	Szewczenko, <i>Nazar Stodola</i> . Drama in 3 acts. Niszczynskyj, <i>Weczernyci</i> . Opera in 1 act.
July 11, 8 pm	Kropywnyckyj, <i>Las [sic] dem Herzen keinen Willen</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 12, 8 pm	Janczuk, <i>Der Ziehsohn</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.
July 13, 8 pm	Gordin, <i>Mirale Efros</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 14, 3 pm	Kotlarewskyj, <i>Natalka Poltawka</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.
8 pm	Artemowskyj, <i>Saporoger im Donaugelände</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.
July 15, 8 pm	Manko, <i>Die unglückliche Liebe</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 16, 8 pm	Saryckuyj, <i>Oj ne chody Hryciu ta na weczernyci</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 17, 8 pm	Schnitzler, <i>Liebelei</i> . Drama in 3 acts.
July 18, 8 pm	Tohobocznyj, <i>Die Mutter</i> . Drama in 5 acts.
July 20, 8 pm	Nykolyszyn, <i>Chaos</i> . Drama in 4 acts.
July 21, 8 pm	Karpenko-Karyj, <i>Wer ist schuld?</i> Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 22, 8 pm	Karpenko-Karyj, <i>Der Windbeutel</i> . Farce with song and dance in 4 acts.
July 23, 8 pm	Karpenko-Karyj, <i>Dienstmädchen</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 24, 8 pm	Karpenko-Karyj, <i>Dienstmädchen</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 26, 8 pm	Czubatyj, <i>Auferstehung</i> . Drama in 4 acts.
July 27, 8 pm	Asz, <i>Gott der Rache</i> . Drama in 3 acts.
July 28, 3 pm	Karpenko-Karyj, <i>Der Windbeutel</i> . Farce with song and dance in 4 acts.
8 pm	Kropywnyckyj, <i>Der Sklave</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
July 31, 8 pm	Kotzebue, <i>Der Wirrwar</i> . Farce in 5 acts.
Aug. 3, 8 pm	Gordin, <i>Mirale Efros</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
Aug. 4, 8 pm	Kropywnyckyj, <i>Hüte dich Sklave deines Herzens zu werden</i> . Drama with song and dance in 5 acts.
Aug. 7, 8 pm	Artemowskyj, <i>Saporoger im Donaugelände</i> . Operetta in 3 acts.

Epilogue: A Music Festival in the Borderlands

On August 30, 2017, the Philharmonic Society of Chernivtsi (Czernowitz) held a press conference to promote a two-day festival dedicated to music by Eusebius Mandyczewski, focused on the works that I had recently unearthed at the local university library and in Bucharest. Three musicians, a musicologist, and the director of the Society gathered to answer questions pertaining to these discoveries and the project to get this music performed. “So was Mandyczewski actually Romanian or Ukrainian?” a journalist inquired. One of the musicians on the podium promptly asserted that a professor at the local university had recently heard about the discovery of new documents that proved that both Mandyczewski’s maternal and paternal lineage were Ukrainian. The question followed me on numerous occasions, and the investment in it, as well as the nature of the answer, was indicative of one approach to Czernowitz’s heritage.

Four days later I gave a talk at the music academy in L’viv (Ukraine) on Mandyczewski’s plans to reform Eastern Orthodox Church music, discussing his upbringing as the son of an Orthodox priest and his contributions to the genre in three languages. A second presentation, by the institution’s vice rector, informed the audience that Mandyczewski was really the son of a Greek Catholic priest whose father had originally come from Galicia, which was evidence for Mandyczewski’s Ukrainianness. The paper, which was an article published a few years earlier, also included an aside about foreign researchers who did not know “the” language sufficiently to study the composer’s background. I responded by pointing to original

documents (baptismal, marriage, and death certificates; church books; letters) demonstrating Mandyczewski's adherence to Eastern Orthodoxy. After a long and uncomfortable silence – I later learned that several of the vice rector's colleagues and dissertators were present – the presenter responded that she accepted my point, but that the new task for research was to look into why Mandyczewski's father had been forced to convert from Greek Catholicism to Eastern Orthodoxy.¹

For the Mandyczewski Festival in 2018, I had invited the ethnomusicologist from Suceava (Romania) mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation, but shortly before the event, she canceled the visit “for objective reasons.” Once she had received a few of my published editions two weeks later, she protested that my introductory essays did not sufficiently portray the composer and his environment as Romanian, reminding me that she had previously warned me of the Ukrainians, and concluding that “Czernowitz is Romanian land.” I later learned from a colleague that border crossings were a risky matter for scholars around the time of the 1918 centennial celebrations; that scholar, even though a German citizen, had indeed been warned that she not would have been allowed back to Ukraine had she given a scheduled talk in Romania.

There was no lack of political heat surrounding the 2018 festival, ranging from the side effects of an ongoing war at the national level to tensions resulting from public ceremonies that commemorated some of the most contested moments in the

¹ A few months later, I received the baptismal register that proved that his father had also grown up Eastern Orthodox, and that already Mandyczewski's grandfather was an Eastern Orthodox priest; thus no conversion had taken place in the generation of Mandyczewski's parents (“Colectia de stare civila – Parohia Băhrinești,” No. 1/1802, “Băhrinești Nascuti [Băhrinești Births], 1802–1871,” 70–71, Arhivele Naționale ale României, Suceava, Romania).

history of this borderland. Although punctuated only occasionally by major violent acts, the cultural war between Ukraine and Russia had continued unabated. Ukraine's president Poroschenko had successfully petitioned the Patriarch of Constantinople to be granted an autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Church for Ukraine, an act of secession from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow that was presented in many media as one of the biggest schisms in the history of Christianity. In Ukrainian reality, it mainly altered the affiliations of the Eastern Orthodox Churches: the Church that had previously been under an independent Patriarch of Kiev was accepted by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Church under the Patriarch of Moscow, no longer acknowledged by Constantinople, was declared unwelcome in Ukraine. This latter Church was the larger Orthodox Church in Chernivtsi, in charge of the city's two landmark church buildings, and its nationwide head – Onufriy, the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine – was a native of Chernivtsi. No less divisive were the celebrations to commemorate 1918. In Romanian Southern Bukovina they hailed the establishment of Greater Romania in 1918, which had incorporated all of Bukovina and had thereby crushed the efforts of some Ukrainians to integrate the region's north into a Ukrainian state, and in Northern Bukovina, exactly this establishment of a Ukrainian state – the West Ukrainian People's Republic – and its claim to Czernowitz were celebrated (even though that state was short-lived and its territorial claims were unsuccessful).

Two of the projected festival concerts sat uncomfortably with these political circumstances: one, as it fell between all chairs, and the other, as it had propagandistic potential. My original plan for an event that would integrate five houses of prayer in a

single concert – including two “competing” Orthodox ones – was rejected in the planning stage, and so was my wish to get Mandyczewski’s First Liturgy performed in Chernivtsi’s Cathedral. The latter choice would have been read as favoring one party in the Church conflict (even worse, the Moscow side). As a nod to Czernowitz’s diplomatic history, our concert then took place in the former Armenian Catholic Church, which has been used in recent years as the Philharmonic Society’s secondary concert hall.

In Chernivtsi, a performance of Mandyczewski’s cantata *Im Buchenland* may be seen to negate the present in three ways – as a piece that celebrates a province that no longer exists, as a relic that hails from a time when this province was part of a long-extinct Empire, and as a composition that features the lingua franca of that province’s capital, now rare in that city – but it was nonetheless deemed by some local decision makers as an ideal selection with which to celebrate Ukrainian Independence Day. The intent behind that choice was clearly conveyed to me: Why not celebrate Ukraine’s most important holiday with a Ukrainian composer’s piece dedicated to his Ukrainian home region? The choice of Independence Day as the date for the performance was eventually rejected, as were attempts to dress the choir in Ukrainian costume, and to add a passage in the text in which the concert presenter – who guided the mostly Ukrainian- or Russian-speaking audience through the German-language cantata – would have taken a cue from the original libretto text to ask the audience about its contributions to the current war effort.

The only feature of the actual performance that could have been read as an effort at Ukrainianizing Mandyczewski’s composition was the consequence of an error

of judgment on my part. In order to make Czernowitz's historical repertory more accessible to a current local audience, I involved literary historian and translator Peter Rychlo in a project to set the finale of the cantata in Ukrainian. This new, Ukrainian version of the finale should have been performed as an encore, but with reference to alleged time constraints was chosen to replace the original finale. The musical effect of the bi-lingual version was astounding: after eighty minutes in which choir and soloists performed in a language they barely knew and hardly ever used professionally they switched to their mother tongue (or, in some cases, the language of much of their training). While it was hard to discern the text in either language (which had to do with scoring, balance, and singing style), the newly gained flow – deriving from more relaxed and lyrical phrasing – made all the difference. Yet this version also had another effect: those who had wanted to perform the piece as a national celebration, in national costume, and in support of the war effort, had given the audience the desired interpretive key to the finale, a prayer for the homeland (*Heimat*), as a national dedication. For them, Mandyczewski had returned to his home country Ukraine.²

All of the aforementioned strategies and patterns of argumentation have their equivalents in nationalist discourses around 1900: the vague reference, in order to settle a historical question, to new documents which never see the light of the day; the allegations of forced conversions (in reality likely rare but common in Bukovinian

² When it comes to multilingual pieces, music historians tend to think of bi- or tri-lingual motets in the Middle Ages, where the languages were superimposed; in succession, switches occurred in opera, where performances in 3–5 languages were common, if for pragmatic reasons (for example, the operatic stage in Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, frequently mounted performances of operas in three languages – Polish, Italian, and French – in the second half of the nineteenth century (Philipp Ther, “Das Polnische Theater in Lemberg,” in: *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1915–1914* [Vienna: Oldenburg, 2006], 230). The effect that comes closest to what we have here, I know from French popular song, Charles Aznavour and Serge Reggiani, who both switch languages in their songs to evoke a distant home.

nationalist accounts); and the attempt to gain sovereignty of interpretation for a cultural heritage one claims as one's own. The study of the past in these approaches exclusively served to legitimize current politics, which was confirmed by the reception of my project: nationalists on both sides accused me of being an advocate for the respective other camp; more likely influences (especially within the logic of their own worldview), such as a possible investment in my home country's history, or my status as a dissertator in the US – had less bearing on how I was viewed (my status as a “foreigner” to some degree did).

But this was only one side of the story. Throughout the project, I met locals – among them musicians, scholars, politicians, and librarians – who were interested in the dissertation and festival, supportive of my aim to portray a diverse Czernowitz, or simply delighted about research and concerts that highlighted local culture and history, regardless of any political questions. Most of my musical partners did not want to be involved in any nationalist advocacy, and it was their interventions that prevented the crudest attempts at enlisting Czernowitz's musical heritage in nationalist narratives – including the proposal to announce the finale as the composer's return to his home country Ukraine after a lifelong exile in Austria. The staff at both libraries relevant for the original manuscript scores – the University Library in Chernivtsi and the Academy Library in Bucharest – were professional and welcoming; the librarians from the former institutions – from the director to the service desk staff – regularly attended the concerts. Local dignitaries, among them Sergij Osatschuk, who has recently been promoted to district governor, and the Head of Foreign Affairs at City Hall, Sergij Nezhurbida, assisted me on numerous occasions.

Quite a few of my local colleagues were themselves excluded from recent nationalist constructions: several members of the Philharmonic Choir were members of the Eastern Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow, two of them priests. One musician revealed to me that the politicizing of the Church affiliation had resulted in a questioning of national loyalties in everyday conversation: “Am I no longer a good Ukrainian because I still attend the services of my Church?” With respect to the centennial, members of the local Romanian community were grateful that the festival had resisted attempts to enlist it in these celebrations.

Already the first Mandyczewski Festival, in 2017, featured an attempt to enable the audience to experience the wide array of the composer’s contributions to the city’s cultures. One of the concerts, organized as a walking tour, opened with music for piano four-hands at the Philharmonic Hall, followed by *a cappella* choral music at the Eastern Orthodox Paraskewa Church, and ending with a Mass for tenor, choir, and organ at the Catholic Church of the Exaltation of the Cross (**Fig. 6.1**). The audience heard choral music in five languages – Romanian, Church Slavonic, Greek, Ukrainian, and Latin – and listened to music similar to the music they knew from their own houses of prayer and sounds associated with rural churches in distant Austria or Bavaria, in compositions that drew from both Eastern and Western church music traditions.

The festival in 2018 expanded the scope: a string orchestra concert included the serenade by Vojtěch Hřímalý that he had composed early in his Czernowitz tenure (see Ch. 2) and music by contemporary composers from the region (**Fig. 6.2**). The performance of one piece was enabled by a member of the Jewish diaspora

community, with whom I had gotten in touch via the ehpes listerv. Joe Poras, the grandson of amateur composer Eleonore Poras, financed the re-orchestration by Loren Loiacono of a waltz composed by his grandmother in 1914, which had survived as sheet music for piano. The performance of Mandyczewski's First Liturgy, in Romanian, and the project to record this Liturgy did not meet with resistance. A newspaper interview by a member of the Philharmonic Society involved elsewhere in the festival – titled “Mandyczewski has falsely been considered Romanian” – reiterated the innuendos and bending of facts brought up the year before, but looking back the disruption seems trivial given the possibility to celebrate in a festival the many facets of the city's diverse heritage.

One can hardly map the Chernivtsi of 2018 onto the Czernowitz of 1913, but the experience with the festival undoubtedly sensitized me to the limitations in the reconstruction of the nature of social interactions and mentalities in musical events. For the reconstruction of performances of Mandyczewski's cantatas and liturgies, I could draw on original scores, the composer's letters, and press coverage, but a social dimension akin to the one that colored my overall assessment of the festival projects – resulting from deliberations behind the scenes, musicians' enthusiasm or skepticism, the perception of a selective press coverage, and an increasing awareness of my own selective perception and how it developed during the various stages of the work – was missing.

Had the festivals taken place in the 1910s, and had they been judged by Czernowitz and Bukovina historians from the 1960s onward, advocates of mythologizing accounts as well as those focused on debunking the myth by pointing

out tension and conflict would have found plenty of evidence for their respective viewpoints. On the one hand, the festivals featured music by composers of all large religious denominations in the city, vocal music in six different languages, and performances by musicians with a wide range of backgrounds. On the other hand, it was surrounded by or even a focal point for ethnic and religious conflict, and occurred in a tense political climate.

Or not?

In *Ethnicities without Groups* (2004), Rogers Brubaker has explored the nature of “ethnic conflict,” drawing from his close examination of the identity politics in the Romanian town of Cluj in Transylvania, a neighboring region of Bukovina. Like Bukovina, Transylvania is a diverse borderland, and like Bukovina, its past is considerably more diverse than its present. Brubaker argues for a shift away from analyzing “ethnic conflict” in the terms used by the participants in such conflicts: “the reality of ethnicity and nationhood [...] does not depend on the existence of ethnic groups or nations as substantial groups or entities,” but instead results from a manner of viewing and approaching the world.³ Groups are not stable entities; thus Brubaker proposes to analyze them as events (“groupness as event”); and groups should be clearly distinguished from categories (“Ukrainian” is a category; “the Ukrainians” is a group).⁴ Instead of looking at conflicts between groups, Brubaker calls for an inquiry into group-making processes, organizations that speak for “ethnic groups,” and the framing and coding that turns conflicts into “ethnic conflicts.”⁵

³ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicities without Groups* (2004), 11–12.

⁴ Brubaker, *Ethnicities without Groups*, 12

⁵ Brubaker, *Ethnicities without Groups*, 16–17.

This framework provides a fine tool to examine some of the major “musical” conflicts narrated in this dissertation. Take, for example, the operetta battle in 1909: several members of a student fraternity regarded a character in a musical play as an offensive stereotype of their ethnicity or cultural “background.” They made the theater director aware of their objections and he agreed to changes. The trigger of the ensuing riot was likely something as banal as the lapse of an actor (who had internalized the original version of his role). The subsequent exchange brought to the fore the underlying reason for the conflict – the students’ perception of an increase in anti-Semitism in recent years (an accurate perception, judging from numerous other sources) – but no clear sense of “groupness” resulted, as the response to the student’s “rebellion” from those who could have been their allies was a nuanced combination of empathy and criticism. Facets of the conflict included the contrast between a theatrical genre rife with clichés on the one hand and students sensitized to being stereotyped on the other; and a generational divide in the approach to a challenge. Once one distills the actual course of events from the sensationalist press reports about what was certainly a heated situation, however, one discovers a sequence of fairly reasonable actions of those involved (remarkably, the minutiae of the events, the sensibilities involved, and the line of arguments hardly strike us as dated).

The conflict regarding the shared services of Ruthenians and Romanians in the Eastern Orthodox Cathedral is of a different kind: provocations from one side met with a counterpart that claimed “older rights.” Unlike the operetta case, all parties involved were musical performers, the choir singers in a service. A degree of “groupness” developed (or had already existed before), likely as a result of the

involvement of external parties with a political interest in keeping the conflict alive. It is this kind of ongoing language (and to some degree, “ethnic”) conflict that Mandyczewski attempted to address in his church music project, with responses ranging from a universalizing approach by resorting to Greek via bi-lingual settings in Ruthenian and Romanian, done consecutively in the service – thus creating a localized product unique to Bukovina – to the suggestion, even though likely more a political commentary and an acerbic aside, of heteroglossia in a performance to pacify even those craving discord.

A failed attempt to achieve “groupness,” and to divide an audience, was the 1913 protests during the Mandyczewski performance, possibly a sign of the good relationship between the dignitaries of the Eastern Orthodox and Jewish communities. Here, and on numerous other occasions, the dominant press countered possible signs of factionalism in musical performances not only by reporting them, but also by summoning a spirit that transcends boundaries – a local, regional, or supranational form of identification, often conjured up by invoking a more harmonious past.

Even though the musical scene evolved, during the decades examined in this dissertation, from a relative indifference to nation or religion (if, overall, likely less inclusive) to a self-image of – more or less frequent – intercultural collaboration, musical performances remained an important anchor in the efforts to conceive of the city as a community. Throughout the period, musical performances provided an important outreach across linguistic communities, whether in the “imposed” form of school performances and public celebrations, or through the numerous choral societies with their overlap in members, personnel, and audiences.

In addition to bearing testimony to music's powerful role and potential in an intricate social context, Czernowitz supplies us with an extraordinary lesson in music historiography – a drastic example that draws attention to our disciplinary habits of classifying and compartmentalizing, and our practice of overlooking what we discarded in the wrong box. Take a reputable music dictionary and the first thing you learn about a musician (other than birthplace and date) is the person's "nationality," listed even before the profession that earned the person the entry in the dictionary. In the *New Grove Dictionary*, Eusebius Mandyczewski appears as a "Romanian musicologist active in Austria," and when we search in the same dictionary for another musician from his hometown, we learn that Carol Mikuli, an "Armenian-Polish-Romanian pianist, composer, folklorist, and teacher" had died in "Lviv, Ukraine" in 1897.⁶ The apparently objective data that helps a perception of disciplinary standards distorts more than it elucidates; the attributions reflect in one case a claim and in the other, an attempt to pacify the relevant potential claimants (notably, Mikuli's maternal lineage does not show in the list of three ethnicities or "nations," as nobody from Franconia seems to have as yet claimed the son of Mrs. Theresa Gullmann from Nuremberg as one of their own).⁷ But these misattributions only scratch the surface of the efforts in mainstreaming biographies, as has been examined in Chapter 4.

Faced with the legacy of a literature that is for the most part as grandiose in claims as it is unreliable, with many lacunae in research, and with interrupted

⁶ Laura Otilia Vasiliu, Mikuli [Mikuli], Carol [Karol] in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18652> (accessed May 18, 2020; version from May 28, 2015); Brown, revised Sandru-Dediu, "Mandyczewski, Eusebius."

⁷ László, "Carol Miculi in der musikgeschichtlichen Literatur Rumäniens," 165.

performance tradition, I have attempted to combine meticulous studies of selected topics based on intensive archival research with a critical assessment of the literature and an effort in public musicology that ranges from editing scores to mounting performances and producing a CD. These combined efforts address the ignorance and clichés in most Western perceptions, and the territoriality – even in the realm of music – locally. My approach to Czernowitz’s musical past evolved from an early effort to define music’s role in relationship to the myth of “intercultural harmony” to focusing on an attempt to register processes and a complex cultural fabric.

The motto of the 2017 Eurovision Song Contest in Ukraine, “Celebrating Diversity,” seemed an apt slogan, with its vagueness in glossing over conflict. Undoubtedly, numerous events in Czernowitz’s music history have done justice to this title and the rationale behind it. Yet there was also another side to this music culture, one that betrayed an astounding effort to reflect on difference, to reconcile opposites, and to address the nature of conflict. It is this legacy – beside an interest in this astounding music culture for its own sake – that makes a study of Czernowitz’s music so worthwhile. Borrowing an idea that appears in the current national anthems of two of Czernowitz’s “nations,” and thus enlisting the emblem of the nation state for a non-national purpose, we may conclude: Musical Czernowitz is not yet lost.

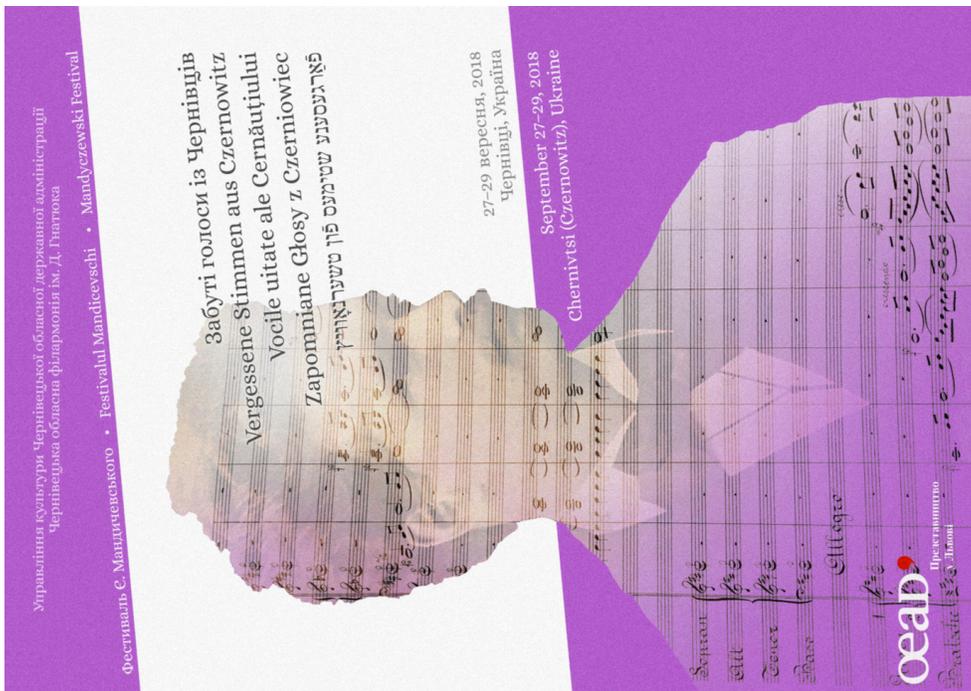
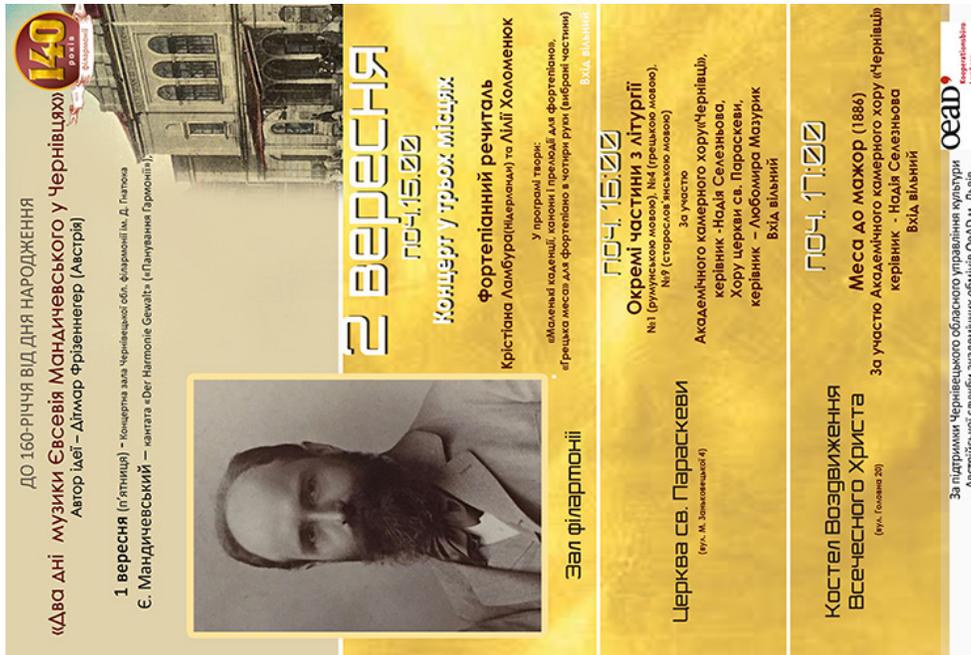


Fig. 6.1 (top): Poster for the “Concert at Three Places,” Mandyczewski Festival 2017, Chernivtsi, Ukraine, September 2, 2017. In the upper right corner, a clipping from a historical postcard featuring Czernowitz’s *Musikverein*, today the building of the Philharmonic Society and one of the concert venues.

Fig. 6.2 (bottom): Poster for Mandyczewski Festival 2018 (Design: Ilya Sturko), which featured Hřimaly’s String Serenade, Mandyczewski’s cantata *Im Buchenland*, and Eleonore Poras’s waltz *Studentenliebe* (in an orchestration by Loren Loiacono).

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BAR – Romanian Academy Library (*Biblioteca Academiei Române*), **Bucharest, Romania**

DACHO – State Archive of the Chernivtsi Oblast
[Державний архів Чернівецької області], **Chernivtsi, Ukraine**

DOEW – Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, **Vienna, Austria**

GdM – Library and Archive of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, **Vienna, Austria**

JBG – Research Center *Johannes Brahms Gesamtausgabe* (JBG) at the Institute of Musicology at Kiel University, **Kiel, Germany**

KUG – Archive of the Kunstuniversität **Graz, Austria**

LAMB – Private Collection Christian Lambour, **Vienna, Austria**

MDW – Archive of the University of Music and Performing Arts **Vienna, Austria**

OeSTA – Austrian State Archive (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*), **Vienna, Austria**

OMet – Archive of the Greek-Oriental [Eastern Orthodox] Metropolis of Austria, Fleischmarkt, **Vienna, Austria**

ONB – Austrian National Library (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*), **Vienna, Austria**

UCh – University Library of the Yuriy-Fedkovych-University, **Chernivtsi, Ukraine**

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Appendix 2.1: Orchestral Repertory of the *Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina*¹

Collaborating Societies

- ARM = Romanian choral society *Armonia*
BOJ = Ukrainian choral society *Bojan*
DGK = *Deutsches Gesangskränzchen* (German Singing Circle)
GV = *Gesangsverein* (Choral Society)
KM = Verein zur Förderung und Pflege der Kirchenmusik in Czernowitz
KReg = *Kapelle des Infanterieregimentes* Nr. 41 (Army band of the Infantry Regiment)
MGV = Männergesangsverein (Men's Choral Society)
OSt = Orchester des Stadttheaters (Orchestra of the City Theater)

Composers affiliated with the Verein or Czernowitz are printed in bold

Repertory in the early years (1862–1874)

1862

Joseph Haydn: Symphony in G major [presumably no. 94], *Andante*
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Overture to *La Clemenza di Tito*
Mozart: Overture to *Don Giovanni*

1863

Luigi Cherubini: Overture to *Lodiska*
Haydn: Symphony [no. 6?] in G major²
Johann Nepomuk Hummel: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 2
Felix Mendelssohn: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 2
Gioachino Rossini: Overture to *The Barber of Seville*

1864

Ludwig van Beethoven: Symphony no. 1
Beethoven–Hummel: Symphony no. 2, mvts. I, II, and IV³
André Grétry: Overture to *Richard the Lionheart*
Mozart: Overture to *The Abduction from the Seraglio* [+St]
Mozart–Hummel: Symphony in G minor [no. ?]

1865

Beethoven: *The Creations of Prometheus*
Beethoven: Symphony no. 2
François-Adrien Boieldieu: Overture to *La dame blanche*

¹ Compiled from the following sources: Anton Norst, *Der Verein zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina, 1862–1902* (Czernowitz, 1903), III–XXI; *Jahresbericht des Ausschusses* [= Annual Report of the Board] *des Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina* 1867–1913 (Czernowitz: several publishing houses, 1868–1914); *Bukowina: Landes- und Amtszeitung* 1862–67; *Bukowiner Rundschau* 1882–1907; *Bukowiner Post* 1893–1914; *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* 1903–1918. Listed here is all repertory that involves an orchestra, including oratorios and cantatas. Large-scale choral pieces without orchestra such as Mandyczewski's *Gesänge einer griechischen Messe* have also been included if they were performed at a statutory concert of the *Verein*.

² Norst indicates the composition of the orchestra for the performance of the Hummel Concerto and the Haydn Symphony: “string quintet, flutes, clarinet, one trumpet, two horns, and piano four-hands” (Norst, *Verein*, III).

³ Norst (Norst, *Verein*, III) mentions that both of Hummel's arrangements used that year were for piano, flute, violin, cello, and bass.

Cherubini: Overture to *L'Hôtellerie portugaise*
Haydn: Symphony in D major [no. 10?]
Mozart: Symphony no. 7 [?]
Mozart–Pascal: *Turkish March* for orchestra
Schubert–Wilhelm Tschirch: *Am Meer* for men's choir and orchestra

1866

Beethoven: Symphony no. 2
Haydn: Symphony in D major [no. 10?]
Haydn: Symphony in E-flat major [no.?], *Andante*
Mozart: Symphony no. 41, *Allegro* [*vivace*?]
Carl Gottlieb Reißiger: Overture to *Die Felsenmühle* [St]
Mozart–Pascal: *Turkish March* for orchestra
Schubert–Tschirch: *Am Meer* for men's choir and orchestra
Schubert–Tschirch: *Der Lindenbaum* for men's choir and orchestra
Schubert–Tschirch: *Die Post* for men's choir and orchestra

1867

Beethoven: Symphony no. 2
Haydn: Symphony in D major [no.?]
Mozart: Symphony in G minor [no.?]
Schubert: *Overture in Italian style*

1868

Daniel Auber: Overture to *Die Stumme von Portici*
Beethoven: Symphony no. 2, mvt. I
Grétry: Choir from *Les deux avares* for men's choir and orchestra
Mozart: Symphony Nr. 41, mvt. I
Otto Nicolai: Overture to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
Reissiger: Die Felsenmühle
Schubert: Ballet music from *Rosamunde*
Andreas Romberg: *Das Lied von der Glocke* for soloists, choir and orchestra

1869

Boieldieu: Overture to *Le calife de Bagdad*
Mozart: Symphony in G minor [no.?]

1870

Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont*
Beethoven: Romance no. 2 for violin and orchestra
Vincenzo Bellini: Overture to *Norma*
Mozart: Symphony in D major [no.?]
Andreas Romberg: *Das Lied von der Glocke* for soloists, choir and orchestra

1871

Beethoven: Symphony no. 1, mvt. II
Charles Gounod: Fantasy for Orchestra from *Faust* [?]
André Grétry: Overture to *Richard the Lionheart*
Haydn: Symphony [no. 2], mvt. I
Haydn: Symphony no. 94, mvt. II

Mozart: Symphony [no. 4?], mvt. I
Mozart: Symphony in C major [no. ?]
Carl Gottlieb Reißiger: Overture to *Die Felsenmühle*
Schubert: Ballet music from *Rosamunde*
Schubert–Tschirch: *Die Post* for men’s choir and orchestra
Schubert: *Overture in Italian style*
Weber: Overture to *Freischütz*

1872

Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont*
Frédéric Chopin: Orchestra piece [?]
André Grétry: Overture to *Richard the Lionheart*
Haydn: Symphony [no. 7?]

1873

Beethoven: Symphony no. 2, mvt. I
Niels Gade: *Die heilige Nacht* for choir and orchestra
Haydn: Adagio and Allegro for orchestra [?]
Henri Herz: Concerto no. 6 for piano, choir, and orchestra
Mendelssohn: Overture from *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde*
Mozart: Andante for orchestra [?]
Mozart: Overture to *Der Schauspieldirektor*
Mozart: Symphony in B-flat major [?]
Romberg: Allegro for orchestra [?]

1874

Haydn: Andante for orchestra [?]
Haydn: Symphony [no. 2?], Finale
Franz von Suppé: Overture [?]

Repertory during Hrimaly’s tenure (1874–1908)

1875

Jean-Delphin Alard (1815–1888): *Symphonie concertante* for 2 violins [no. ?]
Julius Otto Grimm: *Suite in Canonform* for string orchestra
Georg Frederic Handel: Concerto for String Orchestra
Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885): Piano Concerto No. 2
Felix Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto (mvt. I)
Franz Schubert–arr. Hrimaly: *Marche héroïque* for string orchestra [no. ?]
Giuseppe Verdi: Aria [?] from *Aida*
Robert Volkmann (1815–1883): Serenades nos. 2 and 3 for string orchestra

1876

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Sinfonia* in D major for string orchestra
Beethoven–arr. N. N.: Variations from the *Serenade* for Orchestra [?]
Ferdinand David: *Introduction et variations sur un thème russe* for violin and orchestra, op. 6
Robert Fuchs (1847–1927): Serenade for string orchestra no. 1 [?] (1874!)
Christoph Willibald Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie in Aulis*
Mendelssohn: Overture to *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde* for string orchestra
Karl Mikuli: *Intermezzo* for string orchestra

1877

Alard: *Grand duo concertant*, op. 25 for two violins
Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont*
Fuchs: Serenade no. 2 for string orchestra (1876; printed 1876!)
Hrimaly: *Lob der Harmonie* (“Praise of Harmony”), cantata for men’s choir and orchestra
Otto Nicolai: Aria from *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* [?]
Mendelssohn: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 2
Reinecke: Prelude to *Manfred*
Carl Maria von Weber: Overture to *Oberon*

1878

Beethoven: Overture to and Choir of the Prisoners from *Fidelio*
Giovanni Battista Viotti: Violin Concerto no. 22
Mozart: Symphony in G minor [no. 40?]
Carl Reinecke: Piano Concerto [maybe just piano?; look up 9/25]
Giacchino Rossini: *Stabat mater* for soloists, choir, and orchestra
“Promenade Concert”: Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold (1791–1833): Overture to *Zampa*;
Eduard Strauß: “Leuchtkäfer-Walzer;” Söderman: “Norwegischer Hochzeitsmarsch;” Eduard Strauß:
Ballade (Polka mazur); Hrimaly: Entrée-Akt from *The enchanted Prince*; Eduard Strauss: *Opern-Soirée*
(Polka française); Bellini: Overture to *Norma*; Eduard Strauss: “Teufels-Quadrille”

1879

Beethoven: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 2
Beethoven: Triple Concerto for piano, violin, and cello
Handel: “Largo and Fugato” from the *Grand Concerto* for string orchestra.
Haydn: Variations on the *Volkshymne* from the G major Quartet for string orchestra
Mendelssohn: Wedding March from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*
Pierre Rode: Violin Concerto [no. ?]
Robert Schumann: *Das Paradies und die Peri* for soli, choir, and orchestra
Richard Wagner: “Elizabeth’s Prayer” from *Tannhäuser*

1880

Emanuele d’Astorga: *Stabat mater* for soloists, choir, and orchestra
Schumann: *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt* for soloists, choir, and orchestra

1881

Louis Théodore Gouvy: Requiem for soloists, choir, and orchestra
Handel: “Largo and Fugo [sic]” for string orchestra.
Eusebius Mandyczewski: *Die Gesänge einer griechische Messe*
Mendelssohn: Concert overture *The Hebrides*

1882

Beethoven: Overture to *The Creatures of Prometheus*
Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 3 [JB, 6]
Max Bruch: *Frithjof* for soloists, men’s choir and orchestra [Concert MGV]
Gouvy: Requiem for soloists, choir, and orchestra
Henri Herz: Piano Concerto no. 7 (with a second piano)
Hrimaly: *Overture zum Trauerspiele Johann Hus*
Mandyczewski: *Der Harmonie Gewalt*, cantata for soloists, choir, and orchestra

Mikuli: *Paraphrase sur un ancien Chant de Noel polonais* for soloists, choir, strings and organ
Joachim Raff: *Die vier Tageszeiten*, Concertante for piano, choir, and orchestra
Weber: Piano Concerto [no.? JB, 6]
Weber: *Jubelouverture*

1883

Bruch: *Frithjof* for soloists, men's choir and orchestra
Johannes Hager: *Ostermorgen* for choir, soprano solo, and orchestra
Hřimalý: Serenade in F major for string orchestra
Rossini: *Stabat mater* for soloists, choir, and orchestra
Wagner: Overture to *Tannhäuser*

1884

Richard Heuberger: *Nachtmusik* [SO]
Mozart: *Requiem* K. 626 [+KV, +MGV]
Wilhelm/Vilem Blodek: *Im Brunnen (V studni/In the Well)* [esp. SO]

1885

Goltermann: Concerto for Cello [no.?] (with quintet)
Edward Grieg: *Two Nordic Melodies*
Grimm: *Suite in Canonform* for string orchestra, mvt. I
Handel: *Messiah*
Hřimalý: Serenade in F major for string orchestra
Camille Saint-Saens: Prelude to *Le déluge* for string orchestra.
Volkmann: Serenade for string orchestra in D minor

1886

Beethoven: "Ah, perfido!," concert aria for soprano and orchestra
Johannes Brahms: *Academic Festival Overture*
Chopin: Piano Concerto in E minor (with string quintet)
Haydn: Symphony in E-flat major [no. 3?]
Hřimalý: Prelude to Act 3 from *Walde, der Dudelsackpfeifer*
Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto
Mendelssohn: *Paulus*
Viotti: Violin Concerto in A minor [?]
Weber: Overture to *Freischütz*
Weber: Overture to *Oberon*
Weber: "Jubel Overture" (with a new ending by Hřimaly)
Weber: Cavatina from *Freischütz*
Weber: Ännchen's Aria
Weber: Duet, Agathe and Ännchen
Weber: Concert piece in F minor (with string quintet)

1887

Beethoven: *Romance* for violin and orchestra no. 1
Brahms: *Academic Festival Overture*
Handel: "Halleluja" from *Messiah*
Hřimalý: *Der verwunschene Prinz* (The Enchanted Prince), opera
Adrien-François Servais: Adagio and Rondo for cello

1888

Rossini: *Stabat mater*
Cycle of four philharmonic concerts
Beethoven: *Leonore* Overture no. 1
Beethoven: Piano Concerto no. 3
Beethoven: Symphony no. 8
Bizet: *L'Arlesienne*
Dvorak: Slavonic Dances for orchestra
Grieg: Piano Concerto in A minor
Heuberger: *Nachtmusik* for string orchestra
Hrimaly: *Konzert-Ouverture* for orchestra
Liszt: *Hungarian Rhapsody* for orchestra
Rubinstein: Piano concerto in D minor
Rubinstein: Ballet music and Wedding Procession from *Feramor*
Saint-Saëns: Piano Concerto no. 2
Saint-Saëns: *Danse macabre*
Wagner: Overture to *Tannhäuser*.
Wagner: "Ride of the Valkyries" from *Walküre*

1889

Max Bruch: *Frithjof* for soloists, men's choir and orchestra
Hřimalý: *Österreichische Festouverture* for orchestra
Hřimalý: Violin Concerto
Mandyczewski: *Im Buchenland*. Cantata for soloists, choir, and orchestra.

1890

Beethoven Violin Concerto
Chopin: Grande Polonaise for piano and orchestra (with string quartet)
Fuchs: Serenade no. 2 for string orchestra
Haydn: *Stabat mater*
Henri Reber (arr. Karl Mikuli): *Intermezzo* for string orchestra
Mendelssohn: *Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt*
Schubert (arr. Hrimaly): *Marche héroïque* in B minor for string orchestra

1891

Schumann: *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*

1892

Brahms: *Ein deutsches Requiem* [+GV, +KV, IR]
Handel: Hallelujah from *Messiah*
Handel (arr. Hellmesberger–Zellner–Hrimaly): Largo for orchestra [SO]
Hřimaly: *Österreichische Festouverture*
Hřimaly: *Prelude to Walde*
Mozart: Concerto for three pianos
Mozart: Sinfonia concertante for violin, viola, and orchestra
Mandyczewski: *Selections from the Cantata Im Buchenland*
Franz von Suppé: *Das Pensionat* (comic opera in 2 acts)

1893

Historisches geistliches Konzert (Historical Sacred Concert), 10 pieces

Bruch: Violin Concerto

Theodor Gerlach: *Serenade*, Six movements for string orchestra op. 3

Mozart: Cantata for Alto solo

Reinecke: *Drei Tonbilder* for string orchestra

Saint-Saens: Piano Concerto no. 2

1894

Gouvy: *Requiem* for soloists, choir, and orchestra

1895

[Beethoven: Piano Concerto no. 5 in E-flat major]

Bruch: *Odysseus* for soloists, choir, and orchestra [ext]

Grieg: *Aus Holberg's Zeit*, Sarabande and Rigaudon

Hřimalý: Serenade for string orchestra

Hummel: *Spanische Suite* for string orchestra

Adolf Jensen: *Adonisfeier* for soloists, choir, piano and string orchestra [+GV]

Reinecke: Concerto for piano and orchestra op. 72 (with string orchestra)

1896

Ferdinand Hiller: *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, oratorio for soloists, choir, and orchestra

1897

Bach: Violin Concerto in A minor

Bruch: Violin Concerto no. 2

Mandyczewski: Gesänge einer griechischen Messe

Schubert: Symphony in B minor

Mendelssohn: Overture to *Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde*, op. 89

Mozart: Symphony no. 40

1898

Mozart: Aria from *Die Zauberflöte* [Nr.?)

Viotti: Violin Concerto no. 22

Haydn: *The Creation*

1899

Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf: Symphony in E-flat major

Gounod: "Jewel's song" from *Faust*

Grieg: Ase's Death and Anitra's Dance from *Peer Gynt*

Grieg: *Aus Holbergs Zeit* for string orchestra

Grieg: *Two Elegiac Melodies* for string orchestra

Julius Klengel: Serenade for string orchestra

Mendelssohn: Overture and Choir from "Paulus" [plus entire aria evening!]

Mozart: Cantata for alto solo [?]

Mozart, Aria for soprano [?]

Sarasate: *Carmen* Fantasy for violin and orchestra

Reinecke: *Die Teufelchen auf der Himmelswiese* (opera, piano four-hands)

Wagner: Elisabeth's Aria from *Tannhäuser*

Wagner: Faust Overture

1900

Bach: *St. John Passion*

Max Bruch: *Frithjof* for soloists, men's choir and orchestra

1901

Hřimalý: *Österreichische Festouverture*

Mandyczewski: Selections from *Im Buchenland*

Schumann: Symphony no. 1

Spohr: Concerto no. 8 for violin and orchestra

Wagner: Prelude to *Meisteringer von Nürnberg*

1902

Schumann: *Requiem*

Suppé: *Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann*, operetta in one act

Legov and Lincke: *Pensionatsstreiche*, singspiel in two acts.

1903

Beethoven: *Leonore* Overture no. 3

Beethoven: Piano Concerto no. 5

Beethoven: Symphony no. 9

Brahms: Symphony no. 1

Luigi Cherubini: *Requiem* in C minor

Saint- Saëns: Piano Concerto no. 2

1904

Hřimalý: *Die Wasserfee* for female choir, string orchestra, harp, and organ.

Hřimalý: Eight Songs with orchestra

Hřimalý: Prelude from *Walde*

Hřimalý: Serenade for string orchestra no. 1, Adagio and Finale

1905

[Richard Wagner concert with orchestra; scheduled, but no executed [?]]

[Hřimalý ill; Wiederaufnahme of rehearsals on 10/24]

Saint-Saëns: Piano Concert no. 4

Verdi: Aria from *Rigoletto* [?]

1906

Mozart: Concerto for three pianos and orchestra

Mozart: Arias from *Don Giovanni*

Mozart: Overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*

Mozart: *Requiem*

Mozart: Symphony No. 40 [?]

1907

Hřimalý: *Requiem* in D minor [+ARM, +BOJ, +MGV, +DGK, +KV,+KI]

1908

Schubert: Mass no. 5

Volkman: Serenade [Nr. ?]

Wagner: *Siegfried-Idyll*

Wagner: Prelude, *Parsifal*
Wagner: Prelude, *Meistersinger*
Wagner: Act III, Scene I from *Tannhäuser*

Repertory during the interim period after Hrimaly's death (June 1908 – June 1909)

1908

Beethoven: Symphony no. 2
Handel: "Hallelujah" from *Messiah*

1909

Haydn: *The Creation* [+MGV, KI]
[Hrimaly: Requiem? 23.4.1909?]
Mendelssohn: Concerto for piano and orchestra no. 1
Mendelssohn: *Hebrides* Overture
Mendelssohn: Symphony no. 4

... during Hans Horner's tenure

1910

Beethoven: Symphony no. 5 [+KI]
Brahms: *Tragic Overture*
Handel: *Messiah*
Mozart: Concerto for violin and orchestra no. 5

1911

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: *Paulus*
Historical Concerts Series
Concert I: Renaissance
Concert II: Bach and Handel
Bach: Orchestral Suite no. 3
Bach: Concerto in D minor for Keyboard and Orchestra
Handel: *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*

1912

Concert III: Haydn: Symphony no. 94
Mozart: Overture from *Die Zauberflöte*
Concert IV: Beethoven: Symphony no. 8
Weber: Overture from *Euryanthe*
Concert V: Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Overture from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
Schumann: Concerto for piano and orchestra in A minor
Concert VI: Dvorak: Concerto for cello and orchestra
Wagner: Overture from *Rienzi*
Beethoven: *Missa solemnis* [+KI, +OSt]

1913

Beethoven: *Missa solemnis* [+MGV, +KI, +OSt]

1914

Mozart: *Requiem*

Wagner: *Siegfried-Idyll*

Wagner: *Faust Overture*

Wagner: *Huldigungschor*

Wagner: Pilgrim's Choir from *Tannhäuser*

Appendix 2.2:

Vojtěch (Adalbert) Hřimalý, Serenade for string orchestra (c. 1882), ed. D.F.
(selections)

Serenade No. 1 in F-Dur für Streichorchester

I

Vojtěch (Adalbert) Hřimalý (1842-1908)
Hg. von Dietmar Friesenegger

Moderato quasi Andantino $\text{♩} = 80$

Musical score for Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Cello primo, and Cello secondo e basso, measures 1-7. The score is in F major, 3/4 time, and begins with a *p* dynamic. The Violino I part features a melodic line with a *V* marking above the first measure. The other parts provide harmonic support with chords and rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Cello primo, and Cello secondo e basso, measures 8-14. This section is marked with a box labeled 'A'. It features dynamic contrasts including *sf*, *p*, and *f*. The Violino I part has a *sf* marking above measure 9. The Viola part has a *f* marking below measure 9. The Cello primo part has a *mf* marking below measure 9. The Cello secondo e basso part has a *mf* marking below measure 9. The section concludes with an *espress.* marking above measure 14.

Musical score for Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Cello primo, and Cello secondo e basso, measures 15-19. This section begins with a *sf* marking above measure 15. The Violino I part has a *f* marking above measure 15. The Viola part has a *sf* marking below measure 15. The Cello primo part has a *p* marking below measure 15. The Cello secondo e basso part has a *p* marking below measure 15. The section concludes with a *sf* marking below measure 19.

B

poco rit. a tempo

21

p

p

p

p

C

28

f

p

p

p

cresc.

f

f

p

espress.

p

D

34

f

p

f

p

espressivo

p

f

espress.

p

f

p

Allegro vivo $\text{♩} = 104$ **Poco più mosso** **Tempo primo** **Poco più mosso**

Violine I
Violine II
Viola
Violoncello
Kontrabass

Immer mit Aufstrich, breit gestrichen detaché anfangen, im poco più mosso mit springendem Strich fortsetzen

A **Vivace**

cresc.
f
f
pizz.

B **poco rit.** **Tempo primo** **Poco più mosso** **Tempo primo**

f
p
f
p
f
p

Appendix 3.1:

Eusebius Mandyczewski, First Liturgy (original version, 1880), mvt. IX–X (ed. D. F.)

IX

21

Sostenuto

S. *p* Ca - de - ad ad te - fe - ri - ci - cin - cu a - de - vi - ze - re - nis - ca -

A. *p* Ca - de - ad ad te - fe - ri - ci - cin - cu a - de - vi - ze - re - nis - ca -

T. *p* Ca - de - ad ad te - fe - ri - ci - cin - cu a - de - vi - ze - re - nis - ca -

B. *p* Ca - de - ad ad te - fe - ri - ci - cin - cu a - de - vi - ze - re - nis - ca -

22

S. Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

A. *pp* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

T. *pp* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

B. *pp* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

20

S. Si - d - di - pi - pe - ce - no - vi - no - va -

A. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

T. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

B. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

20

S. Si - d - di - pi - pe - ce - no - vi - no - va -

A. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

T. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

B. *mf* Dum - ne - ce - cu - pu - ru - ca - fe -

23

Soprano: *f* ca - de - si, ca - de - si, ca - de - si, *dec.* ca - de - si.
 Alto: *f* ca - de - si, ca - de - si, ca - de - si, *dec.* ca - de - si.
 Tenor: *f* ca - de - si, ca - de - si, ca - de - si, *dec.* ca - de - si.
 Bass: *f* ca - de - si, ca - de - si, ca - de - si, *dec.* ca - de - si.

26

Soprano: *f* ca - de - si, *poco ritenuto* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si.
 Alto: *f* ca - de - si, *poco ritenuto* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si.
 Tenor: *f* ca - de - si, *poco ritenuto* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si.
 Bass: *f* ca - de - si, *poco ritenuto* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si, *dim.* ca - de - si.

X

27

Soprano: *Andante con sentimento* *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Alto: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Tenor: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Bass: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.

24

Soprano: *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Alto: *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Tenor: *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Bass: *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.

29

Soprano: *sempre più dolcemente* *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Alto: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Tenor: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.
 Bass: *pp* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si, *p* ca - de - si.

S. *fz* de a - se - na - na . re de - cã se - ra - fini.
 A. *fz* se - na - na . re de - cã se - ra - fini.
 T. *fz* de - cã se - ra - fini.
 T. *rit.* de - cã se - ra - fini.
 B. *fz* cã se - ra - fini ca - ra

S. *fz* si
 cu - ne pre Dum - ne - zeu cu - vin - tul al - na - scut
 A. *fz* Dum - ne - zeu cu - vin - tul al - na - scut
 T. *fz* zeu cu - vin - tul al - na - scut
 T. *fz* zeu cu - vin - tul al - na - scut
 B. *fz* Dum - ne - zeu cu - vin - tul al - na - scut

S. *fz* Ca - rea fi - ra ari - cã - cu - ne pre
 A. *fz* Ca - rea fi - ra ari - cã - cu - ne pre
 T. *fz* Ca - rea fi - ra ari - cã - cu - ne pre
 T. *fz* Ca - rea fi - ra ari - cã - cu - ne pre
 B. *fz* fi - ra ari - cã - cu - ne pre

S. *fz* si
 exit pre fi - ne cea - cu a - de - via - ra
 A. *fz* exit pre fi - ne cea - cu a - de - via - ra
 T. *fz* exit pre fi - ne cea - cu a - de - via - ra
 T. *fz* exit pre fi - ne cea - cu a - de - via - ra
 B. *fz* exit pre fi - ne cea - cu a - de - via - ra

61

S. - tua rea de Dum ne zeu

A. - tua re de Dum ne zeu pre

T. m̃ sc̃ tua re de Dum ne zeu pre

T. m̃ sc̃ tua re de Dum ne zeu

B. m̃ sc̃ tua re de Dum ma zeu

67

poco a poco rallentando

S. te m̃ rim

A. ti ne m̃ rim, pre ti ne, pre ti ne ke m̃ im

T. ti ne m̃ rim, pre ti ne, pre ti ne m̃ m̃ rim

T. ti zeu m̃ rim, pre ti ne, pre ti ne ke m̃ rim

B. te m̃ rim

Fl.

Ob.

Kl. (B)

Fg.

Hn. 1, 2

Hr. 3, 4

Tri.

Pk.

S.

A.

T. 1
Eh - re, schlän - gelt euch flink wie die schlan - ken La - zer - ten, sprecht, ob einschwe-res Ver-bre-chen es wä - re,

T. 2
Eh - re, schlän - gelt euch flink wie die schlan - ken La - zer - ten, sprecht, ob einschwe-res Ver-bre-chen es wä - re,

B. 1
Eh - re, schlän - gelt euch flink wie die schlan - ken La - zer - ten, sprecht, ob einschwe-res Ver-bre-chen es wä - re,

B. 2
Eh - re, schlän - gelt euch flink wie die schlan - ken La - zer - ten, sprecht, ob einschwe-res Ver-bre-chen es wä - re,

VI. 1

VI. 2

Va.

Vc.

Kb.

Fl.

Ob.

Kl. (B)

Fg.

Hn. 1, 2

Hr. 3, 4

Tri.

Pk.

S.

A.

T. 1

T. 2

B. 1

B. 2

VI. 1

VI. 2

Va.

Vc.

Kb.

tr

p

p *cresc.*

p *cresc.*

ironisch Tap - fe - re Hel - den seid ihr auf Eh - re, mu - tig ge -

wenn wir zu küs - sen euch keck - lich be - geh - ren.

wenn wir zu küs - sen euch keck - lich be - geh - ren.

wenn wir zu küs - sen euch keck - lich be - geh - ren.

wenn wir zu küs - sen euch keck - lich be - geh - ren.