

Center and Periphery at the Austrian-Russian Border: The Galician Border Town of Brody in the Long Nineteenth Century¹

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CENTER AND PERIPHERY ARE POPULAR CONCEPTS to describe geographical, political, or economic power relations. Both are mostly perceived as strict and mutually exclusive categories. This article examines a Galician border town whose history illustrates the complexities of conceptualizing center and periphery relations. At first glance, nineteenth-century Brody (in today's Ukraine) would seem to qualify as a peripheral town located on the Galician border between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. An analysis of this city under Habsburg rule (1772–1918), however, shows us that during that period it constituted both an important center *and* a declining periphery, not only consecutively, but also simultaneously. Its situation on the country's physical and political periphery did not harm Brody's central role in Europe's East-West trade until the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Only in later decades did the city lose its place within a modernizing commercial system, and eventually it declined in importance. If we leave aside the economic aspect and take a closer look at Brody's mostly Jewish inhabitants, we see that for centuries this city functioned as an important center for Eastern and Central European Jewry. Even though the town's centrality for Jewish history also changed over time, Brody nevertheless kept its place on Jewish mental maps, whether as a center of religious learning, as a pioneering site of political emancipation, or as a safe haven for Jewish refugees.

In the history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Galicia is the embodiment of periphery. Acquired in 1772, Galicia found itself at the eastern fringes of the monarchy. Not only geographically, but also economically the new Crownland was far away from the empire's core provinces such as Bohemia, Inner Austria, or even Hungary. Politically, Vienna used Galicia as a laboratory for enlightened reforms. Strategically, the region was a military buffer

¹The writing of this article was supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), a research grant of the City of Vienna, and by a summer academy on space concepts organized by the German Historical Institute in Paris. I want to thank Larry Wolff, Gary Cohen, Christine Lebeau, Jacques Lévy, Stefan Litt, and Mark von Hagen for their helpful comments on my paper, William Godsey for proofreading my English, and Clemens Jobst for helping me with the figures.

area; and in the empire's geopolitical calculations, Galicia served as a pawn that could be traded away in exchange for other territory.²

Galicia's reputation as the incarnation of periphery largely originated in its relative economic backwardness. In Europe's west-east development gradient, Galicia found itself on the eastern end of an empire that was already less developed than other European states.³ Especially in the non-Polish narrative, any positive development that occurred in this region was attributed to the beneficial activity of the enlightened Austrian administration.⁴ However, there is no consensus on whether Galicia economically and socially caught up with the central provinces of the empire.⁵ Poverty and backwardness, however, were not the only elements that shaped perceptions of Galicia then and now. This Crownland was always viewed as different from the rest of the country. What appeared to be an exotic quality inherent to the region was strongly linked to its ethnoconfessional composition of Roman Catholic Poles, Greek Catholic Ruthenians,⁶ and a considerable Jewish minority. In retrospect, Galicia often was perceived as a kind of anachronistic multiethnic Arcadia lost in the twentieth century's atrocities. Galicia hence evokes both positive *and* negative associations, but it was definitely perceived as "non-center."⁷

²Hans-Christian Maner, "Zwischen 'Kompensationsobjekt', 'Musterland' und 'Glacis': Wiener politische und militärische Vorstellungen von Galizien von 1772 bis zur Autonomieära," in *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens*, ed. Hans-Christian Maner (Münster, 2005); Horst Glassl, *Das österreichische Einrichtungswerk in Galizien (1772-1790)* (Wiesbaden, 1975); Vadym Adadurov, "Napoleon i Halyčyna: Francuz'ki plany obminu pol's'kykh provincij Avstrii na Sileziju v 1806-1807 rr [Ukr. Napoleon and Galicia. French Plans to exchange Austria's Polish Provinces with Silesia 1806-1807]," *Problemy Slov'janoznavstva [Ukr. Problems of Slavonic Studies]* 51 (2000): 69-75; Larry Wolff, "'Kennst du das Land?' The Uncertainty of Galicia in the Age of Metternich and Fredro," *Slavic Review* 67, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 277-300.

³David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire 1750-1914* (Berkeley, 1984).

⁴Michał Baczkowski, "Austriacka propaganda w Galicji w latach 1795-1815 [Pol. Austrian Propaganda in Galicia 1795-1815]," *Studia Historyczne* 42, no. 3 (1999): 361-74. See also Henryk Grossmann, *Österreichs Handelspolitik mit Bezug auf Galizien in der Reformperiode 1772-1790* (Vienna, 1914) and the critical review written by the Polish-Galician economist Bujak: Franciszek Bujak, "Austriacka polityka handlowa względem Galicji w latach 1772-1790 [Pol. Austrian Trade Policy with Regard to Galicia 1772-1790]," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 30, no. 3/2 (1916): 343-56.

⁵John Komlos, "Anthropometric Evidence on Economic Growth, Biological Well-being and Regional Convergence in the Habsburg Monarchy, c. 1850-1910," *Cliometrica* 1, no. 3 (October 2007): 211-37; Hans-Christian Maner, *Galizien. Eine Grenzregion im Kalkül der Donaumonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2007), esp. 251-72; Max Stephan Schulze, "Regional Income Dispersion and Market Potential in the Late Nineteenth Century Habsburg Empire," *Economic History Working Papers*, no. 106/07 (November 2007); Andrea Komlosy, "Innere Peripherien als Ersatz für Kolonien? Zentrenbildung und Peripherisierung in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs, 55-78 (Thübingen, Basel, 2006).

⁶The ethnonym "Ruthenian," instead of the later "Ukrainian," was used until the early twentieth century by both the Austrian official terminology and by themselves.

⁷Claudio Magris, *Weit von wo. Verlorene Welt des Ostjudentums*, trans. Jutta Prasse (Vienna, 1971); Kerstin Jobst, *Der Mythos des Miteinander. Galizien in Literatur und Geschichte* (Hamburg, 1998); Dietlind Hüchtker, "Der 'Mythos Galizien.' Versuch einer Historisierung," in *Die Nationalisierung von Grenzen. Zur Konstruktion nationaler Identität in sprachlich gemischten Grenzregionen*, ed. Michael G. Müller and Rolf Petri, 81-107 (Marburg, 2002); Delphine Bechtel, "'Galizien, Galicja, Galitsye, Halytchyna': Le mythe de la Galicie, de la disparition à la résurrection (virtuelle)," [Fr. 'Galizien, Galicja, Galitsye, Halyčyna': The Myth of Galicia, From Disappearance to (Virtual) Resurrection] *Cultures d'Europe centrale*, nr. 4, Le Mythe des confins (2004): 56-77; Anna Byczkiewicz, "Die neueste deutschsprachige Reiseliteratur zu Galizien," *Kakanienrevisited* (2007): 1-7, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/AByczkiewicz1.pdf> [12 May 2009]; Petra Zudrell, *Reisen nach Galizien. Wahrnehmungen deutschsprachiger Reiseberichte über Galizien (einschließlich der Bukowina) vom Anfang und Ende des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (MA thesis, Vienna University, 1994); Martin Pollack, *Nach Galizien. Von Chassiden, Huzulen, Polen*

But what makes a periphery? Wallerstein's center-periphery model would classify the Austrian Empire itself as semiperipheral, although several parts of the country could certainly compete in the modern capitalist world system.⁸ Several authors tried to apply Wallerstein's paradigm to the regional level and treat the Habsburg lands as a micro world system, where in the domestic market a center dominates its peripheries.⁹ Assuming that Galicia as a province was Austria's periphery, L'viv (*Ger.* Lemberg, *Pol.* Lwów)¹⁰ and Cracow definitely must be seen as semiperipheral in Wallerstein's sense, as, according to Stichweh, towns in general and regional capitals in particular always play the role of centers in relation to their hinterlands.¹¹ But what is even more important in the Galician case is the transformation of Austria's center-periphery relations over the *longue durée*.¹²

Maria Theresa and Joseph II centralized the empire by reducing, if not eliminating, corporative rights in the Crownlands. They strengthened the Vienna-based authorities and unified the administrations in the provinces. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the unifying tendencies within the state loosened and gave way to an increasingly polycentric empire, reflected most obviously (but not exclusively) in the Compromise with Hungary of 1867. The louder German nationalists claimed the city of Vienna as their political and cultural center, the less the capital was accepted as an undisputed supranational imperial center. For the Hungarian, Czech, Polish, or Ukrainian national movements, other cities began to play a more central role.¹³ Irrespective of whether it advanced economically or fell behind in comparison with Austria's core provinces, Galicia had gained a new political place within the empire by the beginning of the twentieth century. This changing position was not only true in terms of Galicia's self-perception, but also in terms of how the empire's core provinces viewed Galicia.¹⁴

In contrast to Galicia's alleged peripheral position in terms of physical geography and economic development, this Crownland was central to the national master narratives of Poles and Ukrainians alike. Galicia gained considerable political self-rule thanks to several concessions the central government made to the local, mostly Polish national elites between 1867 and 1872, allowing them power over internal administration and representation, language use, education, and cultural matters. In the long run, this so-called "Galician

und Ruthenen; eine imaginäre Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina (Vienna, 1984); Verena Dohrn, *Reise nach Galizien. Grenzlandschaften des alten Europa* (Frankfurt, 1991).

⁸Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system in the Longue Durée* (Boulder CO, [1974] 2004).

⁹Ivan T. Berend, *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2003); Andrea Komlosy, *Grenze und ungleiche regionale Entwicklung. Binnenmarkt und Migration in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 2003); Hannes Stekl, "'Zentren' und 'Peripherien' der westlichen Reichshälfte in der Einkommensverteilung um 1900," in *Metropole und Provinzen in Altösterreich (1880–1918)*, ed. Andrei Corbea-Hoisie and Jacques Le Rider, 37–74 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1996).

¹⁰If there is no commonly known English toponym, I use the modern official place name. When first mentioned, the place name's alternative spellings in other languages are placed in parentheses.

¹¹Rudolf Stichweh, "Zentrum/Peripherie-Differenzierungen und die Soziologie der Stadt," in *Die europäische Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert. Wahrnehmung – Entwicklung – Erosion*, ed. Friedrich Lenger and Klaus Tenfelde, 493–509 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2006).

¹²For the *longue durée* concept, see Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée, [Fr. History and Social Sciences. The longue durée]" in *Ecrits sur l'histoire*, ed. Fernand Braudel (Paris, 1969).

¹³Hans-Christian Maner, "Zentrum und Grenzregionen in der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Eine Einführung," in *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens*, ed. Hans-Christian Maner, 9–24 (Münster, 2005).

¹⁴Jan Kusber, "Grenzregion, Randprovinzen, Vielfalt der Peripherie im Habsburgerreich. Zusammenfassende Anmerkungen und Ausblick," in *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens*, ed. Hans-Christian Maner, 235–43 (Münster, 2005).

Autonomy” strengthened this region’s role in the Polish perception of the time, as well as after the restoration of Polish independence in 1918.¹⁵

The same is true for the historical and contemporary Ukrainian national perception of Habsburg rule. Even though Ruthenians were definitely economically and politically underprivileged in comparison to the Poles, they also saw Galicia as a kind of Piedmont for their national aspirations. One factor strengthening Ruthenian self-esteem was the Galician Greek Catholic Church. Another was the liberal political environment in the Austrian Empire after 1860 that allowed communal autonomy, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and, in principal, education in the mother tongue. Although many more Ukrainians lived in the Russian Empire than in Austria, the national movement could develop more freely in the Habsburg Empire.¹⁶

If we now turn our attention to the Galician borderlands, center-periphery relations become even more multifaceted. For the earlier decades of Austrian rule, we might expect towns on the eastern frontier of these formerly Polish territories to be even more peripheral. However, a closer look at the city of Brody shows that matters are much more complex: Being on the political and physical periphery does not necessarily mean economic and intellectual marginality. The city had become a border town only after the First Partition of Poland in 1772. Until 1795, it was adjacent to the remnants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and then to the Russian Empire until the end of World War I. As Brody was predominantly Jewish, it played a minor role for the Polish and Ukrainian national movements starting in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but a major role in Galician Jewish political, economic, and intellectual life. The city’s Jews were mostly Hassidic, but its community institutions were dominated by either Orthodox or enlightened Jews. With its modern and progressively German-speaking Jewish elite and its proximity to a negligently guarded border, Brody became a major component of the Galician myth—still prevalent in the Western mind.

The novelist Josef Roth (1894–1939)—one of the city’s most famous sons—repeatedly used Brody as a blueprint when describing the peripheral settings of his short stories and novels. In his book *Radetzky March*, Roth describes Brody as the Habsburg monarchy’s final and easternmost station, where even the spring is belated in comparison with the empire’s center—which obviously is not meant to be a solely meteorological description. Chirruping frogs and circling storks are the embodiment of its peripheral setting:

Seventeen hours Lieutenant Trotta sat in the train. In the eighteenth, he reached the most easterly station in the Austrian monarchy. There he alighted. . . . It was morning. Spring, already well established in the interior of the Empire, had only just arrived here. The laburnum was agleam on the railway sidings. Violets sprang up in the damp forests. Frogs chirruped in the endless swamps.

¹⁵Christoph Marschall von Bieberstein, *Freiheit in Der Unfreiheit. Die Nationale Autonomie Der Polen in Galizien Nach Dem Österreichisch-Ungarischen Ausgleich Von 1867. Ein Konservativer Aufbruch Im Mitteleuropäischen Vergleich*, Studien Der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an Der Universität Dortmund 11 (Wiesbaden, 1993); Paweł Czubik and Zdzisław Mach, eds., *Tożsamość galicyjska z perspektywy Polski i Ukrainy [Pol. Galician Identity from Poland’s and Ukraine’s Perspective]* (Bielsko-Biała, 2008).

¹⁶John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1870–1900* (Montreal, Quebec, et al., 1999); Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867–1914* (Frankfurt, Bern, and Cirencester, 1980); Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative Zwischen Österreich Und Rußland, 1848–1915*, Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie 21 (Vienna, 2001); Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine’s Piedmont* (Toronto et al., 2002).

Storks circled over the low thatched roofs of the village huts, looking for the old cartwheels that were the basis of their summer quarters.¹⁷

However, if we plunge deeper into Brody's history, we see that even this story is not so clear-cut. We will identify two intertwining parameters that place Brody in the framework of center and periphery. The first one is time, as the factors that constitute a center or periphery can change. Secondly, we have to get away from the idea that there is only one geography. Political, economic, religious, ethnic, and mental maps have their own borders and, consequently, their own centers and peripheries, not necessarily congruent with the physical maps. Multiple geographies in *longue durée* processes hence challenge the classification of Brody as a peripheral town.

The Economic Rise and Fall of the City of Brody

When the city fell under Austrian domination at the end of the eighteenth century, Brody was the region's major trade junction, connecting Western and Central Europe with the continent's east and southeast. Manufactured goods such as silk fabric from Lyon, handcrafts from Nuremberg, and Styrian scythes were exchanged for primary products like wax, honey, and rawhides from Poland or Russia. The city's main trading partners with important fairs were Leipzig in Saxony and Berdyčiv (*Russ.* Berdičev, *Pol.* Berdyczów) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Brody's merchants played such an important role that their presence or absence could decide the relative success or failure of these fairs.¹⁸

The new political borders established in 1772 threatened Brody's role as a hub of European trade. Before, as Poland's import tariffs were very low and Berdyčiv was also part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Brody's merchants had been able to transport their goods between the various partner cities almost without paying duties. Now the traders had to clear their wares at the Silesian-Galician border, bring them to Brody where they would be unpacked and sold further, because few of the goods were intended for consumption in the city itself or in Galicia. When leaving Brody, merchants once again had to pass a customs boundary—this time between Austrian Galicia and Polish Volhynia. Transport of goods through Galicia hence became very expensive after 1772.

The government in Vienna quickly realized the city's importance and granted Brody a free-trade privilege in 1779. This turned the town and its environs into a duty-free zone, where merchants could bring their goods, exchange them, and trade them further without paying entrance or exit duties.¹⁹ The state benefitted from the increase in tax-income, as merchants

¹⁷Joseph Roth, *The Radetzky March*, trans. Michael Hofmann (London, 2003), 138–39.

¹⁸Sadok Barącz, *Wolne miasto handlowe Brody* [*Pol.* The Free-Trade City of Brody] (L'viv, 1865), 121; Mark Wischnitzer, "Die Stellung der Brodyer Juden im internationalen Handel in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift zu Simon Dubnows 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Mark Wischnitzer, Ismar Elbogen, and Josef Meisl (Berlin, 1930), 114–15; Richard Markgraf, "Zur Geschichte der Juden auf den Messen in Leipzig 1664–1839" (PhD diss., Rostock University, 1894), 1–16, 68–70; Katharina Middell, "Brody, Leipzig, Lyon: europäische Handelsbeziehungen und ihre Träger (1770–1820)," in *Leipzig, Mitteleuropa und Europa*, ed. Hartmut Zwahr, Uwe Schrimmer, and Henning Steinführer, 531–44 (Beucha, 2000).

¹⁹Tadeusz Lutman, *Studja nad dziejami handlu Brodów w latach 1773–1880* [*Pol.* Study on the History of Brody's Trade in the Years 1773–1880] (L'viv, 1937); Börries Kuzmany, "Die Grenze an der Grenze. Die Entstehung des Freihandelsprivilegs der Stadt Brody," in *Die Galizische Grenze. Kommunikation oder Isolation?* ed. Christoph Augustynowicz and Andreas Kappeler, 115–26 (Vienna, 2007). For the full text of the free-trade privilege, see:

continued to travel through Habsburg territory, spending money on their journeys and employing locals for transport and other logistical needs.²⁰ For the first fifty years of Austrian rule, the free-trade privilege indisputably helped to assure Brody's position in international trade. Not all merchants, however, supported this status. Many retailers, almost all of whom were Jewish, complained that it only helped the approximately seventy wholesale traders. The number of the latter remained stable until 1840 (no data available for later years), and 90 percent of them were Jewish as well (although the two biggest trading companies were in Christians hands).²¹

Brody's heyday was the last decade of the eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the city enjoyed an extremely strong position in European trading networks. The political upheavals in the vanishing Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth gave Brody's leading businesses almost a monopoly in the transfer of goods from Western Europe to Russia and to the Ottoman Empire; their connections reached as far as the Crimea, the Caucasus, Persia, and Central Asia.²² After Napoleon introduced the Continental System in 1806, Brody also became a hub for smugglers. When the Austrian Empire had to give up all of its coastal territories following the disastrous 1809 campaign against Napoleon, Brody became the monarchy's main entry point, a quasi "inland harbor." New key trading lines from Russia through Austria to the German states developed via Brody. The most important of these were the routes that linked Odessa (*Ukr. Odesa*), and to a lesser extent the route from Riga, via Brody, to Central Europe. Besides legal merchandise such as wax, suet, furs, and other raw products, British colonial goods such as sugar and coffee also arrived via these axes. On the other hand, because France desperately needed colonial goods, especially cotton, and as the British navy blocked French ports, the chief channel through which Ottoman cotton reached Continental Europe ran through Odessa and Brody.²³ Furthermore, it was not simply that colonial wares were smuggled into the countries controlled by Napoleon, but French manufactured goods were also illicitly exported to Russia. The most valuable of this illicit merchandise was French silk that accounted for a quarter of France's total exports in these years. Two-thirds of these exports went first to German fairs, Leipzig being the most important of these markets apart from Frankfurt. In some years merchants from Brody bought almost all silk supplies available at the Leipzig fairs in order to export them to Russia.²⁴ The French state hence faced a dilemma with respect to

Continuatio edictorum et mandatorum universalium in Regnis Galiciae et Lodomeriae a die 1. januar. ad ultimam decemb. anno 1776 emanatorum. Kontynuacja wyroków y rozkazów powszechnych w Galicyi y Lodomerji królestwach od dnia 1. stycz. aż do końca grudnia roku 1776 wypadłych [Lat./Pol. Continuation of the Edicts and Universal Decrees Issued in the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria From January 1st Until the End of December 1776](L'viv, 1779), 52–57.

²⁰Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Polizeihofstelle (hereafter ÖStA/PHSt), Box 319, Report to the Finanzhofstelle, Vienna, 2 November 1810.

²¹Lutman, *Studja*, 74–120. For Brody's registered merchants in 1784: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Hofkammerarchiv (hereafter ÖStA/HKA), Cammerale, Nr. 218, Fasc. 7 Gal., 169 ex jan. 1785, Produktnr. 6, Tabellarischer Ausweiß der Großhändler 1784; for 1840: Central'nyj deržavnyj istoričnyj archiv Ukraïny u L'vovi (hereafter CDIA-L), f. 146, op. 4, spr. 1309, 8–53.

²²Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter GStA PK), I. HA, Rep. 81, Konsulat Brody, Nr. 1, Großhändler Carl Protzen an Finanzminister von Bülow zur Zeit in Wien, Letter, Brody, 21 February 1815, 1–6r.

²³Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), F12 1853, Doc. Nr. 374, Letter of the French consul in Leipzig, 15 April 1812; Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères (hereafter AMAE), CCC, Odessa Vol. 1, Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Odessa, 1 August 1808 [should be 31 October 1808], 166–69.

²⁴Steffen Sammler, "Die Bedeutung der Leipziger Messen für den Absatz von Lyoner Seidenwaren nach Ost- und Südosteuropa zwischen 1760 und 1830," in *Leipzigs Messen, 1497–1997. Gestaltswandel, Umbrüche, Neubeginn. Vol. 1: 1497–1914*, ed. Hartmut Zwahr, Thomas Topfstedt, and Günter Bentele (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1999), 262–65.

Brody, which was not only a nuisance, but also offered needed opportunities. The fact that Napoleon was directly informed from time to time by secret police daily bulletins about smuggling activities in and around Brody reflects the international importance of this border town.²⁵

The end of Brody's dominant position as a route for European trade was inaugurated when Russia left the Continental System in January 1811 and switched to a protectionist economic policy. In the initial years after this development, Brody's merchants compensated for the declining official exports by intensifying their smuggling activities. In particular, they could easily transport lightweight products such as French silk across the official customs lines between the Habsburg and Romanov Empires; moreover, the Russian border-control had a reputation for being easily bribable.²⁶ Smuggling was extremely well organized. Insurance companies even offered protection against confiscation. Aware of Brody's crucial role in external trade, the Austrian authorities did not fight smuggling too actively. Nevertheless, they felt the need to shut down an insurance company in Brody in 1813 that operated too openly in neighboring Russian towns.²⁷

The years following the Congress of Vienna mark the beginning of Brody's long economic stagnation. Both Austria and Russia pursued a protectionist customs policy in the first half of the nineteenth century. The exchange of goods between the two countries expanded only slowly, whereas the German and Italian lands rapidly gained importance for Austria's trade, as did Great Britain and Prussia for Russia's imports and exports. As the Habsburg and the Romanov Empires became less and less important to each other economically, Brody's trade shrank as well, if not in absolute numbers then in relative significance. In the early 1820s, Brody's share in Austria's total imports and exports was still 2.5 percent; but by the 1830s, it had already fallen to 1 percent. Only in years of crisis did it regain its former importance, as during the Revolution of 1848/1849 or during the Crimean War 1853–1856, when the British and French fleets blocked the Black and Baltic seaports and Russia could only rely on overland trade. In the transit trade between Russia and Western Europe via Austria, Brody's share, however, remained more stable and even in the 1840s still accounted for between 80 and 90 percent. Almost all goods transported from Western Europe to the Russian Empire via the Habsburg monarchy and vice versa passed through Brody.²⁸ The town hence

²⁵ *La Police secrète du Premier Empire. Bulletins quotidiens adressés par Savary à l'Empereur de juin à décembre 1810* [Fr. The Secret Police of the First Empire. Daily Bulletins Addressed to the Emperor by Savary From June to December 1810], ed. Nicole Gotteri (Paris, 1997), vol. 1–4 (décembre 1810– juin 1812), (Paris, 1997–2000): Vol. 1, Bulletin 15 November 1810, 572; vol. 2, Bulletin 21 February 1811, 150; 16 March 1811, 222; 2 April 1811, 272; vol. 3, Bulletin 3 October 1811; vol. 4, Bulletins 12 March 1812, 164, 13 March 1812, 167, 16 May 1812, 358.

²⁶ AMAE, CCC Leipzig, Vol. 1, Letter of the French consul in Leipzig, Thérémin, 5 March 1820, 30.

²⁷ John Macgregor, *The Commercial and Financial Legislation of Europe and America: With a Pro-forma Revision of the Taxation and the Custom's Tariff of the United Kingdom* (London, 1841), 71; George Poulett Scrope, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Honourable Charles Lord Sydenham G. C. B., with a Narrative of His Administration in Canada* (London, 1843), 31; Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Leipzig, Messeamt, Druckschriften, Nr. 868, Ostermesse 1812, 88, cited in Middell, "Brody, Leipzig, Lyon," 38–39; ÖStA/PHSt, Box 482, Letter of Candiani to the Polizeidirektionspräsidium, 23 July 1813 (Nr. 192) and 2 July 1813 (Nr. 139).

²⁸ For import, export, and transit data, compare the annual statistics in *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1828–1864); *Ausweise über den Handel von Österreich im Verkehr mit dem Auslande und über den Zwischenverkehr von Ungern, der Woiwodschafft Serbien sammt dem Temeser Banate, dann von Kroatien, Slawonien, Siebenbürgen und der Militärgrenze mit den anderen österreichischen Kronländern im Jahr 1840* (Vienna, 1840–1854); *Gosudarstvennaja Vnėšnaja torgovlja 1812 goda v raznych eja vidach* [Russ. The State's Foreign Trade of 1812 in Its Various Dispositions] (St. Petersburg, 1813–1863). For the Crimean crises and Brody's importance, see also "Russian Trade," *The Economist* (13 October 1855): 1121–22.

remained the most important border-crossing between these two countries and, thanks to its long-established international networks, continued to be an eminent transfer zone for European trade.

Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did Brody's stagnation at a high level turn into a rapid decline. The fire that devastated two-thirds of the town in May 1859²⁹ could be seen as the symbolic beginning of the city's demise. To cover the costs of rebuilding the burned houses and streets, the municipality of Brody took out a loan from the Austrian National Bank that eventually could not be repaid. After the Austrian parliament abrogated the city's free-trade privilege at the end of 1879, Brody went bankrupt and was put under sequestration between 1883 and 1888.³⁰

The indebtedness and the withdrawal of the free-trade status were not the only reasons for the city's decline. The worsening political and economic relations between Austria and Russia echoed in a border town squeezed between the two states. For too long, Brody's elite had concentrated almost exclusively on trade, neglecting investment in crafts and industry. After fifteen years of discussions, the railway finally reached Brody in 1869; but even then the main railroad connecting Galicia with the region's most important harbor in Odessa was established some 100 kilometers farther south in Pidvolochys'k (*Pol.* Podwołoczyska).³¹ It is not very likely, though, that an earlier and more advantageous railroad connection would have saved Brody; as in a modernizing economic system, Brody's function in the international trading networks became increasingly obsolete. For centuries the city specialized not in the selling of goods, but in supplying services as a broker on the road between the place of origin and the final destination. In the age of railroads, such an intermediary halfway between East and West was no longer needed. Now only workers were engaged at the border, who had to reload products such as grain or eggs (and, by the way, not high-value commodities as in earlier times) because of the change from the Russian to the European gauge on the railway. Brody continued to be a passageway for East-West trade but lost its role as a commercial hub.

Brody's decline in the European trading networks and its general economic demise is reflected in the population rankings (see Figure 1). In 1830, it had been among the twenty-five largest cities in the whole Austrian Empire (including the densely urbanized Italian provinces). With 20,000–25,000 inhabitants, it was approximately the size of European cities such as Leicester, Pisa, Grenoble, Düsseldorf, or Göteborg, as well as non-European towns such as Washington, DC, Montréal, or Sydney, and its population definitely outnumbered those of Toronto or Chicago at that time.³² Whereas Brody was Galicia's third largest city

²⁹“Kronika,” *Gazeta Lwowska*, 7 May 1859, 416.

³⁰Bankhistorisches Archiv der Österreichischen Nationalbank (hereafter OeNBArchiv), Minutes of the board meeting, Vienna, 19 July 1859; “Misto Brody pid sekvestorom,” *Dilo*, 8 November 1883 [old style: 27 October] 1883, 1; OeNBArchiv, 1838/1888.

³¹Ignaz Konta, ed., *Geschichte der Eisenbahnen Österreich-Ungarns. Vom Jahre 1867 bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. IV/V (Vienna, 1999 [Vienna, Cieszyn, Leipzig, 1908]), Vol. 4, 31; Ihor Žaloba, *Infrastrukturna polityka avstrijs'koho urjadu na pivničnomu schodi monarchii v ostannij čerti XVIII – 60-ch rokach XIX st. (na prykladi šljachiv spolučennja)* [Ukr. *The Infrastructure Policy of the Austrian Government in North-Eastern Part of the Monarchy From the Last Quarter of 18th Century Until the 1860s (Using the Example of Traffic Infrastructure)*] (Černivci, 2004), 378. For the relations and rivalries between Brody and other border towns like Pidvolochys'k, see: Börries Kuzmany, Laurie Cohen, Paulus Adelsgruber, “Kleinstädte entlang der galizisch-wolhynisch/podolischen Grenze. Ein Vergleich,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 55, no. 2 (2007): 232–63.

³²*Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie; Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1864–1910); Don José Marugán y Martín, *Descripcion geográfica, física, política, estadística, literaria del reino de Portugal y de los Algarbes, comparado con los principales de Europa*, vol. 2 [*Span.* Geographical, Physical, Political,

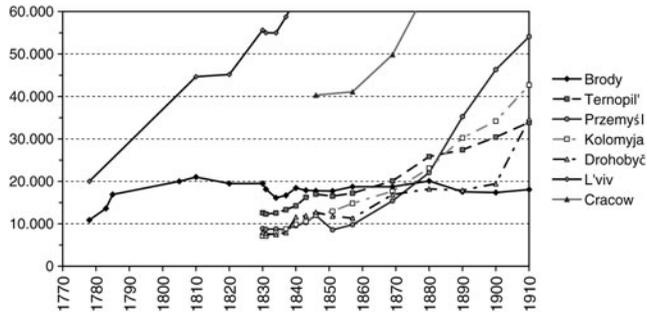


FIGURE 1: Demographic development of selected Galician towns, 1778–1910.*

*For Brody: 1778, 1783: ÖStA/HKA, Cammerale, Nr. 218, Fasc. 7 Gal., 169 ex jan. 1785, Produktnr. 7; 1786: CDIA-L, f. 146, op. 88, spr. 188, 36; 1805: Georg Hassel, *Statistischer Umriss der sämtlichen Europäischen Staaten in Hinsicht ihrer Grösse, Bevölkerung, Kulturverhältnisse, Handlung, Finanz- und Militärverfassung und ihrer aussereuropäischen Besitzungen*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig, 1805), 45; 1810: “Classification der vorzüglicheren Städte und Marktflecken des österreichischen Kaiserstaates in Ansehung ihrer Häuserzahl und Volksmenge,” in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 24 July 1810, 230; 1820: Majer Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicyi i w Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej 1772–1868* [Pol. History of the Jews in Galicia and the Republic of Cracow 1772–1868] (Cracow [L’viv, 1914], 1988), 94; 1830–1857: *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1869: *Orts-Repertorium des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Grossherzogthume Krakau. Auf Grundlage der Volkszählung vom Jahre 1869* (Vienna, 1874), 20; 1880: *Special Orts-Repertorium der im österreichischen Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder*, vol. 12 Galizien (Vienna, 1886); 1890–1910: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie*. For Ternopil’, Przemysł, Kolomyja and Drohobyč: 1830–1857: *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1869–1910: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie*. For L’viv: 1772–1819: Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburger Reiches. Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772 bis 1848*, Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund 15 (Wiesbaden, 1993), 352; 1830–1857: *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1869–1910: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie*. For Cracow 1847: Ludwik Mroczka, *Krakowianie. Szkice do portretu zbiorowego w dobie industrialnej transformacji 1890–1939* [Pol. Cracovians. Sketching the Collective Portrait in the time of Industrial Transformation 1890–1939] (Cracow, 1999), 12; 1857: *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1869–1910: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie*.

after L’viv and Cracow until the 1860s, it had fallen to the eleventh position on the eve of World War I. With unemployment and local taxes on the rise, more and more people left during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, which led to a demographic decrease in a time when urbanization gained momentum in the rest of Europe.

A Jewish Hub for Eastern Europe

Closely connected with Brody’s role as a trans-European trade junction was the town’s Jewish population. Brody was the Habsburg monarchy’s most Jewish city, with Jews numbering between 85 percent (1770s–1840s) and 65 percent (after 1900) of all inhabitants. This numeric predominance allowed local Jews a political scope unknown in the rest of the empire. Brody occupied a central place in Jewish economic, social, political, and intellectual history. “It would be difficult to find a Jew—not only from that region but also from Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland and a good part of Germany—to whom ‘Brody’ could be

Statistical and Literary Description of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarve in Comparison to the Other Main States of Europe] (Madrid, 1833), 296–308.

mentioned who would not recall or associate at least something with this name.”³³ On Jewish mental maps, Brody was always core and not periphery. Even before Austria annexed Galicia, the city had been known for more than a century for its Rabbinic-Talmudic scholarship, and rabbis educated in the local beit-midrash worked over all of Europe.³⁴ For centuries in the world of Ashkenaz, state-boundaries were perceived as onerous hindrances but not as religious or cultural barriers; only in the nineteenth century did acculturation and nationalism begin to draw new lines between the various Central and Eastern European Jewish communities. Brody’s fundamental centrality for Jewish mental maps rested on three roles or stages—the Haskalah movement, local Jewish political participation, and a place of refuge.

The city’s above-mentioned role as a trade junction rested largely on the close connections Jewish merchants enjoyed with Saxony and Prussia. During their stays in those countries, these merchants came into contact with the vibrant Jewish Enlightenment—the Haskalah—and introduced its ideas back home. Together with these new ideas, standard German progressively found its way into the *private* houses of Brody’s wealthy Jewish merchants. According to a legal provision dating to 1789, the *official* accounting of trading companies had to be kept in German.³⁵ The supporters of the Haskalah, the Maskilim, soon dominated among the city’s wealthier strata and made Brody one of the three centers of this movement in Galicia, together with L’viv and Ternopil’ (*Pol.* Tarnopol).³⁶

The lines of religious division, though, were not always drawn as sharply as would be postulated in later decades. Many members of Brody’s intellectual and economic elite pragmatically supported both the Maskilim, as well as the Orthodox rabbinate.³⁷ We can assume the same pragmatism in their usage of German and Yiddish. Because they considered a thorough knowledge of German to be indispensable for their children, most wealthy merchants supported the foundation of a secular German-Jewish school in 1818. We cannot say, however, how long they continued to communicate at home in Yiddish. With their domestic employees, they definitely had to speak Yiddish, because the majority of Brody’s Jewish population, especially the lower strata, was and continued to be Hassidic, even though the Kahal’s executives had officially anathematized them twice, once in 1772 and again in 1781.³⁸

Eastern European Maskilim wrote mostly in Hebrew. They perceived Hebrew to be the language of the modern Jewish intellectual, as well as the language of religious and cultural heritage. Admiring and studying German intensely since the early nineteenth century, Maskilim preferred this language over Yiddish, which they considered as a vulgar jargon. The

³³Dov Sadan, “Broder gasn. A shpatsir iber a gevezener shtot, [*Yid.* Streets of Brody. A Promenade in a Bygone City]” in *Yerlekher gedenk-bukh*, ed. Nekhemie Tsuker and Nokhem Lindman (Buenos Aires, 1961), 71.

³⁴*Encyclopaedia Judaica. Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1929–1931), Vol. 4, Brody, 451–52.

³⁵ÖStA/HKA, Commerz, Ungarn Siebenbürgen Galizien, Protokoll und Index, Bd. 169 (1786–89), Fasz. 57, 3 ex Febr. 1787: “Judengemeinde zu Brodi machen da Anlangen, sie von Führung der deutschen Handlungs Bücher zu befreien,” (15 February 1787), 38.

³⁶For the Galician Haskalah movement in general, see: Raphael Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, New York, and Jerusalem, 1985); Shmuel Feiner, *Haskalah and History. The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Awareness of the Past* (Jerusalem, 1995).

³⁷Max Weissberg, *Die neuhebräische Aufklärungs-Literatur in Galizien: Eine literar-historische Charakteristik* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1898), 749; Haim Gertner, *Rabanut ve-dayanut beGalitsia bemakhsit harishona shel hamea hatsha-esre: Tipologia shel hanehaga mesortit bemeshber* [*Hebr.* Rabbis and Rabbinical Judges (Dayanim) in Galicia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Typology of Traditional Leadership in Crisis] (PhD diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem, 2004), IV.

³⁸Simon Dubnow, *Geschichte Des Chassidismus*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1931), 199–201, 265.

Brody Maskilim not only absorbed enlightened ideas, but they also adapted them to local needs. Menachem Mendl Lefin Satanover (1749–1826), for example, not only wrote in German and Hebrew, but also supported the use of Yiddish. He argued that this mother tongue of Central and Eastern European Jewry was necessary to promote the Haskalah among unlearned Jewish men and especially among women. Not all Galician Maskilim agreed with him, though. When he published the first part of his Yiddish translation of the Bible, enlighteners from Ternopil’ attacked him strongly.³⁹ Nevertheless, Brody was an undisputed center of the Haskalah, and almost all Galician Maskilim had some relationship with Brody. They originated from, lived in, or at least corresponded with others in this Austrian border town.

In the same way the Jewish Enlightenment was brought to Brody by merchants staying in the German lands, the Haskalah was “traded” farther eastwards in the first half of the nineteenth century. When Russia began to allow the toll-free storage of goods in Odessa in 1803, about 300 “Brody Jews” settled in the Black Sea city and opened branch offices of their trading companies there. Although the name “Brody Jew” was attached to every Jewish immigrant from Galicia or Germany in the Odessa region, merchants from Brody were in fact among the most prominent. Wishing to foster their language, culture, and confessional convictions, they founded a German school in 1826 that combined religious learning with the teaching of secular subjects. In 1841, they established a reform synagogue and invited a German rabbi for this so-called “Broder shul” (*Brodskaia sinagoga*). Although the Brody Jews predominantly belonged to Odessa’s tiny elite and clashes with the local traditional Orthodox and Hassidic communities occurred regularly, the immigrants from Brody founded a self-confident and very active Jewish reformist community that reached far beyond the city itself.⁴⁰

An important Maskil from Russia, Isaac Levinsohn, also spent several years in Brody. Born in Kremenc’ (*Pol.* Krzemieniec, *Russ.* Kremenec), he moved after his marriage in 1806 to Radyvyliv (*Pol.* Radziwiłłów, *Russ.* Radzivilov), Brody’s neighboring town on the Russian side. He crossed the border originally only to visit a doctor, but came into contact with Brody’s Maskilim and eventually spent almost fifteen years acquainting himself with the Brodyite version of enlightened scholarship. In Levinsohn’s works, published after his return to Russia in 1820, he propagated typical Maskilic ideas formed during his years in the Austrian border town. He argued for the necessity of a complementary secular education for Jews and their engagement in agricultural and manual work, but he never took a negative stand on Yiddish as the vernacular language of the Jewish popular masses.⁴¹ Hence, Brody continued to be an intellectual hub for Jewish thought in East Central and Eastern Europe throughout the nineteenth century.

Brody Jews’ eminent role in trans-European trading networks, as well as the links between the city’s elites and the Haskalah movement, helped form a large, wealthy, and self-confident

³⁹Jerzy Holzer, “Enlightenment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Élite in Galicia,” in *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry* 12, Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians. 1772–1918, ed. Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky (London and Portland, 1999), 84; Nathan Michael Gelber, “Mendel Satanower, der Verbreiter der Haskalah in Polen und Galizien,” in *Mitteilungen für jüdische Volkskunde* 1 (1914): 41–55.

⁴⁰Raphael Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, New York, and Jerusalem, 1985), 33; Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa. A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, 1986), 42–43, 57–61.

⁴¹Josef Meisl, *Haskalah. Geschichte der Aufklärungsbewegung unter den Juden in Rußland* (Berlin, 1919), 67–68, 81; Herman Rosenthal, “Levinsohn, Isaak Baer,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–1906) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=289&letter=L [12 May 2009].

Jewish community. As Brody's Jewish bourgeoisie had such a strong national and international standing and the numerical predominance of Jews in the city was so vast, Jewish claims for political participation could not be ignored. In general, Jews did not enjoy full civic rights in the Habsburg monarchy before the constitution of 1867. In Brody, however, Jews astonishingly had already constituted 50 percent of the municipal council's members since 1798, a singular case not only for Galicia, but for the entire Habsburg monarchy. It is even more surprising that the Christian counselors explicitly supported their Jewish colleagues when the Galician provincial administration challenged Brody's representative system in 1826. This controversy continued for more than five years. The defenders of Brody's joint Christian-Jewish municipal council produced three arguments to support their arrangement, based on legal, moral and pragmatic principles.⁴²

The Josephine patent for Jews (*Judenpatent*) from 1789 had in principle already foreseen electoral rights and communal citizenship for Jews, but a supplementary provision kept Jews from becoming local citizens "for the moment" (*einstweilen*). The decree of 1792 enfranchised burghers (*Stadtbürger*) regardless of religious denomination. As the town of Brody was noble property—it belonged to the Potocki family—there were hardly any communal citizens even among the Christian population. So Brody's argument in defense of Jewish suffrage in local elections was that individuals of both groups, Jews and Christians, could vote and be elected to the municipal council if they fulfilled the principal legal requirement, which was either to own a house in the city or be a master craftsperson.

The second argument put forward by the Christian council members in favor of their Jewish colleagues was the moral obligation to give Jews equal representation in a town where they made up almost 80 percent of the city's total population—a quantity that simply could not be ignored. Furthermore, they stressed the brotherly concord between the two religious groups:

The general idea of a [city] council is to promote the common interest of the citizens through useful measures with respect to order and security. *Since the Jewish inhabitants, who despite their religious difference live in brotherly concord with the Christian inhabitants* [underlined in the original], contribute to these noble aims as much as the latter it is obvious that, if the council consisted of Christian inhabitants only, it would by far not be able to contribute as much to the city's wealth as it is able to do right now, consisting as it does of an equal number of members of both nations, because the [city's] prosperity is the consequence of a unified determination supported by mutual concord and common spirit.⁴³

In their own letter to the emperor in 1830, the Jewish council members worried that "if a difference between citizens was introduced, the good understanding between them would disappear; the Christian inhabitant, especially of the lower strata, having realized the public

⁴²For the following discussion, see: Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie na Wawelu (hereafter APKW), Teki Schneidera, Box 199, Letter of the Christian council members, 19 November 1826, 67–71; Letter of Brody's mayor Gruber, Brody, 23 November 1826, Zl. 3076, 80–81; Letter of the Galician Governorate to the district administration office [Kreisamt] in Zoločiv, L'viv, 29 October 1802, Zl. 31220/3727, 64; Request of the Governorate to the district office in Zoločiv, L'viv, 29 August 1816, 84; Attachment: Letter of mayor Gruber to the district office in Zoločiv, Brody, 17 November 1816, Zl. 2081, 82; Letter of the district office in Zoločiv to the Governorate, Zoločiv, 8 February 1827, Zl. 18883, 78–79; Letter of the district office in Zoločiv to the Governorate, Zoločiv, 5 September 1827, Zl. 13752, 76–77.

⁴³APKW, Teki Schneidera, Box 199, Letter of the Christian council members Carl Hausner, Franz Dinzl, J. Müller, Joh. Ant. Luzzano, Carl Krause, Joh. Mark. Stein, August Gottlob Voigt, Gregor Gretschinki, Michael Thüringer, and Johann Koch to the Galician Governorate, Brody 19 November 1826, 69–71.

affront accorded his Jewish fellow citizen, would see himself authorized to behave with less respect and esteem toward the aforementioned.”⁴⁴

Finally, the Brody municipal council argued pragmatically that Jews were generally more experienced in debating and defending privileges, as the Jewish community had always had to protect its special legal provisions against the noble landlord. The Jewish council members hence could and did lend their expertise to the city’s general interests. The counselors also mentioned the fact that among the Polish and Ruthenian populations not enough qualified representatives could be found who had a sufficient command of German to defend the town’s concerns.

The outcome of this ongoing dispute in the late 1820s and early 1830s between the city of Brody on the one side and the Galician governor and the Court Chancellery (*Hofkanzlei*) at Vienna is unknown. Although it is likely that Jews continued to account for half of the city’s council members, this can only be proved for the period following the Revolution of 1848.⁴⁵ However, during the reactionary period of the reign of Emperor Francis I (1792–1835), Brody’s Jews were not only morally, but also legally accepted as equal partners and were equally represented in the municipality for at least thirty years. The fact that Christians actively supported this policy shows that, on the local level, inter-religious cooperation worked quite well. This successful local experience could have served as a key argument for the possibility and necessity of Jewish legal emancipation in Galicia and the entire Habsburg monarchy. Interestingly, no Jewish politicians, be it assimilationist or Zionist, used Brody as a representational model for their political claims.

The last argument underpinning Brody’s central role on Jewish mental maps takes us to the final third of the nineteenth century. The city unexpectedly gained new importance for European Jewry when anti-Semitic pogroms in the tsarist empire drove thousands of Russian Jews out of their country in 1881 and 1882. With the arrival of the first refugees in Brody, local dignitaries set up an aid committee that was more or less identical to the branch office of the *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien* founded in this border town in 1880. The Brody committee immediately activated its national and international partners for financial and logistical support. The Paris based *Alliance Israélite Universelle* instantly sent a representative to Brody, as did the *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien* and the *Leipziger Hilfskomitee* in the following months. Together they coordinated the emigration of between 1,600 and 1,800 of these refugees to Western Europe and eventually to North America.⁴⁶ Even more returned to Russia; but at the end of the year, 2,300 refugees were still living in Brody under difficult circumstances.⁴⁷

In the spring of 1882, further Russian pogroms sent a new and even bigger wave of refugees into Brody. In the beginning of May, 12,474 people were officially registered as refugees, and in mid June the number had grown to 14,534.⁴⁸ As almost all European Jewish communities were

⁴⁴APKW, Teki Schneidera, Box 189, Petition of the Jewish council members to the Emperor, Brody, 29 April 1830.

⁴⁵Filip Friedmann, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung. 1848–1868* (Frankfurt, 1929), 123.

⁴⁶Varying estimations, see: Leo Goldenstein, *Brody und die russisch-jüdische Emigration. Nach eigener Beobachtung erzählt* (Frankfurt, 1882), 14; Björn Siegel, *Österreichisches Judentum Zwischen Ost Und West. Die Israelitische Allianz Zu Wien 1873–1938* (Frankfurt, 2010), 97–109; “II. Israélites de Russie,” *Bulletin de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 2^e semestre 1881–1^{er} semestre 1882, 12.

⁴⁷Archives de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle (hereafter AIU), URSS I C, Letter of Heinrich Nirenstein to the AUI head office in Paris, Brody, 31 December 1881 [N° 503/2, 1.1.1882].

⁴⁸ÖStA/HHStA, PA X. Russland, Liasse I, fol. 1–244, Letter of Count Wolkenstein, St. Petersburg, 13 June 1882, 124–25; Zosa Szajkowski, “The European Attitude to East European Jewish Immigration (1881–1893),” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 41 (Sept. 1951–Jun. 1952): 150.

reluctant to admit Russian Jews permanently into their countries and American-Jewish relief organizations insisted that any potential immigrant be able to work, approximately two-thirds of the refugees had to return to their homes by the end of 1882.⁴⁹

Although many Jews from southern Russia—and even from Galicia—saw Brody’s relief organizations as a stepping stone for emigration in general,⁵⁰ most refugees had in fact faced direct physical threat. Austrian officials understood the humanitarian dimension of the problem and did not interfere in the committees’ activities, especially as they were aware of Brody’s excellent international Jewish networks. They tried nevertheless to maintain control over the incoming and outgoing Russian Jews and definitely wanted to prevent any refugees from staying in the Habsburg Empire. The Austrian border-patrols hence sent refugees arriving in other cities on the country’s eastern border in convoy to Brody.⁵¹ This turned Brody into an enormous refugee camp. At the peak of the anti-Jewish violence in Russia, the city’s population temporarily almost doubled. In the long run, none of the refugees seems to have stayed in the town, as the total number of Brody’s inhabitants shrank from 20,071 in 1880 to 17,534 in 1890.⁵²

The waves of refugees and emigrants gathered in Brody after the pogroms of 1881/1882—which continued to a lesser extent until 1914—brought about a change in Brody’s place on Jewish mental maps: For the first time, it became associated as a border town in the Jewish mind.⁵³ Still, the city remained central to Jewish history, and for this reason most people held a positive or negative association with the word “Brody.” At the same time, it was the beginning of Brody’s decline from a Jewish hub to a Jewish transit station between two empires.

Brody as a Regional Educational Center—Shifting National Identities

Closely linked to Brody’s importance in international trade and with respect to the Haskalah movement was Brody’s role as a regional educational center. The Maskilic elite founded a secular secondary school for Jews in 1818, which was financed entirely by Brody’s Jewish community, although almost 20 percent of the students were Christians.⁵⁴ Brody’s wealthy

⁴⁹AIU, URSS I C, Letter of H. Nirenstein to the president of the AUI, Brody 27 January 1882 [N° 904, 31.1.1882]; Zosa Szajkowski, “The Attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish Immigration (1881–1893),” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 40 (Sept. 1950–Jun. 1951); Zosa Szajkowski [Zoya Shaykovski], *Etyudn: Tsu der geshikhhte fun ayngvandertn yidishn yishuv in Frankraykh*, [Etudes: Concerning the the History of the Jewish Community Immigrated to France] vol. 1 (Paris, 1936).

⁵⁰Moritz Friedländer, *Fünf Wochen in Brody unter jüdisch-russischen Emigranten* (Vienna, 1882), 27; AIU, URSS I C, Letter of H. Nirenstein to the AUI, Brody, 1 February 1882 [N° 978, 5.1.1882]; AIU, URSS I B, Letter of Jankel Morozowskis to the AUI, Brody, 7 September 1881 [N° 8828, 11.9.81]. Especially Klier underlines the economic dimension of emigration: John D. Klier, “Emigration Mania in Late-Imperial-Russia,” in *Patterns of Migration 1850-1914*, Proceedings of the International Academic Conference of the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London ed. Stephen W. Massil and Aubrey Newman (London, 1996), 21–29.

⁵¹Benyamin Lukin and Olga Shraberman, “Documents on the Emigration of Russian Jews via Galicia, 1881–82, in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem,” *Gal-Ed. On the History of the Jews in Poland* 21 (2007): 105–108.

⁵²*Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie* (1880, 1890).

⁵³See also Sholem Aleichem’s novel: *Adventures of Mottel, the Cantor’s Son* (New York, 1953). The Yiddish original was published in 1907. In chapters 12–14, he describes how Motl’s emigrating family illegally crosses the border next to Brody and gives his first impression of the city.

⁵⁴CDIA-L, f. 146, op. 66, spr. 40, 34–36.

merchants were interested in having a school in town where their children would receive a secular education in subjects such as mathematics, geography, or bookkeeping—subjects indispensable to a career in trade. This private *Israelitische Realschule* was turned into a publicly maintained school in 1853 and was eventually upgraded to a full-fledged high school in 1879 and named the *k. k. Rudolfs-gymnasium* after the Austrian crown prince.⁵⁵ This name and the German language of instruction indicate Brody's orientation toward the empire's center and the town's self-perception as part of a wider, supraregional network.

The fact that gymnasiums were rare institutions in the Habsburg monarchy underlines Brody's importance here as well. The example of Brody confirms historian Gary Cohen's argument that, despite Austria's generally weak economic situation in the 1870s and 1880s, the expansion of the state-sponsored educational system slowed but did not fully stop.⁵⁶ Beginning in 1853, the municipality of Brody contributed about a third of the gymnasium's budget (some 5,000 gulden), and it constructed a new schoolhouse in the early 1880s. The city assumed this enormous financial burden despite the community's sequestration in 1883. In an agreement signed between the city and the Austrian government in the same year, Brody's representatives were assured that the language of instruction in the school could not be changed as long as the municipality contributed its share to the school's budget.⁵⁷ As a result of this convention, Brody was able to resist the Polish-Galician authorities' polonization efforts. By the turn of the century, only two German language gymnasiums remained in the entire Crownland—one in L'viv and the *Rudolfs-gymnasium* in Brody.

In the 1890s, however, changing attitudes became noticeable within local politics and among Brody's elite. More and more teachers—and not only those of Polish descent—expressed doubts about whether it was sensible to maintain German as the school's language of instruction. Defending the necessity of the gymnasium's German language preparatory class, teacher Emil Pelikan implicitly criticized the current state of things: "If we don't want to block access to the gymnasium to a large number of Christian students, we have to maintain the preparatory class as long as German continues to be the language of instruction in our institution, where there are barely 45 percent of students with German mother tongue (and these mostly Galician Jews)."⁵⁸

The rapid decline in the city's wealth had led to an ever-increasing municipal debt. To reorganize its finances, the city council finally voted in December 1896 to polonize the school in exchange for a release from its obligation to make financial contributions. Public discussions of the school's language issue mentioned the financial question but generally emphasized the need for Brody's future generation to integrate itself into (Polish) Galician society. The local newspaper *Gazeta Brodzka* printed a speech given during the discussion in the municipal council by the city counselor Feliks West (1846–1946), co-editor of the newspaper and owner of Brody's only publishing house:

With respect to its civic duties towards the country [he meant the Crownland] Brody has always been an exception among other towns of the province, an exception that has always been to our detriment. Maintaining German language instruction at our gymnasium has cast more than one cloud over our city. It is high time, Gentlemen, to take a step forward today and to prove that we realized on our own

⁵⁵Rudolf Kustynowicz, "Entstehungsgeschichte des k.k. Rudolfs-Gymnasium in Brody (1. Teil)," in *Jahresbericht des k. k. Rudolfs-Gymnasiums in Brody* (Brody, 1904).

⁵⁶Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, IN, 1996), 253.

⁵⁷CDIA-L, f. 178, op. 3, spr. 993, 10–86.

⁵⁸CDIAL, f. 178, Op. 3, Spr. 993, Proceedings of the teachers' meeting of 25 February 1893, 162.

the necessity of this reform and that we consider it as our duty towards the country—let us carry it out as good citizens. . . . Parents complain that teenagers leaving our institution cannot find a job in the country! And that is totally normal—he who does not master the languages of the country will hardly find work.—After their graduation exams Jewish students mostly dedicate themselves to medicine; it's clear that they can't attend the medical faculty in the country because their Polish is not good enough. Under harsh financial expense they move to Vienna or Graz—where many do not succeed—we all know this very well. And this today, when a second medical faculty has been installed in the capital of Ruthenia [L'viv], only a three hours' ride from our city.—How convenient, how beneficial to visit one's son and be back home in one day!"⁵⁹

The financial question and the potential threat to transfer Brody's chamber of commerce to Ternopil', however, must have been the crucial points. If not, it would have been almost impossible to explain the unanimity of the city council's decision. Not only would some Jewish representatives have opposed this proposition, but the Ukrainian national deputies in the city council would also have hardly voted in favor of polonization. The local Ukrainian national movement demanded instead the ukrainianization of the *Rudolfsgymnasium*. The *Seljans'ka Rada* demanded that the Brody representative to the Galician diet, Oleksandr Barvins'kyj, intervene on their behalf: "We ask you as the depute of the county of Brody to raise your voice in the Sejm in the case of the polonization of the Brody gymnasium and speak up for the introduction of Ruthenian as the language of instruction."⁶⁰ In general Ukrainian national activists preferred German to Polish-language instruction in Galicia's schools. In their eyes, German had a higher standing and German-speaking teachers could be expected to be more nationally neutral and less anti-Ukrainian than Polish instructors:

We Ruthenians have to protest strongly against the transformation of the gymnasium into a Polish one. If already our brethren are forced to study in a foreign language, than they should do so at least in a language of culture. . . . Furthermore this school should employ teachers with complete command of the German language and free of any chauvinism, in order to prevent the school from becoming a political institution.⁶¹

Eventually, the changeover took more than ten years of negotiations with the respective authorities in L'viv and Vienna, because Brody not only sought release from any financial obligations to the school but also demanded the restitution of the school's reserve fund endowed with 38,125 gulden. According to the agreement of 1883, Brody would only have been entitled to this money if the city had founded another German-language school in the town. Because Brody did not plan to do this, it finally had to accept L'viv's and Vienna's argument.⁶² In September 1907, the *Rudolfsgymnasium* began teaching the first grade in

⁵⁹"Sprawy miejskie[Pol. Municipal Matters]," in *Gazeta Brodzka. Dwutygodnik poświęcony sprawom społeczno-ekonomicznym i przemysłowym powiatów brodzkiego i zloczowskiego. Organ brodzkiej Rady powiatowej* [Pol. *The Brody Gazette. Bimonthly Dedicated to the General Economic and Industrial Matters of the Brody and Zolochiv Counties. Organ of the Brody County Diet*], nos. 1–2 (15 January 1897), 2–3.

⁶⁰L'vivs'ka naukova biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka—Viddil rukopysiv (hereafter LNB-VR), Barv. 3239/p. 189, Campaign for the collection of signatures in favor of transforming the Brody Gymnasium into a Ukrainian Gymnasium, 24 January 1897, 1–4.

⁶¹Marko Bardach, "Das deutsche Gymnasium in Brody," *Ruthenische Revue* 1, no. 6 (1903): 142.

⁶²CDIA-L, f. 178, op. 3, spr. 936, Legislative proposal concerning the change of the language of instruction, 7 November 1904, 26–27; Expertise of the Galician Finanzprokuratur for the Galician Executive Committee [Landespräsidium], 10 November 1905, Zl. 47578/05, 32–39; Letter of the Ministry of Education to the Galician Governor, Vienna, 14 March 1907, Zl. 6715, 20; Declaration of the Brody city administration, 21 November 1907,

Polish, whereas students already in the higher classes were allowed to complete their education in German. Consequently, in June 1914, on the eve of World War I, the last *Matura* (Austrian high school diploma) was given in German.

Students themselves had not been actively involved in the discussions about changing the *Rudolfsgymnasium's* language of instruction. To obtain a better understanding of their views on the language issue, we can examine the school's statistics.⁶³ This allows us to delve deeper into questions of ethnic self-identification in times of increasingly active national movements in general. To do so, however, we have to clarify the categories involved in the making of these statistics. After 1848, statistics in the Austrian Empire became more comprehensive and surveyed not only subjects' religion, but eventually also their linguistic practices. Jews were registered in both categories as a distinct group, even though surveyors knew about the challenges of classifying *Israelites* in terms of language use. So they added a footnote explaining that "it is difficult to evaluate them by language."⁶⁴

The Austrian constitution of 1867 recognized Jews as a confessional group but not as a distinctive ethnic group (*Volksstamm*). In the official statistics, however, there were no surveys of these *Volksstämme*, and even the earlier language group (*Sprachstamm*) category was later abandoned. Starting with the census of 1879, statisticians in the Austrian part of the empire surveyed people's "language of daily use" (*Umgangssprache*). Because neither Yiddish nor Hebrew was included among Austria's officially recognized languages, Yiddish-speakers had to choose to report one of the other languages. The same is true for the official school statistics in Cisleithania, where Jewish students also had to decide in which language group they wanted to be included. In contrast to the censuses, however, official school statistics surveyed mother tongue (*Muttersprache*) and not the language of daily use. When Galicia's gymnasia were polonized, their annual reports were now published in Polish, and the formerly German statistical category *Muttersprache* (mother tongue) was replaced by *narodowość* (nationality). In 1890 and 1900, additional surveys by the central state also evaluated the degree of multilingualism in Austrian primary schools. For these surveys, pupils could also declare nonofficial languages like Yiddish, and it was also possible to declare several languages, which was not allowed in the official censuses or school statistics.⁶⁵

In Figure 2, we see that Jews made up a large part of the students even after the *Israelitische Realschule* was transformed into a public high school in 1853. By the turn of the century, they numbered a little more than a third. For decades almost all Christian students were Roman Catholics, besides a negligible number of Greek Catholics and Protestants. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the share of Roman Catholic students varied at around 35 percent. After the 1870s, however, we see a constant increase in the number of Greek Catholic students, who can largely be identified with the Ukrainian-speaking population. This development reflects the growing literacy rates of east Galicia's Ruthenian population. In 1900, Greek Catholics represented about a quarter of the *Rudolfsgymnasium's* students, whereas Greek Catholics numbered only a little more than 10 percent of the townspeople.

Zl. 9644/907, 49; CDIA-L, f. 146, op. 8, spr. 602, Letter of the Galician Executive Committee to the Ministry of Education, L'viv, 5 May 1906, Zl. 6609, 2–10.

⁶³Data for the years 1851–1864: *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1865–1878: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der österreichischen Monarchie*; 1879–1914: *Jahresbericht des k. k. Real und Ober-Gymnasiums in Brody (Sprawozdanie c. k. Gimnazjum im. Rudolfa w Brodach [after 1908 in Polish])* (Brody, 1879–1914).

⁶⁴Category "Bevölkerung nach Sprachstämmen," in *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*, e.g., 1851.

⁶⁵*Schematismus der Allgemeinen Volksschulen und Bürgerschulen in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. Auf Grund der statistischen Aufnahme vom 30. April 1890*, ed. k.k. Statistische Central Commission (Vienna, 1891, 1901).

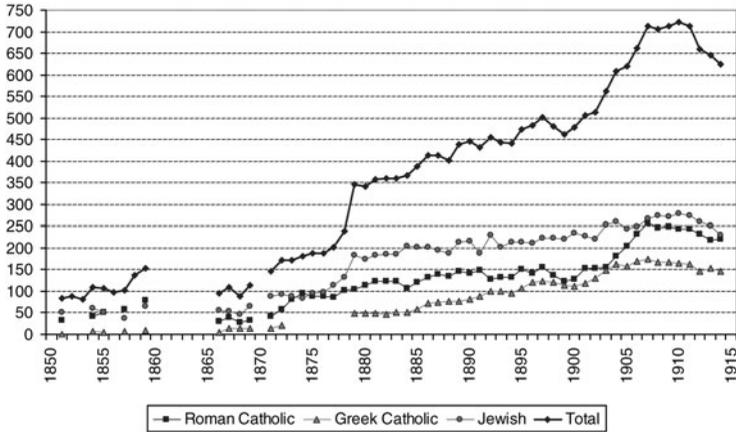


FIGURE 2: Students at Brody's Gymnasium (and its predecessors) according to religious denomination.*

*In the 1870s, there was obviously a period when Catholic students were not differentiated according to adherence to the Roman Catholic Church or Greek Catholic Church.

This means that parents from the surrounding villages and districts, and in very rare cases even from neighboring Russia, must have sent their children to Brody's high school and underlines the city's role as a regional educational center.⁶⁶

On the other hand, the native language statistics give us an entirely different picture that points up the ambiguity of allegedly neutral statistics and the difficulty of measuring ethnicity or national developments.⁶⁷

Whereas Figure 2 suggests that the numbers of the three main groups increasingly equalized at the beginning of the twentieth century, Figure 3 shows something totally different. In 1896, when Brody's municipal council voted for a change of the language of instruction, the Polish-speaking students for the first time held a slight majority over the German-speakers. The German-speaker category is a very delicate and volatile one. As long as Jews were listed both in the confessional and official statistics of the Habsburg Empire (until 1867), the little numerous category of "Germans" at the *Rudolfsgymnasium* comprised only Christian German-speakers. As there was no reported influx of Christian Germans into Brody, the large group of German-speakers during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s must be associated with the Jewish students.⁶⁸ Within ten years these German-speakers almost completely disappeared, although the school's only language of instruction continued to be German

⁶⁶Svjatoslav Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung. Entwicklung und gesellschaftliche Rolle der ukrainischen Intelligenz im habsburgischen Galizien (1890–1914)* (Vienna and Munich, 2002), especially 300–06; Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867–1914* (Frankfurt, Bern, and Cirencester, 1980), especially 101–29; Cohen, *Education*.

⁶⁷For a thorough analysis of students "national" behavior at Brody's *Rudolfsgymnasium*, see Bötties Kuzmany, "Les Lycées Galiciens—Un Lebenswelt Multiethnique. Le Cas De Brody [Fr. Galician High Schools – A Multiethnic Lebenswelt. The Case of Brody]," *Cultures d'Europe centrale*, no. 8, Lieux communs de la multiculturalité dans les villes centre-européennes (2009): 65–83.

⁶⁸Some Brody Jews (as well as some native Ukrainian-speakers) must have classified themselves already in this period as Polish-speakers, as the total number of Polish-speakers already outnumbered the total number of Roman-Catholic students, a group largely associated with Poles (besides the few Roman-Catholic Germans).

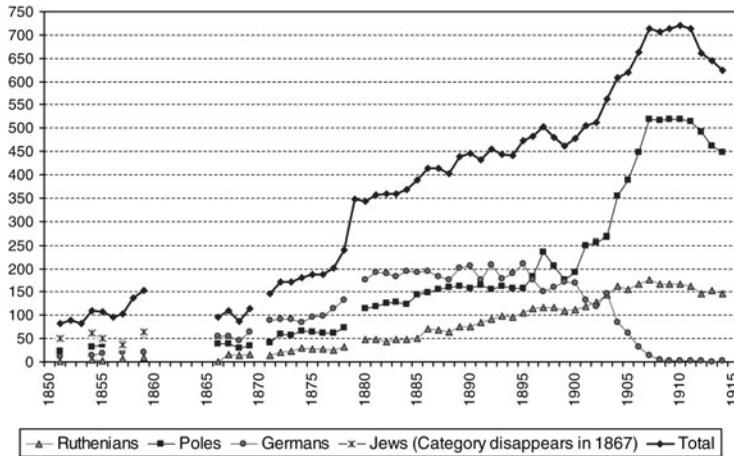


FIGURE 3: Students at Brody's Gymnasium (and its predecessors) according to mother tongue/nationality.

until 1907. After the gymnasium's polonization, Poles henceforth accounted for more than 70 percent of all teenagers at the *Rudolfsgymnasium*.

As languages do not die out within a decade, something else must have been happening in those years. These statistics might tell us that Brody's Jewish students switched from a German to a Polish public identity. This assumption is certainly correct insofar as the students could freely indicate their mother tongue for the statistics, and we should refrain from classifying people today according to supposedly true nationalities. On the other hand, these data give us no reliable information on what language these students spoke at home and how—or if at all—they identified themselves nationally in the private sphere.

First, in the official school statistics, there was no category of bi- or multilingualism to reflect widespread practices among the Galician population in general and among Galician Jews in particular. A snapshot of this practice is provided by a survey on multilingualism in primary schools in 1890. It shows that in fact more than 80 percent of all pupils in Brody knew at least two languages.⁶⁹ The same is true with respect to multiple personal identities: Recent studies on the Austro-Hungarian monarchy demonstrate that national identities were still indefinite at the turn of the twentieth century, especially for people living on the empire's fringes where "national thinking" was imported from the centers of national activism.⁷⁰ Secondly, Brody's Jewish

⁶⁹*Schematismus der Allgemeinen Volksschulen und Bürgerschulen*, 611.

⁷⁰For the Bohemian Lands, see Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, NJ, 2002), esp. 45–62; and Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, NY, 2008). For Carniola and the Slovenian Lands, see Joachim Höslér, *Von Krain zu Slowenien. Die Anfänge der nationalen Differenzierungsprozesse in Krain und der Untersteiermark von der Aufklärung bis zur Revolution 1768 bis 1848* (Munich, 2006), especially 271–301. For Bohemia, Styria, and Tirol, see Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA, London, 2006), especially 2–5. For Galicia, see Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, NY, 2001); Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, CT, 2003), especially 122–32. Himka had already demonstrated in the 1980s that Ruthenian peasants were only very slowly receptive to national ideas. See John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Alberta, 1988).

students could not choose the category “Yiddish” or “Jewish nationality” because, according to the Austrian constitution of 1867, Jews were not considered a nationality, but solely a confessional group.⁷¹ Although the Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* repeatedly complained that Brody’s elite in general was not very receptive to Zionism, some students had founded a *Zionist club* as early as 1890; and eight years later, Jewish students from Brody complained that the gymnasium’s principal had denied them permission to enter “Jewish” in the national category for the school statistics.⁷² In 1907, Brody’s citizens even elected a Zionist as their representative to the Austrian Parliament, although he was not reelected in 1911.⁷³ Hence, for some Jews in Brody, especially students, Jewish nationality definitely was an option for their personal identification.

These different statistics suggest that private and public identity was not necessarily congruent and that general political tendencies had an impact on public perceptions. Although Galicia legally never received any particular autonomous status, Vienna’s 1867–1873 concessions had allowed the Polish elites to exert power in almost all spheres of provincial administration.⁷⁴ The Ruthenians, though recognized as one of the province’s constituent ethnic groups, played only a marginal role in provincial administration. Modern Galician Jews for whom acculturation or assimilation was an option gradually changed from a pro-German to a pro-Polish orientation in the 1870s and 1880s. The Jewish communities corresponded in Polish with the provincial authorities, and their internal administration was progressively conducted in Galicia’s dominant language as well.⁷⁵

In Brody, these things happened with a delay of two or three decades and only *after* the town had lost its position in trans-European trade. Only at the turn of the century did Brody’s public sphere become increasingly polonized, whereas German had prevailed for more than a hundred years. For the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Brody-born Polish-national writer Józef Korzeniowski (1797–1863), patriotic circles erected a monument on one of the city’s main squares in 1897, which quickly became an important object of Polish identification in Brody.⁷⁶ The polonization of the public sphere was a slow process though, as a letter to the editor of Brody’s local Polish newspaper indicates. Under the title “Deutschland,

⁷¹Gerald Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs 1848–1918* (Vienna, 1985), for Brody esp. relevant 74–78.

⁷²“Correspondenzen. Brody,” *Die Welt*, 4 February 1898, 11; “Correspondenzen. Lemberg,” *Die Welt*, 12 August 1898, 11; Nathan Michael Gelber, *Toldot hatnua hatsionit beGalitsia 1875–1918*, vol. 1: 1875–1898 (Jerusalem, 1958), 247.

⁷³Harald Binder, *Galizien in Wien. Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik* (Vienna, 2005), 237, 261–62, 290–91; Nathan Michael Gelber, *Toldot yehudey Brodi 1584–1943 [Hebr. History of the Jews of Brody 1584–1943]* (Jerusalem, 1955), 313–19; Joshua Shanes, “National Regeneration in the Diaspora: Nationalism, Politics and Jewish Identity in Late Habsburg Galicia, 1883–1914” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2002).

⁷⁴Harald Binder, “‘Galizische Autonomie’—ein streitbarer Begriff und seine Karriere,” in *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905 / Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905*, ed. Lukáš Fasora, Jiří Hanuš, and Jiří Malíř, 239–65 (Brno, 2006).

⁷⁵John-Paul Himka, “Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia,” in *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 12, Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918, ed. Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky (London and Portland, 1999), 36–37; Tomasz Gąsowski, *Między gettem a światem. Dylematy ideowe żydów galicyjskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku [Pol. Between the Ghetto and the World: Ideational Problems of Galician Jews at the Turn of 19th to the 20th Century.]* (Cracow, 1997), 53–54; Piotr Wróbel, “The Jews of Galicia under Austrian-Polish Rule, 1869–1918,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 25 (1994): 97–138.

⁷⁶“Pomnik Józefa Korzeniowskiego,” *Gazeta Brodzka*, no. 7, 1 April 1897, 1–2. For the importance of monuments in the national mapping of town topographies, see Jeremy King, “The Nationalization of East Central Europe. Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond,” in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (West Lafayette, IN, 2001), esp. King’s article on the monument to Adalbert/Vojtěch Lanna in Budweis/Budějovice.

Deutschland über alles," a reader complained that some craftspeople, businesspeople, and doctors (all typical "Jewish" professions) still used German signboards on the streets.⁷⁷

While the multilingualism of Jews (Yiddish, German, and Polish) *presumably* continued, they *pragmatically* declared Polish as their vernacular or native language in public and in official documents. As language statistics constituted the principal weapon in nationalist struggles in Galicia, Jews accepted their absorption into the Polish cause. The city council's decision to polonize the high school and the public switch of Jewish students to a Polish nationality allow us to assume that Brody's inhabitants mentally accepted the fact that they were, first of all, a part of Galicia.

Conclusions

Center and periphery relations are not only multilayered, but also subject to chronological factors (parameter of time) as we could see in the case of Brody. Although challenged by the new geopolitical order after 1772, Brody's new situation on the fringe of the Austrian Empire did not disrupt the existing international trading routes in which it played a key role. For at least another seventy years, Brody kept its place in European networks of commercial exchange. Besides the political need to establish good relations with the empire's administration in Vienna, Brody focused on relations with international commercial hubs like Leipzig, Berdyčiv, or Odessa. Only when these connections rapidly declined during Brody's severe economic crisis in the last decades of the nineteenth century did Galicia's political and administrative capital, L'viv, become increasingly important for the city's elite.

The same is true for Jewish mental maps. The borders of the world of Ashkenaz did not run along political boundaries for centuries, and centrality was constituted by the weight of religious scholarship in a given place. The year 1772, hence, did not challenge Brody's standing as a central place of Jewish learning in this part of Europe. The Vienna authorities certainly strengthened their efforts to expand the Haskalah movement in Galicia, but the main factor for the rapid expansion of the Jewish Enlightenment among Brody's elite were the close commercial ties with the centers of the Haskalah in Prussia and Saxony.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, Brody's intellectual importance shrank as the Haskalah movement slowed down, the importance of Maskilim declined, and those still active did not necessarily live in Brody. This was also true of representatives of Orthodox Jewish learning, who in earlier decades had been well-known authorities in the world of Ashkenaz. Assimilation was evident among Brody's elite, although there were no explicitly assimilationist circles in the city (whether pro-German or pro-Polish). The city did preserve its fame, however, if not as a center of Jewish learning, then as a place of Jewish transit from Eastern Europe to the West. Because the migration processes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constitute a central part of the Jewish historical narrative, Brody continues to be anchored on Jewish mental maps until now.

The economic and the religious dimensions show us that it was time that shaped Brody's place in regard to center and periphery. An examination of Brody as a regional educational center in a multicultural setting allowed us furthermore to state that the changing economic and religious geographies shaped the local mental maps at the end of the nineteenth century as well. With a vanishing commercial importance and a decentralizing Austrian domestic

⁷⁷"Kronika. 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,'" *Gazeta Brodzka*, no. 7, 1 April 1897, 3.

policy that increasingly left inner Galician affairs to the Polish elite, Brody's Jews looked more and more toward the regional capital L'viv. This meant that they not only accepted its status as an Austrian-Galician border town, but also that they sided with the socially dominant ethnic group in the region's national conflict, as the transformation from a German-Jewish to a Polish-Jewish public identity suggests.

Given Brody's subjection to these peripheralizing processes, we might, in retrospect, perceive the town's development in the long nineteenth century as a history of failure. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, new regional centers had emerged that served as proto-capitals for potential future nation-states. From the Galician perspective at that time, the economic transformation of Brody was desirable, because the city's former international orientation had isolated it from its Galician surroundings. From a regional or especially from a Polish national point of view, Brody's decline facilitated the city's successful integration into the social and political realities of the Crownland. Calling this integration the embodiment of periphery reproduces the center's view of this development, but we could also see it as the end of a *longue durée* process that brought economic and mental geographies into line with the changing political map.

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