

Interrupted Work

Tales from Half-Asia


Small-Town Galicians Encounter the World

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This article discusses the years between the revolutions of 1848 and World War I, experienced by many Europeans as a time of unprecedented new opportunities for self-realization and collective liberation, and as one in which individual and collective identities became progressively constrained within national boundaries. In such towns as Buczacz and similar sites in the Austrian province of Galicia, people had more choices than ever before or after. Yet groups and individuals also began to be distinguished others not only by religion and ethnicity but also by whether their history gave them the right to continue living where they were. The author traces this process by discussing some better and lesser known individuals of this period: the Ukrainian author Ivan Franko, his Jewish counterpart Karl Emil Franzos, the scholar David (Zvi) Heinrich Müller, the writer S. Y. Agnon, Sigmund Freud, the doctor Fabius Nacht, his socialist-anarchist sons Max (Nomad) and Siegfried (Naft), and their idol Anselm Mosler, as well as the communist leader Adolf Langer, later known as Ostap Dłuski. Through these individual portraits, the author shows that the realization of the Enlightenment's lofty aspiration of liberating the individual from collective feudal constraints ended up unleashing forces that undermined the very core of humanism.

This article examines the lives and works of several individuals from Buczacz and its environs born between the mid-nineteenth century and World War I; one of them was Shmuel Yosef Czaczkes, later known as S. Y. Agnon, who was born in Buczacz in 1887. What links the people discussed below is that they all, in their different ways, were deeply rooted in the world into which they were born and, at the same time,



 Figure 3: Buczaczwall brick in courtyard of Agnon's childhood home. Credit: Wendy Zierler.

well aware of its flaws and vulnerabilities. Most of them left their little towns in Eastern Galicia, of which Buczacz was representative, as young men and spent the rest of their lives looking at this remote part of the world from the outside. Some of them wanted to change the world they came from by changing the entire universe. Others, like Agnon, re-created their hometown as a microcosm of the world of Eastern European, especially Galician, or, as he often called it, Podolian Jewry. The drastic changes some of the characters described here had hoped to bring about ended up in catastrophe. The world that Agnon tried to depict in his writing was wiped out halfway through his creative life, and the task of representation became one of reconstruction.

Agnon's monumental attempt to "build a city"—that is, to reconstruct in writing the universe that the Nazis and their collaborators had annihilated—took up an increasing share of his energies in the wake of the Holocaust. *Ir umelo'ah*, the tome he left unfinished at the time of his death in 1970, is the culmination of these efforts, a literary masterpiece that is at the same time a kind of biography of Buczacz and, by extension, of an entire vanished world.¹ Yet, at least until recently, this volume has not been sufficiently known and recognized, neither in Israel nor in the rest of the world. I personally came to it when I began writing a history of Buczacz. Agnon was concerned almost exclusively with Jewish Buczacz; I tried to write about it as a representative interethnic town, shared by Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, which ended up in a frenzy of communal genocide.² No work could provide a better, more nuanced, and deeper understanding of Jewish Buczacz than *Ir umelo'ah*. But this was, of course, also—indeed, primarily—a work of literature. My grasp of Agnon's literary genius, however limited, was in large measure a result of my encounter with Alan Mintz and our many conversations in Jerusalem in the spring of 2015. When I spoke history, Alan responded with literature; where I saw facts, Alan saw meaning. As I was writing a history of Buczacz, Alan's coedited translation of *Ir umelo'ah*, published under the title *A City in Its Fullness*, was about to come out, and he was hard at work on *Ancestral Tales*, his magisterial analysis of stories in that volume.³ He was also about to launch a literary biography of Agnon that would have reflected his keen understanding of the links between history and literature in Agnon's life and work. The seminar he organized on Jewish Galicia at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University and especially his gentle yet probing analyses of Agnon's fiction have influenced my own perception of historical writing in more ways than

I can elaborate here. This article is a small tribute to that enriching and sadly all too brief intellectual and human encounter.

The great paradox of the period spanning the years between the revolutions of 1848, known as the “spring of nations,” and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, is that many Europeans experienced it both as a time of unprecedented new opportunities for self-realization and collective liberation and, simultaneously, as one in which individual and collective identities came to be progressively constrained within national boundaries. History, as it subsequently unfolded during those years of great hopes and looming despair, was not predetermined, and the citizens of Buczacz, like those of many other towns in the remote Austrian province of Galicia, had more choices than ever before or after. A new world was emerging, and the restraints of the old were falling away: tradition had weakened, religious faith was waning, and authority was loosening its grip on family and society. Travel became easier, and people could go farther, change identities more easily, aspire to previously unthinkable goals, and embrace radical, exciting new worldviews.

But, at the same time, as groups and individuals began identifying themselves nationally and ideologically, they also increasingly perceived others through different eyes, distinguishing them not only by religion and ethnicity but also by whether their history gave them the right to continue living where they were. By the same token, those who adopted nationalist discourse restricted their own horizons by determining who they were, where they belonged, and what they could and should hope and struggle for. In this brave new world, vast collectives were being transformed into communities of fate, whose history and future were determined by national affiliation; it was a fate from which others were excluded by definition, yet one from whose repercussions there was no escape.

In the wake of the 1848 revolution, the Habsburg Empire abolished serfdom in Galicia. Over the next few decades, a new nation emerged from the Ruthenian (later known as Ukrainian) peasants in the larger, more populous eastern part of the province. It was a long process: most of the former serfs remained wretchedly poor, illiterate, and the target of ruthless exploitation by the landowners. Instilling “national consciousness” into the rural masses and crafting them into a nation that would eventually claim Eastern Galicia for itself was the singular accomplishment of an increasingly radical national movement.⁴

The Jews of Galicia were also transformed into a modern nation in the second part of the nineteenth century. Jewish activists initially focused on civil rather than national emancipation. Emperor Franz Josef's "constitution" of 1867 had guaranteed equal rights to all citizens and thereby emancipated the Jews.⁵ This fundamentally changed relations between Jews and non-Jews. Efforts by the Ukrainian national movement to educate peasants coincided with the return of Jews to the countryside after restrictions on occupation and residence were lifted. As rural Ukrainians were being nationalized, the growing presence and economic role of Jews in the villages created a popular sense of material exploitation and cultural decimation. Jews were presented as fleecing the ignorant peasants, tricking them into alcohol and tobacco addiction, and lending them money at cutthroat rates. Some accused the Jews of retarding the development of a healthy Ukrainian nation, and anti-Jewish comments in the new Ukrainian press soon surpassed attacks on Polish landlords.⁶

Ironically, then, the realization of the Enlightenment's lofty aspiration of liberating the individual from collective feudal constraints culminated in the unleashing of forces that undermined the very core of humanism. As nationalism became the carrier of ideologies that often generated mass violence, one of its central obsessions entailed unmasking assimilated Jews, perceived as a major obstacle to the creation of ethnically homogeneous nation states.

The Ukrainian author Ivan Franko was among the most influential advocates of national independence in the latter years of the nineteenth century in Galicia. Born in 1856 in a small village near the town of Drohobycz, Franko was deeply engaged with the links between social and national oppression and, in his works of fiction, relentlessly defended the rights of the peasants for dignity, identity, and material well-being. Simultaneously, he produced a series of stark literary representations of Jews as parasites sucking the blood of the Ukrainian nation in the service of Polish landowner exploitation and oppression. Still widely read in Ukraine, Franko's fiction has been influential in creating an image of "the Jew" as young Ukraine's explicit "other" within the setting of a social-realist depiction of Galician rural and small-town life at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷

It was for that reason that Franko responded enthusiastically to the publication in 1896 of Theodor Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*): his preferred solution to the "Jewish question" was the Jews' departure from Ruthenian lands, and he

believed that Jews choosing to remain in a future Ukrainian state should be categorized as “aliens” with restricted political and civic rights.⁸ Franko’s Jewish contemporary, the social-realist author Karl Emil Franzos, had a rather different view of this matter. Born in 1848, Franzos spent his childhood in the town of Czortków, some twenty miles east of Buczacz. As the son of a physician, he had an atypical upbringing and sense of identity. Decades later, he still recalled his father’s admonition: “Your nationality is not Polish, nor Ruthenian, nor Jewish—you are German,” but, “as for your faith, you are a Jew.” In providing him with that hybrid identity, hardly sustainable in a mid-nineteenth-century shtetl, his father’s goal was “that I should not see Galicia but rather the West as my homeland,” concluded Franzos.⁹

As a child in a largely Hasidic town, Franzos attended school in the Dominican monastery, had little contact with other Jews, and never went to synagogue. At age ten, following his father’s death, Franzos was sent to secondary school in the city of Czernowitz, a site of increasing Jewish assimilation into German culture. And while “it was entirely out of the question that I would ever even think of changing my faith,” he stressed, “I thought just as little that Judaism would play a decisive role in my life.”¹⁰

Shortly thereafter, Franzos was denied a government scholarship to study Classics at Vienna University. His Jewish identity, he now wrote, had demanded “a terrible sacrifice from me: that I give up the profession I chose.” While he went on to study law, he decided to learn more about Jews and, as a consequence, ended up as an author whose novels were largely dedicated to explaining the fate of Galician Jewry to German readers. To be sure, stressed Franzos, he “did not become pious,” yet his “feeling of belonging to the impoverished caftan-wearing Jews” of the province “became incomparably greater than before.” It was this sense of belonging, yet also of peering from afar, that became the core of his entire oeuvre.¹¹

Franzos had no qualms about railing against the tyrannical hold of Jewish religious leaders in Galician towns over the lives of young men and women, their dismissal of love as a poor substitute for a well-arranged marriage, and their vehement opposition to any intimate relations with gentiles.¹² But, unlike Franko, he did not call for Jewish national consciousness and reassertion; instead, he sought a trans-European culture of openness and mutual understanding, and the fulfillment of individual aspirations divorced from ethnic identification. The tragic content of his writing is derived from the impossibility of realizing these goals in Galicia.¹³

Franzos's greatest literary achievement is his novel *Der Pojaz* (*The Clown*), an inverted *bildungsroman* about a Jewish youth's failed quest for self-emancipation.¹⁴ The main protagonist is Sender, the son of a famous wandering jokester, who inherits his father's extraordinary acting talent. While the father represents the quintessential "wandering Jew," the son pines to play Shylock, the archetypal Jew of the Christian imagination. Paradoxically, in order to be allowed to act the Jew on the European theatrical stage, Sender must first become European by shedding his Jewish attributes, a transformation he fails to accomplish.

For Franzos, Shylock was the ultimate embodiment of irreconcilable yet complementary perceptions of the world.¹⁵ When Sender proposes to play Shylock in a wandering theater troupe, the director exclaims enthusiastically that *The Merchant of Venice* "is a play for Galicia. It is interesting for Jews and Christians and both can be pleased or angry about it to their hearts' content. Shylock is always a sellout." If Christian audiences see a money-grubbing, parasitical, self-hating and vengeful Jew, the Jews see in Shylock a personification of their predicament, eternally dependent on the tender mercies of the gentiles no matter how much wealth he acquires. As the dying Sender watches his idol, the great actor Dawison, perform Shylock's soliloquy in Lemberg, "If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh?" he observes: "This was no longer an actor, but rather a poor, unfortunate man who had long kept his and his brethren's misery bottled up within himself, who had long suffered without complaint, and who had suddenly found words for his terrible pain."¹⁶

This appears to have been Franzos's own state of mind when he wrote the novel. Completed in 1893, *Der Pojaz* was published only in 1905, after its author's death.¹⁷ By all accounts, Franzos delayed publication in response to the rise of anti-Semitism in central Europe. As a prominent proponent of Jewish integration into the mainstream of European culture, Franzos was shaken by the growing tide against emancipated Jews in the culture and nation he had adopted. Ironically, despite the novel's commercial success when it was published, German critics greeted it as "too Jewish," and Zionist detractors saw it as "too German."¹⁸

Both Franko and Franzos felt that, by accurately yet both critically and empathetically describing the ills of the present, they would motivate society to progressive action. For Franko, the purpose of the historical novel was "to lay bare

the human heart, its fervent aspirations and consuming passions, its struggles, triumphs and defeats [...] portrayed against the backdrop of a historical event.”¹⁹ Franzos, who called himself “the historian of the Podolian Ghetto” and referred to the Galician world he had come from as “half-Asia,” insisted that, despite his “great desire to give these stories an artistic form,” he would never do this “at the cost of truth [...] I am confident,” he wrote, “that I have described this strange and outlandish mode of existence precisely as it appears to me.”²⁰ But these two writers saw the same world through utterly different eyes: their very insistence on factual accuracy betrayed the gaping fissures between the perceptions of reality by their respective ethnic groups, which eventually widened to unbridgeable chasms, irretrievably shattering that entire universe.

Unlike Franzos, most Jews of his generation had to chart their own course into the world directly from a traditional Jewish upbringing. Some, such as David (Zvi) Heinrich Müller, who was born in Buczacz in 1846 and was Agnon’s maternal cousin, made subsequent use of the skills they had acquired as children and youths. They also always retained a whiff of foreignness about them and, much as they were admired by the communities they left behind, were suspected both by the Orthodox and by the emerging Zionists of having abandoned the fold: too Jewish for the Germans, too German for the Jews.

For a man of his generation, Müller was a rare exception. By the time of his death in 1912, he had become a renowned scholar, a university professor, and the holder of a hereditary noble title, all without abandoning his Jewish faith as was conventionally required for such official recognition. A child prodigy, Müller was banished from his father-in-law’s home because of his interest in the Haskalah and set out on an educational journey throughout Europe, ending up at the age of thirty-one as an assistant professor of Semitic philology at Vienna University, where he remained for the rest of his life.²¹

To be sure, not everyone admired Müller. The Palestine-based Zionist newspaper *Hatsvi*, for instance, accused him of having betrayed the cause of Hebrew and “worshipping only German literature.”²² Conversely, the Berlin-based liberal Jewish monthly *Ost und West* described Müller as “a sharp-witted grammarian, text critic, decipherer of ancient inscriptions and texts, editor and cultural historian.”²³ Müller’s most important contribution was his assertion that the Hebrew Bible had

a major impact on later sacred and secular European writing, which flew in the face of the contemporary wisdom, according to which the Bible was largely derivative of earlier Assyrian and Babylonian texts. In 1903, he published an annotated German and Hebrew translation of Hammurabi's code, discovered two years earlier in Persia, where he showed the vast differences between Mesopotamian and biblical concepts of law and morality.²⁴

Learned in Jewish and secular scholarship, equally comfortable in the company of rabbis and professors, committed to traditional erudition and to the Haskalah, and publishing in both German and Hebrew, Müller had all the makings of the ideal modern Jew. Contrary to the reproaches of his Orthodox and Zionist detractors, he spearheaded the establishment of the Jewish Theological Institute in Vienna, where he began teaching in 1893. As *Ost und West* noted, Müller also encountered much "resentment and envy" from "Protestant German colleagues eager to deny a Jew the right to have a word on Biblical questions," especially at a time when "antisemitism raged at its fiercest in Austria." While the journal insisted that Müller had prevailed over his opponents, *Hatsvi* claimed that Christian scholars had eventually adopted Müller's views only at the price of denying his original contribution and even accusing him of plagiarism. Indeed, the old professor was said to have been so "consumed by rage" that "his health was destroyed." As "this Jew descends to the Netherworld in discontent," concluded *Hatsvi* in its 1913 obituary, "his entire intellectual work will be ignored by the sages of Semitic languages."²⁵

Müller's hometown also viewed him with a mix of admiration and resentment. In 1893, Müller was sent word by his mother "that an evil rumor has come to the city of Buczacz and that informers have denounced and slandered me and that she would rather die because of this affair." Deeply distressed, Müller responded that he was "the strong pillar upon which the house of Judah rests," and that "the whole congregation of Vienna honors me and the Name of God is sanctified through me." But there is little doubt that, for some of those who stayed behind, his very accomplishment on the European stage cast doubt on his commitment to Jewish faith and tradition.²⁶

For others, not least Agnon, Müller was "a great and famous sage of whom all Galicia was proud." In 1908, the twenty-one-year-old Agnon was instructed by his mother to visit their relative in Vienna on his way to Palestine. Perhaps the mother

hoped that the venerable scholar would dissuade her son from this adventure. Indeed, as Agnon recalled in his autobiographical novel *Hemdat*, Müller impressed on him that “settling Erets Yisra’el is a great deed, but its climate is harsh, and its inhabitants suffer, and you will not be able to withstand the suffering of the land. Better that you settle down in Vienna and prepare yourself for the university and I will support you.” Agnon did not heed this advice. But four years later he abandoned Jaffa and moved to Germany, where he stayed for well over a decade.²⁷

Although Agnon’s later writings betray the influence of Freud, who was also teaching at Vienna University, he is unlikely to have heard of him at the time or to have known that he, too, was linked to his hometown.²⁸ In fact, Freud’s paternal grandfather and great-grandfather were born in Buczacz and there is evidence to suggest that both were rabbis, while his father was born in the nearby town of Tysmenitz (Tyśmienica, Tysmenytsya) moving later to Freiberg (Příbor) in Moravia, where Sigmund was born to his second (or possibly third) wife Amalia. The family settled in Vienna four years later, where Freud was raised, having had no direct contact with Buczacz.²⁹

But a century later, in 1958, Freud’s sixty-nine-year-old son Martin recalled his grandmother Amalia, who “came from East Galicia” and was of “Jewish stock.” These “Galician Jews,” he commented, “were a peculiar race, not only different from any other races inhabiting Europe, but absolutely different from Jews who had lived in the West for some generations.” On the one hand, they “had little grace and no manners; and their women were certainly not what we would call ‘ladies.’ They were highly emotional and easily carried away by their feelings.” On the other hand, “they, alone of all minorities, stood up against the Nazis” and “fought the German army on the ruins of Warsaw.” Martin firmly believed that, “whenever you hear of Jews showing violence or belligerence, instead of that meekness and what seems poor-spirited acceptance of a hard fate sometimes associated with Jewish people, you may safely suspect the presence of men and women of Amalia’s race.”³⁰

Martin Freud had served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army in World War I and in the British army in World War II. As tall and broad-shouldered as his paternal grandfather, he appreciated physical resistance to one’s enemies and took pride in what he believed to be the laudable qualities of his heritage, about which he otherwise knew close to nothing. One can imagine that Martin acquired some

of his views of Jews from his father. The rabbi and ethnographer Max Grunwald, who encountered Sigmund Freud a few times, has left us some telling observations on the topic.³¹ At their first meeting, following a lecture he delivered in Vienna in 1898, Freud remarked that he was “pleasantly surprised” to see Grunwald in “an elegant tailcoat,” because “he had imagined a Jewish rabbi in the image of John the Baptist, wearing a shaggy coat, with unkempt hair and tormented features.” Several years later Grunwald attended a lecture by Freud on Hammurabi’s code, where Freud rejected his colleague Müller’s views and insisted that the Hebrew Bible and thus Judaism as a whole were derived from ancient Mesopotamian mythology. Raising the issue again at their third and last encounter, Freud asserted “resolutely that the Jews had given nothing to culture” in recent times as well.³²

One cannot but be struck by the irony of Freud’s statement considering his own incalculable impact on modern culture. Freud’s discernible influence on Agnon is only one, albeit significant, instance, both in terms of Hebrew literature in general and, more to the point of this article, by way of linking these two singularly creative offspring of late nineteenth-century Eastern European Jewry to each other. Freud, as we know, also shared with Müller a fascination with ancient Jewish mythology. These two Jewish men made the most of the opportunities that had opened up to members of their generation, however differently they related to their own heritage, yet their personal fates were the function of changing times and circumstances: Müller, ten years older, died just before World War I as a respected Austrian scholar. Freud fled Vienna as a hunted Jew shortly after the *Anschluss* with Germany in 1938 and lived just long enough to witness the outbreak of World War II. His four sisters were murdered in the camps. One of his last books was *Moses and Monotheism*.³³

Most of those who left their Galician hometowns never came back, but some did. They brought with them a trace of the new world and the possibilities of a different life, as well as books, newspaper subscriptions, ideas, and opinions. But they also found themselves irretrievably back in the drudgery of provincial life. Their children, growing up among those books and magazines, ideas and disillusionments, at times decided to act where the fathers had not: to transform not just their hometowns but the entire world. They were often adventurous, reckless, and tragic figures: their high hopes were irreparably dashed, their firm beliefs betrayed, the world of their youth wiped out, and the one that replaced it turned out to be

infinitely crueler and more cynical. Many died young; some of the survivors adapted to the new reality and served its masters, while others ended their days sheltered in the margins of irrelevance. They tended to be bitter and, toward the end, were occasionally given to rather unrevolutionary nostalgia. The youngest among them belonged to my grandparents' generation.

This generational trajectory is well illustrated by the case of the Nacht family. The father, Fabius, was born in Buczacz in 1848 and raised in an affluent, German-speaking home already touched by the *Haskalah*. After matriculating from the Polish-language state gymnasium in Stanisławów, Fabius went on to study medicine at the University of Vienna. (He had originally aspired to acquire a degree in mathematics but abandoned that quest when he found out that Jews were not allowed to teach it in schools.) In 1879, he came back to Buczacz and opened a private medical practice. Fabius was soon recognized as one of the most respected members of the Jewish community on account of his university degree, his position as a doctor, and his "higher" German culture.³⁴

But as his son Max recalled almost a century later, in response to the limitations imposed on him by "the reactionary, church-ridden Vienna regime," Fabius Nacht had also become a socialist in the early 1870s. Indeed, it was from his father, wrote Max, that "I got my first radical indoctrination."³⁵ Yet unlike Franzos, his exact contemporary, who was forced to study law but never practiced it, Fabius dedicated himself to his role as the most prominent medical authority in Buczacz. In 1891, a modern hospital was established in Buczacz under the direction of Fabius Nacht, a position he held for thirty-four years until his retirement at the age of seventy-seven in 1925. He was fortunate to pass away just before the outbreak of World War II. In 1942, the German occupiers, together with Ukrainian and Jewish policemen, deported the approximately 100 patients to the Bełżec extermination camp, while shooting those too sick to move in their beds. Nowadays all that is left of the hospital is an empty lot.³⁶

An obituary published in the Polish Socialist Party's weekly in 1938 acclaimed Dr. Nacht as "a socialist out of conviction, a freethinker without hateful intolerance... a rationalist filled with deep feelings, [and] an internationalist who sympathized with all liberation movements." Even toward the end of his life, the doctor's "desk was overflowing with piles of socialist newspapers and magazines of all shades

and languages.”³⁷ It was in this home that Fabius Nacht’s sons were raised as members of the first activist socialist generation in Buczacz.

In *‘Ir umelo’ah*, Agnon depicts those early days of social mobilization: “An explosive new word is making the rounds in Buczacz and it is socialism.” Suddenly, those who used “to work for you as servants” assert that “every person is his own master and does not belong to anyone else”; they “used to work from daybreak till midnight,” but now they “stop working after eight hours.” As Agnon observed, in this struggle for social justice, not a few Jewish “sons of the wealthy who appeared to want for nothing [...] joined the socialists, and no father could be certain that his son would not carry out some action that would land him in prison or that he would not marry the daughter of a worker.” All those who thought that “Zionism is the worst of all upheavals in the world” now “discovered that there are even greater upheavals,” since Buczacz had become “a city of socialists.”³⁸

One center of political ferment was Fabius Nacht’s home, described in his obituary as “the meeting point for socialist youths of all nationalities.”³⁹ The local leader was Anselm Mosler, whom Max Nacht recalled as “the only citizen of our town ever to accomplish” the “intellectual feat” of earning two doctorates from Vienna University, in law and philosophy. Having spent eighteen months in a Russian prison for smuggling illegal literature, Mosler returned to Buczacz and organized a socialist association that, despite its Ukrainian name, was, according to Max, “exclusively Jewish, for the Gentile workers, Roman Catholic Poles and Uniate Catholic Ukrainians were under the influence of their respective clergymen and would not join such a society.” In any case, as he pointed out, the majority of the population in Buczacz “consisted of Yiddish-speaking Jews,” while the remaining Polish and Ukrainian inhabitants “hated and despised each other even more than they did the Jews.”⁴⁰

Born in Buczacz in 1881, Max Nacht became a Marxist by the ripe age of fourteen and was an early member of Mosler’s group. He and his older brother Siegfried attended public school, where they learned Polish and Ukrainian. Siegfried soon joined the social democratic movement and was expelled from two secondary schools in a row for conspiratorial activities before finally matriculating in the larger city of Stanisławów in 1895.⁴¹

By then, Max, too, had become radicalized; turning to anarchism, he broke with his former idol Mosler, whom he accused of wanting to go “beyond cultivating

his own garden, with its few scores of Jewish tailors, carpenters, locksmiths, salesmen, butchers, and shoemakers,” so as “to play a more important role,” especially “in the Polish section of the Austrian Socialist party.” Yet Mosler’s “first bid for leadership,” recalled Max, “met with such bitter abuse that he resigned from that party and joined the newly organized Jewish Social-Democratic Party,” formed after it had been denied recognition both by the Austrian socialists and by the Polish section. To Max, writing about these events six decades later, this demonstrated the effects of Polish and Austrian socialists’ anti-Semitism, leading to Mosler’s “utterly ridiculous . . . sudden conversion to Yiddish separatism,” considering that he was a former “assimilationist who was unable to speak Yiddish.”⁴²

In fact, Mosler had not entirely given up on trying to revolutionize the local population. In 1905, he began publishing a bilingual Polish-Ukrainian monthly newsletter directed at the “peasants of the Buczacz district and other districts of Podolia” with the goal of enlightening the largely illiterate farm laborers about their rights and helping them resist abuse and exploitation.⁴³ Yet, as many of the peasants’ letters to this short-lived newsletter show, their sense of injustice and resentment often translated into rage against the Jews. Disillusioned and impoverished, Mosler finally put an end to his career as an agitator and receded from the scene. Living in Vienna during World War I, he finally succumbed to the tuberculosis he had contracted in the Russian prison as a young revolutionary.

But Mosler did make one last ghostly appearance in Agnon’s great novel, *Oreah nata lalun* (*A Guest for the Night*), over two decades after his death, under the evocative fictional name Knabenhut. Based on Agnon’s last visit to his hometown in 1930, the novel depicts his protagonist’s encounter with Aharon Schützling, a character bearing a striking resemblance to Max Nacht. Both the narrator and Schützling had left Buczacz many years earlier and are keenly aware of how profoundly both the city and their own outlooks have changed since their departure. “Although we differed in our opinions,” observes the narrator, “for I was a Zionist and he an anarchist, we were glad to talk to each other.”⁴⁴

As they contemplate their respective disillusionments, they remember Knabenhut, who is “dead and gone.” Schützling is beset with nostalgia: “Days like those will never return. Strikes during the day and wild parties at night.” But then he recalls a chance meeting with Knabenhut in wartime Vienna. The latter, he says,

had “fumed at me for becoming an anarchist, and some said that he had denounced me to the authorities, and I had to flee to America.” This time, the disheveled Knabenhut lectured him “about the war and the destruction that is in store for us and the entire world.” He was gravely ill, and his last words were just a whisper: “The generation that is about to come will be worse than all the generations that preceded us,” he prophesized. “The world is becoming ever uglier, uglier than either I or you had ever sought to make it.”⁴⁵

This prophecy expressed Agnon’s own foreboding at the time of the novel’s publication in 1939. His narrator recalled how Knabenhut had empowered the “wretched boys” of Buczacz, “who were treated like cattle, tyrannized day and night by their masters.” But the anarchists blamed him for refusing to accept that “the world can only be repaired through eradication,” whereas he viewed them, in Agnon’s words, as “rabid zealots, ready to sacrifice themselves and the whole world as well.”⁴⁶ To be sure, while the fictional anarchist Schützling somehow wound his way to wartime Vienna, the real Max and Siegfried Nacht were already in the United States by the time the war broke out, having also given up on their efforts to change the world after years of revolutionary activities across Europe.

In the years between his departure from Buczacz and immigration to the United States, Siegfried was transformed into an itinerant revolutionary. Having acquired a degree in electrical engineering in Vienna, he could not find an appropriate position because of his Jewish background and socialist politics. At the same time, as a member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, he came out against Zionism and, in 1897, officially left the Vienna Jewish community. But shortly thereafter he also grew disenchanted with what he perceived as the nationalism, anti-Semitism, and parliamentarism of the Social Democrats, embraced anarchism, and moved to Berlin, from which he traveled, mostly on foot, from one revolutionary cell to another. In April 1903 he crossed into Gibraltar and was promptly arrested on suspicion of plotting to assassinate King Edward VII during his planned visit to the British territory. The pistol he regularly carried did not help matters.

Siegfried’s arrest made waves throughout Europe. Polish émigrés in Paris and Ruthenian socialists in Vienna protested. In London, a committee was formed under the leadership of Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin and the philosopher Herbert Spencer (who died just a few months later). Siegfried’s younger brother Max

described the response to the arrest in Buczacz, noting sarcastically that Siegfried was transformed overnight from “the disgrace of the town,” into “a national hero, the fame and pride of the place.” Moreover, Siegfried was called “an engineer” and “an author” in Polish newspapers and was said to have come under the protection of “a former minister, a real countess,” and “an actual prince.” With such credentials, commented Max, the town of Buczacz came to view Siegfried as nothing less than an “eighth wonder of the world.” In Agnon’s *Oreah nata lalun*, Siegfried appears as Sigmund Winter, “the son of a doctor and one of Knabenhut’s disciples,” who “was distinguished among his friends by his black hair and beautiful eyes that he would make at young women.” The narrator recalls Winter’s victorious visit to his hometown following his release for lack of evidence a few weeks after his arrest in Gibraltar. He was “holding his head high like a prince, a black cape over his shoulders with its hem flowing down below his knees, a black hat on his head slightly tilted to one side, his moustache rolled upward and his beard descending in the shape of a half Star of David.” Indeed, the young revolutionary “was walking as if” the whole city “belonged to him,” surrounded as he was by “beautiful maidens from the best families” with “all the officials making way for him.” It all sounded a little like Mordecai the Jew’s triumphant march through the city of Shushan following his victory over Haman the Agagite.⁴⁷

This was Siegfried’s finest hour. In 1912 he immigrated to the United States and was joined there by his brother the following year. Max had begun studying law at Vienna in 1900, but he soon teamed up with fellow student Mykhailo Lozynsky, a Ukrainian poet, journalist, and political agitator, to produce a single issue of a projected anarchist periodical, which led to their arrest and indictment for high treason by the Austrian authorities. Max, who somehow escaped to Switzerland, ruminated years later that, had it not been for this event, “I most likely would have remained in Austria to die for my Emperor during World War I, or, in case of survival, to be gassed by Eichmann during World War II.” By then, he rationalized his adoption of anarchism as “compensation for the personal sense of inadequacy and insecurity of the impractical son of a radical Jewish physician.” Conversely, he saw his Ukrainian comrade’s anarchism as the “expression of a nationalist intellectual’s protest against the Austro-Polish landed nobility,” who “were oppressing four million Ukrainian peasants” in Galicia. Yet, in the wake of World War I, Max noted,

Lozynsky “capitulated to Moscow, taking a job with one of the Ukrainian scientific institutions in Kiev.” Nevertheless, during the Great Purges of the late 1930s he “was shot along with all the other well-known Ukrainian intellectuals who had ever shown any Ukrainian nationalist inclination.”⁴⁸

In the United States, the brothers changed their names to Stephen Naft and Max Nomad and lived most of the rest of their lives in New York City.⁴⁹ Max achieved certain notoriety in the American left. The eminent critic Edmund Wilson wrote an introduction to Nomad’s 1961 book, *Aspects of Revolt*, where he described him as a “connoisseur of radicals” not least because he was, in his own words, “a Socialist in my high-school days, an Anarchist as a college student, a Syndicalist *sui generis* during the years of my romantic and not-so-romantic vagabondage, and finally a Soviet sympathizer some forty years ago when Lenin and Trotsky were still glorious legends, between 1917 and 1920.”⁵⁰

To lifelong professional revolutionaries, Mosler and the Nacht brothers would have appeared as mere dilettantes who ended up betraying their ideals. Adolf Langer, born in Buczacz in 1892, just eleven years Max Nacht’s junior and five years younger than Agnon, had the temperament and perseverance of the numerous apparatchiks who have populated so much of the twentieth century. After his death, his communist colleagues noted vaguely that he was raised “in an atmosphere of patriotism and democratic ideals.” In fact he was the son of Joachim Langer, director of the Baron Hirsch School, where classes were held in Polish but German, Ruthenian, and some Hebrew were also taught; Joachim’s wife, described by one of her former students as “a beautiful blond,” taught there as well, while he offered additional extracurricular classes on Jewish religion at the Buczacz state gymnasium, which his son Adolf also attended.⁵¹ In the small universe of Jewish Buczacz most people knew each other: Markus (Mordechai) Kanfer, a teacher at the Baron Hirsch School and an essayist for Hebrew-language magazines, also taught Agnon German and some Polish; Markus’s son Mojżesz (Moshe) attended gymnasium with Siegfried Nacht and later became an important intellectual figure in interwar Kraków. He and his wife were murdered in the Holocaust but their daughter, Irène (Irma) Kanfer, became a well-known postwar French poet. Markus Kanfer’s daughter Sabina (Sara) became romantically involved with Max Nacht and apparently had a son by him in Paris before he left for the United States. I met Alain Kanfer, a

retired physician and Sabina's (and likely Max's) grandson, in 2001 in Paris; raised as a Roman Catholic, he was trying to recover his roots in Jewish Buczac.⁵²

By the time Adolf enrolled as a philosophy student in Vienna University in 1914, he had become a member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party but, two years later, shifted his loyalties to its "revolutionary left wing grouped around Lenin."⁵³ A founding member of the Austrian Communist Party in 1918, Langer led the establishment of the Communist Party of Eastern Galicia the following year. In 1921, he chaired its national conference in Lwów, where the mostly Ukrainian Galician communists clashed with the Polish representatives over the demand to retain their autonomy in newly independent Poland. Ironically, the twenty-nine-year-old Jewish communist Adolf Langer, now known by the more Polish-sounding name Ostap Dłuski, was charged with resolving this largely ethnonational crisis within the new Polish Communist Party.⁵⁴

Not unlike Mosler, and despite being a loyal communist, Dłuski had much sympathy for the Ukrainians. He spoke frankly about Poland's "brutal suppression of the Ukrainian nation" in 1919, and stressed that even the Polish communists "came to us not with a vehement, all-inclusive protest against the horrors that were committed, but rather with the slogan 'Polish Soviet Republic,' which to us was incomprehensible, alien, and aroused suspicion." In fact, while three quarters of the Galician communists were Ukrainian, and Jews were prominent among the leadership, the majority of the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia, mostly made up of peasants, was strongly anti-Polish. As Dłuski noted at the time, the "simple Ukrainian" responded to assertions by Polish communists that "this was one state" by saying: "You are nationalists, you are exactly like the other bourgeois parties."

The 1921 conference came to an abrupt end when the Polish authorities arrested all the delegates. At the trial, Dłuski unflinchingly professed his belief that "only communism could eliminate the oppression, poverty, and misery of humanity," and that the Soviet Union marked "a new beginning in the progress of humankind."⁵⁵ Throughout his life, at least publicly, Dłuski never wavered from this position and, following his release from prison in 1923, made a career in the Polish Communist Party, becoming a member of the Central Committee and later head of its National Secretariat. In 1936, he moved to France in order to liaise with the French Communist Party.⁵⁶ When the Polish government dissolved the Communist Party in 1938, Dłuski

remained in France, resuming underground activities following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. With the French police hot on his heels, in 1942, he went into hiding in a shack owned by Dr. Edgar Longuet, Karl Marx's grandson and mayor of Alfortville near Paris, where he spent several months composing a lengthy German-language indictment of Nazism. In his only known written reference to the ongoing Nazi genocide, Dłuski condemned Hitler's "bloodhounds," who "drag millions of unarmed Jews in all occupied lands out of their houses, bring them to Poland, and heinously slaughter them there in slaughterhouses built especially for this purpose, among them hundreds of thousands of Jewish children."⁵⁷

By 1943, Dłuski was back in action, organizing a Ukrainian underground in France, editing the Ukrainian-language magazine *Fatherland*, and justifying Stalin's takeover and reordering of Eastern Europe in a series of French-language articles. The Soviet Union, he asserted without a trace of irony, "had made the principle of liberty and independence of peoples into the basis of its *raison d'état* and of its foreign policy," because "a nation that oppresses another people cannot be free."⁵⁸ In a victory speech he delivered in liberated Paris in 1945, Dłuski blamed the recent crushing of the Polish uprising and the destruction of Warsaw by the Wehrmacht as the Red Army stood by on "the egotistical politics" of those who "wanted to drive a wedge into the Allies' front," to which "the heroic people of Warsaw fell victim."⁵⁹ He made no reference to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943 or to the extermination camps overrun by Soviets.

Dłuski's firm Stalinism seems to have been shaken only once. On July 4, 1946, the bloodiest postwar pogrom in Europe took place in the Polish town of Kielce; over forty Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were butchered. Altogether between 500 and 1,500 Jews were murdered in Poland in the immediate aftermath of the war.⁶⁰ Back in Warsaw as member of the Central Committee, on July 29, Dłuski proposed to his colleagues "that an institution be established which would facilitate departure of the Jews from Poland, so that they could join their families." He went so far as to take note of the Jewish community's disappointment with the lack of democracy in Poland and the fact that Władysław Gomułka—at the time deputy prime minister and de facto ruler of Poland—had not made a single reference to the situation of the Jews in a five-hour speech to the Communist Party.⁶¹ In 1968 Gomułka, by then leader of the renamed Polish United Workers' Party, expelled the remaining Jews from the country.⁶²

Dłuski's brief preoccupation with anti-Semitism in Poland may have been mostly motivated by the communists' attempt to accuse their enemies at home and abroad of inciting anti-Jewish sentiments, but it is at least possible that he was also personally shaken by the violence that followed the destruction of the world into which he was born.⁶³ Subsequently, Dłuski became engaged mainly in propagandistic humanitarian activities.⁶⁴ When given the opportunity to speak publicly about Nazi crimes, as on the occasion of Goethe's 200th anniversary in 1949, Dłuski refrained from any mention of Holocaust.⁶⁵ Conversely, after Stalin's death in 1953, which put an end to the anti-Jewish campaign he had just unleashed, Dłuski depicted his memory as "eternally alive, warm and sincere," and described the Bolshevik Party as representing "the highest achievements of advanced human thought."⁶⁶ No wonder that, following his death in 1964 at the age of seventy-two, he was described as "a model communist."⁶⁷ He certainly had impeccable timing; four years later he would likely have been unmasked as the crypto-Jew Adolf Langer and expelled from Poland as a fifth column Zionist.

Still, for all the ideological baggage Dłuski piled up between himself and Buczac, he always remained within the Polish sphere on whose periphery he was raised. Others, who had wandered much farther, remained attached to the world they had striven to leave behind. Max Nacht acknowledged toward the end of his life that his worldview had initially been forged in Buczac. Müller, whose move across the Carpathians to a Vienna professorship was a giant step for members of his generation, drew greatly on his early years in Buczac and was pained by rumors about his lack of loyalty to its community. Agnon spent a lifetime writing about Galicia; had he lived longer, he might have continued compiling ever more stories about Buczac because, in the aftermath of destruction, "building a city," as he depicted the writing of *Ir umelo'ah*, "in its fullness," could not but be a never-ending labor of love:

For if my city has been wiped out of the world, its name exists in the poem that the poet has written as a sign of my city. And if I do not remember the words of the poem because of its greatness, the poem resonates in the heavens above among the poems of the holy poets beloved of God.⁶⁸

In different ways, they were all trailblazers: coming from the margin they struggled to make themselves known to the world and in the process became part of its remaking.

NOTES

- 1 S. Y. Agnon, *‘Ir umelo’ ab* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1973).
- 2 Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2018). Some of the materials in the current article appear in the book but are greatly elaborated here.
- 3 S. Y. Agnon, *A City in Its Fullness*, trans. Arthur Green et al., ed. Alan Mintz and Jeffrey Saks (New Milford, CT: Toby, 2016) and Alan Mintz, *Ancestral Tales: Reading the Buczacz Stories of S. Y. Agnon* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017).
- 4 John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999); Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine’s Piedmont* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); and Kai Struve, *Bauern und Nation in Galizien. Über Zugehörigkeit und soziale Emanzipation im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).
- 5 J. Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 31–37. In 1900, Buczacz numbered 3,078 Roman Catholics, 1,918 Greek Catholics, and 6,730 Jews. *Galizien*, vol. 12 of *Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* (Vienna: K. K. Statistische Zentralkommission, 1907), 100.
- 6 John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villages and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 158–75 and Struve, *Bauern*, 384–433.
- 7 Yaroslav Hrytsak, “A Strange Case of Antisemitism: Ivan Franko and the Jewish Issue,” in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 232–35 and Ivan Franko, *Boa Constrictor and Other Stories*, trans. F. Solansko (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957?).

- 8 Theodor Herzl, *Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage, 1860–1904* (Leipzig: M. Breitenstein, 1896); Hrytsak, “Strange Case,” 233–37; Ivan Franko, *Zur Judenfrage—Do iudeiskoho pytannia. Statti* (Kiev: Mizhrehionalna akademiia upravlinnia personalom, 2002); and Myroslav Shkandrij, *Jews in Ukrainian Literature: Representation and Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 69–80.
- 9 Karl Emil Franzos, *Der Pojaz. Eine Geschichte aus dem Osten* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), 5–6, trans. Enrique Lerda as *The Clown of Barnow* (New Orleans, LA: University Press of the South, 2004).
- 10 Franzos, *Der Pojaz*, 6–7. See also Salo W. Baron, “The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation,” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 3 (1949): 195–248.
- 11 Franzos, *Der Pojaz*, 8.
- 12 Barnet Phillips, “Preface to the American Edition,” in *The Jews of Barnow: Stories by Karl Emil Franzos*, trans. M. W. Macdowall (New York: D. Appleton, 1883), v–vi.
- 13 See, e.g., his novella, *Leib Weihnachtskuchen and his Child*, trans. Michael Mitchell (Riverside, CA: Ariadne, 2005 [1896]).
- 14 Jeanette R. Malkin, introduction to *Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre*, ed. Jeanette R. Malkin and Freddie Rokem (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), 10.
- 15 See his early story, “The Shylock of Barnow” (1873), in *The Jews of Barnow: Stories by Karl Emil Franzos*, trans. M. W. Macdowall (New York: D. Appleton, 1883), 19–71.
- 16 Franzos, *Der Pojaz*, 312, 354. Dawison is based on the celebrated Warsaw-born actor Bogumil Dawison (or Davidsohn), who went insane and died at age fifty-four in 1872; see Herma Rosenthal and Edgar Mels, “Dawison (Davidsohn), Bogumil,” *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906): <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5005-dawison-davidsohn-bogumil>.
- 17 Jost Hermand, afterword to *Der Pojaz. Eine Geschichte aus dem Osten* by Karl Emil Franzos (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), 360.
- 18 Hermand, afterword, 371–73. See also Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988). In Agnon’s novel *Shira*, his protagonist, Manfred Herbst, who was born and raised in Germany and served as a lecturer at the Hebrew University, returns to reading German literature during World War II. It was only then, writes Agnon, that he “saw and recognized that even Germany’s best bards were not free of that malice,

so much so that they lyricized it and made it into a virtue, so that all manner of cruelty to the Jews became acceptable [...] It should be mentioned here that many books ringing out with malice and cruelty came to Herbst as presents given to him by Jews for his Bar Mitzvah. The Jewish spirit had become enslaved to such an extent to Germany that they did not perceive the hatred of Jews lyricized by these books. But what the Jews did not feel the Germans did feel [...]; see S. Y. Agnon, *Shira*, 3rd ed. (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1999), 296 and translation by Zeva Shapiro (New York: Schocken, 1989), 295.

- 19 Sonia Morris, introduction to *Winds of Change: Selected Prose by Ivan Franko*, trans. Roma Franko, ed. S. Morris (Winnipeg: Language Lanterns, 2006), 8–9.
- 20 Karl Emil Franzos, preface to *The Jews of Barnow: Stories by Karl Emil Franzos*, trans. M. W. Macdowall (New York: D. Appleton, 1883), ix–xx. See also Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien. Culturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrussland und Rumänien*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1878). In a letter to Karl Jaspers describing the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961, Hannah Arendt wrote: “On top, the judges, the best of German Jewry. Below them the persecuting attorneys, Galicians, but still Europeans. Everything is organized by a police force that gives me the creeps, speaks only Hebrew and looks Arabic. Some downright brutal types among them. They would follow any order. And outside the doors, the oriental mob, as if one were in Istanbul or some other *half-Asiatic country*. In addition, and very visible in Jerusalem, the peies [sidelocked] and caftan Jews, who make life impossible for all the reasonable people here.” Quoted in Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, “Jewish Peoplehood, ‘Jewish Politics,’ and Political Responsibility: Arendt on Zionism and Partitions,” *College Literature*, 38, no. 1 (2011): 72 (emphasis mine).
- 21 Getzel Kressel, “Professor David Zvi (Heinrich) Müller,” in *Sefer Buczacz*, ed. Yisrael Cohen (Tel Aviv: ‘Am ‘Oved, 1956), 109–11; “David Heinrich Mueller,” *Ost und West. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für das gesamte Judentum* 13, no. 2 (1913): 162; “Dr. Zvi Heinrich Müller z“l,” *Ha-Zvi*, January 9, 1913, 2.
- 22 “Dr. Zvi Heinrich Müller z“l,” *Ha-Zvi*, 2.
- 23 “David Heinrich Mueller,” *Ost und West*, 163.
- 24 Kressel, “Professor David Zvi (Heinrich) Müller,” 111; David Heinrich Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie* (Vienna: Hölder, 1896); and Müller, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältnis zur mosaischen Gesetzgebung*

sowie zu den XII Tafeln. Text in Umschrift, deutsche und hebräische Übersetzung, Erläuterung und vergleichende Analyse (Vienna: Hölder, 1903). Agnon refers to this last book in Agnon, *Shira*, 77 (75 in the Shapiro translation). *Shira* is filled with insights on the lives, views, and fates of German Jewish scholars who ended up in Mandatory Palestine.

- 25 "David Heinrich Mueller," *Ost und West*, 164–66 and "Dr. Zvi Heinrich Müller z"l," *Ha-Zvi*, 2. Müller has recently been rediscovered; see Gertraud Sturm, *David Heinrich Müller und die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898/99* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).
- 26 Letter by Müller, April 12, 1893, reprinted in Yisrael Cohen, ed., *Sefer Buczacz* (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1956), 118.
- 27 Dan Laor, "Pgisha be-Vinna, May 1908," *Ha'arets*, August 8, 2008, <http://www.haaretz.co.il/literature/1.1341697>; S. Y. Agnon, "Hemdat" (1947), in *Me'atsemi el 'atsemi* (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 2000), 18.
- 28 For Freud's impact on Agnon's writing see, e.g., Arnold J. Band, *Nostalgia and Nightmare: A Study In the Fiction of S. Y. Agnon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Avraham Band, "Agnon megaleh penei Freud," *Moznayim* 11 (1989): 17–21; Malka Shaked, "Ha'im haya Hirshel meshuggah? Likrat re'iyah pluralistit shel ha'alilah besippur Pashut," *Hasifrut* 32 (1982): 132–47; David Aberbach, *At the Handles of the Lock: Themes in the Fiction of S. Y. Agnon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Yael S. Feldman, "The Latent and the Manifest: Freudianism in a Guest for the Night," *Prooftexts* 7, no. 1 (1987): 29–39; Avner Falk, "Agnon vehapsykho'analizah," *Itton* 77 156 (1993): 28–39; Shmuel Faust, "Kahalom ya'uf. Peshet hasippur 'Tallit Aheret' me'et Shai Agnon," *Ha'arets: Sefarim* (October 5, 2005), <https://www.haaretz.co.il/literature/1.1048977>; and Yael Halevy-Wise, "Reading Agnon's *In the Prime of Her Life* in Light of Freud's *Dora*," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 1 (2008): 29–40.
- 29 Max Grunwald, "Pegishot im Sigmund Freud," in *Sefer Buczacz*, ed. Yisrael Cohen (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1956), 119–22; Ernest Jones, *The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries, 1856–1900* (New York: Basic, 1953), 1–3, 12–13, vol. 1 of *The Life and Works of Sigmund Freud*, 3 vols. (New York: Basic, 1953–57). Freud's father, Jacob, referred to his own father and grandfather as "ha-Rav Shlomo son of ha-Rav Ephraim," although they may not have practiced as rabbis. See Benjamin Goodnick, "Jacob Freud's Dedication to His Son: A Reevaluation," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 82, nos. 3–4 (1992): 329–60, which analyzes both father and son's relationship to

- Judaism (and 347 for this specific quote) and Goodnick, "A Well-Deserved Sabbath Rest: Three Freud Patriarchs," *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis* 21 (1993): 107–15 (esp. 107). See also, e.g., Marianne Krüll, *Freud and His Father*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York: Norton, 1986); William J. McGrath, "How Jewish Was Freud?" *New York Review of Books* (December 5, 1991): <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1991/12/05/how-jewish-was-freud/>; Alain de Mijolla, "Freud, Jakob Kolloman (Or Kelemen Or Kallamon) (1815–1896)," *International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis* (2005): <https://www.encyclopedia.com/psychology/dictionaries-the-sauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/freud-jakob-kolloman-or-kelemen-or-kallamon-1815-1896>; and Robert Kaplan, "Soaring on the Wings of the Wind: Freud, Jews, and Judaism," *Australian Psychiatry* 17, no. 4 (2009): 318–25.
- 30 Martin Freud, *Sigmund Freud: Man and Father* (New York: Vanguard, 1958), 11. See also Helen P. Fry, *Freud's War* (Stroud: History, 2009) and Judith Bernays Heller, "Freud's Mother and Father: A Memoir," *Commentary* (May 1, 1956), <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/freuds-mother-and-father-a-memoir/>.
 - 31 Grunwald, "Pegishot," 119–22; Isidore Singer, "Max Grunwald," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906), <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/6911-grunwald-max>.
 - 32 Grunwald, "Pegishot," 119–22.
 - 33 Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones (London: Hogarth, 1939) and David Cohen, *The Escape of Sigmund Freud* (London: JR Books, 2009), 178, 205–7. See also Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991) and Michael L. Miller, "Sigmund Freud: Reluctant Galitsianer" (paper presented at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, May 13, 2015).
 - 34 Werner Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe. Max und Siegfried Nacht. Zwei radikale, jüdische Existenzen* (Münster: Unrast, 2008), 12–15.
 - 35 Max Nomad, *Dreamers, Dynamiters, and Demagogues* (New York: Waldon, 1964).
 - 36 Haya Roll, "Beit haḥolim uveit hamahseh lezkeinim," in Sefer Buczac, ed. Yisrael Cohen (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1956), 181–82 and Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 15–17. Bundesarchiv Berlin 162/5182: "Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen im Kreis Czortków/Distrikt Galizien, 1941–1944, Sammelverfahren gg. Brettschneider u.a.," deposition by Yehuda Bauer, January 10, 1968, pp. 6212–14.
 - 37 *Tydzień Robotnika* (Warsaw, Lemberg Edition) no. 6, February 6, 1938, cited in Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 18–19.

- 38 Agnon, 'Ir umelo' *ab*, 644–46. See references to socialism in pre-1914 Buczacz in S. Y. Agnon, *Sippur Pashut* (1935), in 'Al kappot haman' *ul* (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1998), 58, 71.
- 39 *Tydzień Robotnika*, in Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 23.
- 40 Nomad, *Dreamers*, 7.
- 41 Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 11–12, 23–27, 30; "Autobiographical Sketch," in *Max Nomad Papers 1902–1967*, Tamiment Library, New York; Zvi Heller, "Mezikhronotai," and Naftali Menatseach, "Miyemei ne' urai," in *Sefer Buczacz*, ed. Yisrael Cohen (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1956), 158 and 173, respectively.
- 42 Nomad, *Dreamers*, 8–9.
- 43 *Służba dworska: Gazeta dla robotników rolnych powiatu buczackiego i innych powiatów podolskich* 1 (June 1905): 1–3, *Biblioteka Sejmowa*, P. 50730. See also Heller, "Mezikhronotai," 150.
- 44 S. Y. Agnon, *Oreah nata lalun*, rev. ed. (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1998), 228–29. The novel was translated by Misha Louvish as *A Guest for the Night* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968). See also references to Knabenhut in Agnon, *Sippur pashut*, 58, 71, 200–201.
- 45 Agnon, *Oreah*, 234–35.
- 46 Agnon, *Oreah*, 235–41. See also Yehuda Mosner, "Maine yugent yoren in Buchach," in *Pinkes Galitsye*, ed. Nekhemya Tsuke (Buenos Aires: Galitsyaner Farband, 1945), 476.
- 47 Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 55–58, citing Maxt Nacht, "Anarchistenjagd," *Neues Leben* 23 (June 6, 1903) and 24 (June 13, 1903) and Agnon, *Oreah*, 236–38, where the narrator also praises Knabenhut for having "learned to speak Yiddish, so that he could speak with his comrades [in the Buczacz socialist cell] in their language. Which was not the case with most of our [Zionist] leaders, who were too lazy even to learn the Hebrew alphabet."
- 48 Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 30–34 and Nomad, *Dreamers*, 11–14. See also John Kolasky, ed., *Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1990), 212–13.
- 49 Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 117–18.
- 50 Edmund Wilson, introduction to *Aspects of Revolt: A Study in Revolutionary Theories and Techniques* by Max Nomad (New York: Noonday, 1961), vii. Siegfried's pamphlet "The Social General Strike," published under the name Arnold Roller in 1905, is still available; see Robert Graham's Anarchism Weblog,

- September 10, 2010, <https://robertgraham.wordpress.com/2010/09/10/siegfried-nacht-the-social-general-strike-1905/>.
- 51 Menatseach, "Miyemei ne 'urai," 168–69; "Droga życiowa Ostapa Dłuskiego," n.d., Akta Ostapa Dłuskiego, *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (AAN), 450/I-1, p. 1; *Sprawozdanie dyrekcyi C. K. Gimnazjum w Buczaczu za rok szkolny 1901* (Lwów, 1901), 36–39.
 - 52 Dan Laor, *Hayyei Agnon* (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1998), 22; Heller, "Mezikhronotai," 155–58; David Pohorille, "Pirquei havai," in *Sefer Buczacz*, ed. Yisrael Cohen (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1956), 199–200; letter to author from Alain Kanfer, Paris, March 22, 2010, and enclosed documents, including Sara Kanfer's certificate of residence in Buczacz dated 1912, and a certificate by a police prefect in Paris dated May 1915, stating that she was born in Buczacz to Markus and Civje Herman Kanfer and arrived in Paris in August 1912; email to author from Alain Kanfer, June 14, 2010; Portmann, *Die wilden Schafe*, 85 and n. 522, 111 and n. 673, 117–18; Eugenia Prokop-Janiec, "Mojżesz Kanfer a teatr jidysz," in *Teatr żydowski w Krakowie*, ed. Jan Michalik and Eugenia Prokop-Janiec (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Międzywydziałowy Zakład Historii i Kultury Żydów w Polsce, 1995), 125–50; and Sean Martin, *Jewish Life in Cracow, 1918–1939* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004), 66, 111–19, 218–33. Irène Kanfer also translated from Yiddish and Polish the volume *Le Luth brisé. Première anthologie en français de poèmes du ghetto et des camps* (Paris: Presses du temps présent, 1965).
 - 53 Droga życiowa, 1. See also "Dłuski Ostap—Langer Adolf (1892–1964)," *Słownik Biograficzny Działaczy Polskiego Ruchu Robotniczego*, ed. Feliks Tych, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1985, 1987), 2:585–86.
 - 54 "Dłuski," *Słownik* and Droga życiowa, 1–2. See also Roman Solchanyk, "The Foundation of the Communist Movement in Eastern Galicia, 1919–1921," *Slavic Review* 30, no. 4 (1971): 774–94.
 - 55 Stefan Królikowski and A. Hołowka, eds., *Proces komunistów we Lwowie (sprawa świętojurska) sprawozdanie stenograficzne* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1958), 114–28; Franciszka Świetlikowa, *Komunistyczna Partia Robotnicza Polski 1918–1923* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1968), 279–306; Solchanyk, "Foundation," 788–91; "Relacje tow. Dłuskiego," AAN, 450/I-3, pp. 1–5 (c. 1960); and Droga życiowa, 2.
 - 56 "Relacje tow. Dłuskiego," 8–12 and "Dłuski," *Słownik*. See also, e.g., O. Dłuski, "Pan Beck oszukuje społeczeństwo polskie," *Correspondance Internationale*, published in Paris, AAN, 450/IV-4 (1937). For Dłuski's interwar Polish police file, see AAN, 450/I-2.
 - 57 Oswald Ostenrode (Ostap Dłuski), "Die Rostowlüge und ihre Folgen. Ein Kapitel aus der Broschüre 'Deutschland ein Schaudermärchen oder der Weg zur Freiheit,' mit

- einem Aufruf an den Leser. Beitrag zur Entlarvung des Hitlerismus,” manuscript, January 7, 1943, AAN, 450/VI-1, pp. 4–5.
- 58 Ostap Dłuski, “Il n’y a qu’un seul chemin qui mène à la l’indépendance” and “Aux immigrants slaves en France,” AAN, 450/II-69, pp. 20–23, 72–76, respectively (undated, likely late 1943 and early 1944).
- 59 “La Pologne nouvelle et la France en face de l’impérialisme germanique,” attributed to “M. André Dłuski, Représentant du Comité Polonais de Libération Nationale en France, Centre d’Étude de Politique Étrangère,” February 28, 1945, AAN 450/II-71, pp. 9–10. In a questionnaire for admittance into the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party dated July 17, 1945, he identified himself as “Andrzej Dłuski (Adolf Langer),” being “of Jewish origins, Polish,” and “leader of the Ukrainian resistance movement in France.” AAN 450/I-1.
- 60 Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz. An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 2006), 35 and David Engel, “Patterns of Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland, 1944–1946,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1998): 43–85.
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- 62 Dariusz Stola, “Fighting against the Shadows: The Anti-Zionist Campaign of 1968,” in *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 284–300.
- 63 “Dłuski,” *Słownik; Droga życiowa*, 4; and Bożena Szaynok, “The Role of Antisemitism in Postwar Polish-Jewish Relations,” in *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 274–75.
- 64 See, e.g., Dłuski’s article for the organ of the World Peace Council in 1955: “Pour une vaste tribune de discussion,” AAN, 450/IV-24.
- 65 Ostap Dłuski, “Aussprache während der ‘Goethefeier in Warschau,’” AAN, 450/III-103, pp., 6–7.
- 66 Dłuski on Stalin, AAN, 450/IV-21, pp. 1, 9. See also Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir P. Naumov, eds., *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom: The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*, trans. Laura Esther Wolfson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).
- 67 “Dłuski,” *Słownik; Droga życiowa*, 5. See Dłuski’s death certificate, AAN, 450/V-1.
- 68 Agnon, ‘*Ir umelo’* ah, 716.