

Intermediary scientific report (01.05.2013 –31.12.2013)

Displacement, Deportation and Survival of the Jews from Bucovina. Literary Models of Identity and Memory Construction

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1. Establishing the bibliographical apparatus

The general and specific bibliography was identified by consulting the electronic catalogs of several libraries in Iasi (B.C.U), Bucharest (B.N.R, B.A.R, B.C.U.B), Vienna (Ö.N.B, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliothek des Jüdischen Museums Wien), Jerusalem (National & University Library of Israel), Tel Aviv (Sourasky Central Library) and Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, HU / FU-Universitätsbibliothek). I have also accessed some relevant databases of numerous archives in Jerusalem and in New York (e.g. Yad Vashem, The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Leo Baeck, YIVO) in order to determine the documentation needs.

As a result of this documentation work it was identified a total of 197 bibliographical representative titles; this work will form the interpretative basis in the framework of the project. The bibliography has been divided into three main chapters: a) historical works and studies; b) literary and documentary-literary writings; c) studies in aesthetic theory, works related to the cultural studies. The bibliographical references cover various linguistic and cultural areas, allowing the consultation of a wide range of literature written in Romanian, German, French, English and Yiddish.

2. Deepening the theoretical and thematic framework of the project

a) The regaining of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by Romania; the Bukovina Jews during the Second World War; the deportations to Transnistria

In this stage, it was relevant to consider a critical reading of a specific text corpus, especially of historical studies in order to reveal the historical peculiarities of the Romanian Holocaust in an objective manner. The bibliographical apparatus that supported this scientific aim consisted of studies written by Romanian, Israeli, German, American historians. Some of these materials have been found at the University Library of Iasi (B.C.U.), a series of papers and studies being located in

my own library. I mention here selectively the following publications which were read and summed up: Jean ANCEL, *Transnistria, 1941-1942: the Romanian mass murder campaigns* (Tel Aviv: The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center/Tel Aviv University 2003); Sebastian BALTA, *Rumänien und die Großmächte in der Ära Antonescu (1940 - 1944)* (Stuttgart: Steiner 2005); Lya BENJAMIN (Coord.), *Legislația antievreiască* (București: Editura Hasefer 1993); Wolfgang BENZ [Hrsg.], *Holocaust an der Peripherie: Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940 – 1944* (Berlin: Metropol 2009); Randolph L. BRAHAM, *The destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews during the Antonescu era* (New York: Columbia University Press 1997); Gheorghe BUZATU, *România cu și fără Antonescu* (Iași: Editura Moldova 1991); Matatias CARP, *Cartea Neagră*, ediția a II-a (București: Editura Diogene 1996); Mihai FĂTU, *Consens pentru salvarea națională a României. Septembrie 1940 – august 1944* (București: Editura Ministerului de Interne 1996); Julius S. FISCHER, *Transnistria. The forgotten cemetery* (New York: South Brunswick 1969); Dinu C. GIURESCU, *Românii în al doilea război mondial (1939-1945)* (București: Editura All 1999); Hiltrun GLASS, *Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft. Das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien 1918-1938* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag 1996); Mariana HAUSLEITNER, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina. Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Großrumäniens 1918-1944* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag 2001); Mariana HAUSLEITNER [Hrsg.]: *Rumänien und der Holocaust: zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien 1941 – 1944* (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag 2001); Carol IANCU, *Evreii din Romania, 1919-1938: de la emancipare la marginalizare* (București: Hasefer 2000); Radu IOANID, *Evreii sub regimul Antonescu* (București: Editura Hasefer 1998).

Preliminary conclusions I have reached after reading these works are: in the territories of the Old Kingdom was pursued, in a first phase, only the evacuation of Jews from rural to urban centers, but in some cities from Northern Moldavia and especially in the regained territories such as Bessarabia and Bukovina, the situation was different, accompanied by massive deportations into the territories across the river Dniester. In case of Transnistria we cannot discuss about a meticulously organized extermination as it happened in the extermination camps, which were established by the Nazis, using methods such as mass gassing or medical experiments. The specifics of the majority of the ghettos and camps from Transnistria were that the Romanian political authorities at that time followed a "natural" decimation of the deportees with minimal financial and administrative efforts, the precarious living conditions in Transnistria, the malnutrition, the typhus, the frost have been identified as a major cause of death.

b) *The Jewish population of "Austrian" Bukovina: cultural and identity dimensions*

This research stage included an evaluation of a text corpus of studies dealing with the social history in general and particularly with the social history of literature in order to analyze and reinterpret the issue concerning the Central European constellation, especially the cultural phenomenon called "Bukovina".

The documentation stage at the Austrian National Library and at the Vienna University Library has contributed to the completion of the bibliographical framework of the project. I mention here selectively the following publications which were read and summed up: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bukowina* (Wien: Kaiserlich-königl. Hof- und Staatsdr. 1899); Hugo GOLD (Coord.), *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Vol. I (Tel Aviv: Olamenu Publishers 1958); Delphine BECHTEL, *La Renaissance culturelle juive en Europe centrale et orientale 1897-1930: langue, littérature et construction nationale* (Paris: Belin 2002); Steven BELLER, *Wien und die Juden 1867-1938* (Wien: Böhlau 1993); Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE (Hrsg.), *Jüdisches Städtebild. Czernowitz* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag 1998); Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE / Jacques LE RIDER (Hrsg.), *Metropole und Provinzen in Altösterreich (1880-1918)* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau 1996); Erich PROKOPOWITSCH, *Das Ende der österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina* (München: Oldenbourg 1959); Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE (Hrsg.), *Czernowitzer Geschichten: über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa* (Wien: Böhlau 2003); Kurt SCHARR, *Die Landschaft Bukowina: das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774 – 1918* (Wien: Böhlau 2010); Lucy DAWIDOWICZ, *The Golden Tradition. Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press 1996); Claudio MAGRIS, *Der habsburgische Mythos in der modernen österreichischen Literatur* (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag 2002); Robert S. WISTRICH, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (New York: Littman 1989); Carl E. SCHORSKE, *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Adolf A. Knopf 1980); Jacques LE RIDER / Moritz CSÁKY, *Transnationale Gedächtnisorte in Zentraleuropa* (Innsbruck/Wien: Studien Verlag 2002).

Preliminary conclusions I have reached after reading these works are: From a geographical point of view, Bukovina is located at the margin of the Carpathian bow and it has originally been part of the Romanian principality Moldavia. Beginning with 1514 Bukovina had to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire. In 1774, when the Austrian troops led by General Gabriel Freiherr von Spleny occupied Bukovina, one could find there a devastated, backward and poorly populated territory. This was an essential difference in comparison to the neighbouring territory, i.e. Galicia, which was annexed by the Habsburg Empire in the year 1772, being a territory with a dense population. Moreover, the population from Galicia was characterized by a relatively stable ethnic configuration, having mostly a well-established topographic localization and being mostly formed of three groups: Poles, Ruthenians and Jews.

The demographic aspect, as well, has a major importance in the analysis of the identity formation among the population from Bukovina. Differently from Galicia, in Bukovina none of the ethnic groups here was able to reach an absolute majority. This population mix from Bukovina and especially from Czernowitz led in fact to the creation of myths; one could often hear of a one-sided, transfigured and idyllic romanticized image of this region, where the relations among the individual ethnies were described as being harmonious and peaceful. Bukovina's incorporation into the Habsburg Monarchy, initially as part of Galicia, marked the beginning of a unique development, reflected in the fast modernization process of the infrastructure, education, culture, economy and subsequently of the demography. Especially in Czernowitz, which in 1849 became Bukovina's capital-city, one could best notice this flourishing boost, which led to a strong local patriotism and to an awareness of the dependency to Austria. The year 1918 marked a dramatic point in the German-speaking culture from Czernowitz. Together with the dissolution of the Austrian Monarchy and with the annexation of Bukovina to the Greater Romania, an entire institutional and cultural tradition was ruined. In the personal sphere, the Rumanization process was hard to accomplish, German still being the main colloquial language in Czernowitz. In most of the literary works, which have been written by authors from Bukovina directly after the fall of the monarchy, irrespective of the linguistic orientation, one could notice a certain pride, i.e. to have once been part of the multinational Habsburg Empire.

c) Theoretical, methodological and aesthetical aspects of Holocaust literature

For this phase I have consulted a series of theoretical studies about the aesthetics of the Holocaust literature in order to establish a model of analysis for studying the mechanisms of functioning of a particular literary segment with reference to the traumatic experiences lived by the Jewish deportees during the Holocaust.

I mention here selectively the following publications which were read and summed up: Jan ASSMANN, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (München 1997); Jean-Yves et Marc TADIÉ, *Le Sens de la mémoire* (Paris 1999); Elie WIESEL, *Ethics and Memory. Ethik und Erinnerung*. In: Ernst Reuter-Vorlesung im Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (26. Juni 1996) (Berlin-New York 1997); James E. YOUNG, *Beschreiben des Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main 1992); Aleida ASSMANN / Geoffrey HARTMANN, *Die Zukunft der Erinnerung und der Holocaust* (Konstanz 2011); Wolfgang ISER, *Die Wirklichkeit der Fiktion. Elemente eines funktionsgeschichtlichen Textmodells der Literatur*. In: Reiner Warning, *Rezeptionsästhetik* (München 1979), p. 277-324; Theodor ADORNO, *Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt 2003).

Preliminary conclusions I have reached after reading these works are: Researching the Holocaust literature, one may notice two main orientations, which are very clear: the former aims at analyzing this type of literature from a theoretical and hermeneutical perspective: it consists exclusively of the text interpretation from a poetological point of view, without taking into consideration the historical context (it is here more or less about a dis-historization of the literary discourse); the latter aspires to an interdisciplinary research. The latest generation of literary scholars is aware that the ways of representing the Holocaust cannot be understood as an isolated fact, but being strongly associated with the historical facticity. To be retained by the collective memory, the events need a form, and any form uses a narrative mechanism (the function of the language). The facticity of the Holocaust survives only because of its epic and cultural reconstruction.

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I also mention that during the year there were several meetings between the project leader, Dr. Francisca Solomon, and the postdoctoral advisor, Prof. dr. dr. Andrei Corbea-Hoișie, during them various theoretical, methodological and interpretative aspects were discussed.

3. National and International Visibility (Conferences)

1. 25.-26.06.2013: International Conference „Israel – Culture, Nation and State”, The „Alexander Safran” Center for Jewish History and Hebrew Studies, Faculty of History, University of Iași, Romania.

Paper: „Deportation and Survival of the Jews from Bucovina. Literary Models of Identity and Memory Construction.”

2. 16.-20.10.2013: Internationale Tagung „Literatur – Kultur – Zivilgesellschaft: Zur Habsburger Prägung des Bildungswesens in der Bukowina und Nachbarregionen zwischen 1848 und 1940“; Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Chernivtsi, Ukraine.

Paper: „Jüdische Erziehung und Ausbildung im Cheder: Literarische Perspektiven in den Texten galizischer und bukowinischer jüdischer Autoren.”

3. 10.-13.12.2013: Internationale Konferenz „Wien als Drehscheibe großer jiddischer Kultur”, Universität Wien, Austria.

Paper: „Die Bukowina und der transnistrische Holocaust in ausgewählten Schriften von Alexander Spiegelblatt und Edgar Hilsenrath – sprachliche, diskursive und narrative Aspekte.”

4. 16.-18.12.2013: Germanisten-Kongress, Universidad Sevilla, Spain.

Paper: „Die Bukowina zwischen Traum und Trauma. Die Thematisierung der Deportationen nach Transnistrien in ausgewählten Schriften von Edgar Hilsenrath und Aharon Appelfeld.“

3. Documentation stages

- **1.08.-30.09.2013:** research and documentation stage at the Austria National Library, Vienna, Austria.

4. Publications

Kerstin Schoor: „Vom literarischen Zentrum zum literarischen Ghetto. Deutsch-jüdische literarische Kultur in Berlin zwischen 1933 und 1945“ (recension). In: Andrei Corbea-Hoişie / Cristina Spinei (Ed.): *Gregor von Rezzori: Auf der Suche nach einer größeren Heimat*, Iaşi / Konstanz: Editura UAIC&Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2013, p. 558-561.

25.11.2013

Project leader,
Dr. Francisca SOLOMON