

# Biography(s) of a Jewish teacher in Lviv during the period of Galician autonomy (1867-1918)

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**ABSTRACT:** The article draws on the role of «place» and «time» in biography taken from Yi-Fu Tuan. The subject of interest is Lviv between 1867 and 1918 and its influence on the biographies of Jewish teachers. Lviv was a special city for the Jewish community of Central and Eastern Europe, Jews found in its favorable conditions for the development of social, religious and cultural life. Alongside the traditional stream of religious life, based on centuries-old tradition, worldview currents striving to modernize the life of the old Jews were developing more and more strongly. During the period of Galician autonomy, they enjoyed full public rights, including public education open to them. The consequence of this equality was the appearance of Jewish teachers in public education. The article presents several professional paths that Jewish teachers in Lviv could follow, reflecting their traditional and modern worldview.

**EET/TEE KEYWORDS:** Lviv; Galicia; Jews; Teacher; Yi-Fu Tuan, XIX-XX Centuries.

In this article, I have chosen to use Yi-Fu Tuan's categories of «place» and «time»<sup>1</sup> as a leitmotiv for biographical research about Jewish teachers in Lviv at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The choice of city and time is not accidental. Lviv – now located in western Ukraine – has for centuries been a place of coexistence of different peoples, cultures and religions<sup>2</sup>, and for this reason its historical heritage is nowadays a subject of discussion and dispute, especially between Poles and Ukrainians. Polish historians write about Lviv as *semper fidelis*, a refuge of Polishness and Catholicism in the eastern borderlands,

<sup>1</sup> Y.-F. Tuan, *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis-London, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, pp. 179-198.

<sup>2</sup> The complex history of the city is reflected in the title of the Delphine Bechtel article: D. Bechtel, *Lemberg//Lwów/Lvov/Lviv: Identities of a city of Uncertain Boundaries*, «Diogenes», vol. 2, 2005, pp. 73-84.

Ukrainian historians write about «Ukrainian Piedmont», the cradle of modern national consciousness. Lviv is also regarded by Jews as a special place – a family home, a small homeland – because of its centuries-long presence and the richness of its religious, social and cultural life. The well-known Jewish historian Majer Balaban, in his first monograph on the Jews of Lviv, described the city as the «mother of Israel»<sup>3</sup>. The importance of Lviv in the history of Central European Jewry is demonstrated by the subsequent, now contemporary monographs by Vladimir Melamed and Lukasz Tomasz Sroka<sup>4</sup>. Lviv and Galicia now constitute a mythical space for Jews, Poles and Ukrainians. Yi-Fu Tuan writes, that this concept is ‘an intellectual construct’ differing «from pragmatic and scientifically conceived spaces»<sup>5</sup>. According to him, it is «a response of feeling and imagination to fundamental human needs»<sup>6</sup>.

Given the special significance of this place also in Jewish history, the aim of this article is to analyse the influence of the genius loci of the city on the Poltva River on Jewish teachers. The second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth saw the intensive development of both the city and the exit of the Jewish population from the cultural ghetto. Changes in the social life of Lviv, including the adherents of Judaism, affected the biographies of Jewish teachers. It should be noted that previous biographical studies of Galician teaching have generally not examined Jewish teachers<sup>7</sup>.

In the next subsection, I take a closer look at the demographic, social and cultural conditions of the life of Lviv’s Jews during the period I am interested in, before showing how the wide range of possibilities of social, cultural, religious and national identification influenced the fate of Jewish teachers. I limit my analysis to folk education, sketching several professional paths they may have followed, reflecting the varied worldview attitudes of this minority during the period in question. In the article, I refer to the results of my own research (contained in two monographs and several articles) and empirical material from the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (sets: 701 Jewish

<sup>3</sup> M. Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku* [The Jews of Lviv at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries], Lwów, Fundusz Konkursowy im. H. Wawelberga, 1909, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> W. Melamed, *Jewrei wo Lwowie (XIII – pierwsza połowina XX wieku)* [Jew in Lviv (13<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century)], Lvov, Tekop, 1994; Ł.T. Sroka, *In the Light of Vienna. Jews in Lviv – between Tradition and Modernisation (1867-1914)*, Berlin-New York, Peter Lang, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Tuan, *Space*, cit., p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See for example articles in: A. Meissner (ed.), *Nauczyciele galicyjscy. Udział polskich nauczycieli w rozwoju teorii pedagogiczne i badań naukowych 1860-1918* [Galician Teachers. The contribution of Polish teachers to the development of pedagogical theory and research 1860-1918], «Galicja i Jej Dziedzictwo» [Galicia and its Heritage], Rzeszów, 1996, Vol. 6; Cz. Majorek, J. Potoczny (edd.), *Biografie pedagogiczne. Szkice do portretu galicyjskiej pedagogii* [Pedagogical Biographies. Sketches to the portrait of Galician pedagogy], «Galicja i Jej Dziedzictwo», vol. 9, 1997.

Religious Community in Lviv, 1785-1939 and 178 National School Council in Lviv, 1867-1921) subordinating them to Yi-Fu Tuan's guiding thought.

### 1. *Lviv and the Jewish community in the autonomous period*

Lviv was the capital of Galicia, the crown state of the Habsburg monarchy, formed from lands seized from Poland as a result of the First and Third Partitions of this state at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At the dawn of autonomy (according to 1869 data), Galicia was home to around 5.5 million people, the most numerous being Poles (2 510 000) and Ruthenians – Ukrainians (2 316 000), with Jews numbering around 575 000<sup>8</sup>. By 1910, the Jewish population had risen to 872,000<sup>9</sup>. Jews were primarily an urban population, and the largest concentration of them was in the Galician capital, Lviv. In 1869, 27,000 Jews lived there, and by the end of the autonomous period 57,000 (1910)<sup>10</sup>. They made up less than 30% of the city's population.

During the autonomous period, Jews were no longer a homogeneous community. Until the partition of Poland, they remained a diaspora typical of the Ashkenazi Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, whose rhythm of life was determined by religion and tradition. The socio-religious life of the Orthodox Jews in question was organised by a *kahal*, or Jewish community. It was headed by rabbis. The growing of the younger generation into the tradition of Judaism, preparation for participation in religious ceremonies and the cultivation of customs was ensured by a system of educational influences created by the family, the *heder* and the community as a whole. Traditional Jewish teachers were the *melameds* (Hebrew: teachers). Their social perception was ambivalent – on the one hand, they were valued for introducing the younger generation to the world of Judaism's holy books – Torah and Talmud, but on the other hand, their social status was low. The *melamed* was poorly paid, and the profession was taken up by would-be graduates of *yeshivas*, Talmudic colleges, or people who had failed in other professions. The treatment of teachers in the aforementioned *yeshivas* was different. The *yeshiva* provided an elite education in the Old Jewish community, and the teachers – masters working there – were held in high esteem<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> A. Polonsky, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce i Rosji* [History of the Jews in Poland and Russia], Warszawa, PWN, 2014, p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> F. Friedmann, *Dzieje Żydów w Galicji (1772–1914)* [History of the Jews in Galicia (1772–1914)], in I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Hafftko (edd.), *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna* [Jews in Restored Poland. Social, economic, educational and cultural activities], Warszawa, 1932, Vol. 1, p. 377.

<sup>10</sup> *Melamed, Jewrei wo Lwowie* [Jew in Lviv], cit., pp. 108, 111.

<sup>11</sup> M. Bałaban, *Raport o Żydowskich instytucjach oświatowych i religijnych na terenach*

The world of the Jews of the eastern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which remained homogeneous until almost the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, changed under the influence of the Hasidic movement. It was started by Israel Ben Eliezer (1700-1760?), who in Podolia called for a religious transformation and a rejection of ossified forms of Judaism. According to him, a follower of Mosaism does not need to follow a complicated system of Talmudic injunctions and prohibitions and the intermediation of a rabbi in his contact with God; he can manifest his faith in an independent conversation with God, praising the Creator in ecstatic dancing, singing and in deeds towards his fellow men. The spiritual leaders of the Hasidim were the *tsadikim*, around whom the co-religionists gathered, wishing to receive God's grace in daily communion with a man sacred to them<sup>12</sup>.

Rejecting the authority of the kahal and the rabbi meant deviance for Conservative Judaism, and Hasidism was therefore fought against by the Orthodox. This conflict softened and there was even a reconciliation between Orthodoxy and Hasidism in the face of a new worldview trend that emerged at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Germany, namely *haskalah*. Haskalah, or Jewish enlightenment, meant a reform of Judaism aimed at making Jews citizens of the countries of residence. It was initiated by Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), a German Jew who translated the Torah into German using the Hebrew font to make it easier for co-religionists to learn German. Haskalah adherents believed that Jews should participate in non-Jewish public life, learn non-Jewish languages, send their children to public schools and provide them with a secular education, and reject traditional dress and customs. However, they did not seek to divest themselves of their Jewish roots; they continued to practise their religion, albeit in a reformed form. For the Orthodox and Hasidic Jews, the followers of the Haskalah were deviants, for they abandoned tradition and sought to assimilate into their Christian surroundings<sup>13</sup>.

To complete the mosaic of attitudes of the Galician Jews of the autonomous period, Zionism and socialism should be mentioned. The origins of the two

*Królestwa Polskiego okupowanych przez Austro-Węgry* [Report on Jewish Educational and Religious Institutions in the Austro-Hungarian Occupied Territories of the Kingdom of Poland], «Kwartalnik Historii Żydów», n. 1, 2001, p. 46; zob. także: A. Winiarz, *Lubelski ośrodek studiów talmudycznych w XVI wieku* [Lublin Talmudic studies centre in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in T. Radzik (ed.), *Żydzi w Lublinie* [Jews in Lublin], Vol. 2. *Materiały do dziejów społeczności Żydowskiej Lublina* [Materials for the history of the Jewish community of Lublin], Lublin, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998.

<sup>12</sup> M. Łopot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie (1772-1939)* [Jewish Education in Lviv (1772-1939)], Częstochowa, Wydawnictwo UJD, 2016, pp. 41-42.

<sup>13</sup> S. Łastik, *Z dziejów oświecenia Żydowskiego. Ludzie i fakty* [From the history of Jewish enlightenment. People and facts], Warszawa, PIW, 1961; J. Holzer, *Enlightenment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Elite in Galicia*, in I. Bartal, A. Polonsky (edd.), *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians 1772-1918*, «Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry», vol. 12, 1999, p. 81.

worldview currents were different – the former developed within the Jewish world, the latter outside it, but with Jewish participation. Zionism was born at the end of the 19th century. The first Zionist congress was held in 1897 in Basel, and one of the first leaders was the Galician Jew Theodor Herzl. Zionism became a political movement, aiming at the creation of a Jewish state and emphasising the national community rather than the religious community of the Jews. Zionists, like Haskalah adherents, supported the development of secular education, but unlike them, they saw general education not as a path to rapprochement with the non-Jewish environment, but as the building of a new Jewish identity. They rejected the stereotype of the peddler Jew, dressed in anachronistic garb and speaking a language that was incomprehensible to those around him, the destitute and resigned to his fate as an «eternal wanderer», replacing it with the ideal of the educated, knowledgeable of the history and language of his own people, a healthy and strong fighter and builder of a reborn Israel. Socialism was attractive to the poor Jewish population because of its preaching of the integration of the lower-class people regardless of their religious or national origin against the exploitation of the possessing classes. In the socialist movement, Jews gained a new identity, were able to discard their old personality, burdened by the baggage of negative experiences related to the prejudices of their Christian surroundings<sup>14</sup>.

Turn-of-the-century Lviv – capital of the largest crown state of the Habsburg monarchy, centre of rich social and cultural life, economy, development of education, science and art – was the place where the discussed worldview trends developed. The cultural capital of Lviv's Jewish community influenced the delineation of several paths that Jewish teachers could follow depending on their worldview.

## *2. Melamed – the biographical path of a traditional Jewish teacher*

At the dawn of Galician autonomy, heders were the most widespread educational system among the Jewish population. They primarily provided religious formation for the younger generation of Jews, preparing them for the practice of Judaism. The situation of heder education changed with the introduction of compulsory schooling by the National School Council in Galicia in 1873, which was extended to children and young people between the ages of 6 and 12, regardless of nationality or religion<sup>15</sup>. Initially, the Jewish communities expected that the introduction of secular subjects into the heder cur-

<sup>14</sup> Łapot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie* [Jewish Education in Lviv], cit., pp. 47-49.

<sup>15</sup> J. Buzek, *Studia z zakresu administracji szkolnictwa publicznego. I. Szkolnictwo ludowe* [Studies in the administration of public education. I. Folk education], Lwów, 1904, p. 44.

riculum would enable the fulfilment of compulsory education, but with the 1873 decree, which recognised that the heder did not ensure the fulfilment of compulsory education<sup>16</sup>, there was a gradual regression.

Jewish culture did not develop a uniform model for the training of melameds, and there were no centres for their education or professional development. The most common way to open and run one's own heder was through an assistantship in a heder run by an experienced melamed. The melameds had so-called belfers, assistants, apprenticed to the profession starting at the age of 13-14. Their duties included waking the youngest pupils in their homes, helping them dress and bringing them to the heder. The belfries helped the pupils learn the Hebrew alphabet. An apprenticeship with a melamed usually ended when the belfer started his own family, at which point he opened his own heder using the experience he had gained. However, people engaged in other professions also entered the profession, usually small tradesmen unable to support themselves and their families. Unlike the former belfries, they did not have the relevant experience and generally relied on the knowledge remembered from their own heder education. Also, students of yeshivas, higher Talmudic schools, who either did not graduate from them or did not find employment as a rabbi, became melameds. Of the three categories of people entering the profession distinguished, they had the highest qualifications<sup>17</sup>.

During the period of Galician autonomy, heders were subordinated to the administrative authority of the starosts. Attending them did not fulfil the compulsory schooling requirement, so pupils studied in public schools anyway. The educational authorities fought the heders, considering them a source of backwardness and Jewish separatism. The melameds did not enjoy social prestige; a 1907 «School» editorial stated that «the word 'melamed' had become a synonym for infirmity»<sup>18</sup>. A caricatured image of a melamed was recorded in his memoirs by the Lviv resident Milo Anstadt:

The teacher was a squat, slow-witted Hasid with a huge belly. He wore drooping trousers with a grey shirt sticking out at the back and a ritual shawl with four tassels called *cicit* imposed over it. In his hand he held a cane with which he would hit students for every mistake they made<sup>19</sup>.

According to a census of heders conducted in 1874, there were 71 melameds working in Lviv. Heders were located in synagogues or private flats. As a result of the efforts of the educational authorities to limit the influence of

<sup>16</sup> Łopot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie* [Jewish Education in Lviv], cit., p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>18</sup> *Nieco o `chederach` Żydowskich* [A little about Jewish 'heders'], «Szkoła», n. 44, 1907, p. 349.

<sup>19</sup> M. Anstadt, *Dziecko ze Lwowa* [A child from Lviv], Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2000, p. 10.

traditional religious education on the Jewish community, a census of heders in Lviv in 1913, the last before the First World War, revealed the existence of 30 heders<sup>20</sup>. It should be added that in addition to the melameds who ran heders, there were also melameds who gave private lessons in the homes of wealthier Jews. No statistics were kept on this group of Jewish teachers, so their numbers cannot be determined<sup>21</sup>.

Nevertheless, during the period of Galician autonomy there was a significant decline in the number of traditional Jewish teachers. This was influenced by the educational policy of the authorities fighting heder education, but also by the progressive secularisation of Lviv's Jews. The decline in interest in religious education was the result of processes taking place within the Jewish community (Haskalah, Zionism, Socialism), as well as the cultural opening that took place in the era of autonomy. One element of this opening was unrestricted access to public school. The combination of these factors meant that the professional path of the traditional Jewish teacher (melamed) was followed by fewer and fewer people.

### 3. *The biographical path of a Jewish teacher in public education*

The second option, besides the heder, for a member of the Jewish minority in Lviv of the autonomous era for self-fulfilment in the teaching profession was public education. This possibility was opened by obtaining a pedagogical education.

Jews, like representatives of other nationalities, benefited from the system of folk schoolteacher training introduced by the National School Council in Galicia. This was the highest body of the educational authorities, operating from Lviv since 1868, created by the granting of autonomy to Galicia. The pre-autonomous teachers' preparatory schools (there were 11<sup>22</sup>) were replaced by state-run three – and then four-year teachers' seminaries. Between 1871 and 1914, there were 18 seminaries throughout Galicia, of which 14 were for men and 4 for women<sup>23</sup>. Alongside the state seminaries, private teacher educa-

<sup>20</sup> M. Łapot, *Chedery lwowskie w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej (1867-1914)* [Lviv heders in the period of Galician autonomy (1867-1914)], «Kwartalnik Historii Żydów», n. 3, 2014, pp. 500, 511.

<sup>21</sup> The aforementioned Milo Anstad also benefited from the lessons of a private melamed: Anstadt, *Dziecko ze Lwowa* [A child from Lviv], cit., pp. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> Cz. Majorek, *Galicyjskie szkolnictwo pedagogiczne w latach 1775-1871* [Galician pedagogical education 1775-1871], «Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy», n. 3, 1967, p. 385.

<sup>23</sup> A. Meissner, *Spór o duszę polskiego nauczyciela. Społeczeństwo galicyjskie wobec problemów kształcenia nauczycieli* [The dispute over the soul of the Polish teacher. Galician society towards the problems of teacher education], «Galicja i Jej Dziedzictwo», vol. 11, 1999, p. 61.

tion, mainly female, developed<sup>24</sup>. The change was not only quantitative, but also qualitative – new plans and curricula were introduced in the seminaries of the autonomous era. The education included such subjects as pedagogy and didactics with the history of education, mathematics, natural sciences, physics and the basics of chemistry, geography and history, calligraphy, drawing, singing and gymnastics, as well as elements of handwork (the so-called *ślōjd*). As Andrew Meissner writes, teachers' seminaries in the era of Galician autonomy acted as centres of pedagogical progress, organising libraries, school museums and pedagogical exhibitions<sup>25</sup>.

There were two state-run teaching seminaries, male and female, and three private ones in Lviv. They formed one of the many paths of professional choice for Jewish youth growing up in Lviv and Galicia during the years of Galician autonomy. It should be noted that the teaching profession was not in high demand among Jewish believers. According to A. Meissner's calculations, among the graduates of Galician pedagogical seminaries, Jews accounted for about 10%<sup>26</sup>. A similar percentage is shown by an analysis of statistical data from Lviv's folk schools for the school year 1892/1893, when 39 Jewish teachers worked among a total of 410 teachers<sup>27</sup>. Given that Jews accounted for more than 30% of the city's population at the time, it is fair to say that their representation in the profession in question was low. On the other hand, it corresponded to their numbers in Galician society as a whole.

The decision to study at a teachers' seminary was a professional choice, but also a cultural and identity choice. It signified a declaration to loosen ties with traditional Judaism (if the teacher candidate had previously had strong ties with it) and to undergo processes of acculturation, sometimes assimilation. Lviv of the Autonomous Era offered various possibilities of personal identification to Jewish teachers employed in public education, and the following article will present the variants of Jewish teachers' biographies possible within its framework.

a. *Biographical path of a teacher of a denominational school with the privileges of a public school*

A Jewish graduate of the teachers' seminary could take up a job at the Abraham Kohn male or female schools in Lviv. These were the oldest secular

<sup>24</sup> A. Bilewicz, *Prywatne średnie, ogólnokształcące szkolnictwo żeńskie w Galicji w latach 1867-1914* [Private general secondary female education in Galicia 1867-1914], «Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis n. 1897. Prace Pedagogiczne», vol. CXVI, 1997.

<sup>25</sup> Meissner, *Spór o duszę* [The disput over the soul], cit., p. 37.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>27</sup> Łopot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie* [Jewish education in Lviv], cit., pp. 64-65.

schools for Jews in the city, run by the Jewish community. They were founded in 1843 by Abraham Kohn, the first progressive rabbi in the Lviv community. In the pre-autonomous era, they were used by children and young people of parents who espoused Haskalah ideas. They taught secular subjects according to the state curriculum, in addition to the Jewish religion and the Hebrew language. These schools observed Jewish festivals and traditions and were staffed exclusively by Jews with the exception of Polish language teachers (which was taught as optional)<sup>28</sup>.

During the period of autonomy, the status of the Kohn schools and the public perception of the teachers working in them changed dramatically. After the National School Council took over the helm of Galician education and obliged the Jewish population to send their children to public school, the Kohn male and female schools, although denominational, were granted the rights of public schools and were initially the only institutions where children from Orthodox homes could fulfil their compulsory education. However, these schools were not able to accommodate all those obliged to study. For example, in the school year 1870/71, 125 boys entered the first class of the male school and 160 girls in the female school<sup>29</sup>.

The Kohn schools, which in the pre-autonomous period were regarded as deviant by the dominant conservative circles in Lviv, became in the autonomous period the only acceptable solution for the implementation of compulsory schooling by Orthodoxy and Hasidim. Although secular education was still regarded as *male necessare*, the Kohn schools that implemented it were seen in a more favourable light because of the Jewish composition of the teaching staff, the pupils and the respect for the religion and customs of the followers of Judaism. They were secular schools, so they were a break from the traditional education system based on the heder and yeshiva, but they were run by the Jewish community and the teacher employed there worked among co-religionists – teachers and pupils.

It is interesting to note the changes in the composition of the teaching staff over the autonomous period. The educational reforms of the National School Council marked a turning point in the professional lives of most of the previously employed teachers. It was linked to the introduction of Polish as the language of instruction. All teachers were German-speaking, so the school authorities delayed the implementation of the provisions of the School Act on Polish as the language of instruction until 1887, when the public schools' privileges were not extended. This led to their reorganisation and the recruitment of Polish-speaking teaching staff, prepared to work in the teachers' seminaries established by the National School Council. In the men's school, the following Jewish teachers fulfilling these criteria were employed: Salomon Mandel,

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Bernard Bachus, Samuel Schlag, Herman Federbusch, Herman Spät, Wilhelm Teitelbaum, and in the women's school: Joanna Planer, Jetti Pultorak, Zofia Blaustein, Antonina Gottlieb, Franciszka Drobner, Anna Margules<sup>30</sup>. The employment contracts of the older generation of educators, mostly German-speaking, were not renewed: Bernard Sternberg (taught from 1848), Salomon Rosenzweig (from 1849), Jacob Sperling (from 1856), Joseph Ahl (from 1855), Martin Sternal (from 1870) and Rebecca Phillip (from 1855)<sup>31</sup>.

Newly recruited teachers received their education at teachers' seminaries, passed examinations entitling them to work in a folk school and spoke Polish. They were employed as apprentices, temporary teachers and permanent teachers in accordance with the education law<sup>32</sup>. Let us take a look at the profiles of a few of them.

Herman Spät, born on 24 September 1865, graduated from the departmental school in Gródek Jagiellonski (today Horodok) with an excellent grade, then from the teachers' seminary in Lviv with honours. In accordance with the procedure for the employment of teachers, after graduating from the seminary, he worked as a temporary teacher at a men's school from 1885, preparing for the qualifying examination for a folk school teacher, and after receiving his teaching patent in 1900, he was given a permanent teaching post. He supplemented his qualifications by obtaining a certificate of completion of a drawing course for teachers. He taught Polish, calculus, German, singing, drawing and gymnastics and writing at the Kohn school<sup>33</sup>. In the interwar years, as an experienced teacher, he became head of the Kohn school for boys.

Wolf Teitelbaum followed a similar educational path to Spät. He was a graduate of the Polish-language teachers' seminary. He was born in 1863, completed four grades of the real school, after which he continued his education at the teachers' seminary in Ternopil, where he obtained a folk school-teacher's patent. In 1881 he found a job as a teacher in Lviv<sup>34</sup>.

The pedagogical biography of Samuel Schlag is particularly interesting. He was born in 1859, graduated from the lower secondary real school and the teachers' seminar in Lviv, where he obtained his secondary school certificate in 1879, and a folk teacher's patent in 1884. At the Kohn men's school he taught Polish, calculus, German and writing. A characteristic feature of his personal-

<sup>30</sup> State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv [hereafter: SHAUL], set 701, subset 2, sign. 681, k. 36–38.

<sup>31</sup> SHAUL, set 701, subset 2, sign. 769, p. 39.

<sup>32</sup> On the conditions of employment of teachers in a Galician folk school see: E. Juško, *Rada Szkolna Krajowa i jej działalność na rzecz szkoły ludowej w Galicji (1868-1921)* [The National School Board and its activities for the folk school in Galicia (1868-1921)], Lublin-Tarnów, 2013, pp. 69-116.

<sup>33</sup> SHAUL, set 178, subset 2, sign. 4161, p. 30.

<sup>34</sup> SHAUL, set 178, subset 2, sign. 5696, p. 90.

ity was that in 1899 he changed his name to Szlagowski<sup>35</sup>. Some of the Jewish teachers working in the schools in question openly declared their desire to assimilate into Polish culture.

The case of Schlag (Szlagowski) was not an isolated one; Artur Stanisław Załęcki (formerly Abraham Witryol) spelt his name in a similar way. Witryol was already born in the era of Galician autonomy – in 1871, graduated from a teacher's seminary in Ternopil in 1891 and was employed as a teacher at the local J. Perl school from 1891 to 1897. In 1894 he passed the qualifying examination for a teacher of a folk school with honours, and a year later received a faculty school teacher's patent. At the same time, he prepared for the secondary school leaving examination, which he passed at the Ternopil grammar school in 1897. In the same year he took up a teaching post at the Kohn school for boys in Lviv, and continued his education and professional development. While working at the Kohn school, he began his studies at the Lviv University, defending his doctoral thesis on 1 August 1905, entitled *The rule of Frederick II in Polish Prussia (1772-1786)*. Completion of the Faculty of Philosophy enabled Załęcki to obtain a secondary school teacher's licence and move in 1906 from the Kohn folk school to the VII Gymnasium in Lviv<sup>36</sup>.

Thus, working in a Jewish denominational school meant contact with exclusively Jewish pupils and Jewish teachers. The teachers who undertook it usually presented a worldview similar to that of the assimilationists. Educated in a Polish-language seminary, not infrequently also in a Polish-language folk school, they were fluent in Polish and showed an attachment to Polish culture. The willingness to assimilate is evidenced by examples of adopting Polish versions of Jewish names and surnames. The teaching biography of Artur Załęcki (Abraham Witryol) argues that a Jewish teacher in the era of Galician autonomy was able to pass all levels of professional development, starting with the rights of a folk schoolteacher, through the rights of a departmental school, up to a university diploma and examinations authorising work in secondary education. Unresolved is the question of whether assimilation into Polish culture facilitated Załęcki's professional advancement? It seems that it did not – Załęcki fulfilled the formal conditions that enabled him to work first in a folk school and then in a grammar school. Galician teacher training establishments and commissions awarding folk, departmental and secondary school teacher qualifications did not segregate candidates on the basis of religion.

<sup>35</sup> SHAUL, set 701, subset 3, sign. 2670, p. 70.

<sup>36</sup> M. Łapot, *Problemy świeckiej szkoły Żydowskiej w Galicji doby autonomicznej w świetle opracowań Artura Załęckiego* [Problems of the Jewish secular school in Galicia in the Autonomous Era in the light of Artur Załęcki's studies], «Prace Naukowe AJD w Częstochowie. Rocznik Polsko-Ukraiński», vol. 17, 2015, pp. 255-266.

b. *The path of a Jewish teacher in a public school*

The second job opportunity for a Jewish graduate of the teachers' seminary was a public school open to all. A unique phenomenon on the educational map of Galicia, possible only in Lviv, where the Jewish population was a numerous and significant element in the cultural mosaic, were the Czacki and Sobieski schools. Although they had the status of public schools and were therefore open to the general population, in practice their pupils were almost exclusively (Christian pupils appeared sporadically) Jewish. This was due to their location in areas inhabited mainly by the Jewish population. The location was not a coincidence, but a deliberate action of the municipal authorities, striving to convince the Orthodox and Hasidic Jews, who still dominated the Jewish population, to attend a public school. The location was only one of the elements intended to encourage Jews to send their children there, in addition to respecting Jewish holidays (days free from classes), teaching the Mosaic religion and making Hebrew language optional. These solutions were intended to convince conservatives that these schools could provide an alternative to heder.

Unlike Kohn's denominational schools, students were not allowed to wear yarmulkes on their heads during lessons, and teachers were not only Jewish. Poles and Ukrainians also taught in them. A Jewish teacher therefore worked with Jewish pupils, but cooperated with Christian teachers.

Nehemiasz Landes (a graduate of the Franz Josef Gymnasium in Lviv) was the first head of the T. Czacki male school; senior teachers: Władysław Kropiński, Izaak Planer, Romuald Starzecki, Stanisław Peszko, Bronisław Chmurowicz, Jan Hanuszewski and Marian Jaworski, while junior teachers were Jan Hlawaty, Jakub Gangel, and apprentices: Chaim Rotter, Natan Szyper, Baruch Tłumak, Hersch Grünes, Marian Taubeles, Wolf Engländer, Izaak Sokaler, Adolf Biegeleisen, Samuel Fränkel<sup>37</sup>. All of them held a secondary school certificate obtained at a teachers' seminary.

The Jan III Sobieski folk school was opened in the school year 1902/1903. The head of the women's school was Salomea Lévy, besides her, the teaching staff consisted of other Jewish and Polish women: Maria Glecker, Libzie Freudmann, Gitla Kehlman, Sara Perlmutter, Barbara Senyszyn and Józefa Ślęczkowska. The men's institution, on the other hand, was headed by a Pole, Szczęsny Parasiewicz; the teachers were Jews, Poles and Ukrainians: Samuel Fränkel, Chaim Rotter, Michał Siciński, Jakub Gangel, Jan Hanuszewski, Ferdynand Hollitscher, Otto Moskal, Michał Mykietyn, Ludwik Rudnicki, Leon Stachoń, Dawid Berlas, Mojżesz Lamm, Tewel Schreiber, Piotr Walaszek and Józef Witka. After the death of Sz. Parasiewicz, another Pole took over the

<sup>37</sup> Łopot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie* [Jewish education in Lviv], cit., pp. 294-295.

management of the school – Kornel Jaworski (1866-1910), vice-president of the Pedagogical Society in Galicia<sup>38</sup>.

It was the parents who decided to send their child to the Czacki or Sobieski schools, and who, unlike the pupils attending the Kohn schools, were loosely attached to religion. In turn, the teachers of these schools were perceived more pejoratively by the conservative Jewish community than the teachers of the previously discussed denominational schools.

### *c. The path of a teacher of the Mosaic religion*

A different variant of the professional biography of a Jewish teacher during the period of Galician autonomy was to work as a teacher of the Mosaic religion. Due to the specificity of the subject content, located in the area of traditional religious education, implemented in the heder, and the requirements of educational law for a public school teacher, which came down to the acquisition of pedagogical qualifications and competences, the teacher of Mosaic religion combined the two characterised paths of professional development of Jewish teachers. For, on the one hand, his substantive preparation encompassed the knowledge available to the melameds, while on the other hand, his pedagogical preparation was to correspond to the level of other teachers employed in public education. The teacher of the Mosaic religion was responsible for the religious formation of adherents of Judaism in a public school setting.

The introduction of the Jewish religion as a subject to be taught in public school (under the name 'Mosaic religion') was a consequence of Jews being subjected to compulsory schooling in the era of Galician autonomy. Religion was a compulsory subject in a public school and was to be taught in a given establishment if at least 20 pupils of a given religion attended. Alongside Roman Catholic classes, according to the national composition of the country, Greek Catholic, Evangelical and Jewish religions were therefore taught. The appearance of this subject in the curricula of folk schools and secondary schools caused many problems for the Jewish community, as well as for the school authorities. These stemmed from the lack of textbooks, problems with defining the language of instruction (initially it was German, because the students did not understand Polish, linguistic problems also concerned the place of Hebrew in the teaching of the subject, it was another foreign language, but at the same time the language of Jewish liturgy and prayers), the lack of teachers with the appropriate qualifications (knowledge of the Polish language, pedagogical and Judaic preparation) and the institution that trained them<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>39</sup> His issue is discussed extensively in: M. Łapot, *Religia mojżeszowa w szkolnictwie pub-*

Initially, the teachers of the Mosaic religion were rabbis and teachers of this subject from the Kohn schools. However, they were German-speaking, which was in conflict with the educational law in force. In addition, there were only a few of them, so they could not teach all the classes in all the schools in the city with at least 20 Jewish pupils. In order to fill the vacant posts of Jewish religion teachers, the school heads, with the permission of the Jewish Religious Community in Lviv and the National School Board, entrusted religion lessons to secular subject teachers. It was sufficient that such a teacher had passed an examination before a special commission in the Jewish community or in a male teachers' seminary. The level of requirements was very low. Moreover, it happened that teachers were entrusted with the implementation of lessons in this subject without their knowledge. For example, Isaac Isidor Planer, working at the Czacki School, found out after the summer break that he had been nominated for a position as a religion teacher and had obtained, without any examination or even the intention to apply, a certificate, the so-called aptitude, entitling him to teach the subject in a public school. He described the situation as follows:

[...] I have not possessed and do not possess any aptitude for teaching these subjects, I have not deserved to be granted perfect aptitude with anything – for, as everyone probably knows, in the field of literature and the study of religion and the Hebrew language I have done nothing, I have not published any religious or Hebrew works or pamphlets, I have not translated any works of similar content, I have not written any dissertations, I have never had any lectures in these subjects, I have not taken any examination in these scientific subjects [...]<sup>40</sup>.

The professional and social status of the teacher of the Mosaic religion was complex, and this was probably the reason for the weak interest among Jews in this career path. Such a teacher – from the point of view of the conservative community – was generally viewed less favourably than a Jewish secular teacher, since he pretended to replace the traditional teacher of the Jewish religion, the melamed. He was associated with the public school, which was supposed to change the identity of young Jews and the centuries-old time-honoured way of life and thinking of the members of this community. The supporters of Zionism treated the teachers of the Jewish religion in the public

*liczne w Lwowie w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej (1867-1918)* [Mosaic Religion in Public Education in Lviv during the Galician Autonomy (1867-1918)], 2. ed., Częstochowa, Wydawnictwo UJD, 2024; I have included the main theses of the monograph in the article: M. Łopot, *How to Teach Mosaic Religion? The Dilemmas Facing Galician Jews in the Period of Autonomy (1867-1918)*, «Journal of Jewish Education», n. 4, 2020, pp. 375-399.

<sup>40</sup> M. Łopot, *O nauczaniu religii mojżeszowej w szkołach publicznych we Lwowie w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej – casus Izaaka Izydora Planera (1854-1925)* [On the teaching of Mosaic religion in public schools in Lviv during the period of Galician autonomy – the case of Isaac Izidor Planer (1854-1925)], «Prace Naukowe Gliwickiej Wyższej Szkoły Przedsiębiorczości. Pedagogika», n. 3, 2011, p. 257.

school unwillingly, these teachers were for them Polonised Jews, traitors to the Jewish national cause. They also did not find recognition among teachers of secular subjects. One sign of their disregard was the fact that they did not participate in the meetings of the pedagogical council at schools, since many of them had no pedagogical training or did not know the language of instruction, Polish. In addition, due to the difficulty of bringing together pupils attending different classes every day, lessons in the subject were often organised in the afternoons, alongside music or handwork, giving the impression that the subject was less important. As a result, in the pages of the press organ of the teachers of the subject in Galicia, the magazine «Wychowanie i Oświata», one teacher wrote as follows: «[...] many of us have experienced that the teacher of religion is often regarded merely as an auxiliary force and not as a teacher in his own right for his subject. [...] the pupils do not pay any attention to religious instruction and do not learn. And when a religion teacher dares to give a correction in his subject, he draws the displeasure and even the hatred of the class teacher, the school head and the parents»<sup>41</sup>. He further summarised: «the seriousness of the position of the religion teacher is not special or enviable»<sup>42</sup>.

The low prestige of teachers of the Mosaic religion was due to the lack of an appropriate centre to prepare them for the profession, combining substantive (Judaic) and pedagogical knowledge. It was not until 1902 that the Institute for the Training of Teachers of Mosaic Studies in Lviv was established, its problem being the poor interest of potential candidates. Public education struggled with a chronic shortage of teachers in this subject. It was solved on an ad hoc basis by employing teachers of other subjects in this capacity (the case of I.I. Planer), including women<sup>43</sup>.

It is worth noting that at the beginning of the Twentieth century, the community of Jewish teachers in public education in Galicia gained a distinct professional consciousness, which was reflected in the establishment of teachers' societies (in Stanisławów and Lviv). These associations also published pedagogical magazines – «Wychowanie i Oświata» and «Haor-Światło» – entirely devoted to the subject and teachers' issues<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> I. Hoffman, *Głos z kraju* [A voice from the country], «Wychowanie i Oświata», 1912, no. 67-68, p. 247.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> M. Łapot, *Nauczycielki religii mojżeszowej w szkołach publicznych w Galicji w latach 1867–1939* [Female teachers of Mosaic religion in public schools in Galicia, 1867-1939], «Prace Naukowe AJD w Częstochowie. Pedagogika», vol. 20, 2011, pp. 407-418.

<sup>44</sup> Łapot, *Religia mojżeszowa* [Mosaic religion], cit., pp. 158-162; M. Łapot, *Czasopismo 'Wychowanie i Oświata' (1905-1926) – dokument początków ruchu zawodowego nauczycieli religii mojżeszowej w Galicji* [The journal «Wychowanie i Oświata» (1905-1926) – a document of the beginnings of the professional movement of teachers of Mosaic religion in Galicia], in Z. Trębacz (ed.), *Związani Historią. Stosunki Polsko-Żydowskie. Kultura, literatura, sztuka i nauka w XX wieku* [Bound by History. Polish-Jewish Relations. Culture, literature, art and science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century], Warszawa, ŻIH, 2020, Vol. 2, pp. 303-319.

## Conclusion

The development of public education during the period of Galician autonomy, the opening up of the teacher training system to candidates of different confessions and the inclusion of the Jewish population in compulsory education led to the emergence of a second pattern – alongside the traditional type of Jewish teacher (melamed) – of the secular (public) teacher. Within the second pattern, we can speak of two variants – the denominational schoolteacher and the public school teacher. Alongside these, there was also the professional path of the Jewish public-school teacher, combining features of the two earlier patterns. The different professional paths of Jewish teachers reflected the worldview divisions of Lviv, and Galician Jews more broadly. The melamed remained an attractive proposition for the orthodox Jew, the public-school teacher for the proponent of modernisation, while modernisation could take different forms and intensities. Among public teachers, teachers of the Mosaic religion showed the greatest attachment to tradition, while public school teachers were supporters of the Haskalah. An expression of the aspirations of Polonisation were the name changes.

It should be mentioned that Jewish teachers employed in public schools belonged to the Pedagogical Society of Lviv. Membership in the society, founded in 1868, became a common element in the biographies of Herman Federbusch, Leon Eichel, Ewa Taubes, Herman Spät, Wilhelm Teitelbaum, Sigmund Taubes, Karolina Oberhard, Alexander Oberhard, Wanda Rittermann, Salomea Perlmutter, Anna Perlmutter, Julia Unterricht and Eugenia Kummer<sup>45</sup>.

Referring to Yi-Fu Tuan's reflections, it is worth noting that the author considers the category of place together with the notion of 'space', treating it as a binary term that allows the category of place to be circumscribed. He writes that

'space' is more abstract than 'place'. What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value [...]. The ideas 'space and place' require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space and vice versa<sup>46</sup>.

The distinction between «space» and «place» seems to be an inspiring thought with regard to Jewish teachers, but also Jewish students in Lviv of the autonomous period. The Jewish community until the autonomous period largely remained in a «tame» space, created by such «places» as the synagogue, the kahal, the heder, the house, the street, the Jewish quarter. These provided the sense, mentioned by Yi-Fu Tuan, of stability and security, while

<sup>45</sup> Łopot, *Szkolnictwo Żydowskie we Lwowie* [Jewish education in Lviv], cit., p. 296.

<sup>46</sup> Tuan, *Space*, cit., p. 6.

the non-Jewish world around them was a «space», an alien terrain. With the inclusion of Jewish children and young people in compulsory schooling and the provision of public education to the Jewish minority in the age of autonomy, the Jewish world, previously confined to the previously mentioned places, expanded.

Public schools became new «places», progressively integrated into the topography of tame places, and enabled the exploration of «space» outside the Jewish *habitus*. Public schooling offered Jews the opportunity to leave the cultural ghetto, to acculturate or assimilate. The Kohn, Czacki and Sobieski folk schools, as well as other schools open to all students without distinction of nationality or religion, became «places» that influenced the biographies of the students who attended and the teachers who worked there.