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**CLUJ-NAPOCA AND LVIV: POWER AND URBAN SPACE  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY**

*The main purpose of this paper is to show the way in which political power can influence the city's development and the way in which the city's cultural and architectural heritage together with people's consciousness can resist those attempts. The Author chose as examples Cluj-Napoca in Romania and Lviv in Ukraine. She dwells on the issues of the population policy, the policy towards the universities and the landscape that surrounds it and draws a conclusion about the results of this policy in terms of the images of those two cities and of the identity transformation of their inhabitants.*

**Key words:** Cluj-Napoca, Lviv, urban space, cultural borderline, identity transformation.

**Гордєєва Ю. Клуж-Напока і Львів: влада і міський простір у другій половині ХХ ст.**

*У статті аналізується вплив владних структур на розвиток міського простору і стійкості культурної й архітектурної спадщина міста та масової свідомості його жителів щодо цього впливу. Для прикладу, автор вибрав Клуж-Напока в Румунії і Львів в Україні. Автор розглядає питання міграційної політики, а також, політики щодо університетів і їх простору, і доходить висновків щодо результатів політики та її впливу на образи цих двох міст і трансформацію ідентичності їх мешканців.*

**Ключові слова:** Клуж-Напока, Львів, міський простір, культурна границя, трансформація ідентичностей.

**Гордеева Ю. Клуж-Напока и Львов: власть и городское пространство во второй половине ХХ века**

*В статье анализируется влияние на развитие городское пространство со стороны властных структур, а также того, насколько культурное и архитектурное наследие города и массовое сознание его жителей могут быть устойчивы к этому влиянию. В качестве примеров автор*

*выбрал Клуж-Напока в Румынии и Львов на Украине. Автор останавливается на вопросах миграционной политики, политики по отношению к университетам и их пространству, и делает выводы о результатах данной политики и ее влиянии на образы этих двух городов, а также трансформации идентичности их жителей.*

**Ключевые слова:** *Клуж-Напока, Львов, городское пространство, культурная граница, трансформация идентичности.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the urban space of both Lviv and Cluj-Napoca there are traces of different cultures and epochs still visible today. The Austrian buildings in the city centers stand next to grey buildings of the 1960ies and the landscape of both cities is unthinkable today without the neighborhoods built in the 1950ies – 1970ies. The period of communist rule gave new meanings to the «places of remembrance» present in the cities. The new authorities were trying to adjust both cities to the new political reality by changing the urban space and its symbols. In both the cities the composition of population changed after the War. However, if the majority of Lviv's Polish population left the city after the Second World War, the Hungarian population in Cluj is still there up until now. Lviv was part of the Soviet Union while Cluj-Napoca belonged to a communist Romania which had its own national specificity.

All the similarities and differences listed above allow us to make a comparative analysis of the ways in which political power influenced the development of the two cities. I chose to analyze in this article the population policy and the policy towards universities which I assume to be two very important aspects of both Lviv's and Cluj's city life, as well as some cases of changes in the urban landscape. Before I proceed to the analysis I would like to sketch a picture of both cities' history.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Nowadays Cluj-Napoca is a very important place in the historical memory of both Romanians and Hungarians. The first urban settlement on this place goes back to the Roman period. It was founded at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and was called «Napoca» [1, p. 89]. During the Middle Ages a settlement called Castrum Clus is mentioned in place of Napoca as belonging to the Hungarian kingdom [2, p. 255]. After the Tatar invasion of 1241 the town was settled by the Saxons.

According to Rogers Brubaker, Saxons constituted the majority in the city but already by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century around half of its population had Hungarian names and surnames [1, p. 90]. Between 1791 – 1848 the town was the capital of Transylvania and became an important center of the Romanian national awakening [6, p. 9]. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century the town's official name changed several times. In 1919, after Transylvania's incorporation to the Romanian state, the name Kolozsvár was changed into Cluj. During the Second World War, when the city was back under Hungarian rule, the name Kolozsvár returned, and after the War, when the city was under Romanian rule, the name Cluj came back. In 1974 «Napoca» was added to the city's name in order to underline the Romanian character of the city and the fact that its beginnings were connected with the Roman Empire [5, p. 3].

Similarly to Cluj-Napoca in Romania, Lviv in Ukraine was historically a cultural borderline city which in subsequent years was connected with different circles of identity. The city's beginnings refer to the history of the Principality of Galicia–Volhynia, but gradually it was incorporated to the Polish state. Already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Lviv's population consisted from diverse ethnical and religious groups: Polish, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians, and Greeks. In the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after the partitions of Poland, Lviv was incorporated to Austria and later – to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus, for around 100 years Cluj and Lviv were in the same country. It is also worth mentioning that while Kolozsvár became the center of Romanian national awakening in Transylvania in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Lviv played the similar role for the Ukrainian national awakening in Galicia.

### **3. THE POPULATION POLICY**

The period after the World War II significantly influenced the development and the contemporary image of Lviv and Cluj-Napoca. After changing the country as a result of the War, both cities were adjusted by the authorities to the new political realities. One of the most important lines of the authorities' policy towards both cities was the population policy.

The demographic situation in Lviv changed radically. Almost the entire Jewish population of the city was lost. During the Soviet army offensive, a large number Ukrainians deserted Lviv. During the first years after the War the Polish educational institutions were evacuated from the city as a result of the so called repatriation action. Because

the possibilities of transporting material resources were limited, the main aim was to evacuate the scholars. This way, along with the ethnical changes, a change of intellectual elite took place in Lvov – and more precisely, the disappearance of the Polish intellectual elite of the city as a result of deportations, murders and population transfer. The demographical problem was solved by populating the city with people from other regions of the Soviet Union, and mainly from different parts of Ukraine and Russia. As the result, according to prof. Stepan Trochimczuk, the following changes in the city's population occurred. In the 1931 the population of the city was 312 200 people from which 50,0 % constituted Polish, 31,9 % – Jewish, 16,3 % – Ukrainians. In the 1960 the composition of the population was approximately the following: Ukrainians – 56 %, Russians – 26 %, Jews – 6 %, and Polish – 5 % [8, p. 135].

A big number of specialists from different parts of the Soviet Union were sent to Lviv to work. Lviv's inhabitants were recruited to the mines in Donbass, and Lviv's specialists were sent to different parts and republics of the Soviet Union.

Aleksandra Matyukhina in her ethnographic research of the second half of the 20th century's Lviv marks out 3 main groups of emigrants who came to Lviv after the war [4, p. 14]. The first group, according to her, constituted the newcomers from the small towns and villages of Ukraine's western districts, mainly the Lviv district. They brought with them their own folk culture to the newly built neighborhoods. The second group, according to A. Matyukhina, were newcomers from the eastern and southern districts of Ukraine, generally coming from towns – carriers of the Soviet culture who took over the Ukrainian language and culture during the Ukrainization policy. They were mostly young people with secondary or high education, mobile and open to everything new, much less conservative than the newcomers from the western Ukrainian villages and towns [4]. According to A. Matyukhina, the third group constituted newcomers from other Soviet republics– first of all, military and «intellectuals» who, being torn away from their ancestral homes and traditional folk culture, easily accepted Russian language and assimilated into the Soviet culture [4].

The similar processes took place in after war Cluj. Before the Second World War Cluj was inhabited with 100 000 people from which 13 000 constituted Jews, 2500 – Germans, about 35 000 – Romanians and about 48 000 – Hungarians [9]. In the first after War decade we

can already observe a visible reduction of the Jewish (only 525 persons remained) and German (near 1000 of people) populations. Taking into consideration the fact that the total population of the city grew (about 155 000 in 1956 comparing to about 100 000 before the war), we can speak about a visible reduction of the percentage of Jewish and German populations in after war Cluj. After war Cluj was inhabited by near 75 000 Hungarians and 75 000 Romanians. We can observe that as time passed the Hungarian population in Cluj remained almost the same (near 75 000 provided by the 1992 statistics as well). The Romanian population in Cluj, however, was constantly growing thanks to an influx of newcomers from other regions and neighboring villages during the country's industrialization. In 1966 the population of Cluj was near 185 000 from which 105 000 was of Romanian nationality, in 1977 the total population was 263 000 out of which 173 000 – Romanians, in 1992 the total population was 330 000 out of which 250 000 – Romanians [9]. This way, the city's population in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was growing mostly due to the influx of Romanian population, while the percentage of Hungarian population has visibly decreased. This process, as well as the process of building a new community of inhabitants in after war Lviv in Ukraine, had a political basis (the assimilation of the city by the new authorities and the State). Unlike in Lviv, the changes of ethnical and cultural composition of Cluj population were conducted gradually. In Cluj-Napoca the displacement of the Hungarian population didn't take place in a similar way to the displacement of the Polish population from Lviv, although the city had gradually become dominated by the Romanian population. The Jewish population disappeared from the post-war Cluj almost completely.

#### **4. THE POLICY TOWARDS THE UNIVERSITIES**

Both Lviv and Cluj-Napoca have nowadays the image of university cities with long intellectual tradition and function as important national research centers. The beginnings and development of universities in both the cities with the previous epochs, first of all with the activities of the Jesuit colleges and the period of Austro-Hungarian rule. The contemporary shape of both universities to a large extent was influenced by the communist era.

The historical tradition of the university in Cluj-Napoca goes back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Stefan Batory founded the Jesuit College which existed until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Empress

Maria Theresa founded a university in the place of the college. In 1784 it was deprived of its university status and up until to 1872 there were no universities anywhere in Transylvania. In 1872 a Hungarian university was opened in Cluj and in 1881 was named the Franz Joseph University. After Transylvania's incorporation to Romania in 1919, the Romanian-language King Ferdinand I University was opened in Cluj. The Franz Joseph University was moved to Szegeed and then returned to Cluj after the Second Vienna Award when Transylvania was incorporated to Hungary. The Romanian university moved to Sibiu and Timișoara but it returned to the city after the war and received the name «Babeș». The Hungarian university in Cluj continued to exist in the first years after the war under the name «Bolyai». The turning point in its history was the year 1959 when the decision of incorporating the Hungarian Bolyai University to the Romanian Babeș University was made [6, p. 58]. This decision was to a certain extent influenced by the events of 1956 in Hungary: students from Cluj manifested in those days their solidarity with their colleagues from Budapest. The process of merging the two universities took only a couple of months during which the Vice Rector and the professor of Bolyai University committed suicide. After the merging, the Hungarian language groups were gradually eliminated from the Babeș-Bolyai University. The Hungarian language sections were reopened only after 1989 [7].

The beginnings of university tradition in Lviv are also connected with the Jesuit College founded in the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century and transformed by the end of the same century into a university by the decision of Polish king John II Casimir. In the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, just as in the case of Cluj University, the status of Lviv University was reduced to that of academy, and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Lviv already belonged to Austria, the university was closed. It was reopened soon with German as an official language. Polish and Ruthenian languages were recognized as official languages at the university at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but Polish became the only official language there soon. This caused the emergence of the idea of creating a separate Ruthenian university [3].

Before the World War I Lviv university had a similar meaning for Polish society as Cluj University for the Hungarians. Just as Cluj University was the second center of Hungarian intellectual life after the Budapest University, Lviv was the second center of Polish intellectual life after Cracow. Between the two world wars Lviv University was

named John Casimir University and became the 3<sup>rd</sup> scientific center after Warsaw and Cracow in the independent Polish state. The majority of Ukrainian professors left the university during this period.

In the period of Soviet occupation, in 1939, the Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Marczenko became rector of the Lviv University. The goal given to him by the Soviet authorities was to Ukrainize the university and to transform it in a Ukrainian National University. At the beginning of the 1940 the name of the university was changed into Ivan Franko University, and the Polish professors were replaced with Ukrainian and Russian ones. Ukrainian language was the official language of the university, but Polish remained as an additional language. During the Nazi occupation the university was closed and 25 professors of Lviv universities were murdered. Polish John Casimir University continued its functioning in the underground during the Nazi occupation, and after the war, when Lviv was incorporated to the Soviet Ukraine, it ceased to exist [3]. In after war Lviv Ivan Franko University was reopened with the participation of new academic staff that came from different parts of the Soviet Union and from eastern parts of the Ukraine.

## **5. THE POLICY TOWARDS THE LANDSCAPE SURROUNDING THE UNIVERSITIES**

The role and meaning of universities both in Cluj-Napoca and in Lviv was changed by the communist authorities. Similar changes occurred in the urban space surrounding the universities. Ivan Franko University in Lviv inherited the building from the National Diet of Galicia built in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the period between the two world wars the Polish John Casimir University was placed in this building. In order to emphasize the Ukrainian character of the university, whose main building was still associated with the Polish and Austrian past – in 1964 the monument of Ivan Franko was erected in front of the main entrance to the University. We can see a similar problem and a similar solution in the case of Cluj. The main building of the university was built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to expand the Hungarian Franz Joseph University, and later it was taken over by the Romanian university. In order to emphasize the Romanian character of the university, the Capitoline Wolf statue was placed in front of the main entrance to the building in the 1950-ies. Later, in 1973, the «Transylvanian School» statue was placed there in order to emphasize the long duration of Romanian intellectual tradition in

Transylvania. The symbolic meaning of this monument is similar to the functions of the Ivan Franko monument in Lviv.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The university, as a place of highest concentration of intellectual elites, is also a place of historical memory translation and of educating the new generations of those elites. The universities' transformation was one of the most important elements of the policy of «assimilation» of both cities by the new states and of the transformation of the historical memory of its inhabitants. That's why the incorporation of the Hungarian university in Cluj to the Romanian one caused such tragic events as the death of two professors. This event has become a real blow for the Hungarian intellectual elites in this city. This policy in Cluj didn't fully succeed. If the contemporary university in Lviv has the image of a Ukrainian intellectual center, the Hungarian part of today's Babeş-Bolyai University is considered as one of the most important Hungarian scientific centers in the world.

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