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HISTORY AND MODERNITY

YAKIV ORENSTEIN: AN EXPATRIATED UKRAINOPHIL FROM GALICIA

IVAN MONOLATII

Abstract: Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Galicia between the two World Wars were the reflection of the difference in the status of the two nations. The sides failed to come to mutual understanding, the basis for which was provided by the policy of the West Ukrainian People's Republic / the Western Oblast of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Taking into account the involvement of the third party, the Polish state, the situation can be described as an interethnic scalene triangle. One of the active figures in this complicated interaction was Yakiv Orenstein (1875–1942), Jewish publisher from Kolomyia, symbolic 'Ukrainian', follower of the faith of Moses. His life and work in Galicia in the interwar years is a personalized example of publicly declared pro-Polishness and actual Ukrainophilia.

Keywords: publishing business, bookselling, publishing house, Kolomyia, Stanislaviv, Jewish community, Ukrainian national culture, ethnic public figures, Ukrainophil, expatriate.

Yakiv Orenstein, publisher, public and political figure, was born in Kolomyia, Eastern Galicia, which then was part of the Austrian Empire, on February 25, 1875. Little is known about his parents; we cannot state that they were the residents of Kolomyia; and if they were, we do not know for how long. The name of Orenstein (Ohrenstein, Ornstein) was quite popular in the contemporary Jewish community, and we do not have enough evidence that the Orensteins from Kolomyia were related to the Orenstein-Braude families, whose members filled major rabbinic posts in Brody, Zhovkva and Lviv. The only thing we know about Yakiv Orenstein's parents is that his father was a seller of books and paper in Kolomyia [1, p. 49–50].

Orenstein launched his publishing business in cooperation with E. H. Chaes. Having no technical facilities, he turned for support to local Jewish booksellers. As an independent publisher, Orenstein started his career in 1902: his first series of sixteen black-and-white postcards was issued in February; the second one, in April; and the third one, in August. Apart from that, in view of a great demand for the first series of his postcards, Orenstein reprinted the second one (twelve black-and-white postcards) that same summer. Altogether, the three series printed in 1902 reproduced twenty-eight O. Slastion's black-and-white illustrations to the poem *Haidamaky* by Taras Shevchenko [2, p. 37–38].

The year of 1903 is generally considered as the 'official' start of Orenstein's book-publishing Odyssey; he had no printing house of his own till 1913. The first production of Orenstein the publisher was *Narodnyi Deklamator (The People's Reciter)*, a 320-page collection of Ukrainian poetry. Evidently, his work was appreciated by the contemporaries; in addition to publishing Ukrainian books, Orenstein founded a lending library and a bookshop.

In his afterword to the first volume of Bohdan Lepky's *Nacherk istorii ukrainskoi literatury (An Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature)* (1909), Orenstein explained the principles of his work as a publisher, 'the "Halytska Nakladnia"' spares neither expense nor effort in order to supply the general public with good and inexpensive books in various fields of literature and knowledge'. This publication marked the beginning of Orenstein's most successful business project – his famous *Zahalna Biblioteka (General Library)* series; according to the Ukrainian Diaspora researchers, at least 113 little volumes were published in Kolomyia before the beginning of the Great War of 1914–1918. M. Val'o maintained that by 1915, there were issued almost 120 books of the *General Library* [3, p. 255].

On April 26, 1917, Orenstein asked the Head of the Kolomyia powiat*** administration for the permission to hold elections for the Jewish Community Council that would attend to the affairs of the local Jewish population. It was the beginning of Orenstein's public and political activity in the community of Kolomyia. The desired result was not gained though: the publisher was not elected head of the Jewish community; moreover, the atmosphere was gradually becoming charged with intolerance to the very existence of the Jewish ethnic business. Orenstein protested, but to no avail.

In the calamities of the Great War, the publisher lost all his realty, his bookshop and printing house in particular (the latter was bought in 1914); he also lost the editions of books and postcards published by the Halytska Nakladnia and the productions of other contemporary publishing houses in Ukrainian and other languages. The war was still going on, and a great material damage was inflicted by Russian troops that occupied the Galician territories [4, p. 118–120]. Sometime between the mid-July and the early August of 1917, Orenstein left Kolomyia. He started searching for sales markets beyond Galicia.

The earliest evidence of Orenstein's activity abroad is dated to the autumn of 1917; we know that on September 19, the publisher was in Vienna. He did not stay there for long, in October he moved to another European capital, Berlin. Presumably, Orenstein's trips in the autumn of 1917 resulted from his negotiations with the representatives of the Ukrainian state institutions in Kyiv. Even before World War I, the publisher had personal and business contacts with some Ukrainians from Kyiv [5]. According to Orenstein, he was received by the top state officials; they discussed his project of publishing Ukrainian literature, including influential works in the fields of history, literature and arts. In the autumn of 1917, by agreement with the Ukrainian government in Kyiv, Orenstein started publishing Ukrainian books in Germany. He planned to undertake the publication of the complete collection of Taras Shevchenko, the novels by Panas Myrny, Olha Kobylanska, Ivan Franko, the dramas by Vasyl Pachovsky, the works of other outstanding Ukrainian authors [6, p. 275, 277].

In the autumn and winter of 1917, and the summer and autumn of 1918, Orenstein visited some other cities of Germany, Leipzig and Wetzlar in particular, where he launched the publication of Ukrainian literature – through German publishing houses. On the covers of the books published by Orenstein at that time, next to the name of his Ukrainian Halytska Nakladnia, there was printed, *Українська накладня. Київ – Ляйтциг (Ukrainska Nakladnia. Kyiv – Leipzig)* or *Winnipeg. Man. Ukrainian Publisheng*****. In 1918, Orenstein's greatest achievement in Germany was the publication of a three-volume collection of Taras Shevchenko's works and the poems of *Kobzar*.

In spring 1918, Orenstein left Germany and returned to Kyiv in order to continue his Ukrainian project. He established contacts with the Kyiv publishing house Drukar and shared his management expertise. Unfortunately, because of adverse external circumstances, the Ukrainian-Jewish publishing tandem did not prove to be successful [7, p. 4–5].

In the same year, Orenstein was appointed representative of the Ministry of Education; on November 28, 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State issued a certificate on the strength of which he could visit Galicia, Germany and Switzerland in order to implement his publishing plans. But in the early 1919, the Ukrainian capital was occupied by the Bolsheviks, and

* Halytska Nakladnia – the name of Yakiv Orenstein's publishing house.

** All citations are translated from the sources listed in References.

*** Powiat – the second-level administrative subdivision of Poland, commonly translated as 'county'.

**** Publisheng – spelling preserved as in the original.

Orenstein lost connection with the Kyiv publishers. Nevertheless, he made business trips to Kyiv, Stanislaviv, Kolomyia, Vienna and Berlin. Evidently, he took his time in Vienna, because he arrived in Berlin only at the end of summer; he stayed there till October 1919.

In 1919, Orenstein's major publishing productions were *Haidamaky* and *Kobzar* by T. Shevchenko, and the first two volumes of the *Povne vydannia tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka (A Complete Collection of Taras Shevchenko's Works)* marked *Коломия; Вінніпег; Київ; Ляйпціг (Kolomyia; Winnipeg; Kyiv; Leipzig)*.

Due to his 'pro-Ukrainian' reputation, the Jewish publisher maintained relations with the official institutions of independent Ukraine abroad and carried out some military-related missions. For instance, acting on behalf of Mykola Porsh, Ambassador of the UNR* in Germany, Orenstein bought planes for the Air force of the Ukrainian National Republic in August – September 1919.

On May 10, 1920, Orenstein signed a 'preliminary' contract with the UNR Embassy in Berlin, under which one of the Embassy's buildings could be used as premises for his publishing business. The final contract Ya. Orenstein as an advisor to the UNR Embassy in Germany and R. Smal-Stocki as a plenipotentiary of the diplomatic institution signed on August 11, referring to the existing contracts of May 10, 1920 and August 7, 1920. Orenstein had a huge stock of Ukrainian books published by him in Germany, but he could not ship them to Ukraine, because the country was waging its War of Independence, and the external and internal political situations were rather difficult; it was S. Petliura who agreed to help him [8, p. 133, doc. № 68]. On May 18, 1920, the Ukrainian Embassy in Berlin informed the publisher that all the books had to be prepared for shipping to Ukraine.

In 1920, Orenstein's *Ukrainska Nakladnia* continued to publish the works of Shevchenko and started publishing the works of Franko, both being its major projects. On September 15, 1920, the publishing house was entered in the Berlin Trade Registry; thus, 1920 was the official beginning of Orenstein's publishing-business history.

This fact explains Orenstein's trip to Canada and the USA: the editor's ambition was to expand his business beyond Germany – that was a pragmatic motivational factor; at the same time, he wished to demonstrate his positive attitude to the Ukrainians and Ukrainian culture. He went to North America at the end of March, 1921 and stayed there till early June. The publisher had a book storehouse in Winnipeg before the Great War; so he went there in 1921. His next destination was New York.

Orenstein's pro-Ukrainian position and his activity in 1918–1920 did not pass unnoticed by the Polish authorities. More than once he visited Poland; for instance, in 1920, he travelled from Berlin to Tarnów and Warsaw. The competent bodies of the reconstructed state started investigating his 'political activity'. In spring 1920, Orenstein came to Kolomyia in order to inquire about his pre-War property – stone houses, a printing house and a bookshop.

On June 28, he had a meeting with the officials of the Kolomyia starostwo**. During the summer of 1920, he stayed in Galicia. There is evidence that the starostwo assigned the police department to watch the editor.

Orenstein planned another visit to his relatives in Kolomyia, but in 1923 he got ill; besides, the police continued to investigate his possible anti-government activity. In the February of 1924, the local Police Commissariat – as if trying to prevent his return to Kolomyia – submitted an extensive report on the publisher's 'anti-government activity' to the starostwo. All the accusations logically 'fitted into' the paradigm of the assimilation processes of the early inter-war period in Poland, for example, a new negative stereotype, which made it difficult for the Jewish people to integrate with Polish society, a common conviction about the Jewish 'betrayal' of the idea of the Polish statehood and about the Jewish alliance with the enemies of the reconstructed Republic of Poland.

There was another aspect of the investigation, the external political one. In its document dated September 20, 1923, the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Polish Republic stressed the necessity to investigate whether Orenstein 'has Polish citizenship, and whether he could possibly be involved in espionage, brigandage, acts of terrorism or any other actions against the Polish state.' It indicates that

* UNR – the Ukrainian National Republic, or the Ukrainian People's Republic.

** Starostwo – an administrative unit, a district; district governor's office; district governor.

the publisher planned to come to Poland before 1924, and that the Polish political authorities wanted him to be watched.

On August 21, checking (again) Orenstein's identity, the Kolomyia starostwo confidentially applied to the Register Office of the local Jewish community for his birth certificate; it received the document on the next day. The actions of the starostwo were backed up by the local police department: on August 19, its functionaries repeated the old 'February' accusations of 'anti-government activity'. But, according to the archive documents, the local authorities failed in their effort to prevent Orenstein from coming to Poland; at that time, the central government in Warsaw already gave their consent to his visit; moreover, it was coordinated from the Polish capital.

According to the reports of the Stanislaviv County State Police Department Office, Orenstein crossed the Polish border on August 19, 1924, having produced his foreign passport and an entry visa, which he received from the Consular Department of the Polish Embassy in Berlin on August 2. We do not know how many diplomatic assignments he had, but the fact that Orenstein was mentioned in reference to R. Smal-Stocki's 'action' indicates that the publisher was regarded as mediator in normalizing Polish-Ukrainian relations in the 1920s. In particular, there was conceived a 'University action', a project that involved establishing a Ukrainian University in Poland; R. Smal-Stocki, ex-Counsellor of the UNR Embassy in Germany, agreed to become head of the organizing commission [9].

We do not know exactly with what task Orenstein was entrusted. It is quite probable that the commission asked him to visit three cities, Lviv, Stanislaviv and Kolomyia, in order to find out whether the prospective Ukrainian University could be established in one of them. Orenstein talked about his mission with the Wojewoda* of Stanislaviv; so we can presume that he considered the idea of locating the University in that city.

On August 24, Orenstein came to Kolomyia by the Warsaw train; before that, he visited Stanislaviv, where he had talks with the local Wojewoda. On the next day, August 25, Orenstein met the Head of the Kolomyia starostwo and informed him about his talks with S. Łoś, research officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Rutkowski, Head of Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Kolomyia starostwo did not welcome the idea of Orenstein's participation in R. Smal-Stocki's 'University action'. For example, in another report on the publisher's political activity dated August 26, it was stated that 'Orenstein's reputation in Kolomyia is rather doubtful and he is regarded as a person who cannot be trusted. That is why I doubt whether his participation in the action of Professor [Roman] Smal-Stocki is necessary and whether his activity can bring any benefit to the Polish state' [10].

Orenstein's patience was gradually wearing out. On the one hand, the authorities and the governing and law-enforcement bodies made indiscriminate accusations against him, controlled his every step and disseminated far-fetched rumours; on the other, in view of his authority and loyalty, they tried to involve him in the process of normalizing Polish-Ukrainian relations. There is a report of the Kolomyia Starosta (administrator), informing the Stanislaviv authorities that the publisher complained about rumours of his hostile attitude towards the Polish state being spread in Kolomyia; Orenstein intended to take steps in order to protect his good name.

The publisher's aim was to reopen his bookshop and lending library in Kolomyia, to arrange book exchange and to supply Galicians with Ukrainian publications; in the autumn of 1924, he actively promoted the idea of transferring his publishing house from Berlin to Galicia. The Polish police evinced great interest in Orenstein's trip to Lviv, where he negotiated reopening his publishing business in Galicia with Ukrainian publishers and local intelligentsia.

On September 3–4, the publisher had meetings with the representatives of the Ukrainian media and informed them about his plans of transferring the *Ukrainska Nakladnia* to Galicia. According to the Polish intelligence service, the Soviet government had its own publishing house "Kosmos" in Berlin and prevented other books from being sold on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine; it was also said that 'Orenstein has no sales market for his books, which could bring him a fortune; he tries to move his

* Wojewoda – Governor, the chief administrator of a voivodeship (województwo); voivodeship – the highest-level administrative subdivision of Poland, commonly translated as 'province'.

publishing firm and to ship out the already published books to the territory of Eastern Little Poland' [10]. It was agreed that Professors Bohdan Lepky and Stepan Tomashivsky would become literary directors of Orenstein's publishing firm; both of them wanted to return home and advised the publisher to move his business from Germany to Galicia. But the plan did not succeed; at least till March 1925, Orenstein's activity was carefully watched by the Polish law-enforcement and self-governing bodies. The publisher himself had to constantly address them on the matter of his 'political rehabilitation', already from Berlin.

For instance, in one of his letters, the publisher asked about the true reason for such an attitude towards him, 'Is it because I, being Jewish, publish Ukrainian literature [...] that they can impunitely throw mud at me, libel and shame me, so that this slander pursues me around the world like a wanted poster? I want to stress again: I am not a politician, just a businessman. If, being a Polish citizen and a follower of the faith of Moses, I have chosen to publish scholarly works in the Ukrainian language as a source of income, it was only because, carrying out an ethical and a cultural functions, I expected substantial revenues. This is my goal and the stimulus of my long-term honest, open and meticulous work; if anyone thinks otherwise, they commit a moral crime against me' [10].

The document, apart from being the manifestation of Orenstein's 'biographical rebellion', is another indication of his self-identification problem: we do not have enough evidence that he unequivocally identified himself as Polish; at the same time, his views and feelings did not allow him to accept certain elements of Jewish tradition. Obviously, it was the case of ambivalent self-identification, the state experienced by ethnophors who felt their belonging to the grey area between two different cultures and traditions, and actively searched for as much Polishness and Jewishness in themselves as possible. Yet it was not the case of full interethnic integration, because the 'new – old' ethnophors of the chronotope in question could not become active participants in the economic, social, public, cultural and spiritual life of a 'new' country (the Polish Republic) overnight. There was a bitter dissonance between the theory of political integration, which presupposed creating the system of civic equality of ethnic communities within the same state, and the principles of mutual compromise and/or mutual adaptation, which were compulsory in that case.

Later, 'Orenstein's case' became a 'private conflict' between the publisher and a Mandel Friedman over the property of the former; the case went to the Powiat Court in Kolomyia, and the Stanislawiv voivodeship authorities saw no sense in dealing with it. For Orenstein, 1924 was the year of stresses and failures. He returned to Berlin, late in autumn, actually empty-handed. We do not know whether he kept trying to resolve his business problems, the property disputes, to be exact. But the fact that Orenstein tried to play a part (not a leading one though) in the 'Steigeriad' indicates that he remained an important figure in that chess game for three players – the Ukrainians, the Poles and the Jews.

The publisher's activity in the eastern parts of the reconstructed Polish Republic ended in the fiasco of his business initiatives; in the early winter of 1924, he returned to Germany. Yet Orenstein did not lose interest in 'Galician affairs'; he still hoped that the 'new' authorities would change their attitude towards him despite the fact that in 1923–1924, Polish society was biased against Galician Jews, having doubts about their loyalty to the new power.

Being a representative of the Jewish ethnic community, Orenstein felt distrust on the part of the Polish establishment. He became one of the many, now mostly unknown, actors in the theatre of Ukrainian-Jewish contradictions. The harbinger of the controversies was the 'Steigeriad', the trial of Stanisław Steiger, Jewish student, graduate of the University of Vienna, who was charged with having thrown a bomb at President Stanisław Wojciechowski on September 5, 1924; as a matter of fact, it was a member of the UVO (the Ukrainian Military Organization; Ukrainian: *Ukrainska Viiskova Orhanizatsiia*) who made the assassination attempt on the Polish President. For the editor, it was an equation with many unknowns. Its solution gives us some idea of Orenstein's role and place in the tangle of Ukrainian-Polish-Jewish relations during the interwar period.

On September 8 of the same year, the UVO took responsibility for the attempt on the life of the President of the Polish Republic and said they regretted the arrest of Stanisław Steiger, which was used

as a pretext for anti-Semitic agitation. Despite this fact, it took more than a year (December 1925) for Steiger to be acquitted.

Steiger's case was aggravated by the interethnic relations, lack of political and social stability in Western Ukraine, by attempts to blame it all on the communist movement or a Jewish conspiracy in particular. Orenstein got involved in the Jewish-Ukrainian negotiations on the 'Steigeriad', as on the one hand, he knew important people in the Ukrainian military emigration and, on the other, enjoyed the confidence of Jewish politicians. In the autumn of 1925, the Political Police Department in Stanislawiv informed their Lviv counterparts that 'from the very beginning of [Stanislaw] Steiger's arrest, Yakiv Orenstein, who owns a Ukrainian bookshop in Berlin and has connections with the emigration government of [Yevhen] Petrushevych, evinced a great interest in the case' [10].

On October 12, 1925, presumably on the eve of the second hearing in Steiger's case, Orenstein had a meeting with Ye. Konovalts and his closest associates in Berlin. According to scholars researching the history of the UVO, Colonel Konovalts met Orenstein because the latter 'was a Ukrainian patriot, who did not want to stay under the Polish occupation; he crossed the Zbruch [River] together with the Ukrainian Galician Army and then emigrated to Germany' [11, p. 58].

Mykhailo Seleshko, private secretary of Ye. Konovalts (since 1931), said a little bit more about the meeting. Mykhailo Seleshko, Omelian Senyk and Sydor Chuchman witnessed the publisher's meeting with the UVO leader in the *Romanisches Café* in Berlin. I can presume that it was not an accidentally chosen place; 'friendly talks in cafés' were a perfect cover for conspiratorial meetings. Orenstein was several minutes late; he said that he 'did not come on his own initiative, but solely on the request of the American Jewish organization that asked him to act as an intermediary in that case. The Jews suggested the following: 1. the UVO would make a public declaration saying it was on its orders that its member made the assassination attempt on Wojciechowski; 2. the man who had made the attempt would make the same declaration; 3. in return, the Jews would arrange his voyage to and settlement in America; they also promised adequate financial aid to the Ukrainian Military Organization. Colonel Konovalts declined their propositions' [12, p. 37].

Thus, this meeting yielded no results either. The leader of the UVO did not deny that the attempt was made on its orders; but he refused to give the bomber's name and to receive any financial aid. Taking responsibility for the attempt on the Polish President, the Leadership Structure of the UVO consciously exposed itself to 'unpopularity'; moreover, in the atmosphere of growing anti-Semitism in Polish society, it would have intensified the already unfavourable attitude of Jewry towards the Ukrainian nationalistic movement [13]. Neither Orenstein's high reputation in Ukrainian emigration circles nor his statements that the attempt was made by T. Olshansky, terror operative of the UVO, and that the documents proving his guilt were not lost, but kept by Müller, Head of the Berlin Political Police, were to any effect. 'After Orenstein had left, empty-handed, the subject was being discussed for some time; and it turned out that it was not the first attempt on the part of the Jews to influence the UVO on that matter; other persons had previously approached Colonel Konovalts with the same request on behalf of Jewish organizations' [12]. This fact seems to be in line with the conclusion later articulated by the theorists of Ukrainian nationalism, 'Ukrainian society on the whole regards Jews as a factor actively adverse to the liberation movement, and a considerable number of Jews regard this liberation movement as "rabble-rousing" and, consequently, fears its positive realization; hence an utter confusion of concepts, tendencies, intentions and relations when they try to deal with such an important problem, relying only on their feelings, when they do not want to look into the future...' [14].

The law enforcement authorities kept a too-watchful eye upon Orenstein's attempts to take part in the 'Steigeriad': on November 7 and November 25, 1925, classified police reports were sent to the Lviv officials. The police games behind the scenes of Steiger's case in Lviv and the position of Jewish circles – the result of Orenstein's unsuccessful negotiations with the UVO leaders – caused problems.

These and presumably some other, more important, reasons prompted Orenstein to make a declaration, which was published in the *Dilo* newspaper on November 29. In it, he mentioned neither the UVO nor Ye. Konovalts, nor other members of the Organization. The declaration concerned mostly complex Jewish-Polish-Ukrainian relations in the mid-1920s; so it is probable that Orenstein had

meetings and/or contacts with the members of the UVO, who stayed in Berlin at that time. Yet it has to be admitted that his mission of promoting understanding among the three parties ended in failure. At that time, another important event occurred: on July 4, 1925, 'the Jewish Kolo' (Club) and the Polish government signed an agreement; one of its consequences was the resolution of the 'Steigeriad'. Its other consequence was the reaction of the Ukrainian side, who regarded the finally adopted defense strategy in Steiger's case (the autumn – early winter of 1925) as the result of the Polish-Jewish agreement aimed against Ukrainians. Since that time, the activities of Jews were viewed as the betrayal of the common interests of non-Polish nations.

Thus, for objective and subjective reasons, Orenstein's 'Steigeriad' turned out to be a 'barometer' of loyalty and patriotism in his relations with Ukrainian emigration circles rather than with the Poles and the Polish Republic. Obviously, the Ukrainian side – the UVO with its uncompromising position, the official circles of Ukrainian emigration, Galician public opinion – exaggerated the publisher's influence. At the same time, the Polish law enforcement authorities and the secret services in Stanislaviv and Lviv adopted 'prevention tactics' and kept watching him closely. Yet Orenstein was not fully rehabilitated in the eyes of the Polish establishment.

Steiger's case was a personal failure for the publisher, and he withdrew from the public scene till the early 1930s. In May, 1934, trying to prevent the loss of his *Ukrainska Nakladnia*, he joined the Union of German Booksellers in Leipzig – despite the rising anti-Semitism in Germany. Nevertheless the crisis of Orenstein's business was inevitable. The Nazi persecutions were becoming reality. In December 1935, he had to announce the discontinuation of his publishing and bookselling activities in Germany and his membership in the Union of Booksellers.

The forced liquidation of Orenstein's business was a long process. In the January of 1937, the publisher informed the Head of the Reich Literature Chamber that all ownership of his printed products was transferred to his Polish creditor and that he himself would go out of bookselling business and would concentrate on the liquidation of his publishing enterprise. In 1937, especially in the summer, the name 'Yakiv Orenstein', 'the elimination of Jewish influence', 'the Jewish question' were often mentioned in the documents of the Reich Literature Chamber.

It is not possible to say when exactly Orenstein left Germany. At that time, the publisher faced another problem: in the August – October of 1940, the daughter of Ivan Franko Anna Franko-Kliuchko, who lived in Vienna, inquired the Reich Literature Chamber about the Berlin property of the *Ukrainska Nakladnia*. The Chamber answered that the publishing house stopped functioning on October 22, 1937. A. Franko-Kliuchko was interested not in the premises of the *Nakladnia*, but in the publisher's house: it used to be the building of the Ukrainian Red Cross Society, which she joined in 1919, but the ownership was going to be transferred to the Ukrainian community of Berlin, the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in particular.

Not later than in June 1940, the Ukrainian Central Committee in the General Government split the stock of Orenstein's publications: part of it was sent to the libraries of local Ukrainian societies for popular education and cultural work, and some editions were sold to benefit the cultural fund [15].

Since the late 1940, Orenstein's life, his relationships with close friends and business partners significantly changed for the worse. He moved to Warsaw late in 1938 (his son Józef lived and worked there in the 1930s). As well as thousands of Warsaw Jews, Orenstein had to struggle for physical survival. In October 1940, implementing their anti-Semitic policy, the Nazis isolated the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. We can presume that Yakiv Orenstein, his wife and his daughter Regina, who supposedly moved to Warsaw together with him, witnessed the 'resettlement in the East', the deportation of Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp in the summer and the early autumn of 1942. They were shot in Warsaw on September 12. The other members of Orenstein's family – his son Józef and his daughter Adelina – were killed in Lviv on March 12, 1943.

The analysis of the materials on Orenstein's life and work in Galicia and beyond allows me to draw some conclusions. First, Yakiv Orenstein did not choose to be Ukrainian; it was due to a favorable conjuncture that his Ukrainian projects proved to be more successful than the Polish and Russian ones. He was mainly concerned about his business and relied on the principle of healthy competition, while

cultural matters were his second priority. Second, he did not consciously choose to be Austrian, Polish, German or even Russian, but took different citizenships out of necessity – because of his state, territorial or geographical affiliation, or in order to protect his own life. He was an Austrian, a Pole or a German of Jewish origin; but first and foremost, he belonged to the Jewish people of the Book and gave up neither his ethnic identity nor his faith. Third, in the 1900s–1930s, Yakiv Orenstein proved to be an efficient manager of Ukrainian cultural life; his activity was a factor in the promotion of the Ukrainian national idea in the absence of the Ukrainian state; remaining a follower of the faith of Moses, he was a symbolic ‘Ukrainian’, a wandering Ukrainophil. Yakiv Orenstein was one of the biggest publishers of Ukrainian literature, an active participant in the political life of Poland and Germany between the two world wars, one of the most notable figures in the arena of interethnic relations in the 1920s–1930s. According to Lev Bykovskiy, bibliognost, geopolitician, historian and journalist, ‘this man, who in the first half of the 20th century did so much for the Ukrainian nation, belongs to the circle of the constructive people of “New Ukraine”. [...] as well as other prominent Ukrainian figures of the period, who fought and died, in one way or another, for the ideal of the independent sovereign Ukrainian state’ [7].

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Address: Ivan Monolatii, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57, Shevchenko Str., Ivano-Frankivsk, 76025, Ukraine.

E-mail: iwan.monolatii@gmail.com

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Монолатій Іван. Яків Оренштайн: українофіл-вигнанець із Галичини. *Журнал Прикарпатського університету імені Василя Стефаника*, 6 (2) (2019), 28–36.

Українсько-єврейські взаємини у міжвоєнній Галичині, що були віддзеркаленням різниці статусів двох народів, втручання третьої сили – поляків, що зруйнувала сприятливий момент для коригування двосторонніх відносин, закладений в добу ЗУНР – ЗоУНР, розглянуто як різносторонній трикутник міжетнічної взаємодії. З-поміж його фігурантів виокремлюється коломиїський єврей-видавець Яків Оренштайн (1875–1942), символічний “українець” Мойсеевого визнання. Його життя і праця у міжвоєнній Галичині – персоналізований приклад дилеми складного внутрішнього вибору між позірно декларованою польськістю та фактичним українофільством.

Ключові слова: видавнича справа, книготоргівля, друкарня, Коломия, Станіславів, єврейська громада, українська національна культура, етнічні актори, українофіл-вигнанець.