This book was written when Kasieńka, my first child and Artur's first grandchild, was born. He dedicated the book to her; however, I am sure that if her two younger brothers, Ronald and Marc, were alive at the time, the book would have been dedicated to all three of them. Artur intended to educate our family and future generations about where they came from. I hope this translation will be cherished by his descendants—my children and grandchildren—as well as anyone interested in the amazing roots of the Jews of Poland. At the time the book was written, World War II was raging and Artur could not have known of the cruel fate that was to befall the largest Jewish population in the world.

Joanna Grun

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki with his granddaughter Cathy (Kasieńka). London, 1944. *Courtesy of Catherine Grun*

Contents

Preface

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki and His Reminiscences

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki (1890, Lwów–1958, London) belongs to those people who left their home city of Lwów, but kept on returning there in their thoughts.

Lilien's life, like the existence of his native city, was shaken by two world wars. Before 1914, in Lilien's formative years, Lwów was a prosperous metropolis of Galicia, which bordered on the Russian Empire. It was a home to multiple religious and ethnic groups whose wellbeing rested on a sophisticated equilibrium, in which diverse economic, confessional, and political interests were balanced. By birth, Lilien belonged to the Jewish community, to its locally rooted, profoundly assimilated, educated, and wealthy elite. His ancestors played an outstanding role in shaping that precious culture of coexistence, in bringing to terms financial, communal, and political forces operating in the local, provincial, and national arenas. He belonged to a family that promoted Polish autonomy in Habsburg Galicia. Teenage Lilien participated in a radical circle striving to achieve the independence of Poland. As an officer, at the personal request of the future president Józef Piłsudski, Lilien pioneered in training Polish legionnaires in 1912 and thus laid the foundations for the artillery corps of the future Polish state. A lawyer and financier in peaceful times, during the First World War he served in the Austro-Hungarian army, returning to Lwów on its disbandment in 1918. Soon he witnessed an atrocity unthinkable under the "ancient regime": a bloody pogrom mounted by victorious Polish soldiers in Jewish quarters of his city. Those scenes bitterly challenged

Lilien's Polish patriotism, overshadowing his interwar life. Moreover, his inherited skills and acquired experience were no longer required as a new center of power was consolidating in Warsaw and a new elite had developed a new style of doing things, unrelated to that mastered between Lwów and Vienna. Although Lilien often felt himself an undesired stranger in his city and country, he joined the Polish Army as a lieutenant in the reserves. He also served the Second Republic as a diplomat, was able to share his political views in the press, and managed his family business.

At the outbreak of World War II, when Lwów was surrounded by Nazi and Soviet troops in autumn of 1939, Lilien left the city with a unit of the Polish Army—as it turned out, forever. He escaped the destiny of those Polish officers whom Soviet persecutors shot dead in Katyń, and he escaped the Holocaust that annihilated the Jewish community of Lwów. Lilien crossed the Romanian border, made his way to Cyprus, and was engaged by the British Military Mission in the Middle East. In 1944 he became an officer of the British Staff in Cairo. There he typed his reminiscences, a document of personal and family memories and his meditations on those cruel times when the old orders fell apart to give way to a new, yet unknown, world order.

Lilien invites his future reader, his new-born granddaughter Kasieńka,[1] to encounter her family, generations of Polish Jewry: merchants, lease-holders, bankers, industrialists, politicians, communal leaders, army officers, scholars, physicians, artists, and art collectors. They dwell in a broader Jewish and Christian world of deeds and ideas, integrated into the national life of the Old Commonwealth, the Habsburg Empire, and the Second Polish Republic. They serve their community as elders and philanthropists, as founders of synagogues and charities. They love and protect their family and care about their downtown house and summer villa. They—gentlemen and ladies—are devoted professionals and great hobbyists, fascinated with arts and sports. Through the present publication, the reader will enjoy reminiscences of this worthy life, narrated with great talent and decency, with many

[1] Kasieńka is an endearing diminutive of Kasia (Cathy).

bitter notes together with delicate humor and self-irony. This unpretentious preface will not spoil the reader's pleasure. Instead, it will briefly introduce the author, Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki, rather than his story.

Lilien the narrator positions himself as a man profoundly rooted in his family history. One of his family's dominating merits is aristocracy, a worldly feature not contradicting their Jewishness. Actually, on his maternal side Lilien is a great-great-grandson of Majer Rachmiel von Mises (1800–1891), who in 1881 was granted hereditary nobility by Emperor Franz Joseph I for contributing to the prosperity of the monarchy, city, and community.[2] Lilien endeavors to reinforce his aristocracy by constructing his paternal lineage. He relates a legend about Mechel von Lilien, buried in Brzozdowce, the Galician nest of the family. According to Lilien, Mechel von Lilien was a German knight who fell in love with a German Jewess from Swabia and wanted to marry her: "She consented under the condition that he convert to Judaism. There was, however, a death penalty for defection from the Christian faith. He therefore left his country, abandoned his title, position, and wealth and emigrated with her to Poland, known for religious tolerance" (p. 41).

The Nierensteins, other relatives on the maternal side, also belonged to the higher strata of society: grandfather Maurycy's mother was born Wahl. Lilien tells the following:

> There is a legend among the Jews that during the First Free Elections [to the Polish throne], it was suspected that one of the political parties might forcefully take possession of the crown jewels for the [House of] Valois or the Habsburgs, and they looked for a secure place to hide them, [and a Jew] Saul was entrusted with them. Therefore, said the Jews, he was for one night the Polish king. Hence also comes his byname Wahl (meaning: election [in German]), which became the family name. (p. 23)

2 R. Pytel, "Mises, Majer Jerachmiel von," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, 13 vols. (Graz: H. Böhlaus, 1957–2012), 6: 317–318; Jörg Guido Hülsmann, *Mises: The Last Knight of Liberalism* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2007), 12–16.

Despite the formal and legendary basis, Lilien does not treat his aristocracy as unconditionally granted. Like his ancestors, he does his best to follow the lifestyle of a nobleman and urban patrician. Like his father, he volunteers for military service as an officer, and he brings up his son Adam (1914–1993)—a Polish officer who fought at Tobruk and Monte Cassino—in the same spirit. Artur runs an open house and is devoted to his ancestral villa and collections, as well as to his stable. He shelters the former enemy, an officer of the defeated Russian Army, Arkady Gonczarow, and other Russian emigrants. "I thought that if the revolution can bring about murder and devastation under the motto 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' one should at least come to the rescue of the survivors under the motto 'Gentlemen of all countries, unite!' Besides, I thought, one day I could find myself in a similar situation" (p. 89).

Though Lilien's nobility originates from the emperor's authority, and it implements the aristocrat's diligent service to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and later to the Polish Republic, Lilien's roots in Polish history are deeper and are of special value in restituted Poland. These roots are emphasized in the story of Izak Nachmanowicz (d. 1595) and his daughter-in-law—the Golden Rose (d. 1637), the legendary foremother of the Mises family—and hence the Lwów branch of the Lilien family. The roles and meanings of these historically remote figures are manifold in Lilien's narration. First, Izak Nachmanowicz was a financier to the Polish Crown; in addition, he was a community elder and a founder of the revered synagogue. His daughter-in-law was a legendary rescuer of that synagogue from the hands of the Jesuits. Her grave became the site of a women's cult in the Old Cemetery, the pantheon of Lwów Jewry. The plot of land purchased by the Nachmanowicz family to be handed over to the Jesuits as a ransom for the restituted synagogue served the city and the state well in the twentieth century: it housed the Financial Direction in place of the Jesuit convent that had been closed down. Thus, Izak and Rose, the historical and legendary heroes, bind the merits of a Polish Jew in a unique garland which will grant respectful status to their descendants. They cast worthy examples of personal devotion to the Jewish community from

which benefited not only this small group but also the state, the city, and society at large. It is from this perspective of existential duty that Lilien describes the local scenes—of Lwów and Żółkiew—to which he is historically and emotionally tied, where every stone is speaking to him, and to where he returns in his memories: "And Lwów, this beautiful Lwów, my dearest city! The city of gardens among green hills with a hundred noble towers rising toward the sky. The city of my family treasures, where not only cemeteries, but also things alive, public buildings, institutions, and railway lines told me the history of my fathers and forefathers" (p. 84).

Lilien's nobility, as well as his Jewishness, are not confined to strict definitions. Lilien's allegiance to the internationality of a gentleman is rooted in the elitist culture of Austro-Hungary. It is close to the image of a gentleman poetized by outstanding Austrian author Joseph Roth (1894–1939) who, like Lilien, was a grateful pupil of Helena Szajnocha née von Schenk (1864–1946).[3] Both young men, Lilien and Roth, were grafted with her tolerant conservatism at their French lessons. The hero of Roth's 1934 novel, Count Morstin, was "one of the noblest and purest sort of Austrian, plain and simple. That is, a man above nationality, and therefore of true nobility." Asked "to which 'nationality' or race he felt he belonged, the Count would have felt rather bewildered, baffled even, by his questioner, and probably bored and somewhat indignant."[4] Unlike "plain and simple" Morstin, Lilien is readily discussing racial features of his family, and everyone is beloved and ennobled in his lineage: "it seems that a thousand years ago, from French they [the Liliens] became Germans, then Polish Jews some three hundred years ago, and who knows if nowadays these Polish Jews will not become

3 David Bronsen, *Joseph Roth: Eine Biographie* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1974), 114–115, 493; Joseph Roth, *Briefe 1911–1934*, ed. Hermann Kesten (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970), 36–39, 42–44, 66, 127–128, 135–137; Joseph Roth, *A Life in Letters*, trans. and ed. Michael Hofmann (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2012), 14. Lilien and Roth were both related to Siegmund (Shulim) Grübel, the landlord of Helena Szajnocha's apartment. I am profoundly thankful to Victoria Lunzer-Talos and Heinz Lunzer for their insights on Joseph Roth and his milieu.

4 Joseph Roth, *Hotel Savoy; Fallmerayer the Stationmaster; The Bust of the Emperor*, trans. John Hoare (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1986), 157–158.

British or Americans" (p. 42). Lilien describes his Ashkenazi and Sephardi ancestors with equal sympathy, and their roots are traced to the Rhineland, Padua, Leghorn, and the caliphs' court of Cordova. Lilien discovers in his family "the Sephardic-Moorish," "the purest Semitic," "Khazar," "Turan-Mongolian," "Slavic," and "Germanic" blood. Everything remains in the family.

Lilien is a man of broad horizons, anything but a *shtetl* or ghetto Jew. The break away from traditional Jewish society had been undertaken by his ancestors a few generations earlier. They were *maskilim*, secular educated Jews: the merchants and bankers Majer Rachmiel and Abraham-Artur Mises of Lwów, as well as Ozjasz and Maurycy Nierenstein of Brody. In their days, secular education based on the German language was a privilege of those Jews who sought to integrate into the modernizing society of the Habsburg Empire. In Lilien's generation and milieu, secular education was the standard, and a doctoral degree was a desired addition. In his day, the German language was no longer the main attribute of an educated person in Galicia and had lost its meaning as a single gateway to world culture. Already Lilien's grandmother, Klara Nierenstein née Mises, "was a living dictionary of German, French, English, and Italian" (p. 18). For Lilien, command of German was understandable per se, while perfect knowledge of the Polish language, literature, and history became vital in Galicia long before the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Lilien's mastering of Polish and Russian, as well as English, French, and Italian made him an indispensable expert and lecturer, an esteemed liaison officer during World War II.

A true belonging to the wider world was guaranteed by Lilien's continuous education: first at the primary school run by Polish ladies, Józefa Czarnowska and Wanda Dalecka,[5] later at the Evangelic school, then at the "Bernardine" Gymnasium[6] and afterward with his private tutors including Helena Szajnocha-Schenk, then in the Department of Law of Lwów University, followed by the Export Academy in Vienna,

5 See Appendix.

6 In continental Europe, the term "gymnasium" denoted a school that was preparatory to study at the universities.

and ultimately—his self-education. The subjects in which Lilien took an interest, besides his civil and military professions, portray an intelligent person of his times: individual and collective psychology, racial theory, physics, political theory—including creation of the future European Union,[7] music, literature, art, history, and archaeology. "Sometimes I smiled with pity at myself and my 'education.' I realized that not only any engineer or physician, but also every shoemaker, carpenter, watchmaker, or bookbinder is better equipped to earn a living among strangers than myself. It turned out, however, that my knowledge of many languages came in useful as a weapon" (p. 110).

Yet, alongside his polyglot skills, assimilation, nobility, and his internationalist and universal leanings, Artur Lilien remains a Jew. His Judaism is not identical with that of his great-great-grandfather, Majer Rachmiel Mises, a founder of the Deutsch-Israelitisches Bethaus (German-Israelite Prayer House, popularly named the Tempel) in Lwów of the 1840s. Indeed, Lilien's Judaism is similar to that of the Tempel congregation, once formulated by R. Isac Noa Mannheimer (1793–1865) in Vienna. Mannheimer claimed that after the destruction of the ancient Temple, Jews carried its holiness with them; the love of God and faith in Him provided the element that unified the Jewish people and rendered it holy. Mannheimer's Judaism recognized "the historical, national side" of Jewish Messianism and "hoped for and expected salvation in this sense," while it did not expect the future restoration of the Jewish people as a political nation.[8] In addition to this mindset, fundamental to the Progressive Judaism of Galicia, Lilien believes that "the essential ideal of Judaism is the ideal of Messianism, the yearning for brotherly coexistence of humanity and of uniting all endeavors to uplift universal happiness" (p. 96).

7 Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki, "Paneuropa a zagadnienie granic polsko-niemieckich," *Nasza Przyszłość: wolna trybuna zachowawczej myśli państwowej* 8 (February 1931): 113–119; Dariusz Miszewski, "Polska wobec koncepcji Paneuropy," in *W kręgu polityki*, ed. Adam Ilciów and Robert Potocki (Zielona Góra: Śląskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Michała Grażyńskiego, 2009), 109–118.

8 Marsha L. Rozenblit, "Jewish Identity and the Modern Rabbi: The Cases of Isak Noa Mannheimer, Adolf Jellinek, and Moritz Güdemann in Nineteenth-Century Vienna," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990): 108–110.

Lilien's approach to the political future of the Jewish people is Messianic, and explicitly anti-Zionist: he does not see Jews as a political nation. He applauds the role played by Jewish Diaspora in the world: "The dispersion, which was looked upon as a curse, became in a way a blessing, because, while keeping deep in their hearts the Messianic ideals of brotherly coexistence of the nations, they found themselves in a position enabling them to become the pioneers of the future humanity" (p. 96).

As a Polish diplomat on his way to Palestine, Lilien observes the Zionist pioneers, the *ḥalutzim*, "with amazement and some kind of envy." Nevertheless, he does not share their ideology: "Palestine is a symptom of disease; a symptom of infection by the venom of the nationalism prevailing nowadays. It is forsaking directions from time immemorial and entering the road of false prophets of the moment. It is abandoning the road of greatness in service to humanity and choosing the narrow limited path of its own 'folk'" (p. 97).

In his contemplations on the world order that would be established afterWorld War II, Lilien hopes that in the future "they will understand that one can criticize Zionism while at the same time be deeply moved not only by the eternal Gehenna, but also by the magnitude of the Jewish mission" (p. 120).

Lilien harshly rejected constructing and tarnishing any "other" in interwar Poland; he was distressed by his own thinking about Poles as "them" (p. 99). Though not a sympathizer of Jewish—or any other—radicals, he was not "surprised at the extreme revolutionary reaction of the desperate Jewish youth, who did not grow up in the Polish tradition and were oppressed, rejected, and becoming poorer and poorer" (p. 100). He condemned inhumane treatment of political opponents of the course followed by the Polish government (pp. 83, 115), detained without formal charges or trial in the Bereza Kartuska prison as a "threat to security, peace and social order."[9]

9 See Wojciech Śleszyński, *Obóz odosobnienia w Berezie Kartuskiej 1934–39* (Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Bialymstoku, 2003), 16.

Lilien's great resentment was ignited by the antisemitism that increased in the 1930s, borrowing much of the Nazi ideology. Though unmentioned in Lilien's memoirs, his participation in public discussion focusing on "the Jewish question" was notable. A dispute, which involved Lilien, was initiated by Jerzy Giedroyc (1906–2000), a Polish author and political activist, in his periodical *Bunt Młodych* (Revolt of the Young), renamed *Polityka* in 1937.[10] The dispute was opened in 1932 by an entire issue of *Bunt Młodych* devoted to the so-called "Jewish question" and entitled *Co robić z Żydami?* (What to Do with the Jews?).[11] The opinions voiced in that issue reverberated in the broader press with responses by diverse sectors of Polish society.[12] In 1938, the polemic was continued by Ferdynand Goetel (1890–1960), a well-known author and member of the Polish Academy of Literature since 1936, an editor of a popular periodical *Kurier Poranny* (The Morning Courier), and once, in their youth, a friend of Lilien. In his article "Dyskusja nad problemem żydowskim w Polsce" (Discussion on the Jewish Problem in Poland), Goetel denigrates Jews as the cause of "the weakness of Poland," as an alien element harmful to the Polish economy, serving the interests of either the Stalinist or Trotskyist enemy. He blames Polish Jews as being failed nationalists unable to materialize their Zionist dream, as people totally detached from the Polish cultural legacy, although formally bearing Polish citizenship. Goetel's conclusion was that Jews had to leave Poland, willingly or unwillingly.[13]

Within a month Lilien published a reply article: "Myśli polskiego Żyda" (Thoughts of a Polish Jew), a title borrowed for the present book.[14]

10 Adolf Bocheński (1909–1944), one of the periodical's editors, is mentioned with great respect and quoted in Lilien's memoirs.

11 *Bunt Młodych* 33 (1932).

12 Rafał Habielski, *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc od "Buntu Młodych" do "Kultury"* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo "Więź," 2007), 177–184.

13 Ferdynand Goetel, "Dyskusja nad problemem żydowskim w Polsce," *Polityka* 15 (161) (10 July 1938): 4–6.

14 Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki, "Myśli polskiego Żyda," *Polityka* 18 (163) (10 Aug.1938): 6, 8. The article has recently been republished and commented upon in Rafał Habielski and Jerzy Jaruzelski, eds., *Zamiary, przestrogi, nadzieje: Wybór publicystyki: "Bunt Młodych," "Polityka," 1931–1939* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008), 408–415.

This text is written from the standpoint of an assimilated Polish Jew, whose family served the country for many centuries and who feels deeply rooted in Polish history and his native Lwów. However, this Jew is rejected by the Polish establishment in the interwar period, becoming "a stranger," wandering "on the margins of life." All these occur to him despite his strongest desire that he himself and every Polish Jew feel that Poland is "us." Lilien's text, rich in names and events, speaks about its author and his views on the "Jewish question" better than any commentary; it is published in the present volume in English translation (see Appendix).

In the article, as in his memoirs, Lilien provides an impressive testimony of his ancestors' contribution to the prosperity of Lwów and Poland. Some of these should be viewed critically, as they are not supported by known records. For instance, a genealogical link between the Mises-Koziner family and Izak Nachmanowicz, the founder of the Golden Rose Synagogue, cannot be traced between the disappearance of the Nachmanowicz family from the historical record in the mid-seventeenth century and the earliest mention of a certain Eliahu Koziner, the founder of the Mises dynasty, who lived at the end of the same century.[15] Nachman Izakowicz, the son of Izak Nachmanowicz and husband of the historical Rosa—the legendary Golden Rose—died in 1616,[16] and thus could not have been a tax collector serving King John II Casimir Vasa, who reigned in 1648–1654, as maintained by Lilien.[17] The large, six-windows-wide house at 18 Rynek Square—where Jews were prohibited from owning possessions until the Austrian constitution of 1867—was not granted by King John Casimir to Nachman Izakowicz. As attested by archival sources, the house was built in 1777–1785 and sold by the Armenian merchant Andrzej Andzułowski to

15 Majer Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVIgo i XVIIgo wieku* (Lwów: Fundusz konkursowy im. H. Wawelberga, 1906), 187–195; Majer Bałaban, "Genealogical Tree of the Ornstein-Braude Family" (Heb.), in *Księga jubileuszowa ku czci D-ra Markusa Braudego* (Warsaw: Tow. Krzewienia Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce, 1931), 33–35; plates VIII–XI.

16 Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy*, 107, 195.

17 Lilien-Brzozdowiecki, "Myśli polskiego Żyda," 6.

Rachmiel Hirsz Mises on 20 August 1789 for 8,000 ducats.[18] The aforementioned legends were not invented by Lilien: they circulated as a part of his family's collective memory.[19] Actually, Lilien confessed to his granddaughter Kasieńka: "I want to tell you this, and that, though older things may be at times foggy, blurred, may be even fantastic, while things more recent will be treated more broadly. About things remote in time, I want to repeat for you what I heard about them at home, though, alongside the truth, they may be part legend. About things recent, I want to tell you the way I remember and think of them" (p. 2).

No doubt, Lilien is very sharp and specific about the things he remembers. His critical remarks about many persons in his memoirs are harsh; for this reason neither he nor his family rushed with their publication until today. The typescript was preserved as a treasure of family history and memory. It was translated into English to make it accessible to the younger generations who grew up in the West and could not read Polish. The English translation was done by Marya Lilien-Czarnecka (1900–1998), Artur's younger sister, and his daughter Joanna Grun (b. 1921), who deserve separate biographical notes.

Marya Lilien-Czarnecka was born in Lwów and received her MA in architecture from the Lwów Polytechnic University in 1931. She worked as an architect in Lwów and Warsaw in 1932–1935. During her journey to the USA in 1935, Marya went to the Taliesin estate in Wisconsin and visited the outstanding American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Several months later she joined his fellowship. In 1937, Marya returned to Poland to take care of her family obligations, and the outbreak of World War II found her in Lwów. She crossed the Romanian border, returning to the United States in 1940 on the last boat leaving Naples before Italy declared war on the Allies. She spent the summer of 1941 in Taliesin and then moved to Chicago, where she

18 Volodymyr Vuitsyk, "Ploshcha Rynok, 18," *Visnyk instytutu Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsiia* 14 (2004): 125.

19 For another version of the Mises family genealogy, see B. Samuel, "Helene von Mises," *Ost und West* 12 (December 1905): 792.

began teaching at the School of the Art Institute. There she organized a highly respected interior design program and was appointed Head of the Department of Interior Design, where she lectured until 1967. In 1966 she established The Marya Lilien Foundation for the Advancement of Interior Design. On her retirement from the Art Institute, Marya continued to teach architectural history at Columbia College in Chicago. She was a member of several institutions: The American Institute of Interior Designers, American Society of Interior Designers, National Home Fashions League, Interior Design Educators Council, Kościuszko Foundation, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, and The Polish Arts Club in Chicago. She authored numerous articles in her field and contributed to books and encyclopedias.[20]

Joanna Grun née Lilien was born in Lwów. She graduated from high school in her native city in 1938 and attended the Ecole Supérieure de Sécretariat in Brussels. In May 1940, when the Nazis invaded Belgium, Joanna fled to Paris, and then had to move to southern France. She found herself in Marseilles, hiding with the Sisters of St Vincent de Paul. Joanna married Charles Grun and left the sisters. The young couple walked forty miles to cross the Spanish border and reach Fugueras. Charles was arrested by the Spanish police and sent to the concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro, while Joanna, with the help of the Polish consulate, was sent to Lisbon toward the end of 1942, and in 1943 made her way to London, where Charles joined her. She worked for the Polish Government in Exile as a secretary. The Gruns moved to Paris in 1948 and then to the United States in 1952. They lived in New York, and Joanna worked for more than twenty years for the American agency of the Polish Steel Company (Stalexport) until they

20 Cornelia Brierly, *Tales of Taliesin: A Memoir of Fellowship*, 2nd ed. (Rohnert Park, CA: Pomegranate; Floyd Lloyd Wright Foundation, 2000), 69–70; Marya Lilien, "O Józiu Wittlinie—wspomnienia lwowskiej młodości," *Wiadomości* [London], 25 Nov. 1979, 3; Merney Rich, "Marya Lilien: Frank Lloyd Wright Opened My Mind," *Chicago Tribune*, 15 May 1988, section 6, 3; Zdzisław Żygulski Jun., "Ze Lwowa do Chicago: Wspomnienie o Marii Lilien-Czarneckiej," *Cracovia Leopolis* 2 (2005): 14–17; "Lilien, Marya de Czarnecka," in *Who's Who in Polish America: 1996–1997*, ed. Boleslaw Wierzbianski (New York: Bicentennial Pub. Corp., 1996), 262.

retired in Florida. Charles died in 1996. Joanna, despite her advanced age, is a wonderful source of knowledge and memory. It is due to Joanna's will, patience, and advice that publication of Artur Lilien's memoirs was made possible.

The English translation prepared by Marya Lilien and Joanna Grun is supplemented with their explanatory notes. These are signed with the initials M.L. and J.G. respectively. Additional annotations, prepared by author of this preface, are unsigned. The present publication indicates Polish geographical names as they were spelled by Lilien. The present-day Ukrainian names, including modern names of the streets, are mentioned in the notes at their first occurrence.

The English translation of the reminiscences and its supplements were edited and adjusted to the demands of modern publication by Yohai Goell, Jerusalem.

Publication of this book was made possible, first and foremost, thanks to Joanna Grun. I wish to express my profound gratitude to Joanna's children Catherine (Kasieńka), Ronald, and Marc Grun for their support and help. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Tom Peters for sharing with me his great knowledge of the history and genealogy of the Lilien family, and to Dr. Victoria Lunzer-Talos and Dr. Heinz Lunzer for their expertise in Joseph Roth's milieu. I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Victoria Lunzer-Talos for her insightful and thorough reading of the memoirs, for invaluable advice and queries. I wish to thank Prof. Rachel Manekin and Prof. Antony Polonsky for encouraging this publication. I am grateful to Dr. Vladimir Levin, Benjamin Lukin, Hanna Palmon, Michał Piechotka, Dr. Vita Susak, and Dr. Arkadi Zeltser for their help and advice, and to Susan Carfrae and Ilia Levin for professional photographic work.

Sergey R. Kravtsov
Jerusalem, June 2015

To Kasieńka from Grandpa

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki, 1940s. *Courtesy of Catherine Grun*

While I am writing these words, a tempest is raging in the world. The earth trembles on its foundations. On battered boats we wrestle with stormy seas, searching for new, calmer shores. And behind us, on the vanishing horizon, old worlds are crashing to ruin.

During this tragic journey you came into this world, dear child of my child.

In your heart's blood you carry from the ruins a heritage of ages. A heritage of ancient cultures, a long line of generations of brave and noble-hearted men and women. They were leaders among their people, achieving their standing by working on perfecting themselves, as well as by their faithful and devoted service to the community; but, above all, by their deep faith that the world ought to be ruled by love.

Our part is to work, however, we are not granted to fulfill our work. Generations follow generations and are handing down unfinished tasks.

I want to leave you, my dear child, a handful of reminiscences about your predecessors, the way they live in my memory.

I want to tell you this, and that, though older things may be at times foggy, blurred, maybe even fantastic, while things more recent will be treated more broadly. About things remote in time, I want to repeat for you what I heard about them at home, though, alongside the truth, they may be part legend. About things recent, I want to tell you the way I remember and think of them.

Take it with you to these new, unknown shores, wherever you will land, so that some time you may better understand who you are yourself.

Artur Lilien-Brzozdowiecki
Cairo, Winter 1944–1945

MY GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER

MAJER RACHMIEL MISES, born 1800, died 1891

He came from a family which, since time immemorial, was settled in Lwów.[1] Large tombstones of his ancestors, covered with Hebraic

1 Presently Lviv in Ukraine.