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FORMATION OF SPACE AND USE OF TEATRALNA SQUARE IN CHERNIVTSI IN THE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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СЪЗДАВАНЕ НА ПРОСТРАНСТВО И ИЗПОЛЗВАНЕ НА ПЛОЩАД „ТЕАТРАЛНА“ В ЧЕРНИВЦИ ПРЕЗ XIX – НАЧАЛОТО НА XX ВЕК

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Abstract: The city development is a long process, in which a particular place is occupied by present-day needs. The development of the Teatralna Square in Chernivtsi has become a process by which several architectural styles have been joined together in the buildings. At the same time, the central part of the city was used both as a business centre and as a cultural and educational one. A similar situation persisted during the early twentieth century, after which the emphasis shifted towards cultural and educational activities.

Keywords: Bukovyna, Chernivtsi urban development, Romanian National theatre, National palace, Horia Creangă.

Анотация: Развитието на града е дълъг процес, в който определено място е заето от днешните нужди. Развитието на площад „Театрална“ в Чернивци се превръща в процес, при който в сградите се съчетават няколко архитектурни стила. В същото време централната част на града се използва както като бизнес център, така и като културно-образователен. Подобна ситуация се запазва в началото на XX век, след което акцентът се насочва към културни и образователни дейности.

Ключови думи: Буковина, градско развитие на Чернивци, Румънски национален театър, Национален дворец, Хория Креанге.

Introduction

Formation of the Chernivtsi urban space was a process that lasted during the 19th–early 20th centuries. Further interventions in the city central part areas took place in some cases during different periods of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Thus, during the above-mentioned time, the structure of space in the city centre was formed where the elements that showed their orientation at business or educational activities, cultural and educational work attracted attention. In fact, in the 1920–1930s there were some places in town that combined objects that were assigned to different types of activities because the limited territory of Chernivtsi forced to combine different institutions in the adjacent space. These included the site of modern Teatralna Square, which complex was formed in the late 1930s and in the then urban space both financial and business activities were combined, as well as educational and cultural ones. This article makes an attempt to demonstrate the use of space and institutions in a small downtown space during the interwar period.

Historiography

The study of the city of Chernivtsi development history began in the 1930s and was carried out for a long time through the publication of guides around the city that reflected the structure of the city and the history of individual buildings, institutions and establishments appearance. Thus, among the first publications on the history of urban development there is a book dedicated to the 500-year anniversary of the first written mentioning of the city by R.F. Kaindl [**Kaindl, R. F.** 2005]. After a certain break, the history of the city development has been described in a number of guides, and the one which is worth mentioning first is the guide on Chernivtsi by C. Loghin. Its author characterizing the object of our study defines the main buildings of the

Alexandri Square – the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Jewish House, the theatre and the start of the Romanian Palace of Culture construction was mentioned too. Description of the city theatre as an institution was presented separately [Loghin, C. 1936, pp. 11, 94–96].

The tourist description of the city contained information about its main buildings, although a complete description of urban areas was not given in the *Guide* published in 1939. Nevertheless, attention was paid to new elements in the city. So, in 1939, the English park might have been attractive for tourists. It was stressed in the description pointing at construction of the Palace of Culture that was started in 1937 by the Bukovyna Society for Culture and Literature and Metropolia of Bukovyna and was not completed in 1939. Attention was also paid to the isolated location of the theatre building, surrounded by a small garden (in fact, the description of C. Loghin was repeated) [Bănăţeanu, V., Knittel, E. 1939, pp. 58–60].

In the post-war period, city guides also contained material on history of the city and its buildings. However, the collective work by Yu. Khokhol and Yu. Kovalev was one of the first architectural descriptions of Chernivtsi. But the critique of the social situation of the city inhabitants and social policy in the pre-Soviet period took a prominent place in the essay. Criticism of the authors is also directed against “unsystematic approach” in construction [Хохол, Ю., Ковальов, Ю. 1966, с. 44].

A significant number of works on the history of the city development was published during the celebration of the 600-year anniversary of the first written mentioning of the city name. We can find a description of the individual components of the city, including modern Teatralna Square in those works. Thus, in spite of the small volume of the submitted material, it is rather thoughtful to analyze the development of the Teatralna Square in a collective work on the history of urban planning in Chernivtsi [Вечерський, В., Скібіцька Т., Сердюк, О. 2008]. In the work under the general editorship of V.Vechersky the Teatralna Square is characterized as an area with high potential of the environment. He rightly described it as one of the brightest and artistically expressive places of Chernivtsi. It is necessary to assert the square appearance was formed during the first decades of the 20th century (actually, for less than 40 years).

A detailed analysis of the urban planning and development history in general and the Teatralna Square, in particular, is contained in the work by M. Nykyrsa. The history of the individual building construction is highlighted in this very work not only from the architectural point of view but also social, since the author traced the attitude of the public to changes in architectural image of Chernivtsi [Никирса, М. 2008]. Simultaneously with this work, the work by S. Bilenkova was published and the author looked at the development of Chernivtsi in accordance with chronological periods and architectural styles, therefore, the analysis of the Teatralna Square construction looked quite fragmented [Біленкова, С. 2009]. A brief analysis of the urban development history and architectural styles is presented in the collective anniversary work on history of Chernivtsi. The history of the Chernivtsi Theatre activities, which building has become an integral part of the architectural complex of the square, is given in the work by A.Niculicr [Niculică, A. 2009, pp. 194–280].

Consequently, the history of the contemporary Teatralna Square development has already received coverage in popular-science literature, but this article is an attempt to analyze not only square development itself from the architectural point of view, but also to establish conditions for certain institution activities that were located here during the interwar period.

Square characteristics

The square is rectangular in shape, stretched along the axis of the west-east with the theatre building as a centre of the planning-spatial composition. The public garden in the artificially lowered relief, made by architect Stubhen, also fits into the square. Perimeter block site development consists of residential buildings and public buildings. The interior space of the square is organized on the principle of symmetric-axial orientation.

The square territory was characterized by presence of fairly weak trade with dominance of administrative institutions, which included the Palace of Justice, the Bukovyna Railway Administration, the Chamber of Crafts and Trade, which were built practically at one time from 1904 to 1908 and changed the view of the square itself. From 1919 to 1940, the National Bank was situated close to the square.

The school adjacent to the square was Gymnasia No. 1, as well as other cultural and educational institutions were located in the immediate vicinity – the theatre, the Jewish People’s House, the Romanian Culture Palace, the Skala Cinema, and the Regional Museum [Вечерський, В., Скібіцька Т., Сердюк, О. 2008, с. 56–57].

Environment formation history

Construction of the present-day Teatralna Square began in the late 18th century when military buildings, including a gunpowder storage depot, were built there in 1781. There was also a food warehouse close to the square. The gunpowder storage depot was built in this place due to the idea that the territory was outside the city and would remain in such conditions for a long time. The gunpowder storage depot was removed from the square in 1866 and moved to Sturm Toloka beside the Narodny (People) Garden, and in a few years - to Horecha. At the end of that century, there was an old Catholic cemetery near the gunpowder warehouse and “a shop with fire pumps and other stuff”, which was quite appropriate for such a facility. There was also a foodstuff warehouse sawmill there. Besides, there was a night house for livestock near the present-day Teatralna Square in 1787, and a canopy for storing a bricks and a clover field, confirming once again the idea that it was one of the wastelands. During that period, the square was called Getreideplatz (Grain square) [Kaindl, R. F. 2005, s. 240–241, 251, 252, 244]. You can also find other names of the square like Fruktova (fruit) and Rybna (fish).

The city was being built along the Main Street in the 18th century, but the nineteenth century brought demands for the city centre improvement and from the middle of the 19th century new requirements for the Getreideplatz were set. In particular, in 1854, an attempt to redeem military land for church construction was made. However, changes in it became possible after February 12, 1904, when military land was bought out and old buildings were demolished and the opportunity to start construction on its territory in accordance with dictates of times appeared. But it contradicted the intentions of Catholic Pastor J. Schmidt to build a new parish church here [Kaindl, R. F. 2005, s. 247, 254–255].

M. Nykyrsa notes that stationary public buildings construction began since 1860, when the building of the Jewish-German school, founded in 1855, was constructed. The nearby places were not marked by presence of large cafes or restaurants. In particular, in addition to *Kaiser Cafe*, a well-known restaurant in the early 20th century, as of 1922, there were officially only two places to eat – 3rd class snack bars that belonged to G. Berer and E. Schwalb [Никирса, М. 2008, с. 85; Решения финансовой администрации..., 7, p. 16].

That period in the square history the scholar determined as follows: in the late 19th century the square had clearly defined limits, but the adjacent territories were also a part of the square. Since 1886 the square was limited in the western part by the Bukovyna railway headquarters building, which was constructed upon the architect G. Granhstadt design and was completed in 1908 [Никирса, М. 2008, с. 61].

However, in this part of the square in 1905 a building that was supposed to dominate Elizabeth square – a new city theatre – was built. The southern part of the square was first limited by the Palace of Justice building, the issue of its construction was solved in May 1900, and its budget was approved in February 1904. During 1904–1905 the construction and finishing works were completed and on October 7, 1906, the Palace of Justice was consecrated. A building of the Bukovyna Seym, whose facade should go out onto the square, was planned to build in the northern part of the Elizabeth square. Due to this project a question about the square development was raised in January 1905 in Chernivtsi press when they expressed the idea of preserving inbuilt the territory between the Palace of Justice and projected Bukovyna Seym. As a matter of fact, in 1908, the first projects of square creation on that site and its transformation into a place of rest for townspeople and moving the market place to the other part of the square appeared. In total, Elizabeth Square covered 4,600 m² that time, of which 1,523.04 m² were to be used for greenery. There were planned plantations, a swimming pool, well-ordered walking paths and flowerbeds. During 1904–1916, the issue of arranging stone-block pavement in the square was solved [Никирса, М. 2008, с. 62–66].

Construction of the city theatre was performed by the Felner and Gelmer Atelier, which used the modular system – constructed the building on the basis of a main design adapted to local conditions. Thanks to this, the theatre in Chernivtsi was being built from August 1, 1904 to October 3, 1905, when the opening ceremony took place. The cost of all works was 600 thousand crowns. The theatre made an extraordinary impression at Chernivtsi residents and its opening ceremony became a holiday for the city. A monument to F. Schiller was erected in front of the theatre on November 10, 1907, while adjoining street on the theatre south side was named after him [Никирса, М. 2008, с. 68–73].

Consequently, the theatre building became a square centerpiece, which design was conceived in the 19th century traditions. Its interior decor corresponds to the late Viennese baroque style, but, according to S. Bilenkova, it belongs to the best samples of the neo-baroque period of late eclecticism. Eclecticism also dominates the facade. The portico of the main facade made in the neo-baroque style is completed by a powerful dome and decorated with allegorical sculptures. The neo-renaissance facade is complemented by

the busts of writers and composers. Along with this, the main facade contains elements of modernity in the form of a large window, in an iron-glass canopy, plastic elaboration of a multfigured bas relief.

Chernivtsi theatre activities during the interwar period

After Bukovyna joined Romania in 1918 the theatre in Chernivtsi continued to remain German-speaking for some time under the leadership of P. Guttmann. One of the surprises in the theatre's activity was the final period of the 1918–1919 seasons when Chernivtsi newspapers began writing about the strike of actors who protested against contract completion for the German-speaking company in May 1919. Besides, the city inhabitants wanted to preserve the theatre and its company in the future. Certain issues in the theatre's activities were connected with its audience behavior. Thus, in October 1919 there was a conflict due to smoking officers in the theatre, despite existing ban on smoking in the theatre. Police interference then led to a clash. Officers' actions were followed by some civilians that could cause fire breaking-out in the theatre [Дело за деятельностью..., sh. 202].

The Romanian theatre companies' activity reached Bukovyna too. During the first year of being part of Romania theatre companies from that country began visiting Bukovyna, including the companies of the National Theatre of Bucharest with Ion Manolescu and Sică Alexandrescu, and Maria Giurgea and Nicolae Beltețianu Company. Starting from February 1, 1921, groups from the National Theatre of Iasi regularly visited Chernivtsi. In December 1921, the company of Alexander Moissi, a descendant of Trieste, toured in Bucharest and Chernivtsi. The protest of Romanian students who wished to establish a national theatre was connected with that tour [Socaci, P. 2009, p. 107, 184; Сулятицький, Т. 2004 б, с. 17–18].

On April 20, 1920, a proposal by G. Voevidca and T. Nastasi on theatre reform in Chernivtsi was registered in the Secretariat of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bukovyna [Прошение литератора Воевидка Георгия..., sh. 1–2, 5, 6]. Their proposal appeared because of the chaotic situation that took place in the theatre and they considered it necessary to create the National Theatre in Chernivtsi. However, if the National Theatre Company was to speak the Romanian language, they still discussed the possibility of the use of German, as well as to have guest performances. The governing bodies of both theatres should work together [Прошение литератора Воевидка Георгия..., sh. 7–10]. The theatre property inventory was also made in February 1921 [Опись инвентаря..., sh. 2]. At the same time, the attempts to adhere to the rule of granting two free seats for doctors in the theatre were made in February 1921 in Chernivtsi, given the need for such step [Переписка об установлении бесплатных мест..., sh. 1, 5].

The local Student society conducted a rather broad theatrical action later preparing a performance and speaking against leading the Chernivtsi City Theatre by German cultural society representatives. On December 29, 1921, the Student society *Arboroasă* intended to present a patriotic drama by Z. Bârsan *Se face ziua* (“*A Day Is Being Created*”) that was prepared under the guidance of G. Pantazi, the art inspector. However, at set time the hall was occupied by the German company, and that step forced students to occupy all seats in the theatre. The audience representatives joined the students, R. Căndea and I. Bodea were among them. The German company had to move to the other room and the people began to sing the Romanian national anthem in the theatre. The event began with the speech of I. Gheorghioe, the Society chairman. The students had held the theatre for three days before the local authorities promised the theatre would be turned into a national one. In addition to the university students, the following students of the Teacher Seminary took part in the events: N. Robu, who raised the flag above the theatre, G. Chirmaci, and Balasinovici. These events were supported by the local community, and it was mentioned that the theatre was built at the expense of the city residents and the city itself needed it [Справа черновецького театру...; Socaci, P. 2009, p. 113].

After the mentioned events the work on national theatre creation began. The Student society continued to play the leading role. They signed an appeal requiring the city theatre director removal and called for rally they intended to make on January 1, 1922 in the theatre. University lecturer V. Negru recalled that C. Tarangul, police prefect, ordered to ban the rally and got tough with the students that made the university rector seek help from Colonel Grigorescu. Some detained students were released with Colonel Pascu assistance [Loghin, C. 1936, p. 94].

The following events allowed the gala-show performance with participation of Bucarest and Iași companies and they present a play “*Vlaicu Vodă*” by A. Davila. University lecturers V. Șesan and A. Procopovici as well as M. Codreanu, the director of the National Theatre in Iaei, greeted the audience before the performance. I. Nistor, General L. Mircescu, general secretaries, representatives of the local cultural and educational intelligentsia in national garments were present there. The poems by C. Morariu were also recited during the event.

Internal and external finishing works were carried out in 1922 and the cost of them was about 180 thousand lei. The same year the theatre was transferred to subordination of the Ministry of Cults and Art, but the building itself and the theatre belongings became the property of the community. However, a lack of income from this establishment gave a reason to think about its selling to the state and spending money received on community needs [**Dare de seamă**, 1923, p. 7].

The unresolved situation with the National Theatre in Chernivtsi caused the student activity. Once again, the student actions on this subject took place on February 25, 1923, when the All-Romanian city meeting was held in the National Theatre. Cârstean, the head of the Romanian student society who demanded to resolve the issue with the National Theatre, started the meeting. Two delegates from the University of Iasi followed him and spoke about national and not political nature of the issue. Professor T. Breileanu presented all the vicissitudes connected with the issue of the theatre in his speech, and his position was treated as a national one. Professor C. Berariu, the theatre director, admitted in his speech that there was a contract with the V. Popa German company till April 1, 1923, and he recommended to wait until that time. Such proposal caused protests among the participants. Professor Angel expressed his opinion about the need for government ban on the German company activities. Professor Gheorghiu and student Irimia agreed that they had to follow Article 7 of the Constitution. The Student committee was reelected and attorney Patrașcu was elected its chairman. He immediately took the stage, while the German company head refused to participate in the day performance. The audience remained in the hall and they promised to free the theatre for Voiculescu Company [**Cernăui. Intrunirea de protestare...**]. In general, the issue of the National Theatre in Romania during the interwar period was part of nationwide theatrical policy where the control of theatre critics was present, and the routine task of representation the Romanian culture through theatre should be fulfilled. Hence the idea of centralizing theatrical activity was likewise. [**Ceuca, J.** 1990, c. 199–202]. Besides, the Romanian residents of the city raised funds to send a delegation to Bucharest.

Meanwhile, the Leonard Lyric and Drama Society opened the season of 1923 – 1924 with its *Fântâna Blanduziei* (by V. Alexandri) stage performance on September 29. A tour of the Bucharest National Theatre company under the direction of M. Filotti presenting *Pescărușul (The Seagull)* by A. Chekhov began in Chernivtsi on December 6, 1924. On October 19, 1924, a bust of Peter Leichiu was placed in the theatre lobby thanks to the efforts of the “*Junimea*” Student Society. The Chișinău National Theatre with the W. Shakespeare *Femeia îndărătnică* as well as M. Filotti, P. Sturdz, M. Zimnicean, A. Demetriade Company visited Chernivtsi in 1925. In April 1925, a contest to restore the fence near the theatre was held. B. Ternbach won it offering the lowest price of works – 12,500 lei. When K. Berariou was a theatre director the National Theatre company was established on August 1, 1925, and a series of theatrical seasons began. And some tours also took place during those seasons: the B. Segal Company visited Chernivtsi in 1924, and the Romanian opera of Cluj toured in 1925 [**Дело о постройке ограды...**, sh. 2, 20, 15; **Socaciu, P.** 2009, p. 184–185, 194; **Loghin, C.** 1936, p. 95; **Сообщения VIII дивизии о выдаче...**, sh. 1, 2].

The period of 1925 – 1935 was marked by active efforts of the Chernivtsi Theatre Company that were added by other theatre companies' tours. It is worth mentioning that the theatre repertoire was extremely diverse, because it included Greek tragedies and the performances of famous playwrights from Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, Russia, and Norway as well as the Romanian authors. Actors O. Bredescu, Sh. Braborescu, N. Bullandra, L. Bullandra, J. Moruzan, K. Moruzan, L. Aurelian, I. Economu, J. Carussi, N. Sireteanu, Ch. Rovinescu, L. Caller, A. Capustin, A. Mitrick, G. Vasiliu, E. Ionescu, T. Prunescu, A. Călinescu, M. Fotino presented their art for the audience. The university students participated in the performances of the visiting companies. In fact, the companies from Bucharest, Iași, Cluj, Chișinău, and Craiova allowed the Chernivtsi audience to see a significant number of celebrities of the Romanian theatre: J. Vrac, M. Zimniceanu, M. Voiculescu, M. Filotti, I. Manolescu, P. Sturdza, L. Sturdz-Bulandra, J. Livescu, V. Maximilian, C. Ramadan, J. Cazaban, C. Antaniu, J. Storin, M. Georgiou, A. Buzescu, A. Demetriade, R. Bulfinski, G. Chiprian, E. Godyan, A. Dzhugaru, M. Ventura, G. Vasiliu Birlik, R. Beligan, T. Bullandra, and S. Cluceru [**Socaciu, P.** 2009, p. 185–186].

Some companies could not get the right to perform that season. Thus, in 1925, the Division VIII headquarters banned the performance of V. Vronsky company. The ground was a few facts, the first of which was the company head transfer from Poland to Romania using a fake passport. In addition, the company intended to speak exclusively in Russian in Dnister region, which was part of a siege zone. Such activity was considered pro-Russian propaganda. In addition, the Division XII headquarters made a submission to the Ministry of Cults and Art to decline license issuance for these company performances [**Сообщения VIII дивизии о запрещении...**, sh. 2].

There were financial difficulties during the 1926 season, which affected the lack of funding for the theatre because the ministry rejected its request for increased funding and those funds were sought in the local authorities. However, only on November 23, 1926, the theatre as a cultural and educational institution was allocated 150 thousand lei [**Criza in Teatrul Național...**; **Переписка об израсходовании денежных средств...**, sh. 1, 2, 4]. It is worth pointing out that despite the difficulties with Chernivtsi theatre the C. Trnase company performed *Floare la Ureche* and *Când își vâra dracul coada* as part of Romania's great tour by playing on February 15 and 16 [**Marele Turnele al Companiei Trnase...**].

In general, 1926 served as an example of a certain choice for Chernivtsi audience in terms of theatrical and concert entertainment when the performances also included concerts [**Уведомления о концертах в Черновцы...**, sh. 1–10]. The 1927–1928 season was opened by *Viforul* (*Blowdown*) of Delavrancea directed by A. Ion Maican and stage design by G. Loewendal. The plays by A. Birabo, J. B. Moiller, I. Pas, M. Seulescu, Kliast, A. Steinberg, A. Maniu and A.O. Teodorian, G. von Hoffmannsthal, V. I. Popa were also included in the season repertoire. The National Theatre also promoted the puppet theatre led by T. Nastasi, V. Popa's decorations and dolls by G. Loewendal's sketches [**Переписка с дирекцией Национального театра...**, sh. 2, 1 verso; **Сообщения директорам и ревизорам...**, sh. 1,3; **Socasiu, P.** 2009, p. 186].

Since 1929, the role of National theatres in Romania regions changed, as well as the possibilities of the Ministry of Cults and Art in terms of controlling theatrical activities in the country. Chernivtsi National Theatre directorate became responsible for complying with the order and preventing from performances with anti-state, anti-religious, pornographic content production. This system of checks in the late 1930s was accompanied by a fiscal component, and from in September 1937 they had to pay theatrical and artistic brands for all types of mass entertainment, although Liga Culturală didn't have to pay for its performances [**Директивные указания МВД...**, sh. 2, 8, 13, 14, 103].

The season of 1929–1930 was considered difficult for the National Theatre because there were difficulties with both cast and services. In the latter case, it was about the absence of electricity and a tailor. In May the director left the theatre. The theatre authorities invited Mișu Fotino who by that time had already worked in several theatres around the country and participated in establishing new ones. The success of the season depended on the work of actors employed with Mișu Fotino and those who remained from the previous company. Because of the mentioned issues, the season was to begin on October 19, 1929. Fifteen performances were prepared for a new season and it was opened by V. Eftimiu's play *Înșirate mărgărite* that was shown 6 times. The productions of L. Nood, P. Nolff, P. Gusti, J. Mollier, J. Dyval, A. Davili, Karajale, N. Yevreinov, V. Eftimiu and others were among other performances that appeared in that season repertoire. There were 29 performances in that season repertoire in total each of which was shown 5–6 times during the season. In March 1930, *Ifigenia in Taurida* by Goethe appeared at the theatre stage. It was translated by V. Tempianu with Petrovich-Zorello music. The performance was staged at the E. Buchevsky, the stage director, and benefit event. But reviews after the performance noted by far the best cast. In addition to those plays, the theatre had three children plays based on V. I. Pop, A. Pascu, and Giorner works in its repertoire. There were 6 children performances that season and also some performances for the pupils and youth: *Vlaicu-Vodă* (two performances a day), *Turkey* by K. Ventura, and *Heroes from Topnal* by A. Mitrick. Two musical presentations – *Quiet House* and *Recommendations* – also appeared at the stage [**Отчёт за 1929–1930 гг.**, sh. 1–2 verso; **Mișu Fotino...**; **Viața culturală...**].

Under M. Fotino's direction the actors of the theatre made a tour of Bukovyna visiting Suceava, Radauti and Khotyn in May 1930. By May 4, 1930, 127 theatrical performances and 26 foreign ones had been shown on the stage. There were 11 own performances and 4 foreign ones in May, but before the start of the season the financial status of the theatre was rather difficult, because its debt amounted up to 240 thousand lei [**Отчёт за 1929–1930 гг.**, sh. 2verso]. In general, in the early 1930s, the theatre was trying to get financial aid from the local authorities, which was a rather complex task due to a lack of finance in the local budget [**Докладные записки примарии гор. Черновицы...**, sh. 2–6]. This was preceded by a conflict between theatre director M. Fotino and the students, and the actual takeover of theatre by them on November 11, 1932, which brought a material damage to the theatre and led to director self-removal [**Дело по обвинению...**, sh. 2, 9–10, 101–102; **Mișu Fotino...**]. The conflict continued during the students' rally against M. Fotino's wife Anna Capustin in January 1933. It led to two-week theatre closing. In general, the issue of the theatre closing remained open that season, but not resolved [**Информационные бюллетени полиции...**, sh. 34; **Переписка об оказании денежной помощи...**, sh. 2, 6, 9].

During the 1934–1935 season, plays by B. Delavrancea, V. Alexandri, L. Pirandello, A. Bernstein, L. Rebreanu, I. L. Caragiale were performed. However, the survey of the theatre building was taken and there was a need for its improvement. But on March 31, 1935, the theatre became subordinate to the local authorities and the company was dismissed. The funding for theatres in Chernivtsi, Craiova and Chişinău stopped on April 1, 1935. An attempt of nationalist students to protest on March 23, 1935 against theatrical company dismissal in Chernivtsi did not bring a positive result. After that, mainly touring companies performed in Chernivtsi theatre, but that fact did not reduce the interest of audience. Art festivals were also held at that time at the theatre [**Arhivele Naţionale ale României**, sh. 407; **Переписка с государственным театром...**, sh. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 11, 16, 18, 20, 23].

As of April 16, 1935, the National Theatre was under administration of Chernivtsi city council, and the guardianship was established as an advisory body of the city council for this purpose. The commission consisting of father Avram, Dr. I. Mandiuc, Dr. I. Mikhnevich, Eng. Kirchner-Stubchen-V., father P. Osadeţ, attorney V. Doboş – city councilors who made the theatre inventory, having made a description of the property of rooms, scenery, costumes and library. The protocol signed on January 1, 1936, showed the total value of the theatre property – 2,865,187.30 lei [**Инвентарная опись...**, sh.1].

The situation with the National Theatre caused frustration in the Romanian community of Chernivtsi. One of the papers published a short article on this issue: “What Happened to the National Theatre in Chernivtsi?”. The author was indignant at the fact that even school celebrations, conferences, and congresses were not held at the theatre. They recalled that the National Theatre of Iasi took the obligation to give performances in Chernivtsi, but there were only four performances at the beginning of the season. The National Theatre in Bucharest did not conduct any activity as well. The authorities were accused of reluctance to support the Romanian theatre in Chernivtsi. They argued that Chernivtsi needed the National Theatre as the centre of Romanian culture [**Отчёт за 1936 г.**, sh. 83]. However, the theatre served for visiting companies’ performances and that became costly for the city budget. Thus, already on November 16, 1936, 378,948 lei were allocated for the Romanian opera from Cluj. Probably in response to the September article, mayor D. Marmelyuk on September 12, 1936 attempted to get from Bucharest, Cluj and Iaşi fulfillment of the obligations contained in the decision of the Intercouncil Commission of September 11, 1936. As a result of such actions 538,225 lei were earned in November 1936 for 8 performances [**Отчёт за 1936 г.**, sh. 3, 78].

This tradition continued in the following years. In March 1939, the question on financial activity verification from April 1935 to February 1939 was finally raised. In 1939, theatre director G. Sireteanu performed the duties of the theatre booking clerk, which caused some remarks to such activities, in particular, concerning loss of 85 lei from the theatre ticket office [**Решения, докладные записки, переписка...**, 89]. The fact of transferring 40 thousand lei to Colonel I. Cantemir was also established during the check. It was found out that during the period from 1935 to 1939 the income of the theatre was 3,124,346 lei at the expenses of 7,914,154 lei. The report also noted the theft of hydrant hoses, which led to regular expense [**Решения, докладные записки, переписка...**, sh. 91–92].

In order to keep theatres and cinemas in good condition the city authorities conducted inspections with participation of sanitary and technical services, police, fire brigade and electrical companies. Similar verifications in 1938 took place in early and late May covering the premises of the National Theatre, the Polish, German, Ukrainian national houses in the city and the German house in Rosha, as well as the Toynbihalle, the Skala, the Philharmonic hall, and the tailors’ hall. According to the commission’s conclusions of May 28, 1938, only the hall of the National Theatre whose stage was equipped with necessary stage mechanisms and a small metal curtain belonged to the first category halls. The second category included halls in the Polish and German houses, Skala, the Philharmonic hall, the halls of the Ukrainian and German houses in Rosha and Toynbihalle. The tailors’ house belonged to the third category. Besides, the first four halls in the second category served as cinematographers. Although some of them had remarks on their heating systems [**Дело о создании уездной театральной комиссии...**, sh. 1, 4, 5]. It was the Toynbihalle where J. Margulis made an attempt to perform in December 1938. It was his next attempt after it was made in October, but the government did not allow his performance, despite the ministry permit. Another problem that arose in 1938 was the request of syndicates related to actors who were filed with the police authorities. In this regard, the Ministry of Internal Affairs insisted that appeals be made through the Theatre Directorate General [**Директивное указание МВД...**, sh. 1].

In 1938, we could see more performances of the touring companies at the Chernivtsi National Theatre stage. They agreed present their performances for 2 days in a row every month. Henceforth, the local authorities

did not earn on performances, but in fact they paid for them 50 thousand lei, which included transportation of actors and scenery, issuing and placement of posters in the city. The cost of the evening performance was higher compared to the day one. The city authorities in October 1938 agreed upon the performances totaling 850 thousand lei and the contracts were to be concluded with the National Theatre Directorate in Bucharest, the National Theatre in Cluj, the Romanian Opera in Bucharest and Cluj. The National Theatre Directorate in Bucharest agreed on 30 thousand lei for performance and 10 thousand lei for day performance, in addition to other necessary expenses. On November 5, 1938, the financial service of the city council received an order on funds payment from mayor I. Cantemir, and the National Theatre of Bucharest was obliged to give two performances every months. The performances should be from the National Theatre in Bucharest and Studio theatre repertoire [**Переписка с генеральной дирекцией театра в г. Бухарест...**, sh. 1–2, 3, 4, 5, 9].

In fact, there was a system of theatrical life during the interwar period, where company touring was given prominent place to. That practice provided some systematic representation of the performances by the Chernivtsi National Theatre company during its existence together with performances of newly-arrived companies, the conditions for providing theatre premises for such performances. The performances of the professional theatre in Chernivtsi after its own company liquidation were considerably less frequent. The absence of a permanent company at the National Theatre was substituted partially by touring companies, as well as by the semiprofessional and amateur theatre of Romania national minorities, who used their own or rented premises.

Completion of the square architectural ensemble formation

On the whole, before the beginning of World War I, the ensemble of Elizabeth Square remained incomplete. So, on a corner free part in the northern section of the square they intended to build a monumental building of the Regional Sejm. The design of the public garden in Elizabeth Square, developed in 1908, was not implemented too [**Біленкова, С. 2009, с. 45**]. However, the theatre construction opened development of adjoining territory with profitable buildings with rather dense site constructing, according to S. Bilenkova, was similar to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Lviv, St. Petersburg development [**Біленкова, С. 2009, с. 44**]. We can also assume that the architectural complex of the square has been changed due to the Chamber of Crafts and Commerce appearance. Construction work began with the design development in 1906. The construction of a four-story building began on July 1, 1907, under architect F. Gottesmann design. The Chamber was opened in December 1909 in a solemn setting with guests from Vienna [**Никирса, М. 2008, с. 76–80**].

The Elizabeth Square development in the early 20th century gave an opportunity to fill the space with buildings that expressed national identity. It was decided to build a National House for the Chernivtsi Jewish religious community in the square northern part. Construction supervision was carried out by a committee led by community head B. Schtraucher, while the management of new construction was entrusted to J. Shrayber, well-known for his theatre construction management. The building was completed in 1908 and was used as a centre of cultural and religious life, since the premises were rented by a number of Jewish cultural societies. T. Levandovsky was the author of its design and he made the building facade in styled Neo-Baroque [**Никирса, М. 2008, с. 81–84; Біленкова, С. 2009, с. 67**].

The residential construction of the square continued in the 1920s, and S. Bilenkova notes a successful inscription into the ensemble of Vasile Alexandri square of the building at the corner of the square and General I. Zadik street. It was determined that the facade decoration is a Romanian version of the art decor style, but despite the differences in style from the Austrian period structures, it created a certain large-scale correspondence with the ensemble of the square. In general, S. Bilenkova is right in the statement that this house almost repeats the house located at the corner of the square and Turturianu street [**Біленкова, С. 2009, с. 87**].

Square development completion is estimated by some authors as made in an aggressive form regarding Austrian construction period. It was a Palace of National Culture, which construction had lasted from spring of 1937 to November 11, 1938. However, S. Bilenkova's opinion should be explained, since the direct purpose of the Palace of National Culture appearance was to provide educational work for Romanian culture promotion and presenting it as proof of the Romanian monumental architectural work [**Дело о постройке дома...**, sh. 142 verso].

The building had a reinforced concrete structure. The main facade was assembled asymmetrically. In the part close to the Jewish National House there was a portico of high trunks – pylons. Portico plastic shaded with a monotonous rhythm of square windows on the facade right side. The building is completed with a flat

reinforced concrete roof raised above the array of main facade. According to S. Bilenkova, the design attempted to combine this building with a neighboring one by location of two statues on the console pedestals that emphasized the facade asymmetry. Perhaps for this reason they were not used in the facade decoration, although historians of the city development insist on the other reason – the Palace facade discrepancy from other buildings of the square complex.

Estimation of the Palace of Culture building given in the mid-1960s was also quite high. Particular attention was paid to the fact that the walls “were lined with light ceramic tiles and natural stone (tuff) of warm shade, which, in combination with simple architectural forms provided a modern look.” It is worth mentioning the fact that such decoration, in particular the use of tuff, was inherent in a number of buildings of the same period in Bucharest. In general, the construction of the Palace of Culture, S. Bilenkova calls an example of anti-traditionalism, which relied on programme theoretical settings of avant-garde architectural trends, at the same time not excluding economic considerations [Біленкова, С. 2009, с. 88–89].

The history of the square free part development in the northern part was associated with a series of events. First of all, they were combined with the property issue solution. In 1919, minister of Bukovyna Iancu Flondor presented the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature in Bukovyna with a parcel of land of more than 7,000 m² in Elizabeth Square. However, that gift was not documented because of Iancu Flondor short period in his post. His removal from the post made it possible for Professor I. Nistor to take steps to transfer that land to university possession. There was discussion on the possible lease of that land to the Doroftey consortium for a period of 10 years with 70 thousand lei per year rent payment.

In 1927, minister of Bukovyna D. Popovici with the assistance of education minister I. Petrovici decided to transfer to the Society for the Romanian Culture and Literature a parcel of land for 10 years with a purpose of cultural Athena construction during that period of time. The controversy over this decision took place during the period of I. Nistor’s term at the ministerial post in the government of I. I. C. Brătianu/V. I. C. Brătianu. In 1928, he succeeded in passing a law that returned the land to the university, and only in 1930 this decision was invalidated by the Court of Cassation. Restitution of land property rights for the society was made before 1934.

During that time, Metropolitan Vissarion took a decision on construction of Palace of Culture in Chernivtsi that would be used to spread and promote Romanian culture in Bukovyna, and to earn revenues by Bukovynian Metropolitan. Assistance in solving a number of issues was provided by Prof. G. Alecsianu, a lawyer. An opponent of the decision in favor of the Society and the Metropolitan was I. Nistor who considered the territory belonged to the university and the land ownership by the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature was completed. Those allegations were rejected by society chairman Prof. G. Nandriș on the grounds that the society returned the ownership right on the plot in 1934. Metropolitan of Bukovyna Vissarion was an intermediary in that matter, and thanks to that, as well as to Prof. G. Alecsianu, mayor D. Marmeliuk, diocese adviser V. Marku support, an agreement was reached. According to that decision, the Metropolitan of Bukovyna compensated 1 million lei for construction of the university library building [Mitropolia Bucovinei, 1937, p. 81–83, 87–89]. Thus, in 1936, a decision to build the Palace of National Culture was made with the cooperation of the Metropolitan of Bukovyna and the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature [Дело о постройке дома..., sh. 168].

As of April 28, 1937, representatives of the Metropolitan of Bukovyna and the Society for Romanian Culture and Literature in Bukovyna, Metropolitan Vissarion and G. Nandrie appealed to the Chernivtsi mayor to grant permission for construction of the National Culture Palace in V. Alexandri Square. According to the decision of June 25, 1937, 5 parcels of land were assigned for construction. The condition of five-storey building construction was sidewalk improvement. They had to remodel 42 m of sidewalks in University Street and they had to pave sidewalk of 50 m length and 3.5 m wide in the square covering it with stone tiles and arranging concrete kerb. It was also necessary to replace 65 m long and 3.5 m wide concrete pavement on the sidewalk with stone tiles in General I. Zadik Street. Attention was drawn to the need to use fire-resistant materials. Obligatory elements included introduction of sewage, kitchen ventilation, closets, rooms and heating system in the basement, as well as installation of appropriate ceiling height in it [Переписка с примарией г. Черновцы..., sh. 1, 5].

The Protocol on the territory marking was signed on July 3, 1937, and on July 4, 1937, the construction site of the Palace of National Culture was consecrated. The author of design was H. Creangr, the architect from Bucharest, and the performer of the works – “General Technical Enterprises of Engineer Tiberiu Eremie” Company located in Bucharest in Știrbei Vodă Street. The company was represented by director G. Pipoș and

engineer D. Popp at the contract signing in Chernivtsi. A separate contract was signed with architect H. Creangr on April 15, 1938. The order for construction was given based on the Decree-law of July 9, 1937.

The major issue was financing of work, since initially it was intended to spend 40 million lei for construction needs, but the materials cost increased as well as construction plans increased the total budget to 100 million lei. The funds, therefore, were sought in various sources, which resulted in the intention to receive funds of 50 million lei through loans (February 18, 1937), 70 million (December 15, 1937) and 30 million lei (April 21, 1938). At the same time, out of the total amount of 100 million lei 81,654,223 lei were used for construction. On October 26, 1937, Metropolitan Vissarion in the presence of the government representative, minister V. Pop, the chairman of the Society G. Nandrie and representatives of clergy, local administration, intellectuals, students and peasants, laid the cornerstone of the structure. In November 1937, the developers did not pay for the right to build in the amount of 234,515 lei. In addition, the Metropolitan of Bukovyna promised to complete construction till November 11, 1938 [*Mitropolia Bucovinei*, 1937, p. 137–139; *Дело о постройке дома...*, sh. 3–6, 138–139, 140, 168 verso, 169; *Переписка с примарией г. Черновцы...*, sh. 6–7].

Emergence of a new building was considered necessary in the circles of developers for decorating of the city, which served as the basis for addressing the chairman of the Temporary Commission of the Chernivtsi municipality regarding the need for installation of drainage on the Palace construction site. At the same time implemented construction was only half of the planned one. They did not complete construction of the building's northern part. At the same time, the parcels for construction still remained the Orthodox religious fund property [*Переписка с примарией г. Черновцы...*, sh. 11; *Дело о постройке дома...*, sh. 168 v.]. Reinforced concrete structures were used during construction. They formed the basis of the building frame and the walls were built of pressed and block bricks [*Переписка с примарией г. Черновцы...*, sh. 13–14].

In 1936, the square in front of the theatre was rebuilt into the public garden, which Yu. Khokhol and Yu. Kovalev presented as an architectural idea “to visually raise the theatre building.” They emphasized the following, “The transition from one surface to the other is carried out by means of sloping planes. Stairs leading down from the theatre on its four sides, flowerbeds, bench lanterns, vases and other small architectural forms make the square one of the best in the city” [*Хохол, Ю., Ковальов, Ю.* 1966, с. 45–46]. In our opinion, the buildings of the Chamber of Commerce and the Palace of Culture were also notably highlighted, and the theatre remained the centerpiece in the square composition. There was also a proposal among the projects to turn the public garden into a memorial.

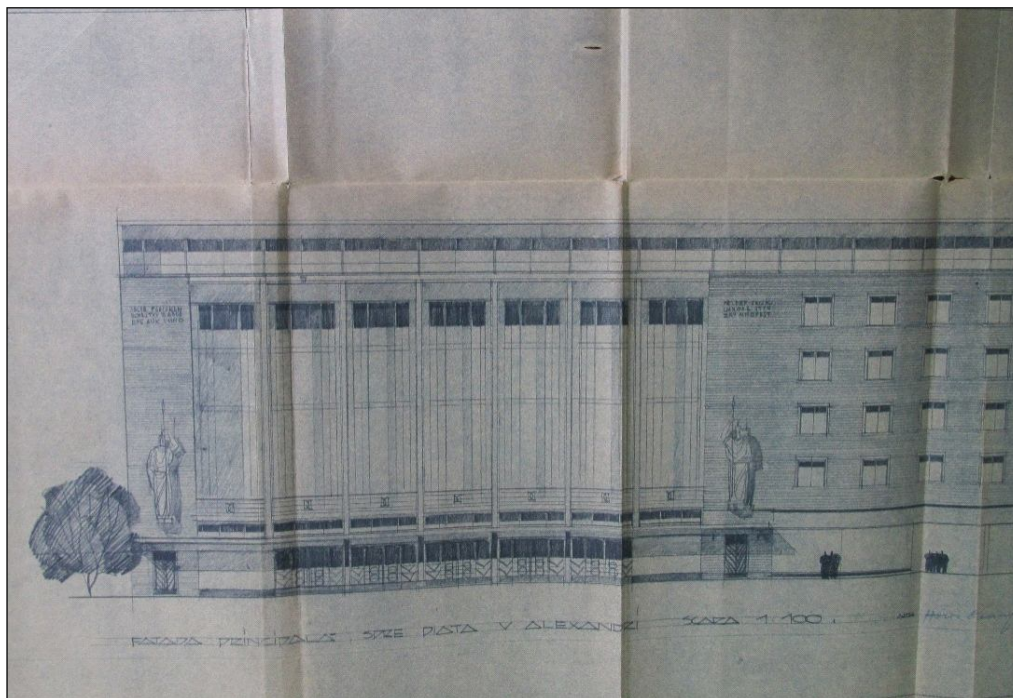
However, it was the result of long considerations. Square modernization in front of the theatre was contemplated in the early 1920s, when engineer Platzmann made calculations for every park design in Elizabeth Square [*Рапорты инженера Плацмана...*, sh. 1]. If that proposal was related to city decoration, the other one made in March 1932 touched upon the issue of reconstruction in order to obtain a certain profit. Thus, S. Goldmann proposed to create an underground market at the square. He asked the city council to give him the square for rent for 25 years and promised to return the market to the city after the end of the rent. He offered the rent in the amount of 12 thousand lei [*Дело о выдаче...*, sh. 64, 65]. There were other projects of square rebuilding using park decorations and even building a swimming pool [*Ситуационные планы домостроений...*, sh. 19, 20, 22; *Проекты озеленения...*, sh. 1–3].

As of April 1, 1939, the issue of park construction at V. Alexandri square appeared which also should have been a means of the city decorating. At the same time the works on street paving should be carried out at the square close to a newly built Palace of Culture [*Переписка с примарией г. Черновцы...*, sh. 11]. In general, the work had been completed by 1940, and in March 1940 protocols on completion of internal works were repeatedly compiled. In particular, on May 28, 1940, the protocol regarding the lighting installation and the cost of works was signed. The last protocol in relation to the remnants of building materials was signed on June 18, 1940. However, pending cases in connection with Northern Bukovyna joining the USSR caused the issue of relations settlement between the customer and the works executor and were postponed in order to clarify the possibilities of repayment for the work done [*Дело о постройке дома...*, sh. 82–83; 85–87, 88, 93, 96, 98, 111].

Conclusion

The formation of an architectural and institutional space of contemporary Teatralna Square in Chernivtsi took place in the 19th – early 20th century in accordance with the architectural traditions of that time and needs of the city and national communities. The outcome of development efforts was a mixture of architectural styles, which also allows dating the major square development to the late 1880s – late 1930s. The architectural

style and design of the buildings corresponded to technical capabilities and requirements of that time. The use of buildings located at the modern Teatralna Square was carried out in accordance with their original designation. The practical purpose of the square has changed now, but by the end of the 1930s this part of the city centre was used as a cultural and educational and business centre. Retail trade was excluded from the site functions due to changes in tasks in favor of cultural and educational activities.



The approved design of the National Palace facade (fragment).
From the State Archive of Chernivtsi region funds



Works on central part of Vasile Alexandri Square deepening.
(From Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Local Lore)

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