

**ГРОМАДСЬКІ ТОВАРИСТВА ПЕРЕДМІСТЯ ЧЕРНІВЦІВ – РОША В ПЕРІОД РУМУНСЬКОЇ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЇ**

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**PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS OF THE CHERNIVTSI SUBURB OF ROȘA DURING THE ROMANIAN ADMINISTRATION**

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**Мойсей Антоній, Геруш Ігор, Аністратенко Антоніна. Громадські товариства передмістя Чернівців – Роша в період румунської адміністрації.** У статті проаналізовано діяльність громадських товариств передмістя Чернівців – Роша в період румунської адміністрації. Дослідження виконано в межах міжнародного проєкту «**RESTORY**» (грантова програма Європейської Комісії «Горизонт-Європа», HORIZON-CL2-2023-HERITAGE-01, № 101132781) та ґрунтується на широкому комплексі архівних джерел Чернівецького обласного державного архіву, друкованих матеріалах міжвоєнної доби й мемуарній літературі. **Актуальність роботи** зумовлена необхідністю реконструкції малодосліджених аспектів повсякденного та громадського життя міського передмістя в умовах зміни державної юрисдикції, а також збереження історичної пам'яті локальних спільнот. **Хронологічні межі** дослідження охоплюють період від встановлення румунської адміністрації на Буковині до остаточного входження краю до складу СРСР у 1944 р. (1918-1940; 1941-1944). **Метою** статті є висвітлення процесу відновлення та розвитку громадських організацій у Роші в міжвоєнний період, а також аналіз ролі національних домів і культурно-освітніх інституцій у формуванні соціального простору передмістя. **Методологічну основу** дослідження становлять принципи історизму, критичного аналізу архівних джерел і порівняльного підходу.

У статті простежено діяльність румунських товариств, зокрема культурно-економічного товариства *Цецина (Țețina), Гуртка господарів (Cercul Gospodinelor), читальних кабінетів у Цецині, Роша–Стинці та Манастириській (Cabinetele de lectură Țețina, Roșa–Stânca și Mănăstiriște)*, а також нових організацій: *Стефан Великий (Ștefan cel Mare), Князь Мірча (Principele Mircea), Трезвія (Trezvia)*. У німецькій громаді передмістя всі події суспільного значення були зосереджені навколо Німецького національного дому в Роші (Deutsches Haus in Rosch). Найвпливовішим об'єднанням стало *Німецьке культурне товариство (Deutscher Kulturverein)*. У міжвоєнний період на Роші функціонував *місцевий осередок товариства Роші–Манастириська (Ortsgruppe Rosch-Manasteriska)*. Найактивнішими молодіжними організаціями були: *Айгенхорт (Jungmannschaft Eichenhort), дівочий союз Фрея (Mädchenbund Freya), католицько-німецький молодіжний союз Пінтертрой (kath.-deutscher Jugendbund Rittertreu), католицько-німецьке дівоче товариство Edelweiß, Німецька марійська конгрегація дівчат передмість Роша–Манастириська (Deutsche marianische Jungfrauenkongregation der Vorstädte Rosch-Manasteriska)* та ін. Українське населення передмістя гуртувалося навколо філії *Українського чоловічого хору*. В. Залозецький організував у районі Цецини музей гуцульської етнографії. Показано, що громадські товариства відігравали ключову роль у культурному житті, соціальній самоорганізації населення та збереженні локальних традицій.

**Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у введенні до наукового обігу раніше неопублікованих архівних матеріалів, які дозволяють реконструювати багатонаціональний характер громадського життя Роші та уточнити вплив політичних трансформацій 1930-х років на діяльність місцевих об'єднань. Зроблено висновок, що, попри ускладнення політичної ситуації наприкінці міжвоєнного періоду, рівень громадської активності в передмісті Роша залишався високим і відіграв важливу роль у формуванні міської ідентичності. **Висновки.** У центрі конфлікту – намагання міської влади Чернівців встановити орендну плату за користування пасовищами, яка суперечила багатовіковим звичаям вільного випасу, що вважалися мешканцями Роші їхнім природним правом. Запровадження цієї плати в умовах бідності, високих податкових зобов'язань і наслідків голоду 1865 року сприймалося як несправедливе та репресивне. Відмова мешканців сплачувати збір, масова непокоря та протистояння з поліцейськими й військовими підрозділами засвідчили високий рівень соціального напруження в громаді. Матеріал представляє інтерес для дослідників соціальної історії Австро-Угорщини, локальних громадських рухів, а також для вивчення механізмів фіскального тиску в імперських периферіях.

**Ключові слова:** Австро-Угорщина, Буковина, передмістя Чернівців, Роша, громадянська непокоря, соціальна історія, селянське заворушення, фіскальна політика.

**Introduction.** Readers of our journal are already familiar with the results of previous studies devoted to the history of one of the districts of Chernivtsi – Roșa – presented in earlier publications.<sup>1</sup> These studies are

<sup>1</sup> Moysey A., Gerush I., Anistratenko A. «The peasant uprising in Roșha in 1871: a reconstruction of a little-known protest from archival sources», *Current issues of social studies and history of medicine. Joint Ukrainian–Romanian scientific journal*, 2025, N:1 (39), P. 27-33 [in English]; Moysey A., Gerush I., Anistratenko A. «The village of Roșha (RoșoșA, RoșișA, Ruschiza, RosușA, Roșușe) within the Principality of Moldavia (13591774)», *Current issues of social studies and history of medicine. Joint Ukrainian–Romanian scientific journal*, 2024, N 2 (38), P. 32-45 [in English]; Moysey A., Gerush I., Anistratenko A. «The school in Roșha as a representative model of the Bukovinian educational system during the Austrian period», *Codrul Cosminului*, A. XXXI, 2025, N 2, P. 345-370 [in English].

conducted within the framework of the international research project «**RESTORY**», funded by the European Commission under the Horizon Europe programme (HORIZON-CL2-2023-HERITAGE-01, No. 101132781). The project aims at a comprehensive examination of the historical transformations of local communities within a broader European context.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout its history, the population of the southwestern outskirts of Chernivtsi experienced numerous economic, social, and ethnic changes that significantly influenced the formation of the suburb's local identity. During the «Austrian» period (1774-1918), the ethnic and confessional composition of Roșa changed considerably as a result of migration processes and the settlement of German-speaking inhabitants. In the context of intensified identity formation at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, a diverse spectrum of national civic movements emerged. A considerable number of public associations were established in the suburb and remained active until the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918).

During the «Romanian» period (1918-1940; 1941-1944), civic life in Roșa not only continued but also developed new forms adapted to the changed political and administrative framework. The condition and development of public associations in the interwar period, as well as their role in the cultural, social, and everyday life of the suburb, constitute the central focus of this article.

**The relevance** of this research lies in the need to illuminate one of the most representative yet insufficiently studied aspects of Roșa's social history. For contemporary residents of the district, this period remains closely connected to the memory of relatively recent generations and is often preserved in family archives and photo albums. The chronological framework of the study extends from the beginning of Romanian administration in Bukovina in 1918 to the final incorporation of the region into the USSR in 1944. **The aim** of the study is to examine the process of the revival of public associations in Roșa during the Romanian period and to analyse the principal directions of their development. Particular attention is devoted to clarifying the role of national houses in the structure of civic life in the suburb. **The methodological foundation** of the research is based on the critical analysis of archival documents from the period under consideration, as well as relevant historiographical sources. **The scholarly novelty** of the study lies in the introduction into academic circulation of previously unpublished materials that allow for a deeper understanding of civic life in Roșa during the interwar era.

The primary source base of the research consists of archival materials from the Chernivtsi City Mayor's

Office of the respective period, preserved in the **State Archives of Chernivtsi Region (SACHR), Fond 43**. These documents make it possible to reconstruct key aspects of the functioning of public associations in the suburb, including attempts to build the National House in Roșa, the organization of cultural and educational events by Romanian and German societies, the activities of the reading room and the National House in Roșa-Stânca, as well as the emergence and legal recognition of new public associations such as the «Ștefan cel Mare» and «Principele Mircea» societies.

The analysis draws upon materials from various inventories and archival files of Fond 43 of the State Archives of Chernivtsi Region, which contain correspondence, reports, petitions, permits for public events, and other administrative documents reflecting the nature and dynamics of interaction between public associations of the suburb and the municipal authorities. The source base includes, in particular, the following archival files: Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 109; F. 43, Inv. 1, Arch. file 120; F. 43, Inv. 1, Arch. file 5770; F. 43, Inv. 1, Arch. file 5445; F. 43, Inv. 2, Arch. file 727; F. 43, Inv. 2, Arch. file 728; F. 43, Inv. 3, Arch. file 54. Publications of the local interwar press constitute an important supplementary source

**Historiographical Review.** The political and social context of interwar Bukovina has been addressed in a number of synthetic and documentary studies. An important source for understanding the broader situation is the volume *Bukovyna: National Movements and Socio-Political Processes, 1918-1940. A Diplomatic Perspective (Documents)*<sup>3</sup> (2007), which contains analytical reports of foreign consulates concerning socio-political, economic, and military developments in the region during its incorporation into the Kingdom of Romania. A significant contribution to the study of interwar Bukovina is made in the volume *Bukovyna 1918-1940: External Influences and Internal Development (Materials and Documents)*<sup>4</sup> (2005), which examines internal trends in the development of ethnic communities, interethnic relations, state policies toward national minorities, and the impact of international factors on regional public life. Certain findings of this work are particularly relevant for understanding the civic life of the German community of the suburb of Roșa.

A general overview of Bukovina's interwar history is presented in the collective monograph by Dragnev D., Purici Ș., Ungureanu C., and Gumenăi I., *Din istoria ținutului natal (Cernăuți Region)*<sup>5</sup> (2002), which provides the necessary historical background for the study of social processes in the suburbs of Chernivtsi. The activities of public associations in Roșa are partially addressed in the

<sup>2</sup> **Funded by the European Union.** The study was conducted within the project «**RESTORY**» («Recovering Past Stories for the Future: A Synergistic Approach to Textual and Oral Heritage of Small Communities») – HORIZON Research and Innovation Actions, Cluster 2 – Culture, Creativity, Inclusive Society, Pillar 2 of Horizon Europe HORIZON-CL2-2023-HERITAGE-01, № 101132781.

<sup>3</sup> *Bukovyna: natsional'ni rukhy ta sotsial'no-politychni protsesy 1918-1940 rr. Pohliad dyplomativ (Dokumenty)* [Bukovina: National Movements and Socio-Political Processes, 1918-1940. A Diplomatic Perspective (Documents)], Upor. ta nauk. red. V. M. Zapolovskiyi, S. D. Osachuk, Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2007, 228 p., il.

<sup>4</sup> *Bukovyna 1918-1940 rr.: zovnishni vplyvy ta vnutrishnii rozvytok (Materialy i dokumenty)* [Bukovina, 1918-1940: External Influences and Internal Development (Materials and Documents)], upor. ta red. S. D. Osachuka, Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005, P. 89-117 [in Ukrainian].

<sup>5</sup> Dragnev D., Purici Ș., Ungureanu C., Gumenăi I. *Din istoria ținutului natal (regiunea Cernăuți)* [From the History of the Native Land (Chernăuți Region)], Cernăuți: Editura Alexandru cel Bun, 2002, 192 p. [in Romanian].

work of Constantin Loghin, *Cernăuții*<sup>6</sup> (1936), which offers a general characterization of civic life in the 1930s.

The most informative source regarding the establishment and activities of the cultural-economic society Țețina and the attempts to construct the National House in Roșă is the publication *Țețina. Societatea cultural-economică a românilor din Roșă-Cernăuți*<sup>7</sup> (1936), prepared in the form of a report marking the fortieth anniversary of the society's activity (1896-1936). An important complement to official documentation is provided by the memoirs of Reinhold Weiser, *Roșă – mein Heim: A Historical and Local History Study*<sup>8</sup> (2021), as well as by other representatives of the German community of Roșă, which reflect the everyday dimension of public life in the suburb. Certain aspects of the participation of the local intelligentsia in civic life, particularly the role of the teaching staff of the oldest educational institution in Roșă (established in 1816), are discussed in the monograph devoted to the history of School No. 10 (today Municipal Gymnasium No. 10) of the Roșă district.<sup>9</sup>

**Main Part.** As in the region more broadly, national movements and social mobilization in Roșă intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1883, the Society for Mutual Aid of the Suburb of Roșă (*Societatea suburbiului Cernăuților Roșă spre sprijinire*) operated in the suburb; the Volunteer Fire Brigade (*Freiwillige Feuerwehr in Rosch*) was active in 1890-1891; a branch of the Society of Romanian Ladies in Bukovina (*filială a Societății Doamnelor Române din Bucovina*) was established in 1892; the cultural-economic society Țețina was founded in 1896; the First Association for Study and the House of Prayer *Beit Tora Itfilin* in the suburb of Roșă was established in 1896; and the male choral society *Eintracht* in Roșă was founded in 1905. The Society of Christian Germans in Bukovina was also highly active and succeeded in constructing a German National House in the suburb.

During the First World War (1914-1918), the activities of most public associations were largely suspended. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Bukovina's incorporation into the Kingdom of Romania significantly intensified social tensions; however, the situation gradually stabilized. By the mid-1930s, Constantin Loghin had summarized the state of civic life in the suburbs of Chernivtsi, including Roșă. According to his observations, the following cultural associations operated in the suburbs: the National House of Stânca-Roșă, with its own premises; Țețina, the cultural-economic society of the Romanians of Roșă, which was constructing a monumental National House; and the reading room in Mănăsterește. The German community maintained its own association, the *Deutscher Kulturverein*, with branches throughout

Bukovina; Ukrainians gathered around the *Narodnyi Dim* (People's House); Poles around the Polish House; and Jews around the Jewish House. It was also noted that the Principele Mircea society maintained four dispensaries in Chernivtsi.

The materials currently available allow for a far more detailed and precise examination of the development of civic life in the suburb during the interwar period. The most active organization within the Romanian community of Roșă in the interwar era was *Țețina – the socio-cultural society of the Romanians of Roșă-Chernivtsi*, originally founded under Austrian administration in 1896. Following the establishment of Romanian rule, the society gained broader opportunities to implement its programmatic objectives and benefited from increased administrative and public support. The central practical focus of its activity became the preparation for the construction of the Romanian National House in Roșă. The idea of creating a dedicated community center had emerged already during the Austrian period, in the context of the strong civic activity of the German colonists of the suburb, who possessed their own National House. Within the Romanian community of Roșă, such an institution was regarded as a key condition for communal consolidation and for the advancement of cultural and educational life.

Active practical efforts began in December 1908, when the student Modest C. Scalat was elected chairman of the society. According to the publication *Țețina. Societatea cultural-economică a românilor din Roșă-Cernăuți*, he personally donated 6,000 crowns and mobilized substantial financial contributions from members of the Romanian community as well as from individuals of other nationalities and confessions. In total, more than half a million lei were raised for the purchase of an appropriate plot of land for the future National House. The accumulated contributions amounted to 22,744 crowns and 64 bani. The fundraising campaign was regularly reported in the newspaper *Foaia poporului* (Figs. 1-2).

On 5 January 1914, under sales contract No. 105/14, Modest Scalat purchased from Peter, son of Iohann Schwab (Peter a lui Iohann Schwab), and Sabina Schwab, née Hack (Sabina Schwab, născută Hack), house No. 399 together with a land plot measuring 1 hectare, 2 ares, and 93 square meters, which subsequently became the property of the society. It was on this site that Țețina operated until 1935, when construction of the National House finally commenced.<sup>10</sup>

During the First World War, the activities of the society were completely suspended. During the periods of Russian occupation, its library and archives were destroyed, and the household facilities and orchard adjacent

<sup>6</sup> Loghin Const. *Cernăuții* [Chernivtsi], Cernăuți: Tipografia Mitropolitul Silvestru, 1936, 128 p. [in Romanian].

<sup>7</sup> *Țețina. Societatea cultural-economică a românilor din Roșă-Cernăuți. 40 de ani de activitate cultural-economică (10 mai 1896-10 mai 1936)* [Țețina. The Cultural-Economic Society of Romanians in Roșă-Cernăuți. 40 Years of Cultural-Economic Activity (10 May 1896-10 May 1936)], Cernăuți: Editura proprie, 1936, 64 p. [in Romanian].

<sup>8</sup> Weiser Raynhold, *Rosha – mii dim: istoriko-kraieznavche vydannia* [Rosha – My Home: A Historical and Local History Study], Chernivtsi: Misto, 2021, 88 p. [in Ukrainian].

<sup>9</sup> Rendiuc T. Gh., Gorduna-Svijjynsca D. M. *Nesecat izvor al științei de carte. Școala nr. 10 din Cernăuți la 200 de ani de la întemeiere* [An Unfailing Source of Book Learning: School No. 10 in Cernăuți on the 200th Anniversary of Its Foundation], Cernăuți: Bukrek, 2016, 296 p.: il. [in Romanian].

<sup>10</sup> *Țețina. Societatea cultural-economică ...*, op. cit., p. 10.

to house No. 399 were devastated. As early as 1919, Modest Scalat addressed the authorities of Chernivtsi with a request to provide building materials for the construction of the National House, emphasizing the urgency of the project for the Romanian community of approximately four thousand members. The petition stressed that the absence of a dedicated public space forced communal life to shift into taverns, which negatively affected the moral condition of the community.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of numerous petitions, the Chernivtsi mayor's office sold the society 166 cubic meters of stone at a reduced price of 456 lei, which corresponded to a subsidy of at least 8,000 lei. For the transportation and measurement of the stone from the municipal forest (Țețina), the consortium of Mihai Michiciuc, George Ostafi, and Vasile Saftencu was paid 11,620 lei. At the same time, the society attempted to develop greenhouse farming by leasing for thirty years a plot of municipal common land (toloaca târgului), No. 1503/11, measuring 5 hectares, 18 ares, and 79 square meters, at a preferential rate. Scalat secured a subsidy of 40,000 lei for the development of the greenhouse.<sup>12</sup>

On 8 April 1922, Professor *Radu Sbiera* was elected chairman of the society. After the mayor's office terminated the land lease agreement, and following his insistence – supported by Father-Cooperator *Valerian Bocancea* – the society received 5 hectares of arable land in the locality of *Staniște*. In 1928-1929, this land was sold for 492,837 lei; by 1930, the society's savings exceeded one million lei.

According to adopted decisions, construction of the National House in Roșa was scheduled to begin in the spring of 1930. Architect *Grigore Bordian* estimated the total cost of the project at three million lei. It was planned to accumulate two million lei in a short period and cover the remaining amount through bank interest. However, the financial crisis of 1932-1934 nearly wiped out all savings; only 386,000 lei. Despite numerous court proceedings, no substantial recovery was achieved. Consequently, the budget was supported through public fundraising events; in particular, in 1929 the *Youth Section (Secția Junilor)* was reactivated.<sup>13</sup>

According to the memoir accounts of members of the Țețina society, having only 115,000 lei but considerable enthusiasm, construction of the National House began in the spring of 1935. Architect *Grigore Bordian* supervised the works free of charge. Excavation work was carried out by members of *Secția Junilor*, representatives of the local intelligentsia, and local householders. The transportation of 34,000 bricks, more than 150 cubic meters of gravel, railway tracks, timber, and other materials was also performed free of charge. Members of the *Liga polisportivă from Chernivtsi*, under the leadership of Professor *C. Zotta*, concreted 132 square meters of floor area. As a result of this collective mobilization, the cornerstone of the National House was laid on 2 June 1935 in the presence

of Minister Professor *I. Nistor*, a delegation of clergy, Mayor *D. Marmeliuc*, and other representatives of the municipal and civic elite.

Despite significant debts, by 15 December 1935 the building had been roofed, plastered, fitted with flooring, and equipped with double-glazed windows. At that stage, approximately one quarter of the project had been completed: a performance hall, a conference and reading hall, a restaurant hall, and three smaller rooms had been constructed. On this occasion, festive gatherings were held with the participation of the Romanian community of Roșa and distinguished guests.<sup>14</sup> The members of the society intended to unite the inhabitants of the suburb around the completion of the construction, to furnish the interior, and to make the premises available for all public associations of Roșa. However, due to the events of the Second World War (1939-1945), the Romanian National House in Roșa remained unfinished (Fig. 3).<sup>15</sup>

The fifty-year history of the society was summarized in a monograph<sup>16</sup> published in 1936 and signed by its chairman, *Dimitrie Sofroniuc*. During the Romanian period, the following individuals served as chairmen of the society: *Modest Scalat*, lawyer (1919); *Radu Sbiera*, professor (1922); *Valerian Bocancea*, priest (1923, 1924); *Mihai Sbiera*, teacher (1925, 1926); *Mihai Ștefaniuc*, civil servant (1928, 1929; 1934); *Gheorghe Formagiu* (1930, 1932, 1933); and *Dimitrie Sofroniuc* (1935, 1936). The monograph also highlights the long-standing committee member *Vasile Constantinovici*, an agrarian specialist who chaired the auditing commission from 1905 to 1936. As of 1936, the society counted 110 founding members.<sup>17</sup>

The society's activities were defined in its statute as cultural and economic in nature. As early as 1914, Modest Scalat established a model greenhouse, from which, even during the interwar period, residents of Roșa and neighboring villages received grafted fruit tree seedlings of various varieties. Before the First World War, a male choir operated within the society under the leadership of Dr. Octavian Voronca and Vasile Bordian. After the war, the society resumed its activities, combining the accumulation of funds and the preservation of bank deposits with cultural initiatives. Committees headed by Father Valerian Bocancea, Professor Mihai Sbiera, and Mihai Ștefaniuc organized public festivities and gatherings, which generated considerable income in the years 1928-1930.

The revival of the Youth Section (*Secția Junilor*) in 1929 resulted from the initiative of its members – Proț Nicolai, Timcu George, and Gârbu Vasile – who launched artistic programmes, including theatrical performances and recitations. At different times, the section was chaired by Nicolai Proț, Dionisie Scraba, and Ioan Ostafi. In the same year, a dance platform was constructed in the society's park, reflecting the growing scale of cultural activities. Organizational and financial matters were coordinated

<sup>11</sup> State Archives of Chernivtsi Region (SACHR), Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 109.

<sup>12</sup> Țețina. *Societatea cultural-economică ...*, op. cit., p. 12-13.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 17-19.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 22-25.

<sup>15</sup> Rendiuc T. Gh., Gorduna-Sviijnsca D. M. *Nesecat izvor al științei ...*, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Țețina. *Societatea cultural-economică ...*, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, p. 64.

by a committee led by Dr. Gheorghe Formagiu, who oversaw, among other responsibilities, the management of the greenhouse and the allocation of funds in banking institutions. At the same time, school director Vasile Bordian and teacher Dionisie Scraba organized both mixed and male choirs. In 1936, these ensembles performed on the stage of the National Theatre.<sup>18</sup>

The school gradually became a center of traditional culture for the inhabitants of Roșă. It regularly hosted gatherings and cultural events in cooperation with the Țețina society, the Society of Romanian Housewives, and the reading room of Roșă-Stânca. On the initiative of teachers, and with the participation of pupils and members of the Youth Section of Țețina, Christmas caroling, «Herod» performances, and plugușoare (traditional New Year ritual recitations) were organized throughout the suburb for the first time in 1934. In the same year, a Christmas carol festival was inaugurated in Roșă-Stânca.

It is significant that these initiatives were positively received by other communities in Roșă as well. On 6 January 1935, a large concert of Christmas carols and winter ritual songs was held in the German House, with the participation of pupils and youth; the mayor of Chernivtsi, Dimitrie Marmeliuc, was present at the event. According to contemporary recollections, the society's large choir numbered up to 250 members. One of the most attended concerts took place in the park of the National House in Roșă, which, however, remained unfinished due to the outbreak of war.<sup>19</sup>

Archival documents further confirm the intensity of mass events during this period. In 1930-1931, several applications were submitted to the mayor's office requesting permission to organize public festivities. On 25 May 1930, such an application was filed by the Youth Section; another, dated 31 August 1930, specified that the festivities would include theatrical performances, recitations, and dancing. The mayor's office also granted permission for an event on 12 July 1931 in the Țețina forest (or, in case of bad weather, on 19 July 1931 in the society's garden near the church). The documents emphasized the cultural purpose of the event and the allocation of proceeds to the construction of the National House. A protocol of the balance of expenses and revenues dated 27 April 1930 has been preserved. It records the sale of 35 tickets at 30 lei (1,050 lei) and 54 tickets at 20 lei (1,080 lei), while additional income (from the buffet, auctions, and other sources) amounted to 3,820 lei. The total revenue reached 5,950 lei, of which a net profit of 1,760 lei was transferred to the National House construction fund.<sup>20</sup>

Already during the Austrian administration, three reading rooms (cabinete de lectură / cabinete de citire) operated in Roșă:

- the Țețina Reading Room – headed by Parish Priest Grigore Hostiu;
- the Stânca Reading Room – led by Cooperator Petru Popescu;

- the Mănăsterește Reading Room – administered by Priest P. Popescu.

Periodical publications from 1907 attest to the continued activity of the Țețina Reading Room. At that time, D. Piteiu served as chairman, A. Zamă as secretary, and Cantor Vasile Ostafi as an active organizer. The reading room organized theatrical performances, dances, and concerts of the village choir; among the repertoire was the play *Nunta țărănească* («The Peasant Wedding»)<sup>21</sup> Archival materials confirm the uninterrupted activity of this institution during the Romanian period as well.<sup>22</sup>

The Stânca Reading Room is documented in the press as early as 1911, when, on 5 May, a celebration was organized in the German House in Roșă featuring national dances, poetry recitations, and a concert conducted by Teacher Cojocariu and the village choir. The event was held under the honorary presidency of Deputies Dionisie cav. de Bejan, Baron Alexandru Hormuzachi, Constantin Isopescul, Florea Lupu, Aurel Onciul, and Teofil Siminovici. In 1912, the reading room organized musical and literary evenings.<sup>23</sup>

During the interwar period, the Stânca Reading Room demonstrated activity not only in the cultural sphere but also in civic matters. A handwritten letter dated 26 September 1929, addressed to the mayor of Chernivtsi, has been preserved. It reports the consecration, on 22 September 1929, of the foundation of the National House, constructed on land belonging to the society near the primary school of Roșă-Stânca. In this appeal, the society requested financial assistance from the municipal cultural funds, referring to previous support for the first cultural house in Roșă. The document was signed by Chairman Bidnei Nicolae and Secretary Olariu Vasile; by resolution of 26 September, a grant of 15,000 lei was allocated (Fig. 4). Another letter dated 9 January 1930, containing a similar request to the mayor, has also been preserved.

On 30 October 1929, the society submitted a new petition outlining its history. It stated that the Stânca Reading Room had been founded in 1900 and that its activities were directed toward national and cultural development through gatherings, theatrical performances, and other events. The society had assembled a substantial library, regarded by contemporaries as one of the best popular libraries in Bukovina. Due to intensive use of the collection and the need for new publications, a request for financial support was submitted; on 23 October 1929, a subsidy of 15,000 lei was granted. On 9 January 1930, the reading room again petitioned for funds for the construction of the National House; however, the outcome of this request has not yet been established.<sup>24</sup>

In terms of urban improvement, a notable initiative was the appeal submitted on 29 October 1934 by members of the Stânca Reading Room to the mayor's office advocating the planting of trees on the «Stânca Hill.» The

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 16-27.

<sup>19</sup> Rendiuc T. Gh., Gorduna-Svijynsca D. M. *Nesecat izvor al științei ...*, op. cit., p. 54-55.

<sup>20</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 5770.

<sup>21</sup> *Apărarea Națională* [National Defense], 1907, Anul II, Nr. 44, 53, 54.

<sup>22</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 8557.

<sup>23</sup> Foaia Poporului, 1911, N 10, Cernăuți, 5 martie, P. 24; Foaia Poporului, 1912.

<sup>24</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 5445.

initiators argued that tree planting would prevent landslides and protect the primary school, which had been built before the First World War and had already been reconstructed once from its foundations at municipal expense.<sup>25</sup> Judging from the documents, this initiative produced positive results.

The reading room in Mănăsteriște was founded in 1898 as a branch of the Society of Romanian Cantors of Bukovina «Lumina.» In periodical literature, it also appears under the name *Cabinetul de lectură «Lumina» din Mănăsteriște*. The founder and chairman of the society was Andreiu Brăteanu; the vice-president was Ion Penteleiciuc; and the secretary was Priest Petru Popescul. The board included Dionisie Clein, George Zavadovschi, Nicolai Cohut, Mihai Jemna, Vasile Jemna, Nicolai Scalat, Mihai Creiliciuc, and others.<sup>26</sup>

Among the active Romanian organizations of Roșă, a particularly prominent role was played by the Housewives' Circle (*Cercul de gospodine*), founded on 27 January 1925 and financed by the Society of Romanian Ladies (*Societatea doamnelor române*). The Circle maintained close contacts with the Țețina society, although their positions did not always coincide in certain economic matters. The initiator of the Circle's establishment was Iuliana Dulgheru. Its choir numbered approximately 140 members and was conducted by Teacher Dionisie Scraba. A dance group also operated within the organization. General rehearsals were held both in the premises of the Țețina society and in the German House. Initially, the choir was composed exclusively of men, but it later developed into a mixed ensemble. Between 1935 and 1943, the group participated in choral festivals organized by the National Theatre in Chernivtsi; in 1937, it took part in a festival at the National Theatre in Bucharest; and in 1939, it won a competition of church choirs organized by the Chernivtsi Protoperbyterate.

Branches of the Society of Romanian Ladies had already existed in Roșă and in Mănăsteriște during the Austrian period. For a considerable time, the society maintained two shelters for underprivileged children – one in the suburb of Mănăsteriște and another on what is today Shepkin Street. Both institutions were established through a donation from Metropolitan Vladimir de Repta.

Archival materials also document the activity in Roșă of the archers' society (*arcășească*) Ștefan cel Mare. Its members submitted a petition requesting permission to organize public festivities (theatrical performances, recitations, and dances) on 30 December 1929 in the hall of the German House. According to the financial reports, the net profit of the event amounted to 9,017 lei. The same sources indicate that similar events were organized on 2

September 1928 and 25 October 1929 – in the Țețina forest or, in case of bad weather, in the building of the primary school on Țețina. Among the leaders of the society were Dugan Valerian, A. Zamă, and Cojocariu Gheorghe (Fig. 5).<sup>27</sup>

According to the authors of *Din istoria ținutului natal* (2002), archers' societies (*arcășiiile*) were extremely widespread and active not only in Bukovina but also beyond its borders. They possessed a well-developed organizational structure comprising cultural, economic, social, and sports sections. A similar society functioned in Roșă.

During the Romanian period, the Temperance Society (*Trezvia*), whose principal aim was the борьба against alcoholism, also operated in Roșă; one of its branches functioned in Roșă-Stânca.<sup>28</sup>

The landowners' register of Roșă–Mănăsteriște for 1932 records a plot belonging to the society *Principele Mircea*.<sup>29</sup> The chairwoman of the society was *Virginia Nistor* – founder of the Union of Romanian Women (1919) and of the professional school for girls in Chernivtsi (1929). The Roșă branch formed part of the network of the Bucharest-based organization of the same name and operated under the patronage of Queen Marie. The society's primary objective was maternal education and the support of young children; four dispensaries functioned in Chernivtsi, Roșă, and Kalichanka, where mothers with young children received free consultations and medication. In Mănăsteriște, a shelter for poor children existed at the Orthodox parish; there are grounds to assume that it was under the patronage of the *Principele Mircea* society.

Local press also mentions the Volunteer Fire Brigade of Roșă and Mănăsteriște (*Freiwillige Feuerwehr von Rosch und Manasteriska*), which in 1928 celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its activity in the German House. Among the leadership of the society were Commandant Johann Künzelmann and Oberrevident Karl Uhrich, a former commandant who at that time held an honorary position.<sup>30</sup>

During the interwar period, several all-Romanian organizations owned land plots on Țețina, including the Benevolent Society of Printers (*Societatea de binefacere a tipografilor*), the Society of Friends of Children (*Societatea de prietenii copiilor*), the Central Society of Commercial Employees of Romania (*Societatea centrală a funcționarilor de comerț din România*), and the Central Society of Craftsmen of Romania (*Societatea centrală a Meseriașilor din România*), among others.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that these organizations used their plots on Țețina primarily for recreational purposes and had no direct connection to the local communities of Roșă.

<sup>25</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 6823.

<sup>26</sup> *Patria* [Fatherland], 1899, Anul III, Nr. 291-295, 297, 299, 301, 304, 306 [in Romanian].

<sup>27</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 2, Archival file 727.

<sup>28</sup> Dragnev D., Purici Ș., Ungureanu C., Gumenăi I. *Din istoria ținutului natal ...*, op. cit., p. 168 [in Romanian].

<sup>29</sup> The society *Principele Mircea* was named after Prince Mircea, the youngest child of King Ferdinand I of Romania and Queen Marie (21 December 1912-20 October 1916), who died during a typhus epidemic in the First World War. The tragic death of the prince profoundly affected Queen Marie. In response, and in cooperation with Lia Brătianu, she founded the charitable organization *Principele Mircea*.

The society developed into a nationwide philanthropic network, operating with the support of the American Red Cross. It established approximately 350 clinics for newborns and maternal support centres across Romania, providing medical assistance, counselling, and social support to mothers and young children in need. Within this broader national framework, the Roșă branch functioned as part of a well-organized humanitarian infrastructure aimed at improving maternal and child welfare in the interwar Romanian state.

<sup>30</sup> *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt* [Chernivtsi Morning Newspaper], 1928, 4. April, Nr. 2894, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>31</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 3, Archival file 54.

In this context, special attention should be paid to *Volodymyr Zalozetskyi-Sas* (1884-1965) – a Ukrainian politician, public figure, art historian, patron of the arts, and a pioneer of skiing in Bukovina. He owned a land plot at the foot of Mount Țețina and, between 1927 and 1940, founded the Ukrainian Museum of Ethnography. In the early 1930s, owing to his efforts, a carved Hutsul house and a wooden gate were installed at the foot of the mountain as the initial realization of a planned museum of Hutsul art. During the war, all of these structures were destroyed by fire; only the wooden gate survived and is now exhibited at the Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Life (Figs. 7-8).

The German community of the Roșa suburb demonstrated a high level of civic self-organization during the interwar period. The central institution of its cultural and educational life remained the German National House in Roșa, which appears in German-language literature and local press under various names, including *German House in Rosch*, *Roscher Deutschen Hauses*, *Deutschen Hause*, and *Deutsches Volksheim*.

In 1930, the main cultural organization of the German population of the region was renamed from the *Christlicher Deutscher Verein* (Society of Christian Germans) to the *Deutscher Kulturverein* (German Cultural Association), which united 33 local branches. These changes were also implemented in Roșa. During the interwar period, the local branch *Ortsgruppe Rosch–Manasteriska*, founded in 1904, operated there and made use of the premises of the German People's House. In the 1920s and 1930s, the association was headed by Anton Leonhard, Josef Kunzelmann, and Hanns Uhrich. Among its co-founders were Christian Hack, Georg Kraus, Peter Kunzelmann, Georg Schmidt, Adolf Zieber, Josef Wolf, Martin Strobel, Jakob Zinder, Philipp Kunz, Wenzel Heer, Michael Dukett, and others.<sup>32</sup> Particular attention should be given to Christian Hack, who donated the land plot on which the German House was built.<sup>33</sup> As of 1 January 1932, the association numbered 552 members.<sup>34</sup>

In 1933, the governing board consisted of Josef Kunzelmann (chairman), Lorenz Hicke, Sebastian Lichtenwald, Rudolf Kunzelmann, Lorenz Reumann, Karl Strobel, and Hans Uhrich, while the auditors were Maximilian Beutler and Georg Hölzel.<sup>35</sup>

The most ambitious project of the 1920s-1930s was the financing and expansion of the German House (1928-1933) and the enrichment of its inventory. In 1928, the local branch (*Ortsgruppe Rosch–Manasteriska*), acting through the Roșa branch of the Agricultural Bank, issued share certificates with a nominal value of 500 lei and a guaranteed interest rate of 12%.<sup>36</sup> In 1930, a model library was established in

the German House, encompassing all publications of the German Book Community available at the time. By the early 1930s, the library's holdings exceeded 500 volumes. The library was open to the community, and books could be ordered by mail. The association also supported the Evangelical parish of Roșa, including donations for the construction of the bell tower at the Evangelical cemetery.<sup>37</sup>

Festive culture occupied an important place in the community's life. Among the most notable events were the annual *Sonnwendfeier am Cecina* (Midsummer Festival on Țețina) and the *Erntefest* (Harvest Festival), organized jointly with other associations and youth organizations and serving as central events of the German community. In 1939, a Harvest Thanksgiving (*Erntedank*) was organized, accompanied by religious services on 13 August at 9:00 a.m. in the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Boniface in Rosch (*röm.-kath. Bonifatiuskapelle in Rosch*) and at 11:00 a.m. in the Evangelical City Parish Church.<sup>38</sup> Other events included the *Waldmeisterfest am Cecina* (Foresters' Festival on Țețina, 1929)<sup>39</sup>, *Sylvesterfeier* (New Year's Eve celebrations), commemorative events marking the 150th anniversary of the death of Friedrich von Schiller, a *Goethe-Gedenkfeier* (Goethe Memorial Celebration), a historical procession dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the settlement of Germans in Bukovina, and celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the German House.<sup>40</sup>

The most active youth organization was the *Jungmannschaft Eichenhor* (Eichenhort Youth Association), which cooperated with and was partially subordinated to the local branch *Rosch–Manasteriska* (*Ortsgruppe Rosch–Manasteriska*). In 1929, the 17th General Assembly of the association was held, during which its chairman, Christian Strobel, presented a report. The organization contributed to supporting the German student boarding house (*deutsches Schülerheim*), the Evangelical orphanage (*evangelisches Waisenhaus*), and cultural events organized by the local branch.

Among its own activities were Easter, Kathrein, and Christmas celebrations (*Oster-, Kathrein- und Weihnachtsfest*), masked and costume evenings, closed dance events for members of *Freya* and *Eichenhort*, and anniversary celebrations (*Julf eier*). The association counted 110 active and 50 inactive members. Members of the executive board included Hans Uhrich, Otto Bukowiecki, Rudolf Czerny, Siegfried Uhrich, Fritz Goerz, Edmund Nowak, Artur Dietz, Siegfried Kunzelmann, Josef Kopp, Erwin Kunzelmann, Arnold Schreiber, and Siegmund Duczek.<sup>41</sup> In 1928, the chairman of the association was Reinhold Leibrock.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1929, Jahr. 6, Nr. 1561 [in German].

<sup>33</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1932, Jahr. 9, Nr. 2406, S. 4 [in German].

<sup>34</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1933, Jahr. 10, Nr. 2687, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>36</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1928, Jahr. 5, Nr. 1370, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>37</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1935, Jahr. 12, Nr. 3419, S. 4 [in German].

<sup>38</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1939, Jahr. 16, Nr. 4617, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>39</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1929, Jahr. 6, Nr. 1582, S. 4 [in German].

<sup>40</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1933, Jahr. 10, Nr. 2687, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>41</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1929, Jahr. 6, Nr. 1522, S. 3; 1930, Jahr. 7, Nr. 1781 S. 3; 1932, Jahr. 9, Nr. 2415, S. 5 [in German].

<sup>42</sup> *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt* [Chernivtsi Morning Newspaper], 1928, Jahr. 5, Nr. 2894, S. 3 [in German].

In the late 1920s, *Eichenhort*, together with the association *Freya*, participated in the reconstruction of the German House, assuming responsibility for the arrangement of the stage. An interest-free loan (*zinsenlose Anleihe*) was organized, and through donations (*Spenden*), stage equipment worth 90,000 lei was acquired.

The girls' association *Freya* primarily participated in cultural events organized by the local branch and the youth association *Eichenhort*; in the late 1920s it was headed by *Else Schädle*.<sup>43</sup>

The Catholic-German youth association *katholisch-deutscher Jugendbund Rittertreu* was also active. In 1928, the organization held masked balls and theatrical evenings, mostly of a closed character. Among the signatories of the permits were *Iulia Schmidt*, *Jakob Kipert*, *Alfred Lenhardt*, and *Martin Baumgartner* (Fig. 6).<sup>44</sup> In 1929, together with the local branch Rosch–Manasteriska and the Catholic-German girls' association *Edelweiß*, it participated in the *Waldmeisterfest am Cecina* (Foresters' Festival on Țețina)<sup>45</sup>, and in 1932 it contributed to organizing a choral evening in the association's garden (choir director – *Franz Krzyzewski*).<sup>46</sup>

During the interwar period, the *Deutsche marianische Jungfrauenkongregation der Vorstädte Rosch–Manasteriska* (German Marian Congregation of the Suburbs Rosch–Manasteriska) was also active. As of 1931, it owned a building at Römergasse 6 and organized family celebrations (*Familienfeier*).<sup>47</sup>

An important participant in most cultural events was the *Roscher Gesangverein* (Roşa Choral Society). In the 1920s–1930s, among its most active figures were Columbus, Gustav Kandel, and Wuttke, who in 1932 served as director of the choral society during the Midsummer celebration.<sup>48</sup>

At the same time, during the 1930s, significant ideological shifts occurred within the German community of Roşa, as throughout Bukovina as a whole. Reports by officials of the Polish Consulate in Chernivtsi noted that the political and public life of the Bukovinian Germans – who were distinguished by a high degree of national solidarity – was influenced by developments in Nazi Germany. These transformations affected not only civic associations but also the German clergy. The reports also emphasized the increasing dependence of the local German population on the policies of the German state.<sup>49</sup>

In analyzing the social dynamics and political orientations of the German community of Bukovina in the interwar period, it is appropriate to refer to the works of Serhii Osachuk, who has thoroughly examined this issue. The scholar emphasized that the transformation of ideological orientations within German public life

intensified competition among organizations, particularly in the sphere of distributing financial assistance arriving from Germany for associations and political parties through the treasury of the *Deutscher Kulturverein*. In his view, without external financial support, the activities of most youth and national organizations in the 1930s would have been practically impossible, which gave access to funds an existential significance. As a result of internal conflicts within German organizations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin substantially reduced support for German political groupings from 1937 onward, maintaining systematic funding only for orphanages, boarding schools, and itinerant teachers.

Further changes were brought about by the establishment of King Carol II's dictatorship in Romania: on 31 March 1938, all political parties, including German ones, were dissolved. The representation of the interests of the German minority was assumed by the German section of the National Renaissance Front. The Bukovinian section of the German community was headed by Martin Runzer and, from 1939, by Franz Lomer.

An additional factor contributing to the crisis was the gradual decline of German-language schooling, which diminished year by year. Nevertheless, in Roşa the German school continued to function until 1936. During this period, the idea of repatriating the Bukovinian Germans was increasingly discussed. However, as S. Osachuk concluded, the several-month experience of life under Soviet rule dispelled any doubts among the vast majority of the German population of Northern Bukovina regarding the necessity of resettlement.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the growing political tension, the everyday life of the Germans of Roşa retained its established rhythms. Each year on 20–21 June they celebrated the Midsummer festival on Mount Țețina. Reinhold Weiser, recalling his participation in the 1936 celebration, described the atmosphere of a mass gathering with abundant refreshments, brass music performed by the volunteer fire brigade, youth dances, and games in the forest. The culmination of the festival was the lighting of the bonfire, around which residents of all ages gathered. The head of the ethnic group of Roşa, Hans Uhrich, delivered a speech; poems were recited, songs were sung, and dances were performed. Young couples, according to long-standing custom, jumped over the fire, which, according to folk belief, was meant to bring happiness and good fortune in marriage.<sup>51</sup>

Archival documents also attest that the Ukrainian Male Choir, which actively toured in Bukovina and Bessarabia, had its branches in Chernivtsi as well as in the suburbs of Roşa and Kalichanka.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>44</sup> SACHR, Fond 43, Inventory 2, Archival file 728.

<sup>45</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1929, Jahr. 6, Nr. 1582, S. 4 [in German].

<sup>46</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1932, Jahr. 9, Nr. 2480, S. 4 [in German].

<sup>47</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1931, Jahr. 8, Nr. 2195, S. 5 [in German].

<sup>48</sup> *Czernowitzer Deutsche Tagespost* [Czernowitz German Daily Post], 1932, Jahr. 9, Nr. 2485, S. 3 [in German].

<sup>49</sup> *Bukovyna: natsional'ni rukhy* ..., op. cit., p. 119–120.

<sup>50</sup> *Bukovyna 1918–1940 rr.: zovnishni vplyvy* ..., op. cit., p. 89–117.

<sup>51</sup> Weiser Raynhold. *Rosha – My Home* ..., op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>52</sup> *Bukovyna: natsional'ni rukhy* ..., op. cit., p. 109.

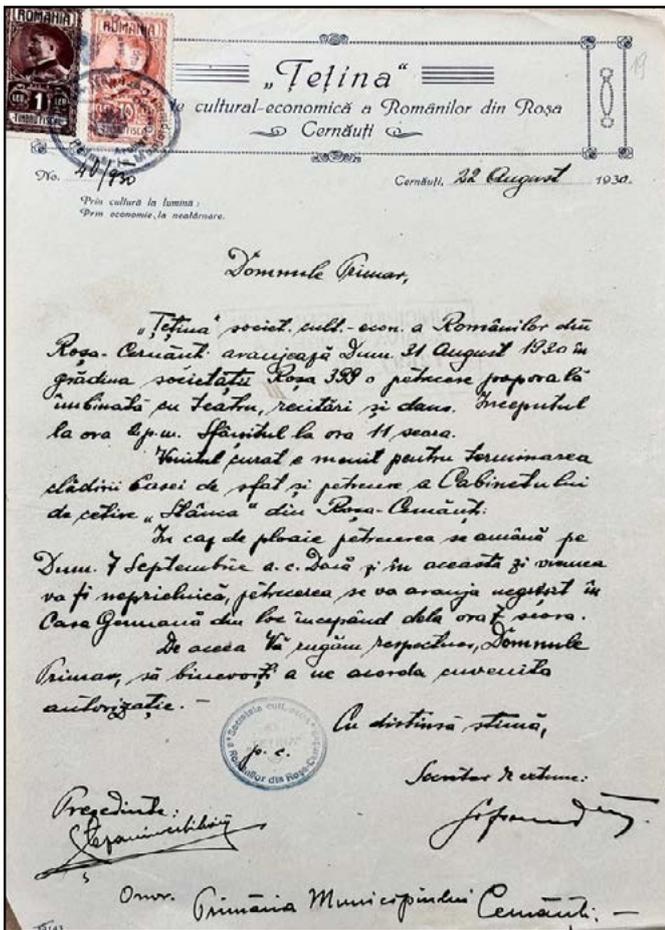


Fig. 1. Appeal of the leadership of the Tețina Association to the municipal authorities requesting permission to hold a ceremonial event. Official letterhead of the association. 1930.

Source: State Archives of Chernivtsi Region (SACHR), Fond 43, Inventory 1, Archival file 5770.

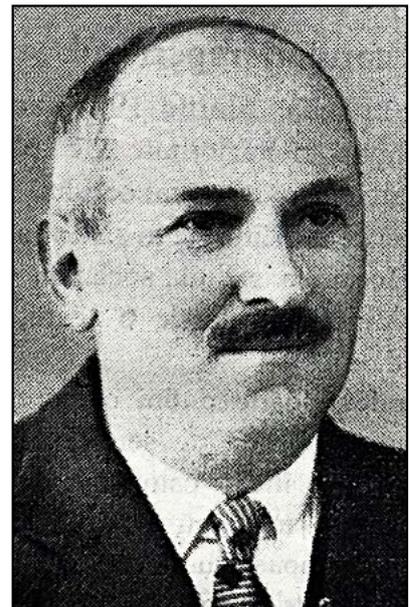


Fig. 2. Modest Scalat – Chairman of the Tețina Association (1908-1922).



Fig. 3. Building that housed the Tețina Association in Roșă during the interwar period. On the left – the foundation of the projected National House.

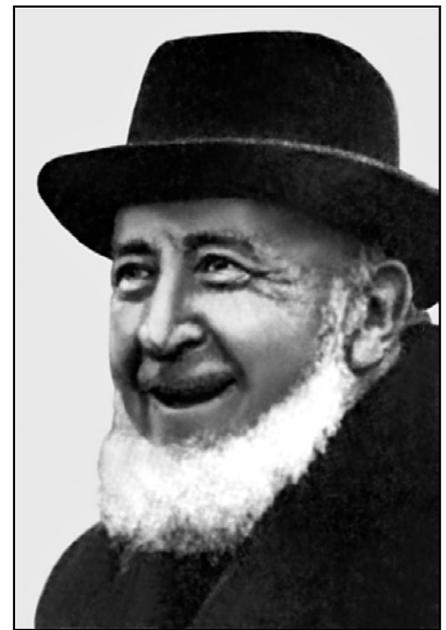
Source: Tețina Association, fol. 11.





**Fig. 6. The leadership of the Catholic-German Youth Union Rittertreu (kath.-deutscher Jugendbund Rittertreu) petitions the municipal authorities for permission to hold a theatrical evening. 9 April 1928.**

Source: State Archives of Chernivtsi Region (SACHR), Fond 43, Inventory 2, Archival file 728.



**Fig. 7. Volodymyr Zalozetsky-Sas (1896-1959), art historian and historian of art.**

Source: <https://zbruc.eu/node/24987>



**Fig. 8. Gate from Mount Tețina, currently preserved at the Chernivtsi Regional Museum of Folk Architecture and Life.**

Source: <https://zbruc.eu/node/24987>

Conclusions. The study of civic associations in the suburb of Chernivtsi – Roșa during the period of Romanian administration significantly refines our understanding of the patterns of social self-organization within a local community under conditions of changing state jurisdiction. Archival materials convincingly demonstrate that public life in the suburb during the interwar period not only maintained a high level of activity but also displayed a remarkable capacity to adapt to new political, legal, and ideological realities.

Within the Romanian community of Roșa, the leading role was played by the cultural-economic association *Țețina*, whose activities were directed, in particular, toward the construction of the Romanian National House in the suburb – a large-scale project whose completion was interrupted by the events of the Second World War. An important factor in civic mobilization was also the *Society of Romanian Ladies (Doamnele române)*, from whose initiative the *Housewives' Circle (Cercul Gospodinelor)* emerged. Cultural and educational functions were performed by the reading cabinets in *Țețina*, *Roșa-Stânca*, and *Mănăstiriște (Cabinetele de lectură Țețina, Roșa-Stânca, Mănăstiriște)*, as well as by the National House in *Stânca*, built near the local school. During the interwar period, new associations also operated in the suburb – *Ștefan cel Mare*, *Principele Mircea*, and *Trezvia* – broadening the scope of social and cultural engagement

The civic life of the German community was concentrated around the German National House in Roșa, which became the central venue for cultural, festive, and leisure activities. The most influential organization was the *Deutscher Kulturverein*. In the interwar period, its local branch, the *Ortsgruppe Rosch-Manasteriska*, functioned actively in Roșa. The most dynamic youth organizations included *Jungmannschaft Eichenhort*, *Mädchenbund Freya*, the *katholisch-deutscher Jugendbund Rittertreu*, the *Catholic German girls' association Edelweiß*, and the *Deutsche marianische Jungfrauenkongregation der Vorstädte Rosch-Manasteriska*, among others. Mass events – dance evenings, theatrical performances, Midsummer celebrations on Mount *Țețina*, and harvest festivals – had an interethnic character and created a shared space of everyday communication among different communities. At the same time, during the 1930s, the influence of National Socialist ideology became increasingly visible in the activities of some German organizations, reflecting broader European political developments of the time.

The Ukrainian population of the suburb gathered around the branch of the *Ukrainian Male Choir*, which performed an important cultural and integrative function. A significant phenomenon in the cultural landscape of Roșa was also the activity of *Volodymyr Zalozetsky*, whose initiatives in the area of Mount *Țețina* laid the foundations for a museum of Hutsul ethnography aimed at preserving and promoting traditional culture.

Overall, the civic associations of Roșa in the interwar period functioned as key centers of social integration, cultural communication, and the preservation of local identity. Despite increasing political pressure in the late 1930s and the deterioration of the international situation, the level of civic engagement in the suburb remained

consistently high and played an important role in shaping the multiethnic social space and urban identity of Roșa. The archival materials introduced into scholarly circulation provide a solid foundation for further comparative research on the civic life of the suburbs of Chernivtsi and Bukovina in the first half of the twentieth century.

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