ESJF
EUROPEAN JEWISH CEMETERIES INITIATIVE

Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Protection

The ESJF Handbook of Sustainable Heritage Tourism

Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Protection

the ESJF handbook of sustainable heritage tourism

Co-funded by the
European Union

European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative
Kaiserstraße 1,
60311, Frankfurt,
Germany

This document was produced in the framework of the pilot project "Pilot project — Protecting the Jewish cemeteries of Europe: A full mapping process with research and monitoring and individual costed proposals for protection (EAC/S10/2018)" carried out by the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative, co-funded by the European Commission.

First published 2020
© European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative, 2020
Some rights reserved.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/ or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

ISBN 978-3-9822085-5-8

Philip Carmel | Ruth Ellen Gruber | Hanna Szemző | Andrea Tönkő | Diána Vonnák

Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Protection

the ESJF handbook of sustainable heritage tourism

Contents

Introduction 13
Why does sustainability in heritage tourism matter 17
I.2. The changing concept of heritage and heritage tourism 18
I.2.I. Heritage — not a single object but a complex set of elements 19
I.2.2. Involving the community in defining heritage 24
I.2.3. Participatory approaches to ensure the sustainability of heritage 32
I.3. Tourism and its social consequences 38
I.3.I. Tourism development, touristification, overtourism, and their consequences for Jewish heritage 41
I.3.2. Networked tourism and the new hospitality sector 49
I.3.3. Rural heritage tourism 52
I.4. The sustainable economic value of cultural heritage and tourism 56
I.4.I. Economic benefits of cultural heritage and heritage tourism 56
I.4.2. Value co-creation in practice 59
Stara Trznica (Bratislava, Slovakia) 59
La Fábrica de toda la vida (Maimona, Spain) 60
Cascina Roccafranca (Turin, Italy) 61

2.1. Preface: Jewish cemeteries today 65
2.1.1. What kind of tourism? 67
2.2. Cemeteries and Tourism 70
2.3. Jewish Cemeteries and Tourism: Background 75
2.3.1. The Origins of Jewish Cemetery Tourism 77
2.4. Awakening Jewish Cemetery Tourism: Jewish Heritage Tourism 84
2.4.1. Where does that leave Jewish cemeteries? 86
2.5. "Tombstone Tourists" and "Travellers" 88
2.6. Methods and Challenges 93
2.7. Profiles in Tourism 101
2.7.1. PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC 101
Old Jewish Cemetery: A Rare Example of Mass Tourism at a Jewish Cemetery 101
Žižkov Old Jewish Cemetery 104
Žižkov New Jewish Cemetery 104
2.7.2 WROCŁAW, POLAND 105
Wrocław Old Jewish Cemetery 105
2.7.3. BRNO, CZECH REPUBLIC 106
Brno Old Jewish Cemetery 106

2.7.4. LONDON, UK 108
Willesden Jewish Cemetery 108
2.7.5. WARSAW, POLAND 110
Okopowa Street Jewish Cemetery 110
Bródno Jewish Cemetery 114
2.7.6. PLYMOUTH, UK 115
The Old Jewish Burial Ground at Plymouth Hoe 115
2.7.7. MÁD, HUNGARY 117
"Footsteps of Wonder Rabbis" 117
2.7.8. OSOBLAHA (CZ) – BIAŁA (PL) TRAIL 120
Concluding remarks: the ESJF Pilot Project "Protecting the Jewish Heritage of Europe" and its implications for sustainable tourism 122
Bibliography 125
Further Reading 137

Introduction

The pilot project "Protecting the Jewish Cemeteries of Europe (EAC/S10/2018)", undertaken by the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative between 2018 and 2020, co-funded by the European Commission set out to solve the immense task of assessing Jewish cemeteries in five countries. This work is crucial: cemeteries are the most common forms of Jewish heritage; they are also the most vulnerable. In contrast to synagogues that often survive, albeit with a change in function, cemeteries are subject to neglect, vandalism, demolition, and removal from memory. Changing property regimes, the lack of monumental features and the absence of local Jewish communities or other forms of guardianship mean that this unique, shared heritage is often left without recognition, maintenance or protection.

In many cases, we are already in the eleventh hour: deterioration advances fast, the last surviving witnesses to Jewish community life are vanishing, and these living testimonies of multi-ethnic coexistence, religious plurality and cultural diversity are fading from the awareness of local communities. This is especially true in countries where secondary education lacks the inclusion of Jewish contributions to local and national histories, or even the tragedies that befell Jewish communities during the Holocaust.

Surveying 1,500 cemeteries and building a comprehensive, open access online database are the very first steps towards reversing this tendency of vanishing, destruction, and forgetting. However, documentation alone does not translate into better protection for Jewish cemeteries: protection requires documentation, engagement, strategy, and care. In other words, protection is a sustained, complex intervention that encompasses everything from research to maintenance, awareness raising and outreach, everyone from local residents to municipal authorities, third sector organisations, and supra-national actors like the European Union.

This is particularly true of Jewish heritage. Heritage infrastructures are generally built around nation states, and as such minority heritage does not always receive equal attention to sites cherished by the majority. Jewish heritage is a form of minority heritage that is at once local and pan-European, belonging to every single nation state and none of them at the same time. It is highly local and inherently cosmopolitan, present in the most remote villages, as well as metropolitan centres. Because it is a minority issue that has often been silenced and sidelined, because of the contestations around local histories of perpetration, many potential stakeholders are reluctant to take ownership of these sites.

The ESJF surveys revealed a striking diversity in the condition of these cemeteries and the ways in which local communities, authorities and other interested parties relate to their local Jewish heritage. Conversations with mayors, teachers and activists highlight the importance of going beyond documentation and explore how Jewish cemeteries could be protected in a sustainable fashion, included in the local, regional and national infrastructure of heritage and tourism.

This text offers a synthesis of these considerations. Its key goal is to assess the state of sustainable heritage and tourism in policy and research, and develop

informed suggestions and ideas applicable to Jewish heritage sites, and to cemeteries specifically. To do so, the first part guides the reader through the current challenges and considerations that drive sustainability in heritage tourism. The second part delves into Jewish heritage. Jewish cemeteries are found in all sorts of locations, so we opted to showcase diverse examples throughout the text, to offer a broad range of considerations, examples and challenges. Experiences from the pilot project are woven into the sections.

This handbook has been written with the involvement of experts, informed by the mass surveys and related engagement work carried out by the ESJF over the course of the pilot project. Building sustainable models requires us to step back and rethink our understanding of heritage and its uses, before we focus in on the specificities of Jewish sites, and cemeteries in particular. We hope that the resulting work will be a useful tool for stakeholders who recognise the importance of this mission and seek to take action.

We chose tourism as a focus, as that is a key component of cemetery engagement, whether it is local students or observant Jews, descendants or the interested public, whether guided by faith, curiosity, or aesthetic appreciation. This overview and blueprint for action is the groundwork for further protection, and we invite all kinds of stakeholders to join us in building on it together.

Diána Vonnák

A local resident helping an ESJF surveyor to establish the boundaries of the local Jewish cemetery in Khotymyr, Ukraine

ESIF

SCHMIDL SÁNDOR
CSALÁDJA

Sustainable Heritage Management and Tourism

Part 1

I.I. Why does sustainability in heritage tourism matter?

The idea of *sustainability* is very old, but since the 1980s it has gradually emerged as a central concept of policy making and public debates with a broad ecological scope. Its role with regard to heritage management and heritage tourism has grown in the first two decades of the 21st century, becoming a major point of reference both in theory and practice.

In the context of heritage, **sustainability** can refer to managerial, maintenance and usage strategies. In all three, sustainable interventions aim to work with heritage sites with a long-term vision towards circularity and autonomy: in a way that would not require external impetus, but instead valorise available skills, interests, or build an infrastructure of these around the heritage site in question. When it comes to Jewish cemeteries, sustainable approaches integrate local communities and public institutions, encouraging a sense of local ownership, as well as practices of guardianship and maintenance that are responsive, available and financially viable. As such, sustainability refers to funding models, management, infrastructures of protection and their usage.

Sustainability has a profound influence on the way we think of heritage, how we treat heritage and how we develop strategies for its use. In this regard, there are some areas of special importance, which the following sections will cover. These are.

- Changes in the meaning and understanding of heritage that influences what we regard as heritage and its long-term sustainability;
- The role of communities in sustaining heritage tourism and heritage meaning;
- The social consequences of changing heritage tourism — how touristification and tourism gentrification affect sustainability;
- The economic models that can be applied to support sustainable heritage tourism.

These issues all have a direct influence on the ways communities in smaller and larger settlements deal with Jewish heritage, and cemeteries specifically. The readiness of local communities to get involved in maintaining them, as well as the ideas they associate with tourism and its perceived advantages are crucial to the long-term maintenance of these sites, well-established or not.

I.2. The changing concept of heritage and heritage tourism

- Heritage and what is regarded as heritage has changed dramatically: instead of a focus on monuments, today we pay attention to their accompanying values. Complex identities have become part of what is now regarded as heritage
- Sustaining heritage also means talking about the people, values and communities local to the heritage items: sustainable heritage means engaged heritage, heritage embedded in its surrounding community and economy

- The transformation profoundly affects Jewish heritage and cemeteries: it is increasingly important to preserve non-monumental sites, to focus on lost ways of life, and to bridge the gap between local, mostly non-Jewish communities and the Jewish heritage they safeguard.

I.2.I. Heritage – not a single object but a complex set of elements

What is heritage and how can small, locally important objects become relevant for those outside of the community? How can the local/heritage community be involved in sustaining heritage? The growing importance of this locally determined understanding of heritage has influenced how we look at heritage objects and define heritage tourism and how we think about sustainable heritage.

As Rodney Harrison observed (2013), this shift means that today:

> *instead of objects that need protection, we should see heritage sites as specific material or immaterial objects of acknowledged cultural value, and regard them as complex assemblages. An assemblage is a set of interconnected elements organised around the heritage object; it consists, besides the object itself, of places, persons, things, ideas and practices, which are essential for defining and maintaining the significance of the heritage item.*

This shift entails a widening of what can/should be regarded as heritage, but also raises questions about its sustainability. What the heritage object and site mean is very sensitive to who uses it, how it is used, what is done with it and how it is incorporated into the daily lives of those tending to it.

The meaning of heritage can change:

- if the heritage object is taken away from its natural or architectural environment, or the physical arrangements of accessing it (entries and exits with turnstiles, doors, ramps, fences, ticketing facilities etc.) are changed;
- in the case of intangible objects, the physical infrastructure of making them available (ethnic restaurants, markets, dance halls etc.) is altered;
- if there is change in the groups of personnel managing and running the given site, the various captions or labels meant to name objects and explain broader contexts, or the knowledge needed to produce these explanations.

Heritage and how it is defined can be fluid and subjective. In *Power of Place*, an influential document in the UK, Carol Ludwig and Oliver Sykes posit that through understanding and using heritage, the past has to engage with the present, allowing for various interpretations.

> *the business of conservation is thus not about preserving historically significant places on their own, frozen at some particular time, but allowing them to coexist in sustainable harmony with an ever-changing present.*
>
> **Sykes and Ludwig** (2015: 13)

From a practitioner's point of view, this means that looking after heritage also means looking after the *changing values and identities* attached to it. Heritage needs to be sustained and can be perceived as endangered and in need for protection because heritage items represent *values* which are deemed crucial to specific social and cultural subsets: religious denominations, nations, ethnic groups, and local communities. Heritage items embody the *identity* (or parts of the identity) of these socio-cultural groups, and sustaining heritage also means sustaining these identities.

In the process of sustaining heritage, *time* is crucial. Personal decisions like moving away and changing work influence the way local communities function and can determine whether they are able to maintain their sites and tend to them. Political turmoil and changing demographics often radically alter where and how communities live in relation to their material heritage. Another set of challenges is created by a break in the continuous use of a heritage site, because a chain of events have led to drastic changes in the socio-cultural infrastructure around it. In this case it can only survive if it is appropriated by another group. In short, even if the heritage object itself remains the same, its *assemblage* changes: industrial heritage sites become community centres, places of worship close, and cemeteries are visited by descendants and tourists, or local groups with little or no family connection.

The heritage of vanished users/owners

Archaeological or ancient heritage is the prime example of discontinuity because their original makers and owners are not around anymore. However, a special case of discontinuity in the socio-cultural infrastructure of heritage can be observed when the original or previous owners do not disappear, but permanently leave their former territory behind. This is the case, most typically, with colonial heritage in post-colonial societies and, in a quite different power balance, with the heritage of the victims of expulsion and ethnic cleansing.

Key considerations for Jewish heritage sites:

- Jewish heritage sites are most often religious sites (cemeteries, synagogues, mikhve-s) where original norms of use have to be taken into consideration in thinking about contemporary protection and usage. A balance is needed

between these perspectives and contemporary, local preferences and ways of engagement.

- Their presence signals both long-term coexistence and histories of pogroms, genocide, and displacement that have led to their abandonment
- Changing legal regimes, especially in Eastern Europe, often result in contested ownership and management: it is crucial for sustainability to understand each side in terms of legal as well as symbolic ownership
- In less affluent areas it is important for heritage preservation not to increase the divide between the local community and local Jewish heritage sites by external, top-down interventions, but to valorise heritage with and for the community

If the original bearers are no longer present, either because they moved away of their own volition, or because they were forced to do so, tending to vanished identities to preserving them means that these need to be placed in dialogue with today's users, and new values and new meaning need to be created.

Spaces of synagogue project — Lviv, Ukraine

The Space of Synagogues project is an initiative of the Centre for Urban History of East Central Europe, and the City Council in Lviv, Ukraine. It has a double aim: it works to commemorate the Jewish history of Lviv, and Jews living in Lviv, while raising awareness about the urban history and heritage of all those living and visiting Lviv today.

It is a project that takes place on multiple levels and sites, and includes both elements of conservation and reinterpretation. It focuses on preserving the remains of what used to be central to the Jewish life of Lviv, and at the same time on connecting these remains

to contemporary urban life through the creation of a public space in the middle of the old city, within Lviv's UNESCO World Heritage Site area. Regarding conservation, in the project's first stage in 2016, it focused on the preservation of the remains of the Golden Rose synagogue, marked the foundations of the Jewish House of Learning (Beth Hamidrash), and assembled the Perpetuation memorial installation that thematises both the city's Jewish history, and the tragedy of the Holocaust.

The project represents a successful cooperation between academics and practitioners, Ukranians and the international public, as well as the public and the private sectors. It also included the Lviv City Council's international competition to commemorate Jewish history sites in Lviv, where a competition was to create a memorial space in the Jewish quarters of Lviv.

The opening of the Space of Synagogues in 2016.
Photo: Oksana Sereda

The name already indicates the shift described above: instead of a single building, the Space of Synagogues was developed around an ensemble of buildings, with specific focus on both bygone and present communities. Its sustainability is ensured by long-term municipal engagement, civil society actors, and the community of experts who participated in its design, and through the careful balance the project struck between respectful commemoration, an invitation to engage, and the creation of a public space for locals and visitors.

For more details see: https://www.lvivcenter.org/en/space-of-synagogues/

The new, interpretative, and participatory shift in understanding what heritage is also raises the question of ownership: to whom does heritage belong? This is an important consequence of the embodiment function of heritage that conflicts — both violent and nonviolent — not infrequently spill over into the area of their heritage as well. In such situations, heritage items can become *contested*, either as being claimed simultaneously by the opposed socio-cultural categories or as being understood as an enemy target to be destroyed together with the members of the other category. One reason for the World Heritage List is to raise the items on it above these destructive conflicts by claiming them for mankind as a whole.

I.2.2. Involving the community in defining heritage

The changing concepts of heritage and heritage tourism also mean a push towards growing local engagement. This has been reflected in the declarations accepted and events organised by international bodies to promote heritage protection and celebrate heritage as a source of sustainable development and tourism.

Recent decisions and policy documents indicate the emerging need of *participation* and *community involvement*. This has been a slow change, starting as early as the mid-1970s, incrementally changing the practice of conservation and heritage management. The role of such declarations and events have been central in the progressively unfolding debates and interpretations about what constitutes heritage, how local communities can be involved in its definition and maintenance, and how locals can use it to foster sustainable economic development, among others through tourism. They have been instrumental in influencing how national legislations have changed, and through complex reiterative processes they have been central in pushing local authorities in redesigning their engagement strategies and policies regarding the involvement of local communities in managing heritage sites in a sustainable way.

These changing decisions have been key in influencing local heritage strategies, which by now often show an encompassing and broad understanding of what heritage means, as well as the intention of understanding the local significance of heritage sites, with a significant emphasis on participation. The emerging, new heritage discourse has provided an opportunity to better integrate the goals of heritage conservation with those of sustainable development in general.

Locally anchored heritage and the fact that repeated reinterpretation has become legitimate, and active engagement is encouraged have also been central themes of the *Year of European Cultural Heritage in 2018*, which was conceived to "*encourage*

more people to discover and engage with Europe's cultural heritage, and to reinforce a sense of belonging to a common European space." This was seen as a way to help sustainability, to ensure that heritage is valued and maintained. The pilot project "Mapping the Jewish Cemeteries of Europe" was conceptualised in this environment.

Faro Convention — Recommendations on Historic Urban Landscape — Hanzou Declaration

The **Faro Convention of 2005** can be regarded as a milestone in this process, which not only emphasised the importance of participation — of people and communities alike — but introduced the concept of heritage community, promoted a much more encompassing and wider understanding of what is conceived as heritage, and focused on how heritage relates to society and social change through attached values and meanings, along with how it can promote democratic processes and human rights. The Declaration was adopted by the Council of Europe to provide a valid framework of reference "to ensure cultural heritage and culture in general their rightful place at the centre of a new vision for sustainable development." (COE, 2005)

UNESCO's Recommendations on Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2011) defined landscapes not only as physical territories, rather as inclusive and changing entities, where landscape and territory are perceived, used, and transformed by the local community. This means the recognition of non-exceptional landscapes as carriers of significant memories to be reckoned with. The document further supports a holistic approach to planning, where the involvement and empowerment of the local community becomes the precondition of sustainable development.

UNESCO's Hanzou Declaration not only highlighted the importance of safeguarding and passing on heritage to the next generation, but reinforced a holistic approach, whereby successful sustainable development policies should also treat culture as vital. In doing so, the Hanzou Declaration not only emphasised the central role heritage should play in societies but underscored the significant contributions heritage and sustainable tourism could make in local development, promoting heritage-based urban revitalisation (UNESCO, 2013).

Often, these documents have a profound influence on the way local authorities work. To look at a very specific example — that of England — we can see that regulatory power is not necessary to influence practice. Here the *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment* (Historic England, 2015) are shown to have exerted substantial influence on the activities and conservation practices of local authorities even without a formal regulatory power. (Chitty and Smith, 2019).

Similarly in Italy, communities as third actors are actively involved in repurposing the urban centres, co-producing public spaces. Through their activities they have become instrumental in bringing out the "social city", and have helped the sustainability and the survival of lived heritage in the historic urban core of the Italian cities. In this relationship between community and planners, innovation in handling historic urban heritage often does not take place on an institutional and legislative level, but rather in the actual practice of municipal strategic planning.

Importantly, all these ideas presuppose that communities are interested and enthusiastic to participate. However, this might not always be the case. Often, community participation is restricted, and community interest is fragmented.

Economic hardship, social disenfranchisement, and lack of awareness can all translate to inaction: if local communities are to be engaged in the transformation of monuments into lived heritage, it is crucial to cultivate solutions that are within reach, to embed heritage sites in the local, circular economy, and to invest in long term valorisation, especially education.

Old Rauma, Finland

A UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1991 in Finland, Old Rauma shows that the interpretations about local heritage as well as the willingness to adapt to specific requirements because of it vary greatly within a community. Surveying the residents of this traditional, wooden Nordic settlement, Haanpää, Puolamäki, and Karhunen

Photo by Motopark, distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported

(2018) found that three groups could be distinguished within them, all having a different relationship with the site, and with interest in different regulations regarding heritage conservation.

Whereas the first group of residents embraced the consequences of living in a world heritage site, showed an explicit interest in built heritage, architecture, and the area's history, were open to accepting the restrictions, and were even advocating for the preservation standards that came with the status, the second group had more conflicts with local authorities. Their main objective was to develop the town while complying only with the spirit of the town's planning guidelines, which was reflected by their choices of building restoration in maximizing the practical uses of buildings. Finally, the third group had the most detached and least committed relationship with the site, limiting their interest to the added value and business opportunities of living in the area. These differences do not take the form of engaged citizen groups; rather here they are played out in isolated events, coming to light in the form of conflicts around the planning and refurbishments, even on privately owned sites.

Take-away message

Local communities display a range of attitudes about heritage sites—their position should not be essentialised or presumed to be homogeneous. For any socially sustainable heritage strategy it is crucial to map the range of positions present.

Besides official declarations or policy/academic debates, the changes in heritage discourse and shift towards community-based heritage management also need ta rgeted funding, specifically:

- dedicated funding for participatory processes allowing the involvement of NGOs and third sector representatives, who can work as intermediaries between official bodies and the local community

- funding to encourage the involvement of academic stakeholders, which can provide a level of stability to many NGOs

Funding for these activities can come from many sources. Among others, as the case of England shows, the push for participatory approaches can be supported by a dedicated lottery fund, which has been the case since 1994 with the Heritage Lottery Fund. Other possibilities include European funding instruments, like H2020 projects.

A coalition of stakeholders: Sunderland High Street West

The project focuses on bringing the three ruinous buildings on the edge of Sunderland city centre back into long term sustainable socio-cultural use that is beneficial to the neighbours and the wider local community. The buildings were originally built as houses in the 1790's, and their ground floors converted to retail/office use very early on, and had been vacant for at least a decade before the start of this project. In their current dilapidated state, they are not seen as a viable financial investment by commercial developers, so grant funding is needed to make restoring the buildings possible. They were gifted to the Tyne & Wear Building Preservation Trust (TWBPT) by Sunderland City Council in February 2018. The TWBPT is tasked with renovation and with developing a community-centred usage solution.

The activities carried out so far include developing strong local collaborations with various partners, involving two Universities – Newcastle University and Sunderland University – a strong collaboration with Sunderland City Council, and with many local NGOs, SMEs, and creatives, like Pop Recs, We Make Culture, and Back on the Map generating genuine public engagement over this period.

Difficulties of Participation: Fights in Liverpool. Photo credit: Loes Veldpaus

Restoration to make the buildings usable means there is a need for funding (a mix of grants, crowdfunding and possibly a loan, as well as non-financial investment in the form of volunteer work and material donations) and local authority support. To achieve this funding, the TWBPT are required to provide public value and work strategically with various partners in the wider area. When they have returned to use, the buildings are expected to create wider regeneration potential for the area, with socio-cultural public use, visible investment and improvement, and thorough collaboration with other actors in the area. Once restored, the buildings are expected to prove a necessary and positive addition to the street and aid in the revitalisation of the area, for instance, by increased footfall, floor space brought back into use, and local pride.

The case is part of the EU funded OpenHeritage project, and more can be read on its development here: https://openheritage.eu/heritage-labs/high-street-sunderland/

Take-away message

Heritage preservation and reuse can drive positive socio-economic changes through bringing together diverse stakeholders. This allows not only for multiple perspectives to be represented, but helps give access to a broader range of funding, and develops a more solid social base for the project.

I.2.3. Participatory approaches to ensure the sustainability of heritage

To realise this potential coexistence with the “ever-changing present” and tap into heritage as a resource for communities, much depends on the actual practice of participation, and how heritage strategies interact with spatial planning documents/ instruments.

Urban planning and heritage conservation are mutually reinforcing and influencing one another, both being profoundly changed by the increasing participatory tendencies as a way to create sustainable solutions. This interwovenness of urban planning and heritage conservation, while allowing for a much-welcomed holistic approach and facilitating community involvement, can result in new challenges, especially as heritage conservation/heritage reuse enters the realm of everyday life of local residents:

1) Employing heritage as part of wider regeneration strategies results in the politics of heritage conservation getting tangled up in issues with a long-lasting effect on the everyday lives of people, and as a result differences come to the foreground.
2) Important questions include: Who is the community that can express its opinion, those living in the dwellings or any resident of the city? What are the values that are most important? To what extent can the salvation of a few buildings contribute to retaining the atmosphere of an entire neighborhood, and how can preserving an area for tourists contribute to general sustainability?
3) Participation can bring about conflicts, often between residents and the authorities, or between the residents themselves. The nature of these relationships entails varying levels of power and influence, and in many occasions, there are those who have been left out or even silenced.
4) Participative planning processes need to handle diverging interests and fragmented interpretations of cultural heritage sites. Success depends on many factors, but one particularly important factor seems to be the achievement of a shared understanding and acceptance of the roles and responsibilities involved.

Some of these issues have been exemplified by Liverpool's redevelopment of its run-down housing quarter, the so-called Welsh streets. Sykes and Ludwig (2015) demonstrate in their analysis of the events how the issue of demolition versus retainment got picked up by various interest groups and the authorities, highlighting the vast differences in opinion between different participants regarding what is considered valuable heritage in the built environment. They show that while the city itself has been embracing the notion of a broad heritage in its transformation into a post-industrial city, focusing heavily on its musical and community culture and taking advantage of its history with the Beatles, some of its own actions put strain on sustaining this image on the long run.

The area of the Welsh street – built in the 1870s and consisting of Victorian terraced houses – contains the childhood home of Ringo Starr, the drummer of the Beatles. Designated for demolition with the exception of a few selected buildings – including the house of Ringo Starr – the ensuing debates focused on issues like:

1) The necessary level of maintaining the buildings to truly appreciate Liverpool's Beatles heritage – an important source of its touristic income and part of its rebranded city image;

2) The actual physical status of the buildings – different groups and experts had different assessments about the physical state of the buildings and to what extent interventions were necessary;

3) Which residents were entitled to a voice in the debate. In the often heated debates that made it to national newspapers, the concept of "outsiders" emerged, as well as the notion of residents "really living in the area" and those who "are not long-standing or Liverpool born."

Unsurprisingly, two resident groups came into being, one officially backed, which campaigned for large-scale demolition and redevelopment, and an independent one that campaigned for greater retention of the buildings and a more extensive refurbishment.

Take-away message

Heritage preservation often occasions a shift in the identity of a locality: previously ignored personalities, events, communities are included in the canon. These changes are often contested, and sides are difficult to reconcile.

Currently ignored pasts (much like the Jewish past of so many settlements in Europe) can be mined for new perspectives, new narratives through which local identities can be transformed and enriched. Debates around these processes are inevitable and potentially constructive, when channeled appropriately.

That local perceptions about the meaning of heritage and authenticity can vary, as well as the expectations regarding what heritage preservation means and how it can affect the everyday life and livelihood of the residents, is also shown by other cases. It is a complex relationship, with diverging expectations from different actors. Often residents are wary of heritage conservation, looking at it as an intervention into their lives to an unwanted extent.

As demonstrated by one case study of the ongoing H2020 research REACH[1], locals can turn against heritage protection, fearing its effect on their daily income and way of life. In this case the protection of rural landscapes and agricultural heritage has solicited resistance from the locals.

[1] *https://www.reach-culture.eu/pilots-and-best-practices/rural-heritage*

Participation as mediation: Participatory conflicts in Sierra Nevada, Spain

In Sierra Nevada, an area, which is a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve and National Park, a disagreement has arisen between various stakeholders (different levels of political administration, other local actors, scholars) and the local community. Whereas the former want to turn the majority of Sierra Nevada into a UNESCO World Heritage Site, locals fear its negative consequences on their lives. To combat this, participatory methods have been employed, with community archeology and co-governance techniques to overcome the differences between authorities, university researchers, and the local community.

As part of an ongoing research project, these methods include:

- a participatory mediation process between local stakeholders, farmers, and communities and the regional and national administrations and institutions involved in the cultural, territorial, and environmental management of Sierra Nevada;
- discussion of a co-governance initiative for territorial safe-keeping
- improving local engagement and public participation in policy making, economic, cultural, and social initiatives and territorial and environmental management.

Take-away message

Antagonisms and conflicts of interest need not be obstacles. They can occasion deeper interaction between stakeholders, and the emerging dialogue can become instrumental in overcoming suspicion, prejudice, or disagreement. They help heritage interventions to reduce unintended, potentially harmful consequences for local communities.

Participatory approaches and a new kind of heritage governance can be helpful to overcome these difficulties, providing an appropriate forum to learn about the different opinions and to express ideas and learnings. This can mean — among other things — *the use of digital tools and the engagement of the locals through digital initiatives*. One such often used digital participatory initiative is **crowdsourcing**, which has seen an exponential growth in interest over its brief decade and a half history.

> *Providing small and useful tasks for all who are interested to participate, allowing them to take part, heritage crowdsourcing becomes "the creation, digitisation, enhancement, analysis and interpretation of cultural heritage objects (including data) and places by relatively large groups of people, through the completion of individually small tasks over the Internet.*
>
> **Chiara Bonacchi et al.** (2019: 2)

Crowdsourcing theoretically allows for balanced and unrestricted community involvement and can help to create common interests and a shared understanding of the values. Through these activities it can certainly contribute to sustainability:

- Crowdsourcing can be helpful in reaching out to new participants, and even to overcome barriers of disinterest, but it is not necessarily democratic. Rather, crowdsourcing often raises the interest of very specific groups, who may not even have a specific interest in the past, but rather are curious about some activities — e.g. collecting or describing photos or artifacts — that are at the centre of the crowdsourcing.
- Crowdsourcing can be helpful to build a community around non-protected, non-listed buildings and artifacts, contributing to the rediscovery of neglected sites and areas.

Crowdsourcing as a means to increase sustainability and community involvement

Crowdsourcing can be a viable, engaged tool in heritage preservation. A good example took place in Estonia, where a national crowdsourcing project was carried out between 2005-2011, led by the Estonian State Forest Management Centre, ethnographers, archaeologists, foresters, and other experts, as well as local people with knowledge of the various regions of Estonia. The various actors became involved in discovering and mapping unprotected objects. During these projects 400 local people were trained to find and methodically describe objects of cultural heritage, 188 people were selected to map the objects – at least one person in each municipality. As a result, more than 38,000 objects of cultural heritage are now available on a public database (Kusmin, 2018).

Jewish heritage sites could similarly benefit from crowdsourcing: volunteers already contribute much to genealogical projects like JewishGen, but the sheer scale of cemeteries and synagogues means that much could be added in terms of transcribing gravestone inscriptions, maintaining databases by adding geotagged photographs of heritage objects, and contributing local historical details.

I.3. Tourism and its social consequences

- Touristification has supported the revival of Jewish heritage, turning it into a unique product. Touristification is inexorably linked with commodification.
- Tourism gentrification has changed how cities function and how locals perceive their neighbourhood and its heritage. This is an ambivalent process that can paradoxically endanger local engagement, but boost local economies.

- The hospitality sector has been an important player both in the way cities have changed, and also in supporting specific heritage tours as a method of offering new services
- Rural tourism has a different trajectory, similarly providing opportunities to further the cause of Jewish heritage tourism

Understanding heritage, managing heritage and heritage tourism are closely related phenomena. The way heritage is redefined and reevaluated influences how heritage tourism unfolds. On the one hand, cultural heritage sites are difficult to maintain in an economically sustainable fashion without the resources provided by tourism. On the other hand, given the role played by the concept of identity in the idea of cultural heritage, it makes little sense to maintain heritage sites without visitors to whom the local identity and culture can be presented. Tourists constitute the obvious audience of heritage sites. Nevertheless, tourism, especially mass tourism, has far reaching consequences for the local population and, hence, for the heritage sites themselves.
The **consequences of mass tourism** include:

- Touristification and overtourism
- Tourism gentrification
- Growth of the hospitality sector that affects the daily life of the inhabitants, negatively influencing the sustainability of the touristic site

Before looking more closely at some of these consequences as well as a number of good practices meant to further or counter them, it makes sense to introduce a simple **classification of heritage tourism,** because different heritage items have different characteristics in terms of sustainability.

Following the lead of Orbașlı and Woodward (2009), one can differentiate between three main kinds of heritage items as touristic destinations.

1) "*site-specific heritage attractions*," that is, archeological sites, fortifications and castles, palaces and manor houses, monasteries, industrial monuments etc. These items are typically characterised by high esteem, frequently of international recognition; complete dedication to heritage-related purposes, including tourism, education, and research, which makes conservation easier; and clearly defined boundaries, which make it possible to market them as self-contained wholes and exclude free riders.
2) The second kind of heritage items as touristic destinations are the "*historic cities and settlements*." These are living environments not dedicated entirely or even mostly to heritage-related purposes, implying greater difficulties both in conservation and marketizing, and potential conflicts of interest between visitors and residents. On the other hand, these items usually have other sources of income as well and are not fully dependent on heritage-related financial resources such as tourism and state subsidies.
3) The third and last kind of heritage items as touristic destinations are the "*open air museums*." These are purpose-made tourist attractions where, typically, authentic (but transferred) vernacular or historic buildings are put on display together with everyday objects of related material cultures. Open air museums share many of the practical characteristics of site-specific heritage attractions but not their elevated prestige.

All three types present attractions to mass tourism and lead to heritage tourism and touristification. Their impact on sustainability is context dependent.

I.3.I. Tourism development, touristification, overtourism, and their consequences for Jewish heritage

In recent years, **overtourism** has emerged as a central problem in public discussions concerning historic cities and settlements. In academic research it has a longer history, which unfolded parallel to the expansion of mass tourism and the related transformations in economy and society, also known as **touristification**. The impact of mass tourism on historic environments, especially city centres, includes changes in the use of public space with some exceptionally crowded thoroughfares between major sights and full occupancy of parking places; the reorientation of commercial activities with, among other things, a significant growth of the hospitality sector; shifts in the real estate market with increasing prices and a decreasing share of residential property; and, more generally, rising costs of living for residents. On the other hand, touristification can revitalise the labour market, and increasing public revenues can be used to refurbish architectural heritage.

Touristification has been essential in reviving the Jewish heritage of Central Europe. Witnessing the volume of interest from visitors has often helped local residents learn to appreciate a heritage that was lost to them, and to reevaluate their relationship with this heritage. Heritage tours have meant the building of new meanings and values around the Jewish sites, and an increased interaction between local residents and visitors. In remote areas, Jewish tours sometimes paved the way for rural tourism, and the development of regional hospitality infrastructures.

Mass tourism propelled by Jewish heritage: Jewish heritage as a unique product

Jewish heritage has become a unique tourism product everywhere, inviting masses to visit formerly overlooked sites and additional people to visit places they did not go before. Although the constitution of these heritage sites is unique, there are a set of elements that tend to belong to this category. Jewish buildings – synagogues, mikves,

| *Museum Judengasse (Zweigstelle des Jüdischen Museums). Source: Wikipedia*

or entire streets and quarters – always belong here, as well as museums of Jewish history, possibly memorial sites and cemeteries.

The heritage presented can be still used by an actual local community – as it is the case in Budapest, where the Dohány Street Grand Synagogue (http://www.dohany-zsinagoga.hu/) not only serves touristic purposes but is used by the local community – or show the formerly hidden, excavated remains of Jewish life. The latter is represented by the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt that introduces visitors to the lost world of the Judengasse, a street demolished in the 19th century as part of the urban redevelopment of the inner city of Frankfurt.

The latter is also a good example that shows how the changing concepts of heritage, the transforming ideas about individual and community roles have influenced the way what people think should be exhibited. The Museum itself came to be following a public debate (and series of demonstrations) when the City of Frankfurt, while constructing a new public utility company building, discovered the foundation of several houses from the former Judengasse, one of the oldest Jewish quarters in Europe. Although people originally demanded that the utility building forgo construction, a compromise was reached and a new museum was built based on the archaeological finds.

Take-away message

Jewish heritage, especially in larger urban centres, has the potential to become the engine of tourism development, and this does not need to stand in conflict with its potential religious or community role. Jewish heritage has become a recognised, well-known element of European urban tourism thanks to the increasing recognition of long histories of coexistence, and Jewish contributions to the cultural and economic life of the continent. This broad public consensus can enable such projects, and it helps to maintain Jewish heritage as part of a shared urban heritage.

Whereas until the last couple of years it was the positive aspects of extensive tourism development that received more emphasis in the public sphere, recently the negative aspects have started to prevail. This shift is perhaps best captured by the anti-tourism demonstrations in some sites, particularly in Barcelona in 2014. Overtourism is the name given to this newly prevailing negative evaluation of mass tourism.

> *The overtourism discourse highlights the need for regulating tourism in a way that is capable of reconciling the interests of the residents with those of the industry and motivates some locals to engage in collective action with the aim of bringing about political change.*

The problems are also obvious in sites, which are part of the Jewish heritage tours. Krakow, Budapest, and Prague all suffer from the strains of overtourism and are also similar in the sense that the cities lack the mechanisms necessary to protect their

Downtown Prague. Photo: Marco Verch, Flickr

Local effects of overtourism: Prague and Budapest — two cases, two fights

In the centre **Prague**, where touristification has been arguably the most pervasive of any former Eastern bloc city, organised grass-roots criticism of overtourism and related issues of heritage protection began around 2010. Aside from mobilizing residents (also in their capacity as voters) and trying to negotiate with urban authorities, the various loosely structured platforms and networks of critical citizens address the tourists themselves. By organizing thematic city tours like the "Corrupt tour" they make interested visitors familiar with the not so glamorous aspects of how the historic first district of Prague has developed since 1989.

In Budapest, the area suffering mostly from the side-effects of touristification is the **Budapest Jewish Quarter,** a neighbourhood close to the city centre. The area is not only home to the city's substantial Jewish heritage, with synagogues, specialty shops, and a still active Jewish life, but is also the area where the party scene of Budapest concentrates, with bars, restaurants, and terraces open till late at night. Tourist groups attend the events in large numbers, creating noise almost to an unbearable level day and night and supporting pubs and bars catering for their needs, often out of financial reach of local residents. Adding an additional layer of complexity, the neighbourhood, which has been gentrifying rapidly, has also been the scene of major real estate development. Bottom-up movements to fight the current processes took place in two consecutive time frames. First, more than a decade ago in the form of protests to safeguard built heritage, then, during the last two years to fight the touristic invasion of the area.

Take-away message

Overtourism and the consequent real-estate boom often threaten the preservation of Jewish heritage, and lead to contested usage or reuse. Avoiding antagonising local communities, Jewish or otherwise, is a crucial part of thinking about sustainability in heritage tourism.

One major question concerning the limits of tourism development is how costs and benefits are divided between the centre and the periphery of a touristic destination:

1) If local public revenues depend on accommodation tax (and other taxes of the hospitality sector), then the rising accommodation prices induce many tourists to find lodging (and also dining facilities) at some or more distance from the sites themselves, which channels their tax money away from the architectural heritage in need of protection and maintenance.
2) If the destination centre has to bear rising costs due to a growing number of visitors without receiving a large part of the associated benefits, then (all things being equal) it will start to decline, undermining the whole industry.
3) An additional feedback mechanism that connects touristification with its own demise is the sheer drop in attraction caused by the overcrowding of touristic sights, although the sensitivity of tourists to overcrowding and its perception may depend on many factors.

One potential way out of this is keeping the visitor numbers and the capacities of hospitality in some kind of a balance. *But while such a balancing is possible in the case of site-specific heritage attractions or open-air museums where the access of visitors can be easily regulated (by waiting lists, for example), the same is rather difficult when the heritage site is a historic city or a part thereof.*

A concomitant phenomenon of extensive tourism development — studied predominantly, but not only, in the context of medium to large sized historic cities — is *tourism gentrification*.

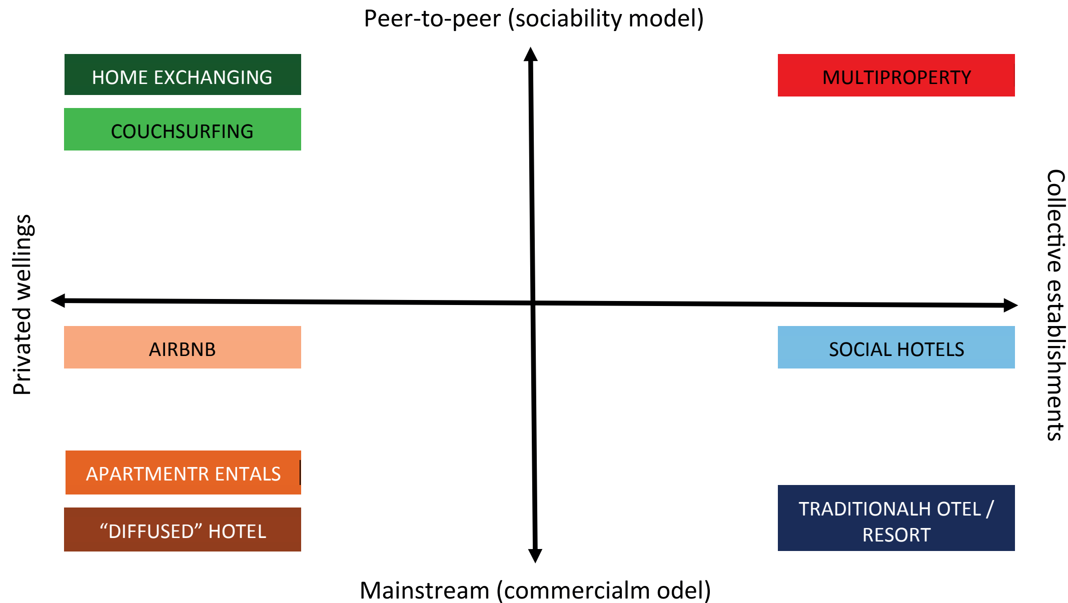

Figure 3: Forms of hospitality in the age of networked tourism (source: Russo and Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016)

On the whole, gentrification refers to the transformation of affordable residential neighbourhoods (or former industrial sites) into expensive residential (and commercial) districts, where new high-status residents and business owners supplant old low-status ones.

Tourism and gentrification are often mutually reinforcing parallel processes, influencing the long-term sustainability of sites. When areas already at some advanced stage of gentrification become attractive for tourists or when areas (re)discovered by tourists – or created mostly out of scratch by tourism investors – become attractive to new residents. The decisions to be made and the capital to be invested requires the active

involvement of powerful actors and stakeholders, especially at the beginning of both processes and, in the motivation of these actors and stakeholders, tourism promotion often blends with other factors.

Gentrification and heritage tourism: Barcelona's transformation

Barcelona's Gothic Quarter, for example, was restored and rebuilt in the (neo-)Gothic style between 1927 and 1970 (Cocola-Gant, 2014). The wide-ranging interventions into the position and fabric of almost forty buildings (including the transfer of complete houses from elsewhere in the city) resulted in a complete transformation of a dilapidated low-status neighbourhood into a major tourist attraction. The idea of reshaping the Gothic Quarter originated in Catalan nationalism as a tangible argument for the medieval origin and continuous history of the nation. But this general nationalistic framework did not exclude the commercial or specifically touristic instrumentalisation of the area. The Tourist Attraction Society (Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros, SAF), founded in 1908, was a major player in this respect. It was the increasing touristic commercialisation of the initially nationalistic project that ensured its continuity during the Franco Regime as well, when the eviction of the previous working-class residents, that is, the gentrification of the area took place.

Take-away message

Gentrification can change the assemblage a heritage site is part of, often leading to the exclusion of low-income local communities. When it comes to Jewish heritage, this process can be observed in the Jewish quarter of Cracow or Lublin in Poland, or the above mentioned areas of Budapest, Hungary. Commercialisation operates through a different logic from protection, and it is crucial to identify points of clash between the two.

I.3.2. Networked tourism and the new hospitality sector

Further influencing the long-term sustainability of tourism are the opportunities arising from online travel organizing facilities from TripAdvisor to Booking.com, as well as of social media sites in general. From the point of view of the tourist, these facilities enable and catalyze the formation of a new type of travel that is:

1) cheap and accessible to a wide range of people;
2) allows short-term stays and frequent trips;
3) establishes a new type of travel philosophy that is devoid of "professional" help;
4) increases the value of local specificities and encourages the reinterpretation of local history and heritage through the support of non-professional guided tours, among them Jewish heritage tours

To understand how this new hospitality sector works, and how it influences the sustainability of heritage tourism, the below diagram shows both physical character (horizontal axis) and the social context (vertical axis) of the accommodation type in question.

- Closest to the right-hand side of the diagram are the purpose made establishments of the hospitality sector. These create social contexts separate from those of everyday life, wherein everybody is either a guest or a professional host. These are collectively touristic environments, where both the architectural spaces (lobbies, rooms, swimming pools, restaurants etc.) and the organisation of activities (checking in and out, cleaning the rooms, having meals, using the recreational facilities etc.) are different from the ordinary.

- Near the left-hand side of the diagram are the non-purpose made accommodation types, originally conceived for private use. These are not separated from everyday social contexts, neither by their architectural spaces nor by the organisation of activities taking place in them. Most social contacts of guests on site are not with other guests or professional hosts but with neighbors and other people working outside the hospitality sector.
- In the uppermost range of the diagram are the pure peer-to-peer solutions, networked barters with no business-related investments or financial profit, whereas in the lowest range are the purely commercial models with extensive business-related investments and the expectation of financial profit in the first place. Thus, regular hotels and resorts are in the lower-right corner, because their physical and social setting is entirely touristic and their business model is entirely commercial.
- Diametrically opposed in the upper-left corner are the *homes exchanging* in a one-to-one fashion, free of charge (except for a minimal network membership fee).
- *Couchsurfing* is right below this type (that is, a little bit farther from the pure peer-to-peer end of the vertical axis) because even if it is not for financial profit, it is not fully reciprocal either; it is based on a sort of "social profit" gained by the host from the company provided by the guest.
- *AirBnB* is a hybrid form because it offers private homes, but the business model is significantly commercial: hosts make some investment into the facilities and seek profit, while AirBnB itself collects the matchmaker fee. Apartment rentals are second homes or parts of privately owned houses used for touristic purposes. *"Diffused" hotels* (from the Italian *hotel diffuso*) are sets of houses and apartments in the same city belonging to the same owner, which have been transformed to fit, and are run in, a professional hospitality framework. The model is entirely commercial,

> but it is meant to retain all the flavour of domestic spaces. As to their ambience, *social hotels* are like regular ones but, in contrast to the latter, the promotion of social benefits plays an important part in their business model. *Multiproperty* refers to a property type also called "timeshare" (that is, a holiday resort with divided ownership and respective use rights) wherein the time periods allotted to specific owners are exchanged in a purely peer-to-peer fashion.

As far as their sustainable heritage tourism development potential is concerned, even the newest hospitality forms in the upper and left-hand regions of the diagram show considerable differences. Pure peer-to-peer exchanges imply that the guests who temporarily replace the hosts have roughly the same socio-cultural features as the latter, with roughly similar consumption needs and practices, even if being on holiday probably means spending somewhat more than usual. As such, hospitality in such a framework will have little additional impact on its environment, either in economic or ecological terms. No danger of growing pollution or locally unwanted gentrification — but no chance of development either (apart from the cultural benefits of getting to know other countries and regions). **AirBnB**, by contrast, has a much bigger impact, one that has recently become the subject of much public debate.

The platform established in 2008 in San Francisco has quickly become a major player in the hospitality sector — and, by consequence, in the real estate market — worldwide. Both this latter aspect and the concurrence for the traditional hotels and motels prompted city councils at different places to introduce stricter regulations for short-term property lease. One of the central questions about the AirBnB phenomenon has concerned *the capability of the platform to induce a more even distribution of tourists in a city and, thus, diminish the strain on the historic centres and other sites of cultural heritage, as well as promote urban regeneration in less touristic areas*:

- It seems AirBnB is very limited in this respect. For instance, in Barcelona,. most properties on offer are in central, highly touristic areas overlapping with the location of most hotels and motels. (Arias Sans and Quaglieri Domínguez (2016)
- The same is true for Utrecht, that is, a smaller and much less touristified city (Ioannides, Röslmaier, and van der Zee, 2018); Budapest, a city between Barcelona and Utrecht in terms of size and popularity as a tourist destination (Boros et al., 2018); and New York, a global city of considerable size and tourism industry (Dudás et al., 2017)

The platform seems to play a strengthening but not an initiating role in tourism gentrification. It is already gentrifying neighbourhoods that have a good enough reputation to fare well on AirBnB and by attracting real estate investments AirBnB contributes to their continuing gentrification. Similar studies of the platform in rural contexts are much needed.

Significantly, not just AirBnB, but networked tourism in general seems to be instrumental in supporting specified heritage tours, among others those focusing on Jewsih heritage. Its city specific sites provide information and offer specific tours. These focus on diverse aspects of heritage, from buildings to food, and music to religious life. As with other aspects of AirBnB, these tours offer the promise of authenticity – a glimpse into real life.

I.3.3. Rural heritage tourism

It is not merely the *type of a heritage site* that matters here but also its *size*. Big cities with a small heritage core where almost all potential tax revenues related to tourism can be pooled, even if generated in cheaper, peripheral districts, are not much

affected by the vicious circle in question. Small historic settlements, where only few tourists can be accommodated, have to make arrangements with other nearby settlements and, thus, can avoid the trap of unsustainable cost-benefit distribution. However, rural areas often seem to thrive on tourism, which can become their (only) substantial source of income.

Rural tourism: Tourism as a potential means of development

Muresan et al. (2016) made an extensive survey of the attitudes of locals to rural tourism development in North-Western Romania. The region is characterised by small historic settlements (or small settlements with a historic core or monument) with related forms of intangible cultural heritage, as well as national parks with natural heritage sites. The typical form of accommodation is the agritourism guesthouse.

In the decade between 2005 and 2014, the number of visitors grew significantly in the region (overnight stays increased by 188%), accompanied by a matching growth of available lodging. The questionnaires answered by a representative sample of local residents show that the latter see touristification in utterly positive terms. Some milder concerns included, first of all, littering in national parks and elsewhere.

Take-away message

Rural tourism has been on the rise, and has huge potential for small localities. It is less disruptive than many other forms of tourism and can be sustained by small-scale local investments. Natural and cultural heritage play a huge role in this – rural tourism is the quintessential solution for non-monumental forms of heritage, like Jewish cemeteries.

As shown by the Romanian experience, scale seems to affect not merely the extent to which a settlement will probably be caught up in the vicious circle of touristification, but also the reactions of residents to the growing numbers of visitors. What can be regarded as problematic in a city context could be most welcome in a rural setting. The Romanian example is particularly relevant for bringing the hidden Jewish heritage of East-Central Europe to the fore. Be it village synagogues or Jewish cemeteries, the relative scarcity of tourists and the important economic potential tourism represents in the region influences residential attitudes. The obviously supportive attitude of the village residents is particularly helpful in establishing heritage sites and organising heritage tours.

In rural contexts, tourism-led gentrification frequently overlaps with other related trends like second home buying, affordable and attractive retirement strategies, or life-style-led migration from cities to towns and villages outside metropolitan areas by people who have flexible working opportunities.

Tourism-led rural gentrification: Honghe Hani Rice Terraces in Yunnan Province, China

The Honghe Hani Rice Terraces are a combination of cultural and natural heritage, which was registered as a World Heritage Site in 2013 (Chan, et al, 2016). The indigenous residents, the Hani and Yi minorities, are culturally and ethnically different from the majority Han population of China. The number of tourists visiting the area per year was already growing rapidly prior to its inclusion in the WHS list: from 32,000 in 2009 to more than 140,000 in 2012. The influx of visitors, as well as non-local entrepreneurs catering to them, combined with a ban on new constructions for conservation reasons,

resulted in rising real estate prices, which, in turn, enabled and motivated many young locals to emigrate from the area to big cities in other parts of the country. Their emigration, however, endangers the sustainability of the whole new heritage tourism industry because only locals know how to maintain in the roughly 1,300 years old traditional rice terrace ecosystem, which is the main tourist attraction in, and the emblem of, the region.

The touristification of the area started in 2004 when the first non-local entrepreneurs started to buy houses in order to refurbish them for touristic purposes. These early gentrifiers were typically motivated by the personal life-style benefits of moving there and not by the expectation of big profits from tourism. Even so, they set the gentrification process in motion with all its self-destructive unintended consequences for the heritage site and its indigenous population.

According to Jin Chan and his co-authors (2016), a way out of this trap is what they term as "self-gentrification," that is the proactive involvement of locals in the tourism-led gentrification of their villages. They single out two groups of locals who seem to have set out on this way. One of these are indigenous migrants returning from big cities equipped with many new skills and willing to launch their own businesses. The other group consists of locals who have never left their place of origin but became motivated to learn the necessary skills from non-local entrepreneurs and from the tourists themselves.

Take-away message

In certain cases, rural tourism can lead to commodification and overtourism that is more often described in the context of urban tourism. It is therefore important not to assume that rural tourism is inherently less complex or problematic than urban tourism. Overall, a networked approach to sites, such as heritage routes, eases the burden placed on individual heritage sites.

I.4. The sustainable economic value of cultural heritage and tourism

- Cultural heritage is hard to define as an economic good, but it produces various economic benefits, including sustaining heritage tourism
- Good heritage management is needed to reap the economic benefits of heritage tourism
- Value co-creation is a possible approach to support participative, community-based heritage re-use, and support local tourism

I.4.I. Economic benefits of cultural heritage and heritage tourism

An often-overlooked aspect of local participation in adaptive heritage re-use is the involvement of local businesses, despite their crucial role both in co-producing public spaces, and economic benefits. As two similar cases in the Netherlands show, local entrepreneurs can be just as essential in influencing the outcome of heritage conservation and adaptive re-use. The **Binckhorst** area, neighbouring the inner city in The Hague, is a former industrial area with three harbours. It is currently undergoing a major redevelopment, being transformed into a residential and urban area with plenty of water. Inclusion takes place on different levels, foreseen by the planning regulations. But the bottom-up independent platform I'M BLINCK (https://imbinck.nl/) created by a local resident also contributes to the future plans for the area. With at least new 5,000 homes being built in the area,the identity of the Binckhorst is about to change.

The platform is primarily for local companies, but by now cooperates successfully with the residents, the municipality, and developers, engaging local stakeholders to redefine the core values for the area, and through this shape the future of the area.

Similarly, the former military area of the **Marinterrain — Navy Yard** in 2013, which was vacated by the Ministry of Defence, and has been accessible to the public since 2015, is being redeveloped with the active involvement of various entrepreneurs. Building on its history with the navy, the gradual transformation augurs a very flexible urban process with no specific end-goal. Programming and function finding uses a lot of temporary elements, relying on available resources and gradually building up the area concept.

However, for reaping economic benefits, participation is not enough. It is complicated to define cultural heritage as an economic "good", as they are "multi-dimensional, multi-attributed and multi-valued resources" (Mazzanti 2002).

1) They are multi-dimensional because they are characterised by a mix of features of pure merit, public and private goods);
2) multi-attributed where attribute is understood as services and functions generating economic benefits from the cultural capital;
3) and multi-valued because they include both internal and external values

This holistic approach to economic value embodied in cultural heritage is affecting its economic impacts.

There is a common understanding that various economic benefits can be generated by cultural heritage and its preservation. The most significant ones forming a perspective of sustainable development are job and household income creation, job training, city centre revitalisation, heritage tourism, increase in property values, small business incubation, compatibility with modernisation, and compatibility with evolution, product differentiation, and import substitution (Gražulevičiūtė, 2006).

One of the most comprehensive studies aimed at quantifying the economic impact of the sector is a recent project conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. Although this project focused only on material cultural heritage, it established a set of indicators which are comparable at a European level over the past five years. Data collection was carried out in 11 selected countries and regions[2]. For defining the economic activities that are dependent on material cultural heritage, the *so-called value chain approach* has been applied (ESPON, 2019). This approach allows for a holistic picture of the economic relevance of Material Cultural Heritage in both local and national economies. The study has considered the following economic indicators in the selected countries/regions: employment, gross value added, turnover, the value of heritage volunteering, and public expenditure in the heritage sector.

Another aspect to consider regarding economic sustainability of heritage sites and heritage tourism is the issue of heritage management. While heritage by itself rarely holds tangible benefits unless properly managed, heritage sites, if properly managed, can enhance social inclusion, develop intercultural dialogue, strengthen the identity of a given territory, and stimulate the development of tourism by creating jobs and enhancing the investment climate.

However, it is quite commonly the case that Cultural Heritage-Management (CHM) suffers from either lack of resources or resource fragmentation. Often cultural/heritage tourism is competing for resources and policymakers consider this area as not the "'best'' or "most efficient'' use of resources in the long term. In times of economic crisis, it is even more difficult to mobilise resources, so valorisation of key resources becomes more significant.

The great diversity of heritage forms and the recognition of intangible cultural heritage also expanded the notion of cultural value and highlighted the need for a new approach

[2] *The countries and reg ions examined in the Report included Austria, Brussels, Flanders, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Sweden.*

to financing and management, necessitating a model which places value co-creation at its centre. Value co-creation builds on the idea that actors produce, exchange, and integrate resources with other actors to realise outcomes that they cannot achieve alone.

I.4.2. Value co-creation in practice

Although the concept of value co-creation is broadly accepted in the literature, "there is still little knowledge on how or if possible customers can engage in the co-creation of value with organisations" (Barile-Saviano, 2014). However, in the last few years there have been a number of scattered cultural heritage reuse projects across Europe that provide great examples of value creation through resource integration, focusing on interaction as a mutual or reciprocal action. In this section some of these cases are briefly described. The cases[3] vary widely based on the type of stakeholders involved and the financial means applied; however, their common feature is that actors in the networks developed coherent offering systems that integrate the contribution (resources) of different entities participating in the network, managing to achieve satisfactory outcomes in terms of the actors' expectations.

Stara Trznica (Bratislava, Slovakia)

Stará Tržnica (Old Market Hall) is a historical building in the centre of Bratislava, owned by the local municipality. As the municipality's repeated attempts to revive the building as a monofunctional market failed, after long years of being empty, a team of experts from different disciplines developed an innovative business model that finally resulted in a successful and sustainable operation.

[3] *The cases were examined under the current H2020 project OpenHeritage. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 776766.*

The main pillars of the business model include:

1. the rental structure (rent-to investment scheme),
2. the management of the operation (social enterprise),
3. multifunctional use with social benefits (combining functions that generate different levels of revenues)
4. diversified financial tools (a social bank loan, revenue mix composed by rental fees and incomes from large events, private investors, etc.).

The main advantage of this model is that it is flexible, providing adjustments both in financing and the rental structure. From the very beginning, the project was characterised by a clear vision, broad public backing, large visibility, considerable voluntary work, and transparent communication. The owner, management, tenants, customers, and the majority of the citizens supporting the project added something to this newly created value. As a result, an iconic building in the city is functioning again, providing market and cultural services, and serving as the main event venue and meeting space in the heart of Bratislava (Polyák et al. 2019a).

La Fábrica de toda la vida (Maimona, Spain)

"La Fábrica de toda la vida" (The Factory of a Lifetime) is a participatory cultural space located in an abandoned cement factory in a small municipality in Extremadura, a rural region of western Spain. It is a place of experimentation with various economic, social and cultural processes – opening up the possibility of something new in an area that has not experienced any kind of cultural, economic, or demographic growth in recent generations. The strength of this project lies in its human resources: a team of people related to the knowledge economy, sharing passion for the space and demonstrating

a commitment to building a community and adapting typically urban practices to a rural space. Openness, transparency, and diversity are the driving concepts of the project. All ideas and methodologies generated within the space are registered under Creative Commons, meaning the actors involved contribute to the project without any intellectual property rights. The transparent and intensive processes of community engagement led by the younger generation helped establish trust between the (predominantly elderly) community and those managing the factory space. The project is self-financing, combining limited public sources with traditional and alternative methods of funding: crowdsourcing, social capital, grants etc. In general, the use of social capital in this case is contributing to its sustainability as much as the economic capital, as the social capital of intangible relationships is converted into tangible resources. The created value is keeping the strong collective memory alive while providing space for a diversity of activities for many different groups with an interest in the success of the reclaimed factory space. However, this case also justifies that creation of a new, expanded community which has the ability to contribute to value co-creation requiring time, patience, listening, and care (Schulbaum and Untratel, 2019).

Cascina Roccafranca (Turin, Italy)

Cascina Roccafranca is a project which aims to regenerate an abandoned building in the periphery of Turin. It is a multi-functional community centre located in a former farmstead in Turin’s outskirts. After 30 years of vacancy, Cascina Roccafranca was bought by the Municipality of Turin and requalified with the support of the European Union Urban II programme. Today, Cascina Roccafranca is a public asset managed through a cooperation between public and civic actors, and offers a wide range of social and cultural activities.

The project was able to collect important public resources thanks to international and national funds that facilitated the process. However, a major contributor to its success was that the Municipality had a long-term vision of the project which enabled the participation of the community as the main actor from the outset. Since then, the attention to community integration has not been limited to the realisation of the project. The community is one of the pillars of a new way of envisioning urban environments and the relations between their inhabitants. The creation of a foundation, which is autonomous and pursues the common good is an example of this approach.

The project is an excellent example for policymakers recognizing new opportunities to valorise cultural heritage by benefiting from a conceptual framework based on a co-governance approach. Even if it is based on primarily public funds, it was not just financial resources, but also knowledge that the Municipality offered the community. The result of the participatory planning process and active community involvement at all stages is the successful adaptation of the space to the needs of the community, tailoring the physical infrastructure to match the social needs and also the creation of a social infrastructure shaped to these needs (Polyák et al., 2019b).

The so-called "wailing wall" in the Remuh cemetery Krakow, made of fragments of matzevot

634

Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Heritage Tourism

Part 2

2.1. Preface: Jewish cemeteries today

Jewish cemeteries range from sprawling urban expanses with scores of thousands of burials to tiny eroded graveyards lost amid rampant woodland. An estimated 20,000 Jewish cemeteries existed in Europe before World War II. Only around half of them are believed to survive today. That still makes cemeteries the most widespread sites of Jewish built heritage across the continent. They are also the most neglected, vulnerable, and threatened. The Nazi occupying powers and supportive regimes deliberately targeted Jewish built heritage along with the destruction of the Jewish people during the Shoah. This destruction continued after the war, particularly in the states of the former Warsaw Pact and the USSR, and still continues today. Many Jewish cemeteries were bulldozed, built over, ploughed under or used as quarries. In the countries most affected by the Shoah, most surviving Jewish cemeteries are in a state of utter abandonment. But even elsewhere, many Jewish cemeteries suffer from neglect due to factors including age, size, dwindling or absent Jewish communities, and lack of funding, protection,

and the strategic resources to maintain them. Ownership and legal status are also issues.

There were sporadic efforts after World War II to document and conserve some damaged, neglected, or historic Jewish cemeteries. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the democratisation of its satellite states 1989-91, later further boosted by the enlargement of the European Union and the subsequent investment and economic development from the turn of the millenium, allowed access to the historic Jewish heartland and enhanced such initiatives, which have been undertaken throughout Europe by grassroots, local, and international Jewish and non-Jewish organisations, in cooperation with local, regional, state, and international authorities, including the EU[4]. Most recently, the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 provided an impetus for Jewish cemetery preservation and tourism development.

But documentation, preservation, and conservation of cemeteries (and other heritage sites) are only the first steps. Ensuring sustainability remains a challenge. The fall of communism opened the floodgates of tourism and access to Jewish heritage sites in a region that had long been off-limits to most international travellers. Opening cemeteries

Zambrow Jewish cemetery, Poland, fenced by the ESJF. Photo: Gabriella Dohi

and other heritage sites to tourists and other visitors is a key way of putting them on the cultural (and physical) map, keeping them in the public eye, and in some cases earning income.

2.1.1. What kind of tourism?

Until fairly recently, the vast majority of visitors to Jewish cemeteries were Jews — visiting family graves, paying homage at the tombs of noted rabbis, erecting Holocaust memorials, and commemorating the Shoah.

Increasingly though, individuals, group tours, school and synagogues groups, official delegations, genealogists, and others have all joined in what Samuel D. Gruber termed a "new cultural pilgrimage" to Jewish heritage sites, including cemeteries. In a keynote address to the 2013 conference *Managing Jewish Immovable Heritage in Europe*, he called for efforts to ensure "responsible tourism."

> *Only if Jewish communities embrace this trend will they be able in some way to manage it, and also engage it to their advantage. If they do not, they leave it to others to tell their story, and to exploit their resources. Hospitality to strangers is expected Jewish behavior — but handling busloads of tourists, whether Jewish or not, requires serious planning and organisation. Tourism must be managed to aid the care of Jewish sites, not add stress*
>
> **Gruber** (2013)

The Council of Europe also recognised this imperative. In 2004 it certified a **European Route of Jewish Heritage** as part of its Cultural Routes programme, as a means of creating "opportunities and incentives for the protection and restoration of Jewish

[4] *A 2012 Council of Europe resolution calling for efforts to preserve Jewish cemeteries praised them as initiatives that "demonstrate a wish to foster an awareness of and draw lessons from history, and a determination to share common responsibility for preserving this heritage."*

heritage, including burial sites, in the framework of its overall objective to contribute to the spiritual and historical restoration of destroyed Jewish communities and to enhance knowledge about Europe's history''. The COE's Cultural Routes programme was launched in 1987 and includes more than 30 diverse ''networks of shared history and heritage'' that cover a range of themes and ''are key resources for responsible tourism and sustainable development.'' Certification of a Route confers recognition and also means fulfilling a set of formal requirements and regular evaluation (Council of Europe, n.d.).

The European Route of Jewish Heritage is coordinated by the AEPJ[5] (The European Association for the Promotion and Preservation of Jewish Culture and Heritage), which also coordinates the European Days of Jewish Culture, an annual event celebrating Jewish culture and anchored by Jewish built heritage that was established in 1999. In 2019 the EDJC was observed in 29 countries. Its 1,200+ events drew more than 220,000 visitors, most of them non-Jewish (EJDC Report, 2019).

''For years now, cemeteries have played an important role in revealing their cultural and religious identity in the field of heritage management,'' said AEPJ Director Victor Sorenssen. ''We have witnessed how different cultural and heritage routes include visits to cemeteries in their programme, developed from guided tours to educational projects. In addition to the titanic task of restoring a large number of Jewish cemeteries in Europe, which play a key role in dignifying their memory and the memory of the communities before them, it may be a good time to explore new and different transversal collaborations to promote the relevance, the importance and the significance of these heritage spaces to include a non-Jewish audience'' (Sorenssen, 2020).

Encouraging tourism and other types of visit, however, involves strategies for

- management
- promotion

[5] *For further details, see AEPJ website: http://jewisheritage.org*

- logistics
- continuing conservation

Potential visitors not only need to know about the site — they need to be able to see it. Moreover, Jewish cemetery tourism cannot be divorced from Jewish heritage tourism as a whole. Nor can it ignore the sacred role of Jewish cemeteries in Jewish religious tradition. Importantly, the site itself and not just the gravestones within it — and indeed, many sites in Eastern Europe have had most or all of the gravestones removed from them — hold the deepest significance in Jewish tradition. At the same time, they also impart important educational messages, and are an integral part of cultural heritage for non-Jewish, secular communities too. While often lacking the aesthetics and visibility and therefore tourist "pull" of sites with many and ornate gravestones, ruined, less spectacular cemeteries represent a challenge for Jewish heritage tourism, often representing the last physical, if limited, reminder of Jewish presence in a town or village.

Jewish cemeteries today in Europe are managed and presented in a variety of ways. Some historic cemeteries, long out of use, are administered as parts of museums, for example in cities such as Prague, Wrocław, and Frankfurt, and also in remote Seduva, Lithuania, where the ravaged Jewish cemetery has been restored as part of an ambitious commemorative complex that will also include a state-of-the-art Jewish museum. Some Jewish cemeteries are being developed as "destination" attractions that can engage a variety of visitors (e.g. in Warsaw, and in London and Plymouth). Some have focused on their role as religious pilgrimage sites that can also interest others (e.g. in and around Mád, Hungary). Some anchor or serve as hubs for broader Jewish heritage itineraries (e.g. Brno, Czech Republic), and many — even if in neglected condition — are inserted into local heritage routes and/or are recognised by municipalities as part of local heritage.

This section provides background to the place of cemeteries in tourism in general and the specific role of Jewish cemeteries in tourism. It examines some of the management, promotional, and strategic possibilities regarding Jewish cemeteries and tourism, and profiles several cemeteries and the different ways they confront the challenges.

2.2. Cemeteries and Tourism

Encompassing art, history, nature, memory, mystery, homage, and imagination, cemeteries have long held a special fascination for tourists and other visitors. Luminaries are honoured there; ancestors are buried there; popular histories and folk myths and stories are set there.

As final resting places, they above all are sacred sites, where funerals and other ceremonies honouring the dead take place. As places of the dead, cemeteries can also be loci of “**Dark Tourism**” — a term coined in the mid 1990s to describe "the act of travel and visitation to sites of death, disaster and the seemingly macabre." Dedicated cemetery enthusiasts are sometimes dubbed “Tombstone Tourists” — or “taphophiles."

But **cemeteries can also exert a positive attraction** on anyone interested in culture, history, heritage, and nature.

- The location and/or physical layout of cemeteries often make them places of contemplation, where visitors can stroll in serene settings that range from landscaped urban cemetery parks to quaint churchyards and rural “secret gardens.”
- Mausolea, monuments, and sculptural tombs represent fascinating examples of art and architecture, created by noted practitioners.
- Epitaphs and iconography tell stories, reflect lives and beliefs, and illuminate historical events.

- Cemeteries are places of pilgrimage — religious and secular, public and private — where visitors pay homage at the graves of historic figures and other famous people (artists, writers, entertainers, religious leaders, etc) as well as at the graves of friends and family members
- Cemeteries are places of public honour: monumental cemeteries and monumental tombs honour heroes — communal and religious leadership, political and military heroes and also national cultural icons, as well as the nobility and wealthy elite. Military cemeteries and imposing cemetery war memorials honour soldiers fallen in service to their country.

Individual testimony

For instance Sandra G., an American (Jewish) woman who enjoys visiting graveyards, described the attraction:

> I like to visit cemeteries because each stone is a story about a life; a very tiny story that sometimes gets me searching to know more. [One stone I remember] was for a very young child and it was [embedded] at about a 60 degree angle approximately a foot up the side of a tree. Sad and yet so beautiful to know that tree had a part of that child within it.
>
> I find cemeteries to be quite peaceful, too. I can wander and say names out loud so they are remembered in my time. I can leave stones or just touch the headstone and feel that I have said hello. I had to do that in a general sense when I stumbled upon a Civil War era cemetery in Georgia. All of the stones were quite small and completely unreadable, if they ever even had names, because moss had covered them in a very beautiful way. I still touched them and said hello. It

> was lovely. And, of course, I can still visit friends and family in several cemeteries. I must always take a lot of stones [to place on the graves].

One of Europe's most famous cemeteries, **Père Lachaise** in Paris, embodies many of the varied traits of attraction, and all these put together have made it an iconic place of mass tourism in the French capital, visited — according to the official Paris tourism website — by more than 3 million people a year. It encompasses 44 hectares and contains 70,000 burial plots — including the graves of figures ranging from Edith Piaf to Frédéric Chopin, Oscar Wilde, and rock star Jim Morrison — the cemetery's most visited tomb (Paris Info, n.d.).

Considered Europe's first modern cemetery, Père Lachaise opened in 1804. Its parklike design, influenced by both the Enlightenment and Romanticism, "transformed the cemetery into a successful landscape garden with some twelve thousand trees, populated by birds and animals as well as the dead." It soon "became a paradigm for cemeteries all over Europe" (Mosse, 1990). What's more, under Napoleonic law, Père Lachaise was a multi-faith cemetery, marking the first time in Europe that emancipated Jews were assigned a separate section of their own in a municipal cemetery (Nahon, 2011)[6]. Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, many other cities established monumental metropolitan cemeteries, more or less designed on the Père Lachaise model, and these also draw visitors and are promoted as tourist attractions.

In 2010, a **European Cemeteries Route** that created a loose network of — mainly — such cemeteries in a score of countries was certified as one of the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes.[7] The Cemeteries Route was developed by the Association of Significant Cemeteries, a non-profit organisation founded in 2001 to promote knowledge of

[6] *An 1881 law abolished "confessional cemeteries" and Jewish burials must now conform to French law that allows graves to be dug up and reused after a certain period of time — against Jewish religious law. See Nahon, Gerard. "Jewish Cemeteries in France" (Nahon, 2011).*

[7] *http://cemeteriesroute.eu*

cemeteries as important components of heritage and to encourage cemetery tourism through itineraries, tours, events, publications, and the like. It describes itself as a "network comprising those public and private organisations which care for cemeteries considered to be of historical or artistic importance" (Association of Significant Cemeteries, n.d.).

The Council of Europe's description of the **European Cemeteries Route** summarises the varied aspects of attraction and that cemeteries exert and underscores underlying aspects of value for tourists and other visitors:

> *Cemeteries are part of our tangible heritage, for their works, sculptures, engravings, and even for their urban planning. Cemeteries are also part of our intangible heritage, our anthropological reality, providing a framework surrounding the habits and practices related to death. Indeed, cemeteries offer unique settings for part of our historical memories. They are reminders of periods of local history that communities do not want to, and should not, forget, places which we have a duty to preserve and transmit to future generations.*
>
> *The European Cemeteries Route offers the visitors the possibility to literally walk through the local history, to learn about important personalities who have worked and left their mark in cities. Traveling through this route actually enables visitors to discover the local, national and European Cultural Heritage at rest in cemeteries. It helps to raise European citizens' awareness of the importance of Europe's significant cemeteries in their multicultural dimension*
>
> **Council of Europe,** 2010

The members of the Cemeteries Route are mainly post-Enlightenment parklike and/or monumental urban cemeteries, but an article on the Routes website titled "Cemetery Tourism: A Self-Conscious Tourism," also promotes the romantic tourist pleasures of exploring smaller, rural, or off-the-beaten-track burial grounds:

> In lesser known old cemeteries, in those that are hidden behind their overgrown walls, the visitor has the privilege to discover a secret garden. That is where you will find abandoned and partially torn down graves, half-erased inscriptions and, if you are lucky enough, you will encounter a strange plant or beast. You will forget the sprawling cement jungle outside the cemetery walls and, while in this wild garden, you will ask yourself: "Is the end of our artificial civilisation the end of life?" (Paraskevopoulou, n.d.).

The COE Cemeteries Route is just one of the numerous ways that cemetery tourism is promoted. Many cemeteries are listed in general guidebooks and general tourism websites. But there are also many resources specifically aimed at cemetery tourism, including guide books to cemeteries in general, coffee table photo albums, guide books to individual cemeteries, and a wealth of websites, Facebook groups, YouTube videos, and other online resources are also available.
[For more information, see further reading.]

The tourism potential of cemeteries is increasingly recognised, but still not universally acknowledged. Angles to develop include:

- dark tourism and memory tourism
- aesthetic appreciation of gravestones
- park or garden-like cemeteries
- cemetery routes or cemeteries included in thematic tourist routes

2.3 Jewish Cemeteries and Tourism: Background

Jewish cemeteries range from centuries-old pre-modern cemeteries with weathered Hebrew epitaphs and sometimes extraordinary carved decoration to vast, 19th and 20th century urban cemeteries on the Pere Lachaise model, whose monumental tombs and sculptural memorials bear witness to post-Emancipation acculturation, optimism, and prosperity (Klein, 2018). They have long fascinated artists, lovers of the picturesque, and tourists interested in off-the-beaten track heritage, but few have been on mainstream tourist routes or developed as tourism sites. Today, the same criteria that make cemeteries in general attractive to visitors also apply to Jewish cemeteries. But there are many differences, too, in the way Jewish cemeteries are regarded, managed, and visited.

In part these are due to Jewish religious traditions and attitudes to burial places: Jewish cemeteries are holy sites; they should be enclosed and separated from their surroundings. Bodies are buried forever and must not be disturbed; they make the cemetery a sacred place for all eternity, even if no physical traces remain above ground. The sacred nature of the cemetery makes any behaviour deemed disrespectful of the dead forbidden. Jewish law strictly proscribes the use of soil and grass from a cemetery for other purposes – meaning that historically, even Jewish cemeteries in use could easily become overgrown.

Moreover, cemeteries are seen within the Jewish tradition as ritually impure places, necessary and holy for the burial of and respect for the dead, but frowned upon as sites to be used for any other purpose, including tourism. The challenge therefore is to utilise the advantages offered by tourism to help preserve these sites, while ensuring that the preservation is carried out in a manner respectful to the people

who set them up in the first place, as well as the individuals buried within them and their communities.

Historic significance, Holocaust and post-Holocaust neglect and destruction, and, for many, the post-Holocaust symbolism of Jewish cemeteries as physical survivors — memorials to the Shoah — also set Jewish cemeteries apart and have a major impact on how they are viewed and visited. Centuries of tragic history can enhance the “dark tourism” attraction: On the dark-tourism.com website, a rating for Warsaw’s Okopowa St. Jewish cemetery states, “this cemetery’s mixture of general beauty of decay and individual items of sepulchral art, plus the newer memorials, make it well worth paying it a visit” and suggests it can be added on to another “dark” experience, a general “ghetto trail” tour of the World War II Warsaw Ghetto (Dark Tourism, n.d.). In this vein, indecipherable Hebrew inscriptions can add to the mystery.

Twentieth century destruction and neglect combine, however, with a longstanding general disregard for Jewish heritage in mainstream consciousness, and this, too, represents a challenge. *Until fairly recently, few Jewish sites (and fewer Jewish cemeteries) were included in mainstream tourist offerings.* This can make Jewish cemeteries today new and novel, even exotic, destinations that are still, with a few exceptions, well off the main tourist routes. It is illustrative of this lingering attitude of disregard that as of early 2020, not one exclusively Jewish cemetery appeared to be a member of the Association of Significant Cemeteries, nor did any Jewish cemetery appear to be included on the European Cemeteries Route (though Jewish sections exist in some of the urban municipal cemeteries included).[8]

[8] *An 1881 law abolished “confessional cemeteries” and Jewish burials must now conform to French law that allows graves to be dug up and reused after a certain period of time — against Jewish religious law. See Nahon, Gerard. “Jewish Cemeteries in France” (Nahon, 2011).*

2.3.I. The Origins of Jewish Cemetery Tourism

It is worth remembering that even before World War II, few Jewish heritage sites were "on the map" as tourist attractions. This was in part due to history. For centuries, each time Jews moved voluntarily — or were expelled or deported — from places where they had lived, they left the material infrastructure of their communities, including synagogues and cemeteries, behind them, generally to be expropriated, demolished, or repurposed by the non-Jewish community.

The Nazis and post-WW2 regimes were by no means the first to use Jewish cemeteries as quarries and uproot gravestones for use as paving and construction material. Medieval Jewish gravestones and fragments were frequently used as building material and can be seen today incorporated into buildings, city walls and other structures in various countries.

Venosa, Italy — Jewish gravestones from a destroyed 9th century Jewish cemetery were used — along with other recycled material — to construct a church in the 11-12th century at the Abbey of Holiest Trinity (Abbazia della Santissima Trinità). The church was never finished, and is called the Incompiuta (unfinished). Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

As the Jewish Encyclopedia put it in 1906:

> *The fate of their cemeteries forms one of the most tragic chapters in the tragic history of the Jewish people. Every massacre of the living was, as a rule, followed by furious attacks on the dead in their graves and by a wanton spoliation of the tombstones. Graveyards, though regarded as asylums by the pagan Roman and Teuton alike, were not sacred enough in the eyes of the numerous mobs to serve as a last refuge for the martyr race during the centuries of persecution. Old selihot and many eye-witnesses [...] tell the same sad story of the Jewish cemeteries. Most of the tombstones were scattered about the cities and used for building and other purposes; and only occasionally were the lines of an inscription recorded by the historian*

But Jewish cemeteries were neglected by Jews, too, as were other Jewish heritage sites. The first Jewish museums in Europe opened in the late 19th century, in part as the result of efforts by modern acculturated, even secular, Jews seeking to preserve and present the treasures of a traditional religious tradition from which they had grown distant (or which they had rejected) and whose built heritage was often crumbling. Contemporary photographs and descriptions demonstrate that even historic sites could be in poor condition: In 1894, the centuries-old Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt (which functioned from medieval times until 1828) was reported as having beautifully carved tombstones but as being "in a sad state of neglect; many of the stones have fallen to the ground, and lie in great confusion, and many are beginning to crumble" (Philipson, 1894).[9]

Barcelona, Spain – Medieval Jewish gravestones were used to build walls of the 16th-century Palau del Lloctinent. Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

General neglect was exacerbated by the political upheavals, pogroms, and heavy damage incurred during and after World War I. Zionist activist Israel Cohen described finding “damage to many tombstones” and “general violation of graves” by “a gang of roughs” in the Jewish cemetery in Oświęcim, Poland, in February 1919. He described the interwar state of the Jewish cemetery in Sadagora (then Romania, now Ukraine), which contains the ohel of revered rabbis, as in “a depressing state of neglect and disorder.” But he also evoked the fascination of the site: “The paths were rough and dirty, and the tombstones were toppling over one another. But the inscriptions on the stones were of peculiar interest as they were adorned with figures representing fruits, flowers, a lion and a unicorn – designs that are not seen even in the ancient cemetery in Prague” (Cohen, 1953).[10] In his famous report on his search for Jewish roots in Poland in the mid-1920s, the German novelist Alfred Döblin also marveled at striking gravestone art but described Jewish cemeteries in Warsaw, Lublin, and Vilnius as overgrown and in poor repair. Headstones lay toppled and shattered, he wrote; in Vilnius he reported “terrible neglect” and a cow grazing on the graves, surrounded by its excrement; in Lublin he saw matzevot from the Old Jewish Cemetery used as paving – “removed to cover boggy spots in the road” (Döblin, 1998).

Remembrance from Destruction: Reclaiming Stolen Tombstones

Jewish gravestones have often been used as construction materials: among other things, as foundations and walls for buildings, to line streams, and to pave roads - including streets and pedestrian promenades in cities such as Prague and Lviv. Attitudes toward these fragments are changing. Throughout the pilot project, the ESJF team encountered local residents returning gravestones once they saw the cemetery attracting more attention. In many cases, these recovered headstones were collected and assembled into memorials.

[9] *Philipson also notes that a Frankfurt rabbi had been collecting and collating tombstone inscriptions.*

[10] *Cohen’s description of the cemetery in Sadagora matches the author’s own experience in 2006. Oświęcim, of course, is the town where the Nazis built the Auschwitz death camp little more than two decades later*

In Pochayiv, Ukraine, drone surveys revealed that gravestones were used as building material in the renovation of the former synagogue, which served as a school after WW2. The building is abandoned today. Photo: ESJF.

Chernivtsi New Cemetery, Ukraine. Gravestones are assembled as a memorial. Photo: ESJF

In East-Central and Eastern Europe (the so-called Jewish heartland), outside visitors to Jewish heritage sites in the first half of the 20th century — particularly during the interwar period — were generally successful immigrants returning to visit their places of origin (and ancestors' graves), modern Jews on ethnographic or fact-finding trips, like Döblin, or the writer S.An-ski, or followers of noted sages paying homage — by the hundreds or even thousands — at the tombs of the Tzaddikim.[11] There was little foreign tourism (or promotion of it) at all to some countries, notably Poland: in a 1931 travel book, "***Poland the Unexplored***," the American travel writer Grace Humphrey described the difficulty of finding guide books, tours or other travel information for Poland (which at that time encompassed much of today's western Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus) ahead of her own trip. "Nobody goes to Poland," she concluded (Humphrey, 1931).

At around the same time within Poland, a specifically Jewish tourism movement was formed. Founded in 1926, the Jewish Society for Landkentenish ("knowing the land") among other things set its sights on countering the neglect of Jewish monuments by the Polish mainstream, including in tourist guidebooks: in response, Society members researched and wrote their own. "In most countries, including Poland, tourists could already use comprehensive guidebooks to museums, cities and architectural treasures that had been prepared by professional scholars. Jewish tourists, however, unlike their Polish counterparts, had to do their own spadework. Next to nothing was known about local Jewish history, cemeteries, old synagogues, or regional folklore. There were no guidebooks, few guides, and no points of reference" (Kassow, 2008).[12]

Reflecting the way Jewish heritage was overlooked, the American writer Marvin Lowenthal titled his 1933 Jewish guidebook "**A World Passed By**" and described it as the "first comprehensive guide — the first in any language — to old and often little-known seats of Jewish civilisation in Europe and North Africa." He gave many

[11] *On Hasidic pilgrimage, see Wodzinski, Marcin. Historical Atlas of Hasidism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018*

[12] *Also see: Roskies, David. "Landkentenish." The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Landkentenish*

examples of how historic Jewish sites were ignored or glossed over, unknown to the average traveller. "[C]emeteries, as in Pisa, often lie literally and figuratively in the shadow of a renowned historic pile," he wrote – in Pisa's case, "shut out from the glory" just on the other side of the wall from the cathedral and Leaning Tower. But he recommended various cemeteries and waxed lyrical about the ornate (and largely unknown) sculptural decorations found in Jewish cemeteries in Eastern Europe.

He also pointed out rare exceptions to the rule of neglect, including two Jewish cemeteries: the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague, which he noted was already "famous," and the Portuguese cemetery at Ouderkerk near Amsterdam, which he described as a "garden of sculpture" whose ornate tomb decorations he called "one of the curiosities of Jewish art" for "the average Westerner" (Lowenthal, 1933).

Both of these cemeteries, with their picturesque arrangements of centuries-old gravestones, had long attracted artists and others. In the mid-17th century the Dutch landscape painter Jacob van Ruisdael, famously depicted the Ouderkerk cemetery, using it as the "setting for an allegorical work incorporating themes of the ephemerality of life, the power of nature, human limitations, and eternal optimism" (Rachlin, 2013). The Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague was closed for burials in 1787, but artists and lovers of the unusual have been captivated ever since by its twisting forest of stone and the legends linked to people buried there – most notably those around Rabbi Judah ben Bezalel Löw, author of some of the most famous commentaries on the Torah and Talmud, who is today more widely known as the hero of the Golem myth and other popular folk tales. These associations made him a figure so identified with the city that a statue of him was placed on the New Town Hall when it was built in 1909-1911.Old pictures

show visitors solemnly examining the cemetery's unique complex of ancient, tilted stones and lush vegetation. Artists painted romantic views of the cemetery already from the late 18th century, and the gravestones there also inspired Art Nouveau graphic artists — an exhibition at the Prague Jewish Museum in 2006 highlighted a dozen or so Czech artists who drew inspiration from the cemetery in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[13]

Lowenthal published **A World Passed By** in the very year that Hitler took power in Germany. He wrote about antisemitism and the vandalism of Jewish cemeteries over the centuries, and he noted renewed attacks by the Nazis (in cemeteries such as the 11th century cemetery in Worms, the oldest surviving Jewish cemetery in Europe other than catacombs). But he could not have imagined the wholesale destruction that the Nazis would unleash a mere five years later.

2.4. Awakening Jewish Cemetery Tourism: Jewish Heritage Tourism

Fostering tourism means both putting heritage sites on the map and telling why they are worth a visit. But it also means dealing with visitors when they come. Regarding Jewish heritage, it can also mean explaining customs, texts, and traditions that most visitors will not be familiar with. It offers an opportunity to reflect local and regional histories from an unusual angle, or, for descendents and other Jewish visitors, it links histories of origin with the changed present of these places.

The first comprehensive post-war Jewish travel guide to Europe came out in 1962 and covered more than 30 countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Europe was still recovering from the conflict, and surviving Jewish communities (mainly in western Europe) were rebuilding. **The Landmarks of A People: A Guide to**

[13] *Images of the Prague Ghetto for the 100th Anniversary of the Jewish Museum in Prague. May 17-August 8, 2006. See information at: https://www.jewishmuseum.cz/en/program-and-education/exhibits/archive-exhibits/333/*

Jewish Sites in Europe, by Bernard Postal and Samuel H. Abramson, was aimed at American Jews who, it states, "have contributed enormously to the post-war travel boom" and were "pouring into Europe by the tens of thousands annually." Besides the touristic interest of adding Jewish landmarks to travel itineraries, it says, visiting Jewish communities and heritage sites would also give an "an extra dimension" to a trip to Europe by enabling American Jews to see first hand how their charitable contributions to Jewish aid organisations "have made possible the reconstruction, rehabilitation and revival of Jewish life and institutions in postwar Europe." The guidebook includes scores of Jewish cemeteries among its hundreds of entries, but also notes the destruction. In Poland, "Everywhere there are wrecked or neglected Jewish cemeteries, ruins of synagogues and other communal buildings, and scattered memorials to the victims of the catastrophe which has left Poland a vast Jewish graveyard" (Postal et al., 1962).

Fostering Jewish and mainstream tourism to Jewish cemeteries, and incorporating Jewish cemeteries on itineraries and as local, regional, or national points of interest (if not full-fledged attractions) has gone hand in hand with efforts to repair, restore, clean up, and recover cemeteries that had languished ignored or forgotten since World War II (or even longer). It has also gone on hand in hand with the development of Jewish heritage tourism in general, as well as with the revival of Jewish communal life in post-communist states. The "Jewish archaeology" of putting Jewish cemeteries and other Jewish heritage sites on the map was a hallmark in the post-communist creation of new democracies and civil society, "filling in the blanks" left by communist ideology (Gruber, 2002).[14] "Tourist interest and fulfilling tourist needs has become part and parcel of the recovery of Jewish heritage in Europe, a major part of the 'why' Jewish sites are preserved and presented" (Gruber, 2002). As soon as the Berlin Wall fell, there was an explosion of publications about Jewish heritage sites, including cemeteries. Jewish-

[14] *See the discussion throughout, in particular, Part 2 "Jewish Archaeology"*

heritage tour agencies and individual guides opened business, Jewish souvenirs went on sale, "Jewish-style" cafes opened.

Three decades later, an "uneven state of commercial and public Jewish heritage tourism" exists in Europe. A number of cities, and even small towns, have well developed — or developing — Jewish heritage tourism programmes (among them Warsaw, Krakow, Berlin, Budapest, Bratislava, Brno, Mád…). Others are just beginning to implement Jewish heritage strategies (Walkowitz, 2018).[15]

2.4.I. Where does that leave Jewish cemeteries?

Despite preservation initiatives over the decades, most Jewish cemeteries in Europe today have been — and/or still are — severely neglected: they are "orphaned" — whether by the destruction of their Jewish communities during the Shoah, or, in some countries, because of more normal demographic shifts, dwindling congregations, and migration of the communities that had sustained them. The sheer size of metropolitan cemeteries hampers maintenance, resulting in rampant overgrowth and vegetation.

The situation is most critical in the parts of Europe where the Shoah eradicated the Jewish population. It was exacerbated in post-communist states where the Communist regimes continued the destructive policy of razing cemeteries, building over them, and using matzevot for construction. But it is important to remember that the situation also remains a challenge in other countries. "The 'abandonment' of burial grounds exacerbates the natural age-based deterioration that affects most cemeteries, and this has reached a critical level for the many Jewish burial grounds [in England] that were founded in the nineteenth century," a report prepared in 2015

[15] *It is worth noting that the list here is by no means exhaustive.*

[16] *Also see: Kadish, Sharman. "The Situation, Preservation and Care of Jewish Cemeteries in the United Kingdom." In Bertele, Esther and Zieseme, John (eds). Jüdische Friedhöfe und Bestattungskultur in Europa/Jewish Cemeteries and Burial Culture in Europe. Berlin: ICOMOS, 2011. Accessible online at: https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/icomoshefte/article/view/20217/14004*

for Historic England stated. "Jewish Heritage UK has designated a number of sites as 'At Risk' largely as a result of this neglect, with memorials and other structures exposed to environmental threats, including erosion, vegetation and poor drainage" (Barker Langham, 2015).[16]

Key concerns include funding, as well as disputes over ownership and the responsibility for managing neglected burial grounds. Security is also a concern. Jewish communities can prefer to spend money on synagogue upkeep and programming for congregants rather than on cemeteries that no longer serve an active community.

Another factor in the decision-making process of how and whether to protect a Jewish cemetery has been the possibility of linking specific donor resources to individual sites for renovation and protection. Naturally, this has preferenced sites for renovation and protection from larger communities in cities and metropolitan areas, as well as those with direct connections to living descendants and in particular,

Nafpaktos Jewish Cemetery in Greece is completely demolished. It is crucial a memorial sign be installed to mark its former site.

Photo: ESJF

those with perceived added historical, religious or aesthetic significance, whether because of ornate gravestones or the presence of historically significant figures or venerated spiritual leaders.

The corollary of this has been to deprioritise sites that do not possess these added values. Another challenge therefore is how to expand both tourist routes and protection strategies in order to tie these sites into others which are already protected and/or attractive for tourism. The most vulnerable sites are remote, often have very few gravestones left, and are difficult to protect. Increasing their visibility is crucial in this uphill battle. This is particularly relevant in countries such as Poland where some 70% of all Jewish cemeteries no longer have physical vestiges of gravestones above ground. Similarly, ESJF surveys found that in Greece more than 50% – 23 out of the 45 Jewish cemeteries – have been demolished, with 20 of them having been demolished and overbuilt.

2.5 "Tombstone Tourists" and "Travellers"

Who visits Jewish cemeteries? How are the cemeteries presented, maintained, and marketed? What do cemetery visitors see and do on their visits?

Today, 75 years after the end of World War II and three decades after the fall of communism, it is fair to say that most people, thanks to Holocaust commemorations and Holocaust education, know more about how Jews were murdered in the space of a few years than they do about the millennial sweep of Jewish history in Europe before that.

Tourism and exhibitions regarding Jewish heritage and to Jewish heritage sites, including cemeteries, are often regarded, and used, as educational tools, ways to

"demystify" Jews and their history, customs, and religion, both to mainstream society and also to Jews themselves — and also to combat stereotypes and antisemitism.[17] This is a key message of initiatives such as the European Days of Jewish Culture, or of Rediscover, a three-year EU-funded, trans-border Jewish heritage tourism and educational project being implemented in nine mid-sized cities in eight countries in the EU's Danube Region. Both the EDJC and Rediscover involve civic bodies and NGOs as well as Jewish communities. They are aimed at local people and seek to educate about the role of Jewish heritage, culture, and history in local, regional, cross-border, and Europe-wide contexts (Interreg. n.d.).

This has also been a key area of the pilot project Protecting the Jewish Cemeteries of Europe, and the work of the ESJF. Bringing educational and cultural heritage programmes to sites not normally on tourist routes, while creating the knowledge and basic infrastructure for their possible integration on to such routes in future years is a frontier with exceptional touristic, social and cultural potential. In this regard, Jewish cemeteries can play a particular role. The number and locations of surviving cemeteries demonstrates that Jews formed part and parcel of local, regional, and national populations. The epitaphs on graves can shed light on local history, the history of individuals, and also on patterns of migration — but in most Jewish cemeteries the epitaphs are in Hebrew, meaning that their messages cannot be understood by most visitors. The iconography used in decorating gravestones provides insight on religious symbolism and practice — but only if their meaning is explained. The elaborately carved decoration merges religious traditions and local folk art, while grand tombs in some urban cemeteries were designed by leading sculptors and architects and demonstrate examples of art nouveau, art deco, classicist, and other mainstream artistic movements.

[17] *This was the case as early as 1887, when the London Jewish Chronicle noted that one of the aims of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, a huge, Jewish-organised exhibition of Judaica and other material, was to educate the public and remove «something of the mystery which somehow seems in the mind of the outside world to environ all that is Jewish.» (Cohen, 1998).*

Many facets of tourism — cultural, individual, local, mass, commemorative, religious — and many potential types of visitors need to be considered in promotion and management strategies. Yet, given the role and status of Jewish cemeteries, what works for some markets may offend or alienate others.

Potential tourists to Jewish cemeteries:

- "Tombstone tourists" — people who like to visit all sorts of cemeteries
- "Dark tourists" — people who seek out "dark tourism" venues
- Jewish family roots seekers, looking for their ancestors
- Jewish Pilgrims (Religious — paying homage at graves of noted rabbis, etc; or personal or general Holocaust commemoration)
- Secular Pilgrims (to see graves of personalities or the work of specific artists or architects)
- Local schoolchildren and foreign study groups — to learn about local history but also to research and document the sites
- Mainstream tour groups and individual tourists
- Specifically «Jewish Heritage» tour groups and individuals
- Local residents — learning about local history and heritage
- Casual Jewish and non-Jewish visitors, drawn by visuals; exotic locations; off-the-beaten-track experience
- Volunteer visitors — organised groups who come to clean up and help restore neglected cemeteries

Very few Jewish cemeteries are sites of mass tourism (exceptions include the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague; in high season the Remu Jewish cemetery in Krakow; and, at certain times of the year Jewish cemeteries such as that in Uman, Belz, or Medzhybizh, Ukraine;

or Lelow, Lezajsk, or Bobowa, Poland which see annual pilgrimages to the graves of religious leaders and rabbis). It should, however, be pointed out that grave veneration is by no means universal even among strictly Orthodox Jews. While the Hasidic and certain Sephardic traditions were and are punctilious in the veneration of the graves of sainted rabbis and sometimes the cemeteries that contained them, the tradition and practice was less observed by those of more rationalist forms of Orthodoxy. This is a major reason for the relative lack of pilgrimages and consequent major renovation projects in non-Hasidic regions of eastern Europe such as Lithuania as compared to regions in eastern Poland, western Ukraine, and northern Hungary and Romania, where Hasidic Jews dominated communities and their descendants abroad were much more prevalent.

There are several distinct but overlapping categories of Jewish cemetery, the varying features of which will also have an impact on how they may fit into tourist routes, strategies, and models, including security measures.

Ways to categorise Jewish cemeteries:

- Location: city, small town, village; stand-alone site or part of a municipal cemetery
- Status: in use; historic; abandoned
- Size
- Age
- Style of layout
- Style of Gravestones
- Type of Jewish tradition: (Ashkenazic, Sephardic; Orthodox, Progressive, Neolog; pre-modern, post-Emancipation)
- Ownership and/or administration: Jewish community, municipal, private or other

Waclaw Wojciechowski is a guide in Poland who specialises in one of these categories: touring with Jews seeking to find their family roots, mainly in far-flung former shtetls. He refuses to call his clients "tourists."

> *I call them Jewish travellers, not tourists, because these are not just people who go on a travel to see sights of any kind. My clients come to spend time with me expecting to get a unique experience with someone like me who will guide them, help them to discover their family roots: shtetls, towns, cities where they or their families used to live very often generations upon generations…in short, to get closer to the vanished world*
>
> **Wojciechowski** (2020)

Witold Wrzosinski, the Director of the vast Okopowa st. Jewish cemetery in Warsaw and a longtime researcher on Jewish cemeteries in Poland, sees a combination of factors that can overlap and also, depending on the type of visitor, straddle frontiers between intellectual and artistic appreciation and deep emotion.

> *I think cemeteries in general fit into the so-called 'Dark Tourism' or 'Gothic Tourism' category anyway, and Jewish cemeteries in Eastern Europe are a hit in that field: decidedly darker and more ominous than others because of years of neglect, wild and abundant vegetation and often a horrifying war-time history. An alternative approach is possible too, quite frequent in my experience. It is to perceive them, especially in former shtetls, as the only places that offer a heartwarming connection with family history to visitors with roots in those shtetls. I've seen many people come, visit the whole shtetl with interest but little emotion, and then at the end of the day burst into tears at the cemetery. Those tears*

usually turned out to be at least just as joyous and comforting as sad. They often mentioned a sense of belonging or of completing something that they had not known was missing or broken. Some said that it was the first time they really felt Jewish

Wrzosinski (2020)

2.6. Methods and Challenges

Jewish cemeteries in Europe today are being promoted, managed, and marketed for tourism along several overlapping tracks: as parts of museums; as specific attractions or destinations (including as religious pilgrimage sites); as part of Jewish heritage trails, routes, programmes, and itineraries; and/or integrated as part of local or regional general tourist or cultural offers.

Jewish cemeteries are promoted on many types of websites: Some Jewish cemeteries are featured on their own websites. An increasing number are listed on municipal and regional websites as part of local sites or cultural heritage. Jewish cemeteries are included on websites for Jewish heritage routes, itineraries, and travel services as well as on websites highlighting local Jewish heritage. There are sections about cemeteries on some Jewish communal websites. Jewish cemetery databases, photo galleries, and histories form key parts of genealogy websites. Organisations engaged with restoring and cleaning up Jewish cemeteries, ranging from the German Foreign Ministry funded and EC-co-funded ESJF, to the US-based Christian Matzevah Foundation, to the Haredi Avoseynu maintain websites to highlight their work. There are also scores of videos of Jewish cemeteries on YouTube and Vimeo, ranging from professionally produced virtual tours to amateur tourist or genealogy recordings, to exercises in dark tourism or

“Urbex” ventures. There are also smartphone apps — for Jewish heritage in general in a location, but also specifically for Jewish cemeteries.

Annie Sacerdoti, vice-president of the Foundation for Jewish Cultural Heritage in Italy and a longtime researcher and writer on Jewish heritage, believes that nothing beats visiting Jewish cemeteries and other Jewish heritage sites in person: “It’s important that people come and see these places firsthand, to enter into places. Books are fine, but seeing things with your own eyes gives you another perspective (Sacerdoti, 2020).

Metropolitan Jewish cemeteries, because of their size, because of their location within cities, and, in many cases, because of the grandeur of their tombs, are more readily promoted as destinations attractive to both Jewish heritage tourists and mainstream visitors. They bring their own specific challenges, however. Location is one: while within urban areas, they may lie far from other Jewish heritage sites and far from city centres and other tourist attractions: there is a “Jewish cemetery” tram stop at Budapest’s biggest Jewish cemetery, on Kozma utca, for example — but to get there on public transport can take an hour. This can make these cemeteries destinations on their own; as such they require promotion and marketing in order to get interested visitors to “go the extra mile” and see what’s there.

Another challenge is size and maintenance. Many grand Jewish cemeteries became overgrown jungles following the Holocaust. Maintaining tens of thousands of tombs and keeping vegetation in check is difficult if not impossible for small Jewish communities without municipal, state, or other civic support. Current examples where such support is happening include the Okopowa Street Jewish cemetery in Warsaw, now undergoing restoration thanks to a grant from the Polish government;

Lazdijai Jewish Cemetery in Lithuania, like many cemeteries in villages or small towns, is located on the edge of the forest. Photo: ESJF

the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery in Budapest, long derelict but declared a historic monument in 2002 and since 2016 under the administration of the National Heritage Institute, and the Jewish cemetery in Chișinău, since December 2018 under restoration by the state.

After the Shoah most small town and rural Jewish cemeteries in east-central Europe in particular – but also elsewhere – were left abandoned and remained untouched until documentation, preservation, and clean-up efforts began decades after the War. Many became largely overgrown with vegetation; their walls and fences decayed; stones were toppled, vandalised, or stolen for re-use. Jewish cemeteries also, however, remain orphaned, abandoned and overgrown even

in countries less affected by the Shoah, generally in places from which Jewish communities migrated, or where old cemeteries were closed when new ones opened.

Potential visitors to many of these cemeteries may mainly be descendants of local Jews, some of whom have sponsored restoration and clean-up projects at the burial places of their ancestors. But many of these cemeteries could — and do, when people actually visit them — spark general interest, too, because of their value as historical monuments and/or because of the unique artistry found in the decoration of the stones or their romantic aspect of decay. Extraordinary examples of carved and decorated (pre-modern) Jewish gravestones are found on Sephardic tombs, such as at the Beit Haim Portuguese cemetery in Ouderkerk, the Netherlands, in the Portuguese cemetery in Altona (Hamburg), Germany, and in the Old Jewish Cemetery in Venice — all of which today are managed as sites that can be visited by tourists: at Altona, the German Foundation for Monument Protection has maintained a reception and information centre, the Eduard Duckesz House, since 2007 and carries out programmes for visitors and continuing education.[18] But the extraordinary examples of funerary art that also characterise orphaned Ashkenazi cemeteries in eastern and central Europe remain largely absent from national, regional, or local heritage promotion. In these cases, signage is an important first step in recognizing these sites as valuable and of interest. It labels them as recognising heritage.

There is no common Jewish cemetery (or Jewish heritage) logo or type of signage: it varies depending on who puts it up. Some signage is basic, simply denoting the site (which may be totally overgrown) as a Jewish cemetery. Other signage provides historical background and sometimes other information, sometimes in multiple languages.

[18] *For further information, see its website – http://www.jüdischer-friedhof-altona.de/english.html*

The vast majority of gravestones in traditional, or pre-Enlightenment Jewish cemeteries (and most up until today) bear epitaphs and inscriptions that are written totally (or partially) in Hebrew, making the stories and even the names of the people buried there incomprehensible to most visitors: Visitors can find themselves lost in a sea of unreadable epitaphs.

Jewish genealogy websites and other resources provide information on how to read a Hebrew epitaph and how to interpret the symbols and iconography – and websites of specific cemeteries also sometimes provide translations for some stones. But on-site signage, too, would be useful (if not invaluable) in translating the Hebrew epitaphs and explaining the carvings. Without this context, a visitor's encounter with a Jewish cemetery can become primarily an aesthetic, or generalised historic, experience. Types of such signage have begun to be implemented at some cemeteries – at the Beit Haim cemetery in Ouderkerk, for example (where the basic signage at tombs is supplemented by more detailed information on a free smartphone app), and at the Bagnowka Jewish cemetery in Białystok, Poland.

Access to most rural cemeteries is usually open; even those protected by a wall or fence generally have unlocked gates. Some signage on locked rural cemeteries provides a phone number or address where visitors can obtain a key – at the local museum or library, or town hall, or tourist information centre, for example, or from a designated custodian or key-holder. The web page for the Old Jewish Cemetery in Frankfurt provides the history of the cemetery, lists opening hours, offers audio guides and guided tours, and also tells visitors they can get the key at the Judengasse Museum – for a security deposit.

Ouderkerk Jewish Cemetery, Portugal. Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

Providing means to obtain a key and enter a locked cemetery is essential for visitors, especially, perhaps, for those with family connections to sites; but where the cemeteries lack permanent supervision, a balance needs to be found to preserve the sanctity of the place while allowing access. Cemeteries should be enclosed and protected, but they should not be cut off from the world — tall fences with no signage, no possibility of seeing what is inside the enclosure, and no access possibility can consign cemeteries to even greater oblivion. As the saying goes, "out of sight, out of mind."

Czech national and local tourism authorities and NGOs, in collaboration with Jewish communities, are among those that have taken pains to incorporate Jewish heritage into their general touristic offerings, a strategy that began being developed three decades ago immediately following the collapse of communism in the former Czechoslovakia. Jewish heritage sites, including cemeteries, are listed as attractions in mainstream brochures and online promotion. Czech Tourism, for example, published a brochure on Jewish heritage in the Czech Republic, which can be downloaded from its website (or read online): https://pdf.czechtourism.com/jewishheritage/

Local Czech Tourism Information Centres (TICs) often provide brochures and other information on local Jewish heritage, including cemeteries — and they can be the custodians of keys to locked Jewish cemeteries. Rural Jewish cemeteries can be signposted, either with simple directional signage or with information panels erected by a variety of interested parties. The Tachov Archives and Museum Society — TAMUS, for example, a Czech non-profit involved in documenting and preserving Jewish sites, has an ongoing project to install visitor information panels at rural Jewish cemeteries. Erected with the support of the Prague Jewish Communities and Federation of Jewish

Communities as well as local municipalities, the panels have a similar design and use text and photographs to tell the story of the local Jewish community. Some include a map of the Jewish cemetery.

In the promotion and management of tourism, Jewish cemeteries could benefit from connection with other cemeteries. As noted above, as of early 2020 no specifically Jewish cemetery was a member of the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe or was on the European Cemetery Route. As of May 2020, the Jewish community of Szeged, Hungary intended to apply for inclusion of its cemetery in the Europe Cemetery Route, aided by the Rediscover Jewish Heritage project, which has carried out clean-up and restoration in the cemetery, organises cemetery tours and is developing a smartphone app for the cemetery due to be released in 2021, to coincide with the 190th anniversary of the cemetery's foundation (Szentgyörgyi, 2020).

Victor Sorenssen, the director of the AEPJ and coordinator of the European Jewish Heritage Routes project, says he is open to exploring possibility of collaboration with the Cemetery Route, particularly as both are certified as Council of Europe cultural routes:

> *In addition to the titanic task of restoring a large number of Jewish cemeteries in Europe, which play a key role in dignifying their memory and the memory of the communities before them, it may be a good time to explore new and different transversal collaborations to promote the relevance, the importance and the significance of these heritage spaces to include a non-Jewish audience. Whether in the possible integration into the European Cemeteries Route, or the European Route of Jewish Heritage, there is much room for joint work*

on the valorisation of Jewish cemeteries, integrated with a specific offer of cultural tourism context and from a transnational, comparative and holistic perspective

Victor Sorenssen (2020)

2.7 Profiles in Tourism

The following section includes profiles of a number of Jewish cemeteries that are confronting the challenges of tourism and the development of tourism in different ways. They by no means represent the majority of such sites, nor do they represent all the strategic thinking currently employed. They do, however, provide a broad range and demonstrate a variety of possibilities and potentials for managing and promoting Jewish cemeteries.

2.7.I. PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

Old Jewish Cemetery: A Rare Example of Mass Tourism at a Jewish Cemetery

Administered by the Prague Jewish Museum

The Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague is one of the rare Jewish cemeteries that has long been recognised as an attraction and that today is subject to mass tourism, one of the must-see sights of the Czech capital. Founded in the early 15th century, it was in use until 1787 and is an example of an urban Jewish cemetery that dates from pre-modern, pre-Enlightenment times. As noted above, its spookily picturesque forest of tilted, bristling gravestones and decorative tombs, as well as the famous people buried there, have inspired artists, writers, and even folk legends for centuries.

A tour guide speaks to an American tour group at the grave of Rabbi Löw in the Old Jewish Cemetery, Prague, one of the only Jewish cemeteries that is the object of mass tourism. Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

Administered by the Prague Jewish Museum, the Old Jewish Cemetery can be visited as part of a tour of the Museum – which comprises seven venues in the city's old Jewish quarter, including the cemetery, four former synagogues, the cemetery's ceremonial hall, and a contemporary art gallery.

The Museum is consistently one of the most-visited museums in the country. In 2018 it had more than 721,000 visitors (its largest number since it reopened under Jewish

management in 1994), providing "the largest ticket revenue in its history" — more than 203 million crowns (€7.4 million) in admission fees (Prague Jewish Museum, 2018).

The Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague. Photo: Andreas Praefcke, Wikipedia.

Until the early 1990s visitors to the cemetery were allowed to wander as they chose, but the huge numbers of tourists who virtually overnight flooded Prague after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 forced the museum to confine visitors to certain paths. An urban legend circulating in 1992/93 alleged that the ground level of the cemetery had sunk by half a metre due to the tramping feet of the tourist traffic.

The role played by Rabbi Löw as a local folk hero (and focus of tourist lore) has made his tomb, that is, the tomb of a renowned religious leader, the object of secular pilgrimage. Rabbi Löw's tomb is covered by kvittlech (slips of paper with written messages) left there by visitors who may not even know who the rabbi was — they just know that leaving a message or piece of paper there is "the thing to do" — a Prague Old Jewish Cemetery not-to-miss experience.

Prague Jewish Museum website — www.jewishmuseum.cz

NOTE: Two other important Jewish cemeteries in Prague, both administered by the Jewish community, can be visited without payment. Both are located well outside the Old Jewish Quarter in the Žižkov district.

Žižkov Old Jewish Cemetery

The **Old Jewish Cemetery** in Žižkov was founded in 1680 and was in operation until 1890. It has a number of fine gravestones and is the burial place of noted rabbis. But most of the cemetery has been destroyed: first in the 1950-60s, when it was converted into a park, and then in the 1980s when the Communist regime built the huge, modernistic television tower there.

Žižkov New Jewish Cemetery

The **New Jewish Cemetery** opened in 1890 after the old Žižkov cemetery closed, as a modern urban cemetery, with landscaping, paths, and impressive family tombs in art nouveau, expressionist and other architectural styles. It is used by the Jewish community today. It draws mainstream tourists — but mainly because it is the final resting

place of Franz Kafka, whose simple, crystalline shaped gravestone has become a place of secular pilgrimage for admirers of his work.

Website: http://www.synagogue.cz/en/hrbitovy?p=24

2.7.2 WROCŁAW, POLAND

Wrocław Old Jewish Cemetery

Owned and Administered as a branch of the Wrocław City Museum

Founded in 1856 and in use until 1942, the Old Jewish Cemetery has around 12,000 gravestones and mausolea and covers 4.6 hectares. It was listed as a national historic landmark in 1975. The cemetery was already under the administration of the city's Architecture Museum in the 1980s, with the Museum publishing a 20-page guide booklet to the cemetery as a catalog to an exhibition on it held in 1984 (Łagiewski, 1984). It was opened to the public in 1988 as a **Museum of Cemetery Ar**t and since 1991 has been administered as such, as a branch of the Wrocław City Museum.

The cemetery has many elaborate tombs and is the final resting place of luminaries such as the socialist politician Ferdinand Lassalle (1825 – 1864), and the parents of the Jewish intellectual Edith Stein (who converted to Catholicism, became a nun, was killed at Auschwitz, and was proclaimed a saint by Pope John Paul II).

It is administered – and advertised – the same way as are the other off-site branches of the City Museum, with regular museum hours, ticket sales, etc, and thus forms an integral part

of the city's mainstream cultural and tourism offerings. A richly illustrated guide booklet to the cemetery can be purchased, in English as well as Polish (Łagiewski, n.d.).

Website: http://muzeum.miejskie.wroclaw.pl/museum/sztuki-cmentarnej/

2.7.3. BRNO, CZECH REPUBLIC

Brno Jewish Cemetery

Owned by the Jewish community

Tourist Information Centre on site

The Brno Jewish cemetery provides a comprehensive model of how Jewish cemeteries can be incorporated into general tourism, through on-site infrastructure, online information and connection between the Jewish community and local tourism authorities.

A Jewish Community Tourism and Information Centre (TIC) modeled after the general Czech TICs opened in January 2011 at the city's Jewish cemetery. It occupies one of the three early 20th century buildings that form the mortuary complex and sports the green "i" logo of general Czech TICs, lending it an authoritative air and linking it conceptually to general tourism infrastructures.

The cemetery, founded in 1852, is located in the Zidenice district about 2.5 km from the city centre. Beautifully maintained, it extends over three hectares and includes about 9,000 grave markers, from simple matzevot to grand family tombs, laid out amid 40 sections separated by paths and alleys.

The Visitors Centre provides a range of services, available both on site and from its website (some material can be obtained both in printed form and also downloaded from the website). In addition to information about the cemetery itself, offerings also include guided tours of other Brno Jewish sites, tourist packages, and itineraries outside the city. The centre offers stacks of free informational material, including well-produced brochures in various languages on local and regional Jewish heritage. The general Czech-German-English "Jewish Brno" brochure, which has a welcoming note from the Zidenice district mayor, can be downloaded from the Jewish TIC website — and the website also includes an interactive virtual tour of the cemetery — https://www.jewishbrno.eu/zidovsky-hrbitov/vr.

At the cemetery itself, the TIC provides individual tours as well as audio guides. A brochure guide to the cemetery includes a map locating the graves of prominent people interred there — the brochure provides brief biographies and photos of their gravestones. Moreover, there is also a computer screen in the centre with a link to the cemetery database, allowing visitors to search for individual graves. There is free WiFi access, and an English-speaking staffer is usually on-site.

The on-site Jewish Community TIC operates as part of the broader **Jewish Brno Project**, which has an extensive website aimed at tourists and other visitors to Brno and also to the southern Moravia region. The website includes text, photos, video material, and links to Jewish heritage sites throughout southern Moravia. It also includes a link to a separate section on Jewish cemeteries in the region, with databases, maps, and other documentation for Jewish cemeteries in more than 70 locations — https://cemeteries.zob.cz.

The project sees integration between print and digital resources, on-site visits, and promotion of on-site visits, with the Jewish TIC and the website serving as physical and virtual hubs. The official Czech Tourism website (which has extensive information on Jewish heritage) links to it and provides contact details.

One current drawback is that, while brochures and print material are bi- or multi-lingual, the latest version of the project's website is only available in the Czech language.

Website -- https://www.jewishbrno.eu/welcome

2.7.4. LONDON, UK

Willesden Jewish Cemetery

House of Life project
Owned and administered by: The United Synagogue, which represents mainstream Orthodox Judaism in Britain

Access, conservation and public engagement project initiated by the Jewish community. Visitor centre on site.

Established in 1873, Willesden Jewish Cemetery is England's pre-eminent Victorian Jewish cemetery, owned and operated by the United Synagogue (US). The cemetery covers 8.5 hectares in northwest London and has some 27,000 burials. It is still an active burial ground with about 25 funerals a year. Among the burials are hundreds of notable people, such as Julius Vogel, the eighth Prime Minister of New Zealand; Lionel de Rothschild, the first Jewish Member of Parliament and his son, the first Jewish member of the House of Lords; and pioneering scientist Rosalind Franklin, who helped discover DNA.

The historic and community significance of the cemetery is recognised on a national level. In 2017, Historic England listed the cemetery's Victorian funerary buildings and three tombs, including that of Franklin, as Grade II historic monuments. Also, the cemetery is the only Jewish cemetery registered as a Park or Garden of Special Historic Interest in England.

Starting in 2015, US initiated an ambitious project to conserve the cemetery and "open it as a site of heritage for the public." The project is called **House of Life** — the idea, administrators say, was to take a traditional Jewish term for a cemetery — "Beit Haim" — and turn it around to promote the idea of bringing people into a cemetery for learning, volunteering, events and other activities based on the history of the site and life stories of people buried there.

By spring 2020 the project had nearly completed capital works to buildings and landscape and was about to open a new Visitor Centre in the former Superintendent's Lodge, with new interpretive displays indoors and outdoors telling stories of people buried here, the history of the community and Jewish burial custom. The website www.willesdenjewishcemetery.org.uk was launched in the summer of 2020. Activities at the cemetery in 2019 also included online content, such as webinars, courses, and events.

Major funding has come from the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF):

- In 2015 initial support and a development grant of £321,000
- In January 2018 a £1.7 million grant towards delivery over three years of a £2.3 million conservation and public engagement project.

Visiting is encouraged through regular guided walks by volunteer guides, and Open Days with talks, workshops and other events. A special exhibition at the local public Library at Willesden Green for four months up till February 2020 attracted more than 7,000 visitors with a programme including talks and a concert of music associated with people buried at the cemetery. Also 2019 activities at the cemetery included a tour

of the graves of prominent women to mark International Women's Day. In May 2019, more than 100 people took part in "Inheritance Day" where stories were told at the graveside by descendants and researchers. Volunteers include people from a range of backgrounds planting new biodiverse gardens, leading tours, researching, taking photographs, giving talks in the local community, and supporting schools workshops.

As the cemetery lies several kilometres from central London and is not in a traditional tourist area, it has to be viewed as a "destination" in itself — casual or drop-in visits are welcome. It does not include a café, in conformity with Jewish custom which prohibits eating and drinking on site, but there are WCs and disabled access as well as on-site parking.

According to House of Life Project Leader and Curator Hester Abrams: "We want more and a wider range of people to connect with our heritage, to value and protect it. We will grow visiting and volunteering so Willesden has a bright future as a 'House of Life.'"

Website: www.willesdenjewishcemetery.org.uk

2.7.5. WARSAW, POLAND

Okopowa Street Jewish Cemetery

Owned and operated by the Warsaw Jewish Community; in use by the community. Restoration in progress, funded by the Polish government; carried out by the Foundation for Cultural Heritage

Okopowa is Warsaw's main Jewish cemetery, founded in 1806; it — astonishingly — suffered relatively little damage during and after World War II other than neglect. It

covers 33 hectares and includes 85,000 gravestones, of which some 80,000 have had their inscriptions documented. Okopowa is the major surviving site of Jewish material heritage in Warsaw. Many famous personalities are buried there or commemorated there, and despite being largely overgrown and in poor condition it has long been on Jewish heritage itineraries in the city.

Clean-up efforts have taken place for years but have been hampered by the size and lack of funds. These got a huge boost in late 2017, when the Polish Government granted €24 million to the Foundation for Cultural Heritage to invest in Polish state companies and then use the annual profit to restore Okopowa. The Foundation has been carrying out restoration work, which it documents on its website.

Witold Wrzosinski, a seasoned researcher on Jewish cemeteries in Poland, became director of Okopowa on March 1, 2020 and, working closely with the Foundation and its director Michal Laszczkowski, has ambitious plans to develop the cemetery for visitors.

He outlined three main tracks:

- A **free smartphone app** that can be downloaded via the free WiFi available at the ticket office at the entrance to the cemetery. The app would include a detailed map of the cemetery, as well as maps to a series of thematic trails visitors can self-guide and follow. Plans are for the app to have either multilingual audio or text about all the important points via QR Codes placed at the sites or GPS signatures. One trail (already delineated) would follow the tombs created by the pre-World War II sculptor Abraham Ostrzega: in 2017 the Foundation restored 24 of Ostrzega's tombs and traced an

A guide addresses an American tour group at the monument to Janusz Korszak (the orphanage director who accompanied his orphans to Treblinka) in the Okopowa Jewish cemetery. Photo: Ruth Ellen Gruber

educational trail.[19] Other trails could include a religious trail; a military trail; a Shoah trail; and various others featuring the graves of artists and journalists, businesspeople and industrialists, progressive activists (leftists, syndicalists, anarchists, feminists, early LGBTQ personalities etc.) The app would also

[19] *Ostrzega 's work was also featured in an exhibition at the Zacheta gallery. The map of the Ostrzega trail can be downloaded here: https://zacheta.art.pl/public/upload/mediateka/pdf/59242d3961058.pdf*

allow self-guided general tours in three lengths (one hour, two hours, three hours).

- **A Visitors' Centre.** Plans are to rebuild the original Beit Tahara for this purpose and also offices and an educational space.
- **Vegetation management.** The plan is to create a parklike atmosphere by preserving and controlling the vegetation currently in place, rather than razing all vegetation (such as has been done at some other cemeteries, such as in Chișinău, Moldova). Wrzosinski says some trees will being cut down, and some brush cleared, mostly black locust, Asian knotweed and poplar varieties, as they "are very invasive, harmful to tombstones and do not create the right ecosystem (we want birds that sing and we want flowers – not nettles, swallow-worts, rooks and magpies)." These plants all grew up in the cemetery since World War II.

Wrzosinski states:

> *My vision right now is to repair all paths and remove most representatives of new, invasive species, but otherwise let the nature run more or less wild inside the deeper cemetery sections and leave most tombstones there as they are right now — so that it becomes a garden of memory of sorts: at the same time a sign of what happened to the community, a half-wild, British-style park and a remnant of the glorious past of Warsaw Jewry*

Cemetery website (Foundation for Cultural Heritage) -- https://cmentarzzydowski.pl/en/

Bródno Jewish Cemetery

Owned and administered: by the Warsaw Jewish Community.

Exhibition/Information centre on site (but lack of visitors due to location)

Almost totally destroyed and neglected for decades, the cemetery, located in the Praga district across the Vistula river from downtown Warsaw, was returned to the Warsaw Jewish community in 2012, and since 2014 the Community has carried out extensive restoration work, allocating about $1 million for the project, which includes high-quality infrastructure for tourists and other visitors.

Founded in 1780, Bródno is the oldest surviving Jewish cemetery in Warsaw and the largest in terms of the number of burials – more than 250,000 people are believed to be interred there. However, the cemetery was already neglected by the 1930s, after suffering damage in World War I. Then it was devastated during and after World War II, with most of its gravestones uprooted, removed and used as building material. Most of the area of the cemetery is bare – and many thousands of uprooted matzevot still lie piled up in huge heaps at the far end of the cemetery grounds.

Beit Almin (House of Eternity), a visitor's centre and permanent exhibition on Jewish funeral traditions and cemetery history, opened in February 2018, with a small but excellent permanent exhibit using text, photos, maps, and other images to present the concepts of death and burial in Jewish tradition, religion and culture as well as tell the story of the cemetery itself.

NOTE: Opening the centre marked a major step in the reclamation and restoration of the cemetery and added a well-designed, informative, and easily visited Jewish heritage

site to the city's offerings. But the cemetery's location — far from other Jewish heritage sites and other city tourist attractions — proved an insurmountable challenge. Word came in Spring 2020 that the cemetery and Beit Almin would sharply curtail their activity and opening hours because of lack of visitors.

Website: https://www.facebook.com/bejtalmin/

2.7.6. PLYMOUTH, UK

The Old Jewish Burial Ground at Plymouth Hoe

Owned by Plymouth Hebrew Congregation

On-site Audio Tours on open History Days; audio tour podcasts available online; on-site visits by appointment

Founded in the first half of the 18th century, the cemetery is the oldest surviving Jewish burial ground outside London. It functioned until the mid-19th century, when a new cemetery was opened in a different location. A documentation was made in the early 20th century, and in the 1960s Rabbi Bernard Susser carried out further documentation, publishing a lengthy monograph on the cemetery's history and its tombstone inscriptions in 1972.[20]

Nonetheless the Plymouth Hoe cemetery was long abandoned, all but forgotten, and thickly overgrown behind its tall walls until recent years. Clean-up of the hidden burial ground began around 2015. Historic England listed it as a Grade II historic site in 2017.

[20] *This has been updated several times since and is now available online via the JewishGen.org website https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/susser/plymouthtombstones.htm*

The cemetery was rediscovered and opened to visitors thanks to the initiative of Jerry Sibley, the Plymouth Jewish community caretaker, who became fascinated by the cemetery when he responded to a neighborhood complaint about overflow vegetation and entered for the first time. He cleared the area of the rampant weeds and trees, and then sought ways to encourage visitors and bring the cemetery and its history to the attention of the public.

With the congregation's backing, he enlisted a local theatre collective, Ripple Theatre, run by Derek Frood and Ruth Mitchell, to create an audio trail through the cemetery recounting the lives of people buried there. Ripple had already created and staged a biography and memoir-based performance in 2013 at the Plymouth synagogue (itself a Grade II listed historic building).

The first audio trail debuted at the first public event at the cemetery, which took place during the Plymouth History Festival in 2016. The success of this experiment enabled Ripple to get foundation and other funding to produce a more ambitious audio trail, which debuted at the Plymouth History Festival in June 2017 and was repeated in September 2017 for the Plymouth Art Weekender Festival.

The production uses archival and other sources to tell stories and dramatise events and personalities, through professional use of sound effects, music, and the voices of professional actors, focusing on the people whose headstones visitors can see as they walk through the site. People can use MP3 players provided on-site or can download the audio tours like podcasts onto their own devices. The success of this project secured further funding from Exeter City Council and the Arts Council to expand the Plymouth tours into a broader project, "Hidden Stories: Hidden Places," that now includes similar dramatised audio tours of the Exeter Jewish Cemetery and The Falmouth Jewish Cemetery. The audios can be heard on Soundcloud.

"The idea that people could wander around listening to a soundtrack meant that the peace and stillness of the site remained which is something we felt was important," Mitchell wrote in a 2017 blog post. She quoted feedback from one visitor:

> *The music and voices really made the people 'come alive' the particular reference about the physicality of the Stonehouse police suddenly jolted me into the realisation that I was standing on the remains of that particular body and I found that a very powerful moment. The other thing that impacted on me was noticing the other listeners. They were randomly dotted around the cemetery, solemn statues, heads bent down like they were watching over the dead; every so often they would slowly move to a new grave and take up their positions again. It's difficult to put into words, but it felt like a strange transposition, the dead being brought to life by the stories while the living had become immobile listening to them*
>
> **Mitchell** (n.d.)

Ripple Theatre website: https://rippletheatreco.com/

2.7.7. MÁD, HUNGARY

"Footsteps of Wonder Rabbis"

Centre for religious pilgrimage as well as mainstream and Jewish heritage tourism

The Jewish tourism hub "Footsteps of Wonder Rabbis" opened in 2016 in the quaint wine-making village of Mád and caters to a mix of religious pilgrims, wine-lovers, and

mainstream tourists alike in the Tokaj wine region of northeastern Hungary. It also provides useful information for genealogists including documentation of local Jewish cemeteries, a Shoah names database, some census information, and digitised photos, documents, and interviews.

The project is a rare (if not unique) example of the integration of religious pilgrimage and secular tourism, focusing primarily on Jewish cemeteries.

The Footsteps project was established by EMIH (Unified Hungarian Jewish Community) – a branch of the Hasidic Chabad movement, and is professionally managed. It was developed with around €1.5 million in EU/Hungarian government funding granted as part of a broader project for tourism development in northeastern Hungary.

The Centre is housed in the renovated former rabbi's house and yeshiva that had long stood derelict next to the village's baroque synagogue, whose 2004 restoration received the Europa Nostra prize. (EMIH leased the buildings from the municipality, which owns them.) It includes guest rooms, has a kosher kitchen and dining facilities, and also features a narrative exhibition on local Jewish history and the Jewish families who lived in the village and surrounding area.

The project's website offers general tourism information – including mainstream cultural heritage and nature trails – as well as information and itineraries focusing on the Jewish heritage and pilgrimage sites: Jewish cemeteries in Mád and nearby villages such as Olaszliszka and Bodrogkeresztúr include the graves of noted rabbis and are the object of pilgrimage by individuals and groups throughout the year. (Followers of the rabbis have restored the cemeteries and in some cases have built ohels and other infrastructure to accommodate pilgrims – there is a kosher

pilgrimage centre, for example, in Bodrogkeresztúr, in the house where the Tzaddik Saje Steiner lived.)

Among other programmes, the Centre offers a bookable, 150-km long Pilgrimage Route package — apparently for both religious visitors and others, that starts and ends in Mád and "touches 10 towns and villages as it winds its way through the Jewish memorial sites and the architectural heritage of the Tokaj-Hegyalja region. The pilgrimage is described on the programme's website as follows:

> *During the pilgrimage pilgrims visit the gravesites of late wonder rabbis, learn about the rabbis' lives, the legends surrounding their lives, the history, traditions and regional role of the former Jewish population of the towns they visit, and get the opportunity to experience the breathtaking scenery of Tokaj-Hegyalja. The start and end point of the pilgrimage route is the Jewish Cultural Information Centre in Mád, which used to be the Rabinical school. The pilgrimage is bookable as a touristic service package that includes a guided tour of a section of the pilgrimage route. Visitors are free to choose the length of the section they would like to visit.*

According to Project Manager Mariann Frank, in the first year of operation, around 12,000 people visited the Centre, 60 percent of them Hungarians; 20 percent orthodox Jews from abroad, mainly the United States, visiting the tombs of the rabbis — almost all of them whom had family roots in the region; 10 percent non-orthodox Jews from Israel and other countries, and 10 percent non-Jewish foreign tourists. The orthodox pilgrims mostly came on group trips organised by a kosher travel agent or by rabbis or other community leaders, but sometimes large religious families came for a heritage tour. A new low-cost air link between Tel Aviv and Debrecen, in eastern Hungary, was

expected to bolster the numbers of Israeli tourists to the region. In 2019, there were some 15.000 visitors, 30% orthodox Jews from the US and Europe, 50 Hungarians (mainly non-Jews), and 20 percent international tourists (Frank, 2020).

Website – http://footstepsofwonderrabbis.com/en

2.7.8. OSOBLAHA (CZ) – BIAŁA (PL) TRAIL

An EU-funded cross-border project inaugurated in 2019 focused on revitalizing and linking touristically the related historic Jewish cemeteries in the remote little towns of Osoblaha, Czech Republic and nearby Biała, Poland. Both cemeteries have headstones dating to the 17th century.

Called "In Search of Beautiful Jewish Cemeteries," the project came under the cross-border European Regional Development Fund. It was implemented by the Osoblaha and Biała municipalities as a way of fostering cooperation between the two towns, which are located about 15 km from each other across the Czech-Polish border. The total budget (including both sides of the border) was around €68,000, with the EU providing more than €55,000.

The goal was to promote cross-border cultural tourism – and one of the facets of the project was charting a tourist trail between the two cemeteries. The route is signposted with arrows pointing the way to both cemeteries.

The project also included repair of the wall around the Osoblaha cemetery and restoration of gravestones, and installation of new signage. (Both cemeteries already had basic informational signage erected at their entrances.) In Biała, a new, 120 meter

cobblestone walkway leading to the cemetery's entrance was created, with benches, handrails, bicycle racks, new information panels, and other infrastructure, and parts of the cemetery were cleared of vegetation. Promotional material was also published and events organised.

Osoblaha is in Czech Silesia, and the cemetery is unique in the Czech Republic because of the strong influence of Silesian-style gravestone art. It has been recognised as a historic site and well maintained for decades. The gravestones in the cemetery in Biała have similar forms, but much of the cemetery, located on a hill, remains largely overgrown (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2019).

Concluding remarks: the ESJF Pilot Project "Protecting the Jewish Heritage of Europe" and its implications for sustainable tourism

Few projects have targeted Jewish heritage sites on a comparable scale to the pilot project ''Protecting the Jewish Heritage of Europe'', especially in such a short range of time. In the course of 18 months, our surveyors visited nearly 1,500 Jewish cemeteries in 5 countries. Each time, they contacted local authorities, when possible, reached out to local historians, school teachers, and NGOs. Establishing connection is a key first step, but developing long-term collaboration is impossible in such a short period of time. However, these mass surveys allowed the organisation to map not only Jewish cemeteries themselves, but survey local infrastructures, interest, plans and aspirations.

As this assessment showed, Jewish heritage has gained a lot more attention in the past decades than before. In the current climate, when monument-centred tourism seems to have been complemented with alternatives, it is crucial to channel this attention away from the centre, towards less explored, less spectacular heritage sites. A more comprehensive, even Jewish cemetery tourism would benefit local communities and local economies; maintaining it could be a lot more sustainable, especially if facilitated through local participation, financial, and managerial strategies.

In the course of our surveys we were surprised to find that many mayors were hesitant to recognise their local, often damaged, Jewish cemeteries as potential heritage sites.

Although there has been a turn away from monumental heritage towards community-based, lived heritage, no shared consensus on the issue has been reached across Europe.

This being so, the ESJF pilot project found that **education programmes offered a key step in opening these sites for local communities**, encouraging them to explore these testimonies of bygone Jewish life, and to proactively reimagine them as *their own* heritage.

Especially when combined with upkeep and renovation, the increased attention has become a source of local pride in many cases. This shows that heritage work often starts at the gesture of recognition.

The ESJF surveys show that it is often difficult to propose protection plans that would pose huge financial burdens on already stretched local budgets, especially in more remote, less affluent areas, but that small interventions — like the surveys themselves and regular cleanups — can and do translate into more substantial local involvement. When these initial steps are encouraged, and connected to peers, a small-scale protection infrastructure is born, one that in turn allows more substantial grassroots involvement to take hold.

Recognition, documentation, dissemination, and support are all key pillars of these processes. With this report, we hope to have laid out key directions and challenges, offer inspiring examples, and caution against common problems in developing long-term, sustainable tourism in Jewish cemeteries. Tourist engagement, done well, could contribute immensely to the protection of these vulnerable heritage sites, providing local and international benefits to secular and religious populations alike. Our goals are to shift Jewish heritage tourism in the direction of social and economic sustainability and to propagate reflexive, informed, and respectful engagement in our project countries and beyond.

ההרבני המנ של

הרב הגביר המפורסים
מוהרר אברהם יעקב
בן המנוח מו צבי הירש
הילפרדינג ז"ל

כתר שם טוב

אבן את מצבת קברך
כל עמהללך הוצבה משמרת
רב גדלך טובך וצדקת ישרך

Bibliography

AMION. (2010) English Heritage: Impact of Historic Environment Regeneration. Final Report, 1 October 2010. Liverpool: AMION Consulting Limited. https://historicengland.org.uk/content/heritage-counts/pub/impact-he-regeneration/

"An unusual stroll through the Pere Lachaise cemetery." (n.d.) ParisInfo, viewed June 10 2020, https://en.parisinfo.com/discovering-paris/walks-in-paris/unusual-stroll-cemetery-pere-lachaise

Angrisano, Mariarosaria. (2016) "Towards Operationalizing UNESCO Recommendations on 'Historic Urban Landscape': A Position Paper", Aestimum 69: pp.165– 210.

Arias Sans, Albert, and Alan Quaglieri Domínguez. (2016) "Unravelling Airbnb: Urban Perspectives from Barcelona." In Reinventing the Local in Tourism: Producing, Consuming and Negotiating Place, ed. by Antonio Paolo Russo and Alan Quaglieri Domínguez. Bristol, Buffalo, and Toronto: Channel View: pp.209–228

Ashworth, George J., Brian J. Graham, and John E. Tunbridge. (2007) Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies. London: Pluto Press.

Backman, Mikaela, and Pia Nilsson. (2016) "The Role of Cultural Heritage in Attracting Skilled Individuals." Journal of Cultural Economics 42: pp.111–138.

Barile, Sergio, and Marialuisa Saviano. (2014) "Resource Integration and Value Co-creation in Cultural Heritage Management." In Management of Cultural Products: E-Relationship Marketing and Accessibility Perspectives, ed. by Lucia Aiello. Hershey PA: Business Science Reference: pp.58–82.

Barile, Sergio, Massimo Montella, and Marialuisa Saviano. (2011) "Enhancement, Viability and Value of Cultural Heritage: Towards a Service-Based Systems Approach." In Service-Dominant Logic, Network and Systems Theory, and Service Science: Integrating Three Perspectives for a New Service Agenda, ed. Evert Gummesson, Cristina Mele, and Francesco Polese. Naples: Giannini.

Bonacchi, Chiara, et al. (2019) "Participation in Heritage Crowdsourcing." Museum Management and Curatorship 34, no. 2: pp.166–182.
Bonfantini, G. Bernardo. (2012) "Planning the Historic Centres in Italy: For a Critical Outline." The Journal of Urbanism 25, no. 2: pp.1–19.
Bonfantini, G. Bertrando. (2015) "Historic Urbanscapes for Tomorrow, Two Italian Cases: Genoa and Bologna." European Spatial Research and Policy 22, no. 2: pp.57–71.
Boros, Lajos, et al. (2018) "Airbnb in Budapest: Analysing Spatial Patterns and Room Rates of Hotels and Peer-to-Peer Accommodations. Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites 10, no. 1: pp.26–38.
Buckley, Ralf. (2012) "Sustainable Tourism: Research and Reality." Annals of Tourism Research 39, no. 2: pp.528–546.
Butler, Richard W. (1999) "Sustainable Tourism: A State-of-the-Art Review." Tourism Geographies 1, no. 1: pp.7–25.
Chan, Jin Hooi, et al. (2016) "The Role of Self-Gentrification in Sustainable Tourism: Indigenous Entrepreneurship at Honghe Hani Rice Terraces World Heritage Site, China." Journal of Sustainable Tourism 24, nos. 8-9: pp.1262–1279.
Chandler, Jennifer D., and Stephen L. Vargo. (2011) "Contextualization and Value-In-Context: How Context Frames Exchange." Marketing Theory 11, no. 1: pp.35–49.
CHCFE. (2015) Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe. CHCFE Consortium Report. Cracow: International Cultural Centre. Accessible at: https://www.europanostra.org/our-work/policy/cultural-heritage-counts-europe/
Chitty, Gill, and Claire Smith. (2019) "Principles into Policy: Assessing the Impact of Conservation and Principles in Local Planning Policy". The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice 10, nos. 3–4: pp.282–299.
Cinà, Giuseppe, Merve Demiröz, and Qi Mu. (2019) "Participation and Conflict Between Local Community and Institutions in Conservation Processes: The Case of Novara Old Town." Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development 9, no. 2: pp.134–148.
Cocola-Gant, Augustin. (2014) "The Invention of the Barcelona Gothic Quarter." Journal of Heritage Tourism 9, no. 1: pp.18–34.

Cocola-Gant, Augustin. (2018) "Tourism Gentrification." In Handbook of Gentrification Studies, ed. by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 281–293. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

COE. (2010) "European Jewish Cemeteries Route", COE website, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-european-cemeteries-route>

COE. (2012). Jewish cemeteries. Resolution 1883, viewed 10 June 2020, http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=18723&lang=EN

COE. (n.d) "Cultural Route of the Council of Europe Certification", viewed 10 June 2020, https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/certification1

COE. (2005) Explanatory Report to the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. Faro, 27 October 2005. Council of Europe Treaty Series, no. 199. Accessible at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention

Cohen, Israel. (1953) Travels in Jewry. New York: Dutton: pp.79, 214.

Cohen, Richard I. (1998) Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe. Berkeley: University of California Press: p.195.

Colomb, Claire, and Johannes Novy. (2016). "Urban Tourism and its Discontents: An Introduction." In Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City, ed. by Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy. London and New York: Routledge: pp.1–30.

Debbage, Keith G., and Suzanne Gallaway. (2009). "Global Tourism Business Operations—Theoretical Frameworks and Key Issues." In The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies, ed. by Tazim, Jamal, and Mike Robinson. Los Angeles et al.: SAGE: pp.581–594.

Development Policies. (2013) Adopted in Hangzhou, People's Republic of China, on 17 May 2013. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/FinalHangzhouDeclaration20130517.pdf

Döblin, Alfred. (1991) Journey to Poland. Translated from German by J. Neugroschel. New York: Paragon House: pp.11, 131.

Donaldson, Ronnie. (2017). "Rural (Small Town) Tourism-Led Gentrification." In Ronnie Donaldson, Small Town Tourism in South Africa. Cham: Springer: pp.119–146.

Dudás, Gábor, et al. (2017). "A Socio-Economic Analysis of Airbnb in New York City." Regional Studies 7, no. 1: pp.135–151.

Dümcke, Cornelia, and Mikhail Gnedovsky. (2013). The Social and Economic Value of Cultural Heritage: Literature Review. EENC Paper, July 2013. Brussels: of Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission. https://cercles.diba.cat/documentsdigitals/pdf/E130162.pdf

Echeverri, Per, and Per Skålén. (2011) "Co-Creation and Co-Destruction: A Practice-Theory Based Study of Interactive Value Formation. Marketing Theory 11, no. 3: pp.351–373.

EDJC. (2019) European Days of Jewish Culture Report 2019, viewed 10 June 2020, https://www.jewisheritage.org/upload/edjc/pdf/EDJC_report_2019.pdf

ESPON. (2019) Material Cultural Heritage as a Strategic Territorial Development Resource: Mapping Impacts Through a Set of Common European Socio-economic Indicators; Targeted Analysis. Scientific Annex 27/09/2019. https://www.espon.eu/cultural-heritage

EU. (2018) The European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018. Official webpage, "about" section, available at: https://europa.eu/cultural-heritage/about_en.html

Frank, M. (2020) "A Jewish Heritage tourism hub in NE Hungary serves religious pilgrims and mainstream tourists alike" on Jewish Heritage Europe, visited 10 June 2020, <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2017/10/15/a-jewish-heritage-tourism-hub-in-ne-hungary/>Frank, M. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber, 24 May 2020.

G, Sandra. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber, 19 May 2020.

García-Hernández, María, Manuel De la Calle-Vaquero, and Claudia Yubero. 2017. "Cultural Heritage and Urban Tourism: Historic City Centres under Pressure." Sustainability 9, no. 8: 1346 (doi:10.3390/su9081346).

Glass, Ruth, ed. (1964). London: Aspects of Change. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Golinelli, Gaetano Maria. (2010). Viable Systems Approach (VSA): Governing Business Dynamics. Padua: CEDAM.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. (2005) "Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter)." Urban Studies, 42, no. 7: pp.1099–1121.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. (2018) “Assessing and Advancing Research on Tourism Gentrification.” Via Tourism Review 13: 2169 (doi:10.4000/viatourism.2169).
Graham, Brian, and Peter Howard. (2008) “Heritage and Identity.” In The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 1–15. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Gražulevičiūtė, Indrė. (2006) “Cultural Heritage in the Context of Sustainable Development.” Environmental Research, Engineering and Management 37, no. 3: pp.74–79.
Groeber, Ulrich. (2007) Deep Roots: A Conceptual History of ‘Sustainable Development’ (Nachhaltigkeit). WZB Discussion Paper, no. P 2007-002. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
Gruber, Ruth E. (2002) Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: p.131.
Gruber, Samuel D. (2013) “Preservation of Jewish Heritage: Past, Present, and Future.” Conference on Managing Jewish Immovable Heritage in Europe, Krakow, April 23-25, 2013, viewed 10 June 2020, https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/conferences/working-seminar-jewish-immovable-heritage/dr-samuel-d-grubers-keynote-address/
Harrison, Rodney. (2013) Heritage: Critical Approaches. London and New York: Routledge.
Harvey, David C. (2003) “‘National’ Identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage: Continuity and Change at Ancient Monuments in Britain and Ireland, c.1675-1850. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 28, no. 4: pp.473–487.
Harvey, David C. (2008) “The History of Heritage”. In The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard. Aldershot: Ashgate: pp.19–36.
Harvey, David, and Jim Perry. (2015). “Heritage and Climate Change: The Future is Not the Past.” In The Future of Heritage as Climates Change: Loss, Adaptation and Creativity, ed. by David Harvey and Jim Perry. London: Routledge: pp.3–21.
Historic England. (2015). Conservation Principles Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment. https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesandguidanceapril08web/

Humphrey, Grace. (1931) Poland the Unexplored. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill: 17.

Images of the Prague Ghetto for the 100th Anniversary of the Jewish Museum in Prague. (2006) Jewish Museum of Prague. 17 May – 8 August, 2006, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://www.jewishmuseum.cz/en/program-and-education/exhibits/archive-exhibits/333/>

Ioannides, Dimitri, Michael Röslmaier, and Egbert van der Zee. (2018) "Airbnb as an Instigator of 'Tourism Bubble' Expansion in Utrecht's Lombok Neighbourhood." Tourism Geographies 21, no. 5: pp.820–840.

Jamal, Tazim, and Mike Robinson, eds. (2009) The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies. Los Angeles et al.: SAGE.

Jewish Burial Grounds: Understanding Values. (2015) Barker Langham, on behalf of Historic England. December 2015

"Jewish Cemetery". (n.d) Dark Tourism, viewed 10 June 2020, http://www.dark-tourism.com/index.php/15-countries/individual-chapters/1173-jewishcemeterywarsaw

"Jewish Museum in Prague 2018 Annual Report". (2018) Jewish Museum in Prague, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://c.jewishmuseum.cz/files/documents/annual-reports/2018_AR_JMP_eng_web.pdf>

Kadish, Sharman. (2011) "The Situation, Preservation and Care of Jewish Cemeteries in the United Kingdom." In Bertele, Esther and Zieseme, John (eds). Jüdische Friedhöfe und Bestattungskultur in Europa/Jewish Cemeteries and Burial Culture in Europe. Berlin: ICOMOS, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/icomoshefte/article/view/20217/14004>

Kassow, Samuel. (2008) "Polish Jews and the Landkentenish Movement in the 1920s and 1930s." in Brauch, Julia; Lipphardt, Anna; and Nocke, Alexandra, eds. Jewish Topographies: Visions of Soace, Traditions of Place. Aldershot: Ashgate: pp.243, 254

KEA. (2015) Feasibility study on data collection and analysis in the cultural and creative sectors in the EU: September 2015. Brussels: KEA European Affairs. https://ec.europa.eu/culture/library/feasibility-study-data-collection-and-analysis-cultural-and-creative-sectors-eu_en

Klein, Rudolf. (2018) Metropolitan Jewish Cemeteries: of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central and Eastern Europe. Berlin: ICOMOS/Imhof Verlag.

Kleinaltenkamp, Michael, et al. 2012. “Resource Integration.” Marketing Theory 12, no. 2: 201–205.

Kohler, Kaufmann. (1906) “Cemetery.” In online edition of The Jewish Encyclopedia. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901-1906, viewed 10 June 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4168-cemetery>

Kusmin, Triin. (2018) “A Collaborative Inventory of Cultural Heritage in the Landscape.” Paper presented at the international conference Citizens Involved: Participatoty Governance of Built Heritage, October 3-4, 2018, Amersfoort. http://www.e-rihs.eu/international-conference-participatory-governance-built-cultural-heritage-3-4-october-2018-amersfoort-netherlands

Labadi, Sophia and Colin Long. 2010. “Introduction.” In Heritage and Globalisation, ed. by Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 1–16. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Łagiewski, Maciej. (1984) Najstarszy Cmentarz Wrocławia: żydowski cmentarz przy ul. Ślężnej. Muzeium Architektury we Wrocławiu.

Łagiewski, Maciej. (n.d) An Old Jewish Cemetery in Wrocław. Wrocław: Via Nova.

Lehrer, Erica, and Michael Meng, eds. (2015). Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Loulanski, Tolina and, Vesselin Loulanski. 2011. “The Sustainable Integration of Cultural Heritage and Tourism: A Meta-Study.” Journal of Sustainable Tourism 19, no. 7: pp.837– 862.

Lowenthal, Marvin. (1933) A World Passed By. New York, Harper & Brothers: pp.Xv, 257, 332, 199, 202

Luck, Edward C. (2018). Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage. J. Paul Getty Trust Occasional Papers in Cultural Heritage Policy, no. 2. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust.

Lusiani, Maria and Luca Zan. (2013). “Planning and Heritage.” Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development 3, no. 2: pp.108–115.

Marschall, Sabine. (2008). “The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies.” In The Ashgate Research

Companion to Heritage and Identity, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard. Aldershot: Ashgate: pp.347–363.
Mazzanti, Massimiliano. (2002) "Cultural Heritage as Multi-Dimensional, Multi-Value and Multi-Attribute Economic Good: Toward a New Framework for Economic Analysis of Valuation." The Journal of Socio-Economics 31, no. 5: pp.529–558.
Mitchell, R. (n.d) "Starting to Find out Hidden Stories: Hidden Places". Ruth Mitchell Theatre Maker, visited 10 June 2020, <https://ruthmitchelltheatremaker.com/2017/04/30/starting-to-find-our-hidden-storieshidden-places/>
Mosse, George L. (1990) Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars. Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp.40-41
Muresan, Iulia C., et al. (2016) "Local Residents' Attitude toward Sustainable Rural Tourism Development." Sustainability 8, no. 1: 100 (doi:10.3390/su8010100).
Nahon, Gerard. (2011) "Jewish Cemeteries in France." In Bertele, Esther and Zieseme, John (eds). Jüdische Friedhöfe und Bestattungskultur in Europa/Jewish Cemeteries and Burial Culture in Europe. Berlin: ICOMOS, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/icomoshefte/article/view/20216/14003>
Nelson, Peter B., Alexander Oberg, and Lise Nelson. (2010) "Rural Gentrification and Linked Migration in the United States." Journal of Rural Studies 26, no. 4: pp.343–352.
Orbaşlı, Aylin, and Simon Woodward. (2009) "Tourism and Heritage Conservation." In The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies, ed. by Tazim, Jamal, and Mike Robinson, 314–332. Los Angeles et al.: SAGE.
Overkamp, Tim, et al. (2018) "Resource Integration as a Perspective on Value in Interaction Design." In Proceedings of the 32nd International BCS Human Computer Interaction Conference, July 2018, article no. 79. Swindon UK: BCS Learning & Development Ltd. https://doi.org/10.14236/ewic/HCI2018.79
Paraskevopoulou, Ioanna. (n.d) "Cemetery tourism: A self-conscious tourism". Cemeteries Routes website, viewed 10 June 2020, <https://cemeteriesroute.eu/news/cemetery-tourism–a-self-conscious-tourism.aspx>
Philipson, David. (1894) Old European Jewries. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society: 76-79.
Pixová, Michaela, and Jan Sládek. (2016) "Touristification and Awakening Civil Society in Post-

Socialist Prague." In Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City, ed. by Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy. London and New York: Routledge: pp.73–89.
Polyák, Levente et al. (2019a) "Stará Tržnica." OpenHeritage Observatory Case. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/9_Open-Heritage_Stara-Trznica-Bratislava_Observatory-Case.pdf
Polyák, Levente et al. (2019b) "Cascina Roccafranca." OpenHeritage Observatory Case. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1_Open-Heritage_Cascina-Roccafrance_Observatory-Case.pdf
Popp, Monika. (2012) "Positive and Negative Urban Tourist Crowding: Florence, Italy." Tourism Geographies 14, no. 1: pp.50–72.
Postal, Bernard and Abramson, Samuel H. (1962). The Landmarks of a People: A Guide to Jewish Sites in Europe. New York: Hill & Wang: pp.vi, vii, 191.
Rachlin, Harvey. (2013) "The Jewish Cemetery: Jacob van Ruisdael's Homage to Religious Freedom." The Jewish Press, 31 May 31, 2013.
Ramaswamy, Venkat. (2010) "It's about Human Experiences … and Beyond, to Co-Creation." Industrial Marketing Management 40, no. 2: pp.195–196.
Redclift, Michael R. (2005) "Sustainable Development (1987–2005): An Oxymoron Comes of Age." Sustainable Development 13: pp.212–227.
"Rediscover". (n.d.) Interreg, viewed 10 June 2020, <http://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects/rediscover>
Richards, Greg. (2018) "Cultural Tourism: A Review of Recent Research and Trends, Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management 36: pp.12–21.
Russo, Antonio Paolo, and Alan Quaglieri Domínguez. (2016) "The Shifting Spatial Logic of Tourism in Networked Hospitality." In Reinventing the Local in Tourism: Producing, Consuming and Negotiating Place, ed. by Antonio Paolo Russo and Alan Quaglieri Domínguez, 15–34. Bristol, Buffalo, and Toronto: Channel View.
Russo, Antonio Paolo. (2002) "The 'vicious circle' of tourism development in heritage cities." Annals of Tourism Research 29, no. 1: pp.165–182.
Sacerdoti, Annie. (2020) Online discussion organised by the Jewish Museum in Lecce. 21 May, 2020

Schulbaum, Olivier, and Ann Marie Utratel. 2019. “LaFábrika detodalavida.” OpenHeritage Observatory Case. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/7_OpenHeritage_LaF%C3%A1brika_Maimona_observatory-case.pdf

Šmid Hribar, Mateja David Bole, and Primož Pipan. (2015) “Sustainable Heritage Management: Social, Economic and Other Potentials of Culture in Local Development. Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences 188: pp.103–110.

Sorenssen, V. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber. 15 May 2020.

Staiff, Russell, Steve Watson, and Robyn Bushell. 2013. “Introduction – Place, Encounter, Engagement: Context and Themes.” In Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement, ed. Russell Staiff, Steve Watson, and Robyn Bushell, 1–23. London and New York: Routledge.

Stockdale, Aileen. (2010). “The Diverse Geographies of Rural Gentrification in Scotland.” Journal of Rural Studies 26, no. 1: pp.31–40.

Su, Baoren. (2011) “Rural Tourism in China.” Tourism Management 32, no. 6: 1438–1441.

Sykes, O. and Ludwig, C., 2015. Defining and managing the historic urban landscape: Reflections on the English experience and some stories from Liverpool. European Spatial Research and Policy, 22(2), pp.9-35.

Szentgyörgyi, Anna. (2020). Personal communication from Rediscover program manager to Ruth Ellen Gruber. 24 May, 2020

Terhorst, Pieter, Jacques van de Ven, and Leon Deben. (2003) “Amsterdam: It’s All in the Mix.” In Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space, ed. by Lily M. Hoffman, Susan S. Fainstein, and Dennis R. Judd, 75–90. Oxford: Blackwell.

“The Association.” (n.d.) Association of Significant Cemeteries, viewed 10 June 2020, < http://www.significantcemeteries.org/p/the-association.html>

Tomescu, Alina. (2019) “Marineterrain – Navy Yard.” OpenHeritage Observatory Case. https://openheritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/15_Open-Heritage_Amsterdam_Observatory-Case.pdf

Torres, Rebecca M., and Janet D. Momsen. (2005) “Gringolandia: The Construction of a New

Tourist Space in Mexico." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 95, no. 2: pp.314–335.
UNESCO. (2011) Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. Paris, November 10, 2011. Accessible at: https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf
UNESCO. (2013) The Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable
Vargo, Stephen L., and Robert F. Lusch. (2004) "Evolving to a New Dominant Logic for Marketing." Journal of Marketing, 68, no. 1: pp.1–17.
Vargo, Stephen L., and Robert F. Lusch. (2006) "Service-Dominant Logic: What It Is, What It Is Not, What It Might Be. In The service-dominant logic of marketing: Dialog, debate, and directions, ed. by Stephen L. Vargo and Robert F. Lusch. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
Vargo, Stephen L., and Robert F. Lusch. (2011) "It's All B2B… and Beyond: Toward a Systems Perspective of the Market." Industrial Marketing Management 40, no. 2: pp.181–187.
Walasek, Helen. (2015) Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage. Routledge, London.
Walkowitz, Daniel J. (2018) The Remembered and Forgotten Jewish World: Jewish Heritage in Europe and the United States. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press: pp.4-5.
Walton, John K. (2009) "Histories of Tourism." In The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Studies, ed. by Tazim, Jamal, and Mike Robinson, 115–129. Los Angeles et al.: SAGE.
Winter, Tim. (2010) "Heritage Tourism: The Dawn of a New Era?" In Heritage and Globalisation, ed. by Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 117–129. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
Wojciechowski, Waclaw. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber. 18 May, 2020.
Wroszinski, W. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber, 18 May 2020.
Wrzosinski, Witold. (2020) Email to Ruth Ellen Gruber. May 2020.
Zhu, He, et al. (2017). "Residents' Attitudes towards Sustainable Tourism Development in a Historical-Cultural Village: Influence of Perceived Impacts, Sense of Place and Tourism Development Potential." Sustainability 9, no. 1:

Further Reading

Cohen, Israel. **Travels in Jewry**. New York: Dutton, 1953.

Döblin, Alfred (Trans. By Joachim Neugroschel). **Journey to Poland**. New York: Paragon House, 1998.

Giovannini, Fabio. **Guida ai Cimiteri d'Europa: Storia, Arte e Cultura per Turisti Senza Tabu**. Rome: Stampa Alternative, 2000

Goberman, David. **Carved Memories: Heritage in Stone from the Russian Jewish Pale**. New York: Rizzoli, 2000

Gruber, Ruth Ellen. **National Geographic Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to Eastern Europe.** New York: National Geographic, 2007

Gruber, Ruth Ellen. **Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe.** Los angeles: University of California Press, 2002

Jewish Burial Grounds: Understanding Values. Barker Langham, on behalf of Historic England. December 2015

Klein, Rudolf. **Metropolitan Jewish Cemeteries: of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central and Eastern Europe**. Berlin: ICOMOS/Imhof Verlag, 2018

Krajewska, Monika. **A Tribe of Stones: Jewish Cemeteries in Poland**. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1993.

Paraskevopoulou, Ioanna. **Cemetery tourism: A self-conscious tourism**. Cemeteries Routes website: https://cemeteriesroute.eu/news/cemetery-tourism–a-self-conscious-tourism.aspx

Péczek, Brigitta. "City Cemeteries As Cultural Attractions: Towards an Understanding of Foreign Visitors' Attitude At The National Graveyard In Budapest." In **DETUROPE — The Central European Journal Of Regional Development And Tourism.** Vol. 7 Issue 1 2015

Philipson, David. ***Old European Jewries*** (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1894) pp 76-79.

Volavkova, Hana/Jewish Museum of Prague, ed. **The Old Jewish Cemetery of Prague: A guide through the cemetery and a selection of its most important memorials from the XIVth-XIXthe century**. Prague: Council of Jewish Religious Communities/Umělecká Beseda in Prague, 1947

Wisniewski, Tomasz. **The Lost World of Small-town Jewish Cemeteries: Reconstructing Atlantis**. Bialystok: Kreator, 2009

Wodzinski, Marcin. **Historical Atlas of Hasidism**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018

Wolgemuth Rachel. **Cemetery Tours and Programming: A Guide.** Rowman & Littlefield, 2016

Philip Carmel has been Chief Executive Officer of the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative since 2015. Prior to this, he was the International Relations Director of the Conference of European Rabbis, based in Brussels, where he set up and served as Executive Director of the Lo Tishkach Foundation, a database of Europe's Jewish cemeteries. He has also acted as Senior Advisor on European Affairs for the European Jewish Congress, and as a co-chair of the Global Forum on Antisemitism.

Ruth Ellen Gruber has worked in the field of Jewish heritage for three decades and directs the web site www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu. Her books include "Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to Eastern Europe" and "Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe." She is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, Poland's Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit, and other honours. In 2015, she was the Distinguished Visiting Chair in Jewish Studies at the College of Charleston, SC.

Hanna Szemző is a sociologist, working on issues related to urban development and adaptive heritage reuse. She has a PhD in History from the Central European University. Currently, she coordinates OpenHeritage, a Horizon 2020 project which seeks to develop models for the sustainable management of marginalised heritage sites.

Andrea Tönkő is an economist. She obtained an MA in Sociology and Public Policy from the Budapest University of Economics. Her work covers issues ranging from the financing of public services to urban development and adaptive heritage reuse. Currently, she is a co-coordinator of the Horizon 2020 project OpenHeritage, which seeks to develop models for the sustainable management of marginalised heritage sites.

Diána Vonnák is a social anthropologist specialising in cultural heritage and urban development in Eastern Europe. She obtained her PhD from Durham University in 2020. Diána is the Project Manager of the pilot project "Protecting the Jewish Cemeteries of Europe" at the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative.

Sustainable and community-based heritage management has been on the rise all over Europe, pushing preservation work beyond monumental sites. Grassroots models, stakeholder engagement, and new models of financial and organisational management have emerged, inspiring heritage work in the most remote sites as well as metropolitan centres.

Jewish heritage has gained more recognition and visibility, and it is crucial to rethink its protection, maintenance, and management in light of recently emerged policy and research trends. Jewish cemeteries, the most abundant form of Jewish heritage range from demolished to monumental, remote to centrally located. Many of them are unprotected, in urgent need of intervention. The mass drone surveys conducted by the ESJF, co-funded by the European Commission, brought to light the sheer number of vulnerable sites. The next step is thinking about their sustainable protection.

Written by experts in the field of heritage preservation, this handbook addresses the social and economic challenges for sustainable heritage management, focusing on Jewish cemeteries specifically. It examines solutions and useful examples from a range of countries, hoping to offer insights to activists, NGO workers, municipal authorities and the general public.