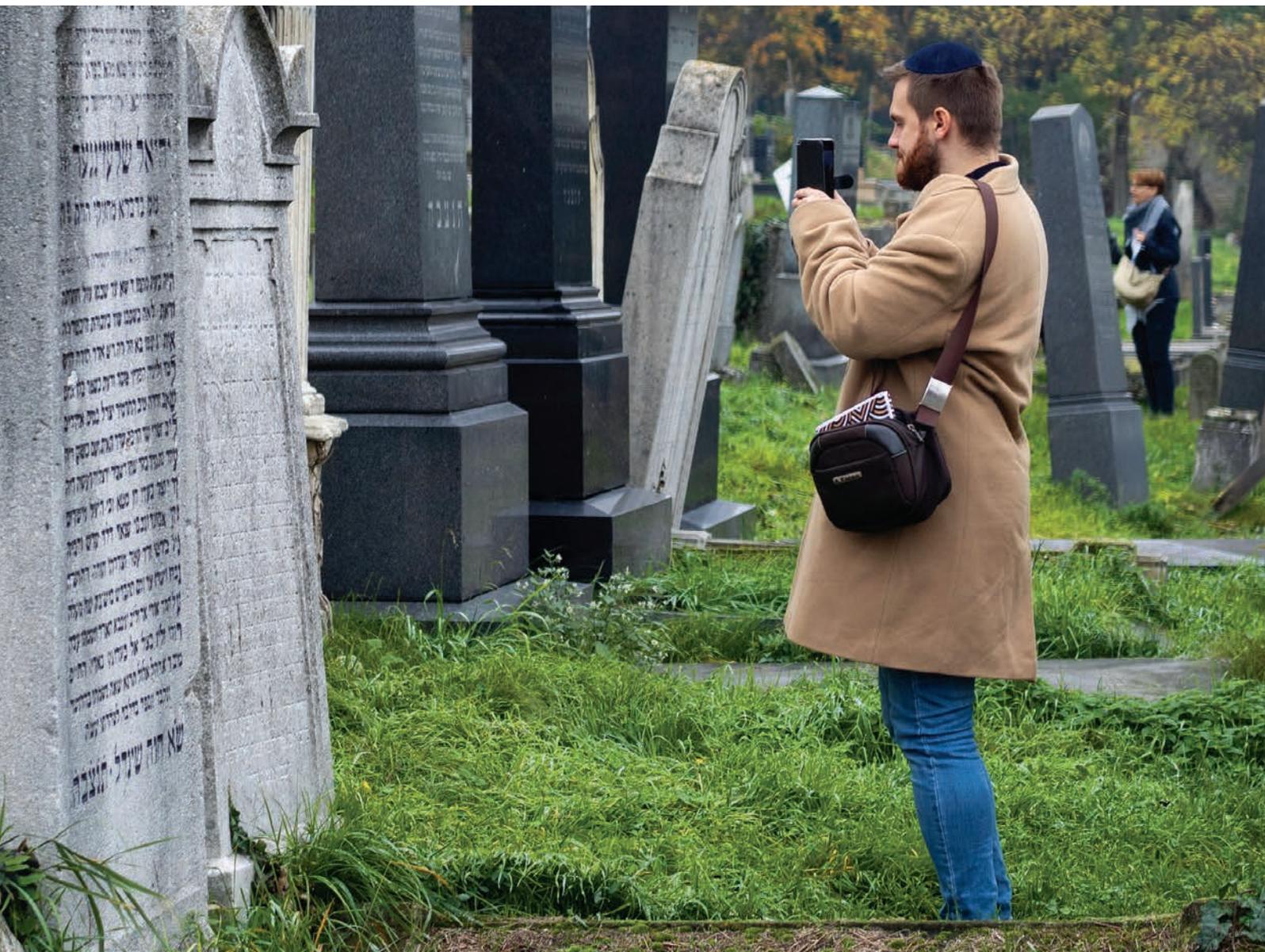


JEWISH CEMETERIES AS VISITOR DESTINATIONS

EXPLORING CURRENT PRACTICES, CURRENT CHALLENGES,
AND SUSTAINABLE FUTURES IN SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

A REPORT BY DR PAUL DARBY OF THE FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH HERITAGE





PRESERVING JEWISH CEMETERIES is an EU-funded pilot project set up with the aim of preserving Jewish cemeteries in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a joint effort by three leading Jewish heritage NGOs (Foundation for Jewish Heritage, ESJF European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative, and Centropa), taking place across seven European countries: Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine.

Building on the success of work carried out during two previous EU pilot projects, the consortium aims to raise awareness of Jewish cemeteries in local communities; spearhead educational projects with the goal of incorporating Jewish cemeteries into school curricula; and help empower local actors to preserve their Jewish cemeteries.

Based on intensive research and teaching in these seven European countries, we aim to create the broadest possible educational work on Jewish cemeteries in Europe. The project consists of a series of activities such as seminars, webinars, youth and art university competitions, and various forms of engagement with local institutions & NGOs.

JEWISH CEMETERIES AS VISITOR DESTINATIONS

**EXPLORING CURRENT PRACTICES, CURRENT CHALLENGES,
AND SUSTAINABLE FUTURES IN SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

A REPORT BY DR PAUL DARBY OF THE FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH HERITAGE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	FOREWORD	4
1 /	INTRODUCTION	8
2 /	KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	12
3 /	DEFINITIONS	18
4 /	GEORGIA	20
	4.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	22
	4.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN GEORGIA	22
	4.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN GEORGIA	24
	4.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	24
	4.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	25
	4.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	26
	4.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	26
	4.8 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN GEORGIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	28
5 /	HUNGARY	30
	5.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	32
	5.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN HUNGARY	32
	5.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN HUNGARY	33
	5.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	36
	5.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	38
	5.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	42
	5.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	44
	5.8 THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS	47
	5.9 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN HUNGARY: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	48
6 /	LITHUANIA	50
	6.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	52
	6.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN LITHUANIA	52
	6.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN LITHUANIA	53
	6.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	56
	6.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	58
	6.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	60
	6.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	61
	6.8 THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS	62
	6.9 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN LITHUANIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	63
7 /	MOLDOVA	64
	7.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	66
	7.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN MOLDOVA	66
	7.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN MOLDOVA	67
	7.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	69
	7.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	70

7.6	THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	73
7.7	USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	74
7.8	JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN MOLDOVA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	76
8 /	POLAND	78
8.1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	80
8.2	THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN POLAND	80
8.3	ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN POLAND	82
8.4	THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	86
8.5	THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	88
8.6	THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	92
8.7	USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	94
8.8	THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS	99
8.9	JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN POLAND: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	101
9 /	SLOVAKIA	104
9.1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	106
9.2	THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN SLOVAKIA	106
9.3	ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN SLOVAKIA	107
9.4	THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	108
9.5	THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	110
9.6	THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	113
9.7	USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	114
9.8	JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN SLOVAKIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	117
10 /	UKRAINE	118
10.1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	120
10.2	THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN UKRAINE	120
10.3	ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN UKRAINE	121
10.4	THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM	125
10.5	THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION	126
10.6	THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	130
10.7	USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES	130
10.8	JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN UKRAINE: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	132
11 /	GLOSSARY	136
12 /	REFERENCES	137
12.1	ONLINE RESOURCES REFERRED TO IN TEXT	137
12.2	BIBLIOGRAPHY	142
13 /	IMAGE CREDITS	151
14 /	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND CONTACT INFORMATION	152



FOREWORD

This report by Dr Paul Darby is part of an unprecedented initiative by the European Union to preserve and promote awareness of 1,700 Jewish cemeteries from seven countries in Eastern Europe, which is being implemented by three consortium partners – the Foundation for Jewish Heritage, the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative, and Centropa.

These Jewish sites primarily represent ‘orphaned’ heritage. The communities that the cemeteries once served were mostly extinguished during the Holocaust. In many places, the Jewish cemetery remains as the last physical evidence of once thriving Jewish life. The vast majority are today in a parlous state, having suffered years of neglect and in instances complete destruction.

Indeed, the very existence of these Jewish communities has become largely marginalised and forgotten, which is why this EU project is of such critical importance. Not only does it address the preservation of cemeteries but it is preservation with a special purpose, to ensure that the Jewish life in towns and cities across Eastern Europe is recalled, understood, commemorated and celebrated.

How this can be achieved in practical terms is at the core of Dr Darby’s report. His research addresses the potential of Jewish cemeteries as recognised heritage sites and visitor destinations. His approach involved listening carefully to the voices from the region, and those with a particular interest and expertise in the subject. The result is a document that represents a significant statement on the current possibilities, while also addressing the challenges and the sensitivities at this time.

The Jewish experience inevitably touches upon what is now considered fundamental European values – of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. Finding ways to engage with the Jewish legacy in Europe has a special importance for today.



Dame Helen Hyde DBE
Chair, Foundation for Jewish Heritage
March 2023



Michael Mail
Chief Executive, Foundation for Jewish Heritage
March 2023



A LITHUANIA

- 1 Kaunas
- 2 Kėdainiai
- 3 Šeduva
- 4 Šiauliai
- 5 Vilnius
- 6 Zapyškis

B POLAND

- 7 Białystok
- 8 Kałuszyn
- 9 Kraków
- 10 Łódź
- 11 Oświęcim
- 12 Przerosl
- 13 Tarnów
- 14 Tuszyn

C SLOVAKIA

- 15 Warsaw
- 16 Wrocław
- 17 Banská Bystrica
- 18 Banská Štiavnica
- 19 Bratislava
- 20 Košice
- 21 Nitra
- 22 Sered'
- 23 Spišská Nová Ves
- 24 Trenčín

D HUNGARY

- 25 Balassagyarmat
- 26 Budapest
- 27 Czömör

E UKRAINE

- 28 Mád
- 29 Makó
- 30 Nyírtass
- 31 Sátoraljaújhely
- 32 Szeged
- 33 Tokaj
- 34 Berditchev
- 35 Chernivtsi
- 36 Drohobych
- 37 Kharkiv
- 38 Kyiv
- 39 Lviv
- 40 Rivne
- 41 Rohatyn

F MOLDOVA

- 42 Călărăsi
- 43 Chişinău
- 44 Oniţcani
- 45 Orhei
- 46 Raşcov

G GEORGIA

- 47 Akhaltsikhe
- 48 Oni
- 49 Tbilisi



הגדה כ"ה
שלום

משה פוקס ע"ה
נפטר ביום כב"א שנת תרע"א ל'
שוד פתאום הגיעו
ל ביתו מלציות חכניעו
ולת בלא בעים בן סו שנים
בפורסם לשה ושיא תנועות גדלם
וימליץ בעדו ל טובה
וישועה בדין אמיץ
תנצבה 114

תנועות גדלם
וישועה בדין אמיץ
תנצבה

1

INTRODUCTION



The European Union (EU) Preparatory Action ‘Protecting the Jewish Cemeteries of Europe: fostering stakeholders’ involvement and awareness raising’ is a project being carried out in seven countries by three consortium partners – the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative (ESJF), the Foundation for Jewish Heritage (FJH), and Centropa. The action has four general aims:

- **To assess and review, deepen, and synthesise our understanding** of Jewish cemeteries as strategic cultural heritage resources that support socio-economic development, social dialogue and cohesion, a past-aware, forward-thinking identity, and shared European values, especially tolerance and diversity.
- **To raise further cross-sectoral awareness** of the relevance of Jewish cemeteries as strategic resources for social cohesion, diversity promotion, as well as socio-economic sustainability.
- **To build sustainable engagement on the ground**, ensuring that Jewish cemeteries are recognised, valued and included on the agenda of local and regional leadership, stakeholders in the tourism sector, and educational professionals in both urban centres and more remote, rural areas.
- **To utilise, valorise, and further disseminate the existing, accumulated data** especially in the form of publications and improved engagement both online and in-person.

One aspect of the third phase of the Action builds on the initial results of the ESJF publication ‘Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Protection’, by conducting a feasibility study exploring the full potential of Jewish cemeteries as visitor destinations, which this document addresses.

The Foundation for Jewish Heritage was tasked with the assignment, assessing how historic Jewish cemeteries are currently being promoted in Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine, and what the potential of Jewish cemeteries as visitor destinations is in these seven focus countries through a variety of lenses. The document also analyses the current picture of Jewish heritage tourism, successful examples of Jewish cemeteries which are developing themselves as heritage sites, considers the audience for such products, and the role which environmentally and socially responsible tourism and innovative technologies might have in both maintaining sites and engaging new audiences. This study is rooted in the commitment of local populations creating solutions for preservation and promotion that they themselves will take forward.

Researchers in both the focus countries and at Centropa have assisted in identifying stakeholders and gathering data for this report. A range of stakeholders and informed professionals were interviewed. Stakeholders who contributed include: academic researchers in Jewish history, heritage and tourism; those working with Jewish heritage (including cemeteries); tourism entrepreneurs; engaged community members; and creators working with Jewish heritage. Where available, statistics were collected to support understanding of tourist markets and access to digital resources.

This research examined the publicly available profiles of and current practice in Jewish heritage tourism, cemetery tourism and responsible tourism in the focus countries. Social media and smartphone apps were examined to gauge what is currently available for visitors to the region’s historic Jewish cemeteries, and how the potential for creating new tools might be a vehicle for younger generations becoming involved in sustaining Jewish heritage.

For each country the following structure is used. A brief contextual narrative is given – this is not intended to be a complete history or description of current Jewish communities, but a scene-setter for the rest of the report; a list of actors currently working with Jewish heritage, the profile of current Jewish heritage and cultural tourism in the country, the profile of current practices of cemetery tourism, including Jewish cemetery tourism; the degree to which sustainable tourism and Jewish cemetery visiting are ready to develop mutually supportive initiatives, and how new technologies are being used to promote Jewish cemetery heritage. There is an emphasis on where collaborations and partnerships are delivering workable, environmentally responsible solutions. This is very much a ‘snapshot’ of the situation in each country at the time of publication, and the potentialities for the future. It is not intended to be an in-depth study of each of the countries and is not exhaustive of the resources and initiatives which are taking place. There is further research and discussion to be undertaken within each of the countries. This report aims to be a review and springboard for that further work and is offered to provide pointers for those securing and promoting Jewish cemetery sites for future generations of visitors.



Each country in this report has its own stories, its own challenges and is experiencing a particular moment in its economic, social and cultural journey. Those factors impact on how stakeholders seek to preserve and promote Jewish cemetery heritage through tourism. In all seven countries, Jewish populations have reduced dramatically during the past century. With the exception of Georgia, the mass murder of Jewish communities and the destruction of much community heritage occurred in these places as a direct result of the Holocaust. In all seven countries, post-War repression under Soviet-controlled governments furthered the destruction of Jewish heritage and caused Jews to emigrate: some made *aliyah* to Israel, others followed previous emigrants and started new lives in Western Europe, in the Americas and elsewhere in the world. Yet in all seven countries Jewish communities remain to try to preserve their heritage for future generations.

There are many general social and economic challenges both across the region and within each country. Infrastructure and social needs such as housing, health care and education are priorities for all governments and therefore public budgets may not stretch to preserving Jewish heritage. Some aspects of local development and upgrading will of course benefit Jewish cemeteries. For example, infrastructure initiatives such as road building allow increased and more diverse access to certain cemeteries. The expansion of telecommunications networks can make sites easier to find and promote.

New technologies have the potential to record sites, promote and make them accessible and offer interpretation to both virtual visitors, those interested but who are unable to access sites in person, and those on the ground. Exciting solutions, such as ESJF's surveying and 3D mapping of Jewish cemeteries which can then be virtually experienced and explored, or the creation of searchable archives of *matzevot* with translated inscriptions (similar to work developed by, for example, the Jewish Heritage Network) have the potential to enable new forms of visiting which are more sustainable and offer greater accessibility to a wider range of visitors. These might include those who are unable to make the physical journey to particular sites, which might be currently inaccessible by road or structurally unsafe. New technologies offer access solutions to, for example, those with impaired mobility or who are unable to afford the costs of journeying from distant parts of the globe. The ongoing expanding penetration and upgrading of communications infrastructure will enable adoption of the exciting solutions which new technologies offer in promoting and interpreting Jewish cemetery heritage. But if there is no phone signal, nor the infrastructure and funding required to provide these digital projects, potential visitors cannot be engaged in this way.

There are commonalities across the seven countries in how local communities might preserve and promote their Jewish cemeteries. The former residents of those communities are still present in those cemeteries, regardless of whether there remains a living Jewish presence locally. I believe this is important, and perhaps easy to forget when talking about heritage and tourism. The presence of ancestors could inspire local stakeholders to overcome the challenges and discover new ways of making Jewish cemeteries a valued part of community heritage which continues to be viable in the future, especially if collaboration with external organisations is possible. Across the region, visitor promotion agencies within each country offer established vehicles to raise the profile of Jewish heritage to all visitors, both domestic and those from abroad. Tourism agencies are a vital element in building an understanding that Jewish heritage is a shared heritage in all countries and should be valued.

Transnational organisations have a key role to play as partners collaborating with those local to these sites. They can help repurpose material heritage, build networks, disseminate expertise, sponsor innovative practice, raise awareness and suggest solutions. FJH itself works to make neglected Jewish material heritage meaningful again through restoration and repurposing for education and visitor

engagement. The Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe (ASCE) works with all types of cemeteries and sustains a network which enables the sharing of innovative practice and effective promotion between those public and private organisations which care for cemeteries considered to be of historical or artistic importance. ESJF's cemetery surveys have added valuable information to the process of establishing comprehensive catalogues in the focus countries. Such inventory work is necessary before planning and promotion can take place (Ripp, 2022). There is established commercial activity, which offers Jewish-themed tours in all the seven countries of this study. Before the Russian invasion, Ukraine was itself developing as a destination for Jewish-themed tours.

Jewish cemeteries are a crucial element in any encounter visitors may wish to have with Jewish heritage across this region. They are often the sole material heritage left which witnesses the lives, stories, culture and faith of communities now entirely absent. They are the sole contact contemporary local communities have with significant aspects of their shared pasts. Those communities often require leadership, activities and support in accessing that shared heritage. Those who are interred in the cemeteries are increasingly the focus of searches by descendants who live elsewhere but who seek to connect and to commemorate family who went before. Yet these sites of personal, communal and community heritage are not valorised. Jewish cultural heritage is inevitably not as present in national or regional tourism promotion as, for example, Christian cultural heritage is. Raising the profile of the region's Jewish sites would help to promote understanding of the centrality of the Jewish experience to the story of the region. There are opportunities to engage the visitor in each country's cultural heritage more generally.

The region has many opportunities to build sustainable tourism practices for the future. This report shares with ESJF the view that sustaining Jewish cemetery heritage crucially includes engaging the communities local to the cemetery: environmentally and socially responsible heritage means engaged heritage, heritage embedded in its surrounding community and economy (Carmel et al, 2022:18). There are signs in some places that entrepreneurs are taking practical steps to build viable and responsible tourist products with local communities. Jewish cemetery heritage needs to be consciously identified within the landscapes 'eco-tourists' are invited to explore; slow tourism should include Jewish cemetery heritage when promoting the discovery of a region's heritage: if Christian churches and folk-art cemeteries are included, why not Jewish cemeteries?

Many examples emerged of individuals who share their knowledge and pride in the Jewish story of their communities through tour guiding. These entrepreneurs have local expertise and can form a link between local communities and visitors. Many engage in genealogical research and have retrieved forgotten stories. Yet Jewish cemeteries do not appear often enough in their offerings. Networking and professional development would enable these guides to enhance their guiding offerings and ensure Jewish cemeteries are included.

Sustaining Jewish heritage forms a key element in the EU's ongoing work to fight against anti-semitism and exclusionary policies and pan-European stakeholder engagement begins at the local level with those who live alongside, but who may not yet recognise, the relevance that Jewish cemeteries have to their community's shared sense of identity and heritage. The engagement of younger generations is crucial to the work of preserving and promoting Jewish cemetery sites as it is through the younger generations that a more tolerant European future will be realised.

Much excellent work has been carried out by partnerships between local educators in each of the countries and, for example, Centropa and ESJF to develop educational packages which can help to raise awareness amongst the young and develop wider understanding of Jewish cemeteries and Jewish

history. Trans-regional initiatives held by Centropa and ESJF, such as the 2020/21 Youth Storytelling Competitions, seek to engage learners with their local Jewish heritage through using technology to promote Jewish cemetery sites and give voice to forgotten stories. Young people and educational institutions have other roles to play. Professional and vocational training for the travel industry might include projects to design tourist products or digital tools which promote local Jewish cemetery heritage, perhaps as part of a wider heritage promotion programme. Collaborating with interested stakeholders and local residents, students and professionals in training have the creativity to put Jewish cemetery heritage at the heart of projects which are focused on benefitting their communities, and which also equip those learners with transferable skills.

It is important to stress that more work needs to be done. Actors and stakeholders need to understand contexts and investigate practical possibilities which will enable them to use tourism as one strategy in the preservation and promotion of sites. There is no single formula or set of solutions: indeed, it is probable that some sites are not suitable for visitors, or that communities wish to sustain their heritage of Jewish cemeteries by alternative means. This report seeks to draw together what is currently happening on the ground and what is currently thought by stakeholders about the potential of tourism as one tool in the ongoing preservation of this vital element of Europe's heritage. The evidence points to a future where visitors, local and from more distant places, are a vital component for a more secure and valorised future.







3

DEFINITIONS



'Tourism'

This report defines tourism as the social practice of engaging in pleasure-seeking travel-related experiences (Sharpley and Telfer, 2015:xxi). It recognises that when people are being tourists they have diverse motivations, expectations and practices. No two historic Jewish cemeteries are exactly alike or have the same stories, and neither are the tourists who might engage with those spaces. No assumptions are made in this report about what tourists will be seeking or expecting in each place. Heritage tourism, an aspect of cultural tourism, now recognises Jewish cemeteries as of value and interest which offer 'a plethora of cultural, educational, and economic opportunities' (Vonnäk and Andronatiy, 2020:19).

'Jewish heritage tourism' and 'Jewish cultural tourism'

Although the term 'Jewish heritage tourism' is used by many authors to define the phenomenon of visiting Jewish sites notwithstanding the origin of the visitor, this report adopts the definitions proposed by Dr Magdalena Duda-Seifert and Dr Katarzyna Kajdanek at the University of Wrocław (2021, 13; Magdalena Duda-Seifert 2022, personal communication, 4 April). It distinguishes two forms of tourism, which relate to Jewish heritage. Jewish heritage tourism here signifies, 'involving Jewish people visiting the places of their own heritage'. This definition also encompasses 'roots and remembrance' tourism. By contrast, Jewish cultural tourism includes a non-Jewish audience interested more generally, 'in both heritage and in [the] living culture of the Jewish nation (Duda-Seifert, 2022). It is important to remember that Jewish cultural tourism might also display elements of remembrance and emotional engagement.

'Sustainability' and 'sustainable tourism'

This report adopts The International Ecotourism Society definition of sustainable tourism: 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education' (TIES: online, 2015). Education is meant to be inclusive of both staff and guests, a constant process, which recognises that learning about a place or culture is ongoing and to which no one person can claim entire knowledge or understanding. As Carmel et al. pointed out, in order to sustain the Jewish cemeteries of Eastern Europe there need to be partnerships with local communities, methods of preservation and promotion and ways that visitors can engage with the cemetery spaces (Carmel et al., 2021:17).

'Accessibility' here covers a range of meanings: physical access to and around cemetery sites, how interpretation and information is presented for diverse audiences and needs, and the different ways cemeteries can be experienced, on the ground and virtually, through direct encounter and online.

There follows a country-by-country report, examining the status and potential of Jewish cemetery heritage in each country. Each report seeks to present of picture of current and potential practice with regards the country's Jewish cemeteries being preserved and promoted through tourism. Recommendations for possible next steps are offered at the end of each report.

References to websites and online resources referred to in the text are found in the online sources section at the end of the report.

Italicised words are defined in the glossary at the end of this report.





გაბრიელ
ბერიძე
1929 - 2019

მონა ბერიძე
14 VI 1948 - 25 VI 1982

მ. შ. მ.
72-92

4

GEORGIA



4.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Jewish life in Georgia has continued unbroken since ancient times. Georgian Jews or *Gurjim* were joined by *Ashkenazi* Jews, who were forcibly resettled in Georgia after the incorporation of Georgia into the Russian Empire in the early nineteenth century. Increasing emigration throughout the twentieth century has reduced the activity of Georgian Jewish life, especially after the Soviet government's antisemitic policies post-1945. By 2010 the Jewish population of Georgia was approximately 3,200. Cemeteries and synagogues in various states of repair are to be found across the country. There is a museum of Jewish Life in the capital, Tbilisi, where most of the remaining Jewish population now live.

It appears that Georgia's Jewish material heritage has not yet been surveyed and catalogued. The true number, location and condition of the country's Jewish cemeteries is therefore not known. Many seem to be in more remote and less accessible areas. There is a limited number of actors engaged in the active maintenance and promotion of Georgia's Jewish heritage, for example the Israeli House, an initiative bringing together Georgian Jewish and Israeli business and cultural interests. Jewish cultural and heritage tourism is currently underdeveloped in Georgia and, when present, is mainly offered to Jewish communities but closed to other visitors. There are a small number of Jewish heritage tours offered by commercial operators.

Cemetery tourism is not an established phenomenon in Georgia although some cemeteries are identified in cultural tourism literature. There is not yet comprehensive understanding of the potential for Jewish cemetery tourism in Georgia amongst stakeholders. State agencies and commercial operators have identified exciting potential for Georgia to become an attractive location for environmentally responsible tourism. This has not yet translated into strategic planning, which will provide a framework for stakeholders working with Jewish heritage to draw up plans for the future maintenance and promotion of historic sites.

Georgia is developing its digital infrastructure, which is a challenging task in this mountainous country. As yet, there is little use of new technologies to promote Jewish cemeteries and engage visitors.

4.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN GEORGIA

Georgia is unique amongst the countries in this report as Jewish life has continued unbroken there since ancient times. The first Jews arrived seeking refuge during the Babylonian Exile in the sixth century BCE. Jewish artefacts from the second century BCE feature in the country's archaeological record. Named Jewish individuals appear in stories told by medieval chroniclers, when most Jews were serfs, with their lives controlled by a lord. Despite official repression after the annexation of the country by Russia in the early nineteenth century CE, Georgian life flourished to the extent that it was estimated half of the USSR's 90 legal synagogues were in Georgia. The Georgian Jews or *Gurjim* traditionally use Judaeo-Georgian or *kivruli*, a variant of Georgian, characterised by a large number of Hebrew loan-words, and written using either the Georgian alphabet or Hebrew alphabet. *Ashkenazi* Jews who were forcibly resettled in Georgia by the government from elsewhere in the Russian Empire, remained separate from the *Gurjim* in both language and customs. Elements of both communities were brought together by Zionism, which was countered by strong anti-Zionism by other elements in both communities, particularly in Kutaisi (American Israeli Co-operative Enterprise, 2022: online). Increasing emigration throughout the twentieth century has seen a reduction in Georgian Jewish life, especially after the



Soviet government's antisemitic policies post-1945. By 2010 only some 3,200 Georgian Jewish people remained in Georgia.

A sizeable percentage of Georgian Jews have made *aliyah*. Georgia and Israel have close ties, with the Israeli House in Tbilisi co-ordinating business and cultural activity between the two countries. Israeli visitors are significant to Georgia's tourist economy, with more than 91,000 visiting in 2021, the largest number of visitors from outside the Caucasus and Black Sea region (Akhmedova, 2022: online).

4.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN GEORGIA

The Israeli House in Tbilisi is an NGO which aims to promote the image of Israel, and Israeli-Georgian partnership and collaboration. It offers educational and cultural events in addition to facilitating business and trade contacts between Georgia and Israel. It has a section on Jewish heritage on its website but does not appear to engage in funding.

Hillel Tbilisi is an educational organisation which works with students to raise awareness about Jewish culture and traditions. Hillel mainly works with Jewish Georgian students, but the organisation also offers programmes for foreign students who wish to learn more about Georgia's Jewish experience. Hillel has recently engaged in locating, recording and clearing Jewish cemeteries in areas which no longer have active Jewish communities. In 2021 a previously forgotten Jewish cemetery in Kakheti region (Eastern Georgia) was the first to be surveyed and recorded through Hillel's work.

The Georgian National Museum (GNM) maintains a diverse collection of Jewish heritage artefacts and is a member of the Association of European Jewish Museums. The larger part of the collection is stored and displayed at the Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi. The dedicated Jewish Museum in Tbilisi, the David Baazov Museum of the History of Jews of Georgia, also displays part of the collection. Since 2006 GNM has worked to restore, research, date and attribute the artefacts in its collection, mounting Jewish-themed exhibitions in 2008 and 2010 (Association of European Jewish Museums, 2022: online).

One source mentions an '**Association to Protect Synagogues, Jewish Cemeteries, and Cultural Monuments**' being founded in Georgia in 2003 with the support of the Georgian government, but no further information about this organisation could be found (Jewseurasia, 2022: online).

4.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Jewish Cultural and Heritage Tourism

Christian heritage is a primary focus for tourism activity in Georgia (Metreveli and Timothy, 2010). In contrast, Jewish cultural and heritage tourism is currently underdeveloped in Georgia (Nana Kapanadze, 2022). There is a lack of formal tourism frameworks in the country: 'Generally, there is one problem in the tourism sector in Georgia – there is no tourism law' (Nana Kapanadze, 2022). There is no strategic co-ordination or standards-setting for planning, marketing or tour-guiding, which means that despite the numbers of Israeli and Jewish diaspora tourists, there is no specific focus on Jewish heritage. Statistics were unavailable to illustrate the current activity of Jewish cultural and

heritage tourism in the country. The Israeli House Tbilisi, Council of Europe and AEPJ have produced 'The European Route of Jewish Heritage in Georgia', a website-based resource which lists seventeen Jewish cemeteries around the country, together with other elements and sites of Georgian Jewish heritage including synagogues, museums and vineyards (European Route of Jewish Heritage in Georgia, 2021:online).

There is a small number of Jewish heritage tours offered by commercial operators. Only one of these mentions visits to historic cemeteries as part of the itinerary (Advantour, 2022: online). These tours always include visits to non-Jewish heritage sites such as cathedrals and fortresses.

Jewish heritage is seen by tourism professionals in Georgia as primarily related to tourism from Israel. One municipality is beginning to represent Jewish heritage in its promotional literature, with a monument to Sergey Metreveli, the 'Georgian Schindler' being created with support from Israeli House. The tour guide who deals with Jewish heritage is a member of the Georgian Jewish diaspora. Local Jews also engage in guiding, but this is unregulated (Nana Lobjanidze, 2022).

Conclusion

Jewish heritage tourism in Georgia takes place within a framework of general heritage tourism, with only a small number of providers offering any Jewish content. The planned Jewish Heritage Cultural Route in Georgia promises to be a positive development, and one which could act as a driver for increased attention and activity around the country's historic Jewish cemeteries. Education and professional development will be needed for this to happen, as only one of the five municipalities contacted has any awareness of the Jewish heritage in their area, and the tourist potential it could offer.

4.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

Anecdotally, general cemetery tourism in Georgia depends on individual visitors wanting to see the tombs of the famous (Salome Mukhigulashvili, 2022). No details were available of independent tour guides who specialise in Georgia's Jewish heritage.

Jewish cemetery tourism

Jewish cemetery tourism is not recognised as a phenomenon in Georgia. Professionals working in tourism varied in their responses as to whether such a practice exists at all, 'in Georgia there is no Jewish cemetery tourism' (Tamaz Markozashvili, 2022).

There is some promotion happening through international websites. JGuideEurope offers information on the Jewish cemetery at Akhaltsikhe, which houses tombs dating back to the seventeenth century, and others with inscriptions in Ladino. The three Jewish cemeteries on the outskirts of Tbilisi are also noted (JGuideEurope, 2022: online). At Oni, visitors who tour the synagogue are also shown the cemetery, which is the burial place of significant Georgian Jewish individuals such as Rabbi Iomtomi Shalom son Buzukashvili.

Jewish cemetery tourism: who visits, and why?

As noted above, Jewish cultural or heritage tourism in Georgia is currently underdeveloped. Statistics are unavailable on who engages with Georgian Jewish heritage. Some people expressed that Jewish



tourists no longer come because of fears about war (Nana Kapanadze, 2022). There is an awareness of a need for frameworks and training to support better data-gathering (Nana Lobjanidze, 2022). Jewish cemetery tourism is recognised as a positive addition to the local tourist offer: ‘Georgians are quite tolerant to Jewish cemetery tourism because we have a long friendship. But there are sometimes different thoughts because they do not understand why cemeteries are interesting. Local people usually direct tourists to Jewish heritage including cemeteries and they tell people the stories of Jewish people’ (Nana Lobjanidze, 2022). However, lack of information and the inaccessibility of many sites to non-local visitors currently limits any initiatives which might seek to promote them.

Conclusion

There is a diversity of attitudes and awareness amongst tourism professionals in Georgia about Jewish cemetery tourism. This ranges from denial that such a practice exists to a wider recognition that there is potential in this area, although this is mainly understood as being of interest to tourists from Israel. Georgia’s Jewish heritage is not currently understood as being part of a wider European story, or of broad interest to international visitors, although it is recognised that Jewish Israeli tourists do visit these sites. There is potential to diversify the visitor profile, including Georgians, and therefore build an appreciation of a shared heritage.

4.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Tourism in Georgia has experienced recent rapid growth, with international visitor numbers increasing from 2.8 million in 2011 to almost 9.3 million in 2019. Georgia has wild landscapes and vibrant cultural traditions, with both tangible and intangible heritage in the country that has earned UNESCO World Heritage status. However, Georgia’s cultural and natural wealth has not yet translated into wealth for its inhabitants, and there remain divides between rich and poor, old and young, rural and urban (Luckham, 2022: online). The Georgian government has focused on drawing up responsible tourism strategies, encouraging private sector investment and promoting Georgia as a global destination. International donors have actively backed regional development projects which focus on responsible tourism and locally based education and training to make provision more professional (Rimple, 2022: online). Georgian tour agencies are beginning to promote environmentally responsible tourism in the country. Trekking, walking and bike tours form part of this approach (VisitGeorgia, 2022: online).

4.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

The launch of the well-designed and informative website ‘The European Route of Jewish Heritage in Georgia’ is a good start for reaching out to audiences in and beyond Georgia who may potentially visit Jewish cemetery sites. The website seems designed to expand as contributors supply more information, resources and images of sites. There do not seem to be apps currently available which support interpretation for any Jewish heritage sites in Georgia. However, their potential is recognised by those working in the tourism sector (Nana Lobjanidze, 2022). A current restraint is the limited extent of Georgia’s digital infrastructure. Expansion is challenged by the mountainous terrain and budgetary constraints. There is mobile phone coverage up to 4G in Tbilisi and Batumi and the highways between





them (NPERF, 2022: online). This limits the ability of heritage entrepreneurs to create digital tools which promote the country's Jewish heritage and to support the visitor who wishes to discover it.

No statistics were available to indicate use or consumption of social media. This data could support those planning for Jewish heritage tourism in the country. The Israeli House website section 'Jewish Heritage' provides brief notes about several cemeteries around the country, but no detailed visitor information. Reference is made on the GNM website to a 'Jewish Cultural Heritage in Georgian National Museum Collections' website (Georgia National Museum, 2022: online), but this could not be found on the internet. As noted above, JGuideEurope is the only promotional website for Jewish Heritage which specifically mentions historic Jewish cemeteries in Georgia.

4.8 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN GEORGIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Georgia's Christian heritage is a major part of the country's tourist offering, which could provide a model for those seeking to sustain and promote Jewish heritage in general, and cemeteries in particular.
- In order to develop effective planning for cemeteries to be preserved and promoted as visitor destinations, work needs to be carried out to create a comprehensive catalogue of Georgia's existing Jewish heritage. This must involve participation by local communities and young Georgians as well as Jewish stakeholders, drawing on local and expert knowledge.
- Jewish cemeteries are not yet recognised as potential heritage tourism products by all who work in Georgia's tourism industry. This needs to be addressed through vocational or professional education. Transnational organisations might consider designing professional networks and training to develop understanding of the phenomenon and disseminate knowledge about successful Jewish cemetery development programmes elsewhere in Europe.
- Planning for environmentally and socially responsible tourism is part of Georgia's general development as a tourist destination. Jewish cemetery heritage is well placed to be included among rural locations, where activities such as hiking, walking and biking tours take place. Any desire to improve the accessibility of more remote cemeteries is part of a wider question of the desirability of infrastructure improvement against the preservation of environmentally viable landscapes and ways of life.
- Where there is a recognition that Jewish cemetery tourism exists, or has potential, this is understood as being of interest only to Jewish Israeli visitors. An educational initiative to introduce Georgian stakeholders to the broader European relevance of the country's Jewish heritage might help to encourage better recognition of potential visitor groups.
- The preservation and promotion of Georgia's Jewish cemeteries could form the focus of collaborative partnerships between actors within and beyond Georgia, using the Jewish Heritage Cultural Route in Georgia as a basic framework. The Israeli House, National Museum of Georgia and transnational partners might sponsor research and training to raise awareness of the heritage.





5

HUNGARY



5.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hungary is home to Eastern Europe's largest Jewish population today, estimated at between 75,000 and 100,000 (Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2022: online; World Jewish Congress, 2022: online). Some half a million of a population of about 800,000 perished in the Shoah. Since liberalisation after the transition to democracy from 1989, Jewish life has undergone a revival. The most vibrant contemporary Jewish life is seen in the capital of Budapest, but Jewish life continues in many other towns and cities. Chassidic pilgrimage takes place in north-eastern locations where renowned rabbis are buried.

The number of actors in Jewish heritage in Hungary is growing. There has been some proactive activism in local communities, resulting in noteworthy projects developing from the ground up. There are several Non-Governmental Organisations. There is little international involvement in the sector, with the exception of the European Union.

Hungary is on the established commercial Jewish travel route in Europe. Historic built heritage such as synagogues, the homes of significant Jewish personalities in Hungarian history, and to a lesser extent cemeteries, form part of the heritage product. There is a fairly developed commercial infrastructure promoting tourism to Jewish heritage sites in Hungary. There are tour guides who specialise in Jewish heritage. Cemetery tourism is becoming established as a phenomenon in Hungary. Historic Jewish cemeteries feature in cultural tourism routes. However, they are not yet established as standard in many guided tour offers.

The current national tourism strategy for Hungary speaks of encouraging 'cooperative tourism' to ensure local benefit and minimum waste of resources. There are several commercial operators offering tours and holidays which use eco-accommodation, slow transport and focus on engaging with the natural world.

The use of new technologies to support Jewish cemetery tourism in Hungary is in the initial stages of development. Most of the country has 4G+ mobile phone coverage, which facilitates the introduction of tools designed for visitors exploring and interpreting Jewish cemetery sites. Websites, QR codes and smartphone apps are being used by some cemetery sites across the country. The quality of online resources is variable.

Collaborations are occurring across Hungary to secure and promote Jewish heritage between state, national, communal and local actors. Some are the result of local activity which has secured interest at a national level. There seems to be little collaboration with, or support from, international organisations, or with the Hungarian Jewish diaspora, on sustaining and promoting historic Jewish cemeteries in Hungary.

5.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN HUNGARY

Hungary is home to Eastern Europe's largest Jewish population, estimated at between 75,000 and 100,000 (World Jewish Congress, 2022: online) of whom an estimated 10,000 are Holocaust survivors (European Jewish Congress, 2022: online). Jewish life in modern-day Hungary developed from the eleventh century onwards, with 'pendulum swings from persecution to prosperity, from expulsions to acceptance' (Gruber, 2008:212). With partial emancipation in the 1780s and full emancipation in 1867, Jews engaged in a wide range of cultural and economic activities. In 1913 it was estimated that 42% of Hungarian journalists and 49% of Hungarian doctors were Jewish. The Jewish community was diverse,

split predominately between the Neolog (the Hungarian form of Reform Judaism), Orthodox and Chassidic practice. It was present in urban and rural areas, in all aspects of economic life and in all classes. Jewish families were present in the nobility and amongst factory workers.

After the break-up of Austria-Hungary after the First World War, there was an increase in antisemitic activity in the new Hungarian state. The short-lived Communist republic, led by Jewish Bela Kun, had been overthrown and replaced with a fascistic ‘Regency,’ which introduced quotas for Jewish entrance to university and employment in the professions. Although the Holocaust came late to Hungary, some half a million Jewish people out of a population of about 800,000 perished. The Hungarian fascist Arrow Cross movement took the lead in round ups and massacres. Following the War and the Communist takeover, the community changed character. Most traditional Jews perished in the Shoah, with the result that the survivors were overwhelmingly urban and aspirational within the Communist system. Jewish communal organisations and private property were nationalised, meaning the pre-war class of wealthy and politically active entrepreneurs and business owners disappeared. Following a period of antisemitic policies in the early 1950s and emigrations following the failed Hungarian Uprising of 1956, Hungary’s Jewish population was not subject to antisemitic policy making, in contrast to other Warsaw Pact countries (Yivo Encyclopedia, 2022: online).

Since liberalisation after the transition to democracy from 1989, Jewish life has undergone a ‘dramatic’ revival in the assertion of personal and communal identities, mirrored by a worrying increase in anti-semitic narratives appearing in political and media discourse. Some of the actors working to maintain and promote the community are cited in the following section. There are 20 functioning synagogues in Budapest now, with smaller communities in Debrecen, Miskolc Pécs, Szeged, Székesfehérvár, Szombathely and Vác (World Jewish Congress, 2022: online). Hungary exports kosher wine, spirits and meat. A Jewish newspaper, a Jewish magazine, and a Jewish literary and arts journal are all produced in Budapest (European Jewish Congress, 2022: online). Chassidic pilgrimage takes place in north-eastern locations where renowned rabbis taught and are buried, and an Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route was launched in April 2022 (JHE, 2022a: online).

There are more than 1,250 Jewish cemeteries in Hungary, which range in size and character from small, neglected rural graveyards with few if any *matzevot* remaining, to more significant sites such as those in Szeged, Miskolc, Lovasberény, Mád and Balassagyarmat, to the vast and imposing necropolises of Salgótarjáni Street and Kozma Street in Budapest. Some have been the focus of scholarly investigation and writing (Klein, 2011). There has been some recognition of efforts to restore the country’s Jewish cemetery heritage: in 2021, the Hungarian National Committee of ICOMOS gave the National Heritage Institute (NÖRI) an Exemplary Monument Care award for the restoration and maintenance of the Jewish Cemetery on Salgótarjáni Street and its presentation to the public on World Monument Day (PestBuda, 2021: online).

5.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN HUNGARY

Actors based in Hungary

The Hungarian Jewish Heritage Public Foundation (Mazsök) – within a broad brief to ‘make the Hungarian Jewish civil, cultural and religious life as rich and prosperous as it was before the World War II’ (Mazsök, 2022: online), – co-ordinates a nationwide cemetery renovation programme. In the first

phase of the Jewish cemetery renovation programme, 43 abandoned Jewish cemeteries were renovated, and in the second phase, the renovation of 46 cemeteries began. The Hungarian government has provided €2.5 million towards this project. Mazsök issues tenders for the work on an annual basis. Their website does not include details of where or how this intervention work has been completed but does issue public calls for donations for specific projects, such as the restoration of Balatonfüred Jewish cemetery (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2022c: online).

The Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (MAZSIHISZ) is responsible for managing and maintaining eight cemeteries, including the large historic sites at Salgótarjáni Street and Kozma Street in Budapest. Mazsök and Mazsihisz work together on organising cemetery clean-ups by volunteers, and restoration works around the country where funding permits.

Unified Hungarian Jewish Community (EMIH) — a branch of the Chassidic Chabad movement established and supports ‘The Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis’ initiative in north-eastern Hungary.

The National Heritage Institute (NÖRI) is a government body responsible for ‘locations of symbolic significance from the aspect of the nation’s past and historical memory,’ including Salgótarjáni Street cemetery, and over fifty other sites deemed important to the national memory. NÖRI is a member of the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe.

Zsidó Közösségi Fórum (ZSKF) is a forum for Jewish community associations which promotes dialogue and cooperation between Jews, other Hungarian minorities and the ‘Hungarian majority’. It provides a space for Jewish actors to promote cultural exchange.

The Goldziher Jewish Historical and Cultural Research Institute is an independent institute that conducts research on Judaism in a variety of disciplines in an interdisciplinary form. It aims to carry out theoretical and empirical research on issues of most concern to the community, to publish and discuss the results in international and domestic scientific forums, and to disseminate the results for decision-makers, through which it seeks to put the results into practice.

Haver Informal Jewish Foundation (HIJF) uses informal education, and with the contribution of young volunteer educators, Haver Foundation seeks to bring Jewish voices to secondary school and university classes, initiating discussions about topics like Jewish identity, culture, heritage, religion, community, remembrance, and the Shoah. Using interactive sessions, Haver seeks to provide an accessible space for students to discuss and look beyond historical facts and figures, and explore individual life stories of Jewish people, both from a historical and a contemporary perspective.

The Tom Lantos Institute (TLI) focuses on the past, present and future of Hungarian and European Jewry. It actively promotes this diverse heritage and identity, supporting its transmission to younger generations. TLI works with local communities to explore Jewish histories in order to counter anti-semitism and build understandings of diversity.

Regional and local authorities have only begun to formally include Jewish tourism in their development plans in the last decade. Local municipalities, who might have been more familiar with seeing groups of Jewish tourists at certain sites since liberalisation in 1989, seem to have been quicker to see the potential on a local scale (Drotár & Kozma, 2022:26).

Kozma Street cemetery in Budapest is supported by '**Friends of Budapest Jewish Cemetery**'. On its website, the association states that its 'mission is to restore this memorial garden to its originally intended beauty. This sacred ground bears witness to the enormous contribution of Jewish Hungarians across all walks of life'. The website's appeals for support are targeted at a Jewish audience, with a view to promoting the cemetery to Hungarians: 'Please help us preserve your heritage so that your descendants and the people of Hungary can appreciate it in time to come.' (Friends of Budapest Jewish Cemetery, 2022: online).

There are some local associations and foundations which focus on the heritage of their local area. The **István Kertész Foundation** in Balassagyarmat is a non-profit, non-religious association set up by residents to perpetuate the memory of Jewish Balassagyarmat, and to sustain and promote its remaining heritage. It is funded by the municipality, Mazsök, Mazsihisz and by private donors (who are listed on its website).

Another example of an organisation founded through local initiative, which is working to promote the Jewish heritage of one community outside of Budapest, is the **Tiszafüred Menorah Foundation**. Through its website, this organisation has worked since 1995 'to take care of the intellectual and built heritage of the Jewish community in and around the city of Tiszafüred in central Hungary, and to perpetuate their memory. Over the years, this activity has expanded to include scientific research, education, and support for Hungarian Jewish family research.' The Foundation began its work with reclaiming and restoring the Jewish cemetery and has gone on to promote its significance as a commemorative and art-historical resource (Tiszafüred Menorah Foundation, 2022: online).

There are also many private individuals and groups (of residents and students) who work to maintain their local Jewish cemeteries out of pride and respect for the memory of those interred there, and for the relevance of these places to both the history and identity of the communities who live there today. **Attila Patkós** at Dévaványa, **Belá Majdán** at Balassagyarmat and the **Szent Flórián Tűzoltóság Múltjáért Foundation** at Rákóczi falva (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2022: online) are just three of many examples of how volunteers in Hungary engage with preserving these historic spaces.

Actors based outside of Hungary

Outside of Hungary, external organisations such as the World Monuments Fund and the European Union have provided the initiative and resources to prime the development of Jewish cultural heritage as a tourist offer.

Conclusion

Although there are a number of actors involved in securing and promoting the heritage of Jewish cemeteries in Hungary, there are a growing number which are concerned more broadly with Hungary's Jewish culture and heritage. These can provide research and support to cemetery-focused projects. National communal bodies, the state and local authorities all play active roles in seeking to preserve and, to a lesser extent, promote Jewish heritage. It is unclear whether there is a systematic inclusion of Jewish heritage in the work of national and regional tourism planners. European supra-national agencies are the main non-Hungarian actors in this sector.

5.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Hungary is an established part of commercial Jewish travel in Europe. Holiday tours which take in at least Budapest, if not also regions with strong Jewish links such as the Tokaji, feature in all the key commercial providers' offers. Budapest's rich Jewish cultural heritage attracts both Jewish and non-Jewish tourists and has a developed tourist infrastructure with both commercial and private providers. Roots and remembrance tourism is developing at the Jewish cemeteries in the city (Dóri Szegő, 2022).

The range of Jewish heritage tourism in Hungary

Interviewees working in guiding confirmed that roots and remembrance tourism is developing at the Jewish cemeteries in the city more significantly than visits by non-Jews interested in Jewish heritage. There is a fairly developed commercial infrastructure promoting tourism to Jewish heritage sites in Hungary specifically for Jewish visitors and catering for the needs they might have, such as the 'Jewish Visitors Service'. Based in Budapest, this service offers both organised commercial and private bespoke Jewish tours to sites throughout Hungary and neighbouring countries, which include visits to cemeteries. Hungary Jewish Tours is another Budapest-based commercial agency which provides a range of tours and services to Jewish clients. Its founder Karesz Vandor began by providing genealogical services and then branched out, which puts cemetery tourism at the heart of what the agency does.

The REDISCOVER initiative in Hungary focuses on the revalorising of the Jewish heritage of the city of Szeged. As well as restoring sites and improving access and interpretation, the city worked with World Jewish Travel (WJT), an Israel-based non-profit organisation, which provides a digital platform to promote Jewish cultural travel to help potential visitors discover and experience Jewish heritage around the world. As a result, Szeged appears as a new travel destination on the international travel site with its full city portfolio listing sites to see in the central area and in the Jewish cemetery, guided tours, recommendations for high-quality hotels and restaurants, events connected to the promotion of local Jewish cultural heritage, and access to an eBook library.

The 'Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis' project is a rare (if not unique) example of the integration of religious pilgrimage and secular tourism, focusing primarily on Jewish cemeteries. It was developed with around €1.5 million in EU/Hungarian government funding, which was granted as part of a broader project for tourism development in north-eastern Hungary. Tourist infrastructure to accommodate pilgrims has been developed, including kosher restaurants near to these sites. According to Project Manager Mariann Frank, in the first year of operation around 12,000 people visited the Centre, 60% were Hungarians, 20% were international orthodox Jews (mainly from the United States), who came to visit the tombs of the rabbis, 10% were secular Jews from Israel and other countries, and 10% were non-Jewish foreign tourists. However, nearly all these visitors had family roots in the region. The religious pilgrims mostly came on group trips organised by a kosher travel agent or by rabbis or other community leaders, although sometimes large orthodox families came independently to conduct 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% international tourists (Carmel et al. 2020).



A similar initiative was launched in spring 2022. The Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary is funded by the EU and supported by the Hungarian government, in conjunction with regional and local municipalities. This route is focused on the towns of Sátoraljaújhely, Nagykálló, Nyírtass, Makó and Miskolc and aims to encourage local businesses to provide tourist services (accommodation, refreshments and shopping opportunities). To help encourage this, the consortium leading the project is planning for a range of buildings and services to cater for a diverse range of tourists: religious pilgrims, those engaging in roots and remembrance tourism, and cultural tourists interested in the Jewish heritage of these places. Cemeteries are included in the sites to be revalorised (Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary, 2022: online).

Accessing Jewish heritage products in Hungary: tours and tour guides

There are tour guides who specialise in Jewish heritage. In Budapest the Jewish Museum acts as a training centre to accredit guides to Jewish heritage. Those sponsored by Mazsihisz can access a weekly lecture series. For prospective tour guides who are MA students in the Budapest University of Jewish Studies, there are courses on how to communicate about heritage. Guides have created an online platform where they can communicate with each other and share know-how and experiences. According to one interviewee, those working with Jewish heritage tend to be trained historians and genealogists who are interested in preserving Jewish values (Dóri Szegő, 2022). However, not all are trained: one interviewee is self-taught, motivated by the rediscovery of their own Jewish identity (Ágnes Antal, 2022).

Conclusion

Hungary is an established space in commercially organised Jewish travel in Europe. Both Budapest and the east/north-east of the country attract those interested in Hungary's Jewish heritage. Budapest's rich Jewish cultural heritage attracts both Jewish and non-Jewish tourists and has a developed tourist infrastructure with both commercial and private providers. Anecdotally, roots and remembrance tourism is an expanding aspect of the sector. Two European-sponsored Jewish heritage Routes have been established in the country and the city of Szeged is seeking to establish itself as a centre for Jewish cultural tourism. Tour guiding in Jewish heritage is developed, although not all guides offer the opportunity to encounter Jewish cemeteries.

5.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

Cemetery tourism is becoming established as a phenomenon in Hungary. Interviewees in Hungary recognise that exploring cemeteries can have many aspects: understanding its place in the surrounding environment, visiting the tombs of famous people, appreciating the funerary art and examining the biodiversity of the place. One example of this is the National Graveyard on Fiumei Road in Budapest. The most notable burial place in Hungary, Fiumei Road has a rich heritage of funerary sculpture and architecture, boasts rich flora and fauna and houses a funerary museum. It is managed by NÖRI which undertook a comprehensive renovation and implemented more efficient publicity and communication strategies. The cemetery offers over fifteen guided walks a month. Yet it is perhaps significant that the English-language tours site sanctioned by the city's official tourist office does not

include any cemeteries in its offer to tourists (Budapest Xplore, 2022: online). There is a reticence expressed by tour guides in Hungary about cemetery tourism becoming part of the mainstream tourist offer in Budapest (Dóri Szegő, 2022).

Jewish cemetery tourism

The results of the current research on Jewish cemetery tourism in Hungary is mixed. Separated from the National Cemetery on Fiumei Road by a wall, Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery is on the European Cemeteries Route and is a member of the Association of Significant European Cemeteries. Much of its unparalleled built heritage is provided by the mausoleums of the nineteenth and early twentieth century middle-class elites. By contrast, it is also the site of the mass grave and memorial to the victims of the Budapest Ghetto. Jewish tour guide Dóri Szegő occasionally conducts tours in Hungarian around Budapest's main Jewish cemeteries. She believes Jewish cemetery tourism ought to be 'exclusive' and 'high-class' for small groups: 'It could easily become a part of mainstream tourism which would be disgraceful' (Dóri Szegő, 2022). Similarly, Director of the Jewish Museum and Archives in Budapest, Zsuzsanna Toronyi, expressed concern that increased numbers of visitors would be detrimental to the 'grace and purity': people are attracted by the calm atmosphere, 'which would be lost if they become over-visited' (Zsuzsanna Toronyi, 2022). On the other hand, she believes that there is a general lack of understanding in Hungary about how cultural and heritage tourism can benefit the country beyond raising money. Yet it is recognised that promoting Jewish cemeteries as cultural tourist products will potentially aid work to maintain them by generating more financial resources. Furthermore, increased visitor interest will help stimulate demand for diverse ways of interpreting sites, which could have educational aspects (Zsuzsanna Toronyi, 2022). Some interviewees expressed an awareness that cemetery tourism's key role as a means of education and promoting civic values is overlooked.

The promotional website 'We Love Budapest' has featured Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery alongside articles on Jewish sites and businesses in the city. The cemetery is presented as a document of the part played by Jews in Budapest (and national) life with its significant funerary architecture and art. It is also recognised as contributing valuable green space to the city, a fact which comes out in Tripadvisor reviews mentioning deer being seen (Tripadvisor, 2022: online).

Outside of Budapest, cemeteries do form a limited part of the Jewish cultural tourism experience. For example, cemetery tourism is presented in terms of pilgrimage in the work of Zarandokut. This organisation promotes visits to Jewish sites in the city of Debrecen and is partly sponsored by the Jewish Community of Debrecen. The Jewish cemetery on Monostorpályi Street is promoted as one of the city's key sites and has associated digital resources to support those who are engaged in roots and remembrance tourism. Opening times and ways of getting tour support in Hungarian, English or Hebrew are offered on the website (Zarandokut, 2022: online).

Researchers from Hungary's Debrecen University have studied the growth in Jewish tourism in the Tokaj-Hegyalja region, focusing on the role of cemetery tourism. In Tokaj-Hegyalja, Jewish cemeteries are the most dominant surviving examples of Jewish heritage, present in nearly two-thirds of twenty-seven municipalities. Cemeteries at eleven locations (Abaújszántó, Szerencs, Mád, Tállya, Tarcál, Tokaj, Bodrogkeresztúr, Olaszlízka, Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely and Erdőbénye) have already been partially mapped with a GPS-enabled database accessible online, thereby helping visitors to identify graves (Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis – Digital Collection, 2022: online). Continuous efforts are made to maintain these cemeteries so that they are accessible. By contrast, the cemeteries in Legyesbénye, Bodrogkisfalud, Rudabányácska, Szegi, Vámosújfalú and Tolcsva are hard to access and in poor condition as of 2021 (Drotár & Kozma, 2021:27).

Jewish cemetery tourism is not yet established as a standard offering in most commercial tours of Budapest's Jewish heritage. Although 'Jewish Heritage Walking Tours in Budapest' does offer general tours of the city in English, German and Magyar, these do not include visits to the city's Jewish cemeteries, although this is possible with bespoke private tours (Jewish Heritage Walking Tours in Budapest, 2022: online). The 'Budapest Jewish Walk' website (in English reflecting the target audience) does not mention visits to cemeteries in its city tours but includes Jewish cemeteries as part of its 'Jewish Face of the Tokaji Region' tour (Budapest Jewish Walk, 2022: online). Both tours cited focus on the active and vibrant nature of Budapest's (and by extension Hungary's) Jewish communal life. Cemeteries are not perceived as providing a positive encounter with Hungarian Jewish heritage.

Visitor generated content on review websites shows that cemetery tourism is growing, and tourists are recognising in part why these places matter: as one visitor to Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery puts it:

'Not to be missed if you want a different type of experience, among the many delights Budapest has to offer. An hour or two strolling through this silent, peaceful woodland is sure to be thought-provoking. It made me wonder not only about the stories of those whose markers you can read, but also the cemetery's 40+ years of decline before the present, when it is at last receiving much-needed care...'
(dominus_matthaeus, 2018: online)

And another:

'If you were to visit a cemetery in Budapest, it should be this one. Adjacent to Kerepesi [street] cemetery, this abandoned (but now undergoing restoration) site is full of art nouveau and art deco masterpieces. A genuine monument to its époque and a poignant reminder of the fate of Budapest Jews in the twentieth century. Shortly before my visit I learned that this cemetery was the one where Mylène Farmer's "Regrets" videoclip was filmed back in 1991.' (Valery T, 2018: online)

It is important to note that the natural, environmental (and perhaps spiritual) experience is as profound an engagement with the cemetery space as the funerary art and the stories of those buried there for these visitors. These reflections can be used for those planning for visitors who cannot assume (nor dictate) the motivations the visitors have for engaging with the space. A video about Szeged Jewish Cemetery, created as part of the EU-supported REDISCOVER project, is a very well-produced, atmospheric example of how cemetery sites can be promoted through exploring multiple facets of the experience: historical, art-historical, aesthetic, through remembrance and memorialising, through emotion and reflection. The video is narrated in Magyar with English subtitles, to ensure as wide an audience as possible.

Jewish cemetery tourism: who visits, and why?

Research is not yet available on general or Jewish cemetery visiting in Hungary. According to the tour guides interviewed, visitors who wish to visit Budapest's Jewish cemeteries tend to be interested in Judaism, whether they identify as Jewish or not. In the view of the tour guides, making the cemeteries accessible raises the profile and the reputation of Hungary as a Jewish space. Ultimately, they think engagement with Jewish cemeteries is about wanting to preserve Jewish memory. Conversely, 'if you arrive at a Jewish cemetery and find the grave you're looking for [has been] vandalized by someone, that gives an image of the whole country. And it happens way too often' (Ágnes Antal, 2022). Hate crime statistics are not compiled in Hungary, but Mazsihisz states it regularly hears of cemetery

desecration and antisemitic graffiti (United States Department of State, 2020: online). Cemetery sites might be valorised if cultural and touristic activity led to increased interest from local residents and visitors.

Outside of Budapest, Jewish cemetery tourism tends to be a Jewish practice. Within that, the motivations are mainly ‘roots and remembrance’ tourism, stimulated by genealogical research and a desire to see the places from which families originated. However, recent initiatives by local municipalities and organisations indicate a broadening in the profiles of those who visit Jewish cemeteries. For example, at Balassagyarmat on the border with Slovakia, non-Jewish visitors include church and school groups as well as foreign tourists (Majdán, 2022).

Drotàr and Kozma note that the number of Jewish heritage and cultural tourists arriving in the area is difficult to estimate for two reasons. On the one hand, a significant part of the attractions such those on the Orthodox Heritage Route and on the Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis route are in the open air and free to enter, therefore admissions data is not gathered. Secondly, data is currently only collected from commercial premises, not from pilgrim hostels or private addresses. What data there is reveals a continuous increase in visitor numbers over the period 2010–2019 for this region, which is echoed in another part of the country (Majdán, 2022). Anecdotal evidence from local municipalities puts figures of 5,000 to 7,000 people visiting cemeteries for specific Jewish holidays or the *yahrzeit* of particular rabbis. On other days up to 100 Jewish visitors might be present in the region. The majority of these are from the United States, with a significant number also from Israel. Most of these visitors return and spend longer time in the region on subsequent visits.

There is evidence that the significance and potential of Hungary’s Jewish cemeteries is increasingly being appreciated by younger, non-Jewish audiences. Budapest enthusiast and journalist Miklós Vincze has written about Kozma Street Cemetery in *Hype&Hyper*, a design and lifestyle magazine covering innovation, urban life and creative ecosystems across Central and Eastern Europe (Vincze, 2022: online). His article, accompanied with evocative photography, includes visitor information, the significance of the funerary architecture, symbols and art, and stories of those interred there (Miklós Vincze, 2022: online). Such promotion makes possible the encounter with the Jewish cemetery for younger visitors, presented in a contemporary magazine format with which they are familiar and comfortable.

The Narratives Encountered in Jewish Cemetery Tourism

For Dori Szegő, tourism at Jewish cemeteries is purely about preserving Jewish values through spreading Jewish tourism. Tours for non-Jews, local or foreign, is not a part of her offering: ‘[Jewish cemetery tourism is] a rare and unique activity. If someone has a personal interest in Jewish cemeteries like having a relative there or doing research on someone who was buried there, maybe.’ On the ‘Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis’ website, the accompanying photographs reveal that several of the featured cemeteries have significant numbers of *matzevot* of some age, for example at Olaszliszka and Bodrogkeresztúr. Yet the significance of each cemetery beyond the ‘Wonder Rabbi’ interred there is not expanded on, which is an opportunity missed.

At Kozma Street Cemetery, the Friends association targets its appeals for support at a Jewish audience, with a view to promoting the cemetery to Hungarians: ‘Please help us preserve your heritage so that your descendants and the people of Hungary can appreciate it in time to come.’ (Friends of Budapest Jewish Cemetery, 2022: online). Other audiences (and potential donors) are not currently seen as being relevant to or as part of a solution to securing the cemetery’s future survival.

Conclusion

There is an exciting potential for those organising tours of Budapest's Jewish heritage to incorporate the city's significant Jewish cemetery heritage as part of the encounter offered to visitors. This potential is being recognised by some but not all who work to promote and curate the visitor's experience of Jewish heritage in Hungary. Further research on understanding the reasons why different individuals and groups want to (or do not want to) engage with cemetery spaces needs to be conducted to support those planning for the future. There is also a need for further research on the narratives around Jewish cemetery heritage such as civic values, European perspectives of shared heritage and their meaning to contemporary communities.

5.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Progress towards sustainable tourism planning in Hungary

The current National Tourism Development Strategy 2030 (NTDS2030) refers to the importance of 'cooperative tourism,' which it defines as allowing for visitors to experience local lifestyles in harmony with the environment (Hungarian Tourist Authority, 2021:7). Responsible and eco-based tourism are beginning to feature as aspects of visitor practice in Hungary. There are several commercial operators offering tours and holidays which use eco-accommodation, slow transport and focus on engaging with the natural world: wildlife, natural park experiences etc. Várhelyi and Árva's work examining pre-pandemic responsible tourism in Hungary noted the need for Budapest to develop effective marketing and attractive programmes which target those who will be attracted by cultural (and heritage) offers (Várhelyi and Árva, 2020: online). Furthermore, they stressed the need for local tourism to be developed, which involves greater engagement with local and regional heritage. However, it was not apparent whether any operators offer heritage and cultural activities as part of responsible or eco-holiday options.

The two Jewish heritage-themed Routes mentioned in 5.4 above offer viable solutions in which cemetery tourism plays an integral role. Publicity for the new Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary puts local benefit at the centre of the project's outcomes. By diversifying the type of tourist attracted, it is hoped that seasonal fluctuations in numbers visiting will be reduced (although there will always be surges around the Jewish festivals and the *yahrzeit* of particular rabbis). More jobs and investment opportunities for local residents are tangible benefits which the Route's organisers specifically mention (Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary, 2022: online).

As noted in 5.2 above, some research has been conducted in Hungary on how cemeteries might become venues for 'staycation' tourism. Brigitta Pécssek's work at Fiumei Road Cemetery in Budapest points towards a more responsible way of encouraging cemeteries to offer themselves as the object of a staycation destination:

'Metropolitan cemeteries can turn into genuine attractions for locals with a tailored narrative and this approach to tourism development would constitute a truly green choice, primarily due to the lack of travel. The additional advantages such as extra green space for locals and deeper connection to hometown and sense of place are also valid contributions to the overall wellbeing of locals.'
(Pécssek 2021:332)

This opens up the possibility of Jewish cemeteries being encountered as ‘places of respite’ (Christina Welch, 2022) for both humans and nature, for the dead and the living. Wellbeing through harmony with the managed but sustainable environment of the historic Jewish cemetery may be the focus for further creative ways of encouraging especially local engagement with these sites. Some academic work has already been undertaken in Hungary to investigate how cemeteries can provide spaces of interest and respite for visitors (House, 2020: online; Kamin, 2020: online; Sallay et al, 2022: online).

Conclusions

‘Cooperative’ tourism, based on ecologically sound values is an area of development in Hungary. The commercial offer embracing rural and eco-tourism is expanding but heritage sites are not yet included in the itineraries and products on offer. The Jewish-themed heritage Routes in eastern and north-eastern Hungary are predicated on benefits being accrued by locals and a lessening of the impact of seasonal spikes in the numbers of visitors. Therefore, there is an awareness growing that Jewish heritage, including historic cemeteries, might benefit from inclusion within more comprehensive tourism strategies and initiatives which start with the local. The concept of ‘places of respite’ might offer a way of broadening and strengthening local engagement with Jewish cemeteries in particular, paying attention to their role as environmentally and socially sensitive spaces.



5.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Overview

The use of new technologies to support Jewish cemetery tourism in Hungary is in the initial stages of development. The majority of digital platforms so far developed, have not been sustained over time, meaning the technology has become either obsolete and/or inaccessible (Zsuzsanna Toronyi, 2022). More research at sites, data gathering, and content development need to take place across the country before quality digital outcomes will be available for visitors. Toronyi has been impressed by the use of QR codes on tombstones, although she did not identify the sites where this is employed as a tool for identification and interpretation.

The internet is becoming a vital means of communicating with the potential domestic audience for Jewish cemetery tourism. By 2021 more than 90% of Hungarian residents made some use of the internet (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2021). Within that, 77% are now interacting with social media (Statista, 2021). Facebook currently provides a platform for 92% of social media users in the country (StatCounter, 2022). There are 2.94 million Instagram users out of a population of 9.4 million (NapoleonCat, 2022). TikTok is becoming an important social media platform for those under twenty five years old. Therefore, new communication technologies and platforms alone are already important tools in finding and harnessing the domestic visitor market.

Use of website-based, virtual and downloadable guides

As with all contemporary commercial and cultural ventures, the internet is a vital tool in promoting the country's Jewish cemetery heritage. Jewish heritage in general, and to a lesser extent Jewish cemetery heritage, has an established web presence, which enables interest to be generated both within and beyond Hungarian audiences, and to different demographics within those audiences. This web presence is diverse. Hungarian Jewish cemeteries feature in the chic, sleek Anglophone online magazine *Hype&Hyper* (Vincze, 2022: online), and in *PestBuda*, an online magazine devoted to the city's urban material heritage which regularly features articles on Jewish built heritage, its significance and how it is being deployed in the development of the city's image. There is a Jewish presence to be found on state sponsored online national and regional tourist hubs (e.g., 'Visit Hungary' and 'Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis') and promotional websites for individual sites (e.g., 'Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery').

These websites vary in style, tone and audience, but all have in common the desire to reach international as well as national audiences, hence the multi-language offerings. 'Visit Hungary' is a website available in seventeen languages, which includes Jewish heritage as part of Hungary's tourism offering. The 'We Love Budapest' website, in Magyar and English, features videos as well as text for its articles. These demonstrate that there is an understanding of the reach of such websites in promoting Hungary's Jewish heritage to (potential) visitors both in and beyond Hungary. NÖRI curates the website which both promotes and acts as a basic guide to Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery. The page in English features visitor information (opening times, protocols and etiquette for visitors, information about guided tours) and explains why the site is significant to Budapest and Hungary. The Hungarian pages include an interactive map featuring the burial sites of some significant individuals, and photography (Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery, 2022: online).

The Jewish tourism web hub 'Footsteps of Wonder Rabbis' caters to a mix of religious pilgrims, wine-lovers, and mainstream tourists alike in the Tokaj region of north-eastern Hungary. It also provides

useful information for genealogists including documentation of local Jewish cemeteries. General tourism information is provided – including mainstream cultural heritage and nature trails – as well as information and itineraries focusing on the Jewish heritage and pilgrimage sites. Several cemeteries are included in the list of sights, with brief information on location, dates and the ‘Wonder Rabbi’ who is buried there. The accompanying photographs reveal that several of the cemeteries have significant numbers of *matzevot*, which will be of interest to a range of visitors interested in Jewish heritage.

The association which cares for and promotes Balassagyarmat Jewish Cemetery has mapped the site and digitised the records, building a website to host the information. These can be accessed by researchers and ‘roots and remembrance’ tourists in either Magyar or English. (Majdán, 2022). Another example of how local associations are using the web for promotion is the downloadable guide to Jewish Debrecen produced by Zarandokut Debrecen. Written in English and Magyar, visitors can view this platform on their smartphone or tablet whilst exploring the city’s Jewish Pilgrimage Route.

Use of social media

There are no statistics to calculate the use of social media as promotional tools for Jewish heritage in Hungary. Social media is not widely used to promote Jewish cemeteries. Searches were conducted in English and Magyar for the presence of Jewish cemetery sites on Facebook. Kozma Street Cemetery has a Facebook page with twenty-five followers and 148 check-ins. It has user generated content of visits and experiences, including a visitor being watched by Hungarian secret police in 1989. There have been no posts since 2019, so the page is not exploited by the administration to promote the cemetery.

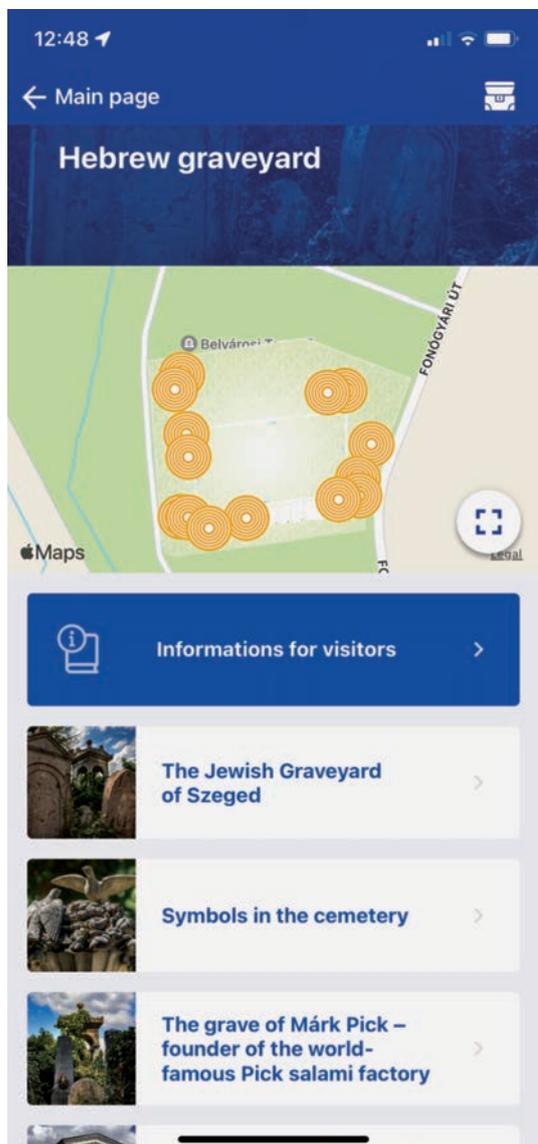
Use of social media by those involved in Jewish cemetery restoration is small-scale. A Facebook search in Magyar revealed a handful of private groups, only one of which had more than ten members. The one exception to this pattern is the 448-member strong Czömör Jewish Cemetery Facebook group. Olaszliszka Jewish Cemetery has a Facebook page with seventeen followers, photographs and some text. Content is user-generated and does not necessarily promote visits to the cemetery. Although private, enough information is given to know that the group is active in restoring the cemetery and the site solicits donations. NÖRI maintains a Facebook page and Instagram feed (in Magyar) which contain images and text sharing details about official ceremonies and initiatives happening at the cemeteries in their charge. A search using the tags ‘Hungary’, ‘Jewish’ and ‘cemetery’ elicited dozens of photographs. This demonstrates that there is an awareness of the Jewish cemetery as a cultural phenomenon which arouses enough interest in people to record and share images during their visits.

A search of Instagram in September 2022 using the keywords ‘Hungary’, ‘cemetery’, ‘Budapest’, ‘temető’ (Magyar word for cemetery) and ‘Jewish’ yielded many evocative photographs and posts by private individuals, but no evidence of accounts devoted to individual sites.

Use of smartphone apps

Accessing information and interpretation of Hungarian Jewish cemeteries is beginning to happen. The new information panel at Balatonfüred Jewish Cemetery features a QR code which provides additional information about the site and those buried there. Some newer monuments and interpretation panels at Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery in Budapest have QR codes affixed for the benefit of visitors.

To date there has been limited adoption of smartphone apps to assist visitors in their engagement with Jewish cemeteries in Hungary. A search of the Apple App Store in September 2022 yielded no results for searches using the keywords ‘Jewish’, ‘Budapest’, ‘Hungary’ and ‘cemetery’. NÖRI has produced a detailed app for visitors to Fiumei Street Cemetery, but unfortunately this does not cover the



Jewish Heritage Szeged app

adjacent Jewish cemetery in Salgótarjáni Street. The GPS-based app ‘GuideMe’ features Kozma Street Cemetery. There are photographs and an interactive map, but information about the cemetery is missing, which does not encourage the visitor. The ARtour mobile learning platform offers the ability to create a personalised app for exploring Salgótarjáni Street Cemetery. A search in smartphone app stores suggests that no-one has yet taken up the opportunity (ARtour, 2022: online).

However, an example of what has been achieved is available for visitors to Szeged. One of the outcomes of the REDISCOVER project, was that Szeged Municipality wanted to create a contemporary, multifaceted mobile application for self-guided visits to explore both tangible (the New Synagogue and other buildings designed by the celebrated Jewish architect Lipót Baumhorn, the cemetery) and intangible (a cookbook) Jewish cultural heritage elements of the city, as well as to expand the city’s existing tourism offer (Ripp and Bertrand, 2021). This excellent smartphone app, ‘Jewish Heritage Szeged’, includes a section on the Jewish cemetery, with comprehensive visitor information, historical details, high quality photographs and an interactive map that locates the memorial to local Jewish soldiers who took part in the First World War, the mortuary and other significant graves.

The example of Szeged points the way for other municipalities or organisations to work collaboratively in creating these tools. As the design and marketing of apps becomes more straightforward, there is the potential to build on what has been achieved already in Hungary.

Conclusion

Internet and social media penetration in Hungary is high, which clearly offers new opportunities to communicate with the potential domestic visitor to historic Jewish cemeteries. Whilst there are an increasing number of digital resources for the promotion and discovery of Jewish cemeteries in Hungary, quality and functionality vary widely. Many are poorly produced, or partially completed or have information missing. Providers need to ensure platforms, pages and apps are fully functional and complete before they are released for public use. Increased research and data gathering is needed to provide a body of quality content for website and app developers to use in building usable tools for

interpreting Jewish cemetery sites. Social media is not widely used to promote Jewish cemeteries in Hungary. This is potentially a valuable tool which is being overlooked, especially in terms of reaching out to diasporic communities and stimulating international interest in roots and remembrance tourism.

5.8 THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS

Partnership for sustainable cemeteries

There are partnerships developing between local, regional, national and, to a lesser extent, overseas actors. The Tiszafüred Menorah Foundation works in partnership with the city authorities to promote the city's Jewish heritage not just at the cemetery, but through cultural events as well (Tiszafüred Menorah Foundation, 2022: online).

Zsuzsanna Toronyi (2022) notes that some places still need to ensure local communities are empowered partners in projects to preserve and promote Jewish cemeteries. Concerns over large numbers of visitors not benefitting local communities can be addressed through the local management of how sites are developed and remain viable.

The recently initiated Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary is the result of financial and technical partnerships. Funded by the EU and supported by the Hungarian government, it was overseen by a consortium led by MAZSIHISZ, along with the municipal administration of Makó, and two local Chassidic foundations that deal with cemeteries and pilgrimage sites: Hácár Hákodes Tass Foundation in Nyírtass, and the Chevra Kadisha of Yetev Lev Satmar Congregation in Sátoraljaújhely. Although religious organisations are involved, and the pilgrimage aspect of the route is highlighted, the publicity for the route is careful to emphasise the benefits for local residents and other groups of visitors. The construction of a road to the cemetery in Makó is one tangible benefit of the partnership. The project also aims to revalorise the cemetery in Nagykálló by the provision of an exhibition space to provide visitors with information and interpretation (Orthodox Jewish Heritage Route of Eastern Hungary, 2022: online).

With the exception of the collaboration between the Municipality of Szeged and World Jewish Travel under the auspices of the REDISCOVER project, and cemetery stabilisation and restoration work involving the European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative (ESJF) working in partnership with MAZSIHISZ, no initiatives are currently underway to sustain and promote historic Jewish cemeteries which are collaborations between Hungarian organisations and transnational communal organisations or with Hungarian Jewish diaspora groups. Such collaborations may be happening but have not been identifiable. Given the increasing numbers of people who are engaging in roots and remembrance tourism, the potential is there.

Partnership for education and civic values

The involvement of students in cemetery clean-ups demonstrates a recognition of the relevance these spaces have for developing values of respect, understanding and collaboration in young people. Jewish educational organisations such as the Foreign Trade Technical School of the Budapest Jewish Community and youth groups such as Kibuci Bucik in Budapest work to restore and maintain the cemeteries there (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2022: online)

Conclusion

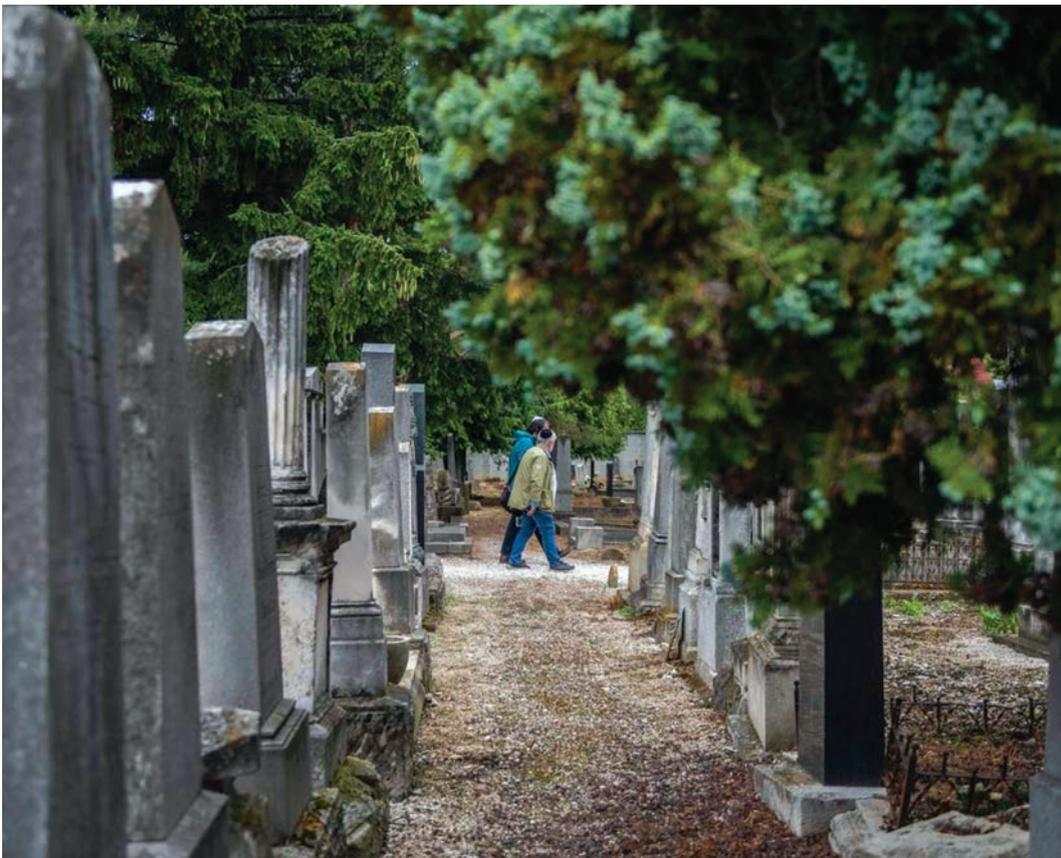
There are partnerships developing between local, regional, national and, to a much lesser extent, overseas actors. The partnerships involve relatively few bodies as yet, and funding is consequently restricted. There are examples of how municipalities might forge links with more European and Jewish transnational organisations to promote their historic Jewish cemeteries as visitor destinations. Building on the growing roots and remembrance tourism, further outreach and collaboration might encourage members of the Hungarian Jewish diaspora to become more directly involved in visiting, maintaining and promoting Jewish cemeteries.

5.9 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN HUNGARY: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Tourism offices and their associated online resources do not feature cemeteries as tourist sites of interest, even though they highlight religious diversity and its various heritage. Promoting cemetery tourism to overseas visitors in websites and other promotional media will enhance the range of the tourist offering.
- Stakeholders need to consider the type of visitors they wish to attract and how visitors will access these sites, and how improved accessibility is balanced with ensuring visitors are visiting in good faith and behave respectfully. Aspects of mass tourism such as coach tours may not be desired as a result of infrastructure development and promotion to visitors.
- No research has yet been undertaken on either general or Jewish cemetery visitor numbers in Hungary. An opportunity exists therefore, for those working in tourism research and planning, to investigate the practice and share understanding of what motivates people to visit Jewish cemeteries in Hungary, and what they expect from these visits. The degree to which the Jewish cemetery is a space of interest which embraces Jewish and non-Jewish visitors alike needs further exploration.
- Established guiding services engaging with Jewish heritage do not always include Jewish cemeteries on the walks and tours they organise. Their professional networks might be a route to help guides develop cemetery tours and offer advice on how to promote these guided tours in their commercial outreach.
- Cemetery tourism offers an excellent opportunity for visitors in and to Hungary to encounter the diverse and significant Jewish experience through both its material heritage and the stories of those buried at sites. Incorporating the significant Jewish cemetery heritage of Hungary, and particularly that of Budapest, into the promotional materials made by commercial and private tourist enterprises targeting both Hungarian and foreign visitors at all levels will help stimulate interest and engagement.
- Cemetery tourism in Hungary is understood to be a method of educating about a particular vision of what the Hungarian nation embodies. The opportunity to promote and reinforce values of tolerance, respect, collaboration and a pluralist European society is not obvious in the public represen-

tations of Hungary's Jewish cemeteries. The educative aspect of Jewish cemetery heritage – in civic values and in the significance of the heritage to our common European home – can easily be incorporated into visitor programmes, on-site interpretation and the promotional materials on the internet or in physical form.

- Digital technologies are not currently being used to their full potential in Hungary. In reviewing their online and digital resources, stakeholders need to ensure their digital presence is of a high quality, clear and effective to ensure the messages they want to promote are reaching their audiences. Other stakeholders, community members or visitors could be involved in this task.
- Social media is not widely used to promote and develop relationships with, and interest in, Jewish cemeteries in Hungary. This valuable tool could be particularly useful in engaging diasporic communities, stimulating interest in roots and remembrance tourism and enabling younger members of local communities to both engage with and contribute to the uncovering of the histories of these places as well as protecting them for future generations.
- Networks between those managing and promoting cemeteries needs strengthening via national collaborations with partners such as ESJF and ASCE, to draw up and share good practice on visit management, information provision and interpretation.





6

LITHUANIA



6.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Lithuania once covered what is now Belarus and western Ukraine, forming a territory in which Jews could move around and settle relatively freely, in which Yiddish was spoken amongst the Jewish population. Despite the destruction of the Shoah and the subsequent suppression by the Communist regime 1945–1991, Lithuania continues to be a significant element in Jewish collective consciousness. Its revered scholars and intense spiritual energy shaped Jewish identity, thought and faith around the world.

There are over two hundred identified Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania (ESJF, 2020a:17). The post-communist democratic Lithuanian state is the legal owner and guardian of all Jewish cemeteries. There are a limited number of actors outside of the state engaged in the protection and promotion of Jewish cultural heritage at all levels. There seems to be a limited amount of *landsmanshaft* engagement in visiting and promoting historic Jewish cemeteries.

Lithuania's State Department of Tourism is active in its promotion of the meaning of Jewish heritage to Lithuania. Commercial Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Lithuania has been growing since the 1990s. Roots and remembrance tourism is developing throughout Lithuania. There is some evidence that heritage tour guides are working independently to bring Jewish cultural tourism and research together. Visiting national cemeteries in Vilnius is an established practice. The tomb of the Vilna Gaon and his family in Vilnius is a popular visitor site and probably the most significant location for Jewish heritage tourism in the country. Historic Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania are to an extent recognised as touristic sites for visitors. However, recent research indicates that the significance of sustainability in Lithuania's tourism sector is increasing. The country needs to ensure better promotion of Lithuania as an ecotourism destination in priority source markets. Existing marketing does not identify rural cemeteries as sustainable tourist destinations.

The internet is being widely used as a marketing tool by national agencies. Social media and websites have been embraced for promoting private tourism initiatives, tour guiding etc. No evidence was found for smartphone technology being used for engagement or interpretation of historic Jewish cemetery sites in the country.

There are several examples of fruitful organisational partnerships in Lithuania. Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania are recognised by several organisations as spaces for partnership and education with local communities and national or transnational actors in Jewish heritage. However, funding and financial security remains an ongoing issue which is preventing large-scale preservation and promotion work. Without access to Lithuanian data, it is not possible to gauge the degree to which central government and local municipalities can take the initiative to find sources of funding within the country and build partnerships with potential donors inside and outside Lithuania. This will need to happen soon for the preservation and promotion of Jewish cemeteries to occur before further unmaintained Jewish cemeteries have been permanently lost to decay and erasure.

6.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN LITHUANIA

Jews have lived in the area now known as Lithuania since the fourteenth century, forming a distinct but heterogenous group known as 'Litvaks'. Lithuania remained a centre of Jewish learning and religious study throughout the eighteenth century with the capital Vilnius (or Vilna) being popularly known as "the Jerusalem of Lithuania" and 'the Jerusalem of the North' for the *Misnagdim*, followers of Rabbi Eliyahu ben Shlomo Zalman (the Vilna Gaon). These *Ashkenazi* Jews opposed the approaches to Jewish thought and practice characterised as Chassidism which were becoming popular amongst Jewish

populations further south. Lithuania attracted some of the brightest minds and scholars in the Jewish world during that period. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jewish culture in Lithuania thrived, spurred by the growth of multiple secular movements, including Zionist, socialist, Bundist, and communist organisations – despite outbreaks of antisemitic violence. (Facing History and Ourselves, 2022: online).

Although there is no agreement on exact numbers, it is likely that around 198,000 of Lithuania's pre-war Jewish population of about 208,000 were murdered in the Shoah (Bubnys, 2004: 218). Soviet rule after 1945 stifled what remained of Jewish life. The 1980s Lithuanian national revival movement and struggle for liberation from Soviet control provided conditions for a Jewish rebirth, with Jewish cultural support groups forming across the country. There were concerted campaigns of destruction against Jewish cemeteries in the 1960s and 1970s, which impact on the memory and relations local communities have with these sites. The preservation work by ESJF has been a vital step to securing the future of historic Jewish cemetery sites. This work has recently included teaching young people how to engage with their local Jewish cemeteries, as well as preparing educators to integrate this topic into their curriculum. To recognise that rather than artefacts from an alien, extinct culture, these cemeteries represent a significant part of their [Lithuanian communities today] own material heritage, and as such can play a role in the country's development. (ESJF, 2020a:29).

In 2016 the core Jewish population in Lithuania was estimated at around 2,600. Despite this, Lithuania continues to be potent in Jewish collective consciousness. Antony Polonsky, Emeritus Professor of Holocaust Studies at Brandeis University and a world authority on the Jewish experience in Eastern Europe, notes the paradox between a rapidly diminishing and divided community beset with antisemitic attacks, and the priority of safeguarding and promoting Litvak heritage, and the memory and understanding of how such a flourishing culture was erased (Polonsky, 2019:808).

The Lithuanian state owns and grants legal protection to the two hundred plus Jewish cemeteries, which are then in theory managed and maintained by local authorities. ESJF identified Lithuania as a good example of state-led preservation policy. ESJF works to promote the Lithuanian model as a template for other countries (ESJF, 2020a:6). However, restricted funding and pressing social and infrastructure needs mean that most cemeteries do not benefit from local support and management (Sergey Kanovich, 2022).

6.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN LITHUANIA

State-level actors

The Jewish Community of Lithuania (LZB) is a key actor in sustaining and promoting Lithuania's Jewish cemeteries. For example, the LZB played an active role in how ESJF's Jewish cemetery survey work was communicated effectively to local mayors. However, LZB is not currently engaged in promoting surviving Jewish cemeteries, but focuses more on connected educational programmes, exhibitions and cultural events. However, it has played a crucial role in the identification and retrieval of *matzevot*. For example, in 2016 Jewish headstones were removed from the entrance stairs to the Vilnius Clinical Hospital in the Antakalnis neighbourhood and from an electrical substation at a different location by LZB. And when restoration work began at the Evangelical Church in Vilnius in 2022, local residents noticed inscriptions on the stones. Experts from LZB determined the stones were found to be *matzevot*. At the request of the Jewish community, stones used as stairs on the sides of the church were also examined by these experts and were confirmed as also being Jewish gravestones. Twenty-four *matzevot* were eventually identified and removed during reconstruction at the church to a square next to the Old Jewish



Cemetery in Vilnius. LZB have been involved in the removal of Jewish gravestones from stairs leading up to Tauras Hill in Vilnius in 2022. In this way LZB plays an active role in identifying material Jewish cemetery heritage and taking the first steps to securing its future.

The Goodwill Foundation is a consortium of Lithuanian and overseas agencies (including B'nai B'rith International and the American Jewish Committee) whose purpose is to distribute funds provided by the Lithuanian State for the religious, cultural, healthcare, sports, educational and scientific goals pursued by Lithuanian Jews in Lithuania in a transparent, fair and effective manner. The Foundation aims to provide funding for projects which contribute to building a strong and active Jewish community in Lithuania, its slogan being 'remembering the past, building the future' (Goodwill Foundation, 2022). Goodwill has some responsibility therefore for the preservation and promotion of Jewish cultural heritage in the country.

Maceva is a non-profit organisation which aims to preserve historic Jewish cemeteries for future generations in Lithuania and the diaspora, and document and publicise information about all the pre-WWII Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania. Maceva's database records inscriptions and their translations and is publicly accessible via a website, offering the possibility for partnership with roots and remembrance tourism. The organisation aims to restore cemetery sites with the assistance of, and in cooperation with, local municipalities. Perhaps most importantly for Jewish heritage in Lithuania, it also raises awareness among local communities about the Jews who used to live in local neighbourhoods and to seek the support of these local communities to look after Jewish cemeteries (Maceva, 2022: online). It relies on financial support from non-governmental organisations, businesses and private donors.

The State Department of Tourism publicly promotes the country's Jewish heritage. Aspects of the country's Jewish tangible and intangible heritage feature on the official 'Lithuania: Real is beautiful' website, although they are not currently easy to find on this website. For example, the pages on religious tourism do not include any Jewish sites.

Local actors

Local municipalities are legally charged with the protection and maintenance of any Jewish cemeteries within their administrative district. Any expenditure on Jewish cemeteries is therefore dictated by local priorities and the resources which each municipality can secure. This picture is highly variable across the country. There are municipalities which feature Jewish cemeteries in their local area and assist by maintaining them and on occasion installing interpretation boards. However, there are many places where stretched resources and other priorities mean Maceva has had to apply pressure to achieve even the minimum maintenance of Jewish cemetery sites (Sergey Kanovich, 2022).

Conclusion

Due to its legal position as owner of all historic Jewish cemetery sites, the Lithuanian state plays an essential role in the preservation and promotion of historic Jewish cemeteries. Local authorities, NGOs and private partners who wish to promote historic Jewish heritage need to work within this framework, which is overseen by the governmental departments. Funding can come from diverse sources, both domestic and overseas, but its deployment needs to be within channels which are recognised and sanctioned by the Lithuanian state. Funding, even at national level, is currently scarce and minimal action is currently taking place to move cemetery projects forward, except in terms of volunteer-based maintenance. There are not any publicly visible *landsmanshaft* initiatives of the type seen in Poland and Ukraine.





6.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Overview

Lithuania's State Department of Tourism is optimistic on how Litvak Jewish heritage can attract visitors from outside the country and offer educational possibilities for current communities:

'Lithuanians themselves are becoming more and more aware of the diverse Jewish cultural heritage. What took place and developed before the Holocaust is of interest not only to Jews around the world who are looking for their roots and the places where their ancestors walked, but to everyone who wants to fully understand the history of the Lithuanian region. We have faith that the path of Jewish cultural heritage ... will function as an inspiration for further pursuits and meaningful discoveries.' (State Department of Tourism, 2017:3)

Jewish heritage tourism in Lithuania

Commercial Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Lithuania has been growing since the 1990s, although exact figures are not available. Several commercial operators offer Jewish themed experiences, generally combined with visits to either the other Baltic republics or to Poland. The cities of Vilnius, Kaunas and Kėdainiai are the main centres for these tours, and guided visits to the Jewish cemeteries of these places feature in several tours. The tomb of the Vilna Gaon in Vilnius is the particular 'star attraction' of Lithuania. Israel and the United States have been growth markets for Lithuanian tourism in the past five years (OECD Tourism Trends and Policies, 2020: online).

Jewish Heritage Lithuania (JHL) is a non-profit institution that works to promote Lithuania's Jewish heritage. JHL are currently developing downloadable heritage maps which will offer thematic and regional routes. JHL also manages social media channels which promote the country's Jewish heritage. JHL has devised five diversely themed routes, ranging from a route around sites that were important in the lives of significant Litvaks, to the industrial heritage which was the result of Litvak enterprise. The *shtetl* route takes in 15 small towns. Cemeteries are mentioned on the route, in the towns of Darbėnai, Rokiškis and Šeduva and a further six cemeteries feature on the Jewish heritage sites section.

The State Department of Tourism's publication 'Jewish Cultural Heritage in Lithuania' (2017) is a beautifully illustrated document which is available to download. It contains archive and contemporary photographs as well as a number of maps and comprehensive information on all the heritage sites it promotes. 'Jewish Cultural Heritage in Lithuania' recognises that Yiddish is an essential element of Litvak culture by referring to the 29 cities, towns and villages covered within by both their contemporary Lithuanian and previous Yiddish names. The guide exists in several translations but not in English. One of the aims of this publication has been that engagement with the country's Litvak heritage will 'act as an inspiration for further pursuits and meaningful discoveries' (State Department of Tourism, 2017:3).

Roots and remembrance tourism is developing throughout Lithuania, although significant numbers are not yet involved (Sergey Kanovich, 2022). Members of the Litvak diaspora seek out the places where their ancestors once lived. Cemeteries are often important spaces to these tourists, physical spaces where they have an opportunity to engage with their forebears buried there. This group is

seen as providing the most potential for a tourism-based solution to sustaining the country's Jewish cemeteries (Sergey Kanovich, 2022).

Those working in heritage tourism and Jewish cultural tourism are starting to combine their offerings. For example, the tour guide Aušra Mikulskienė, who researches the histories of former Jewish communities across the country and specialises in the heritage of Litvak *shtetls*, offers tours on different themes in and around Vilnius, which includes visits to Jewish cemeteries. Aušra states on her website that hers is a private project, but donations are welcomed to enable her to build on this work (Litvak Shtetls, 2022). Artist Richard Schofield works to retrieve memory and engage contemporary Lithuanians with Litvak culture and the Jewish encounter in Lithuania. He has created installations which use archive photographs of the country's Jews and Jewish places to engage contemporary Lithuanians with the Jewish experience, challenging and intriguing the viewer to reconsider their understanding of Lithuania (Richard Schofield, 2022).

The Jewish heritage products in Lithuania

The tomb of the Vilna Gaon and his family in Vilnius is a significant tourism site, which is evidenced for example by the fact that the year 2020 was dedicated by the Government to the memory of the Vilna Gaon and Jewish history in Lithuania. All commercially advertised tours include a visit as part of their activities. By contrast, the Jewish cemetery in Zapyškis, just outside Kaunas, which is being promoted by Jewish Heritage Lithuania 'is not blooming with visitors and there are no accidental passers-by. It might be the reason why there still are about 60 original tombstones with engravings in Hebrew' (JHL, 2022: online). This raises the issue of how access by visitors is a major factor in the promotion of these sites, and the extent to which accessibility brings its own problems: not all visitors visit respectfully and for positive reasons.

The largest current Jewish heritage project in Lithuania is the Lost Shtetl Museum, which will be built adjacent to the restored Jewish cemetery in Šeduva. This museum will present the history, culture, religion, folklore, and daily life of the Jews of Lithuania's *shtetls* and their relations with their neighbours. The museum's narrative will be based on the many stories of the Jews of Šeduva and surviving archive materials and artefacts (Lost Shtetl Šeduva, 2022: online).

Conclusion

Jewish heritage tourism is an established commercial phenomenon in Lithuania. Commercial and private operators provide services to overseas visitors and there are some well-known sites and tours based mainly in and around Vilnius and Kaunas. There are also a reputable group of tour guides who specialise in Jewish heritage, some of whom aim to engage visitors with Jewish cemeteries outside of Kaunas and Vilnius. Furthermore, these tour guides are actively capturing memories and creating new knowledge about Lithuania's Jewish story through their research. Together with cultural events such as photographic exhibitions, there is a basis of activity which can be built on, drawing Jewish cemeteries more centrally into visitor engagement with the country's Jewish story.

6.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

Some research has been undertaken in Lithuania on the subject of ‘dark tourism’, into which cemetery tourism could be positioned. It is an established practice for Lithuanians to visit the graves of notable people from Lithuania’s history who are buried in Vilnius’s Rasos Cemetery and Kaunas’s Petrašiūnai Cemetery (Jurenienė and Radzevičius, 2022:16). Tourists make journeys to the Antakalnis Military Cemetery in Vilnius to visit the tombs of numerous soldiers from both world wars, as well as the graves of political figures, artists, writers, scientists and the victims of the Soviet terror during 1991–1992. Together with Rasos Cemetery, this military cemetery is a member of the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe and part of the European Cemeteries Route.

Jewish cemetery tourism

There are 86 preserved cemeteries in Lithuania. As all Jewish cemeteries are national property inscribed in the Register of National Heritage, they are easily discoverable to visitors who wish to search for them. Many have symbolic gates or minimal, metre-high fences that function as indicators of the site’s boundaries rather than physical protective measures. These interventions are successful thanks to the visibility provided by the national registry, regular maintenance and monitoring visits, and the level of awareness among the local population. Unfenced cemeteries in Lithuania are often preserved through other means. They are maintained regularly, and information boards are placed around them (ESJF, 2020a:18). This implies a demand for interpretation for visitors, whether local or from abroad, and that the authorities are mindful of the part which these sites play in the local tourist economy. However, no research has been conducted to date which analyses and evaluates the impact on the visitor economy.

The tomb of the Vilna Gaon and his family in Vilnius is an established visitor site and probably the most significant location for Jewish heritage tourism in the country. Having been moved three times in its history, it is now situated at the Jewish cemetery on Sudervė Road. The mausoleum is one of the most visited objects related to Vilna Jewish heritage (JHL, 2022: online).

The recent recovery and relocation of *matzevot* to the surviving Jewish cemeteries in the city has gained international attention (JHE, 2022d). The *matzevot* had been used to construct outdoor staircases by the Communist regime after 1945. Stones that had legible inscriptions have been re-sited at the Užupis Jewish Cemetery, which was razed in the 1960s. A monument composed of retrieved *matzevot* is already a feature of the cemetery, having been constructed in the 1990s. The cemetery heritage encountered by visitors to Vilnius’s Jewish cemeteries is therefore changing through the rediscovery and revalorisation of *matzevot*. The efforts made to secure the future of the *matzevot* indicates a desire to share this heritage publicly.

Conclusion

Historic Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania are to an extent recognised as appealing to visitors, but predominately in the main tourist centres. A lack of available statistics and research means it is difficult to fully evaluate the contribution historic Jewish cemeteries make to Lithuania’s Jewish cultural tourism offering. It is not known who visits, for what reasons and what their expectations are. There is an opportunity here for the Jewish community, researchers and those involved in tourism planning to look in depth at how Lithuania’s Jewish cemetery heritage can be valorised, perhaps building on the experiences of those working with similar heritage in Poland.





6.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Overview

The development of environmentally responsible tourism in Lithuania might provide a competitive advantage as the tourism sector develops. The Lithuanian government has produced documentation on the subject. Recent research indicates that the significance of environmentally and socially sensitive development in Lithuania's tourism sector is increasing, and this is understood as an integral and inseparable part of successful tourism development. Elements of development such as slow culture, ecology, the aim to reduce CO₂ emissions and consumption, engagement of communities and NGOs, 'sharing economy' principles, a decrease in the negative impact of tourism on residents, are highly relevant (Jureniene and Radzevicius, 2022:19).

Progress towards sustainable tourism planning in Lithuania

The Lithuanian Strategy for Tourism Marketing for 2016–2020 aims to position Lithuania as an attractive country for ecotourism. To achieve this, the OECD noted that the country needed to ensure better promotion of Lithuania as an ecotourism destination in priority source markets and to strengthen the skills of the labour force inside the sector (OECD, 2018:337). So far, most focus has been on transnational initiatives for future-proofed solutions to tourism development on the Baltic Coast (OECD Tourism Trends and Policies, 2020: online).

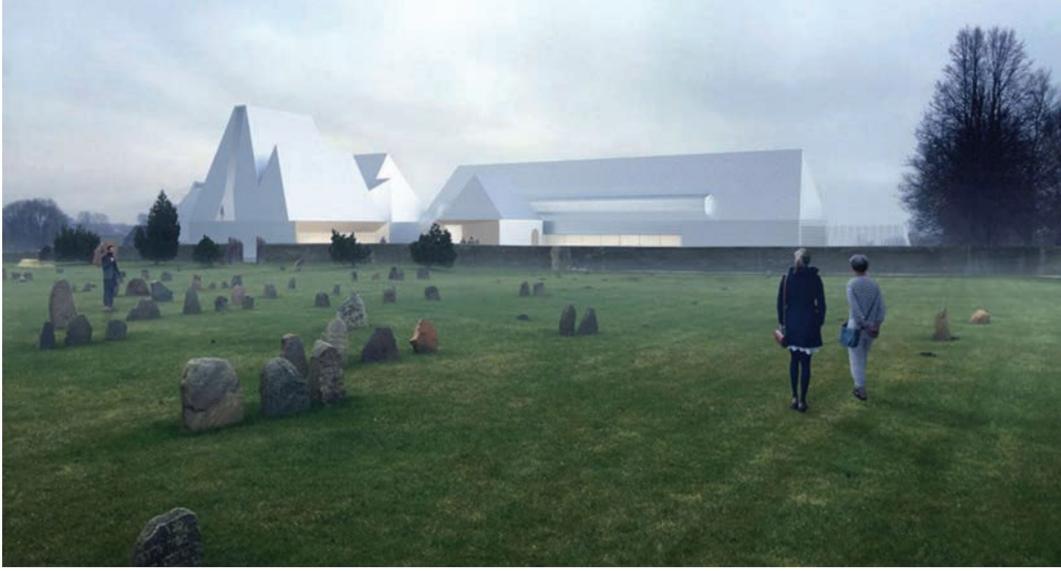
Lithuania Travel, the State Tourism Department's commercial agency, has completed some work to promote Lithuania as an eco-destination. For example, prior to the pandemic, the department partnered with Airbnb 'to promote healthy and sustainable tourism in the region. The aim of the partnership was to enrich the tourist offer, deflect tourist flows from the major centres, and support the local economy by boosting visitor growth. The partners tried to achieve this goal by creating more than twenty unique Airbnb experiences led by locals (TheMayor.eu, 2020: online). It has not been possible to determine the success of the partnership, but the concept of deflecting tourist flows to smaller centres could be a good model for Jewish heritage tourism at sites across the country.

On its website, Lithuania Travel highlights 13 locations around the country which are designated 'ecotravel' destinations. The site promotes 'crystal clear lakes, the mysterious swamps, the centuries-old forests and the archaic villages that still stand in them – there are hundreds of places waiting for you where you will grasp the true harmony of man and nature' (Lithuania Real is Beautiful, 2022: online). Zervynos, an open-air museum, is the only place featured on the site focused on cultural, material heritage. As with other aspects of material heritage which might figure within these landscapes, historic cemeteries are not featured as destinations to be discovered through hiking, cycling etc.

Conclusions

Environmentally and socially responsible tourism is in the early stage of development in Lithuania, although its significance and potential are recognised at state level. Further research is needed to establish the degree to which true ecologically focused tourism is becoming an economic factor in Lithuania's tourism development. However, Lithuania clearly has ample natural and heritage resources which can form the basis for economic development, which is equitable both to the environment, local communities and which could help sustain the Jewish cemetery heritage which exists throughout the country.

The Lost Shtetl Museum (under construction)



6.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Use of website-based, virtual and downloadable guides

Well-designed and attractive websites are being employed for marketing and promotion on a national scale. Jewish Heritage Lithuania (JHL) maintains an attractive, user friendly and informative website with a range of downloadable resources for tourists in English and Lithuanian. The website promotes a wide range of Jewish sites, including synagogues and cemeteries, as well as stories about the inhabitants of these places.

Israel-based Ralf Salinger, organiser and lead of the Vilkaviskis Project, has a dedicated website which is both a repository for recovered memory and research on the community of Vilkaviskis, and a tool for potential visitors to orient themselves and understand the community in more detail. Another example of a personal initiative is guide Aušra Mikulskienė's Litvak Shtetls project. Her website is in Lithuanian only, although the Facebook page has an English section.

Tour guide Daniel Gurevich conducts online Virtual Tours of Jewish heritage in Kaunas, Kėdainiai and Kalvarija, using Facebook as a marketing tool, for which he charges a fee. Whether or not private initiatives such as these translate into on-the-ground visitor engagement is not known, but they are interesting new methods of promotion and investment for Jewish cemetery visitor development (The Wandering Jew, 2022: online).

Use of social media

Social media is being used to reach out to audiences and potential visitors both within and beyond Lithuania's borders. For example, JHL has a presence on Facebook, YouTube and Instagram. Ralf Salinger uses WordPress and Facebook to blog about the development of the Vilkaviskis Project, allowing his audience to stay informed on the progress and impact of the project, as well as to highlight sites and events in the town. He has also blogged details of his outdoor photographic exhibition on the town's once Jewish firefighter corps, which stimulated interest in the local population and in those with more distant links with the town.

Conclusion

Use is being made of several digital platforms for the promotion of Lithuania's Jewish cemetery heritage. Quality websites and useful social media sites reach out to potential visitors in Lithuania and overseas. There does not seem to be any app development projects for engaging with historic Jewish cemeteries in the country at the present time. This may however be taking place without online promotion. The good quality websites promoting Jewish heritage in Lithuania indicate further digital solutions could be developed 'at home', promoting Jewish cemetery heritage and developing the country's digital engagement.

6.8 THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS

Partnership for sustainable cemeteries

There are several examples of good partnerships in Lithuania, both internally and with transnational agencies and organisations. Jewish Heritage Lithuania is a member of The European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage (AEPJ) and partners with the Lithuanian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Departments. Sergey Kanovich is clear that no progress will be made on preserving and promoting Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania except through meaningful partnerships between local communities, national actors and transnational agencies, in which all voices are heard (Sergey Kanovich, 2022) mirroring how sustainable environmentally and socially sensitive tourism development requires effective partnerships and collaboration to work (6.3 above). All these bodies are larger or local governmental organisations. Smaller scale or locally focused community organisations and initiatives have not yet been identified as partners in these projects.

Partnership for education and civic values

Jewish cemeteries in Lithuania are recognised as spaces for partnership and education between local communities and national or transnational actors in Jewish heritage. The Jewish Cultural Route Association was sponsored by the Goodwill Foundation and originated with collaboration between the municipalities of Ukmergė and Kėdainiai, the regional administration of the Joniškis district, the Centre for Studies of the Culture and History of East European Jews and the Association of Lithuanian Museums. The project serves as a model for what can be achieved when designing cross-agency collaboration.

Another example of collaborative engagement is the work of the ESJF which recognises the opportunity that engaging with local communities can have in changing the way local people perceive and engage with Jewish cemeteries. ESJF's educational projects aim to show inhabitants that these cemeteries represent part of their own community's heritage. Through educating young people on how to engage with their local Jewish cemeteries, an interest in and respect for Jewish heritage might be developed in younger Lithuanians (ESJF, 2020a:29). Maceva projects to restore and maintain Jewish cemeteries always include local people as participation is in itself educational (Sergey Kanovich, 2022). An awareness of the broader significance of the Jewish contribution to Lithuania's national story might grow from this. Most importantly, core values of respect and tolerance through belief in the plurality of the common European home can be reinforced through these visits.

Partnership for Tourist Development

In their recent research, Jureniene and Radzevicius have found that 'dark tourism' sites such as cemeteries do not seek to involve local communities in their activities. Local communities are often reticent to engage in any way with places with strong connections to the Second World War and the Cold War. However, the question of the passivity of much of Lithuanian society in tourism development remains open. There is a lack of firm links between state owned sites such as Jewish cemeteries and the private sector, and private initiatives and projects. Even 'dark tourism' sites located in the capital city of Lithuania do not have any significant partnerships with the private tourism businesses (Jureniene and Radzevicius, 2022:20). This is a key area of development which needs to be addressed if Lithuania's Jewish cemetery heritage is to be stabilised and valorised.

Conclusion

Partnerships and collaborative working are taking place in Lithuania, but funding and financial security remains an ongoing issue which is holding back preservation and promotion while sites deteriorate.

The degree to which local municipalities can take the initiative to find sources of funding and build partnerships with donors outside Lithuania, for example through seeking out descendants of those who once lived in the local area, is unknown. True collaboration between commercial operators and local communities does not appear to exist. Educational partnerships are beginning to happen through external stimulus by agencies such as Centropa and ESJF as part of the EU-funded Jewish cemeteries initiative. These are vital for allowing younger Lithuanians to develop their own solutions to promote their country's Jewish cemetery heritage.

6.9 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN LITHUANIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- One of the current goals of the National Tourism Development Programme is to co-operate with neighbouring countries to implement joint international marketing projects, which could provide a springboard for promoting the region's Jewish heritage, of which cemeteries form an integral part.
- Stakeholders need to consider how visitors will access these sites, and how improved accessibility is balanced with ensuring visitors are visiting in good faith and respectful.
- There is a skilled base of tour guides engaging with Jewish heritage in Lithuania. If networks were developed that allowed these professionals to access genealogical and local research, they would be able to offer more bespoke tourism products to diasporic communities interested in engaging with their Litvak heritage.
- Lithuania has natural and heritage resources which form the basis for shared economic development equitable both to the environment and local communities, and which can sustain the Jewish cemetery heritage throughout the country. There is scope for tourism professionals and commercial operators to design sustainable tourist products which include historic Jewish cemeteries as one of the elements.
- Digitally engaged and skilled young Lithuanians are already producing high quality digital products. Educational establishments and professional development courses might plan special initiatives promoting and interpreting Jewish cemetery sites, which engage young people in designing and marketing digital solutions for both Lithuanians and overseas visitors.
- Artists are engaging with Lithuania's Jewish heritage, promoting it and inspiring discussion. Whilst these might see locals as the audience, there is an opportunity to explore engagement with visitors and those interested in visiting. Together with tour guides and researchers, cultural practitioners such as artists can promote Jewish cemeteries through artistic events, which can be streamed digitally to audiences beyond the immediate area. These can serve to arouse interest in the Jewish cemetery heritage through the use of story and memory.
- There is an opportunity for local municipalities, in partnership with educational institutions, to reach out and build partnerships with those in diaspora communities who identify with their Litvak heritage. This work might also include inspiring visits. The databases developed by Maceva could be a useful tool to build such partnerships.



7



MOLDOVA

קעשענעווער
יידישער בית-עולם



THE CHISINAU JEWISH
CEMETERY

7.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

N.B. Moldova here includes the breakaway Republic of Transnistria.

Jewish life in Moldova (formerly known as Bessarabia) can be traced back to the twelfth century. The impact of the Shoah, which claimed approximately 150,000 Jewish lives in that country, was followed by subsequent antisemitic campaigns by the Communist regime post-1945. The Jewish population now stands at fewer than 20,000 people. The majority of the surviving tangible heritage in Moldova dates from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The number of actors involved in Jewish heritage in Moldova is minimal. The state does not appear to take a role in sustaining Jewish heritage. Funding to such projects is restricted, with most funds available coming from trans-European NGOs. Maghid is the sole NGO working with Jewish heritage nationally and which provides Jewish heritage tours.

Analysis of Jewish heritage as a tourism phenomenon has not yet taken place in Moldova. Heritage tourism motivated by 'roots and remembrance' is currently the main activity of visitors to Jewish cemeteries. Minimal commercial provision exists for Jewish cultural tourism to Moldova. Cemetery tourism is not an established practice in Moldova. Cemeteries form a large part of Moldovan Jewish material heritage. There are signs that locally based actors are promoting sites which foreign tour companies are exploring as visitor destinations.

Moldova's cultural diversity and rural landscapes are largely unknown outside the region. The opportunity exists for ground-up environmentally focused initiatives designed and controlled by Moldovans within the frameworks and narratives presented by the state tourism authorities of rural heritage, cultural and nature-based visitor experiences. Historic Jewish cemeteries are potentially productive elements in the country's future sustainable tourism offer.

The deployment of new technologies to support access to and interpretation of Moldova's Jewish cemeteries is at an early stage of development and will be dependent on an expansion of the currently limited digital infrastructure.

7.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN MOLDOVA

The history of Jewish life in Moldova (formerly known as Bessarabia) can be traced back to the twelfth century. Throughout the medieval and early modern periods, the Jewish population engaged mainly in commerce, moving between Bessarabia and the adjacent Polish and Lithuanian lands (now Ukraine). By 1818 Jews were a recognised class, divided between merchants, traders and land workers. Unlike the rest of the Russian Empire, Jews in Bessarabia were allowed to settle where they wished. As a result, communities grew in both urban and rural areas. The Jewish population grew significantly in the nineteenth century, comprising almost 12% of the population in 1897 (Jignea et al, 1999:395). Pogroms in 1903 and 1905 left dozens dead, many more injured and destroyed homes and communal buildings. Mass emigration to the United States followed. Prior to the Russian and German occupations and the Holocaust, Jews lived in over 350 distinct localities throughout present-day Moldova, although many were small settlements of just a few families. Most Jewish people lived in the capital Chişinău, forming up to 40% of the city's population in the 1930s. Several towns had Jewish populations of over a thousand people, which maintained synagogues and cemeteries. Jewish cemeteries

and synagogues in villages depended on larger towns nearby to maintain them (USCPAHA, 2010:5). The Shoah and subsequent antisemitic campaigns by the Communist regime post-1945 resulted in a sharp drop in the Jewish population of Moldova, which currently numbers fewer than 20,000 people (ESJF, 2020d:9; Jewish Community of Moldova, 2022: online).

Despite this demographic decline, and the material destruction of community sites in the period 1939–1989, there remains a rich material heritage throughout the country from a once thriving Jewish culture which built and maintained a large number of community buildings for religious, educational, and charitable purposes. The 2018–2020 ESJF survey determined that there are 72 Jewish cemetery sites in Moldova (ESJF, 2022d). There may be others as yet untraced. The second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries witnessed the greatest growth of organised Jewish institutions in Moldova. Most surviving buildings date from this period and include synagogues, Jewish schools, hospitals and old age homes. Some of these institutional Jewish buildings have survived because they have been adapted and reused by successor institutions, often providing services similar to the original (USCPAHA, 2010:6). Cemeteries, including Jewish cemeteries, are the responsibility of the state. The Moldovan government is legally responsible for the protection, maintenance and security of the tombstones and graves.

Archival and genealogical research and dissemination continues to identify sites which add to the Jewish experience in Moldova. This work both seeks to restore community and familial connections with the Moldovan Jewish diaspora, and to promote understanding of Moldova's Jewish heritage (Trans-History, 2022: online; Maghid, 2022: online). JewishGen Kehila Links Moldova (2022: online) has collated data and details on several former *shtetls* and Jewish sites in Moldova, enabling descendants in the global diaspora to consider personal visits to these.

7.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN MOLDOVA

Overview

Moldova has a small number of actors working on Jewish heritage, which is surprising given the diversity of the tangible heritage which remains. The role of the state, the legal owner of Moldova's Jewish cemeteries, is minimal. Funding is restricted, with most coming from trans-European NGOs.

Actors based in Moldova

Maghid Research and Educational Center is an NGO, which was established in 2018 by **Irina Shikhova**. It studies the Jewish history of Moldova, researches and maps sites of Jewish heritage and provides informal education and guided tours. Maghid supports others who seek to preserve, research and promote Moldova's Jewish story, for example by working in collaboration with Centropa, supporting the creation of promotional materials such as YouTube-hosted videos of a virtual walk around Jewish Chişinău or interviews with those engaged in cemetery restoration.

Rabbi Zalman Abelsky leads **Chabad Lubavitch Moldova**, which aims to reawaken the Jewish spirit in Moldova. Chabad currently operates in six Moldovan towns. The organisation hopes to stimulate interest and support from the Moldovan Jewish diaspora and offers 'roots and remembrance' rediscovery packages for that community, to enable them to reconnect with their Moldovan Jewish heritage.

The website for **JCM (The Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova)** has a page entitled ‘restoration, protection and care of Jewish cemeteries’. The role JCM has in sustaining and promoting Moldova’s Jewish cemetery heritage is unclear (JCM, 2022: online).

There is no real strategic planning nor direction at a national level regarding Moldovan Jewish heritage. Regional and local municipalities tend to be supportive of the initiatives taken by Maghid, helping to find locations for memorials within villages or taking an interest when a former Jewish cemetery is identified (Irina Shikhova, 2022). There are also Jewish community actors who take up the role of maintaining Jewish heritage at particular sites.

Actors based outside Moldova

The trans-European Jewish heritage organisations **Centropa** and **ESJF** are actively involved in researching and advocating for both the tangible and intangible Jewish heritage of Moldova. Centropa’s work in Moldova has focused on recording and making accessible Jewish memory and testimony, which is then used to support capacity-building educational activities for teachers, tour guides etc. ESJF has surveyed and created databases of the country’s Jewish cemeteries, as the first step in strategic work to sustain and promote them through education and tourism (Centropa, 2022: online; ESJF, 2020d).

Living Stones, based in Germany, describes itself as ‘a volunteer-led non-profit organisation aiming at preserving and protecting’ Moldovan Jewish ancestral heritage and educating the youth of Moldova in the fight against antisemitism (Living Stones, 2022: online). Living Stones engages with local communities, Moldovan creatives and schools to promote, record and make accessible the country’s Jewish heritage. The organisation is currently focussing on charitable relief for refugees who have sought shelter in Moldova from the war in Ukraine.

Collaboration

The development of all heritage tourism in Moldova is dependent on collaborations and partnerships. These partnerships bring Moldovan, international and transnational contributors together and are beginning to show fruit. The Moldova Travel website is a collaboration between the Moldovan government and American, British and Swedish development programmes. On its website Maghid lists nine supporters and partners, both Moldovan and transnational. The Chişinău AudioWalk was developed through collaboration by Centropa, the Büro für Erinnerungskultur, the Jewish Community of Moldova, Maghid and EcoVisio.

There is evidence that project-specific international partnerships are operating to sustain Moldova’s Jewish heritage. Raşcov Synagogue, an important, ruined eighteenth century structure, was one element in a local heritage preservation consortium. It has been researched and conserved through funding from a collaboration between the European Union, United Nations Development Programme and Tkumat Rashkov, an Israeli foundation. This opens the way for a similar model to be employed, perhaps for a consortium of historic cemeteries (JHE, 2022e).

Conclusion

There is a limited number of actors working to secure and promote Moldova’s Jewish heritage and funding is limited. Collaboration and partnership will be the springboard for preserving and developing

Moldovan heritage. There are signs that those engaged in promoting Moldova as a visitor destination are taking a lead. Partnerships are beginning to develop, which enable voices from diverse backgrounds to contribute to securing the country's Jewish heritage, and which provide models for how the country's cemetery heritage might be sustained.

7.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Overview

People engaging with Moldova's Jewish heritage comprise several groups: descendants from the Jewish diaspora living in the Anglosphere (especially the United States and Canada, but also UK, South Africa); members of the Latin American Jewish diaspora (particularly Argentina and Brazil) and those from elsewhere in Europe including Germany. Surprisingly, there are fewer visitors from Israel than might be expected. Possibly because Jews from the region who made *aliyah* post-1945 are less interested in their Moldovan heritage than those with family connections further back in time.

'Generally, Jewish sites are relatively visited more than general tourist attractions, meaning Jewish tourism takes up a substantial portion of Moldovan tourism; this is due to family histories and Jewish tourists who are going to discover their own roots. Discovering your roots is an important part of Jewish culture. And these Jewish tourists visit the Jewish cemeteries of Moldova.'
(Irina Shikhova, 2022)

There is some commercial provision for Jewish cultural tourism in Moldova, but it is limited and does not, for example, have the scale of organised Jewish tourism in Poland or Hungary. Maghid is the only organisation which actively promotes Jewish heritage with an international audience of cultural and heritage tourists, providing both on-the-ground and at-distance services, giving details of twenty four towns/cities with important Jewish heritage (Irina Shikhova, 2022). As noted in 7.3 above, Chabad Lubavitch Moldova promotes Jewish heritage tourism – tours to ancestral towns, visits to cemeteries where forebears are buried – for English-speaking observant Jews who are seeking their roots, although its website does not mention specific heritage sites. Unlike Maghid, Chabad Lubavitch Moldova does not offer information about Jewish heritage in Moldova, focusing on communities where the organisation has an active presence. The website 'Jewish Memory' gives details of fourteen historic Jewish cemetery sites, including contact details. However, it is unclear as to how up to date that information is (no maps are provided).

In terms of promoting engagement from potential Moldovan visitors (and potential supporters/activists), students tend to engage most easily with their town's Jewish story and material heritage. Other local residents become curious when visitors from elsewhere show an interest: international visitors to a town's Jewish heritage can evoke feelings of pride in residents. Irina Shikhova says that if she notices locals are interested in a guided tour, she invites them along: 'And sometimes they join into the conversation, and even contribute their own experiences as a local' (Irina Shikhova, 2022). Therefore, there is hope that local communities do have some interest in these sites, contributing to the construction of knowledge and the rescue of memories.

Next steps for Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Moldova

Jewish heritage as a tourism phenomenon in Moldova remains underdeveloped. Irina Popa-Ladaniuc, President of the National Association of the Guides of Moldova, feels that research is needed within Moldova to provide a strategy for future planning (Popa-Ladaniuc, 2022). Education is recognised as a key component of development work. When considering how to engage locals in understanding and valuing the Jewish heritage of their communities, it is through engagement with students and educationalists. Visitors showing interest in local Jewish heritage can spark local pride: making local residents aware of places they have previously taken for granted or ignored, including the local Jewish cemetery in their village or town. This might in turn lead to a deeper engagement.

Conclusion

Visitors engaging with Jewish heritage in Moldova comprise several groups, mainly but not entirely of those from the diaspora. There is some commercial provision for Jewish cultural tourism in Moldova, but this is limited and does not have the scale of organised Jewish tourism in Poland or Hungary. There is a need for strategic research and analysis of the market for Jewish heritage tourism in Moldova as it stands and its future potential. This work needs to be undertaken by Moldovans themselves, who best have the tools to engage local communities.

7.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

It is unclear whether cemetery tourism is a distinct phenomenon in Moldova. Irina Shikhova thinks that visits to historic Orthodox sites such as monasteries may feature cemeteries as a component. The so-called 'Armenian Cemetery' in Chişinău has guides offering tours.

Jewish cemetery tourism

Cemeteries form a significant element of Moldovan Jewish material heritage. Work has been conducted by various organisations over the past 12 years to identify sites and raise awareness and promotion. ESJF's 2020 survey located and visited 72 cemetery sites: 53 of those have been preserved. Demolished but identified cemeteries number 17 (ESJF, 2020d:15). The oldest surviving *matzevot* in situ date to the early eighteenth century. The cemeteries at Lipcani, Oniţcani, Orhei and Raşcov contain *matzevot* from that time onward. Surviving *matzevot* elsewhere date from the early nineteenth century onwards. Soroca, becoming a tourist centre focusing on its role as the hub of Moldovan Roma culture, features a Jewish cemetery.

Interest is developing in cemeteries which have organised tour offers. The Jewish cemeteries in Chişinău and Orhei feature in tours advertised by a few commercial operators who include Moldova as a destination for Jewish cultural tourism (Jewish Travel Agency, 2022: online; Momentum Tours, 2022: online).

There are projects to valorise the historic Jewish cemetery heritage. Although focused on memory work, Living Stones Association seeks to promote cemetery sites through research and promotion using social media. The Jewish cemetery at Oniţcani has been the focus of an ongoing project of



ש
הולדה
רייע
בת אברהם
קייזערמאן
נפ כו סיון
תשי"א

restoration and promotion by Maghid, which includes the development of an open-air museum there. The Jewish cemetery in Chişinău is a recognised visitor destination with the status of a national museum. Its significance as possibly the largest Jewish cemetery in Europe and its atmosphere of ruination and natural beauty are highlighted on visitor sites aimed at both the Jewish and non-Jewish visitor.

There is evidence that locally based actors are promoting sites. Călăraşi Jewish Cemetery is recognised in local tourist literature, is used by local educators and its significance is widely appreciated by the local community. The town museum seeks to promote the cemetery as part of the museum's work in sustaining and promoting the Jewish heritage of the area (Călăraşi Museum, pers. comm. 2022). Social media enables such projects to be promoted to a global audience, whilst increasing awareness of Moldova's Jewish heritage. Oniţcani's blog and Călăraşi's Facebook page connect these sites with the wider world.

Irina Shikhova makes the point that part of the process of promoting historic Jewish cemeteries is about the expectations of behaviour and conduct. Furthermore, guides who offer Jewish-themed tours often know less about this than the people they are guiding (Irina Shikhova, 2022).

Jewish cemetery tourism: tour guide activity

Cemetery tours form a significant part of Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Moldova, as most the cemeteries (or the places where they used to be) are easily accessible. Jewish visitors with roots in Moldova often require tours as part of genealogical research. Physically locating and attending the grave of an ancestor is an important element of these tours. There are tours from locals available on platforms such as ToursbyLocals and Viator, which show that there is an entrepreneurial base to be built on in local communities. Guides may not have in-depth knowledge of Moldova's Jewish story, or Jewish culture (e.g., <https://www.toursbylocals.com/Do-not-miss-Jewish-Heritage-Moldova-tour>). The design of a tour depends on the audience: guiding non-Jewish visitors who have no background in Jewish culture means a general educational tour on the protocols and features of a Jewish cemetery. Guiding Jewish visitors often focuses on comparisons with the visitors' own traditions, what the cemeteries look like in the home countries, comparing Moldovan Jewish cemeteries with Sephardic cemeteries etc. Local history and stylistic traditions both contribute content to these tours. One issue is that there is a divide between those researching Jewish cemeteries and tour guides, with the result that visitors do not get the opportunity to engage with uncovered stories and new interpretations and understanding in an effective way (Irina Shikhova, 2022).

Challenges

Moldova lacks the necessary development and infrastructure of tourism – roads, hotels, cafés on the roads, public restrooms. Transportation difficulties reduce the attractiveness of some locations. For example, at Vadu Razkov the cemetery cannot be reached by car. The possibility of guiding tours depends on whether or not the location is accessible. This is a challenge to preserving and promoting what are in Maghid's view some of the most valuable Jewish cemeteries in the country. Improved accessibility, both physical and through new technologies, will help promote sites. Both require funding and ongoing management. Developmental work with and by tour guides which shares nuanced narratives and new understanding about the country's Jewish cemeteries would enhance the encounter visitors have with sites. Such work would also be beneficial to improved interpretation, on site, in travel literature and online.

Conclusion

Jewish cemetery tourism promises to be a valuable element in Moldova's heritage offer which will enable the country's Jewish heritage to be celebrated and secured for the future, as well as contributing to increasing an understanding of the diversity of Moldova's story. So far, only Maghid is proactive in promoting this heritage to a diverse audience of visitors, real and potential. The challenges faced in promoting this heritage are the same as the challenges faced by all tourist promotion in the country: infrastructure, seed-funding, training and development for guides and effective, strategic branding. Initiatives which address these need to include the country's Jewish cemetery heritage as an asset.

7.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Progress towards sustainable tourism planning in Moldova

Moldova's cultural diversity and its rural landscapes are unknown outside the region. Statistics make Moldova highly attractive as an ecologically aware destination: 90% of the fruits and vegetables in the markets being organic, agriculture for the most part is nonindustrial, and Moldova being the 125th carbon emitter in the world, placing itself well behind other European countries and almost at the same level as Nepal (The Green Pick, 2022: online). Moldova's tourism infrastructure is not highly developed and is highly variable across the country, although there have been interesting developments in ecologically and socially responsible tourism by younger entrepreneurs. Moldova Travel, the official tourist agency website, focuses closely on eco and local tourist products and services: its slogan is 'unparalleled authenticity of the most unspoiled destination in Europe' (Moldova Travel, 2022: online).

Recent research points to major opportunities for co-ordinated, cohesive development which brings together slow tourism, nature-based activities, sports and cultural exploration (Hămuraru & Buzdugan, 2019). The country's diverse and undiscovered Jewish heritage does not, however, feature in this publicity. Irina Shikhova points out that many sites are not accessible by good roads. Visitors who are dependent on smartphones for directions, information, guides etc. find that the phone signal in many parts of the country is weak or non-existent. A fully comprehensive 4G network is currently only in Chişinău and on the country's main highways (NPERF, 2022: online; Shikhova, 2022). Issues of accessibility by and expectations of visitors in the 2020s impact further on the discrete needs of Moldova's Jewish heritage sector, in which historic cemeteries play a fundamental role but which rely on immediate efforts to save material remains.

Next steps for sustainable tourism in Moldova

Given Moldova's unique situation in Europe, the future is exciting for planning ecologically aware tourism products. The opportunity exists for ground-up initiatives designed and controlled by Moldovans within the frameworks and narratives presented by the state tourism authorities of rural heritage, cultural and nature-based visitor experiences. Some Moldovans believe that Moldova's Jewish heritage might give the country a competitive edge over competitors in the Eastern European tourism market (Ion Ungureanu, 2022). Historic Jewish cemeteries are potentially productive elements in the country's future-proofed tourism offer, often being spaces of nature that offer respite, which can fit into rural routes and tours based on exploring and discovering the landscape and communities in detail.

Conclusions

Moldova is in an excellent position to continue building a tourism economy based on the local, the rural and the ecologically viable. The country is beginning to be noticed as an ‘authentic’ destination in Europe for independent travellers, with life outside the cities relatively little touched by industrial and technological development. Although Jewish heritage is not yet featured in the offer made by official organisations, this might easily be remedied as young professionals in the country look to promote all aspects of the country’s heritage and landscape within an ecologically viable and locally driven framework. The work completed to date which promotes Moldova’s cultural heritage to visitors can offer a template for those focused on Jewish cemetery heritage to work on.

7.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Use of website-based, virtual and downloadable guides

JewishMemory’s website (in English and Russian), is a well-designed portal which seeks to preserve memories of Bessarabian Jewry, records and promotes Jewish cemetery heritage (as well as that of synagogues and other monuments) and has a donation section (for the maintenance and development of the website). The site contains information and recent photographs of 14 extant cemeteries (all with large numbers of surviving *matzevot*), which give potential visitors an idea of what to expect. Members of the diaspora are invited to contribute by submitting photographs, memories and stories via email or on the comments sections.

The Jewish Museum of Moldova has created a Virtual Museum of Judaica in Moldova, which exists as a website. The Virtual Museum features images of *matzevot* and cemeteries from across the country with information about each image. Maghid is currently developing a set of interactive maps which will enable visitors to discover the country’s Jewish heritage in more detail using new technologies.

Use of social media

Moldova’s Jewish cemeteries have a limited presence on social media. Living Stones focuses its internet presence on Facebook, using the platform as a tool to promote its cultural events, inform followers and volunteers about the progress of cemetery projects, and raising awareness about the work local Moldovans are doing to sustain and promote Jewish cemetery heritage. The Living Stones Facebook page is publicly accessible, with an email facility.

Chişinău Jewish Cemetery also has a dedicated Facebook site (in Romanian), which includes a history of the cemetery, and many photographs which show the diversity of the funerary heritage. Visitors to the page have uploaded comments in Romanian and Russian. The page does not provide visitor information. There are a small number of private groups for Moldovan/Bessarabian Jewish genealogy which appear to be based in the United States.

Use of smartphone apps

Smartphone apps have not yet been developed specifically for cemetery sites in Moldova. As 4G mobile phone signal coverage in Moldova is limited to Chişinău and parts of the main highways through the country (NPERF, 2022: online), use of smartphone technology will be limited to those areas until expansion occurs. However, Centropa’s audiowalk of Chişinău’s Jewish history does use





such new technologies to provide an audiotour of the historic Jewish cemetery as part of the offering. This audiowalk aims to bring Jewish Chişinău back to life for the visitor, allowing them to explore the unique atmosphere of the city. The audiowalk includes places of violence as well as cultural exchange. The memories of 13 Jewish Holocaust survivors (from Centropa oral-history interviews) connect the past with the present and engage the visitor with the city's Jewish heritage. Centropa is currently developing an audiotour of Bessarabia's Jewish history. There is far more material to be explored and made accessible digitally which will encourage visiting the country's Jewish cemeteries.

Conclusion

As Jewish cemetery tourism and digital infrastructure are both at an early stage of development in Moldova, there has not been an impetus for the development of visitor-oriented digital tools. There is therefore an opportunity to learn from Jewish cemetery sites and associated agencies in other countries who have embraced or are exploring these technologies as a means to promote and interpret Jewish cemetery heritage.

7.8 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN MOLDOVA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The current initiatives promoting Moldova's cultural heritage to visitors need to include the country's Jewish heritage as one of its assets, of which cemeteries form a significant element. They also offer a template for those focused on Jewish cemetery heritage.
- There is little research to date on Moldova's Jewish heritage, relations with the diaspora and how the country might preserve and valorise that heritage through tourism. This offers scope for work by researchers in tourism, heritage and cultural studies to position Jewish heritage at the forefront of the country's development as a tourist destination and key component of Europe's Jewish experience.
- Quality tourism products rely on effective research and the confidence of the client. Networks and initiatives to support and develop those seeking to interpret Jewish cemeteries, such as tour guides, will help disseminate nuanced narratives, share stories and new understanding and allow voices from the community's past to be heard.
- Moldova is well placed to plan for future tourism expansion in an equitable and low-waste way, which involves and benefits local communities and ecosystems. Sustainable solutions to promoting the country's Jewish heritage can be built into new tourism products and services which develop as the country seeks to frame its tourist development as ecologically viable, rural and local. Those planning for cemetery promotion could explore the different ways visitors who engage in slow, ecologically aware tourism might encounter sites, and how those engagements might change the visitor and benefit the cemetery and the communities of which they are part.
- Moldova is still emerging as a potential destination for visitors. As a promotional tool, digital streaming platforms modelled on, for example, Live Virtual Tours enable activists to promote sites virtually, raise awareness of the rich heritage in Moldova's Jewish cemeteries and provide some

financial recompense at a local level. Extending the infrastructure of paved roads will also facilitate access to sites which have been beyond the reach of visitors using motor vehicles, especially those with limited or impaired mobility.

- There is a diversity of activity creating digital tools across the Jewish heritage sector in Europe. Transnational agencies could support networks and forums which bring together Moldovan stakeholders (including young researchers and digital professionals) with their peers elsewhere in Eastern and Central Europe to demonstrate tools in use already, outline plans for future development, and disseminate good practice in designing and supplying tourist-oriented digital tools for use with Jewish heritage.
- Moldova's communication infrastructure supports the use of new technologies and tourist tools are in the early stage of development. As the country's digital networks and capabilities expand, young professionals and designers can prepare digital solutions which will support touring and interpretation of Jewish cemetery sites. This might be particularly effective if conducted in partnership with tertiary and professional educational institutions.
- New technologies also offer the chance for Moldova to increase accessibility to its heritage of Jewish cemeteries, and by that engage interest from a larger number of visitors, both virtual and in person. Encouraging the development of at-distance or virtual experiences will enable those with Moldovan roots to connect more directly with their familial heritage, perhaps leading to more engagement between Moldovan communities and the Moldovan Jewish diaspora.
- With the exception of Maghid, there seems to be little focused, co-ordinated research and promotion of Moldova's Jewish cemetery heritage. Initiatives need to be taken to support and work in partnership with Maghid. This will involve growing the pool of interested parties within Moldova, perhaps by reaching out to artistic and cultural actors who can bring creative solutions to raising the profile and securing the future of sites.

IN MEMORY
OF THE FAMILY
OF GUTMAN
AND PEARL LIS

RACHELA
PACHER

רחלה פאכר

THU SPACZYNIA
DZIEWCZETA Z SOWINY
ZAMORDOWANE
12 SIERNIA 1942 R.
NIECH JCH DUSZE MALI

רחלה פאכר
נפטרת ביום י"ב סיון תש"ב

8

POLAND



8.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Polish Jewish experience is bound up with the history of the lands which now comprise contemporary Poland and its neighbours. Jewish cemeteries in Poland are increasingly recognised as means of understanding the communities who are buried there, and of uncovering and preserving local memory about those communities. Efforts to restore and sustain some of the 1,200 Jewish cemeteries in Poland have been made but the community of those Jews and non-Jews actively working to defend these sites remains small. There is some limited state funding for some sites, but groups are reliant on financial and moral support from outside Poland to sustain their work.

There are a range of actors involved with Jewish heritage in Poland. They are based both in Poland and outside, mainly in the United States. There are actors at the European, national, regional and local level. There are *landsmanshaftn*, made up of members of the Polish-Jewish diaspora. There are also non-Jewish individuals who wish to sustain the Jewish heritage of their local communities.

The engagement between visitors and Jewish heritage in Poland is a complex phenomenon. Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Poland is still to an extent a niche market but it is beginning to develop into more of a mass tourism experience, participated in by both Jews and non-Jews. The narrative of the Holocaust is important, but roots tourism and visits by those seeking the diversity of Polish heritage are growing in importance. Cemetery tourism is visible in some Polish heritage promotion. Jewish cemetery tourism is an emerging practice. Research has established some understanding of who engages in Jewish cemetery tourism. Several major cities have well-organised and promoted cemeteries which are easily accessible to tourists.

Poland's diverse, attractive and unexploited natural and cultural heritage offers the possibility of developing environmentally and socially sensitive tourism which protects and benefits the various heritages and the local communities which live within and alongside them. There has been some work undertaken on exploring ecologically viable tourism products which might help preserve and promote Jewish cemeteries.

Poland has a developed approach to new technologies, with social media and smartphone apps familiar and accessible to the majority of the population. Web-based resources have been embraced by tourist and heritage organisations. Technology-based tourist products are increasingly available. Jewish cemeteries are beginning to be made accessible and promoted through these tools.

Given the variety of actors working to preserve Jewish cemeteries in Poland, there are many examples of collaboration and partnership in the promotion of the country's Jewish cemetery heritage. However, there are still many municipalities which for several reasons do not yet collaborate with other stakeholders on this valuable heritage in their area.

8.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN POLAND

'Over the past thousand years, Poland has been a harbour of refuge for Jews as well as a grim scene of horror. Here, Jewish culture rose to some of its greatest glories; here, Jewish society suffered some of its most devastating defeats.' (Gruber, 2007:15)

Using these words to summarise the Jewish experience in Poland, author and scholar Ruth Ellen Gruber outlined the significance of Poland's Jewish heritage to Europe and the wider world. Poland is 'the

birthplace of Ashkenazi culture' (Taube Foundation, 2020:1). The Jewish experience is bound up with the history of the lands which now comprise contemporary Poland, which itself is deeply implicated across what we understand as Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. Each part of Poland reveals different experiences and memories, layering encounters with Yiddish-speaking, Polish-speaking, Russian-speaking and German-speaking Jews of all classes, politics and sects, urban and rural, traditional and modern. An 'unprecedented development of Jewish culture, religious thought and writing' sprang from the Jewish experience in Poland (Litwin et al., 2008:5). The traces and remnants of Jewish life can be found in the great cities, in small villages deep in the countryside, each place with a particular character and stories.

The difficult experience of the surviving Jews in Poland post-Second World War under a Communist regime, in a country at the same time being 'treated by the Jewish establishment as ritually desecrated' (Lehrer, 2013:3) is now finally being examined and told, for example in the detailed research of post-1945 Polish treatment of Jewish heritage by Yechiel Weizman (2022). Jewish cemeteries in Poland are currently being increasingly recognised as the 'books' and 'mirrors' of the communities who are buried there (Wicepolska-Góralczyk, 2022). The devastation of Jewish communal buildings, neglect of Jewish cemeteries and exploitation of property during the period 1939–1989 is finally, to varying extents, being addressed across Poland. Jewish Heritage Europe has published over 2,500 reports on synagogues and cemeteries in Poland alone over the past decade, which indicates the amount of focus there is on those aspects of Poland's Jewish heritage (JHE, 2022:online). This has led to increased visitor numbers engaging with Jewish heritage, both from within Poland and from abroad (Piotr Puchta, 2022). In some places, such as Białystok, Nowy Sącz and Czarny Dunajec, descendant communities in the Polish Jewish Diaspora (Katarzyna Suskiewicz, 2022), alongside local people, have worked together to commemorate, recover and promote the cemeteries in these towns and villages where their ancestors lived, died and were laid to rest. Some of these groups of descendants work in partnership with the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland (FODZ), as will be expanded below. The surviving large urban cemeteries, which reveal the heterogenous nature of pre-1939 Jewish society, are now being preserved and promoted by a variety of organisations. The transition to capitalist democracy and the freeing up of travel opportunities to Poland after 1989 has enabled outside Chassidic communities to revive the practice of pilgrimage to cemeteries containing the graves of significant religious figures from the Chassidic tradition. Several stakeholders have commented that the numbers of Jewish visitors who engage in this traditional spiritual practice continues to rise.

Whilst the efforts to date to restore and sustain some of the 1,200 Jewish cemeteries in Poland have been and continue to be 'little short of Herculean', the community of those who are interested in actively working to defend these sites from total loss remains small. These groups are reliant on financial and moral support from outside Poland to preserve the heritage in which that community has so much pride (Polonsky, 2019:830). As Piotr Puchta says, 'There is a need to understand that the Jewish community in Poland has today somewhere around 10,000 members [who] cannot fulfil a task that was until the Holocaust fulfilled by 3.5 million people. And this is the challenge that we are facing' (Piotr Puchta, 2022). As time passes, interest and action by individuals both inside and outside Poland is necessary to rescue many sites from not just deleterious human activity, but also the natural processes by which these spaces are slowly reclaimed by nature and their stories forgotten. That interest is increasingly intertwined with tourism through commercialised cultural activity. The importance of the visitor to sites of Jewish memory and experience continues to grow (Lehrer, 2013:1). The action

of engaging physically with these sites allows for a reconnection of individuals with Poland's Jewish heritage. They can also be spaces for reflection on how that heritage is both Jewish *and* European (Taube Foundation, 2020:1). In its Mission Statement, the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews states that it seeks to offer the visitor a 'transformative experience' (POLIN, 2022: online). Many actors say that engaging directly with Poland's Jewish heritage serves not only to preserve and maintain sites and stories, but also changes the visitor's understanding and emotional engagement with the Jewish-Polish experience.

8.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN POLAND

Overview

There are a variety of organisations, based both within and outside Poland, which are concerned with Jewish cemeteries as heritage artefacts (e.g., FODZ, National Institute for Cultural Heritage, Taube Foundation and AEPJ). As legal ownership is a complicated issue, several actors may be involved in activity to promote a cemetery site for visitors and tourists. Some cemeteries are owned by local Jewish communities (e.g. Okopowa Street Cemetery in Warsaw, Miodowa Street in Kraków). These sites are still places of internment and therefore tourism occurs alongside Jewish funerals. This can be problematic with regard to ensuring respect and dignity for mourners, whilst also providing for the different engagements other visitors will have with the cemetery. The following section lists some key actors working with Poland's Jewish cemeteries which here refers to tangible, built heritage. The organisations listed are heavily reliant on voluntary financial support.

Actors based in Poland

Fundacja Ochrony Dziedzictwa Żydowskiego (Foundation for the Preservation of the Jewish Heritage in Poland, FODZ) is one of the most significant organisations working to promote Jewish cemeteries in that country. It is responsible for building the vital partnerships between local communities and agencies elsewhere, without which the ongoing sustainability and promotion of Jewish cemeteries cannot proceed. FODZ CEO **Piotr Puchta** puts it thus: '[t]he major challenge that I would describe as of today is ... understanding among many partners that this is a collective effort' (Piotr Puchta, 2022). FODZ is itself the legal owner of 150 Jewish burial sites in Poland as well as liaising between local authorities, local communities, national and foreign sponsors and individuals and the Rabbinic Commission in Warsaw. FODZ also produces guidelines and support for the reclamation of cemetery sites which before 1945 belonged to Jewish communities and which have been subsequently declared legally abandoned by the post-1945 regime. FODZ recognises that visitors, whether local or from further afield, are increasingly important to Jewish cemeteries.

Brama Grodzka – NN Teatr is another organisation which has undertaken much recent work to promote the cemeteries situated in former *shtetls*. From its beginnings as a theatre co-operative, Brama Grodzka has sought to revive and maintain the memory of Jewish Lublin and has mounted a variety of exhibitions and on-site projects and trails which enable visitors to engage with and learn about Lublin's Jewish spaces and stories. This work has functioned as a springboard to promoting the wider Jewish heritage of what are now the Polish-Belarussian-Ukrainian borderlands. *Shtetl Routes* is a

heritage interpretation platform and a cultural tourism trail of Jewish cultural heritage in smaller towns in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Coalition of Guardians of Jewish Cemeteries (CGJC) is a subsidiary of the **Fundacja Dziedzictwa Kulturowego/National Heritage Foundation (FDK)**. The Coalition website states that its mission is to ‘protect and promote the memory of Jewish heritage in Poland’. It organises volunteering, conducts educational, renovation and conservation activities and works with several municipalities (e.g., Lubliniec) to restore and valorise Jewish cemeteries (Coalition of Guardians of Jewish Cemeteries, 2022: online). Its membership describes itself as ‘ordinary inhabitants of our towns, local government officials, representatives of non-governmental organizations, pupils and students, teachers...’ and its supporters, whether individuals, communal or organisations, are spoken of as ‘caregivers’. It is committed to a Poland in which ‘the strength of our common cultural heritage lies in diversity. We want the Jewish heritage to be passed on to future generations through our activities.’ Educating through activism in and around Jewish cemeteries is its key tool. It sees cemetery visiting as a starting point for education.

The Forum for Dialogue has at its heart a mission to inspire ‘new connections between contemporary Poland and the Jewish people (Forum for Dialogue, 2022: online). Amongst many community-building activities, it works throughout Poland creating and empowering a community of activists to care for local Jewish heritage, including historic Jewish cemeteries. Through its School for Dialogue, Leaders for Dialogue and Educators Training programmes, and working with members of the Jewish community, it provides ways for students and activists to engage with their local Jewish heritage through exploration, discussion and remediation work. All of this leads to the reclamation and recognition of memory within communities. Forum for Dialogue is therefore an important player in building activism for the preservation and promotion of the country’s Jewish heritage into the future.

The Taube Centre for Jewish Life and Learning is slightly different from the other organisations listed here in that its aim is ‘to enrich Jewish life in Poland and to connect Jews from around the world with their Eastern European heritage’. Taube’s educational and cultural programmes in Jewish studies, tourism, publishing, and the arts and media are designed to promote ‘Polish Jewish literacy’ and the Polish Jewish experience globally (Taube Foundation, 2022: online). Through its tourism services it enables descendants to connect with spaces and sites in which their ancestors lived. These individuals can then become partners in the work of uncovering and retelling the stories of those interred in cemeteries as well as helping to preserve and promote those places. This engagement by visitors with the tangible heritage of Jewish Poland is an introduction to developing a deeper engagement with reviving Poland’s Jewish life: sustaining and promoting Jewish heritage is one of the first steps in promoting Jewish renewal in Poland (Helise Lieberman, 2022).

Zapomniane is an organisation devoted to searching for, locating, studying and commemorating the graves of those Holocaust victims in Polish cities and villages whose fates and last resting places have been forgotten. The organisation locates and explores these places, eventually commemorating them in accordance with Jewish law and in cooperation with representatives of the local community. Furthermore, Zapomniane supports local communities in coming to terms with the past and dealing with the difficult heritage of the period from 1939 onwards. It is committed to capturing and passing

on the stories it discovers to future generations, with the aim of building awareness and understanding of former inhabitants of Poland and to restore the memory of their lives. It is developing educational activities and a database for future study. Through its website it enables visitors to locate sites which might be significant in their family story.

Local municipalities across Poland play a crucial role. It is important to recognise that most of the 1,200 historic Jewish cemeteries in Poland are legally in the care of local authorities, many of which are constrained in the organisational and financial capacity they have to maintain those spaces. Krzepice, Pabianice, Tarnów, Brzesko, Dukla and Staszów are cited as places where local authorities are being proactive in the preservation and promotion of the Jewish cemetery (Jakub Czupryński, 2022). Mayors of municipalities are important to how successful the efforts by other individuals and organisations are. Key individuals in positions of authority are important drivers for delivering preservation plans, which secure the future of the local Jewish cemetery.

There are also many independent tour guides who provide a crucial link between cemeteries and tourists. In Kraków and Wrocław, among other cities, guides have joined up to provide genealogical services for members of the Polish-Jewish diaspora who seek support in re-establishing some form of Polish-Jewish identity. What begins as an online relationship between client and researcher often becomes a personal encounter between them, with the researcher/guide facilitating the reconnection of an individual with their ancestors around the *matzevah*.

Actors based outside Poland

There are two key actors which directly contribute to the restoration and promotion of Jewish cemeteries in Poland. Both are based in the United States.

Friends of Jewish Heritage in Poland (FJHP)

FJHP works to protect and commemorate the surviving sites and monuments of Jewish cultural heritage in Poland through fund-raising and volunteer trips. It is also a benefactor of FODZ and through them supports a variety of heritage projects, for example the renovation of the Old Lublin Jewish cemetery's historical wall and the installation of a memorial at the Janów Sokólski Jewish Cemetery. To promote these projects and to broadcast opportunities for increased participation, it co-organises and co-sponsors virtual conferences.

Matzevah Foundation

This organisation aims to remember and honour the Jewish heritage of Poland by restoring the memory of those who perished during the Shoah, and to reconcile 'Jews and Christians' through common tasks. Matzevah clears and cleans Jewish cemeteries and burial sites, supporting the reconnection of members of the Polish Jewish diaspora with their ancestral communities in Poland, and locating and commemorating unmarked and mass graves. It also collaborates with local volunteers to educate them on the history of the former Jewish communities and on what Jewish Law says about bereavement, burial and the holiness of the Jewish cemetery.

JewishGen and **Jewish Records Indexing Poland (JRI)** are two US-based organisations which work closely with Polish archivists and researchers to retrieve and record the family histories and communal stories which enrich the connections between those interred in the cemeteries and their descendants.



Hier ruht
unser innigstgeliebter Bruder
Schwäger und Onkel
der Kaufmann

Elias Zeple

geb. 29. April 1861

gest. 6. Februar 1916

sein Leben war

Both organisations highlight the stories which have been uncovered by their work. Both organisations have comprehensive databases which can add human detail to local heritage sites, including cemeteries. JRI also allows direct contact to be made with representatives and volunteers in certain Polish towns to facilitate genealogical research.

There is also a growing number of smaller groups based outside Poland who engage in sustaining and increasing awareness about particular Jewish cemeteries. Facebook pages, for example, reveal various levels of involvement. Nasielsk, Kałuszyn and Nowogród are three cemeteries with publicly accessible Facebook pages. Group members raise money to support the work of local Polish supporters who conduct restoration activities or enable group members, their relatives and students to travel to Poland and work with locals on site. They publicise visits by families and their collaboration in cleaning, restoring, documenting and spreading knowledge about particular sites. The groups provide forums for the sharing of stories and documents which give new life to the memory of the dead. Perhaps most importantly, the members of these groups are putting remote Jewish cemeteries on a global platform. Social media use in sustaining and promoting cemeteries is explored in more detail in section 8.7 below.

Conclusion

There are a number of actors working to sustain and promote Poland's Jewish heritage, divided between those based in Poland and those abroad. The size, reach and focus, and the combination of Jewish and non-Jewish participants, means there is a great diversity to these organisations. They might therefore benefit from working collaboratively in order to raise awareness and employ leverage on state and international funders and on commercial tourist agencies. There is some overlap of function, for instance between the missions of Zapomniane and the Matzevah Foundation, and some co-operation between organisations, for example between FJHP in the United States and FODZ in Poland. Some organisations are *landsmanshaftn*, where descendants are working to sustain and promote Jewish heritage sites in particular towns or villages. The potential for tourism to provide a means of promoting cemetery sites in particular is evident in the work of FODZ and the Taube Centre. However, there is an opportunity for further outreach and promotion in relation to Jewish cemetery engagement to a larger audience, particularly with regard to those who are focused on one particular place.

8.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Overview

'No other country in Europe has such close historical and cultural ties with Jews as Poland.'
(Guide-Poland website, 2022)

'The preservation of Jewish heritage in Europe in Poland ... should be done in a collective way because the Jewish heritage is a universal heritage.' (Piotr Puchta, 2022)

The material traces of Jewish life in Poland, which include cemeteries, are complicated spaces. A range of tourists visit these sites for varied reasons; non-Jewish tourists might engage with cemetery sites

out of historical or cultural interest; Jewish visitors go for personal heritage reasons, whether familial or communal: this is all part of ‘roots and remembrance tourism’ which has implications for how those promoting Jewish cemeteries balance differing visitor expectations’ (Bechtel, 2014:206). Erica Lehrer has developed the idea of ‘conciliatory heritage’ (Lehrer, 2010; 2013) meaning heritage sites can become spaces of reconciliation on several levels, where Jewish and Polish and European memories and experiences play active roles (Steinman, 2013). At the same time, commercial operators offer tours which combine the Jewish with other aspects of Poland’s heritage, for example popular tours combining visits to Kraków, Auschwitz and Wieliczka Salt Mine.

Changes in the nature of Jewish heritage tourism in Poland

The dominance of the Holocaust as the ‘Master Narrative’ of Jewish tourism in Poland has been recognised as challenging (Walkowitz, 2018:17) and has been identified as risking the development of sustainable, mutually beneficial tourist practices (Podoshen et al., 2015). Stakeholders agree that while still significant for some groups, there is a change afoot in what tourists wish to engage with in their discovery of Jewish Poland. Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Poland is still to an extent a niche market but it is beginning to develop into more of a mass tourism experience (Corsale, 2021b). ‘Roots and remembrance tourism’ now brings a significant number of foreign Jewish visitors to Poland. This phenomenon has enabled tourists to become actors in the heritage scene through the growth of social media pages devoted to particular places (8.2 above). Other narratives are now developing which address the diverse and complex aspects of Jewish life, belief and endeavour, and its impact in Poland and further afield before the Shoah. Heritage tourism enables stories to emerge from cemeteries regardless of the state of material preservation.

The diversity of Jewish heritage products in Poland

Poland’s Jewish heritage offers the visitor synagogues, cemeteries, communal buildings, sites of trauma and martyrdom, and sites of economic, political and intellectual activity. It is a heritage which is still emerging, as the discovery of a cache of 120 *matzevot* outside Bagnowka Jewish Cemetery in Białystok has recently shown (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2022b: online). Kazimierz in Kraków has become a ‘Jewish space’ for tourists. Łódź is promoting the contribution of Jewish workers and entrepreneurs to the creation of the so-called ‘Manchester of the East’. Different touristic configurations (and different degrees of local support and promotion) are found in the former *shtetls*, the locations of many so-called ‘orphaned’ cemeteries. Here, tourism elides into pilgrimage, with FODZ’s Szlak Chasdyski (Chassidic Trail) leading the tourist in the footsteps of the followers of locally buried rabbis, the revered rabbis of Chassidic Judaism. Cemeteries in towns such as Rymanów, Leżajsk and Bobowa attract visitors with different motivations and expectations, some come for religious pilgrimage, others for cultural or remembrance reasons, others for a combination of these or for other motivations.

In analysing the nature of Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Małopolska (the former Eastern Galicia, including Kraków), Delphine Bechtel, a researcher into Jewish studies at the University of Paris-Sorbonne, identifies how the mass tourism there contains within it the elements of cultural and heritage interest (Bechtel, 2014:207). There are a variety of Jewish heritage products with which the visitor (the tour planner and tour guide) can engage. Within this, the diversity of Jewish cemeteries in Poland, which can be urban or rural, vast or small, complete with *matzevot* or cleared of any visible features, garners different levels of attention. For example, the heavily restored Remah Cemetery in the heart of Kazimierz (Kraków), which dates from the sixteenth century and is the burial place of several

notable rabbis, receives more visitors than the well-preserved ‘New’ Jewish Cemetery (Miodowa), which dates from the early nineteenth century and is still in use. The latter contains several thousand *matzevot* of diverse Jewish Krakovians and the graves of Jewish soldiers who died in the First World War fighting for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is located just a five minute walk away (across a main road and under a railway line). Even though it is listed in guidebooks, only the most interested visitor (with or without a more informed tour guide) makes this short journey to discover a space which tells a different story of Jewish Kraków (Jakub Czupryński, 2022).

Conclusion

Some aspects of Poland’s diverse and important Jewish heritage are already familiar to tourism planners and draw significant numbers of both Jewish and non-Jewish tourists. Commercial operators offer tours which combine visits to Jewish and non-Jewish Polish heritage. Promotional work by local tourism offices has encouraged the discovery of Jewish spaces beyond the main tourist centres. Even within established ‘Jewish spaces’ such as Kazimierz in Kraków, there are sites and spaces which do not attract much visitor attention, as they are not promoted or included in organised tours. Furthermore, there remain sites of Jewish heritage, many in more rural regions of Poland, which have stories to tell which would benefit from further development and promotion as tourist products. The diversity of visitors, Jewish and non-Jewish, Polish, Polish-Jewish diaspora and non-Polish means that there is no one narrative which will satisfy all: those planning for heritage need to allow for a diversity of ways in which curiosity is stimulated and engagement goes beyond the superficial.

8.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

General cemetery tourism is developing in Poland, although there are no statistics available yet to analyse the phenomenon in detail. The National Institute for Heritage is now engaged in promoting certain sites to the public. These range from necropolises of national importance such as the Powązkowski Cemetery in Warsaw and the Rakowicki Cemetery in Kraków, to the Cemetery of Merit in Pęksowy Brzyzek in Zakopane, which is famous for its folk art. The cemeteries of religious minorities, such as the Muslim or Tatar Cemetery at Kruszyniany, and the Mennonite Cemetery at Sosnówka, are promoted through state-sponsored websites and tourist literature to Polish and foreign visitors as significant sites reflecting Poland’s diverse social and religious history (e.g., CULTURE.PL, 2022: online). In Polish cultural tradition, a cemetery plays a variety of roles: 1) as a sacred space containing the mortal remains of many generations; 2) the archives of the community; 3) a museum of funerary works of art; 4) an emotive landscape; 5) a reminder of vanished community; 6) a testimony to a particular event in the history; 7) a space of ‘tamed death’ where mortality can be ‘safely’ encountered; a garden for the living and therefore a therapeutic space; a space of illicit recreation and a meeting place (Sobotka & Długozima 2015, 68). Each individual visitor will encounter the cemetery in a different way, drawing on these roles to different extents and intensities.

Although the secular Old Cemetery of Podgórze in Kraków is a member, no Jewish cemetery in Poland has to date joined the Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe (ASCE). This body has as its aim the promotion of ‘European cemeteries as a fundamental part of the heritage of humanity’ (ASCE, 2022: online). ASCE administrator Dušan Vrban says previous approaches have been met with ‘hesitancy’ on the part of the cemetery administrators he has spoken with (Vrban, 2022).

Jewish cemetery tourism

There are a growing number of Poland-based businesses which attempt to provide information and tours to visitors who engage in Jewish roots and remembrance tourism. ‘People who have ancestors coming from a certain place, they tend to have an interest in visiting a cemetery located in a small town or a village’ (Piotr Puchta, 2022). Tomasz Cebulski’s *Polin Travel* and Jakub Czupryński’s *Guide-Poland* are examples of organisations set up and run by young non-Jewish professionals. *Guide-Poland* offers research and tours in seven languages (including Yiddish). Cemeteries play a role in the offering of both organisations. The Old Jewish Cemetery in Wrocław (so far, the only Jewish cemetery in Poland with museum status), Okopowa Street Cemetery in Warsaw and Łódź Jewish Cemetery are three urban sites which promote themselves through both traditional tourist channels and web-based media. The Polish national heritage website Zabytek promotes listed rural cemetery sites, encouraging users of the site to engage with more remote but significant sites of Polish/Jewish heritage (at the same time encouraging rural tourism in those locations).

The Jewish Community of Warsaw (JCW) is active in engaging visitors to the three cemeteries (two in Warsaw, one in Lublin) in its care. In the website section ‘For Visitors’, visitor information such as opening times, entrance fee and location are given for each site. In 2018, the JCW opened an exhibition called *Beit Almin – Eternal Home* at Bródno Cemetery in Praga, a formerly Jewish suburb of Warsaw. The website says that the exhibition is aimed at both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors and has two guiding narratives, which are presented in Polish and English. One narrative focuses on the history of the Bródno Cemetery. The other explores Jewish religious and cultural approaches to death and burial. The aim is to give visitors an understanding of the role of cemeteries in Jewish culture and examine the variety of sepulchral inscriptions and symbols. Beit Almin’s website states that visitors will learn about the funerary rituals associated with death and burial, and the characteristics of Jewish bereavement. These are presented through photographs, artworks and text panels.

Okopowa Street Cemetery in Warsaw is promoted by both the JCW and the FDK. Information is available online in Polish, English and Hebrew, catering for its many international visitors. Opening times and entry fees are provided. It is possible to donate money through the website. The cemetery is a nationally registered historic monument because of its historic and artistic value and as ‘a resting place of many exceptional figures, the cemetery has become an important destination for thousands of people concerned with the history and culture of Polish Jews as well as with their contribution to the history of Poland’ (Cmentarzydowski, 2022: online).

The cemetery is not yet a part of Warsaw’s general tourist offer, in the way that Highgate Cemetery is for London, or Père Lachaise is for Paris. ‘I’m not sure about foreign tourists in general. We do have some tourists who come to us ... but most of them go there because it’s a Jewish cemetery, not because it’s an important place ... it seems to me that many tourists have no idea about it or what’s in there. And the same goes for actual residents of Warsaw’ (Witold Wrzosinski, 2022). So despite the commitment to national and international promotion, it is an ongoing challenge to increase general visitor interest. Detailed visitor statistics are not available, but the largest group of visitors is from Israel, divided mainly between school groups and groups of visitors seeking the burial places of particular rabbis. There has been a drop off in the numbers of visitors from Western Europe and North America since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Warsaw residents continue to discover the cemetery. Wrzosinski says they frequently express surprise that the cemetery is there, never having heard about it before. So promotion needs to happen within the local urban community as well as amongst foreign visitors to the city.

Other larger Polish places promote Jewish cemeteries as part of their Jewish heritage offer. *The Jewish Heritage Trail in Białystok* (Niziołek & Poczykowski, 2008) is a comprehensive and well-researched guidebook, which provides detailed information on the two Jewish cemeteries in the city, the former Rabbinical Cemetery (now Central Park) on Kalinowskiego, and the surviving cemetery on Wschodnia. The latter benefits from the US-based *Białystok Cemetery Restoration Project*, an organisation dedicated to restoring and promoting the site. Piotr Puchta points out that the recent heritage development work achieved by the municipality in Drohiczyń incorporates the Jewish cemetery into the new historic route round the town (Piotr Puchta, 2022).

Jewish cemetery tourism: who visits, and why?

Stakeholders have identified six groups who voluntarily engage in Jewish cemetery tourism in Poland. They fall roughly into two overall groups, those who identify as Jewish and those who identify as non-Jewish, but it is important to note that individuals have more than one reason for engaging in these visits, and people who identify as Jewish may have reasons to visit which are not connected with their communal identity.

Jewish visitors tend to be:

- Jewish Roots Seekers, searching for their ancestors
- Jewish Pilgrims (either religious – paying homage at graves of noted rabbis, or personal – Holocaust commemoration)
- Specifically, ‘Jewish Heritage’ tour groups and individuals

Non-Jewish visitors tend to be:

- “Tombstone tourists” – people who like to visit all sorts of cemeteries for a range of reasons (including so-called ‘dark tourism’)
- Local residents – learning about local history and heritage
- Secular Pilgrims, who want to see graves of personalities or the work of specific artists or architects.

It is important for cemeteries to remind visitors that the interred are still present. Reconnections can be made by those who visit and recognise that fact, with the memory of those lives perhaps revitalised and appreciated anew. Witold Wrzosinski of Okopowa Street Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw is constantly moved by the emotions displayed by descendants visiting from abroad and finding the *matzevah* of an ancestor (Witold Wrzosinski, 2022). The *matzevot* and the stories contained in historic cemeteries are key to this, as is recognised for example in the promotion of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Wrocław and Okopowa Street Cemetery in Warsaw. Visitors observe that the environments of the cemeteries, the styles of *matzevot*, the languages of the inscriptions all reveal a diversity of identity and interpretation of what being Jewish meant.

How tourists engage with Jewish cemetery sites will vary, although no specific work has been undertaken in Poland to explore motivations, expectations and the outcome of visits on the tourist. Some are interested only in the familial or personal relevance; others are interested in the significance of those buried within, and others still with a general historical, material or spiritual encounter (Czupryński 2022). Genealogist guides report that most visitors come primarily from the United States, which is the biggest market for their services. ‘I have also some Polish clients, but the majority I

think is from the United States and sometimes from Australia. I had some clients from Argentina ... and from Israel. And so many of them make an effort to get to Wrocław' (Mackowiak 2022).

The Narratives Encountered in Jewish Cemetery Tourism

Historic Jewish cemeteries are spaces where the question 'why is it like this?' cannot be answered without sensitivity and negotiation. As was noted in 8.2 above, the narratives about what is thought to be of interest to the general tourist are often framed in terms of art-history. Examining the online resources aimed at tourists reveal that little space is as yet given to the lives, experiences and stories of those who lie in those cemeteries. The diversity of contemporary Poland's Jewish experience has a significant role to play in the promotion of its Jewish cemeteries. Pre-1945 Breslau, Jewish, bourgeois and German is encountered in the Old Jewish Cemetery: it plays a key role in the revival of interest by contemporary Wrocławians in their city's past, a past which they are in the process of reclaiming as the narratives of and material erasures by the Communist era regime are superseded (Thum, 2011). In the cemetery's tour programme Renata Wilkoszewska-Krakowska states:

'We try to show the broad context of German-Jewish history (*as Poles*) [my emphasis], emphasizing ... the process of emancipation and acculturation of Jews, the period of the so-called German-Jewish symbiosis ... the dark years of the power of the National Socialists and the Holocaust. ... Thus, the cemetery is not only a testimony of human existence and a chronicle of the history of the local community, but also a document of a certain cultural era that has passed away forever. All this influenced the shape and appearance of the cemetery.' (Renata Wilkoszewska-Krakowska, 2022)

The encounter there is utterly different from that in Łańcut or at the Remah Cemetery in Krakow or in Łódź, which themselves have the potential to tell stories of the religious development of Judaism, of how rural and urban Jewish experiences differed, and how an urban Jewish proletariat was created by an urban Jewish class of entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

Jewish cemetery tourism is a niche activity within the wider phenomenon of cemetery tourism in Poland, which also embraces Christian, secular and other minority religious groups. There has recently been some encouragement through heritage promotion from state and regional organisations, but statistics are not available. Research has established some understanding of the (often overlapping) motivations of visitors to cemeteries, and within this it is possible to account for why people choose to engage (or not) with historic Jewish cemeteries. This can provide a framework for the targeted promotion of Jewish cemetery sites and help shape the narratives and experiences which will enable visitors to engage with the sites and those interred there. This in turn should feed into helping the visitor understand the complex relationships between Poland and its Jewish heritage. Those leading the development of Poland's cemetery tourism, for example tour guides, have also the increasingly accessible records of genealogical research which provide documented human stories for the cemeteries. Some guides are engaged in this process themselves, enabling them to give voice to those who lie interred.

8.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Overview

Poland's potential for sustainable tourism is endless. With several UNESCO-listed heritage sites and biospheres available, most limitations to Poland's potential are created from failure by local governments to communicate and educate citizens about environmentally viable development. Given the sheer amount of powiats (Polish counties), it is difficult to process communication and collaboration for ecologically based development efforts, with several of them having conflicting interests. When progress is made in reducing excessive energy consumption, the tourism sector will be exponentially easier to create and maintain. Tourist attractions which consume fewer resources, which in turn produce less waste, will help create a more environmentally justifiable tourism (Hanshaw, 2021: online).

Progress towards sustainable tourism planning in Poland

Polish research noted in 2018 that 62% of Polish local government regions state that development is considered in their planning and implementation of tourism-related programmes (Kapera, 2018:581). However, there remains a general lack of understanding of what environmentally and socially viable tourist development means in practical terms, and a lack of appropriate planning and implementation strategies allows for conflict between stakeholders undermining efforts at a local level (Kapera, 2018: 588). Recent surveys of planning for sustainable development in Poland show a continued lack of local participation. More training and development work needs to be undertaken with all stakeholders, including local and regional tourism, and heritage officers, on what sustainability for heritage tourism really means, and what it will look like at Jewish heritage sites.

For many people in Poland, the very idea of planning brings the memories of the long-gone and negatively perceived political system of central planning; hence, the role of correctly constructed development plans and strategies might not be appreciated. And yet truly ecologically viable development relies on a long-term perspective, therefore it requires a strategy looking ahead 10 to 15 years (Nowacki et al., 2018:566).

The Polish Central Statistical Office distinguishes three groups of rural areas: (1) *integrated rural areas* – these are well developed and are slowly losing their traditional agricultural character due to their proximity to big cities; (2) *intermediate rural areas* – these maintain their agricultural character but also develop their non-agricultural-related sources of income, including tourist services; and (3) *peripheral rural areas* – these are economically marginal, but they may have the potential to provide a tourism offer with some niche products (Central Statistical Office, 2011:134). These classifications would seem to have implications for how Jewish cemeteries within each area can be developed as part of local tourism offers. More research is needed into both what these classifications mean for responsible tourism practices and for the most effective ways of sustaining and promoting the Jewish cemeteries in those areas. One size does not fit all.

Next steps for sustainable tourism in Poland

Rural or agritourism is an increasingly popular form of tourism in Poland, but there are still deficiencies in provision and a gap between host and client expectation. For example, the development of agritourism services in Poland, a country with a high-quality natural environment, a richness and diversity of natural settings and cultural heritage and relatively reasonable prices for agritourism services, can be set against a need for systematic improvement of knowledge and skills by current and potential

rural service providers, including how to promote local cultural heritage (Mahmoodi et al., 2022:12). For the sector to develop effectively, partnerships need to be developed between local government, tourism product providers and NGOs in the education and tourism sectors, so that local suppliers are empowered to improve and promote provision whilst retaining a sense that the visitor really is contributing to the host community and not degrading the environment.

Recent research in Poland (Komaczewska et al., 2016) has shown that those promoting tourism in rural areas need to consider not just the type of rural area, its infrastructure, and the potential for local and outside interest in sites such as Jewish cemeteries, but also the attitudes and engagement of local residents. Attitudes and engagement will vary according to what sort of community hosts the sites. The research has also shown that, in the rural areas studied, variables such as the educational attainment of residents, type of employment, sense of material well-being, community engagement and age combine to give varying attitudes to tourism in their community. Policymakers and those engaged in seeking to promote cultural heritage (as well as commercial providers) should anticipate differential levels of support for 'tourism' depending upon the characteristics of the community being considered.

Possible templates for sustainable cemetery tourism

On its website, Zabytek offers seven different routes for bicycle tours of Namysłowski in south-west Poland. These range in length and challenge. Some tours focus on church heritage, others on more general historic features. All involve slow engagement with the landscape. Another innovative approach to sustaining and promoting orphaned cemeteries through rural and futureproofed tourist practices has been put forward for north-east Poland. Sławomir Sobotka and Anna Długozima of the Warsaw University of Life Sciences have conducted research into the possibility of sustaining and promoting the disused Lutheran cemeteries within Masurian Forests and Landscape Park in north-east Poland (before 1945 part of the German-speaking state of East Prussia). They explore the idea of creating a tourism trail linking the better preserved of the orphaned Christian Lutheran (Evangelical) cemeteries. Sobotka and Długozima point out that these cemeteries can give visitors an insight into the complex history of the region. For example, some sites have German First World War cemeteries, others witness the German-speaking foresting communities which existed before the Second World War (Sobotka & Długozima, 2015). In other locations, such as Mikołajki, Jewish cemeteries still exist, thereby pointing to the possibility of including Jewish sites within such a trail.

Conclusions

Poland's diverse natural environment and generally uncommercialised rural tourism economy are well placed to develop in environmentally and socially sensitive ways, to which its government and regional authorities have committed themselves. This will benefit and empower local communities, protect the environment and enable visitors to discover the country without waste and damage to the natural, economic and social systems in place. Some work, such as that promoted by Zabytek, has been created to design and promote integrated heritage and environment tourism. This format could be easily adapted to involve Jewish cemeteries, combining visiting with an engagement with landscape and other forms of heritage on the route. However, there is a lack of long-term and proactive planning. This limits the commitment of authorities to develop robust and effective solutions when planning for tourism development. Furthermore, little work is being undertaken to empower local service providers to promote and develop their businesses sustainably and engage with an increasingly sophisticated visitor market.

8.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Use of website-based, virtual and downloadable guides

There has been a growing diversification of tools available for interpretation. Whilst information panels erected at sites are seen by some as the best way to communicate with visitors, some actors feel that having a physical interpretation board is too expensive and inflexible a tool for the twenty first century. It cannot be updated, it needs regular maintenance, is prone to anti-social action and has a limited life. Local municipalities often struggle with the associated costs. The internet has enabled those promoting Jewish cemeteries in Poland to explore more flexible, participatory tools to disseminate guides and practical information in several ways. For example, FODZ's guides to individual towns on its Chassidic Routes tours are freely downloadable to portable devices as pdfs, enabling the visitor to explore the history, significance and highlights of a particular cemetery on location or offline. FODZ is now considering how to monitor download statistics in order to better understand who is making use of them, and which tourist audience groups might need to be targeted with a different offer. This is a straightforward task for those managing websites and visit booking systems. Another example of this approach is 'The Jewish Heritage Trail in Bialystok', a comprehensive, illustrated guidebook, which is freely downloadable in both English and Polish. Due to its online format, it has been easy to update with new information about sites, including the cemeteries. Some stakeholders have pointed out that there are some tourists (such as older people without access to or understanding of digital technologies) who depend on some form of physical guidebook or plan, and these still have a role to play in the design of interpretative resources. FODZ has distributed paper copies of its guides to tourist offices.

Shtetl Routes shows how new technologies can be employed to engage audiences virtually, provide information and guide those touring these sites on the ground. Cemetery sites are incorporated in both the online and the pdf guidebook, which tourists can download and consult on their journeys. Information about locations, histories of the cemeteries, photographs and notable stories of those interred are provided, all set within information about other sites, Jewish and non-Jewish, of interest to the *shtetl* tourist. The website incorporates 'virtual tours' of former *shtetls*, with reconstructions of the *shtetl's* layout and of its buildings. The tourist can therefore imaginatively explore, to an extent making up for the absences. This is a longer-term and expensive project, but one which hopefully will enable a new generation of 'digital natives' to engage with their Polish Jewish heritage.

As noted above, Zabytek, curated by the National Institute for Cultural Heritage, is another visitor-facing online platform, which seeks to promote Poland's Jewish cemetery heritage. It is accessible on all devices, and as an optimised smartphone website, with Polish and English translations. The website lists 65 Jewish cemetery locations throughout Poland, with high-quality atmospheric images, together with histories, significant features or stories, and mapping and visitor details for most of the cemeteries. For example, part of the detailed entry for Żarki informs visitors about the significance of the cemetery and of the funerary sculpture it contains: More than 700 *matzevot* and obelisks have been preserved in the cemetery, some of which featuring rare types of ornaments, including a 12-pointed star and a candelabrum with an ornate base incorporating the gryphon head motif. Another notable feature is the presence of sepulchral monuments in the form of a tomb chest (sarcophagus), which is extremely rare in Silesia... (Zabytek, 2022: online).

What is missing from Zabytek's entries are details of those buried at each site. There are no stories shared which give an idea of the lives led and the diversity of the community. Here is an opportunity to make the website more comprehensive and relevant in the way it supports visitor engagement at cemetery sites.

The website of the Zapomniane Archive of Jewish War Graves features Polish and English translations. The English text is sponsored by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The website includes mapping, documentation, and downloadable resources, which enable visitors to locate unmarked sites of massacre and burial. Details of ‘the crime’ (featuring local testimonies incorporated into the narrative) and how it is commemorated are given for each mapped site. The visitor is therefore educated into the story of each site’s tragedy, and the website constantly reminds the user that the victims are still present, therefore visiting is to engage in a form of remembrance. The website also enables people to add to the site with information on sites and stories not covered.

Use of social media

The historic Jewish cemeteries in Warsaw, Wrocław and Łódź each have dedicated Facebook pages in Polish and English, which provide visitor information, updates on activities, items of interest about the sites etc. Tuszyn, Tarczyn and Warsaw Wawer are three Jewish cemeteries with social media pages in Polish which are run by locals. These pages are maintained by the cemetery organisers themselves and can be changed and updated very quickly, being therefore more flexible than websites. Facebook is the

most popular platform for Polish Jewish Diasporic communities to communicate on and promote cemeteries. Czernowitz Jewish Cemetery public group, Przerosl Jewish Cemetery public group and Jewish Tarnow private group are three Polish Facebook groups which have a global reach and enable visitors to share their engagement. They also enable others to understand why those cemeteries are significant to people around the globe. It would be interesting to investigate if those living locally to the cemeteries engage with, or could be encouraged to engage with, these Facebook sites.

Social media usage is highly developed amongst Poles and offers a route for promoting Jewish cemetery tourism to Poles. In 2021, 66.5% of the population used social networks, ranging from 95% in the 18–34 age group to 45% in the 55+ age group; the trajectory for take-up is still upward (Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2022: online). Of those who use social media, 88% use Facebook and 60% use Instagram (We Are Social 2022: online). These two platforms seem to offer the most potential for those wishing to sustain and promote historic Jewish cemeteries amongst the non-Jewish Polish population.

Witold Wrzosinski, Administrator of Okopowa Street Jewish Cemetery, believes that social media is a useful tool for promoting a site to visitors and can have unexpected benefits:



Okopowa Street Jewish Cemetery Facebook profile

‘I wanted to create a small Facebook profile just to announce ... the Jewish holidays, because they move every year... It turned out that many people are interested. They wanted to interact, so it grew, and it became a surprisingly active Facebook profile. And quite recently, Neil Gaiman [a British writer] found one of our posts because it was about his great grandmother whose *matzevah* is in our cemetery. So he shared it, and it received 20,000 reactions and hundreds of further shares.’

As well as providing practical information for visitors, such as opening times etc., Okopowa Street Cemetery posts stories about family connections, items uncovered during archaeological excavations, renovations and the encounters visitors have (or will have) with the natural environment. However, Wrzosinski sees social media as having limits, especially for a functioning Jewish cemetery like Okopowa street. On the subject of an Instagram account: ‘What’s the ... practical point? How does a cemetery benefit from successful social media accounts?’ (Witold Wrzosinski, 2022). He feels that, as the cemetery is still active, it does not need visual promotion such as that offered by Instagram. Facebook is adequate for that. If those promoting Jewish cemeteries wish to use social media, they need to consider who is the target audience, for what purpose, and the degree to which the aesthetics become more important than the memories and spiritual significance of the site. There are also considerations of personnel: who will be responsible for editing and maintaining the account? These activities by their very nature need to happen on site: photographs need to be posted and up-to-date information shared. Before embarking on social media activity, those promoting a cemetery site and its activities need to be clear as to what the positive impact on the cemetery will be, and perhaps also what negative impacts might arise.

One cemetery which is successfully using Instagram as a platform for its promotion is Wrocław’s Old Jewish Cemetery. The Instagram feed combines high quality still and video photography alongside visitor information. Posts focus for example, on a particular *matzevah*, artistic shots of the cemetery, engagement by local students and commemorative visits by descendants. Instagram automatically enables translations of the Polish text into English if required. The profile currently has over 3,200 followers. To site director Renata Wilkoszewska-Krakowska, the profile is a valuable tool to ‘emphasize the high value of monuments ... people’s biographies and their achievements for science, art, etc. The uniqueness of this place can be emphasized in many aspects’ (Renata Wilkoszewska-Krakowska, 2022).

Marta Mackowiak, a local genealogical researcher and guide, appreciates the work put into the profile: “I think Ślężna Street, their Instagram profile is very welcoming, they are posting stories about the people buried there” (Marta Mackowiak, 2022). That those who care for this cemetery recognise the value of social media is important. The Old Jewish Cemetery is the only surviving place where visitors can learn on site about the significance of the German-speaking Jewish middle-classes of Silesia before 1945, ‘the pantheon of the Wrocław Jews’ (Łagiewski n.d., 20). The cemetery is also a museum of funerary architecture, with a web presence on the City Museum’s website, which is available in Polish and English. It also has a presence on the City’s tourist portal, giving full visitor information in Polish. There are currently no pages in English, German or Spanish on the site, which hinders its profile in Wrocław’s wider tourist offer. For example, descendant families living in Germany are now setting *matzevot* in the cemetery which commemorate family members who perished in the Shoah and who did not join their relatives and ancestors in the family plots. Therefore, a German text on the websites would be useful to enable greater understanding of the site and potentially encourage more German-speaking visitors to visit.

Use of smartphone apps

The Cmentariusz App (currently only available in Polish) aims to encourage visitors to help share the location of and document rural cemeteries. The Cultural Heritage Foundation, in collaboration with tech company Laboratorium EE, launched an app aimed at enabling the volunteer documentation of abandoned, neglected, and/or remote Jewish and other cemeteries in Poland by visitors. The project focuses on 'abandoned or neglected cemeteries of all denominations, collecting photos and information such as location, size, inscriptions, etc and collating the material on the new Forgotten Cemeteries website ... The project is aimed at ordinary citizens who might visit — or stumble upon — a remote or neglected cemetery while hiking or even on vacation' (JHE, 2021a: online). The app has a straightforward GPS-enabled interface for adding key details and images, which accumulate on the site. The website *Zapomniane cmentarze* (and its associated Facebook page) document the stories about sites and those who have found and recorded them using the app, as well as hosting a full gazetteer of sites which can then be visited by hiking, cycling etc.

The Oświęcim Jewish Centre offers an app entitled 'Oshpitzin: The Jewish history of Oświęcim (Auschwitz)'. The app uses GPS to guide the visitor round the museum and the town's present and absent Jewish heritage. The Jewish cemetery is one stopping point, with the app detailing the site's history in text, images and audio. Vintage photographs and mentions of individuals allude to the stories and lives of pre-War Oshpitzin, but space is not given to them within the app. This could easily be remedied with the addition of links to extra pages. At Kałuszyn, FJHP is currently working on a 'monument' that would contain audio links enabling a visitor to hear on a smartphone a summary of Jewish Kałuszyn in English, Hebrew and Polish.

On a more micro scale, smartphone apps will enable visitors to orient and inform themselves within cemeteries. Witold Wrzosinski recognises the versatility and practicality of such an app 'which allows you to tour the cemetery on your own with photographs, several languages, audio and text and using GPS, with several tours like a tour of rabbis, or left-wing activists, or a tour of writers and artists, or a tour of Polish patriots' tombs' (Witold Wrzosinski, 2022). A larger scale project would be the creation of a platform 'to give a GPS location to each stone in the cemetery ... You can pick one of those and it will show you the path. This is something we like very much right now' (Witold Wrzosinski, 2022). The desirability for such an app is clear: increasing numbers of visitors are used to and expect to find information on their smartphones, and the size and rich content of the cemetery means something with more information than a traditional hand-held plan would be useful.

There is an increased use of QR codes at Jewish cemeteries, which enable visitors to instantly access information on their smartphone about a site as they enter. The online website Jewish Heritage Europe reported in October 2021 that the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw and the National Institute of Cultural Heritage are in the process of unveiling markers with QR codes at five Jewish cemeteries in Poland. Dedication ceremonies were held at the Jewish cemeteries of Orla, Góra Kalwaria, Brok, and Tuszyń, with another due at Szamotuły.

Ceremonies are held to inaugurate a metal panel, shaped like a *matzevah*, which includes basic informative text in Polish and Hebrew identifying the site as a Jewish cemetery, together with a QR code that visitors can scan on their smartphones or tablets to access a page describing broader characteristics of the cemetery on the Zabytek website (JHE, 2021b: online). The use of new technology means that adding an English translation is possible, which would expand the numbers of international visitors able to access information. There is a diversity of opinion on attaching QR codes to individual *matzevot*. Some feel it is disrespectful to the dead, and to family members who may visit the grave.

Others take the view that a QR code is communicating information about the person, just like the inscription on the *matzevah*. As long as the QR code is attached respectfully and with the necessary permissions, it ought not be a problem (Chaim Weiner, 2022b).

The above-mentioned smartphone apps assist visitors in locating and becoming informed about Jewish cemeteries in Poland and include information about how users can incorporate these visits into other tourist activities, such as hiking. For example, the Małopolska region of southern Poland has an app with user-generated trails, which feature historic Jewish cemeteries, meaning anybody can create and share trails between rural Jewish cemeteries in the region. The app is accessible in Polish, English, German and Slovak, reaching a wide range of international tourists. The use of audio guides that can be downloaded onto smartphones has not yet been widely embraced. Centropa have produced audio guides for ten Polish cities which feature family stories (Centropa, 2021: online). Audio guides can offer a more intimate experience to visitors on site and be developed as new memories and stories come to light.

Conclusion

Those sustaining, managing and promoting Poland’s Jewish cemetery heritage are engaging with new technologies in a variety of ways. There are several high-quality websites used to promote sites and broadcast key narratives about why Jewish cemetery heritage is important for Poland and the wider world. Social media has been embraced both within Poland and internationally as a cheap, flexible and accessible tool with a wide reach, particularly amongst the younger generation. An increasing number of cemetery sites are making use of smartphone technology in different ways. Virtual guides, geolocation and user-generated content enable tourists to be both visitors who discover sites and their stories, and/or contributors who are adding to the archive of memories and knowledge about those buried there and the communities in which they lived. The number of cemetery sites using these new technologies needs to be dramatically expanded. More work on the technologies and platforms preferred by younger ‘digital natives’ is crucial to ensuring an ongoing engagement with the next generation of tourists. There is also an opportunity to broaden the narratives shared to include, for example, biographies of those buried and testimonies from families or local residents about the role played by the cemetery on local life and its relevance to people in and beyond its surrounding area.

Tarnow Jewish Cemetery information panels showing QR codes



8.8 THE NATURE OF COLLABORATIONS

Partnership for sustainable cemeteries

Several stakeholders commented on the fact that in Poland partnerships are developing which bring together Jews and non-Jews in seeking ways to preserve and promote historic Jewish cemeteries. Local actors, descendant communities overseas and national organisations are finding that only through partnership can work be undertaken which is viable in the longer term. No one group of actors in the promotion of Poland's Jewish cemetery heritage will achieve long-term success (Piotr Puchta, 2022). Encouraging touristic engagement with Jewish cemeteries has a civic function quite separate from its potential to restore familial and communal bonds with Poland. 'Properly conducted Jewish heritage tourism holds great potential for civic education and counteracting xenophobia. It is especially important on a local level' (Majuk, 2022:75). A good example of such a practical partnership is that between FODZ in Poland and FJHP in the United States, with the latter providing financial and know-how support, enabling FODZ to extend its activities to include more municipalities and their Jewish cemeteries in its network.

Partnership working in Poland clearly has the potential to develop transnationally. Poland's Jewish experience cannot be fully understood without understanding how it relates to Germany, Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine and Slovakia. Cemetery tourism within and across Poland's borders offers the potential to retrieve the memory of an expansive, diverse and vigorous Jewish experience across wider Europe, as recorded in the stories of those who still inhabit those spaces. Partnership is at the core of what Brama Grodzka does: 'While organizing the project, we considered the following questions: How should the multicultural heritage of a borderland area be discussed? Can the current residents, mostly non-Jewish, relate to local Jewish history as their common heritage? How should Jewish heritage be presented as part of cultural tourism?' (Majuk, 2022:72). The Matzevah Foundation (8.3 above) has worked with Rohatyn Jewish Heritage in Ukraine on cemetery preservation projects, each partner contributing to building common knowledge and understanding of how to recover, preserve and develop a Jewish cemetery site. This is another example of how transnational and cross-border partnership is working to raise the profile of Jewish cemeteries in the region. Concern has been expressed that foreign funders, who pay local residents to do the work of clearing and sustaining cemeteries, reflects an approach that is not truly a partnership. There needs to be on-the-ground human interaction and shared effort in the reclamation and promotion of cemetery sites.

Partnership for education and civic values

The European Union and the organisations which put its initiatives into practice have clear goals to foster civic values and build a more inclusive Europe. The goals of the Faro action plan on Jewish heritage, education, reconciliation and greater civic responsibility and engagement against racism, anti-semitism and intolerance underpin the activities around Jewish cemeteries in Poland (Council of Europe, n.d.: online). As well as achieving these goals, Jewish cemetery preservation and promotion in Poland has another role to play: to demonstrate the Jewish community in these places has not been entirely destroyed and is in the process of reviving itself. Jews and non-Jews are collaborating in reclaiming and revalorising surviving cemeteries. Furthermore, these activities can be used to confront and explore difficult issues, providing physical and virtual spaces for confronting the painful histories in these places. Zapomniane has launched the NeDiPa (Negotiating Difficult Pasts) Project, aiming to use its investigative work identifying sites and commemorating mass graves in Poland. It hopes this will provide the groundwork for a systematic approach to reclaiming the heritage lost in the Holocaust

in Central and Eastern Europe (Zapomniane, 2022: online). Brama Grodzka in Lublin runs various educational activities which aim to use Jewish heritage to preserve memory and to develop understanding, fostering cooperation between people and organisations, in both education and for those working with Jewish heritage. Young people are key to ensuring engaged stakeholders for the next generation.

Civic education is a goal of Okopowa Street Cemetery, which presents itself as a site of rest, of resistance, of mourning and of commemoration, and also as a place to reflect on how heterogeneous the Polish Jewish community once was and still is. The Taube Centre's activities are focused on ensuring that Poland's Jewish cemeteries are spaces of learning in the widest sense. No one should leave without knowing more and understanding better.

'Its [Okopowa street cemetery] rabbis and educators, writers and actors, philanthropists and doctors, Bundists and Communists, craftsmen and small shopkeepers, are Jewish Warsaw. The monuments differ in language (Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, and Polish) and in style and design, offering visuals and scripts from which to learn about personal lives, but also about the life of Warsaw's constantly evolving Jewish community.' (Taube Foundation, 2020:46)

A further possibility for partnership and collaboration might lay in harnessing the potential for creative thinking which exists within the educational sector at local and regional levels in Poland. Partnerships between education providers, tourist organisations and those administering Jewish cemetery sites might provide opportunities for young heritage professionals in training to design sustainable tourist tools – for example digital products or tour guiding – which promote Jewish cemetery heritage. At the same time as promoting civic values, such work would encourage local talent and build on the existing engagement by local educators and students in Jewish cemeteries as sponsored by organisations such as Centropa and Taube. There is ample scope for capacity-building in this area.

Conclusion

There is a variety of work underway in Poland aiming to build partnerships in the service of the country's historic Jewish graveyards. These partnerships exist between organisations and funders, between Jews and non-Jews, Poles and non-Poles, and across generations. Education – on the Jewish past, the Jewish legacy, on civic values and on ways to build a new Poland – appear in the mission statements of many organisations. Stakeholders generally agree that empowering local communities is vital for the work to be sustainable. Education and training offer the potential to encourage entrepreneurship around the Jewish cemetery. This also applies to the ways in which commercial tour agencies and guides interact with sites in the future. This is particularly important when considered in terms of the narratives which are promoted by tour guides, in interpretive media and in tourist literature (on whatever platform). However, for the myriad of voices to be effectively heard in securing the future of the country's Jewish cemeteries, a commitment to openness, listening, learning, sharing knowledge and sharing the physical work which ultimately honours those lying there is clearly required.

8.9 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN POLAND: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Jewish heritage tourism has been developing for several decades in Poland. It is markedly more established and commercialised in some urban centres than in others (e.g., Warsaw, Krakow). Development has been particularly slow in rural Poland, where the majority of the historic Jewish cemeteries are located. In order to bring more sites into sustainable tourist networks, change needs to be effected in several ways:

- The initiatives currently happening at Jewish cemetery sites in Poland have rightly been identified as a means of encouraging and promoting core European values. They are also a way of letting visitors understand more profoundly what the Jewish experience in Poland was, and its significance. It is important that space is provided in Poland to encourage discussion and learning opportunities for heritage professionals on the narratives about Jewish heritage which they share with visitors.
- Visitor statistics were not available, and it seems that use of statistics and web/app metrics is not yet standard practice for heritage organisations and sites. Increased use of visitor statistics will enhance the ability to target markets and meet expectations. Digital metrics technology increasingly enables those managing cemeteries to understand who is buying tickets, visiting websites or downloading apps.
- Building on the work which is already taking place and the lead offered by pan-European organisations, conversations need to be encouraged and supported between those working in different regions to enable good practice and methodologies to be disseminated to all those working with Jewish cemeteries. These conversations should reach out to and include those concerned with single sites, whether they are based in Poland or elsewhere.
- It appears that planning for environmentally viable tourism and development is happening but is based on short-term goals and is subject to changes within public administrations. More proactive and long-term planning by tourism and governmental authorities needs to be conducted in order to secure an environmentally futureproofed tourism.
- Jewish cemeteries are beginning to feature on visitor oriented websites and smartphone apps dealing with all aspects of Polish cultural heritage. There are now opportunities for those responsible for site content to create tourist products such as trails for Jewish cemetery sites as they have for Christian and secular heritage sites.
- New technologies have been embraced in diverse ways and several stakeholders acknowledge their flexibility and usefulness. There are further opportunities to exploit new technologies for promoting Jewish cemetery tourism: younger designers might be encouraged to create digital tools which promote and celebrate their local Jewish cemeteries as part of larger community and educational projects to preserve memory and build visitor interest in the story of their local community.





- Partnerships and collaborations exist, but there is concern in Poland that they are not as inclusive of local voices as they might be. More equitable partnering is required between funding agencies, local communities and expert organisations. Only through genuine collaborations will sustainable solutions be found. Local actors need to be heard and brought into the planning and execution of projects for preserving and promoting the heritage of Poland's Jewish cemeteries. Further promotion of Jewish cemetery sites across Europe, both among organisations in Poland and to a wider international audience, will increase reach and provide targeted but global promotion of Jewish cemetery sites.
- There is an overlap in the missions and goals of organisations working on Jewish cemeteries in Poland. This may be leading to duplication of activities and expenditure. More collaboration and strategic planning through networking and incorporating local voices may help target resources and work in more productive ways.
- Education in its widest sense plays a significant role in the offering of many organisations, both engaging younger generations, local and professional stakeholders and sponsoring agencies. This goes beyond being able to understand why any cemetery is like it is, and into securing those values which are promoted by pan-European institutions: human dignity, respect for the self and for others, democracy, and acting sustainably to preserve our shared home. This needs to continue, and be extended to ensure that tourist agencies, tour guides and local supporters acquire the understanding which will help tourists to become engaged with sites.





אברהם בן רחל
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח
ה'תקל"ח

9

SLOVAKIA



9.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There were Jewish communities in Slovakia in the medieval and early modern periods who were regularly persecuted and repressed. After having become established in urban centres from the eighteenth century onwards, the Shoah resulted in the murder of approximately 70,000 Slovak Jews (Ústav Pamäti Národa, 2022: online). Antisemitic repression by the post-War Communist government led to further reductions in the Jewish population through emigration. The current Jewish population stands at around 5,000. Since the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993, there has been some revival of Jewish life in the capital, Bratislava and in Košice in the east of the country.

There are several organisations working to preserve and promote the country's Jewish experience and heritage. These are predominately focused on ensuring Slovakia's Jewish heritage remains of benefit to the Jewish population. Transnational actors have been involved in developing tools for researching into Jewish heritage as part of Central and Eastern European cross-border initiatives. Cemeteries have formed part of this work.

Slovakia's Jewish heritage is the focus for fairly developed commercial tourism activity. There are a range of products on offer, some of which combine tours of Slovakia's Jewish heritage with that of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Tour guides (some Jewish) offer specialised guiding to the Jewish heritage of Bratislava. There is some engagement with Jewish heritage by tour guides outside the capital, mainly organised by commercial tour operators. Cemetery tourism is not an established phenomenon in Slovakia. According to Slovakia Jewish Heritage Center (SJHC) there are to date around 700 identified Jewish cemeteries preserved in the country. The ESJF survey of 2018–2020 listed 237 Slovak Jewish cemeteries as being suitable for survey (ESJF, 2020b:15). Fewer than ten Jewish cemetery sites feature in tour literature or on Jewish heritage platforms.

The Slovak government is currently working on a sustainable tourism strategy for the following decade. Programmes to encourage locally beneficial environmentally responsible tourism in these areas offer the possibility of making historic Jewish cemeteries accessible as heritage features embedded in the landscape.

9.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN SLOVAKIA

The lands now contained within contemporary Slovakia have a complex history, which has repeatedly affected the Jewish experience there. In the eleventh century, a Jewish population migrated to the kingdom of Hungary through Moravia. In 1349, the Jews were expelled from Hungary due to superstition that recent plague outbreaks were punishment for their tolerance of non-Christians in their lands. A further expulsion was carried out between 1360 and 1367. Conditions for Jewish life were slightly easier in areas which came under Ottoman control in the early modern period. Most of present-day Slovakia was under the control of the Habsburg Empire by the late eighteenth century. Some relief for the Jewish population came with the 1782 Edict of Tolerance. Until 1840 Jewish life was virtually entirely a rural phenomenon, a ban on Jewish urban residence being lifted that year. The considerable number of small rural Jewish cemeteries bears witness to this.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–1849, Jews were on both sides of the conflict, and anti-semitic unrest featured in the political disturbances. Reform movements in Judaism started to argue for greater Jewish integration into civil society, especially around the time of full political emancipation

in 1867. By the end of the nineteenth century a strong Zionist movement developed within the Jewish population, along with a surge in the popularity of leftist political ideals.

Slovak nationalists targeted the Jews as agents of Austria-Hungary, the dominant political authority throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Following the collapse of Austria-Hungary in the wake of the First World War, the territory of modern Slovakia was incorporated into Czechoslovakia. In March 1939, Slovakia declared its independence after the German annexation of the Czech lands. With a cabinet of ministers sympathetic to German interests, and the admission of German ‘advisers’ to the ministries, Slovakia was effectively under German control. An objective of “aryanisation” was set for the country, as well as the construction of a “national socialist state”.

In 1944, the Slovak National Uprising broke out against the German occupiers, joined by a significant number of Jews, partisan units, and most of the armed and police forces of Slovakia. In the process of its suppression, mass murders of the Jewish population were carried out under German command. After the defeat and execution of the leaders of the uprising, a significant portion of the troops retreated to the mountains and underground, from where they later assisted the advance of the Red Army.

After the war, Czechoslovakia was restored, ending in 1948 with the establishment of the communist regime. The Soviet anti-Jewish campaign, carried out under the euphemism of combatting “rootless cosmopolitanism”, reached Czechoslovakia, where individual Jews had received a number of important party and government posts after the war. During this period, many Jews were again imprisoned or executed. After the suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968 by Warsaw Pact troops, a new round of repressions was instituted, and antisemitic policies were restored.

In the late 1980s, the Velvet Revolution led to a shift in politics, leading to beneficial changes to Jewish life in the region. In 1993, as a result of the “Velvet Divorce” between Slovakia and the then Czech Republic, Slovakia again became an independent state. Since 2004, it has been a member of NATO and the European Union.

Memories of the repression between 1939 and 1945 still serve as a source of tension in discussions of the Second World War and the Holocaust, as well as in the assessment of political figures from the era. Since 2001, Holocaust denial has been illegal in Slovakia. The cultural life of Jews in independent Slovakia continues to develop with the support of state agencies. Bratislava hosts two Jewish museums, the Jewish Community Museum and the Museum of Jewish Culture.

The Federation of Jewish Communities in Slovakia (UZŽNO) now owns the majority of the country’s cemeteries, the result of legal restitution (ESJF, 2020b:15). Two notable features of Jewish cemeteries in Slovakia are their small size and high density. This is largely because, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of the Jews in what is now Slovakia lived in both urban and rural communities, and were responsible for their own institutions, including cemeteries (ESJF, 2020b:16).

9.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN SLOVAKIA

The Federation of Jewish Communities in Slovakia (UZŽNO) is the legal owner of all cemeteries on which restitution has been made (ESJF 2020:15). UZŽNO’s website has a list (not definitive) of the cemeteries which have been reclaimed by the Jewish community under restitution.

Menorah is an NGO whose aim is to support activities leading to the preservation of the Jewish culture and religion in Slovakia; education both within and beyond the Jewish community, and to support

activities protecting Jewish monuments. One significant initiative of Menorah is the Jewish Bratislava website (Menorah, 2018: online).

The Slovak Jewish Heritage Center (SJHC) is a non-governmental and non-profit institute. It is a joint project by the Bratislava Jewish Community and Menorah, based in Bratislava, which function as the SJHC's legal representative. Founded and led by **Dr Maroš Borský**, the Center engages in Jewish heritage research, documentation and site monitoring, education, promotion and consulting, and is the leader in Jewish heritage preservation in Slovakia. Cooperation with organisations or individuals, Slovak or foreign, is at the heart of the SJHC's work to secure, understand and promote the country's Jewish heritage (SJHC, 2022: online).

ESJF suggests that cemetery preservation is fraught with challenges in Slovakia. UZŽNO needs support in the struggle to preserve at-risk sites. Their permission is necessary for any cemetery-related activity. ESJF sees cooperation between UZŽNO and the local civil society, as well as municipal authorities, as particularly important to securing and developing the country's Jewish cemetery heritage (ESJF, 2022b:34).

9.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Overview

Slovakia's Jewish heritage is the focus for fairly developed commercial tourism activity. There are a range of products on offer, some of which combine tours of Slovakia's Jewish heritage with that of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Tour guides (some Jewish) offer specialised guiding to the Jewish heritage of Bratislava and in Košice. There is some engagement with Jewish heritage by tour guides outside the capital, mainly organised by commercial tour operators.

Jewish heritage products in Slovakia

Commercial tour operators tend to focus on organising visits to Slovakia's built heritage, especially synagogues. Jewish Bratislava is promoted by a quality dedicated website produced in collaboration between Menorah and Bratislava Self-Governing Region. This website promotes the key Jewish visitor attractions across the city, including the two Jewish cemeteries.

Dr Maroš Borský, founder and Director of the Slovak Jewish Heritage Center, has created a series of professionally produced leaflets for the Bratislava Tourist Board which guide visitors around Jewish Bratislava. These have been published in Slovak, English, German and Hebrew, making it possible for a broad range of visitors to experience the Jewish heritage of the capital. The leaflets are fully integrated into the Tourist Board's offer to tourists. For example, they give details of the official tourist card and the free Wi-Fi which is offered to visitors. Each leaflet has details of seven key Jewish sites and institutions including the city's Jewish cemeteries, a map and a brief history of the Jewish experience in Bratislava. These leaflets demonstrate the efforts going in to promoting Jewish heritage in the capital.

The Chatam Sofer Memorial is a Jewish heritage site of national significance. This memorial was named after Rabbi Moshe Schreiber, also known as Chatam Sofer, who was one of the leading Jewish scholars in the nineteenth century. Only 23 graves remained from the Old Jewish Cemetery following its destruction in 1943. The graves were encircled by a concrete shell and covered with panels for





decades. In 2000–2002 the entire site was redeveloped, and the gravestones were restored. The site is now one of Bratislava’s main attractions and thought to be a unique experience in Jewish heritage (Chatam Sofer Memorial, 2022: online). The site features on the official tourist publicity for Bratislava. The site is significant for how it demonstrates using a ‘cemetery for tourism as well as keeping its sacred character.’ (Maroš Borský, 2022). As such it provides an example for initiatives elsewhere.

Outside of Bratislava, the official national tourism website ‘Travel to Slovakia: A Good Idea’ features the synagogues at Trnava (now a café) Prešov and Žilina but does not specifically mention the country’s Jewish heritage as a distinct topic. The cemeteries currently referenced on the website are military cemeteries and those connected with the country’s national struggle.

The Slovak Jewish Heritage Center (SJHC), has developed, and now coordinates, the Slovak Jewish Heritage Route. The Slovak Jewish Heritage Route is a cultural marketing tool integrating Jewish monuments into an overall tourist product for Slovakia. The network links sites and buildings across the country’s regions. It will be further developed in 2023 (Maroš Borský, 2022). The Slovak Jewish Heritage Route has enabled a commercial venture to emerge. The Slovak Jewish Heritage Tour is the result of cooperation between commercial operator Enjoy Slovakia and the SJHC. Guided by Dr Maroš Borský of SJHC, visitors spend a week encountering the country’s most significant Jewish heritage sites, whilst learning about the complex past and present of Slovakia’s Jewish community.

‘Roots and remembrance’ tourism features in commercial offers relating to Slovakia’s Jewish heritage. Polin Travel offers research and touring services for members of the Slovak Jewish diaspora, although it does not mention cemeteries in its guide to significant places of Slovakia’s Jewish heritage (Polin Travel, 2022: online).

Local tour guides advertise Jewish-themed tours of Bratislava. Chabad Slovakia advertises two Jewish guides who offer tours in English, Hebrew and Slovak in Bratislava (Chabad Slovakia, 2022: online). There are a few guides who offer Jewish-themed tours in locations elsewhere in the country, but none mention a cemetery visit as part of the offer.

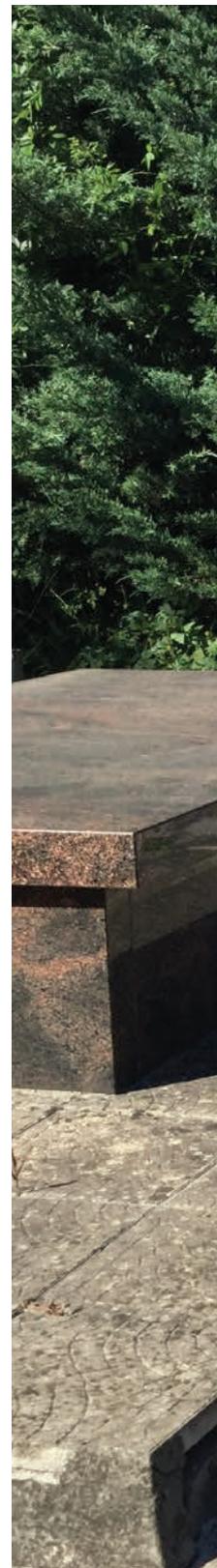
Conclusion

Slovakia’s Jewish heritage is becoming a feature of the country’s cultural tourism offer. There are many opportunities for further development, including the inclusion of more Jewish sites into existing marketing and promotional initiatives. The country’s Jewish heritage is made more accessible through the work of tour guides, but this is limited to Bratislava. There is an untapped potential for guiding services elsewhere in the country, perhaps linking Jewish heritage with other aspects of the country’s heritage and traditions. Furthermore, despite the work of the SJHC, many communities have not yet realised the potential value a historic Jewish cemetery has to local tourism development. There are opportunities here for collaborative initiatives between the Jewish community, local authority stakeholders and tourism promotion agencies. Collaboration will be the key.

9.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

Cemetery tourism is not an established phenomenon in Slovakia. There is not a single cemetery which is a member of the Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe. Slovakia is not a member of the European Cemeteries Route (Council of Europe: European Cemeteries Route, 2022: online). However,





its potential has been noted. Brigitta Pécssek of Hungary's Eszterházy Károly Catholic University and Denisa Halajova of the Slovak University of Agriculture in Nitra have designed a cross-border thematic route linking rural cemeteries in Hungary and Slovakia, within a framework of sustainable, responsible rural tourism (Pécssek and Halajova, 2022). This route seeks to promote the different aspects and elements of the region's Christian cemeteries.

Jewish cemetery tourism

According to the SJHC there are to date around 700 identified Jewish cemeteries preserved in Slovakia (SJHC, 2022: online). The ESJF survey of Slovakia 2018–2020 listed 237 for survey (ESJF, 2020b:15). Fewer than ten Jewish cemetery sites feature in tour literature or on Jewish heritage platforms. Cemeteries are located in all regions of Slovakia, serving as witnesses to former Jewish communities. Each cemetery is different: some contain wealthy tombs of prominent citizens, while others feature simple *matzevot* of rural Jews. Cemeteries, most of which have not been investigated in detail, are particularly spread across north-eastern Slovakia, once dominated by Chassidism. An undisclosed number of *ohelim* have been preserved. Many of them are in a poor condition, with neglect and vandalism common.

The Slovak Jewish Heritage Route features four cemeteries: the Chatam Sofer Memorial in Bratislava and the cemeteries in Sereď, Banská Štiavnica and Spišská Nová Ves. The latter is particularly significant as it has been preserved and promoted through the actions of Dr. Ružena Kormošová, a history teacher who has engaged local high school students in the cemetery preservation and promotion project. Under her leadership, the students have recorded and shared the memories of the town's Jewish inhabitants. Visitors can access the cemetery site by contacting Dr Kormošová (Slovak Jewish Heritage, 2022: online).

Commercial tour operators include cemeteries as part of several itineraries in the country. Apart from the Chatam Sofer Memorial mentioned above in 9.4, the historic Jewish cemeteries in Sereď, Zvolen, Trenčín, Banská Bystrica feature in commercial tour offers.

There is evidence that Jewish cemeteries in Slovakia are already being recognised as places which visitors wish to encounter. The Slovak Spectator, an English-language online news-site, has produced a guide to the country (available in English and Slovak) which includes a section on Jewish heritage. Jewish cemeteries feature, with their continuing relevance to communities discussed. The paper also has a digital map marking the locations of known Jewish cemeteries across the country, which could be used in conjunction with the guide (Virágová, 2022: online). The Slovak Spectator's coverage has also benefited the profile of Jewish cemeteries by covering a story detailing how the Jewish cemetery in Spišská Nová Ves has become an educational tool and enabled the town's Jewish story to be understood (Dlopec, 2021: online).

Conclusion

Although not an established phenomenon, cemetery tourism already plays a role in tourist practice in the country, encouraged by organised commercial operators. Bratislava is the location of the Chatam Sofer Memorial, a site of European significance, but other sites also attract attention. Some educational visiting seems to be happening, organised by local teachers. There remains much survey and research work to be undertaken on many rural cemeteries. This work might be coupled with assessments to consider the potential for sites to become part of local heritage products, which might appeal to a variety of visitors.

9.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Overview

A Sustainable Tourism Strategy to guide the long-term development of the country's tourism to 2030 is currently being prepared by the Slovak government and it will consider, amongst other things, how to maximise the protection and conservation of the country's natural and cultural resources while encouraging their development as tourism assets; improve the accessibility of tourism facilities and reduce regional disparities; and support the growth of less developed districts by improving connectivity and new products. The development of improved, cost-effective tourism products, in which cultural and heritage tourism might be positioned, is a current aim of the country's tourism authorities, both at national and regional levels (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 2020: Slovak Republic, 2020: online).

Progress towards sustainable tourism planning in Slovakia

Many of the issues with tourism in Slovakia centre around protecting its wondrous natural environment. Whilst tourist boards extol the country's natural scenery, there is a significant amount of industrial activity in the country, especially manufacturing and mining, resulting in pollution. This is balanced with mountainous and rural areas which currently do not benefit from visitor investment (Barker 2022: online).

Next steps for sustainable tourism in Slovakia

The 'Spiritual Quest' route designed by Pécsek and Halajova and referenced in 9.5 above is a significant starting point for thinking about Slovakia's Jewish rural cemeteries in a responsible tourism framework. All of the chosen cemeteries were identified as having tourism potential and, with the synergy of water and forest, form a complete holistic experience. The proposed route is linear, yet participants are free to adapt the route. The route can also be connected to the European Cemetery Route, crossing the border into Hungary and engaging with the Jewish heritage in Hungary's north-eastern region. This is a non-invasive development, building on and mixing existing natural and cultural resources, and the final tourism product offered here is niche in nature. The project shows the viability of a two-country cooperation in the field of environmentally viable rural tourism, which can also be integrated into a larger European initiative (Pécsek and Halajova, 2022:46).

Conclusion

Slovakia is in the process of developing a cohesive approach to environmentally and socially responsible tourism, which incorporates local benefit and low-waste practices. Initiatives are being developed within the academic field which hold promise as workable solutions to the issue of making rural heritage sites accessible to a tourism which is both locally beneficial and respectful of the natural environment. Similar work focusing on historic Jewish cemeteries might produce similar positive outcomes for local stakeholders to build on.

9.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Digital infrastructure is becoming established in Slovakia. 90% of households have some form of internet access and nearly 80% regularly go online (Statista, 2021b: online). Much of lowland Slovakia has mobile phone coverage, although this diminishes in the upland and mountain areas (NPERF, 2022: online).

Use of websites, virtual tours and downloadable guides

There does not seem to be a central heritage portal for Slovakia, administered by a state agency which might be a springboard for promoting Jewish culture and heritage as an equal part of the national heritage portfolio. The SJHC’s ‘Synagoga Slovakia’ website provides a comprehensive portal promoting the country’s Jewish heritage sites. The section on the Slovak Jewish Heritage Route sites features write-ups about each cemetery which gives some historical background, a brief description of the site, and how local initiatives are seeking to preserve and valorise the site. Location, access and contact information are also given. Accessible in Slovak and English, the site provides news about Slovakia’s Jewish heritage and enables visitors to buy SJHC’s publications. It includes a ‘Site of the Month’ feature, effectively directing attention to different sites throughout the year. The website’s ‘Travel Section’ provides information on tourism services such as travel information, hotels and tour-guiding services, assisting the visitor in planning their exploration of Slovak Jewish heritage.

Two websites owned and maintained by Menorah show how cemeteries in particular can benefit from an attractive, accessible, informative and well-maintained online presence. The Chatam Sofer Memorial website is well-designed, available in English and Slovak. It features a video of the site, a biography of the Chatam Sofer and details of the other tombs. Importantly for visitors, it gives details of how to book visits, and the etiquette for visiting. The JewishCemetery.sk site promotes the Orthodox

jewishcemetery.sk
homepage

Orthodox cemetery

The Orthodox cemetery in Bratislava is one of the largest Jewish cemeteries in Slovakia. It contains over 7,000 graves. The cemetery was established by the city's Jewish community in 1845, and after 1873 was used by the Orthodox Jewish community.

After decades of neglect, the Jewish Community of Bratislava is gradually rehabilitating the compound, which is used to this day as a burial site for our community. Many important personalities of Bratislava's Jewish life, including the rabbi Ketav Sofer (1815-1871) and Shevet Sofer (1842-1906), are buried here. The cemetery chapel, constructed in 1928-1929 from the designs of architects Fridrich Weinwurm and Ignác Vécsei, is an important example of interwar architecture in Slovakia.

Neolog cemetery

The Neolog cemetery was established in 1873 by the Neolog Jewish community founded in 1872. The cemetery has about 2,000 graves and is maintained by the Jewish Community of Bratislava.

There are many important personalities from Slovak-Jewish culture buried here, including the architects Eugen Birkány (1885-1967) and Artur Szalantai-Slatinský

Location

Orthodox cemetery
Žižkova 36, Bratislava
GPS: 48°8'33.89"N, 17°5'20.25"E

Neolog cemetery
Žižkova 50, Bratislava
GPS: 48°8'37.77"N, 17°4'58.11"E

Sunday – Thursday
8:00 – 16:00
Friday
8:00 – 12:00
except Jewish holidays

Contact us

Jewish Community
Kozia 18, 814 47 Bratislava
+421-2-5441 6949
memorial@znoba.sk

and Neolog cemeteries in Bratislava and is the result of research and preservation work by Dr Maroš Borský. It is oriented to visitors, having details on opening times, location (including a map function) and short historical notes. Photographs show the sites and the styles of *matzevot*. There is also a 'find a grave' function, meaning the website has specific functionality for 'roots and remembrance' tourism (JewishCemetery.sk, 2022: online).

Use of social media

In 2021, approximately 76% of Slovak residents were social media users: social media can therefore be an important tool in promoting Jewish cemetery heritage and developing a visitor base within the country (Statista, 2021b: online). Slovakia's Jewish culture and heritage has quite an active presence on social media. The Jewish Community of Bratislava posts about cultural and heritage events in Slovak and English. The Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava uses Facebook to promote itself. The page is produced in Slovak, which limits its international reach.

Facebook pages are a popular tool for those involved in sustaining and promoting Jewish cemetery heritage. These are used to share photographs, provide news about the cemetery restoration and seek donations. Košice, Námestovo, Piešťany and Topoľčany are four exemplars of outreach and networking through Facebook. In addition, the community page 'Synagógy a židovské cintoríny' promotes cemetery sites through photography. Those engaged on the initiatives at Spišská Nová Ves use Facebook to advertise and promote their work. This method has been successful in engaging those in the Slovak Jewish diaspora in the US (OZ Pro Memory Facebook, 2022: online).

Use of smartphone apps

Reference was found on a couple of travel sites to a Guide to Jewish Bratislava phone app. However, this did not show up in the app store when searched for and may only be available in Slovakia. This does indicate that there is an awareness of the potential for smartphone apps to promote and interpret the country's Jewish heritage. Slovakia Travel has produced a smartphone app which makes all the information on its website accessible to smartphone users whilst in the country.

Conclusion

Whilst Slovakia has quite a developed internet and mobile phone infrastructure, and most people are regular users, the web and smartphone presence of many heritage locations is still limited. Tourism authorities make use of digital platforms to promote the country in general ways. As regards the digital presence of Jewish heritage, good examples already exist in Slovakia, for example, the Chatam Sofer Memorial's web presence. There is scope for those seeking to sustain and promote the country's Jewish cemetery heritage to learn from what is already available and investigate how sites across the country might be networked and promoted through a digital presence. Those responsible for Jewish heritage might reach out to students and young professionals inside and beyond the Jewish community to innovate solutions which raise the digital profile of Slovakia's Jewish cemeteries and the memories they contain.





9.8 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN SLOVAKIA: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Building on existing marketing and promotional initiatives is a way of raising awareness amongst visitors and creating potential audiences for the country's Jewish cemetery heritage. Some organisations are being proactive in visitor engagement through high quality communications. This good practice could be copied by other regions and agencies in the country.
- Valuable survey and research work has been carried out on Slovakia's rural Jewish cemeteries. This must continue. The work would benefit from some planning outlining a future role in local heritage promotion, within sustainable and responsible tourist frameworks. The excellent locally based initiatives to preserve memory, as well as the physical sites which have been undertaken in some places, should provide solid starting points for work at other sites. Perhaps those local leaders in education and the students they have worked with might engage in networking and mentoring those who wish to do similar things.
- Future survey work might also identify how a diverse range of visitors can access and experience sites, especially in the light of the desire stated in the country's Sustainable Tourism Strategy to broaden accessibility for all tourists.
- Furthermore, as genealogical and historic research continues to reveal the Slovak Jewish experience, cemetery sites will have more narratives to share and memories to preserve. These need to form part of local efforts to create environmentally viable visitor experiences which benefit communities economically and culturally.
- There is a potential for developing guiding services which incorporate Slovakia's Jewish heritage (including cemeteries) as content. This will help include the Jewish experience in Slovakia into the narratives about the country's past and its surviving heritage.
- The use of digital tools in connection with Slovakia's Jewish cemeteries is slowly being embraced as a means of marketing and assisting interpretation of the country's Jewish heritage. The expansion of digital infrastructure will support this. Those responsible for Jewish heritage might reach out to students and young professionals inside and beyond the Jewish community to innovate solutions which raise the digital profile of Slovakia's Jewish cemeteries and the memories they contain.
- Building on the admirable work of the SJHC to date, stakeholder partnerships in Slovakia should plan strategically for future increased promotion of the country's Jewish cemetery heritage. Engagement by transnational partners should empower local stakeholders to collaborate effectively on strategic planning. Furthermore, initiatives which bring together UZŽNO, local authorities and tourism promotion agencies might bear fruit for promoting Jewish cemetery heritage as part of discrete local or regional heritage promotion projects.



בית
העלוי
למנוחה
של
הנשואה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה

הנשואה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה
המנוחה
הנכבדה

10 / UKRAINE



The ongoing war in Ukraine following the Russian invasion on 24 February 2022 has significantly curtailed tourist activity and heritage development. Some historic Jewish cemeteries and sites of trauma and memory have been damaged or partially destroyed through Russian shelling and bombing. More importantly, the people who were leading and promoting this work have been caught up, whether as combatants, emergency workers or as refugees. Consequently, it has not been possible to gather data from a wide range of stakeholders. The activities mentioned in this country report refer in the most part to what was happening or was planned before the invasion in 2022.

10.1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Jewish heritage in Ukraine involves actors based in the country, within Europe, Israel and North America, where most of the Ukrainian Jewish diaspora live. Partnership and collaboration are important to the preservation of Ukraine's Jewish heritage, particularly with international and transnational organisations.

Ukraine lays claim to 1,500 identified Jewish heritage sites, perhaps the largest number of any European country (AEPJ Ukrainian Route of Jewish Heritage, 2022: online). Only a fraction of these have been surveyed, recorded and investigated. A number of commercial tour agencies offer a range of tours focusing on Jewish heritage. Kyiv and Lviv are the main centres of activity. Roots and remembrance tourism has become significant in Jewish tourism to Ukraine.

General cemetery tourism occurs in some places. Cemeteries form an essential element of Ukraine's Jewish heritage, and some sites are regularly visited by tour groups. There have recently been initiatives which highlight and promote the historic Jewish cemeteries in smaller or less frequently visited former *shtetls*. Roots and remembrance tourism focuses on cemeteries, enabling visitors to create physical links with their ancestral pasts. There are examples of both general and Jewish cemetery tourism being facilitated by local residents leading tours and interpreting sites.

Sustainable tourism, also referred to in Ukraine as 'green rural tourism', is in the early stage of development. It is not clear if national or regional strategic plans have been drawn up which outline how heritage sites and practices will be sustained into the future as tourism develops.

There is some use of new technologies to aid promotion and interpretation of Jewish cemetery sites although more may exist in Ukrainian (a language unknown to this researcher). Social media and virtual tours are available to enable virtual visitors to engage with Jewish cemetery sites in Ukraine. Websites and smartphone apps do not appear to be used for Jewish heritage promotion and interpretation.

10.2 THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN UKRAINE

The ongoing war following the invasion by Russia in 2022 has focused attention once again on the vicissitudes of Jewish life and heritage in Ukraine, which has been taking place in these lands since ancient times. Judaism was a majority religion in the Khazar lands around the Sea of Azov after 600CE. Jewish settlers participated in the social and economic development there, on the Dnipro and the Steppe north of Crimea during the medieval and early modern periods. During the eighteenth century Jewish life flourished in the south and central provinces, with Chassidism emerging in the province of Podolia in the 1740s onwards. From here, Chassidism spread across Eastern Europe into the countries

which are now Belarus, Poland and Hungary. This heritage is witnessed in contemporary Ukraine by the resurgence of pilgrimage to the burial sites of *Chassid* teachers and preachers, in places such as Berditchev, Hadiach, Medzhybizh and Uman.

The complex political and social history of the region since the later eighteenth century has meant that the Jewish experience varies significantly by location. Jewish life had to negotiate religious and cultural repression under Russian (and later Soviet) rule to the east of the Dnieper (the current focus of much of the fighting and destruction). The lands to the west of the Dnieper formed part of the 'Pale of Settlement'; Eastern Galicia centred on Lviv was part of Austria-Hungary and then Poland before 1945. The Shoah in Ukraine took the lives of 1.4 million of the country's two million Jews, many were murdered in the so-called 'Holocaust by bullets'. Intense fighting between Nazi Germany and the USSR, followed by border changes, expulsions, and the post-war antisemitic policies of the Soviet government across Ukraine, meant that post-Second World War Jewish life was shattered. Increasing numbers of survivors emigrated, especially after freedom of travel was established with independence in 1991 (Plokyh, 2015).

The Jewish community of Ukraine today numbers between 360,000–400,000 Jewish people, who are concentrated in Kyiv, Dnipro, Kharkiv, and Odessa, but also live in many small towns across the country (European Jewish Congress (Ukraine), 2022: online). Younger generations are Ukrainian and Russian speaking, some older people continue to speak Yiddish (AEPJ, 2022: online). It is estimated that there are some 1,500 identified Jewish heritage sites, including cemeteries: there may be more. Some 700 pre-1939 cemeteries and 500 mass graves at places of genocide have been accounted for (Gruber, 2007, 100). About 1% of historic Jewish cemeteries and two mass graves are listed by the Ukrainian government as protected heritage. Some 90% receive little or no remedial attention, are inaccessible to non-local visitors and/or are in an advanced state of disrepair. Agricultural use, vandalism and building development remain particular threats to ongoing survival, beyond the processes of erosion, reclaim by nature, vandalism and atmospheric pollution (Anna Domnich, 2022).

10.3 ACTORS IN JEWISH HERITAGE IN UKRAINE

Jewish heritage in Ukraine involves actors based in the country, within Europe, Israel and North America, where most of the Ukrainian Jewish diaspora are based.

Actors based in Ukraine

The United Jewish Community of Ukraine (UJCU) aims to support the 'revival and development of the Jewish way of life in Ukraine'. UJCU aims to do this through the 'expansion and strengthening of relations between Jewish communities, organizations and non-government associations' (UJCU, 2022: online). This organisation gives direct financial assistance to a number of Jewish communities and organisations in the country. Its project 'Jews of Ukraine' (Ukrainian) maps out and promotes Ukraine's Jewish businesses, culture and heritage, including cemeteries.

The Association of Jewish Organisations and Communities of Ukraine (VAAD) works with Ukrainian national agencies and government departments and has partnerships with transnational Jewish agencies and organisations in the US and Israel. Amongst other activities, it seeks to ensure that municipalities

discharge their legal obligation towards Jewish heritage sites. This is part of a wider brief to preserve Ukraine's Jewish heritage (VAAD, 2022: online). VAAD is leading the project to restore the mortuary house at Chernivtsi Jewish Cemetery and open it as a Holocaust memorial centre (Jewish Heritage Europe, 2018: online).

Some local authorities are involved in overseeing and promoting Jewish heritage in their areas. Rivne, Brody and Chernivtsi are three municipalities which include Jewish heritage in their tourist promotion and collaborate with local groups to preserve and maintain Jewish heritage sites. Rivne City Council has worked effectively with European Union initiatives to produce a strategy for the city's cultural and touristic development which includes valorising its Jewish heritage (Petro Dolhanov, 2022; Olga Skobeeva, 2022).

Heritage Springs is a transnational organisation dedicated to preserving and promoting Ukraine's Jewish heritage. Their work has been focused in the Zakarpattia Region of south-west Ukraine where they have engaged in synagogue and cemetery restorations.

Rohatyn Jewish Heritage (RJH) is an example of an initiative focused on a specific location where a historic Jewish cemetery survives. Founded by **Marla Raucher Osborn** and **Jay Osborn**, RJH is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation (NGO) that develops and manages heritage preservation projects, aimed at reconnecting the 400-year history of Rohatyn's now-lost Jewish community with the people of the modern Ukrainian city. RJH's work has included maintaining Rohatyn's four Jewish burial sites, recovering over 600 Jewish headstone fragments.

There are also cases of local private initiatives. Ukrainian activists (often teachers) will 'adopt' a local Jewish cemetery and take care of that cemetery through cleaning, stabilising the site and raising awareness. In most cases, the activists involved are not Jewish (Anna Domnich, 2022).

Actors based outside of Ukraine

Gesher Galicia is a US-based non-profit organisation which engages in Jewish genealogical and historical research within Galicia, formerly a province of Austria-Hungary and today divided between south-eastern Poland and western Ukraine. Gesher Galicia's work includes the indexing of archival records and census books, which are then added to Gesher Galicia's searchable online database. Gesher Galicia facilitates networking and online discussion groups and promotes and supports Jewish heritage preservation work. The organisation offers paid membership as well as accepting donations.

Ukrainian Jewish Encounter (UJE) is a private, multinational initiative involving religious and non-religious Ukrainians in Ukraine, Israel, and the diaspora. UJE's work engages scholars, civic leaders, artists, governments, and the broader public in an effort to strengthen mutual comprehension and solidarity between Ukrainians and Jews. Their goal is to create a 'shared historical narrative' (Ukrainian Jewish Encounter, 2022: online). UJE's activities include securing the protection and respectful treatment of mass grave sites and disseminating news about historic Jewish cemeteries in Ukraine.

Amongst the Ukrainian Jewish diaspora there are *landsmanshaft* groups who aim to sustain the Jewish heritage of their ancestral communities. One example is the **Bolechow Jewish Heritage Society**.

This group aims to record personal stories, share community histories and restore and preserve the Jewish cemetery in the town. This society promotes its work through a Facebook group (see below 10.7). Photographs of group members, local volunteers, and places in Bolechow seek to build a sense of community and solidarity.

Partnerships

There are many examples of how collaboration is assisting the preservation and promotion of Ukraine's Jewish heritage. **Heritage Springs** brings together stakeholders in Ukrainian communities with donors and advisors in Israel and the United States. Heritage Springs' work restoring Vilkhivtsi's former synagogue was supported and promoted by the local municipality via the municipal website. This informed the local community about the project and showed that the local authority believed it to be a valuable project for the area (Vilkhivtsi Municipality, 2022: online). RJH and Rohatyn municipality have jointly created a permanent exhibition on the Jewish community within Rohatyn's local history museum.

The Chernivtsi Jewish Cemetery Restoration Organisation (CJCRO) is another example of a focused partnership working to restore a site of Jewish heritage. A US-based not-for profit organisation, it collaborates with the local Jewish community, local municipality (which recognises the site as a historic-cultural monument) and Chernivtsi residents to maintain the cemetery and ensure it remains open and accessible. This work is happening alongside that of the VAAD of Ukraine, which is restoring the cemetery's mortuary and working on the larger project of creating a Holocaust Museum at the cemetery site. This example demonstrates how beneficial multi-agency working is to securing the future of historic Jewish cemeteries linked to visitor activity.

Brama Grodzka – NN Teatr in Lublin, Poland is another organisation which recently promoted the Jewish heritage of what is now the Polish-Belarussian-Ukrainian borderlands. Brama Grodzka's initiative Shtetl Routes aims to promote the shared Jewish heritage of 'Yiddishland', the area where present-day Belarus, Poland and Ukraine meet which was formerly home to a large and diverse Jewish population. A cross-border initiative, the project was co-financed by the European Union under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument as part of the Programme for Cross-Border Co-operation (Shtetl Routes, 2022: online).

Conclusions

The humanitarian efforts by international organisations to support Ukraine's Jewish communities following the Russian invasion shows that transnational partnerships and networks are strong. Collaborative initiatives were already emerging which focused on Jewish heritage, and the current emergency may act to highlight the existence of Ukraine's rich Jewish heritage and galvanise collaborations for future work.



10.4 THE NATURE OF JEWISH CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Overview

Ukraine lays claim to perhaps the largest number of Jewish heritage sites of any European country. Some 1,500 have been identified, with many more yet to be surveyed and recorded (JHE, 2022: online). It is not surprising therefore, that Jewish heritage tourism in Ukraine has developed rapidly since independence in 1991.

Jewish heritage tourism in Ukraine

Prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine and subsequent war from February 2022 onwards, Jewish heritage and cultural tourism was expanding, particularly in the centre and west of the country. There was some official state involvement in this process. In Chernivtsi the local tourism and culture bureau was involved in promoting the region's Jewish heritage, which includes erecting a menorah for the Hannukah holiday in the city's central square as well as restoring surviving Jewish built heritage and memorialising the region's Jewish presence (Olha Skobeeva, 2022). In Kharkiv, several local tour operators worked specifically with the region's Jewish heritage (Vadym Miroshnychenko, 2022). Commercial tour agencies offered a range of tours focusing on Jewish sites. Some commercial providers pitch the itinerary details at a generalised clientele while identifying these sites as places of pilgrimage for Jews. There is therefore no assumption that those interested in such tours have religious motivations, or necessarily know why these tombs or cemeteries are important. Other commercial tours are marketed to clients who do have an understanding of Jewish life and culture, and who wish to experience what that means in contemporary Ukraine (for example, UkraineTour's Jewish Heritage Tour of Ukraine).

A more focused Jewish heritage tourism has benefitted from the work of organisations which offer genealogical research, *shtetl* history and resources targeted at the Ukrainian Jewish diaspora. Geshet Galicia, Jewish Galicia and Bukovina.net, JewishGen Ukraine RD and The Miriam Weiner Routes to Roots Foundation are four initiatives which collate archival research into the Jewish Experience in Ukraine, making it accessible to those investigating ancestor histories and details of the places from which their families originated. Cemetery records form part of these archives.

Attention is increasingly being paid to Ukraine's Jewish heritage within and beyond the country's borders. News items about the rediscovery of historic Jewish cemeteries make regional news (Oksana Syschyk, 2022). The Ukrainian Route of Jewish Heritage is currently under construction. It will initially focus on heritage sites in the west and centre of Ukraine (AEPJ Ukrainian Route of Jewish Heritage, 2022: online).

Building on this work and making it practically accessible to visitors are the businesses which offer 'roots and remembrance' tourism in Ukraine. Pre-pandemic, Jewish tourism played an important role in Ukraine's tourism profile. Israelis were the third largest national grouping of tourists after Russian and Polish visitors. In Chernivtsi, Jewish heritage is mainly the goal for those engaging in roots and remembrance tourism. Jewish Family Search is based in Lviv and offers genealogical research and roots and remembrance tours based on that research. Jewish Family Search differentiate their tourist offer through local engagement in communities: 'we know how to approach and speak with the local people, whether the subject is booking an accommodation or discovering or inquiring about remembrances related to your family... we know how to open their hearts and bring back their memories' (Jewish Family Search, 2022: online). Working in English, Ukrainian, Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish, Jewish Family Search understands the international nature of Jewish cemetery tourism, and that



Ukrainian Jewish diasporic communities have a desire to experience ancestral places as much as know the genealogical details.

A new form of Jewish heritage tourism has started to emerge recently. In 2018, UJE published an article entitled, “Nostalgic tourism”: Why do foreign Jews go to Western Ukraine?” (Briman, 2018: online). This article discussed several examples of roots and remembrance tourism, also coined as ‘nostalgic tourism’, by Bohdana Brukhliy, chief specialist of culture and tourism of the Korets district state administration. The article noted how some Ukrainian district authorities have started working with diasporic organisations to foster tourism within a framework of commemoration and education. Local educational institutions and museums engage in mounting events, alongside offering tours of heritage locations and dialogue between visitors and residents.

Tour guiding around Ukraine’s Jewish heritage

Tour guiding around sites of Jewish heritage in Ukraine was an established activity, both as part of commercially organised tours and for private hire. ‘Tours by Locals’ offered Jewish-themed tours of Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa. At least eight individuals offered guiding around Kharkiv’s Jewish heritage sites before the recent War (Vadym Miroshnychenko, 2022). In Chernivtsi, a wide range of Jewish-themed tours were available including tours of the Jewish cemetery. These could be booked through the local tourism bureau or the Museum of Jewish History or by private arrangement. Chernivtsi National University, the Museum of Jewish History and the Synagogue ‘on Barbyus’ offered formal training in tour guiding for Jewish heritage (Olha Skobeeva, 2022). In the Rivne region, private tour guides, and a representative of the Jewish community, offer guiding services in Ukrainian and English (Petro Dolhanov, 2022). Some tour guides offered bespoke tours, using their local knowledge and communal links to trace locations which have been obscured or which have totally vanished (for example, Oleksandr Kovalchuk at Jewish Travel Agency, 2022: online).

Conclusion

The developing commercial infrastructure for Jewish cultural and heritage tourism in Ukraine demonstrates the market is expanding. This activity extends from larger-scale group tours which travel to key sites, Jewish and non-Jewish across the country, to private tours for roots and remembrance groups and independent travellers. Expertise is being developed in Ukraine, which can meet the needs of the expanding market. Certainly, the wealth of archive material and historical research available, together with genealogical data, all provide diverse starting points for developing new and engaging ways of interpreting and making accessible tangible and intangible Ukrainian Jewish heritage. However, the extent that local communities are engaging in the growth of Jewish cultural and heritage tourism is not clear. Understanding the ongoing value that Jewish heritage provides to local communities is crucial for local residents to engage in beneficial ways with visitors.

10.5 THE NATURE OF CEMETERY TOURISM PROMOTION

General cemetery tourism

Cemetery tourism occurs in some parts of Ukraine. No cemetery is yet a member of the Association of Significant European Cemeteries or on the European Cemetery Route, but some cemeteries have developed their profiles as heritage attractions. The nationally significant Baikove Cemetery in Kyiv

and Lychakiv Cemetery in Lviv feature on tourist websites and as part of commercial tour itineraries. The Lychakiv necropolis is a ‘State History and Culture Museum-Preserve’ with its own website (Ukrainian and English: see below 10.7, which features in tourist guides and on websites such as Lviv Ecotour. Lychakiv Cemetery is especially visited by members of Lviv’s Polish diaspora, seeking ancestral connections with a place from which the Polish population was relocated dictated by the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and post-war ethnic relocations (Godis and Nilsson, 2016, 12). Private tour guides offer walks around both of these cemeteries, including evening walks by lantern at Lychakiv Cemetery.

There are other cemeteries in Ukraine which have developed profiles aimed at particular types of visitors. For example, the Polish Cemetery at Zvenyhorodka is preserved and promoted as the burial site of Polish-Lithuanian soldiers who died resisting the Russian Empire’s annexation of the area in 1792 (Argotour, 2022: online). The city also has significant Jewish heritage, with a Jewish cemetery and mass grave site.

Jewish cemetery tourism

Ukraine’s Jewish cemetery heritage is spread over more than half of the country’s 11,518 communities, each of which is ultimately responsible for the promotion of its local heritage. Lack of awareness of the significance (and potential value) of a historic Jewish cemetery is a major challenge to improving the future of the cemeteries through visitor activity (Petro Dolhanov, 2022). A city centre location, good maintenance and a high state of preservation are seen as the keys to a Jewish cemetery being a successful visitor destination (Vadym Miroshnychenko, 2022). More engagement to encourage tourists to visit cemetery sites is needed, although some local museums do take a lead in promotion, for example in Chernivtsi, Kharkiv, Lutsk and Rivne.

It is recognised that the education system is a vital tool for encouraging positive local interest, building local understanding and training future experts and entrepreneurs who might design solutions to recover and promote the country’s Jewish cemetery heritage. The European Jewish Cemeteries Initiative (ESJF) has begun addressing this with its teacher-focused awareness-raising programme, but there remains much work to be done at a national level (ESJF, 2022: online; Tetiana Fedoriv, 2022).

Recent commercial and public institutional work has taken place to incorporate cemeteries into Ukraine’s Jewish heritage offer. For example, the US-based Jewish Travel Agency includes visits to cemeteries as part of its Ukrainian tours and has photographs of some historic cemeteries and *matzevot* on its website. Ukraine-based Argotour offers a variety of tours which include visits to Jewish cemeteries, amongst other heritage sites. Local tour operator Prokarpaty offers Jewish cemetery tours in the far south-west of the country in Ukrainian and Russian. These examples above demonstrate that Jewish cemeteries can attract interest from potential clients. However, both easy access to these cemeteries and their often poor physical condition are major challenges for building on the work that has been undertaken at the higher profile sites mentioned below. It is recognised that increased visitor activity can result in increased funding, which can be directed to the preservation and maintenance of sites. However, constant and uncontrolled visitor activity can cause damage which then needs to be put right, increasing the maintenance and management costs (Olha Skobeeva, 2022).

The historic Jewish cemeteries in Berditchev, Brody, Busk, Kyiv, Odessa, Tulchyn, Vishnitz and Zhytomyr are featured in several commercial tours, which include visits to the graves of significant spiritual teachers such as the tombs of Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav in Uman and Rabbi Levi Yitzhak in Berditchev. There is no assumption that those interested in such tours have religious motivations, or necessarily know why these tombs or cemeteries are important. Some tour websites explain to

prospective clients why places have religious significance (e.g. Krakow Travel, 2022: online; Momentum Tours, 2022: online). An organised visit to a cemetery might therefore have an aspect of learning or enlightenment to it.

The Ukrainian section of the website JGuideEurope features several of the key historic Jewish cemeteries and sites of trauma and tragedy associated with the Shoah, which are all located in western Ukraine. This guide gives details of cemeteries and monuments to the unnamed dead with some history (as at Medzhybizh, ‘the new Jewish cemetery ... whose graves date from the late 19th century to 1941.’), a sense of the aesthetic appeal (as at Berditchev, ‘impressive, with beautiful old graves often overgrown with vegetation’) or noting where there has been neglect or damage (as at the Sosenki Memorial in Rivne, ‘the inscription was defaced in 1998, and the monument also lost its most original feature: a line of metal characters seeming to sink into the earth. All that remains today are stelae surrounding the mass grave bearing the names of the dead in Yiddish’). The visitor is given some idea of why a cemetery is worth visiting, and what to expect when there (JGuideEurope, 2022: online).

Matzevot and archival photographs are sometimes used by museums to highlight erased cemetery sites. The Jewish Museum of Odessa displays *matzevot* dating back to the eighteenth century, salvaged from the city’s obliterated Jewish cemeteries.

Tour guiding at historic Jewish cemeteries

Private tours, which include visits to historic Jewish cemeteries as part of Jewish-themed walks are developing. Municipalities are beginning to collaborate with professional development institutions to incorporate Jewish heritage into official tour guide training, for example in Lutsk in 2018 (Oksana Syshchyk, 2022). Future expansion is dependent on an adequate number of professional experts to train specialised guides, and the availability of appropriate research which enable them to develop their tourist products (Petro Dolhanov, 2022). Private tours are advertised on the internet in English for Jewish cemeteries in Berditchev, Chernivtsi, Drohobych, Kyiv, Lviv, and Odessa. In addition, the website Shtetl Routes supplies the independent traveller to former Jewish *shtetls* in western Ukraine with detailed information and guidance including details on the non-Jewish heritage in the area, recognising the diversity of traditions and heritages in a particular place. There is an awareness that the quality of tour design is an important factor in building audiences: ‘If the excursion is well designed, has an interesting programme based on the historical past and personal stories about famous personalities, has a creative colour – they are interesting not only to tourists of Jewish origin, but also to ordinary citizens’ (Olha Skobeeva, 2022).

Conclusion

The rich cemetery heritage of Ukraine makes collaborative initiatives possible, which allow places to tell stories and allow different voices from the past and present to be heard. Zvenyhorodka Cemetery is significant to the Ukrainian national story as both a place of resistance and as a place with a significant Jewish heritage. The Polish Cemetery, Jewish cemetery and mass grave site all tell stories of the place and how a community has been shaped. Similarly, Shtetl Routes promotes the Jewish heritage of western Ukraine within a context of other heritages which share the space, giving a fuller picture of Ukraine’s diverse heritage. Schools and colleges are the ideal institutions where local knowledge and understanding among the next generations about Jewish cemeteries can be built. Initiatives to enhance and promote sites as visitor destinations need professional involvement which can involve young professionals and those in vocational training to design and implement programmes on their local Jewish heritage. The educational system is central to this work.

10.6 THE NATURE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Sustainable tourism, known in Ukraine as ‘rural green tourism’, is at an early stage of development, although that potential has been recognised (Panchenko et al, 2018:20; Shevchenko and Petrusenko, 2021:1). The National Tourism Organisation of Ukraine (NTOU) is the state agency responsible for co-ordinating the country’s implementation of the tourism aspects of the UN Sustainable Development Goals. It has published guidance and development tools online (NTOU, 2022: online). The pandemic and war have curtailed further development in the last three years. Frameworks for regulating environmentally viable and futureproofed tourism and providing sectorial professional development are not yet in place in Ukraine within which successful and ecologically sound tourism can further develop (Haponenko et al, 2021:10). Although ‘folk architecture’ and ‘ethnic peculiarities’ are referred to as being of potential for developing responsible rural tourism (Panchenko et al, 2018:10), Jewish heritage does not seem to have been especially identified.

10.7 USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

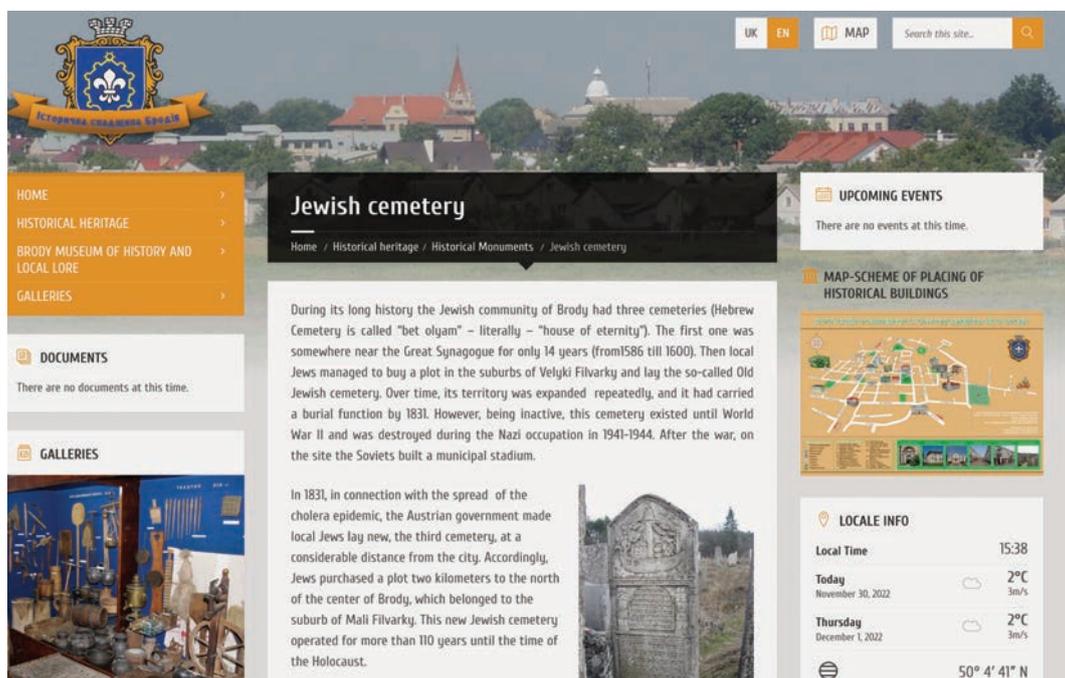
Use of website-based, virtual and downloadable guides

In its section on Ukraine, the website JGuideEurope features several of the key historic Jewish cemeteries and sites of trauma and tragedy associated with the Shoah. All are in western Ukraine. Each site is geo-located on an interactive map. Visitor information is not given.

Lychakiv Cemetery in Lviv’s website is a strong model for Ukraine’s larger Jewish cemeteries. Within, the history and significance of the site is explored alongside information on who is interred there and art-historical information about the funerary memorials. Visitor information is provided (directions, prices, times, maps, high quality images etc.) alongside details of the traditions and etiquette of visiting a Jewish cemetery.

Brody’s Jewish Cemetery features on the city of Brody’s heritage and tourism website. A full history and description of the site is given, with details of some notable interments.

City of Brody heritage and tourism website



The Shtetl Routes website shows how new technologies can be employed to engage audiences virtually, provide information and guide those touring these sites on the ground. Cemetery sites in towns such as Belz, Kremenets and Pidhaisti are incorporated in both an online and pdf guidebook, which tourists can download and consult on their journeys. Information about locations, histories of the cemeteries, photographs and notable stories of those interred are included, alongside information about other Jewish and non-Jewish sites, which might be of interest to the *shtetl* tourist. The website incorporates ‘virtual tours’ of former *shtetls*, with 3D reconstructions of the *shtetl*’s layout and of some significant synagogues. The tourist can therefore imaginatively explore these now vanished places. This is a longer-term and expensive project, but one which hopefully will enable a new generation to engage with their Ukrainian Jewish heritage.

The interactive web-based multimedia project ‘Babyn Yar: memory against history’s background’ is a multi-agency initiative by Kyiv History Museum, Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, Ukrainian Jewish Encounter Initiative (Canada), Public Committee for Commemorating of Babyn Yar Victims and Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies. The site presents the permanent Babyn Yar museum in a virtual space, which can therefore be explored at a distance. It includes video and audio resources and has specific guidance for teachers using these in the classroom (Babyn Yar Virtual Exhibition, 2022: online). This web-based multimedia project is a strong example of a project that has the potential to reach wide international audiences, and excite younger audiences of potential visitors, both in Ukraine and elsewhere, through its English language portal.

An NGO, The Center for Studies of Memory Policy and Public History “Mnemonics”, Centropa and the US Embassy in Ukraine have collaborated on a web-based project ‘The Museum of One Street,’ which explores the Jewish experience of a single street in Rivne. Each place described on the website has an onscreen QR code which enables visitors to experience augmented reality in that place led by three children presented as a game of hide and seek while telling their stories through audio. Archive photographs and maps allow further interpretation and understanding of the sites. This format might easily be reproduced or extended to include cemetery sites.

Centropa has produced a pioneering audiowalk for the town of Chernivtsi which includes the Jewish cemetery. This combination of map, text, audio and photography (archive and contemporary) can be used virtually by ‘armchair visitors,’ or onsite using a smartphone in Chernivtsi. Some sites have audio testimony from Holocaust survivors, although the audio for the cemetery is a factual description. This could be enriched with stories from family archives or genealogical research.

Use of social media

The Bolechow Facebook group aims to build international relations and work proactively to preserve and promote the town’s Jewish heritage. The Czernowitz Jewish Cemetery Facebook group similarly presents itself as a place of exchange with the aim of preserving the cemetery for the future. A combination of up-to-date photographs and news stories enable those leading these groups to generate interest.

A search in English has not revealed any Instagram accounts for Jewish cemeteries in Ukraine. Through using tagging and geolocation tools, images by visitors to Chernivtsi and Lychakiv Cemeteries were found. Tagging is useful but not as effective as having a dedicated account for a site. There may be others which are accessible to those searching in Ukrainian. Instagram could be used to promote historic Jewish cemetery sites amongst potential visitors who engage with visuals more than written or text-based promotion. Some Ukrainian museums have an Instagram presence (for example through

the museumsofukraine account). Instagram offers stakeholders the potential to reach new visitor groups, and to allow visitors to generate interest through their own sharing of tagged images.

Conclusion

This limited survey has revealed the exciting potential of the development of more and new tools and resources for both Ukrainian and international tourists. The wealth of research and archival resources available can be used to improve content for the interpretation and ways of experiencing the Jewish cemetery heritage across the country. For example, the concept and technology developed for the audiowalk pioneered by Centropa in Czernowitz could be replicated elsewhere. Jewish cemetery sites can create Instagram profiles, perhaps as part of wider heritage accounts for particular towns or areas.

10.8 JEWISH CEMETERY TOURISM IN UKRAINE: KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local communities and their representative bodies (which sometimes seek to be custodians of local memory and to maintain Jewish cemetery sites) need to be involved in the process of developing Jewish heritage tourism across the country. This will involve local or regional initiatives to grow understanding in the local community of how significant Jewish heritage still is to people within and beyond Ukraine, and why it is of ongoing value to the community. The formal education process has a crucial role in this: local schools and colleges are the ideal vehicle for creating local interest and knowledge, from which other work can springboard.
- Tour guiding by locals at sites of Jewish heritage tourism is one way for economic benefits of tourism to accrue within the local community. Furthermore, it is a way for visitors to hear local voices tell stories and interpret the history of their local communities. Initiatives and networks need to be encouraged to train and support tour guides to engage visitors with Jewish cemetery heritage as integral to the local community and its landscape. This work requires subject experts to train guides to understand the Jewish cemetery as part of a wider community, its place in Judaism, and to research local histories and stories.
- There is scope for more use of social media in the promotion of Ukraine's Jewish cemetery sites. Heritage tourism networks and cross-border heritage initiatives could share good practice in the deployment of social media. This will enable those leading on Jewish cemetery projects in Ukraine to adopt high-impact low cost digital solutions to promoting their cemetery sites to diverse audiences in Ukraine and beyond.
- Developing out of this, the energy and creativity of Ukraine's 'digital natives' could be harnessed to create new interpretive tools to promote Ukraine's Jewish heritage, historic cemeteries and places of trauma and tragedy in particular. These can be used as part of programmes to restore, research and sustain sites and memory for the future.
- Collaboration between stakeholders in municipalities, heritage associations and cemetery volunteers can facilitate the creation of a social media presence that promotes all of the heritage and

cultural sites in one town or area. This might include, in addition to the Jewish cemeteries, local museums, places of worship and historic buildings. Furthermore, collaboration is one way to address issues of improving accessibility and regularising maintenance which by their nature involve several stakeholders.

- Collaborative initiatives were already emerging which focused on Jewish heritage before the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The current emergency can be used as an opportunity to advertise the existence of Ukraine's rich Jewish heritage and galvanise and enrich networks and collaborations for future work.





Aliyah the permanent return of a Jewish person to Israel (Hebrew)

Ashkenazi Central and Eastern European Jews (Yiddish)

Chassid Jewish ultra-Orthodox person from the Chassidic sect, which originated in Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth century (Yiddish)

landsmanshaft (pl. *landsmanshaftn*) association or group of people who originate from the same town, village or region but who live elsewhere (Yiddish)

matzevah (pl. *matzevot*) gravestone marking a Jewish burial (Hebrew)

ohel (pl. *ohelim*) prayer room erected over the grave of a Jewish notable (Hebrew)

shtetl a town or large village with a significant Ashkenazi Jewish population which existed in Eastern Europe before the Shoah (Yiddish)

yahrzeit (also *yorzeit*) the yearly anniversary of a loved one's death (Yiddish)

12.1 ONLINE RESOURCES REFERRED TO IN TEXT

Georgia**AEPJ Jewish Heritage Cultural Route in Georgia**

<https://jewishheritage.org/jewish-heritage-cultural-routes-in-georgia>

European Route of Jewish Heritage in Georgia <https://jewishroute.com>

Georgian National Museum http://museum.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=44

Hillel Tbilisi <https://www.hillel.org/college-guide/list/record/tbilisi>

Israeli House Interactive Map <https://www.israelihouse.net/route>

Nana Luckham, Responsible Travel in Georgia

<https://www.responsibletravel.com/holidays/georgia/travel-guide/responsible-tourism-in-georgia>

Hungary

ARtour <https://ar-tour.com/guides/salgtarjni-street-jewish-cemetery/salgtarjni-street-cemetery-entry.aspx>

Balassagyarmat Jewish Cemetery

<http://www.balassagyarmatizsidóság.hu/en/galeria/jewish-orthodox-cemetery>

Budapest Jewish Walk <https://budapestjewishwalk.hu/>

Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis <https://footstepsofwonderrabbis.com/en>

Footsteps of the Wonder Rabbis – Digital Collection

<https://footstepsofwonderrabbis.com/en/library/cemeteries>

Goldziher Institute <https://goldziherintezet.hu>

GuideMe app: Kozma street, Budapest <https://guideme.hu/place/cemetery-of-kozma-street/>

Haver Informal Jewish Foundation <http://haver.hu/english>

Hungary Jewish Tours <https://www.hungarianjewishtours.com/>

Jewish Visitors Service (Hungary) <http://jewishvisitorservice.com/about-us/>

Mazsök <https://mazsok.hu/eng/index.html>

Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery <http://zsidotemeto.nori.gov.hu/en/home>

Szeged Jewish Cemetery (video) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MGki5s_7laU

Tiszafüred Menorah Foundation <https://timena.hu/>

Tom Lantos Institute <https://tomlantosinstitute.hu>

Zarandokut Debrecen http://www.dzsh.hu/zarandokut/content/en/pilgrimage_sites_in_debrecen
(guidebook available to download at <http://www.dzsh.hu/userfiles/file/Kiadvany.pdf>)

Zsidó Közösségi Fórum (ZSKF) <https://akibic.hu/kibicek/>

Lithuania

- Jewish Heritage Lithuania** <https://www.jewish-heritage-lithuania.org>
- Lithuania Real is Beautiful** <https://www.lithuania.travel/en/category/ecotourism>
- Litvak Shtetls** <https://litvakshetls.com>
- Lost Shtetl Šeduva** <https://lostshetl.lt/en/>
- Maceva** <http://www.litvak-cemetery.info>
- OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2020: Lithuania**
<https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/e314c4fa-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/e314c4fa-en>
- Vilkaviskis Project** <http://www.jewishvilkaviskis.org/index.html>
- Vilkaviskis Project Blog** <https://salingerblog.wordpress.com/author/ralphs11/page/5/>

Moldova

- The Green Pick** <https://www.thegreenpick.com/moldova-overlooked-destination/>
- Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova (JCM)** <https://jcm.md/en/about-us/>
- Jewish Memory** <http://jewishmemory.md/en/>
- JewishGen Kehila Links Moldova** <https://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/Romania.html>
- Maghid** <https://www.maghid.org>
- Moldova Travel** <https://moldova.travel/en/rural-tourism/>

Poland

- Argotour** <http://argotourua.com/tours/polish-cemetery-in-zvenyhorodka/>
- Brodno Beit Almin-Eternal Home**
<https://warszawa.jewish.org.pl/en/for-visitors/warsaw/brodno/>;
<https://warszawa.jewish.org.pl/en/beit-almin-eternal-home/>
- CULTURE.PL** <https://culture.pl/en/article/unusual-polish-cemeteries>
- FODZ** <https://www.wmf.org/polands-chassidic-route>
- Forum for Dialogue** <http://dialog.org.pl/en/>
- Guide-Poland** <http://www.guide-poland.com>
- Jewish Records Indexing Poland** <https://jri-poland.org>
- National Institute for Cultural Heritage** <https://zabytek.pl>
- Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews** <https://polin.pl/en>

Polin Tours <https://jewish-guide.pl>

Righting A Wrong Bialystok <http://bialystokcemeteryrestoration.org/>

TripAdvisor Poland Cemeteries

<https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attractions-g274723-Activities-c47-t7-Poland.html>

Zapomniane <https://zapomniane.org/en/>

Slovakia

Chabad Slovakia <https://www.chabadslovakia.com>

Chatam Sofer Memorial <http://www.chatamsofer.sk/home/>

Jewish Bratislava <http://www.jewishbratislava.sk/home/>

JewishCemetery.sk <http://www.jewishcemetery.sk>

Košice Tourist Portal <https://www.keturist.sk/info/zaujímavosti/zidovske-kosice/>

OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2020: Slovak Republic

<https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/gfd7108d-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/gfd7108d-en>

OZ Pro Memory Facebook, Spišská Nová Ves <https://www.facebook.com/OZpromemory>

The Slovak Spectator <https://spectator.sme.sk>

Slovak Jewish Heritage Center

http://www.slovak-jewish-heritage.org/_old/slovak-jewish-heritage-center.php

Ústav Pamäti Národa/Nation's Memory Institute

<https://www.upn.gov.sk/data/files/SKL-HOLOKAUST-EN-web.pdf>

UZŽNO <https://zidianaslovensku.sk/cintoriny/>

Visit Bratislava <https://www.visitbratislava.com/jewish-bratislava/>

Ukraine

AEPJ Ukrainian Route of Jewish Heritage

<https://jewishheritage.org/ukrainian-route-of-jewish-heritage>

Babyn Yar Virtual Exhibition <https://memory.kby.kiev.ua>

Brody Jewish Cemetery

<https://www.brodyhistory.org.ua/en/historical-heritage/historical-monuments/jewish-cemetery/>

Chernivtsi Jewish Cemetery Restoration Organisation <https://cicro.org>

JewishGen Ukraine RD <https://www.jewishgen.org/ukraine/>

Lviv Ecotour <https://lvicecotour.com>

Lychakiv Cemetery <https://viv-lychakiv.com.ua/en/>

Museum of One Street <https://mnemonika.org.ua/en/museum>

Museums of Ukraine Instagram Account

<https://instagram.com/museumsofukraine?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

National Tourism Organisation of Ukraine (NTOU)

https://www.ntoukraine.org/sustainabletourism_ua.html

Prokarpaty <https://prokarpaty-tour.info/uk/mesta-evreiskoy-istorii-zakarpattie/>

Rohatyn Jewish Heritage <https://rohatynjewishheritage.org/en/>

Ukrainian Jewish Encounter <https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/>

VAAD <https://www.vaadua.org/content/association-jewish-organizations-and-communities-vaad>

Vilkhivtsi Municipality <https://vilhovecka.gromada.org.ua/news/1606466214/>

Transnational

2020/21 Centropa/ESJF Youth Storytelling Competitions

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGRgYDTm3pM>

Association of European Jewish Museums <https://www.aejm.org/>

Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe

<https://www.significantcemeteries.org/p/significant-cemeteries.html>

Centropa: Ten Polish Cities <https://www.10polishcities.centropa.org/>

Council of Europe European Cemeteries Route

<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-european-cemeteries-route>

Council of Europe Jewish Heritage

<https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/jewish-heritage>

Clio Muse Tours <https://cliomusetours.com/>

ESJF Education <https://www.esjf-cemeteries.org/education/>

European Jewish Congress (Ukraine) <https://eurojewcong.org/communities/ukraine/>

Facing History and Ourselves <https://www.facinghistory.org/about-us>

Forgotten Cemeteries <http://trobial.pulawy.pl/>

Gesher Galicia <https://www.geshergalicia.org/>

Goodwill Foundation <https://gvf.lt/en/about-us/>

Heritage Springs <https://heritagespgs.org/>

Institute for Jewish Policy Research <https://www.jpr.org.uk>

The International Ecotourism Society <https://ecotourism.org/ties-overview/>

Jewish Family Search <http://jewishfamilysearch.com/>

Jewish Galicia and Bukovina <http://jgaliciabukovina.net/>

JewishGen <https://www.jewishgen.org>

Jewish Travel Agency
<https://jewishtravelagency.com/product/ukraine-jewish-heritage-tours-with-sasha-kovalchuk/>

JewsEurasia <http://jewseurasia.org/page426>

JGuideEurope <https://jguideeurope.org/en/region/>

Live Virtual Tours <https://www.toursbylocals.com/Live-Virtual-Tours>

Living Stones Association https://www.facebook.com/LivingStonesAssociation/about/?ref=page_internal

Miriam Weiner Routes to Roots Foundation <https://www.rtrfoundation.org/index.shtml>

NPERF <https://www.NPERF.com>

Orthodox Jewish Heritage Route of Eastern Hungary <https://zsidooroksegutja.hu/en/>

Parallel Traces <https://paralleltraces.eu/>

Rashi and the Jewish Heritage in Champagne
<https://www.aube-champagne.com/fr/portfolio-post/rachi/>

REDISCOVER <https://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects/rediscover>

Religiana <https://religiana.com/>

Shtetl Routes <https://shtetlroutes.eu/en/>

The Together Plan <https://thetogetherplan.com/>

Trans.History <https://trans-history.centropa.org/about-the-project/>

URBACT <https://urbact.eu/toolbox-home>

The Wandering Jews – Jewish Travel Forum <https://www.facebook.com/groups/6911331386/>

World Jewish Congress <https://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en>

Yad Vashem <https://www.yadvashem.org>

Yivo Encyclopedia of the Jews in Eastern Europe <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/default.aspx>

12.2 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akhmedova, Maryana (2022) 'Over 91,000 Israelis visited Georgia in 2021.' *Jerusalem Post* 16th December 2021 [online] [Accessed 14 May 2022] <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/over-91000-israelis-visited-georgia-in-2021-688930>
- American-Israeli Co-operative Enterprise (2022) 'Georgia Virtual Jewish History Tour.' *Jewish Virtual Library* [online] [Accessed 14 May 2022] <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/georgia-virtual-jewish-history-tour>
- Antal, Ágnes (2022) *Interview with Dora Darvas* 23 May 2022.
- Aslanishvili, Ketevan (2022) *Interview with Teona Dalakishvili* 2 June 2022.
- Barker, Eloise (2022) 'Responsible Tourism in Slovakia'. *Responsible Travel*. [online] [accessed 29 September 2022] <https://www.responsibletravel.com/holidays/slovakia/travel-guide/responsible-tourism>
- Bechtel, Delphine (2016) 'Remembrance tourism in former multicultural Galicia: The revival of the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands.' *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 16(3), pp. 206–222.
- Borský, Maroš (2022) *Email to Paul Darby* 5 December 2022.
- Briman, Shimon (2018) "'Nostalgic tourism": Why do foreign Jews go to Western Ukraine?' *Ukrainian Jewish Encounter* 6 August 2018 [online] [Accessed 7 October 2022] <https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/news/nostalgic-tourism-why-do-foreign-jews-go-to-western-ukraine/>
- Bubnys, Arūnas (2004). 'The Holocaust in Lithuania: An Outline of the Major Stages and Their Results'. In Nikžentaitis, Alvydas; Schreiner, Stefan and Staliūnas, Darius (eds.) *The Vanished World of Lithuanian Jews*. Leiden: Brill.
- Carmel, Philip, Gruber, Ruth Ellen, Szemző, Hanna, Tönkö, Andrea and Vonnák, Diána (2020) *Jewish Cemeteries and Sustainable Protection: the ESJF handbook of sustainable heritage tourism*. Frankfurt: ESJF.
- Central Statistical Office (2011) *Rural areas in Poland, regional and environmental surveys division*. Warsaw: GUS. [online] [Accessed 12 August 2022] http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/af_rural_areas_in_poland_2010.pdf
- Central Statistical Office (2022) *Share of individuals using social networks in Poland from 2016 to 2021*. Statista Inc. [online] [Accessed 12 August 2022] <https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/1224285/poland-share-of-people-using-social-media/>
- Corsale, Andrea (2021a) 'Issues and Changes Related to Dissonant Heritage: a Case from Jewish and Polish Heritage in the Small Towns of Western Ukraine.' *Tourism Planning and Development*, 18(4) pp. 479–487. DOI: 10.1080/21568316.2020.1825521.

Corsale, Andrea (2021b) 'Jewish Heritage Tourism in Krakow. Authenticity and Commodification Issues.' *Tourism and Hospitality*, 2(1) pp. 140–152. DOI: 10.3390/tourhosp2010008.

Corsale, Andrea and Vuytsyk, Olha (2018) 'Jewish heritage tourism between memories and strategies. Different approaches from Lviv, Ukraine.' *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21(5) pp. 583–598. DOI: 10.1080/13683500.2015.1103210.

Czupryński, Jakub (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 24 June 2022.

Dolhanov, Petro (2022) *Interview with Andriy Koshelnyk* August 2022.

'dominus_matthaeus' (2018) *Introspective must in Budapest*. 16 August 2018. TripAdvisor [online] [Accessed 12 September 2022] https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g274887-d12926781-r606937188-Salgotarjani_Street_Jewish_Cemetery-Budapest_Central_Hungary.html#review606937188

Domnich, Anna (2022) *Email to Paul Darby* 25 October 2022.

Dlhopolec, Peter (2021) 'Cemetery continues telling the story of Spiš Jews'. *The Slovak Spectator* 18 December 2021. [online] [accessed 28 September 2020] <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/22803950/cemetery-continues-telling-the-story-of-spis-jews.html>

Drotár, Nikolett and Kozma, Gábor (2022) 'A New Element of Tourism in North-Eastern Part of Hungary – Steps to Attract Jewish Pilgrims to Tokaj-Hegyalja Region.' *Folia Geographica*, 63(1) pp. 19–39.

Duda-Seifert, Magdalena (2022) *Email to Paul Darby* 4 May 2022.

Duda-Seifert, Magdalena and Kajdanek, Katarzyna (2021) 'The experience and satisfaction of visiting a Jewish heritage site in the context of cultural and Jewish heritage tourism. Evidence from Krakow, Poland.' *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 20(1) pp. 419–435. DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2021.1956508.

ESJF (2020a) *Country Report: Lithuania*. Frankfurt: ESJF.

ESJF (2020b) *Country Report: Slovakia*. Frankfurt: ESJF.

ESJF (2020c) *Country Report: Ukraine*. Frankfurt: ESJF.

ESJF (2020d) *Country Report: Moldova*. Frankfurt: ESJF.

Fedoriv, Tetiana (2022) *Interview with Andriy Koshelnyk* August 2022.

Godis, Nataliia and Nilsson, Jan Henrik (2016) 'Memory tourism in a contested landscape: exploring identity discourses in Lviv, Ukraine' *Current Issues in Tourism*, 2016 pp. 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/13683500.2016.1216529

- Gruber, Ruth Ellen (2007) *Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to Eastern Europe*. Washington DC: National Geographic.
- Hămuraru, Maria and Buzdugan, Adriana (2019) 'The potential of the development of ecotourism in the Republic of Moldova through the prism of national tourist areas'. *Modern Management Review*, 26(2/2019) pp. 7–14. DOI: 10.7862/rz.2019.mmr.9.
- Hanshaw, Dan (2021) 'Efforts to Boost Sustainable Tourism in Poland.' *Solimar International Blog*, 28 October 2021. [online] [Accessed 12 August 2022] <https://www.solimarinternational.com/efforts-to-boost-sustainable-tourism-in-poland/>
- Haponenko, Hanna; Yevtushenko, Olena; Shamara, Irina (2021) *Problemi Ekonomiki* 1(47) pp. 4–10. DOI: 10.32983/2222-0712-2021-1-4-10.
- House, Danielle (2020) 'Cemeteries as public space under the Covid-19 lockdown' CEMI-HERA blog 23 April 2020 [online] [Accessed 9 October 2022] <https://cemi-hera.org/cemeteries-as-public-space-under-the-covid-19-lockdown/>
- Hungarian Central Statistical Office (2021). *Internet penetration rate in Hungary from 2010 to 2021* [Graph]. In Statista [Accessed 13 September 2022] <https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/1123184/hungary-internet-penetration-rate/>
- Hungarian Tourist Authority (2021) *National Tourism Development Strategy 2030*. [online] [Accessed 12 September 2022] https://mtu.gov.hu/documents/prod/mtu_strategia_2030-english.pdf
- Jewish Heritage Europe (2018) 'Ukraine: Drone video of newly restored roof of Chernivtsi pre-burial house.' 12 February 2018. [online] [Accessed 4 November 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2018/02/12/ukraine-drone-video-of-newly-restored-roof-of-chernivtsi-pre-burial-house/>
- Jewish Heritage Europe (2021a) 'Poland: App launched to help volunteers (including tourists) document "forgotten cemeteries" (of all denominations) in Poland.' 6 August 2021. [online] [Accessed 27 April 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2021/08/06/poland-cemetery-documentation-app>
- Jewish Heritage Europe (2021b) 'Poland: Marking Jewish cemeteries with QR codes.' 14 October 2021. [online] [Accessed 27 April 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2021/10/14/poland-marking-jewish-cemeteries>
- Jewish Heritage Europe (2022a) *Hungary Update: the new Orthodox Jewish Heritage Tourism Route in Eastern Hungary is completed*. 1 April 2022. [online] [Accessed 27 April 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2022/04/01/hungary-update-orthodox-tourism-route/>
- Jewish Heritage Europe (2022b) *Recovery of long-buried matzevot in Białystok is complete: 120 matzevot dating back the early to mid 19th century were discovered*. 23 August 2022. [online] [Accessed 24 August 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2022/08/23/poland-update-bialystok-recovery-completed/>

Jewish Heritage Europe (2022c) *A return visit to the Balatonfüred Jewish cemetery – four years after we previewed its about-to-begin restoration*. 1 September 2022. [online] [Accessed 3 September 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2022/09/01/hungary-update-balatonfured-cemetery/>

Jewish Heritage Europe (2022d) *Lithuania: Another stairway in Vilnius built of Jewish gravestones in Soviet times is being dismantled*. 17 July 2022. [online] [Accessed 18 July 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2022/07/17/lithuania-gravestones-stairs/>

Jewish Heritage Europe (2022e) *UN and EU supported conservation work on the monumental ruins of the 18th century synagogue in Raşcov have been completed*. [online] [Accessed 12 October 2022] <https://jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2022/10/12/moldova-update-conservation-synagogue-in-rascov/>

Jignea, Clara; Kopansky, Yakov and Shoikhet, Semion (1999) 'The Jews of Moldova,' Weiner, Miriam (ed) *Jewish Roots in Ukraine and Moldova*. New Jersey: Routes to Roots Foundation.

Jurenienė, Virginija, and Radzevičius, Martynas (2022) 'Peculiarities of Sustainable Cultural Development: A Case of Dark Tourism in Lithuania.' *Journal of Risk and Financial Management* 15(264), pp. 1–26. DOI: 10.3390/jrfm15060264.

Kamin, Blair (2020) 'Graceland Cemetery is an unexpected green oasis, with architecture galore. Don't miss these monuments.' *Chicago Herald Tribune* 4 May 2020 [online] [Accessed 9 October 2020] <https://www.chicagotribune.com/columns/blair-kamin/ct-biz-graceland-cemetery-kamin-20200504-goumtpkqjep7cpcsfpwis7pce-story.html>

Kanovich, Sergey *Interview with Paul Darby* 5 August 2022.

Kapanadze, Nana (2022) *Interview with Teona Dalakishvili* 5 June 2022.

Kapera, Izabela (2018) 'Sustainable tourism development efforts by local governments in Poland.' *Sustainable Cities and Society* 40 (2018), pp. 581–588.

Klein, Rudolf (2011) 'Budapest's Jewish Cemeteries – a Short Survey of Their Art, Architecture and Historical Significance.' *Jüdische Friedhöfe und Bestattungskultur in Europa* 53(2011), pp. 105–111 DOI: 10.11588/jh.2011.0.20220.

Kosmaczewska, Joanna, Thomas, Rhodri and Dias, Francisco (2015) 'Residents' perceptions of tourism and their implications for policy development: evidence from rural Poland.' *Community Development* 47(1) pp. 136–151. DOI: 10.1080/15575330.2015.1110189.

Kotlyar, E. (2011) *Jewish Kharkov: A Guidebook*. Kharkov: Centre for Eastern Studies.

Lakner, Z., Kiss, A., Merlet, I., Oláh, J., Máté, D., Grabara, J. and Popp, J. (2018) 'Building Coalitions for a Diversified and Sustainable Tourism: Two Case Studies from Hungary.' *Sustainability*, 10(4) pp. 10–90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10041090>.

- Lehrer, Erica (2010) 'Can There Be a Conciliatory Heritage?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(4–5) pp. 269–288.
- Lehrer, Erica (2013) *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.
- Light, Duncan (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 16 May 2022.
- Litwin, Weronika, Mańko, Marianna, Mańko, Sławomir (2008) *Ustrzyki Dolne Chassidic Route*. Translated by Maciej Gugąła 2008. Warsaw: FODZ.
- Lobjanidze, Nana (2022) *Interview with Teona Dalakishvili* 31 May 2022.
- Luna, Ursula, Rivero, Pilar and Vicent, Naiara (2019) 'Augmented Reality in Heritage Apps: Current Trends in Europe.' *Applied Sciences*, 9(13) pp. 1–15. DOI: 10.3390/app9132756.
- LZB (2022) 'Jewish Headstones Removed From Vilnius Church, Returned to Jewish Cemetery' 16 August 2022 [online] [accessed 26 September 2022] <https://www.lzb.lt/en/2022/08/16/jewish-headstones-removed-from-vilnius-church-returned-to-jewish-cemetery/>
- Łagiewski, Michał (n.d.) *An Old Jewish Cemetery in Wrocław*. Wrocław: Via Nova.
- Mackowiak, Marta (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 12 July 2022.
- Mahmoodi, M., Roman, M., Prus, P. (2022) 'Features and Challenges of Agritourism: Evidence from Iran and Poland.' *Sustainability*, 14, pp. 45–55. DOI: 10.3390/su14084555.
- Majdán, Béla (2022) *Interview with Dora Darvas* n.d.
- Majuk, Emil (2022) 'Shtetl Routes: The Local Contexts of Jewish Heritage Tourism in the Borderland of Poland, Ukraine, and Belarus.' *AJS Perspectives*, 2022, pp. 72–75.
- Markozashvili, Tamaz (2022) *Interview with Teona Dalakishvili* 2 June 2022.
- Metreveli, Marina and Timothy, Dallen J. (2010) 'Religious heritage and emerging tourism in the Republic of Georgia.' *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5(3) pp. 237–244. DOI: 10.1080/1743873X.2010.515310.
- Miroshnychenko, Vadym (2022) *Interview with Andriy Koshelnyk* August 2022.
- Mukhigulashvili, Salome (2022) *Interview with Teona Dalakishvili* 31 May 2022.
- NapoleonCat (2022) *Instagram users in Hungary from September 2018 to August 2022 (in millions)*. Statista Inc. [Accessed 13 September 2022] <https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/1024797/instagram-users-hungary/>

Niziołek, K. and Poczykowski, R. (2008) *Jewish Heritage Trail in Białystok*. Białystok: University of Białystok Foundation.

Nowacki, M., Kowalczyk-Anioł, J., Królikowska, K., Pstrocka-Rak, M. and Awedyk, M. (2018) 'Strategic planning for sustainable tourism development in Poland.' *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, 25(6), pp. 562–567.
DOI: 10.1080/13504509.2018.1432513.

OECD (2018) 'Lithuania'. In *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2018*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
DOI: 10.1787/tour-2018-49-en.

Panchenko, Tamara; Sukach, Mykhailo and Golub, Andriy (2018) 'Sustainable Tourism Development in Ukraine' *Transfer of Innovative Technologies*, 1(2) pp. 3–20. DOI: 10.31493/tit1812.0101.

Pawlusiński, Robert and Kubal, Magdalena (2017) 'A new take on an old structure? Creative and slow tourism in Krakow (Poland)' *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 16(3) pp. 265–285.

Pécsek, Brigitta (2015) 'City Cemeteries as Cultural Attractions: Towards an Understanding of Foreign Visitors' Attitude at the National Graveyard in Budapest.' *DETUROPE – The Central European Journal of Tourism and Regional Development*, 7(1) pp. 44–61. DOI: 10.32725/det.2015.004.

Pecsek, Brigitta (2021) 'The transformation of the Budapest Fiumei Road Cemetery into staycation.' In *Változó világ, változó turizmus*. Győr: Széchenyi István University, pp. 323–336.

Pécsek, Brigitta and Halajova, Denisa (2022) 'Spiritual Quest in Rural Hungary and Slovakia: Developing an Innovative Thematic Route.' *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 10(1) pp. 46–60.

PestBuda (2021) 'ICOMOS award caring for the Jewish cemetery on Salgótarjáni Street' 19 April 2021 [online] [Accessed 5 August 2022]
https://pestbuda.hu/en/cikk/20210419_icomos_award_caring_for_the_jewish_cemetery_on_salgotarjani_street

Petrov, Plamen (2022) *Airbnb and Lithuania Travel to promote sustainable tourism in the Baltics*. The Mayor.eu 18 February 2020 [online] [accessed 26 September 2022]
<https://www.themayor.eu/en/a/view/airbnb-and-lithuania-travel-to-promote-sustainable-tourism-in-the-baltics-4389>

Pliberšek, Lidija V., and Vrban, Dušan (2018) 'Cemetery as village tourism development site.' *Proceedings of the 4th International Rural Tourism Congress*, pp. 194–209.

Plokhly, Serhii (2015) *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* London: Penguin.

Podoshen, J. S., Hunt, J. M. and Andrzejewski, S. A. (2015) 'Attribution Processes in Cross-Cultural Heritage Tourism.' *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 27(2) pp. 123–136.
DOI: 10.1080/08961530.2014.987419

- Polonsky, Antony (2019) *The Jews in Poland and Russia, volume III: 1914-2008*. Liverpool: Littman.
- Popa-Ladaniuc, Irina (2022) *Letter to Ion Ungureanu and Johanna Blender* 3 June 2022.
- Puchta, Piotr (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 7 July 2022.
- Rimple, Paul (2022) *Georgia bets on sustainable tourism*. fDi Intelligence 21 June 2021 [online] [accessed 27 September 2022] <https://www.fdiintelligence.com/content/feature/georgia-bets-on-sustainable-tourism-79875>
- Ripp, Matthias and Bertrand, Alizée (2021) *Community-sourced Jewish Cultural Heritage Valorisation Handbook*. Regensburg: Interreg/City of Regensburg.
- Sallay, Ágnes; Mikházi, Zsuzsanna; Tar, Imola; Takács, Katalin (2022) 'Cemeteries as a Part of Green Infrastructure and Tourism' *Sustainability* 14 (5), 2918. DOI: 10.3390/su14052918 [online] [Accessed 9 October 2022] <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2637848209?pq-origsite=primo>
- Schofield, Richard (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 1 July 2022.
- Sharpley, Richard and Telfer, David J. (2015) 'Introduction' Sharpley, Richard and Telfer, David J. (eds.) *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues*. 2 ed., Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. xi–xxii.
- Shevchenko, Hanna and Petrushenko, Mykola (2021) 'Rural Tourism within the Sustainable Development Goals : the Case of Ukraine' *SHS Web of Conferences*. 95 [Online] [Accessed 10 October 2022] DOI: 10.1051/shsconf/20219501004.
- Shikhova, Irina (2022) *Interview with Ion Ungureanu* 16 June 2022.
- Skobeeva, Olha (2022) *Interview with Andriy Koshelnyk* July 2022.
- Sobotka, Sławomir, and Długozima, Anna (2015) 'Evaluation and development opportunities of the disused Lutheran cemeteries within the Maskulińskie and Pisz Forest Divisions for Thanatourism.' *Tourism* 25(1) DOI: 10.2478/tour-2014-0021.
- Sorensen, Victor (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 5 May 2022.
- Stach, Sabine (2017) 'Narrating Jewish history in free walking tours – Warsaw as a case study.' *Kultura Popularna*, 1(50) pp. 76–91. DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0010.4077.
- StatCounter (2022) *Social media market share held by Facebook in Hungary from October 2019 to March 2022*. Statista Inc. [Accessed 13 September 2022]. <https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/1179333/hungary-facebook-market-share-by-month/>

State Department of Tourism (2017) *Jewish Cultural Heritage of Lithuania*. Vilnius: Eugrimas.

Statista (2021a) *Number of social network users in Hungary from 2017 to 2026 (in millions)*.

Statista Inc. [online] [accessed 13 September 2022]

<https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/568952/predicted-number-of-social-network-users-in-hungary/>

Statista (2021b) *Number of social network users in Slovakia from 2017 to 2026 (in millions)*.

Statista Inc. [online] [accessed 29 September 2022]

<https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/569064/predicted-number-of-social-network-users-in-slovakia/>

Steinman, Louise (2013) *The Crooked Mirror: A Memoir of Polish-Jewish Reconciliation*. Boston: Beacon.

Suskiewicz, Katarzyna (2022) *Email to Rachel Lichtenstein* 10 November 2022.

Syshchuk, Oksana (2022) *Interview with Andriy Koshelnyk* July 2022.

Szegő, Dóri (2022) *Interview with Dora Darvas* 30 May 2022.

Taube Foundation (2020) *Field Guide Jewish Warsaw and Krakow*. Warsaw: Taube Foundation.

Thum, Gregor (2011) *Uprooted: How Breslau Became Wrocław During the Century of Expulsions*.

London: Princeton University Press.

Toronyi, Zsuzsanna (2022) *Email to Dora Darvas* n.d.

TripAdvisor (2022) https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g274887-d526966-Reviews-Kozma_Cemetery-Budapest_Central_Hungary.html [accessed 4 September 2022].

United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad (USCPAHA) (2010)

Jewish Heritage Sites and Monuments in Moldova. Washington DC: USCPAHA. [online]

[Accessed 16 April 2022]

https://www.heritageabroad.gov/Portals/o/Reports%20and%20Surveys/Moldova_Report_FFINA.pdf

United States Department of State (2020) *2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Hungary*.

[online] [Accessed 12 September 2022]

<https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/hungary/>

'Valery T' (2018) *A genuine monument*. 15 August 2018. TripAdvisor. [online]

[Accessed 12 September 2022]

https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g274887-d12926781-r606937188-Salgotarjani_Street_Jewish_Cemetery-Budapest_Central_Hungary.html#review606937188

- Várhelyi, Tamás and Árva, László (2020) 'Toward Complex and Sustainable Tourism in Hungary'. In *Civic Review*, 16(special issue) 85-102. DOI: 10.24307/psz.2020.1206.
- Vincze, Miklós (2022) 'A walk in the Israelite cemetery in Kozma utca' *Hype&Hyper* 6 June 2022, [online] [Accessed 4 July 2022]
<https://hypeandhyper.com/en/a-walk-in-the-israelite-cemetery-in-kozma-utca/>
- Virágová, Carmen (2020) 'Jewish history is still being made'. *The Slovak Spectator* 9 July 2020 [online] [accessed 27 September 2022]
<https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20058562/jewish-heritage-in-slovakia.html#Jews>
- Vonnäk, D. and Andronatiy, O. (2020) *Guided Tours in the Jewish Cemetery*. Frankfurt: ESJF.
- Walkowitz, David J. (2018) *The Remembered and Forgotten Jewish World: Jewish Heritage in Europe and the United States*. London: Rutgers University Press.
- We Are Social, Hootsuite, DataReportal. (2022) *Most-used social media platforms in Poland in 2021*. Statista Inc. [online] [Accessed 12 August 2022]
<https://www-statista-com.winchester.idm.oclc.org/statistics/1253015/poland-most-used-social-media-platforms/>
- Weiner, Chaim (2022a) *Interview with Paul Darby* 12 April 2022.
- Weiner, Chaim (2022b) *Email to Paul Darby* 7 September 2022.
- Weizman, Yechiel (2022) *Unsettled Heritage: Living Next to Poland's Material Jewish Traces after the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wicpolska-Góralczyk, Milena (2022) *Zoom in on the Forum: Jewish Cemetery in Łódź*. Forum for Dialogue Zoom Presentation 18 May 2022.
- Wrzosinski, Witold (2022) *Interview with Paul Darby* 10 August 2022.
- Wilkoszewska-Krakowska, Renata (2022) *Email to Paul Darby* 17 August.

Images are reproduced by courtesy of the following people and organisations:

Dr Maroš Borský, Jewish Heritage Foundation-Menorah: p. 114

Brody City Council: p. 130

Centropa

Robert Bacsi: front cover; pp. 6–7; pp. 30–31; pp. 36–37; p. 43; p. 49; pp. 134–135

Shendl Copitman: pp. 64–65; pp. 70–71

Gabriel Khiterer: pp. 50–51; pp. 54–55; pp. 58–59

Taras Kovalchuk: pp. 124–125

Zuzana Martinková: pp. 16–17; pp. 108–109; pp. 116–117 (and back cover)

Ouriel Morgensztern: pp. 10–11; pp. 104–105

Wojciech Wojtkielewicz: pp. 78–79; p. 98 (l. and r.)

Dr Paul Darby: p. 85; p. 154

ESJF: pp. 14–15; p. 19; pp. 20–21; pp. 22–23; pp. 26–27; pp. 28–29; pp. 74–75;
pp. 110–111; pp. 118–119; p. 127

Inna Gordeeva: front cover flap

iStock (Edward Shtern): pp. 102–103; (bodo23): back cover flap

Sergey Kanovich, Lost Shtetl Museum: p. 61

REDISCOVER Interreg DTP2-o84-2.2, project co-funded by the European Union: p. 46

Witold Wrzosinski, Jewish Community of Warsaw: p. 95

The key figures at the Foundation for Jewish Heritage, chief executive Michael Mail and project manager Dr Rachel Lichtenstein, have contributed much time, thought and energy to the shaping and development of this report, for which I am grateful.

I also wish to heartily thank the following people who gave generously of their time to contribute perspectives and thoughts and evidence to this report:

Hester Abrams, London, UK

Ágnes Antal, Budapest, Hungary

Ketevan Aslanishvili, Telavi Municipality, Georgia

Professor Silvia Aulet-Serrallonga, University of Girona, Spain

Johanna Blender, Centropa, Moldova

Dr Maroš Borský, Slovak Jewish Heritage Center, Slovakia

Debra Brunner, The Together Plan, Belarus

Professor Andrea Corsale, University of Cagliari, Italy

Jakub Czupryński, Insider Krakow, Poland

Teona Dalakishvili, Centropa, Georgia

Dr Petro Dolhanov, Rivne State Humanitarian University, Ukraine

Anna Domnich, Centropa, Vienna, Austria

Professor Jean-Marc Dreyfus, University of Manchester, UK

Professor Magdalena Duda-Seifert, University of Wrocław, Poland

Tetiana Fedoriv, Zbarazh, Ukraine

David Jacobs, London, UK

Sergey Kanovich, Maceva/The Lost Shtetl Project, Lithuania

Nana Kapanadze, Tourism Development Centre, Mtskheta, Georgia

Pavel Katz, Jewish Heritage Network, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Rachel Kolsky, Go London Tours, UK

Andriy Koshelnyk, Centropa, Ukraine

Nesi Kupreishvili, Israeli House, Tbilisi, Georgia

Professor Tony Kushner, University of Southampton, UK

Helise Lieberman, Taube Foundation, Warsaw, Poland

Maria Lieberman, Centropa, Budapest, Hungary

Dr Duncan Light, University of Bournemouth, UK

Nana Lobjanidze, Oni, Georgia

Marta Mackowiak, Wrocław, Poland

Béla Majdán, Balassagyarmat, Hungary

Marcel Manson, West End Travel, UK

Tamaz Markozashvili, Gurjaani Municipality, Georgia

Professor Joanna Michlic, UCL, UK

Vadym Miroshnychenko, Kharkiv, Ukraine

Salome Mukhigulashvili, Kaspi Municipality, Georgia

Professor Antony Polonsky, Brandeis University, UK

Piotr Puchta, FODZ, Poland

Dr Matthias Ripp, Regensburg Municipality, Germany

Fabian Rühle, Centropa, Germany

Ralf Salinger, Jewish Vilkaviskiis, Lithuania/Israel
Richard Schofield, Vilnius, Lithuania
Dr Irina Shikhova, Maghid, Moldova
Neil Silberman, Coherit Associates, USA
Olha Skobeeva, NGO Eko-Kultura, Chernivtsi, Ukraine
Victor Sorensen, AEPJ, Spain
Oksana Syshchyk, Lutsk, Ukraine
Dóri Szegő, Budapest, Hungary
Dominique Tomasov, Barcelona, Spain
Dr Zsuzsanna Toronyi, Hungarian Jewish Museum & Archives, Hungary
Jana Turanska, Centropa, Slovakia
Ion Ungureanu, Centropa, Chişinău, Moldova
Dr Susanne Urban, University of Marburg, Germany
Dušan Vrban, Association of Significant Cemeteries of Europe, Slovenia
Rabbi Chaim Weiner, Jewish Journeys, UK
Dr Christina Welch, University of Winchester, UK
Renata Wilkoszewska-Krakowska, Old Jewish Cemetery, Wrocław, Poland
Witold Wrzosinski, ul. Okopowa Jewish Cemetery, Warsaw, Poland
Delphine Yagüe, Culturistiq, France
Staff at Călăraşi Museum, Moldova

Preserving Jewish Cemeteries

project website: www.jewishcemeteries.eu

Foundation for Jewish Heritage

e: info@foundationforjewishheritage.com

www.foundationforjewishheritage.com

UK Charity Registration Number 1162111

ISBN 978-3-00-074723-6

March 2023





A Note on the Author

How Jewish heritage can be made more accessible and relevant to diverse audiences is a core interest of mine. Following an MA in Cultural Heritage (my dissertation examined the material heritage of the East End of London's Dutch Jewish community) and a PhD in Archaeology and Anthropology, I have collaborated on multiple interdisciplinary Jewish heritage projects that have achieved this aim in diverse ways. The digitisation, cataloguing, and analysis of all the handwritten records of the historic Sandys Row Synagogue, the last operational Ashkenazi synagogue in London's East End, is one such project. The development of two digital 'Memory Maps' of the Jewish East End and Jewish Manchester is another. These freely accessible online resources enable the visitor to explore former sites of Jewish memory in east London and north Manchester. *Paul Darby*





THE FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH HERITAGE works internationally to ensure that important Jewish architectural sites, monuments and places of cultural significance in danger are preserved and re-imagined for a sustainable future.

THE EUROPEAN JEWISH CEMETERIES INITIATIVE (ESJF) provides practical solutions on how to physically protect the Jewish cemeteries of Europe. The initiative's preservation work aims to construct walls with locking gates around vulnerable cemeteries and look after the cemeteries' general upkeep. By doing this, the ESJF Project hopes to preserve Jewish memory, especially in so-called 'priority areas' such as the former Soviet-bloc and South-Eastern Europe.

CENTROPA is a non-profit, Jewish historical institute dedicated to preserving 20th century Jewish family stories and photos from Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, and disseminating these stories and photos through films, books and exhibitions. Centropa's main office is in Vienna, but it also has offices in Budapest, Hamburg and Washington DC.

ISBN 978-3-00-074723-6



9 783000 747236

