

Jews in Lublin – Jews in Lviv

Places – Memory – Present

Cooperation of Universities supporting
the development of the Lublin and Lviv regions



**The Jews in Lublin – The Jews in Lviv
Places – Memory – Present**

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Lublin Business School, Ltd. of the KUL Development Foundation

**The Jews in Lublin – The Jews in Lviv
Places – Memory – Present**

Edited by
Joanna Zętar, Elżbieta Żurek, Sławomir Jacek Żurek

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The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Al. Raławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin (Poland)
e-mail: oinfo@kul.lublin.pl
<http://www.kul.lublin.pl>

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The Jews in Lublin – The Jews in Lviv

The Jewish district started to develop in Lublin at the beginning of the 16th Century. It was inhabited by the community which arrived in the city during the second half of the 15th Century. Through the centuries Jewish Lublin obtained the rank of “The Jerusalem of the Polish Kingdom”. This was mainly due to the Jewish Sejm of The Four Grounds which debated there – *Waad.Arba Aracot*, the work of Rabbi Icchak Jakub Horowitz called *Seeing from Lublin* (*Widzący z Lublina*), the operations of the Hebrew printing-house and the opening of the Yeshivas Chachmej Lublin (The University of the Wise Men of Lublin). Just before the Second World War almost thirty-nine thousand Jews lived there, constituting almost 35% of the whole community of Lublin. Today, their presence in that time, is commemorated, among other things, by such places as the Old and the New Jewish cemetery, the buildings of old Yeshiva and the Jewish hospital.

In Lviv, the beginning of the Jewish colonization started in the middle of the 13th Century. Similarly, as in Lublin, this community inhabited a district, which with the passing of time became a separate administrative part. Some of the most famous inhabitants of the city were: Rabbi Abraham Kohn, founder of the reformed synagogue, Jakub Rapaport and the painter Erno Erb. During the inter-war period the Jewish community of Lviv had over 100,000 members, and was the third largest in the country, constituting 33% of the community of Lviv. Even today the oldest Jewish remains can be found there: the ruins of the “Golden Rose” (“Złota Róża”) synagogue, the Jankl Glancers Szul synagogue and the old Jewish hospital.

The volume *The Jews in Lublin – The Jews in Lviv. Places – Memory – Present* is a work, in which authors of the successive articles try to reconstruct and describe the world of the Jews, both collectively and from different research perspectives. They are: historians, art historians, educationalists, philologists and cultural researchers. Their observations, to a large extent, have a comparative character; the results show that the Jewish communities of Lublin and Lviv were decidedly different but had also many common points.

The presented book consists of three general thematic parts. The first concerns places, that is Lublin and Lviv, and their history in the Polish-Jewish and Jewish-Ukrainian relations (“Places”); the second concerns memory about the pre-war Jewish culture, the Holocaust and the forms of its remembrance (“Memory”); the third

concerns the presence of the Jews and their culture in the everyday life of both cities (“The Present”).

1. Places

The article written by Adam Kopciowski concerns the history of the Jews in Lublin. The author presents their history beginning with the First Republic, through the 19th Century and the interwar period, the tragic experiences of the Holocaust during the Second World War, reaching the difficult post-war years. The author consistently proves that the Jewish community constituted an integral part of the city, creating its exceptional image in each of the functioning aspects. In this view, Lublin is a Polish-Jewish city, open also to other nations and traditions, in which the multi-cultural structure of the old Jagiellonian country was focused. (*Outline History of the Jews in Lublin*).

This city remains in the memory of many Jews in the world as the capital of Chasidism, and this is expressed in the next two articles. Agata Paluch presents the most important issues concerning the inheritance of the great masters who lived here in previous centuries, (*Mystical Traditions in the Teachings of the Rabbis of Lublin*), and Ewa Grochowska recalls the most important tendencies in Early-Chassidic mysticism (in contemporary studies called the “mystical heresy”), connected to the Lublin region and such figures as Sabbataj Cwi and Jakub Frank (*Messianic Movements in the Lublin Region in the 17th and 18th Century*). Part of the historic considerations of this subject is completed (and simultaneously opens the Lviv subject matter) with the article written by Konrad Zieliński. This tells about the experiences of Jews on the route to assimilation in two different Polish Partitions – the Austrian and the Russian Partitions, (*The Routes to Emancipation for the Galician and the Congress Kingdom Jews*).

Next two articles concern the Jewish community of Lviv. Anna Krackowska creates a view of their colonization in the city, showing also the centuries-old conflict between Jews and non-Jews (*Jewish Community of Lviv between 16th and 18th Century – areas of colonization and legal status*). Mikola Hetmanczuk presents the experiences of Jews from the most difficult Soviet times, debunking the myths about the omnipresence of Jews in the Soviet safety apparatus. Jews were in many cases the victims of this system, exactly the same as the Poles, the Ukrainians or the Armenians. (*The Participation of the Jewish Population in the Process of the Formation of the Intelligentsia in the Lviv Region in the Post-War Period (1944-1953)*).

2. Memory

This part begins with texts concerning the cultural heritage of the Jews and the manner of its commemoration in Poland and Ukraine, from the perspective of the past and the present. They cover the religious museums established at the turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries (not only Judaic), which preserved already unused objects of culture for posterity (Beata Skrzydlewska, *Jewish and Christian Religious Museums*),

the later different institutions which took care of the inheritance – using the words of the Jewish poet Izaak Kacnelson – after “the murdered nation” (Irina Horban, *The Centres of Jewish Cultural Heritage in Lviv: History and the Modern State*; Weronika Litwin, *The Preservation of Jewish Heritage as a factor Stimulating Regional Development*), and also about the different educational and artistic activities which can accompany it (Joanna Zętar, *Documentation – Education – Artistic Projects. The Activities of ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre’ for the Preservation of the Heritage of Lublin Jews*). During the presentation of these articles one can become convinced how much was done in this aspect in both cities, mainly thanks to the activity of different non-governmental institutions. This development and activity was stimulated by the legislation of European Union. (Therefore the issue of the Accession of Ukraine to EU structures is also something very important in this aspect).

Something central for the widely understood remembrance of Jews – either in Lublin or in Lviv – is the Holocaust, and the forms of its remembrance. Robert Kuwałek describes this in his article, comparing Polish and Ukrainian activities in this aspect. It occurs that it was the concentration camp Bełżec which during the war became a tragic meeting place for the communities of both cities. It was a place of torture and death of thousands of Jewish citizens of the Second Polish Republic, mainly from the Lublin Region and the Lviv Region (*The Commemoration of the Extermination Sites of Jews in Poland and Ukraine*). Anna Ziębińska-Witek writes about the significance of the forms of commemorating the Holocaust. On the psychological basis she evaluates the real influence of the Holocaust Museums on the visitors, and the educational, scientific and artistic functions of these institutions – aiming to help to understand, what the experience of the Holocaust has become for the world (*Representation of Memory – Holocaust in Museums*). The next two texts tell about educational initiatives in the range of restoring and addressing the memory of the Holocaust. The first article is written by Marta Grudzińska (*How to Tell about the Extermination of the Jewish Children from Lublin? Selected Educational Materials of the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre and the State Museum at Majdanek*). The second article is written by Tadeusz Przystojecki (*The Role of Cyrulicza Street as a Bridge between Today’s and Yesterday’s Lublin*); it describes mainly the activities inspired by the educational and artistic programmes realized by the local government centre. This part is also addressed by the article by Rudolf Myrski, who states the need of remembrance of local places of torture of the Jews of Lviv, such as the camp at Janowska street (*The Tragedy Janowski Concentration Camp in Lviv: From Ignoring the Holocaust to Studying It*).

3. Present

The last part of the work is an attempt to look at the issue from the present perspective. Sławomir Jacek Żurek writes about the special significance of Lublin as an area of inter-religious meetings (*Lublin – A Place of Christian-Jewish Dialogue*). Here,

different types of institutions serve to bring closer Christians and Jews (e.g. The Centre of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue). It is the place, from which the members of the Polish Episcopate's Committee (with its chairman, Bishop Mieczysław Cisło) come for the dialogue with Judaism, and it is exactly the place where a series of original initiatives serve for reconciliation (e.g. "Prayerful Mourning of the Jews").

Further, Piotr Piluk shares his discoveries which he made during the work of archiving the architecture of Lviv. During the presentation of his text it can be seen how much one can learn from the topography and architecture of the city, and how significant the part of the Jewish heritage of Lviv, in the field urban planning, remains still undescribed and awaits further documentation (*Jewish Traces in the City of Lviv*). And, at the end, Roman Czmelyk presents that Lviv is a place for reviving Jewish memory. He tells about attempts of reconstruction of the Jewish world in this city. (*The Role of Museums in Reviving the Ruined World of Jews in Lviv*).

We do hope, that the work *The Jews in Lublin – The Jews in Lviv. Places – Memory – The Present* will constitute the beginning of scientific co-operation between scientists from Lublin and Lviv, who work on Jewish culture, and that the academic environments of both cities will support the activities for retaining the memory about their Jewish inhabitants.

Joanna Zętar
Sławomir Jacek Żurek

** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski

**PLACES (LUBLIN AND LVIV)
AND THEIR HISTORY**

Outline History of the Jews in Lublin

1. The First Republic

The first mentions concerning the presence of Jews in Lublin come from the time of the reign of King Casimir the Great. According to records from the 16th Century, although not finding confirmation in historic sources, this ruler gave the first privileges to the local Jewish community in 1336¹. However, one can guess, that a well organized Jewish community functioned in Lublin since the 1570s, when Rabbi Jakub from Trident arrived in the city, being suspected of participation in a blood libel in his native Germany. The choice of Lublin as a place of shelter provides evidence for the fact that the local community was already well known, not only in the country, but even beyond its borders. It is known, that the Catholic clergy of Lublin protested against the presence of the German rabbi in the city².

In the next century, the dynamic development of the Jewish colonization in the city was a result of mainly economic factors. The favourable geographic placement of the city on the trade routes induced many Jewish traders to settle in Lublin and lead trade activity there. The increasing number of the Jewish inhabitants and their economic activity quickly led to conflict with the Christian burghers, which resulted in the King's recommendation from 1518, suggesting to the starost (prefect) of Lublin a limitation of the "very wide Jewish trade in the city"³. In 1535 Lublin gained from the King the privilege *De non tolerandis Judaeis*, prohibiting Jews from settling within the city walls⁴. This limitation hit on one hand the economic roots of the Jewish

* Historian, member of the Center for Jewish Studies of UMCS; studies the history of the Jewish population in Lublin region in the 20th Century; grant holder of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington in 2005; member of the Audit Committee of the Polish Association of Jewish Studies and Council of the State Museum in Majdanek; author of several dozens of articles for scientific circles and the general public dedicated to this subject and the work *The Extermination of the Jews in Zamość* (2005).

¹ See KUWAŁEK R., WYSOK W.: *Lublin – Jerozolima Królestwa Polskiego*. Lublin 2001, p. 13.

² See RADZIK T.: Żyli z nami. In: *Lublin w dziejach i kulturze Polski*. Radzik T., Witusik A. (eds.). Lublin 1997, p. 260.

³ KUWAŁEK A. and R.: Żydzi i chrześcijanie w Lublinie w XVI i XVII wieku. [In:] *Żydzi w Lublinie (Materiały do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej Lublina)*. Radzik T. (ed.), vol. 2, Lublin 1998, p. 12.

⁴ Cf. Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Akta miasta Lublina 1809-1874 sygn. 693, p. 140.

community of Lublin and led to its separation from the “Christian city” (which lasted until 1862), and on the other hand contributed to the sudden development of Podzamcze, the Jewish district stretching around the castle of Lublin.

The privilege granted in 1523 (by the Sigismund the Old) providing the community of Lublin with rights equal to other communities in Poland, was a turning point in its history. This was done in accordance with general prerogatives, providing for the Jews, by consecutive monarchs, dating from the so called Statute of Kalisz from 1264 (the care of the monarch, normalization of professional activity and protection of places of worship). In 1556 the Jews of Lublin additionally received a special privilege, confirming their inner jurisdictional and administrative autonomy (independent choice of elders and community officials) and also their submission to the provincial governor’s authority as the appeal institution⁵.

Normalization of the legal situation favoured the comprehensive development of the commune of Lublin. In the middle of the 16th Century, Podzamcze was inhabited by 840 Jews, who gained the privilege *De non tolerandis Christianis*, prohibiting the Christian population from settling and purchasing houses and grounds in the area of the Jewish city⁶. Despite of the limitations and lively competition, Jewish trade and craft were flowering, which contributed to an increase of wealth and prestige of the commune, and to the development of cultural life. In 1530, the eminent scientist Shalom Shachna, was nominated as the Rabbi of Lublin. He was the son of the royal agent Yosko Shakhnovitch, who began the creation of the famous centre of Talmudic studies in the city. The formal opening of the Yeshiva of Lublin took place after the death of Shachna, through the royal privilege from 1567, and Salomon Luria, called Maharshal, became its first rector⁷. The son of his successor Mordekhai Jaffe Kalonymos contributed to the creation of a significant centre of Jewish publishing in Lublin (the second most important after Krakow). The publishing house, opened by him in 1578, published hundreds of outstanding and high level works of Hebrew religious literature⁸.

At the same time, the structures of the kahal of Lublin hardened and developed. The building of the first brick synagogue, called the Synagogue of Maharshal, was started in 1567, on the northern slope of the castle hill by Jateczna street. As time passed, in its immediate neighbourhood, the synagogue complex was established. It contained the office of the kahal, the Yeshiva, the house of studies (*bet'hamidrasz*), the mikvah, and kosher butcher’s shops. Probably, from the end of the 15th Century, on Grodzisko hill, a Jewish cemetery operated (according to information from the 1890s

⁵ Cf. KUWAŁEK R., WYSOK W., op. cit., pp. 14-15.

⁶ Cf. ibidem, p. 16.

⁷ Cf. WINIARZ A.: Lubelski ośrodek studiów talmudycznych w XVI wieku. [In:] *Żydzi w Lublinie*. vol. 2, pp. 35-39.

⁸ Cf. ZĘTAR J.: *Drukarnie hebrajskie w Lublinie*. „Scriptores” 2003, nr 27, p. 57.

the date 1489/90 could be seen, and the Jewish cemetery itself was first mentioned in a document from 1555)⁹.

The establishment of the Council of the Four Lands (*Va'ad Arba Aratzot*), the central body of Jewish autonomy in the Polish Republic, created in 1580 by King Stefan Batory, was the confirmation of the economic, cultural and administrative significance of the city. A period of sudden development of the commune of Lublin (having in 1602 about 1,200 people) lasted until the middle of 17th Century. In 1655, Lublin was invaded by the Moscow-Cossack armies, which completely ravaged the Jewish city. The synagogue complex by Jateczna street, together with the Maharshal synagogue, the house of studies, the mikvah and the Talmudic school were destroyed. Most of the houses were destroyed, and the armies murdered over 2,000 Jews¹⁰. The destruction was completed by the attack of the Swedish armies in the following year.

War caused a fall of the economic and cultural life, and contributed to a significant decrease in the size of the Jewish community. The sessions of the Council of the Four Lands was stopped in the city, the large markets were moved from Lublin to Łęczna, and the few surviving inhabitants of Podzamcze were moved for some time to the Christian district. The period of triumphant and hostile counter-reformation and constant economic restrictions from the authorities did not support the reconstruction of the community. These restrictions arose from competition between the Jews and Christian burghers. Efforts of the Christian burghers, aiming mainly to remove the Jews from outside the city walls, resulted in 1761 in the expulsion of the Jewish population from the city, settling it for another time in the Podzamcze area. Four years later this community had almost 2,500 people, inhabiting a part from the traditional Jewish quarter, also the Kalinowszczyzna neighborhood, as well as the suburbs of Piaski and Wieniawa¹¹.

In the second half of the 17th Century the first news about the Jewish mystic movement developed in Ukraine, and Chassidism, came to Lublin. Its initiator in Lublin was the student of the famous Elimelekh from Leżajsk, Yaakov Yitzkhok Horowitz, called the *Seer* of Lublin, who settled during this time in Wieniawa, near Lublin, building his manor house there. A short while later the zaddik moved to the centre of the Jewish district in Lublin, where the first Chassidic prayer house in Lublin was established in 1794, in the tenement at number 28, Szeroka Street. Very quickly, a group of followers concentrated around the residence of the Seer of Lublin, and the fame of the charismatic zaddik spread to the whole country. Among his students there were: founders of the new Chassidic dynasties in Góra Kalwaria (Alter), Bełz (Rokeach),

⁹ Cf. TRZCIŃSKI A.: Wartości historyczne, religijne i artystyczne starego cmentarza żydowskiego w Lublinie. [In:] *Żydzi lubelscy. Materiały z sesji poświęconej Żydom lubelskim (Lublin 14-16 December 1994)*. Hawryluk W., Linkowski G. (ed.). Lublin 1996, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ Cf. BAŁABAN M.: *Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie*. Lublin 1991, p. 58.

¹¹ Cf. MUSZYŃSKA J.: Żydzi w Lublinie w 1774 roku. In: *Żydzi w Lublinie*. vol. 2, p. 118.

Kazimierz Dolny (Taub), Izbica and Radzyń (Leiner) and the famous zaddik from Kock, Menachem Mendel Morgensztern. After the death of Horowitz in 1815, most of the Chassids from Lublin submitted to his students, as the *Seer* himself did not establish his own dynasty. Another famous zaddik appeared in Lublin in 1857. This was Jehuda Leib Eiger, who settled in the house at number 40, Szeroka Street, building there his own manor house and initiating the Eiger dynasty of Lublin, who led the local Chassids until the outbreak of the Second World War¹².

2. 19th Century and the Interwar Period

At the beginning of the 19th Century, Jews constituted almost half of the Lublin population, and the city itself remained, until the middle of the century, after Warsaw, the second largest centre of Jewish population in the Polish Kingdom. In Lublin between 1815 and 1864 their number rose from 4,771 to 12,922 people, and the percentage in relation to the whole population from 48.3% to 59.2%¹³. In the year preceding the outbreak of the First World War, Lublin was inhabited by over 38,000 Jews, constituting almost half of the city population¹⁴.

The rising population was deprived of most of their civil rights until the 1860s. Apart from the limitation on the place of residence, (the Tsarist authorities sanctioned the old privilege *De non tolerandis Judaeis*, creating in the city a separate Jewish quarter), prohibitions on the purchase of land and working in particular professions, the Jews also paid separate and higher taxes (e.g. kosher, recruit), they were not represented under electoral law and could not perform any of public functions. The abolishment of these limitations in 1862 led to some Jews to leave the Jewish quarter, and begin settling in districts of the city which had been unavailable to them until this time (in areas mainly in the north-eastern part of the Old Town and Krakowskie Przedmieście – the main street of Lublin). It also led to a revival – although limited in nature – of Jewish-Christian relations, and a mobilization of economic life and industry development.

It should be noted that these changes concerned, in fact, only the richest and the most strongly assimilated part of Jewish population, who constituted only a small percentage of the population as a whole. Most of the Jews of Lublin still lived separately – although not through compulsion, but voluntarily – in an economic, moral, language and intellectual ghetto. In comparison to the other big cities of the Polish Kingdom it was in general a poor, traditionally religious, poorly educated and almost completely

¹² Cf. KUWAŁEK R., WYSOK W., op. cit., pp. 42-46.

¹³ Cf. MIKULEC B.: 'Aktywność gospodarcza ludności żydowskiej Lublina w latach 1815-1864. [In:] *Żydzi w Lublinie (Materiały do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej Lublina)*. Radzik T. (ed.), vol. 1, Lublin 1995, p. 69.

¹⁴ Cf. ZIELIŃSKI K.: *Żydzi Lubelszczyzny 1914-1918*. Lublin 1999, p. 15.

isolated community. Strong Chassidic influences in the city favoured its conservatism and backwardness.

Some changes in this image started to occur only at the close of the century. In this period, a re-definition of the current criteria of Jewish self-identification followed – abandoning the perception of their own status as a category of a religious group, and starting to be a national minority, aware of its own separation. It was then, when the new socio-political trends reached Lublin and these motivated Jewish public life at a scale unusual until that time. It was Zionism and the workers' Bund (the first structure of which was established in the city in 1903) that found its followers there at the beginning. There was also the creation of private schools for Jewish girls, modern benevolent institutions (among others the modern hospital at Lubartowska Street and the orphanage at Grodzka Street), and the religious community motivated itself, quickly becoming a place of debates between the orthodox majority and the still small number of followers of the new trends.

The real revival of social life followed only after 1915, when Lublin found itself under Austro-Hungarian occupation. The liberal attitude of the new authorities deepened the activity of the Jews of Lublin in many fields. In 1916 within the city there were already 15 private Jewish schools operating (including 3 gymnasiums), the first Jewish newspaper was established (the monthly "Myśl Żydowska" ("The Jewish Thought"), published in Polish), an amateur Jewish theatre was led by Jakub Waksman and the first Jewish public library was operated by the religious community. Jews sat also in the city council¹⁵.

At the moment of Poland regaining its independence, the Jews of Lublin possessed a well developed and strongly differentiated structure of socio-political life. In 1921 the city was inhabited by 37,337 Judaism followers, constituting almost 40% of the whole population. Ten years later their number increased to 38,935¹⁶. In the inter-war period, there functioned nine Jewish political parties in Lublin: Agudas Isroel, Folkspartay, Bund, General Zionists, Mizrachi, Zionistst-Revisionists, Poale Zion-Left, Poale Zion-Right and the Zionist Workers Party Hitachduth. Almost all of them possessed their own youth extensions and led their own lively organizational, social and cultural activities. In Lublin, there were also Jewish sport organizations, educational institutions (the leader of which, opened in 1930, thanks to the Rabbi Meir Shapiro, was the modern rabbinic high school Yeshivat Hakhmei Lublin) and trade unions. Cultural life was lively. In the building of the Panteon cinema, at Jezuicka street, a Jewish theatre performed. On its stage performed such celebrities as Ida Kamińska, Jonas Turkow and Dina Halperin. From 1918 the newspaper „Lubliner Tuglat”, was

¹⁵ Cf. ZIELIŃSKI K.: *W cieniu synagogi. Obraz życia kulturalnego społeczności żydowskiej Lublina w latach okupacji austro-węgierskiej*. Lublin 1998, pp. 46, 100-105, 133-134, 144-145, 171.

¹⁶ Cf. RADZIK T.: *Spółeczność żydowska Lublina w międzywojennym dwudziestoleciu. Obraz statystyczny*. [In:] *Żydzi w Lublinie*. vol. 1, p. 145.

published, in Yiddish, (it was published until the outbreak of the Second World War), and from 1926 the Bund's weekly „Lubliner Shtime”¹⁷.

In the second half of the 1930's, as the first generation of Jews reached adulthood in independent Poland, trends also leading to the secularization and modernization of public life began to occur with a much stronger intensity than before. Part of the young population faced questions of attitudes relating to language and moral assimilation. Trends which developed during these times included the Jewish community's knowledge of the Polish language and culture (following its larger openness towards non-Jewish surroundings); the regression of traditional religious life, which, by ignoring the changes happening in the outer world was not able to provide the young generation with satisfactory answers for their problems; the unusual popularity among the young people for Zionist and Socialistic ideas and criticisms of the traditional way of life.

On the other hand, the assimilative attitudes were curbed by the intensification, in this period, of anti-Semitic behaviour within Polish society, as for example with the boycott of Jewish trade, initiated by the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe) in 1936.

3. The Extermination and Postwar Period

Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, Lublin was inhabited by about 42,000 Jews. As the Germans occupied the city, this number increased by several thousands of people – fugitives from the western parts of the country, or people displaced compulsorily by the occupation of the Reich itself, or from the lands included into it.

In November 1939 the Jews living in the city centre (including Krakowskie Przedmieście and its side streets) were moved by force to the traditional Jewish district at Podzamcze¹⁸. Shortly afterwards Jews were touched by another repression. They were marked with bands showing the Star of David. The duty of work was introduced, and the use of public transport and public areas was prohibited. Bank accounts were blocked, religious practices were prohibited, access to educational institutions was closed, financial and material contributions were introduced and finally Jewish enterprises and estates were taken over.

At the beginning of 1940 the 24-member Judenrat was established in Lublin. It was led by the engineer Henryk Bekker. The vice-chairman of the council was the engineer Marek Alten and its office was placed in the so called orphanage at Grodzka street, number 11¹⁹.

In March 1941, the governor of Lublin, Ernest Zörner, announced an order which concerned the establishment of the “Jewish housing district” in the city. It included Podzamcze (limited by the line of Lubartowska street) and part of the Old Town. The

¹⁷ Cf. WYSOK W., KUWAŁEK R., op. cit., pp. 64-72.

¹⁸ Cf. ibidem, p. 80.

¹⁹ Cf. RADZIK T.: *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta*. Lublin 1999, p. 58.

establishment of the ghetto was preceded by the displacement of about 10,000 Jews from Lublin to small towns of the Lublin district²⁰.

Until the end of its existence, the Lublin ghetto was not fully closed, however the concentration of a community of almost 40,000 people in such small space (as stated in October 1941)²¹ contributed to unusually cramped living conditions, poor sanitary and hygienic conditions. This led as a consequence, to outbreaks of epidemics of contagious diseases, which in connection with starvation and weakening work, decimated the inhabitants of the Jewish district of Lublin.

The large deportation from the ghetto of Lublin began during the night of the 16th of March 1942. Lublin became the first Jewish centre in the General-Government, in which the "Aktion Reinhardt" – the systematic and mass extermination of the Jewish population in this area – was realised. The people caught in the ghetto area were at first concentrated in the square in front of the Judenrat, where the preliminary selections were made. Persons that were recognized as not able to work were guided to the meeting point in the Maharshal Synagogue, and next to the rail ramp by the city slaughterhouse at Kalinowszczyzna. From there, transports to the extermination camp at Bełżec left almost everyday. During the "Aktion", which lasted one month (until the middle of April 1942), about 26,000 Jews were transported there from the ghetto of Lublin, and 1,500 were shot right away. Among the deported was the president of Judenrat, Henryk Bekker, and half of the remaining members of Jewish council²².

The rest of the living Jews were moved to the newly created ghetto at Majdan Tatarski – in the suburbs of Lublin, and placed in the neighbourhood of the concentration camp at Majdanek. Altogether about 7,000 Jews settled there, including 4,250 who did it legally (being in possession of documents authorizing them to settle in the new ghetto – the so called J-ausweises). As the Jewish quarter at Podzamcze was empty, Germans started to destroy it systematically. Among other things, the main street of the quarter, Szeroka and the synagogue complex at Jateczna street were destroyed.

The fate of remaining ghetto at Majdan Tatarski was finalised on the 9th of November 1942. Most of its inhabitants were chased away on foot to the camp at Majdanek, where the newly arrived were selected straight away. All of the people that were unable to work, the elderly and children, were sent to the gas chambers, the rest were shot right away (including the last president of Judenrat, Marek Alten, and the chief of the Jewish Police Service, Henryk Goldfarb). After the definitive elimination of the ghetto at Majdan Tatarski, its buildings were burnt down²³.

It is very difficult to estimate, how many Jews of Lublin managed to survive the Holocaust period. At the beginning of August 1944, there were about 300 Jews

²⁰ Cf. KIEŁBONŃ J.: *Migracje ludności w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939-1944*. Lublin 1995, p. 159.

²¹ Cf. RADZIK T., *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta*. p. 35.

²² Cf. ibidem, pp. 42-45.

²³ Cf. ibidem, pp. 47-56.

inhabiting the city, including only 15 pre-war inhabitants of Lublin²⁴. By the end of that year the number rose to over 3,000, and then – in the first months of 1945, after liberation of the pre-war centres of Jewish life: Warsaw, Łódź and Krakow – it fell to about 2,500 (the number from the beginning of May 1945)²⁵.

The first post-war organization to gather Jews staying in the city was established on 8th of August 1944. This was the Bureau for Matters Concerning Aid to the Jewish Population of Poland, led by Shlomo Hershenhorn. Two days later, The Committee for Helping the Jews was established, and was soon renamed The Jewish Committee in Lublin²⁶.

In November 1944 the Central Committee of Jews in Poland was established there, and Lublin became the unofficial capital of Polish Jewry. The Jewish political parties (Bund, Poale Zion-Left, The Jewish Fraction of PPR and Ichud, gathering old general Zionists) were reborn or established from the beginning – like the socio-cultural institutions (The Central Jewish Historical Commission – the beginning of the Jewish Historical Institute; the Jewish Writers, Journalists and Artists Association and the Association of the Jews – Fighters against the Hitlerism). The first post-war newspapers started to be produced (“The Bulletin of the Jewish Press Agency” and „Dos Noje Lebn”) and religious life was reborn (Safrin Feldshuh was appointed as the as the general Rabbi of Poland)²⁷.

In the first half of 1945 most of these institutions moved their bases to Warsaw and Łódź and the Jewish environment of Lublin begun to shrink gradually. In the middle of 1946, the city was still inhabited by about 2,300 Jews. After the mass emigration from the country, caused by the Pogrom of Kielce, that number diminished to about one thousand people. During the 1950s few hundred Jews still lived in Lublin. They mostly left Poland after the events in 1968.

Currently, a branch of the Warsaw Jewish Religious Community and a branch of the Socio-Cultural Jews Association in Poland function in the city. The Jewish community of Lublin today consists of only several dozens of people.

²⁴ Cf. SZULKIN M.: *Sprawozdania z działalności Referatu dla Spraw Pomocy Ludności Żydowskiej przy Prezydium Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego*. „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego” 1971, nr 79, pp. 76-77.

²⁵ Cf. Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce, Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki, sygn. 106.

²⁶ Cf. KOPCIOWSKI A.: *Miasto początków*. „Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie” 2004, nr 23, pp. 20-22.

²⁷ Cf. *ibidem*.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski.

Agata Paluch (Krakow)*

Mystical Traditions in the Teachings of the Rabbis of Lublin

The Jewish commune of Lublin was proud of its exceptional reputation from the beginning of its existence. The institution of the kahal of Lublin had existed probably since the 15th Century¹. The fact of the Jews receiving privileges from King Kazimierz the Great proves the high status of this community. What caused the fact that Jewish Lublin is considered the third most important kahal in Polish lands, after Krakow and Lviv?

The assessment of the Jewish community (at least from the time of Haskala and the arising new social relations in bigger kahals) is based mainly on the acceptance and underlining of the role of the most educated people, religious authorities, and only in the next turn on other members of the community. Therefore, religious scientists are in the first place (Rabbis, Talmudists, teachers of tradition and later zaddiks) and subsequently the financial elite and secular activists, even if their contribution to the functioning of the kahal institutions was significant in the material dimension². Deciding about the importance of a particular commune one should therefore consider the persons thanks to whom it was possible to achieve so high a position.

Lublin was perceived as a city of Talmudic tradition. The most important reason was of course the existence of the Yeshiva in its terrain, recognized as the best Yeshiva in Polish lands (and competing with the one in Krakow). This Yeshiva was founded in 1518 by the Rabbi Szalom Szachna. Its position was so high, that the first leading Rabbi, Szlomo Lurii (Maharszal) got the title of *rector* from the King, as a privilege affirming the status of the school (1567).

The second half of the 16th Century and the first half of the 17th Century was a period of wide-spreading Kabbalahistic Polish Jews, mainly in the form of the so called practical cabala of Icchak Lurii. The thesis of Lurianic Kabbalah found a favourable response among them, it is also believed, that they influenced the later popularity of the Sabbatianism and Frankism³. The most basic, most external forms of the teaching of Lurii were accepted by the whole of the Jewish community, because they did not

* Student of the Inter-Faculty Individual Humanistic Studies at the Jagiellonian University (specialty – Jewish Studies).

¹ Cf. *Żydzi w Lublinie. Materiały do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej Lublina*. Radzik T. (ed.), Lublin 1995.

² Cf. *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich lubelskich*. Lublin 2001.

³ Cf. SCHOLEM G.: *Mystycyzm żydowski i jego główne kierunki*. Kania I. (translated by), Warszawa 1997.

request a thorough theoretical knowledge, but only an adaptation of some of religious practices, to which a mystical-magic meaning was attributed.

It resulted in the popularization of these teachings among the masses, and they entered the canon of folk religiosity (for example the using of talismans, sources for which should be searched for in this Kabbalah). In the context of the popularization of Kabbalahistic knowledge among the different social classes, the most essential is, from the historic point of view, the role of Hebrew printing houses. At the turn of 16th and 17th Century Lublin became the publishing centre of all types of Kabbalahistic books, which is evidence of the interests of the Jewish community at the time. In 1547 one of the first Hebrew printing houses in Polish lands was established there, and in 1587 the second (of Kalonimus Jaffe) was established, which as the generations passed, managed to publish the most important works concerning the Kabbalahistic issues, practically "systematically"⁴. For example, in 1647, the work *Or Neeraw* written by Moses Kordowero, the most important Kabbalahist synthesizing and ordering of the lurian system, popular in Poland, was published there⁵.

However it is only one aspect of the popularity of Kabbalah. On the other hand, the Lurianic Kabbalah, in the version cultivated by majority, was an important object of interest for the elite of Jewish society. It can be acknowledged, that Lublin was one of the first places, for the development of the mystical speculations in the lurian spirit in Polish lands, and even within Europe. Jewish Lublin as the centre of Talmudic learning was never a place of the full bloom of philosophy, in the spirit of Majmonides and his *More Newuchim*, and what followed was not a centre of such secular sciences as mathematics, physics and so on. Nevertheless it became a centre for the development of theological and theosophical sciences, including Kabbalahistic speculations: first, in the Safedic spirit, then in Chassidic. The engagement of the authorities of the communes of Krakow and Lublin, Rabbis Moses Isserles Remu and Szlomo Lurii Maharszal in the critique of the mass magical and mystical practices for the lurian mould was a characteristic example of the orthodox attitude. They were simultaneously personally engaged in mystical speculation (among other things the commentary to the *Zohar* book by Remu is known). Such attitudes are revealed by the fragment of the letter from Remu to Maharszal:

If I had to get away, I would get away from Kabbalah more willingly than from philosophy, because in Kabbalahistic studies it is easier to be deluded than in philosophy which is based on logic. This is an useful caution for the population, which has found in the books of Kabbalah: "In this time, when they printed the books of Kabbalah,

⁴ Based on the known titles of the books published in the printing houses of Lublin it is estimated that the percentage of the different types of Kabbalahistic texts printed there was 10%. Cf. BAŁABAN M.: *Historia i kultura żydowska ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem historii Żydów w Polsce*. t. 2, Lwów-Warszawa-Kraków 1925 (reprint: Warszawa 1982).

⁵ Cf. SZEMEN N.: *Lublin. Sztot fun Torah, Rabanuth un Chassiduth*. Toronto 1951, p. 122.

as the work of *Zohar*, *Rekanti and Sza'arej Orah* and so on, even those people, who served in houses, who did not see a difference between their right and left in thinking and conducting, could not interpret *Sidra* or *parsza* according to the commentaries of *Raszi*, dared to learn the Kabbalah”⁶.

Remu underlines in the classical way the esoterism of Kabbalahistic sciences intended only for the few, for a closed group of scientists. However, one can conclude from the above quotation that also the less well-educated were interested in Kabbalah. In the description of Kabbalah of Lublin from the historic position, not going into exegesis of the dominating systems, one should underline the role, which was played by Rabbi Matatiah Dolkart. He was the author of interesting commentaries to the works of Menachem Rekanti (*Lewusz Or Jerakot*) and Józef Gikatili, two essential works for the development of the Jewish mysticism Kabbalahists, connected to the geron and safedian traditions. The first commentary of Dolkart appeared in Lublin in 1595, and the second in 1597 in Krakow⁷. These two important works prove, that the scientists of Lublin followed systematically the dominant trends in Kabbalah and did not differ from the level of the better known contemporaries from other Polish cities (such as Jozsua ha-Lewi Hurwic or Szimszon ben Pesach Ostropoler, connected mainly with Krakow).

However it is worth noticing, that the Polish Rabbis, from the time of establishing the Chassidic movement can be evaluated mainly as the creators of outstanding commentaries to the works or Kabbalahistic systems already existing, even though they were not recognized as innovators. The only exception is probably the Rabbi from Krakow, Natan Neta Szapira, creator of the works *Megale Amukot al ha-Tora* and *Megale Amukot Ranaw Ofanim*, whom, using the base of the Lurian Kabbalah, created an exceptional and coherent doctrine. A really fresh look at mysticism and religiosity in general was not realised until the full bloom of Chassidism in Polish lands.

The 17th Century was for Jewish Lublin a time of war and destruction, and in the religious aspect the beginning of the struggle with the Sabbataism wave, which despite the presence of speculative references to Lurianism and its wide popularization, strengthened the position of the religious orthodoxy. It was similar in the public sphere in the case of the Frankist movement. Despite a large resistance towards Chassidism which arose in the 17th Century (e.g. Rabbi of Lublin, Ezriel Horowitz), it managed to develop on a large scale and as a consequence, at the beginning of 20th Century, reached a form of institutionalization as a part of orthodoxy. The presence of Icchak Jakub Horowitz called „Choze mi-Lublin” (The *Seer* from Lublin) in the city till the

⁶ MOSZE ISSERLES R.: *Szeelot u-Tszuwot – Torat ha-Oleh Szem ha-Gdolim*. Cited from: SZEMEN N., op. cit., p. 121.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 122.

end of 18th Century contributed to this fact. He was a student of Elimelech from Leżajsk, the most famous zaddik connected with Lublin, who equally, with his teacher, contributed to the development of the doctrine of Zaddikism within personal reach, based on the interpretation of supernatural powers attributed to Seeing. The founders of the Chassidic dynasties from Kock, Izbica or Przysucha recruited from the students of the zaddik from Lublin. This allowed for the continuation of his teaching, in spite of the end of his own dynasty⁸. It may seem that the power of the Chassidism of Lublin faded after his death. The establishment in 1930, by Rabbi Meir Szapir Yeshivas, of the Wise Men of Lublin, had to consider the power of Rabbinism in the classical edition, and even the influences of literacy. However, it was support from Gerer Rebe Alter (zaddik from Góra Kalwaria) that made the creation of the school possible, for the price of Chassidic elements to the canon of teaching, and it was the last Zaddik of Lublin, Szlomo Eiger who was nominated by Szapirta to his successor at the position of yeshivas' rector⁹.

The two described cases of mystical trends presented in the history of the Jewish community of Lublin permit the statement that Lublin was for a long time a centre for the intensive development of the religious life of Jews. It was a centre in which the traditions of mystical exegesis had an opportunity to enter the canon of orthodox sciences, as part of the institutionalization of their form. Firstly this process happened thanks to the famous scientists engaged in Kabbalah, who had a possibility of sharing knowledge through the publication of their works and commentaries in the Hebrew printing houses which were located there. The next stage was the full blooming of Chassidism and then the placement of the elements of Chassidic exegesis in the canon of teaching in the Yeshiva of the Wise Men of Lublin. This process was stopped by the outbreak of the Second World War.

⁸ Cf. ALFASSI Y.: *R. Jacob Isaac Horowitz, ha-Choze mi-Lublin. His Life and Doctrine*. Ramat Gan 1974.

⁹ MANDELBAUM D. A.: *Jeshivat Habmei Lublin*. Bnei Barak 1995.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski

Ewa Grochowska (Lublin)*

Messianic Movements in the Lublin Region in the 17th and 18th Centuries

The 17th and 18th Centuries brought many changes for the Jewish community in the Lublin region and the surrounding lands, areas such as Podole and Wołyń, which are today within the territory of Ukraine. The specialist literature speaks mainly about the religious crisis (referred to as the “crisis of tradition”), which, though not creating a direct threat for Jewish identity became a forecast of later, social and moral transformations in the 19th Century. The end of the 16th Century is a turning point for the issues that are addressed here. During this time, the rabbinic Judaism mystical traditions gained significance, changing the religious and social life of the Jews, to an extent incomparable with earlier ages. The overwhelming influence of Lurianic Kabbala, bringing a re-interpretation of the basic truths of faith, can be acknowledged as one of the main factors in the revival of messianic ideas, as a basic element of religious life for Judaism. The validity of messianic ideas gained affirmation in stormy historic events, named or interpreted in the Jewish tradition as “the Birth Pangs of the Messiah”. These began with the Cossack invasions in the middle of 17th Century, and lasted until the first half of the 19th Century, when for many Jews the Napoleonic wars would become a readable sign of the coming of the Messianic Age. It seems that, by accepting this eschatological perspective when studying the history of the Jewish nation in Middle-East Europe during the 17th and 18th Centuries provides an answer for why these movements – called by the brilliant researcher of the Jewish mysticism, Gershom Scholem – “a mystical heresy” – had so many followers. Undoubtedly the beginning of Chasidism would be the most important event in this discussed period.

Referring to the written sources, such as The Book of *Zohar* and the ancient work *Sefer Jecirah*, this is a domain of messianic movements which use mysticism to create legitimacy for their own ideas. A great master of the mentioned speculations was undoubtedly Sabbataj Zevi (from the 17th Century), who after announcing himself a Messiah predicted (together with his “prophet” – Nathan from Gaza) the end of the world in 1666. The consequences of his stormy life and controversial views was felt also by the Jews from the areas of the old Polish Republic, including the Lublin region. Many of

* Candidate for Doctor's degree at the Department of Sociology of UMCS; worker at the Centre “Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN” in Lublin and partner of the Cultural Studies Institute of UMCS.

them, convinced of the authenticity of Sabbataj Zevi's mission, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to be there at the named date. A piercing literary evidence of these times and their ferment was given by Isaac Bashevis Singer in his novel *Satan in Goraj*, where he referred to real historic events. After 1666 and the death of Sabbataj Zevi (one year later), in the Lublin region and in central Poland many groups were established, referring not directly to his conception, but calling themselves messianic groups, defined in history also as proto-Chassids. One should mention here: Jehuda Chasid from Siedlce, the co-organizer (together with Chaim Malach from Kalisz) of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After 1706 a few such groups came into being, and one of them, Wolf ha Lewi from Lublin, guided by his brother-in-law Chasid, was baptized into the evangelical Church.

The next pseudo-messiah, who played a great role in shaping religious attitudes and later social processes, was Jakub Frank (from the 18th Century). Significant events from his biography, include first of all the Lviv debate (19th July – 10th September 1759)¹ and his conversion to Catholicism, which was in his opinion (like that of Sabbataj Zevi, who converted to Islam) the necessary condition of the salutary process, which is an act which will only gain an adequate explanation after the fulfillment of time. The route of his messianic expeditions also included Lublin, where one of the members of his "khavura" was buried in the parish church².

The famous Szor family, distantly related to the one-day "king" of Poland – Saul Wahl – is connected with Lublin in the context of Frankism. Under the influence of Frank one of the branches of that family was baptized in 1759 in the Catholic Church.

Frank was arrested in January 1760, probably denounced by one of his supporters as a crypto convert and transported to the monastery of Jasna Góra³, where he refined and modified his messianic doctrine, including the thread of Shekhinah⁴, which in his opinion would be imprisoned in the painting of Holy Mother. It did not interfere

¹ It was the second (after the so called kamieniecka) debate, which the heirs of Sabbataj Zevi doctrine conducted with the Rabbis in the cathedral of Liviv. They reported a readiness for baptism, stating among other things the argument that the Messiah had already come, and the Holy Cross was his stamp and idea of Holy Trinity. Shortly after the end of the debate, over one thousand followers of Sabbataj Zevi were baptized. Frank distanced himself from the debate, but soon, on 17th September 1759, he was baptized too.

² A term used by Frank for describing the group of his closest partners and believers. The Hebrew term *khaverim* (companions) and the word coming from it – *khavura* (gathering, company, association) has a long tradition in Judaism, especially in the transfer of esoteric knowledge. The meetings of the *khaverim* during the Sabbath and others feasts had a religious and almost institutional character since ancient times. Frank, like the heirs of Sabbataj, consciously refers to this terminology.

³ Frank, arrested and deported from Poland for the first time in 1756, was able to return thanks to the personal guarantee of King August II. His conversion to Catholicism had a large significance for the Church, which reacted to it immediately, not wanting to allow Frank to popularize the new sciences in the old spirit (messianic and of Sabbataj, that is doubly heretic).

⁴ Shekhinah – The Holy Presence.

further with the development of individual groups of his followers. They were active in the lands and surroundings of Zamość and Chełm. The famous trial concerning the ritual murder in Wojsławice in 1761 (this date coincides with the time of the baptism of Frank's wife in Lublin) is recorded in the history of the Jews in the Lublin region. According to one of the versions of this history, the Frankists, wanting to take revenge on the unfavourable orthodox Jews, falsely accused the Rabbi of Wojsławice of the murder a Christian child, and using the child's blood for ritual purposes. Persons posing as the child's parents gave evidence against the Rabbi and his followers. They confirmed the alleged loss of their son Mikołaj (as the court records show). The process ended with the triumph of the Frankists, all of the accused were killed (as some of them decided to be baptized before the sentence, they were not quartered and salted, but beheaded) and the Rabbi committed suicide in prison.

Connections of Frank with Lublin are special in the present day, because only there – in the Hieronim Łopaciński Regional Public Library – can the manuscripts of his works be found: *Rozmaite adnotacje, przypadki, czynności i anekdoty Pańskie* (*Different notes, cases, activities and anecdotes of the Lord*) (published in 1996)⁵, *Dodatek do "Zbioru słów Pańskich w Brünnie mówionych"* (*Supplement to the "Collection of the Lord's words being said in Brünno"*), *Dodatek do "Zbioru słów Pańskich w Offenbach mówionych"* (*Supplement to the "Collection of the Lord's words being said in Offenbach"*) and *Widzenia Pańskie* (*Visions of the Lord*) – these works became a base for *Księga słów Pańskich* (*The Book of the Lord's Words*)⁶ which was publishing in 1997.

It can be seen that the research of the history of religious movements in the Lublin region significantly changes the view of the Jewish nation, which is first met in literary writings, where the principal paradigm usually concerns a sleepy *sztetl*, in which life, disrupted by tragic pogroms, focuses on the struggle for everyday existence and on fulfilling religious rituals.

FRANK J.: *Rozmaite adnotacje, przypadki, czynności i anekdoty Pańskie*. Doktor J. (worked out, prepared for printing and enriched in introduction), Warszawa 1996.

Księga słów Pańskich. Ezoteryczne wykłady Jakuba Franka. t.1 - 2, Doktor J. (scientific study and commentaries), Warszawa 1997.

** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski.

Konrad Zieliński (Lublin)*

The Routes to Emancipation for the Galician and the Kingdom of Poland Jews

From the beginning we should note, that even within all former Polish lands one can not talk about one Jewish community, either within the Partition period, or after the First World War, although after 1918, legal, moral and cultural differences did begin to fade away gradually. In the inter-war period in Poland there still existed (accepting Ezra Mendelsohn's typology) three large Jewish communities: in Galicia, in the former Kingdom of Poland (so called Russian Poland), and in the Borderlands. These communities differed in their political situation and social traditions. This article is devoted to a comparison of some chosen aspects of the emancipation and assimilation of the Jews of the Kingdom of Poland and those of the Galician region, with references to the situation, within this range, in Lublin and Lviv, on some issues.

Discussing the emancipation of the Galician Jews and the Jews and the Kingdom of Poland Jews, at least until the first years of 20th Century, the concentration is mainly on assimilation and acculturation processes. The roots of assimilation should be searched for within the movement of the Jewish Enlightenment, the so called Haskala, promoting a need for the reformation of Judaism, which among other things, resulted in a softening and rejection of some of the bans and imperatives of the religion. Moses Mendelssohn, and many of his students after him, assimilated German Jews, began reforming Judaism, with a simplified liturgy and state language, with separate synagogues, named from German *tempel* (in which, as time passed – although not in the Polish lands – the division between women and men in the congregation was removed). In the Polish lands, apart from areas under the Prussian rule, such

* Holds a post-doctoral degree; works at the Centre for Ethnic Studies, Faculty of Political Sciences of UMCS; is engaged in the study of the history and culture of the Jews in Poland and Russia, migration processes, ethnic relations; member of the Polish Association of Jewish Studies and European Association for Jewish Studies; holder of scholarships from the Foundation for Polish Science; author of the work *W cieniu synagogi. Obraz życia kulturalnego społeczności żydowskiej Lublina w latach okupacji austro-węgierskiej* (1998); *Żydzi Lubelszczyzny 1914-1918* (1999), *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej* (2005) and many articles for scientific circles also for the general public; co-author of the book *Jeszywas Chachmej Lublin – Uczelnia Mędrców Lublina* (2003).

Judaism was practised by the wealthy, assimilated Jews, the so called Poles of Jewish religion, mainly in Galicia: Krakow, Lviv, Przemyśl and Czerniowice, and though not as numerous, in the influential groups in Warsaw and Łódź. In Lublin, due to many reasons, mainly because of the influence of the local orthodoxy, assimilation was much weaker, although the Frankist and post-Frankist movements, constituting a sui generis catalyst of the assimilation within Polish lands, had its own accents “from Lublin”. It is sufficient to say, that not only the famous musicians and composers – the Wieniawscy brothers, but also Jan Czyński, the founder of the first (although short-lived) daily newspaper in Lublin, the “Kurier Lubelski” in 1830 – came from families with Frankist traditions.

Comparing both regions we can notice, that in the Kingdom of Poland we deal with processes of “Polish” acculturation and assimilation. In the Galicia region, these processes were orientated towards German culture only at the beginning. It is characteristic, because in the other countries of the Habsburg Empire (in Bohemia, Slovakia or in Hungary) Jews headed towards the culture of the reigning nation or current dynasty. In Galicia, apart from the activity of organization named the „Szomer Izrael” (The Guards of Israel), such a phenomenon could not be observed, and after the establishment of the „Aguda Achim” (The Alliance of Brothers) in Krakow, which opted for “Polish” assimilation, the trend continued in this direction. Leading representatives of this trend from Lviv included: Józef Wittlin writer, Stanisław Ulam (mathematician), or student of the University of Lviv Pesach Stark, that is Julian Strykowski.

In the Kingdom of Poland – and thus also in Lublin – there were in fact no ideas for “Russian” assimilation, and Mendelsohn, referring to the years preceding the January Uprising wrote (in the author’s opinion a bit too excessively) about “euphoric” moments in Polish-Jewish relations under Russian rule. However, looking for the differences between the two regions, one can say, that the Jews of Galicia had an easier route to emancipation, due to the lack of legal limitations; however, the economic situation made the Galicia region similar to “Russian Poland”, where relatively many people from the Jewish intelligentsia worked in private occupations. In Galicia, this occurred to a much lower extent than in the Kingdom of Poland due to the policy of the authorities. Under the Russian rule, Jews were restricted from joining the governmental administration services, so the only routes of development open for an educated Jewish person were the law, medical or journalism studies. It was similar in Galicia – educated Jews were most frequently doctors, journalists or lawyers, however this was connected rather with the weaker industrial development of this region than the policy of the state. Jews in Galicia could find employment in governmental or self-government administrations, either during the period of Galician autonomy, before the First World War and even during the inter-war period (e.g. Wiktor Chajes was chosen in 1930 for the vice-president of the city). In the lands of the Kingdom of Poland, also after 1918, the visit of a Jew to a governmental office was a frustrating experience for him, due to

among others factors his poor knowledge of the Polish language. Depending on the period, various numbers of Jewish officials could be found in Lviv – they were actually not present at all in Lublin. For example, at the beginning of the Polish independence, after the First World War, 60% of the lawyers of Lviv comprised people of Jewish origin, while in Lublin they constituted about 15%.

Let us also notice, that in Lublin *a tempel* was never been established, while in Lviv one of the most beautiful objects of this type was built (as in relatively small Przemyśl, in which the Jews constituted one third of the inhabitants, whilst in Lublin, in 1916 they constituted over 50%). It seems, that the multi-cultural nature of Galicia, with its traditions of political life and the formal equality of rights was in favour of diversity, which also extended to the range of the Jewish community itself. It was contrary to the conservative thought of Jewish groups, including the ultra-orthodox Chassids, who preferred to exclude Jews from participation in non-religious activity.

Also the Polish-Jewish relations in Galicia had been “ever” better than in the Kingdom of Poland (although undoubtedly there was hostility from Galician peasants towards Jews, which resulted from not only national but also economic and religious causes, and sometimes from the activity of some politicians, who tried to play the “anti-Semitic card”). The situation in which there was smaller support for anti-Semitism resulted probably from the fact that in this autonomous region, since the 1860s the Poles were a privileged social layer, not endangered by a deprivation of national identity, by Russification or Germanization. In the Kingdom of Poland a strong Polish national movement developed, resisting Russification, which transformed into chauvinism and xenophobic nationalism orientated against all “strangers”. Also Galician democratic, liberal and parliamentary traditions had a large significance. In the Kingdom of Poland, apart from anti-Semitism resulting from the programme of Russian authorities, since the end of the 1870s more and more frequently there was anti-Semitism and nationalism expressed by the Poles, later enhanced by the activity of the National Democratic Party, and separate from religious, anti-Judaism roots. In Galicia, pogroms had not occurred for a long time. However, later the Polish-Ukrainian conflict influenced to a large extent the situation of the local Jews. Although the Jews stood aside in a waiting and neutral attitude (although they sympathized with Poles more often), it did not protect them from accusations of betrayal, put forward by both sides, which reached a climax with the tragic Pogrom of Lviv in November 1918 and its aftermath.

Of course, emancipation is not only assimilation, and we can not discuss only the well-educated social class. The sectors of society which looked for the foundations for their identity in Jewish national or class orientation, could be met either in Lublin or in Lviv, and their representatives came from either the intelligentsia circles (alienated by the rising anti-Semitism and more and more clearly noticing the bankruptcy of the assimilation idea as a way of solving the “Jewish issue” – assimilation

treated as a political movement, not as a social phenomenon), or from workers or craft circles.

Is it possible to notice some differences between Lviv and Lublin, or wider, between Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland in this regard? It seems, that it is, although the social and professional structure of both of these societies was similar and both could be classified as eastern-European type, with strong orthodox religious trends, with strong influences of Chassidic courts and the communities engaged mainly in trade and craft and characterized by high natural growth. The Jews in Galicia, mainly in the Eastern part, constituted mostly a third of the inhabitants of cities or towns in the region (following the populations of the Poles and the Ukrainians), while in central Poland, especially in eastern part of the Kingdom of Poland, their percentage often exceeded 50%, reaching in some settlements, e.g. in Izbica – 90-95%.

Analyzing the political life in Galicia during the inter-war period, one should notice that some parliamentary traditions survived there. Let us notice, that the Galician Zionist organization was called „Et Liwnot” (It is the Time to Build), whilst it was the much more radical (of Warsaw) „Al Hamiszmar” (On Guard): the Zionists of Lublin, a city in former “Russian Poland”, sympathized rather with this radical wing. The meaningful fact is that “Galicians”, including those coming from Lviv, were the initiators of the so called Polish-Jewish agreement from 1925 (disregarding the effects of the agreement itself, examined in categories of political benefits).

The Galician Jews were also active in the workers movement – at first Polish – by the Polish Social-Democratic Party, alternatively organizing their own occupational associations, often with religious character, concentrating around the synagogue (their members took an oath for the Torah). The Jews of the Kingdom of Poland, from the beginning, and in larger numbers, functioned in the organization of Polish workers’ movement, and autonomous Jewish groups came into existence already during the First Proletariat. The revolution in 1905 had a great influence on the development of Jewish political factions and parties, especially the workers parties. After the revolution the authority of Bund, the Jewish workers party created in Vilnius, rose extraordinarily. Bund had actually had not reached Galicia before the First World War, and in the inter-war period it had never gained as many followers as in the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland. Also there are some analogies with the Zionist movement which can be noticed – radical catchwords, so willingly and consequently raised in the former “Russian Poland”, found less acclaim in “Jewish” Galicia due to the parliamentary traditions of Austro-Hungary, and the experience of the “good emperor” Franz Josef.

To summarise two trends were born from Haskala – to become the Poles of the Jewish religion and to revive the Jewish national awareness. Although the first was visible in both regions, the Zionism of the Kingdom of Poland was much more radical than in Galicia. On the other hand the Jewish socialism settled in the Yiddish culture

(also due to the relatively low percentage of workers' circles and due to the weak industrialization of this region), had fewer supporters in Galicia. The statistical data and a deeper analysis of the social, cultural and political life of Lublin and Lviv fully confirm this thesis.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski.

*Anna Krachkovska (Lviv)**

The Jewish Community of Lviv from the 16th to 18th Century: The territory and the Legal Status

The Jews are the oldest national minority of Ukraine. The history of early modern Lviv (1527-1772) is considered to have begun with the important events of 1569, when, with the agreement of the Lublin Union, Lviv became geographically situated in the heart of Poland. Polish political events then influenced all the aspects of the development of Lviv as a city¹.

The year 1527 was successful for the Jews of Lviv, and whole Poland because Sigismund the First gave equal rights to Jewish merchants, as compared to the Christian merchants. In 1551 and in 1571 Sigismund-August gave special privileges to the Jews. The legal part of these decrees provided them with the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Province and the King. The decrees were the beginning of total Jewish autonomy. The “golden age” of Polish, and hence Lviv Jews began in the very middle of the 16th Century and lasted until the middle of the 17th Century.

From the very beginning the Jewish people lived in Lviv in the city centre and in the Krakow suburb. The Krakow suburb was situated in the district of the Castle hill². The Old Rus Lviv was situated near Zholkevaska street. The “Old Rynok” was at the heart of it. At the cross-roads of Zholkevaska and Bokhnycha streets there was a ditch with a road across it leading to the Old Rynok. There was a ghetto in the suburb, to the west from the ditch, reaching Poltva³. The suburb district changed more often than the city centre district because the unprotected suburb suffered from numerous invasions. In the 17th Century the territory of Jewish district included Sanska (Bozhnycha), Mstyslava Udaloho (Old Castle), Pidmurna (Smocha), Ovocheva (Ovotsova), Lazneva, Old (Tsybulna) streets and the part of Bohdan Khmelnytsky street (Zholkevaska) near the Old Rynok Square.

There was a large synagogue of the suburb district in Sanska (Bozhnycha) street. It was built not later than the 16th Century. A fire in 1632 ruined the synagogue. Later the synagogue caught fire several times: in 1648 during Bohdan Khmelnytsky's attack, and in 1664 as the result of the massacre in the suburb district by Jesuit collegium students.

* Student of Humanitarian Faculty of Ukrainian Catholic University.

¹ DOLYNSKA M.: *Lviv: prostir i meshkantsi (istoryko-urbanistychnyy narys)*. Lviv 2005, p. 37.

² MELAMED V.: *Yevreyi vo Lvovie (XIII – pervaya polovina XX veka)*. Lviv 1994, p. 182.

³ BALABAN M.: *Dzielnica żydowska: jej dzieje i zabytki*. Lwow 1909, p. 16.

Once, there was a Jewish cemetery on the area of the Krakivskiy market. It was partly destroyed by the Nazis during the Second World War. The oldest tomb, according to Majer Balaban, dated back to 1348.

The cemetery is considered to have been in common use for Jews from the suburb district and from the city district because no documents denying this have ever been found⁴.

Zhydivska (Jewish) street included the south-eastern part of the suburb district making a closed territory – a ghetto with its own gate from the side of Ruska street, which was always closed at night to avoid massacre. The “Zhydivska brama” (Porta Judaeorum) was usually called “Bramka” (meaning small gate). The diminutive name was used to differentiate it from other large city gates (Krakivska and Halytska). But nevertheless it was bigger than other gates leading to the city, such as Bosyatska and Jesuitska⁵. Because of frequent attacks Bramka had to be closed during the day as a way to protect against local drunks and especially the students of Cathedral school and the Jesuit collegium. The students and the school poor were constant enemies of the Jews, and despite constant apologies by the Rector, never let them alone.

Zhydivska street in the north direction leads to the Dominican Cathedral and Armenian quarter and in the South direction to the Bernardin monastery. Its southern part is the ancient Zhydivska street. This was its name during the Austrian-Hungarian period (Judengasse) but in 1871 the name was changed to the historically mistaken and inexpressive Blyakharska because of the strange and odd sensitiveness of the lodgers⁶.

In the 1580s a new synagogue appeared in the centre and it was later called the “Golden Rose”⁷. Near it there were different premises such as a hospital, bath-house, shops, a Rabbi’s house, a place for trials and kahal meetings.

Jews had prayed in the “Golden Rose” for more than 350 years when in 1942 it was destroyed by the Fascists. Today the remnants may be seen in Ivan Fedorov street 27⁸.

The Jewish communities of the city and the suburb districts differed locally and administratively. They had their own schools, trials, shops, bath-houses, kahal; they treated each other with arrogance and disdain. At that time no Orthodox Jew would move from the suburb to the city district and vice versa⁹.

The situation changed greatly after the 6th October 1648 when the troops of Bohdan Khmelnytsky attacked Lviv. In order not to let the Hetman’s troops enter the city centre the Lviv forces decided to shift the main blow to the suburb district with the

⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 185.

⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 129.

⁶ Cf. PRYSJAŻNYJ K.: *Szczo dijaloś na żydiwśkij wulyci?* *Nezależnyj kulturotohicznyj czasopys „Ji”* Hałyczyna-krajina Ijudej 2004, № 36, p. 129.

⁷ Cf. KAPRAL M.: *Nacionalni gromady Lwowa XVI-XVIII.st. (socjalno-prawowi wzajemyny)*. P. 306.

⁸ Cf. *Jewrei w Ukrainie. Ucziebno-metodiczeskije materiały.* Kabanchik I. B. (ed.), p. 25.

⁹ Cf. BALABAN M., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

help of fire. The fire made people run to the city centre. Bohdan Khmelnytsky had only one demand: to release all the Jews to the Kossak troops but Lviv did not agree to this¹⁰. Since that date a gradual consolidation of the Jewish community began. In the 18th Century the two kahals were united and the kahal's elections for all Lviv Jews became the symbol of this union¹¹.

When researching the problem of the legal status of the Jewish community one should mention the existence of the so called privileges given to Jews for a normal life which created a gap between them and the Christian population. In this connection the Jewish communities all over Europe were a reserved religious ethnical group until the Great French Revolution and Napoleon's wars¹².

The first documented notice about the Jews in Lviv is the clause of privilege of 1356 on the possibility for them to organize and for other "nations" to hold their own courts with a city Voivode at the head¹³. This very year Lviv was given the Magdeburg right by Kazimir the Great.

During the rule of Yan Olbrakht's brother King Alexander (1501-1506) the Lviv Jews became more influential. They received privileges necessary for trade and the right to free trade during fairs (1506)¹⁴. Besides, Jewish merchants were allowed not to pay all the King's duties. A year earlier the King has agreed the same for the Lviv bourgeois. This privilege greatly influenced the development of the Jewish trade in Lviv. In some time Sigizmund I equalized in rights the suburban Jewish community and city Jewish community concerning the privilege giving the right to trade all over Poland. But the trade was restricted to cattle and woolen cloth. The right to trade given to the Jews of the Krakow suburb aroused dissatisfaction within both the bourgeois class and members of the Jewish community of the city centre. As it has already been mentioned both communities showed constant enmity. Besides, the city Jews considered themselves better and even different from the suburban Jews. They were used to having all the privileges only for themselves.

In 1550-70 the Jewish community of Lviv, with the help of King's decrees, regulated the legal relations with the Christian population, and the problems of the Jewish judicial system. Twelve articles of the King's decree reproduced a judicial structure and organization for the Jewish community. Like elsewhere in Poland, the Lviv Jews were under the jurisdiction of the local Voivode¹⁵.

In the 17th Century the economical strength of the Lviv Jews increased greatly and they became competitors to the Christian merchants and craftsmen. Yan Kazimir allowed

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid*, p. 18.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid*, p. 19.

¹² Cf. MEŁAMED W., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹³ Cf. KAPRAL M., *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁴ Cf. MEŁAMED W., *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁵ Cf. KAPRAL M., *op. cit.*, p. 87.

them to trade on the days of the Christian holidays, gave the privileges to communities including the Krakow community. King Mykhailo Vyshnevetsky (1669-1673) confirmed the privileges of the general statute of the Polish Jews at the Royal Sejm, and 17 additional articles adopted by Kings in the 16th to 17th Centuries, according to which a murderer of a Jew was sentenced to death with confiscation of his property, and in the case of anti-Jew riots, the municipality was to pay a fine. The Jews were given equal economical rights with the Christians citizens. Yan Sobesky III (1674-1696) confirmed the earlier privileges of the Jews and gave new ones to some communities¹⁶.

During the North War, in the reign of August II of the Saxon dynasty, Lviv in 1704 was occupied by Swedish troops. They ransacked the city and made the community pay 60,000 tallers of ransom.

The decrees of the first half of the 18th Century banned trade for the Jews, limiting it again to four types of goods according to the decrees of the 16th Century, and closed down the breweries and the taverns in the suburbs and stipulated some other decisive steps thus benefiting the city. However, these decrees were not carried out in practice due to the influence of the Jewish community among the nobility and magnates¹⁷.

In 1722 a decree on eviction of Jews from all the city streets except the ghetto territory was adopted but it never came into force¹⁸. In the second half of the 18th Century Lviv faced an economical decline caused not only by numerous wars and persistent attacks but also by the repressions against the Jews.

After the next conflict between the bourgeois and Jews, King August III (1735-1763) took the side of the bourgeois which in general resulted in the material decline of the Jewish communities in Poland and Ukraine. Even the nobility which supported the Jews during reign of previous Kings was against them now. In this context Majer Balaban writes about the massacre of 1759, which was the most serious for the previous 50 years¹⁹.

At this time many people move to city suburbs built by Polish magnates because of the over population of Lviv. Lviv Jews moved to Zhovkva, Svyryzh, Buchach and Brody²⁰.

The decrees of December 12th 1793 and December 12th 1795 allowed the city Jews to live in Jewish, Zarvanska and Ruska streets, whereas the suburban Jews were to live in the Krakivsky suburb and in Zholkevaska street. They were to leave other streets and districts with the exception of Jews with large private property, their own estate or who sold Austrian goods. These decrees were confirmed and repeated in 1804

¹⁶ Cf. *Kratkaya Jewriejskaja Encikłopedija*, t. 4. Ijerusalim 1988, pp. 629-630.

¹⁷ Cf. *Prywileji nacionalnych gromad. mista Lwiwa (XIV-XVIII st.)*, p. 31.

¹⁸ Cf. MEŁAMED W.: *Jewrej wo Lwowie*, p. 92.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid*, p. 93

²⁰ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 42.

and 1811, and as a result all Jews were exiled from the territories and banned from making a living²¹.

After the divisions of Poland in the 18th Century a large percentage of the Jewish population found themselves under the territory of the Russian Empire. Catherine II in 1764 allowed the Jews to live and trade in the south of Ukraine (Novorosyyska province) and the decree of 1785 formally gave the Jews equal rights with the Christians. Pavel I allowed them to settle in Kyiv and Kamyanets-Podilskyy, but introduced double taxing for Jewish merchants.

Analyzing the period from the beginning of the 14th Century to the end of the 18th Century one may see a tendency to a greater limitation to the rights of the Jewish communities not only in Lviv but also in Poland. The fact that the nobility did not support the Jews in 1759 confirms this.

²¹ Cf. BAŁABAN M., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

*** Translation from the Ukrainian language by Rostyslav Dmytrasevych

*Mykola Hetmanchuk (Lviv)**

The Participation of the Jewish Population in the Process of the Formation of the Intelligentsia in the Lviv Region in the Post-War Period (1944-1953)

After the Lviv region was liberated from German forces, towards the end of the Second World War, the process of strengthening the totalitarian Soviet political party system began. The Bureau of the Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party (of the bolsheviks) of Ukraine (CP(b)U), was located at that time in the town of Kremenchuk in the Ternopil region, and on 23rd April 1944 it reached a decision to establish three operating groups to conduct work to restore Soviet rule in the territory of the liberated regions¹. These groups included the twelve heads of the district departments of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD); their work was aimed at organizing the struggle against the national resistance movement, in the form of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In the same year, the harsh troops of the NKVD, consisting of four infantry brigades and one cavalry regiment were sent to the Lviv region². So, the Soviet totalitarian regime, which took over control from the occupation of Hitler's regime, started a long and permanent struggle with the population of this region.

World War II and Stalin's repressions caused considerable changes in the national composition of the population in the region of Lviv. While in 1939 the region's population consisted of 2 million 425 thousand people, in 1959 it amounted to only 2 million 107 thousand³. For example, the population of Lviv decreased by 190 thousand people during the war years, amounting to 150 thousand compared to 340 thousand people in 1939⁴. Hitler's forces annihilated 315 thousand citizens in the Lviv region, Jews being a considerable part of this number. Before the War, about 400 thousand Jews lived

* Associate professor of historic studies, professor in Political Science Department of State University „Technical University of Lviv”, assistant manager of Regional Scientific-Educational Centre for Studies on Problem of Holocaust by the State University „Technical University of Lviv”.

¹ *Narysy istorii lvivskoi oblasnoyi partijnoyi orhanizatsiyi*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Lviv, Kameniar, 1980, p. 104.

² BILAS I.: *Repressyvno-karalna systema v Ukraini 1917-1953: Suspilno-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz: In two books*. Kyiv, Lybid – „Vijsko Ukrainy”, 1994, Book 1, p. 263.

³ ROMANTSVOV V.: *Ukrainskyi etnos na odvichnykh zemlyakh ta za yihnimy mezhamy (XVIII – XX centuries)*. Kyiv, O. Teliha Publishing House, 1998, p. 167.

⁴ *Istoriya mist i sil. URSS: Lvivska oblast. In 26 volumes*. Kyiv, URE Main Editorial Office, 1968, p. 84.

within the modern administrative borders of the Lviv region. The decrease in the Jewish population amounted to about 270 thousand people, that is, 90% of all the victims of Hitler's regime⁵. Researchers note that by the time the Soviet troops entered Lviv, no more than 800 Lviv Jews, out of 160 thousand, had survived⁶. This figure is probably still too high. The information sent by the Lviv Regional Committee of CP(b)U to the Central Committee (CC CP(b)U), stated that, as of 5th August 1944, only 17 Jews lived in Lviv⁷. The surviving Jewish population of the Lviv region partly moved to Poland after 1944. Yet it is not feasible to know the exact number of the Jews living in the region. The only known figure is that 33,105 Jewish repatriates arrived in Poland from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the years of 1944-1948⁸.

In the Lviv region, the Holocaust became a tragedy for the region's population as a whole, since the Jews were citizens of Ukraine. Among the victims of Hitler's genocide were Lviv Jews who made a considerable contribution to the worlds of science, culture and art. The list of victims included Sh. Auerbach and A. Sternbach (mathematicians); S. Chertkover (anthropologist); philologists G. Stenberg, I. Bermann, A. Shpet, M. Auerbach, and Ya. Handel, (it is necessary to note in this context that 45 Jewish periodicals had been published in Lviv before 1939)⁹; F. Igel, L. Blaustein, V. Barabash, and M. Yampolskyi (philosophers and psychologists); A. Fuchs and E. Griffel (physicists); A. Osterzetter, Ya. Shahl, F. Hafner, I. Madfes, Ya. Viller, and L. Gutmann (historians); M. Allergard, L. Landau, A. Lyutvak, and M. Schaff (lawyers); A Beck, V. Gizzelt, A. Ruff, A. Rozmaryn, V. Reiss, Ya. Vilner, and G. Schneider, who were medical doctors, well known in Europe; D. Kengsberg, Ya. Shudrich, S. Grinn, Z. Imber, M. Feld, S. Schor, M. Schimmel, and G. Balk (writers and publicists); Ya. Mund, M. Norziz, A. Stadler, L. Schtriks, L. Eber, E. Steinberger, Yu. German, L. Minzer, M. Bauer, A. Khermalin, L. Erb, F. Kleinman, Sh. Rettich, N. Hausner, Ya. Bodek, and D. Schreiber (artists, musicians and singers); E. Levin, A. Levin, I. Wolfeberg, M. Alter, N. Leiter, Sh. Rappoport, and S. Rappoport (doctors of theology), as well as many others. It can only be stated that the three years of Hitler occupation brought unrecoverable damage and loss for both Jewish and Ukrainian culture and science.

After the liberation of Lviv on 8th August 1944, the executive committee of the city council passed a resolution "On providing assistance to Jewish families who returned from concentration camps and shelters."¹⁰ However, Jews who were returning

⁵ *Mistsia skorboty (Lvivska oblast)*. I. B. Kabanchyk (ed.), Lviv, "Manuscript" Ltd, 2004, pp. 3-4.

⁶ HONIGSMANN Ya.: *Katastrofa Lvovskogo ievrejstva*. Lvov 1993, p. 53; BERENSTEIN T.: *Eksterminacija ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja*. „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego” 1967, № 61, pp. 3-61.

⁷ Derzhavnyi arhiv Lvivskoji oblasti (further – DALO). Collection P-3, description 1, case 523, p. 112.

⁸ *Najnowsze dzieje w Polsce: w zarysie (do 1950 roku)*. Tomaszewski J. (ed.), Warszawa, PWN, 1993, p. 388.

⁹ MELAMED V.: *Yevrei vo Lvove (XIII – pervaiia polovina XX veka): sobytiya, obshestvo, liudi*. Lvov, Tekop, 1994, pp. 256 – 264.

¹⁰ DALO. Collection P-6, description 2, case. 34, p. 49.

to the Lviv region from evacuation, met with considerable bureaucratic obstacles and difficulties. The representatives of the Soviet bodies issued special passes for refugees to enter the liberated lands. For the Jewish population, as researchers claim, the distribution of passes was restricted in many ways¹¹. Moreover, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 1st November 1945 stated that individuals of Jewish nationality and their family members, who moved to Poland were denied Soviet citizenship immediately upon crossing the state border¹². These measures can be explained by several factors: 1) the Soviet authorities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic did not view Jews as a part of population which had suffered in a special way from the Hitler occupation; 2) discriminative staff limitations for Jews for job placements, especially in 1944-1947, were introduced; 3) the economic difficulties of the post-war period, as well as famine in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1946-1947, were often imputed to the Jews in the popular mind, and this led to the formation of anti-Semitic moods among the population.

By June 1946, 90 thousand Soviet administrative and party workers, teachers, doctors, engineers, and agronomists had been sent to the western parts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for permanent work, their aim being to increase the educational standard of the population and propagate the Communist ideology. Almost 44 thousand teachers came from the eastern regions to the western rural areas of Ukraine, a high figure which is explained by the expansion of the secondary schools network¹³. There were a lot of Jews among those who arrived. For example, in the first seven months of 1946, 32 thousand people arrived in Lviv, and Jews comprising 5.7 thousand or 7.8% of the total number¹⁴. By the end of the year their number had doubled and in the middle of October 1946, it amounted to 13,198 people. In this context, the secret data on the national composition of Lviv's inhabitants, as of 1st January 1951, provided by the head of the Passport Board of the City Militia Department, is worth mentioning. Out of 375.2 thousand, of the total city population, Jews amounted to 26.3 thousand (7% of the total number of citizens)¹⁵. Due to their high educational and professional level, Jews made up more than 8% of the heads of Lviv's enterprises and institutions in 1946¹⁶.

A considerable expansion of educational opportunities for the population became one of the most popular steps made by the Soviet regime in the post-war period. In

¹¹ MITSEL M.: *Yevrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 godakh: ocherki dokumentirovannoi istorii*. Kyiv, Dukh i Litera, 2004, pp. 24-30.

¹² *Natsionalni protsesy v Ukraini: istoriya i suchasnist. Dokumenty i materialy*. In 2 parts Panibudlaska V. (ed.), Kyiv, Vyshcha Shkola, 1997, part 2, p. 405.

¹³ *Lvivshchyna za roky Radianskoyi vlady: Statystychnyi zbirnyk*. Lviv, Oblstatupravlinnia, 1982, pp. 286-292.

¹⁴ DALO. Collection P-3, description 1, case 523, pp. 112-113.

¹⁵ DALO. Collection P-283, description 13, case 44, p. 4.

¹⁶ DALO. Collection P-4, description 1, case 101, pp. 88-91.

order to gain over the sympathy of the western Ukrainians, the new regime activated Ukrainian educational programmes. In 1945, 920 schools, 7 higher educational institutions, and 22 technical schools were already functioning in the Lviv region¹⁷. Furthermore, in the years of 1944-1946, 1,094 teachers came to Lviv to teach at higher educational institutions and technical schools, and another 258 specialists arrived in Lviv to work at scientific and research institutions¹⁸. Yet the relative density of students born in the western regions and studying in Lviv amounted to 37% in 1946, and to more than 57% in 1953. It was a frequent case that the representatives of the local intelligentsia did not have an opportunity to become involved with pedagogical work due to their alleged political unreliability. The Jewish population did not enjoy the confidence of Stalin's regime either. The statistical data of 1945 shows that 1) out of 3,687 students at Lviv's higher educational institutions Jews constituted 4.5%; 2) out of 211 heads of departments at Lviv's higher educational institutions there were only 2 Jews; 3) out of 1,082 faculty members at Lviv's higher educational institutions Jews amounted to 29; 4) among 109 members of Lviv's scientific and research institutes there were 19 Jews¹⁹.

Distrust of the local intelligentsia became a distinguishing feature of Stalin's staff policy in the region. Therefore, the Soviet administration in the Lviv region was formed almost exclusively from new-comers, who were appointed to every post of some responsibility. The status and conditions of the intelligentsia in the Lviv region under these conditions were quite ambiguous. A part of intelligentsia tried to integrate into, and work for, the system; a larger part of the intelligentsia became the object of political or criminal terror, as well as physical and moral repressions.

These factors led to the considerable spread of the Russification process in the Lviv region. For instance, at the beginning of 1953 the overwhelming majority of subjects were taught in Russian at Lviv's higher educational institutions. At the Lviv University, only 49 teachers out of 295, lectured in Ukrainian²⁰.

The policies carried out in the cultural and educational institutions were similar to those pursued in the social and political, as well as economic life, in the region as a whole. After the Soviet troops arrived, 64 Jews were employed at Lviv's theatres, out of a total of 1,225 employees (production and support personnel)²¹. Namely, the Zankovetska Theatre personnel included 24 Jews (out of 235 employees), the Opera

¹⁷ Cf. Het'manchuk M.: Inteligencija Lwiwszczyny za umow stalins'koho totalitarnogo režymu (1944-1953). [In:] *Ukrains'ka nacionalna ideja. Realiji ta perspektywy rozwytku*. Lviv 2002, № 13, pp. 254-263.

¹⁸ *Rozkvit narodnoyi osvity v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy*. Tymokhin B. I. (ed., compiled by), Kyiv, Radianska shkola, 1979, p.166.

¹⁹ DALO. Collection P-3, descr. 3, case 311, pp. 101-103; collect. P-3, descr. 1, case 311, pp. 80-83, pp. 144-146.

²⁰ *Istoriya Ukrainy: nove bachennia*. Kyiv, „Ukraina” Publishing House, 1996, volume 2, p. 350.

²¹ DALO. Collection P-1, description 1, case 311, p. 6.

and Ballet Theatre personnel included 7 Jews (out of 431 employees). In the middle of 1947, there were 220 Jews among the 1,829 members of Lviv's cultural institutions, while out of 492 medical doctors, 138 were Jews²².

In spite of the fact that there was an insufficient number of qualified professionals to occupy the high positions in the regions, the representatives of Jewish population of the region, even those with the high educational and professional background, were admitted to these posts with great caution and limitations. The statistical data shows that, by the middle of 1946, Jews constituted only 2.4%, of the 576 approved administrative (nomenclature) workers in the Lviv city committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine²³.

²² Cf. POPP R.: *Intellihentsiya Lvova u 1944-1953 rokakh: etnosotsialna kharakterystyka*. "Works of History Department of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv: Scientific Collection Works", Lviv 2001, Issue 4, p. 380.

²³ DALO. Collection P-4, description 1, case 101, pp. 9, 88-91.

*** Translation from the Ukrainian language by Halyna Kaluzhna.

MEMORY OF JEWISH CULTURE

*Beata Skrzydlewska (Lublin)**

Jewish and Christian Religious Museums

The history of religious museums in Europe is not very long, they were first organized in the first half of 19th Century and mainly objects drawn from religious culture were collected there. The case is slightly different in the area of the old Polish lands before the Partitions. Here, the museums – mainly Christian – came into being not until the second half of the 19th Century. Not only objects which were drawn from religious culture, but also artifacts of national culture were stored there.

The core of the collections of both the Christian and Jewish museums were constituted by private collections, and for example in the diocese museum in Włocławek it was the private collection of the Chodyńscy brothers, and in the Jewish museum in Lviv from Maksymilian Goldstein.

The history of religious museums on the mentioned areas can be divided into four periods. The first starts from the second half of the 19th Century and lasts until the end of the First World War. This was a period of development, of setting the model for this type of institution and establishing the collections. The following museums of the Roman Catholic Church came into being during this time: Włocławek (1870), Tarnów (1888), Poznań (1893), Wrocław (1898), Przemyśl (1902), Płock (1903), Sandomierz (1905), Żytomierz (1909), Krakow (1909) and Warsaw (1910). The Orthodox Church museums were created in this time, as well: in Lviv, the museum of the Staurological Institute (1898) – founded by Rev. Antoni Petruszewicz and Rev. Izydor Szaraniewicz, in Chełm, the Orthodox Eparchial museum (1892), in Żytomierz, Eparchial museum (1893) – under the supervision of the Orthodox Church-Archeological Wołyń Association, in Kamieniec Podolski, Uniate museum (1891) and founded by metropolitan Andrzej Szeptycki the religious-historic Ukrainian State Museum (1913)¹.

* Member of the Department of the History of Museums and Protection of Monuments in the Institute of Art History of the Catholic University of Lublin; her interests are concentrated mainly on the issues connected with church museums (it concerns either the history of these museums, or exhibition problems in the contemporary reality).

¹ One can find a few different dates of the establishment of this museum in different sources, e.g. Edward Chwalewik mentions about 1904, Marian Treter – 1908, Mieczysław Orłowicz – 1914. Cf. CHWALEWIK E.: *Zbiory polskie: archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerje, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie w zestawieniu alfabetycznym według miejscowości ułożone*. Warszawa-Kraków 1926, pp. 411-412; TRETER M.: *Muzea współczesne. Studium muzeologiczne. Początki, rodzaje, istota i organizacja muzeów. Publiczne zbiory muzealne w Polsce i przyszły ich rozwój*. Kijów 1917, p. 63; ORŁOWICZ M.: *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Galicyi, Bukowinie, Spiszu, Orawie i Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Lwów 1919, p. 68.

At the beginning of 20th Century, the next museums were organized: the Mathias Bersohn Jewish Museum in Warsaw (July 1910), and the Jewish museum in Lviv, founded by Maksymilian Goldstein (1912). In Gdansk, the Jewish community created in 1904, the Lesser Geldziński Foundation, named after the famous collector from Gdansk, who collected Jewish ceremonial objects. On the 10th of January 1904 he gave his collection to the community. This collection survived in the museum of the Great Synagogue in Gdansk until 1939².

The second period covers the inter-war years. The religious museums have in this time already a form of organized institutions, and apart from expanding the collections, engage in different forms of activity connected to protection of the monuments. In this time, the Christian museums in Janów (1920), Kielce (1922), Lublin (1926), Pelplin (1928), Łódź (1937) came into being. In Vilnius, the Association of Enthusiasts of Jewish Monuments of the Past (founded thanks to the initiative of Kletzkin) organized a Judaic museum. During this time the Museum of Jewish Monuments was established in Krakow.

The third period covers the years from 1944 to 1989. In connection with the political situation, many museums ceased to exist, whilst other new institutions appeared. The last period covers the contemporary years (after 1989).

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Comparing the situation under the three regions of the former Partitions of Poland, the best conditions for establishing religious museums existed in Galicia, which belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was pluralistic, multi-national and multi-cultural in its nature, thus allowing for the establishment of scientific and cultural centres in this region³.

In the newspapers from Lviv in the 1910s, there appeared articles, in which astonishment was expressed, that although there were museums commemorating Polish and Russian culture in the city, there was still is no institution, which presented the achievements of the Jewish nation (as an example of such museum the Besohn Museum, existing then in Warsaw was mentioned⁴). It was suggested, that this case should be taken up by the Jewish community's kahal. However, the process took a different route – Maksymilian Goldstein undertook the organization of such museum.

² Cf. REJDUCH-SAMKOWA I.: Pierwsi kolekcjonerzy i badacze sztuki judaistycznej w Polsce. [In:] *Mecenas. Kolekcjoner. Odbiorca. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Katowice, listopad 1981*. Karwowska E., Marczak-Krupa A. (ed.), Warszawa 1984, pp. 165-178.

³ RÓŻAŃSKA E.: *Muzea Diecezjalne w Polsce*, Toruń 1976 [mps], p. 33.

⁴ [N.a.], *Kronika Krajoznawcza*. „Ziemia” (I) 1910, nr 38, p. 607-608; [n.a.] *Muzeum Narodowe Ruskie we Lwowie*. „Swiat” 1911, nr 32, p. 16; JANUSZ B.: *Muzeum żydowskie we Lwowie*. „Swiat” 1911, nr 38, pp. 4-5; Idem, *Muzea lokalne w Galicyi*. „Ziemia” (III) 1912, nr 6, pp. 9-92.

The first information about Goldstein's initiative – to collect in one place the monuments of culture and history of the Jews living in Poland, with a special consideration of those who inhabited the region of Galicia – appeared in 1911 in the periodical „Świat”⁵. It noted, that this bank clerk, community worker by vocation, and first of all famous collector of coins had previously presented his idea of an institution together with a precise project, to the Jewish community before – in 1910. Its representatives expressed words of acceptance, promised to help, but did not make (at least at first) any steps in this direction⁶.

He asked for the help of the Jewish intelligentsia of Lviv, which entrusted to him, among other things books and prints, offered finances and promised help at the moment of the start of activity of the museum. Meanwhile Goldstein had been collecting drawings presenting historic Jewish architecture, etchings with characteristic Jewish dresses, and seals with Jewish writings and symbols. However, he was above all interested in objects of religious culture (mainly the works of artistic craft): candlesticks, signs for the Torah, crowns for the Pentateuch. He hoped that in one of the sections of the museum one could place the community library which existed in Lviv. In 1913 in „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne” (*Numismatic-Archeological News*) one could find the information about a large collection of coins collected by Goldstein⁷. These included roman coins from the time of occupation of Israel by the Romans, but also coins with Hebrew inscriptions, printed in the time of Mieszko I in Poland and from other countries, for example in Denmark. The collection of coins was placed in a wardrobe with 28 drawers and dozen or so partitions. Separate coins were placed in envelopes arranged in chronological order. Goldstein had also collected talismans, badges and medals (among other things commemorating the equal rights of the Jews in Galicia in 1861), for which another wardrobe with very narrow drawers inlaid with plush covering was designed.

The famous historian of museums Mieczysław Treter recalls this museum in his book *Muzea współczesne* (*Contemporary museums*), and states the necessity of organizing such institutions, however he expresses a doubt about the range of the collection. He suggests that one should narrow it to the settlement of the Jews in Poland. He also points out the fact, that in such city as Lviv, devoting a museum to the entirety of the history of the Jews was unnecessary and unfeasible⁸. History has shown that it was Goldstein's idea which was correct⁹.

⁵ JANUSZ B., *Muzeum żydowskie*, p. 4.

⁶ Cf. *ibidem*.

⁷ [N.a.], *Zbiór Maksymiliana Goldsteina we Lwowie*. „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne” 1913, nr 10, pp. 149-150.

⁸ Cf. TRETER M., *Muzea współczesne*, p. 18, 57.

⁹ Cf. SANDEL J.: *Żydowska sztuka ludowa*. [In:] *Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rzemiosła artystycznego*. t. 2, Warszawa 1953, pp. 91-124.

In contemporary Poland, as well as the state museums, which took up the task of preserving the remaining artifacts Polish Jewish culture, also the museums of the Roman Catholic Church took up this work. In many of such institutions, saved Jewish heritage (constituting frequently a small part of any collection) are kept very carefully. The parish museum in Grybów, being a branch of the museum in Tarnów, is a commendable example. Jewish heritage artifacts from the synagogue of Grybów, among other things candlesticks and a greaseproof roll of the Pentateuch fragment, which is six meters long, are collected there¹⁰. Similarly, Jewish heritage artifacts are presented in the main exhibition room in the Diocesan Museum in Przemyśl.

¹⁰ *Muzea Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce. Informator*. Skrzydlewska B. (compiled by), Kielce 2005, p. 44.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Michał Gumowski

Iryna Horban (Lviv)*

The Centres of Jewish Cultural Heritage in Lviv: History and the Modern State

The history of private and museum collections of Jewish art starts in the 19th Century when some emancipated Jews, following the example of representatives of the Galician nobility began to establish their private collections. Interest in Jewish historical art and religious objects increased during the period from the end of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 20th Century. At that time many Lviv museums began to create their Judaic collections.

The first collection of Jewish objects of traditional art was formed at the Museum of Art Craft. In 1895 two prayer tables from the 17th Century from the synagogue in the village Yabluniv, near Kolomiya, together with some other objects, were added to the Museum collection. Later the Museum of Art Craft bought some Jewish metal candlesticks (used for the Sabbath) and Professor Y.Zakharevych presented some 200 Jewish national cuttings from the late 19th Century from his private collection¹. During the period from 1910 to 1930 a group of Jewish art objects (wooden, ceramic and dough) were gathered in the Museum of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society. Also the Lviv Historical Museum and the Yan Sobieski III National Museum began to create their collections of Jewish artistic and religious objects².

* Candidate of Philological Sciences, Associate Professor from the Department of Slavonic Philology at the National Ivan Franko University of Lviv; senior scientific collaborator from the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft, at the Institute of Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; author of the study "Folklore and Folk Art of Bulgarians in Ukraine" (2004) and the author of many scientific and popular publications on the history of Ukrainian and Bulgarian co-operation in the scientific and cultural spheres, the problems of national minorities and international relations, the history and modern situation of the Bulgarian national minority in Ukraine, the problems of museum investigation, history and perspectives of museum development in Ukraine and the history of Lviv museums during the period of Soviet Totalitarianism.

¹ PETRIAKOVA F.S.: The Collection of Jewish Art of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov. [In:] *Treasures of Jewish Galicia Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine*. Hoshen S.H. (ed.), Tel Aviv 1996, p. 75.

² PETRIAKOVA F.S.: *Yevreyskoye muzeynoye dielo, individualnoye kollektionirovaniye na ukrainskoy etnicheskoy teritorii. Konets XIX – nachalo XXI stoletiya: obratnyy otschet k budushchemu. „Zaporožskije jevrejskije cztenija”* 2001, № 5, p. 273.

The members of Jewish Religion Community realized the necessity of preserving of their cultural heritage as well. In 1901 the Library of the Jewish Community was founded in Lviv³, with financial help from the Head of the Community and the President of the Trade Chamber, Samuel Gorovits, and the Lviv historian and philologist, Solomon Buber⁴. On January 28th 1910 a well-known Lviv expert in coins and medals and collector of Jewish historical art, Maksymilian Goldstein, at a Kahal's meeting, initiated the process to create the first Jewish museum to preserve national cultural and historical values in the region⁵.

The idea was supported and Mr. Goldstein began to prepare a project for the "Jewish History and Art Museum", which was passed to the Kahal for approval, the next year. The project included both the establishment of the museum collections of various art objects, such as books, documents, pictures, city maps, as well as practical tasks for the preservation of architectural buildings and cemeteries, and the study of national customs and traditions. Thus, the Jewish Museum was to complement the Ukrainian and Polish museums functioning in Lviv at that time. As a step towards the realization of the project Mr. Goldstein began to collect "everything connected with the nation known as the Polish Jews"⁶ and published a report in the press setting out the necessity of creating the Museum.

During the period from 1910 to 1930 several Jewish organizations were created in Lviv, which promoted not only the prosperity of the artistic life of the community, but also instigated work to preserve national cultural heritage. In 1910 Mr. Goldstein and a young artist, Joachim Kahane founded the "Group of Jewish Art Lovers" (Kolo Milosnikow Sztuki Zydowskiej), which existed with some interruptions until 1925.

³ In 1920, library of the Jewish faith community in Lviv embraced about 19 000 volumes in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish and German. Por. MEŁAMED W.: *Jewrieji wo Lwowie (XIII – perwaja połowina XX weka). Sobytyja, obszczestwo, ludi*. Lwiw 1994, s. 139. During German occupation it was robbed and practically destroyed. Saved collections were passed after the war to the newly opened unit of Judaica by the Scientific Library of National Science Academy in Lviv (LNB NAN) – in 1949 this unit was closed down. Presently, great number of books in Hebrew and Yiddish (of which part undoubtedly belonged earlier to the library of Jewish community) is stored in the unit of unique volumes in Scientific Library of W. Stefanyk of National Science Academy of Ukraine, and few copies of the volumes with stamp of the library of Jewish community – in the Museum of Religion's History. Cf. BANCZYK N.: *Jewrejski rukopysni pamjatky we LNB NAN. Ukrainy*. „Hałycka Brama” 1997, nr 10-11 (34-35), s. 12.

⁴ Buber did not only finance the establishment of the library by the Jewish community, but also sold part of his private collection of books for it's fund. (Cf. GLEMOCKAJA G.: *Diejatelnost' jewrejskich obszczestwiennych organizacyj Lwowa w oblasti sochranienija nacjonalno-kulturnogo nasledija (1910-1930 gody)*. [In:] *Doka jewrejskich gromad Centralnoji i Schidnoji Jewropy w perszuj połowyni XX stolittia. Zbirnyk naukowyh prac'*. Kyiv 2004, p. 268.

⁵ Cf. HOSHEN S. H.: *Research and Collection of Judaica in Lvov: 1874-1942*. [In:] *Treasures of Jewish Galicia Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Grafts in Lvov, Ukraine*, p. 61.

⁶ Cf. *ibid*, p. 63.

The group organized exhibitions of famous and emerging Jewish artists, and delivered lectures and courses of painting⁷. In 1914 it initiated an exhibition of works by Euphram Lilien, a friend of Mr. Goldstein, and in 1919 it organized an exhibition of Jewish art.

The activity of the Group was followed by the establishment of the “Jewish Literary Art Society” (Zydowskie Towarzystwo Literacko-Artystyczne)⁸, founded in 1925. Between 1925-1928 it organized a series of collective and private exhibitions by Lviv Jewish artists⁹. The exhibition activities of this society stimulated the collecting activities of Lviv collectors, such as Mr. Goldstein, Mark Reihenstein, Mihal Toepfer, Karol Kats, Ludwig Feigl, Julia and Rudolf Menkitskiy, Evgeniush Reiter and many others. This process was very important because the very development of establishing private collections supported Mr. Goldstein’s idea to create a Jewish Museum in Lviv.

The next step in this direction was the creation in 1925 of the Committee of the Guardianship of Jewish Art Objects (Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej Gminie przy Wyznaniowej) by the Jewish religion community. The head of Jewish community, Mautitsy Allergand, Professor of Law at the Lviv University, was the head of the Committee¹⁰. The Committee’s activities developed in three directions: 1) taking stock of artistic objects, as the basis for the study of ancient Jewish art; 2) control over rational conservation; 3) work with the community to increase its artistic culture and understanding of its rich national traditions¹¹.

The inventory including taking pictures of the objects, measuring them, finding out the material and date of their creation, and reading inscriptions etc. If the decision to restore a object was taken, it was observed before and after its restoration. From 1925 to 1927 the members of the Committee took stock of 292 monuments from the synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in Lviv, Yaniv, Zhovkva and Kamyanka Buzka and restored 532 tombs¹². The photo albums of the most famous objects: synagogues (exterior and interior views) and tombs, were made on the basis of documents prepared by the Committee¹³. Later documents from Kosiv, Ternopil and Brody were added¹⁴.

⁷ Cf. GLEMBOCKAJA G., *ibid*, p. 263.

⁸ At first – The Jewish Artistic-Literary Circle.

⁹ Cf. GLEMBOCKAJA G., *ibid*, p. 265.

¹⁰ Cf. Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej przy Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej we Lwowie. Sprawozdanie. Lwów 1928, p. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 6 and PIETRIAKOWA F. S., *ibid*, p. 274.

¹³ The prepared materials were in 16 albums which are now in the Library of the Ethnography Institute of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. These are the 11 albums (letters “A”, “B”, “C”, “D”, “E”, “F”, “G”, “H”, “J”, “K”, “I”) with Lviv materials and the 5 albums (“M”, “N”, “O”, “P”, “R”) with materials from Yaniv, Zhovkva, Kamyanka- Buzka.

¹⁴ Albums „S”, „U”, „Z”.

The Committee in its wide activity co-operated with interested persons and institutions not only in Lviv but also with the Jewish Museum in Vienna, the “Group for the Study of Jewish Art” (Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler) in Frankfurt-on-Main, and with Dr. Diamand in Chernivtsi and Dr. Fridiger in Copenhagen¹⁵.

In 1928 the Committee organized in Lviv an exhibition of ancient Jewish books and artistic objects dedicated to the III Congress of Polish Bibliophiles. “The exhibition of Lviv Hebrew Books and Jewish Art Objects” (Wystawa Książki Lwowskiej Hebrajskiej i Zabytków Sztuki Żydowskiej) was shown in the Kahal building¹⁶, accompanied by the Committee’s report. There were two sections of the exhibition. One section included 131 book editions¹⁷ (most of which had been published in Lviv), and the collection from the Library of Jewish community. The other section illustrated the activity of the Committee. It consisted of pictures, paintings and water-colours of synagogues, tombs and religious objects. Some of the objects came from private collections, in particular from the two most famous Judaic collections in Lviv at that time, from Mr. Reihenstein and Mr. Goldstein. The collection of ketubs (marriage agreements of the 17th to 19th Centuries), made on parchment, from Mr. Reihenstein’s collection were exhibited for the first time¹⁸.

The next Judaic exhibition, called “The Exhibition of Jewish Artistic Craft” (Wystawa Żydowskiego Przemysłu Artystycznego) took place at the Museum of Art Craft in March and April 1933. Earlier in 1931 “The Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv” (Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzeum Żydowskiego we Lwowie)¹⁹ was organized. Mr. Reihenstein being a famous collector of Jewish art and an active member of the Committee of the Guardianship of Jewish Art Objects was elected the head of the Society. In the process of preparing the exhibition monuments from different private collections and regional synagogues were diligently studied and chosen. The exhibition, consisting of more than 570 exhibits²⁰ from Lviv, Ternopil, Brody synagogues and private collections was the result. The exhibition was prepared with great enthusiasm²¹ and became the decisive step towards the foundation of the Jewish Museum in Lviv.

¹⁵ Cf. Kuratorium Opieki nad Zabytkami Sztuki Żydowskiej przy Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej we Lwowie. Sprawozdanie, p. 18.

¹⁶ Cf. *Katalog Wystawy Książki Lwowskiej Hebrajskiej i Zabytków Sztuki Żydowskiej*. Lwów, May-June 1928.

¹⁷ As the owners of these issues were not determined at the exhibition, we are prone to accept the speculation of the contemporary researcher – Glembocka, that they all belonged to the library of Jewish faith community. Cf. GLEMOCKA G.: Judaica. Z historii prywatnego ta muzejnego kolekcjonowania u Lwowi. [In:] *Obrazy znikłego switu. Jewreji Schidnoji Hahyczyny (seredyna XIX st. – persza tretyna XX st.)*. Katalog wystawy. Lwów 2003, p.21.

¹⁸ Cf. PIETRIAKOWA F. S., *ibid*, p. 274.

¹⁹ Cf. *Statut Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzeum Żydowskiego we Lwowie*. Lwów 1931.

²⁰ Cf. *Tymczasowy Katalog Wystawy Żydowskiego Przemysłu Artystycznego*. Lwów 1933.

²¹ The exhibition was widely presented in the press. Cf. PIETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Maksymillian Goldstein – izwiestnyj diejatelj kultury Galicyi pierwoj połowiny XX stoletija. Stranicy biografii*. Moskwa 1995, p. 24.

The decision to found the Museum of the Jewish Religious Community (Muzeum Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej)²² was adopted at the Kahal's meeting on February 26th 1933. The Museum Council²³ was set up together with the members of "The Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv" with Rabin Dr. Freund²⁴ as the head, who was also the head of "The Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv" and the head of the community board.

The active work of the Museum Council, with the help of the Jewish community head, Victor Khayes, was successfully completed in the spring of 1934²⁵. The Museum of the Jewish Religious Community was situated on the third floor of the Kahal's building, at 12 Bernstein Street (Sholom- Aleikhem street today) and was officially opened on May 17th. It was open everyday from 11am till 3pm (except Jewish holidays). Entrance to the museum was free²⁶. The Lviv artist, art historian and collector, Ludwig Lillee was the keeper of the museum²⁷.

The Museum resources consisted of three sections: 1) the Museum property; 2) property of "The Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv"; 3) the collection of the late Mr. Reihenstein, which was given to the Museum by his heirs, on a deposit basis.

The exhibition was situated in five rooms and the corridor included ancient silver religious objects (crowns and shields for the Torah, pointers for reading the Torah, and candlesticks) and fabrics from the 17th to 19th Centuries from Lviv synagogues, lamps, and examples of religious ceramics etc. There were many common things as well such as ceramics from Liubych Korolivska, Potelychi and Hlynsk, the collection of fabric (from the shops of so-called Jewish "printers" from 56 committees), and paper cuttings etc.

There was a separate part consisting of the inventory materials of the Committee of the Guardianship for Jewish Art Monuments, in the form of paintings, water-colours, and photos of architectural monuments and tombs²⁸. Besides the works of decorative art there was also a group of paintings in the Museum consisting of portraits of

²² There were such names used: Muzeum Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej, Muzeum przy Żydowskiej Gminie Wyznaniowej and Muzeum Żydowskie we Lwowie.

²³ This council was divided into four sections: museum, care of synagogues and cemeteries, legal, and propaganda. Cf. GLEMOCKAJA G.: *Diejatelnost' jевrejskich obszczestwiennych organizacyj Lwowa*, p. 267.

²⁴ Cf. *Sześć lat Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej we Lwowie: 1929-1934, nakładem Wiktora Chajesa*. Lwów 1935, p. 12.

²⁵ Cf. SCHALL J.: *Przewodnik po zabytkach żydowskich m. Lwowa i historia żydów lwowskich w zarysie*. Lwów 1935, p. 66.

²⁶ Cf. *Sześć lat Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej we Lwowie: 1929-1934*, p.12.

²⁷ Biografie mytciw. [In:] *Obrazy znykłocho switu*, p. 98.

²⁸ With great enthusiasm, the museum has continued care of the Jewish cemeteries in numerous towns of the region. Cf. PIETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Jewrejskoje muzejnoje dieło*, p. 275.

famous members of the Jewish community, created in the period from the middle of the 15th Century until the end of 1930²⁹.

The collection of the late Mr. Reihenstein and the objects bought by “The Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv” in his commemoration, were situated in a separate hall³⁰. Mr. Reihenstein’s collection of illuminated ketubs was the basis of the exhibition³¹.

Such was the collection of the Jewish Museum before the Second World War, which began on September 1st, 1939. And on September 22nd Lviv came under the control of the Soviet regime. The new power, following the troops, came to Lviv and organized the Provisional Administration of the city and the region, and began to introduce new rules. This meant that the Lviv museums faced radical changes.

On November 25th 1939 Mr. Goldstein was appointed the head of the Jewish Museum by the Commission of the Guardianship of Cultural Monuments, by the Provisional Administration of the Lviv region. But in February 1940, according to the decision of a conference held by the regional administration, the Museum of the Jewish Religious Community was liquidated and its collections were given to the Museum of Artistic Craft³².

Only one document concerning the liquidation of the Museum of the Jewish Religious Community has been found among the files of the Museum of Artistic Craft. This is letter no.188 from March 21st 1940, addressed by the authorities of the Museum of Artistic Craft to “Comrade Maksymilian Hermanovych Goldstein, Director of the Jewish Museum, appointed by the Commission of the Guardianship Cultural Monuments of the Lviv Region”³³. The letter states that according to the decision of the conference held by the Regional Administration, the Jewish Museum is to be joined with the Lviv Museum of Artistic Craft from February 14th 1940³⁴.

The process of total nationalization of the private collections took place in 1940 and in the first half of 1941. Yet some collectors succeeded in avoiding the process, taking part of the collection from Lviv. Mr. Goldstein’s collection was not nationalized during this campaign either. But later, during the German occupation, Mr. Goldstein, trying to

²⁹ Cf. GLEMOCKAJA G.: *Judaica. Z istorii pryvatnogo ta muzejnogo kolekcionuwannia u Lwowi*, p. 17.

³⁰ Cf. SCHALL J., *ibid*, p. 66.

³¹ Today, one does not know anything about these monuments. According to Glembocka, lack of information about place of its storage „may be connected with the fact, that in the process of elimination of the museum in 1939-1940, deposits from Reichstein’s collection were collected by his beneficiaries. (GLEMOCKAJA G.: *Judaica. Z istorii pryvatnogo ta muzejnogo kolekcionuwannia u Lwowi*, p. 21).

³² Ironically, person who initiated the idea of creation of the Jewish Museum in Lviv, started to act as its leader only at the day before its elimination. Cf. PIETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Maksymilian Goldstein – izwiestnyj diejatiel kultury Galicyi pierwoj połowiny XX stoletija*, p. 10.

³³ Archiwum Instytutu Nauk o Narodach Narodowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy. Zbiory Muzeum Rzemiosła Artystycznego,teczka 2, cz. 188 z 21.03.1940 r.

³⁴ At this time, Goldstein was employed there as the older scientific associate. Cf. PIETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Maksymilian Goldstein – izwiestnyj diejatiel kultury Galicyi pierwoj połowiny XX stoletija*, p. 11.

save his collection, gave it on deposit to the Museum of Artistic Craft on July 7th 1941. The collection was taken to the building of the Museum on August 30th 1941³⁵.

Thus, after the Second World War because of tragic circumstances there was a great collection of Jewish art held in the Museum of Artistic Craft. It consisted of Judaic collections from the Museum of Artistic Craft, the collection from the Museum of Jewish Religious Community and the collection of Mr. Goldstein. The monuments survived because they were neither grouped nor systemized as a separate collection. They were among many objects made in different countries but with a common theme.

In 1949 the paintings and black-and-white art drawings from the collections of the Jewish Museum and Mr. Goldstein's private collection, as "unprofiled things" were taken from the Museum of Artistic Craft and given to the regional picture gallery³⁶ (now – The Arts Gallery³⁷). Mr. Goldstein's coin and medal collection was given to the Lviv History Museum³⁸.

In 1951 the Lviv State Museum of Artistic Industry, of the Committee of Art Affairs, of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (formerly the Museum of Artistic Craft) and State Ethnographical Museum of the Academy of Sciences, of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (formerly the Museum of Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society) were united. The newly created institution was called the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft (now the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft, of the Institute of Ethnography, of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). As a result the Judaic collection from the Museum of Artistic Craft was enriched with a small but a very interesting collection of Jewish ethnographical art objects made of wood, dough and ceramic. Between 1950 and 1970 a famous Ukrainian scientist and art critic, Pavlo Zholtovskiy, actively enriched the Judaic collection of the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft³⁹.

³⁵ One could find there product of traditional Jewish craft, numismatist, artistic objects, books, photographs, archival materials, posters, small forms of industrial graphic (labels, talons, tickets) and other things. Cf. PETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Jewrejskoje muzejnoje dielo*, p. 275; PETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Maksymilian Goldstein – izwiestnyj diejatelj kultury Galicyi pierwoj polowiny XX stoletija*, p. 12.

³⁶ Another action of passing paintings from Goldstein's collection took place in 1967. Cf. PETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Jewrejskoje muzejnoje dielo*, p. 275.

³⁷ Information about collection of Judaica of Lviv's Fine Arts Gallery was presented in the catalogue of mentioned exposition: *Obrazy znyklogo switu: Jewreji Schidnoji Halyczyny (seredyna XIX st. – persza tretyna XX st.)*. Cf. GLEMBOCKAJA G.: *Judaica. Z istorii prywatnogo ta muzejnogo kolekcionuwannia u Lwowi*, pp. 18-19.

³⁸ Studies of Pietriakowa were devoted to the collections of Judaica of Lviv's Historic Museum. Cf. PETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Judaica w kolekciji lwywskiego istorycznego muzeju. Etiud do zagalnego portreta*. „Naukowi zapiski. Lwiwskij historycznij muzej” 1999, № 8, pp. 110-112.

³⁹ Collection of Judaica of Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov was diligently studied by Pietriakowa in the mentioned book *The Collection of Jewish Art of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov*, pp. 75-80 and article *Jewrejskoje muzejnictwo Schidnoji Halyczyny XX stolittia*, „Halyccka Brama” 1997, № 10-11 (34-35), pp.18-20.

In April 1973 the Museum of Religion and Atheism (now – the Museum of Religious History) was opened in Lviv, and began to operate as a division of the Lviv Historical Museum. The Museum was opened through administrative channels so its collections were formed by means of redistribution of collections from other Lviv museums⁴⁰.

Thus, as a result of numerous transfers and redistributions of museum resources there are four Judaic museum collections in Lviv: in the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft, in the History Museum, in the Museum of Religion History and in the Arts Gallery.

⁴⁰ Data concerning collection of Judaica of the Museum of Religion's History can be obtained in following publications GLEMOCKAJA G.: *Judaica. Z istorii pryvatnogo ta muzejnogo kolekcionuwan-
nia u Lwowi*, p. 22 and PETRIAKOWA F. S.: *Jewrejskoje muzejnoje dieło*, pp. 277-278.

*** Translation from the Ukrainian language by Rostyslav Dmytrasevych.

*Weronika Litwin (Warszawa)**

The Preservation of Jewish Heritage as a Factor Stimulating Regional Development

The Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage was established through an agreement between the Association of the Jewish Communities in Poland and foreign Jewish organizations in 2002. Its mission is the preservation of the material heritage of Polish Jews. It is not an easy task in present day Poland, where the Jewish communities have no more than about 4,000 members, whilst there are about 1,200 Jewish burial grounds.

While developing a working strategy, the only way that has been assumed to ensure the protection of Jewish historical monuments is the commitment of local communities to their active preservation. Therefore, to get projects under way, local self-governments, NGOs, schools and universities have been invited to co-operate. The Jewish monuments in Poland are a priceless testimony of our common past. Their present purpose should not depart from their original purpose, planned and conforming to Jewish religious law, to preserve their dignity, while adapting to the local community's needs. As a result of the Foundation's projects, preservation can become a stimulating factor for local communities, and can begin to act as a magnet for tourists, thus invigorating regional economic growth.

1. The Chassidic Route

One of the Foundation's present projects is: the Chassidic Route – the development of a heritage tourism trail presenting the multi-cultural heritage of Poland and Ukraine¹. Its aim is to create a cross-border tourist route from south-east Poland to west Ukraine. The Project involves local self-governments and non-governmental organizations from 17 communes of the Lublin Province in Poland and the Sub-Carpathian Province in Ukraine.

* The member of faculty of Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage.

¹ The project is developed thanks to the financial support of the European Union Interreg III, PHARE 2003, A Programme.

The most worthwhile spot on the route is the city of Zamość: the Renaissance synagogue, part of the UNESCO World Heritage listed district, which will house a professional, high-quality Chassidic Route Tourist Information Centre and a multi-media Museum of Jews from Zamość and the Zamojskie Region. The building will also be a home for the local non-governmental organizations dealing with cultural issues.

2. The 'To Bring Memory Back' Programme

The project in Zamość is accompanied by an educational programme, 'To Bring Memory Back'². In the school year 2005/2006, the programme covered 140 schools and in 2006/2007 the number will total 100.

The programme offers High Schools students from all over Poland an opportunity to learn and experience the multi-cultural history of their town or village, as well as Jewish tradition and culture; they undergo numerous awareness trainings sponsored by the Foundation. The students are involved in some public actions aimed to restore the memory of the cultural tradition of their area. They collaborate with local self-governments, NGOs, enterprises and the media. An inseparable part of their activities is the preservation of local Jewish burial grounds.

3. The Internet Portal: Polin – The Heritage of Polish Jews

Another important undertaking is the launching of an Internet portal³, presenting the history of Jews in Poland (www.polin.org.pl). The activity will gather together academics and students from different Polish universities, e.g. from Krakow, Łodz, Warszawa and Wroclaw.

The website will offer historical data on Jewish monuments and Jewish communities in particular locations. The target plan is to reach the number of 1,200 informative notes (first, on the localities in the Lublin Province and Sub-Carpathian Province). The data will be accompanied by significant audio-visual material: historical and contemporary photographs, a three-dimensional panorama of major monuments and locations, and also information on the current activities for the remembrance and preservation of the Jewish legacy.

² The programme is sponsored by the Civic Initiative Fund and Leopold Kronenberg Bank Foundation, as well as the programme, The Patriotism of Tomorrow.

³ The work is possible thanks to the financial support of TaskForce for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture.

The materials to be displayed were are collected and prepared by the students and graduates of Jewish history studies, (many of them see this work as a prelude to further and deeper research into the subject). The website will not only deliver reliable data on the Polish Jews and their history, but, in addition, aspires to become an area for stimulation of the scientific community.

The preservation of the Polish Jewish heritage poses major challenges, both organisational and financial. The Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage would be unable to embark upon its work if it were not for the backing of numerous partners countrywide – self-governments, schools and educational centres, local community leaders and many persons of good will. The project directly and indirectly engages thousands of people – the inhabitants of the areas where Poles and Jews cast their lot together with each other for many centuries. Their commitment allows us to cherish hope that the tangible traces of Jewish culture will be duly respected and preserved for generations to come.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

Joanna Zętar (Lublin)*

Documentation – Education – Art Projects. The Activities of the ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre’ for the Preservation of the Heritage of Lublin Jews

A magic spot. There are a few in the town but this one is specific. It overlaps two separate spaces, two dramatically distinct worlds. It is the meeting point of the Christian Upper Town and the Jewish Lower Town. Thus, this ‘borderness’ is characteristic of the Gate. Its location is the cause of its uncommonness”.

Władysław Panas *Brama*¹

Before the Second World War the Grodzka Gate (in English the ‘Town Gate’) was known as the Jewish Gate. Since 1998 the Grodzka Gate has been the home to a local cultural institution, the Grodzka Gate– NN Theatre Centre. In almost all of its project and activities, this institution refers to the historical and symbolic significance of its location, which used to be a passageway between the Christian and Jewish parts of Lublin. The programmes undertaken by the centre have three characters: documentary, educational and artistic.

1. Documentation

The collection of documentation necessary for the renovation of the historic Grodzka Gate, and two adjacent houses, which commenced in 1992, and participation in the contest ‘Little Homelands, Traditions to the Future’ held by the Cultural Foundation, caused the centre founders to ponder the question of the identity of the place in which they had decided to work. They gradually accumulated data and knowledge concerning the Lublin Jews and the uninhabited vicinity of the Lublin Castle, formerly occupied by the Jewish district. Therefore, the fledgling institution set itself a primary objective of preserving and protecting the cultural heritage of the site and

* Art historian, employee in charge at Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre, co-ordinator of Forgotten Past – the Multicultural Traditions of the Lublin Region programme, co-organizer of the Life of Jews in Europe Away from Metropolis project, collaborator of the Internet portal <http://www.tnn.pl/pamie.php>, that is the Virtual Education Centre – Lublin Memory

¹ PANAS W.: *Brama*. [In:] *Brama*. Krupska J. (ed.), Lublin 1997, p. 2.

its neighbourhood from oblivion, by attempting to bring back the ambience of Jewish life from before the Second World War.

In 1998 the centre began its first documentation-oriented programme, the Great City Book. The idea was to collect photographs, oral testimonies, various documents (including architectural) and other materials portraying the everyday life and historical events of pre-war Lublin. Tentatively, the programme aimed to involve social activities, co-organized with the local supplement of the *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily newspaper, which encouraged Lubliners to browse through their home archives in search of long-lost historical Lublin. Over 1,500 photographs of pre-war Lublin have been archived to date (the programme is still continuing) and 300 hours of reminiscences have been recorded. The accumulated material has been processed into electronic form to comprise a Photography Archive and Spoken History Archive. These collections were developed by the Iconography Studio and Spoken History Studio. The materials will serve educational and artistic research purposes.

The archiving and education activities converged in the House Project which focuses on the collection of data for selected buildings or streets, from the former Jewish surroundings. So far, the studies of the tenement at 41 Krawiecka St. and of a non-existent part of Cyrulicza Street have been completed.

2. Education

One of the first educational programmes of the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre was the Meeting of Cultures programme; its aim was to provide a plan of co-operation for artists from East-Central Europe. In 1994 the programme hosted a symposium, the Jews of Lublin, whose participants discussed the history, sociology and culture of the Lublin Jewish inhabitants from the mid-16th century to the Second World War. In the aftermath of the meeting, a book was published with the conference title². This subject was continued in 1996 during another conference, the Gate of Remembrance – the Jewish Town. These conferences pioneered the kind of scientific meetings in Lublin which have Jewish local life as their leading subjects.

The exhibition, the Local Portrait, held in the Centre, invited the participation of students from local schools. Besides exploring the exhibition and learning about the local Jewish tradition, they took part in annual events commemorating the demolition of the Lublin ghetto (16 March) or the extermination of the inhabitants of the Majdan Tatarski ghetto (9 November).

Trying to meet the needs of teachers undertaking a cross-curricular programme related to regional education, in 2001 the Centre hosted a seminar, The Cultural Her-

² Cf. *Żydzi lubelscy*. Materiały z sesji poświęconej Żydom lubelskim (Lublin, 14-16 grudzień 1994). Hawryluk W., Linkowski G. (ed.), Lublin 1996.

itage of Jews in the Lublin Region. It was a workshop and educational event and its highlight was a trip along the traces of heritage³.

Another meeting of the same character was the international conference, Education for Reconciliation, held in 2001 by the Centre in collaboration with the Carnegie Council, New York, and the Jagiellonian University.

Another initiative was the internet programme, which led to the development of the website, Virtual Educational Centre – Lublin Memory, accessible at www.pamiec-miejsc.tnn.pl. Visitors may browse for information on the Lublin Jewish community in the Gate of Remembrance section, and also in the texts from the Virtual Library as well as among the compilation of the Photography Archive and Spoken History Archive.

Next, under the Culture 2000 European Programme another project with an informative character was launched. The project, Life of Jews in Europe away from Metropolis, was introduced together with German and Dutch institutions which, just as with the Centre, seek to preserve Jewish cultural heritage. As a result, a website was created offering tri-lingual content accessible at www.zydzi-zycie.net.

The centre publishes a periodical, *Scriptores* (a successor of *Scriptores Scholarum* quarterly). The issues 27 “Lublin” and 28 “Along the Memory Paths” offer articles discussing the history, culture and social issues related to the local Jewish community.

The Centre also promotes books and periodicals, documentaries and radio reports, literary meetings and art exhibitions.

3. Art Projects

Ever since its beginnings, the Centre’s activities have been accompanied by the operation of the NN Theatre, an alternative theatre group which in the years 1990 to 1996 staged several plays (e.g. *Heavenly Walk*, *Too Loud Loneliness*) based on “underground-circulated” literary works. In 2001 the NN Theatre began a new project – a series of monodramas relying on old Chassidic stories supplemented with a dash of Jewish folklore. Current performances include, ‘Once upon a time there was...’, ‘How Fajwł was looking for himself’, and ‘Tajbełe and the Demon’.

Among the art projects, there were documentary exhibitions, the *Great City Book* (opened 1998), and the presently available, the *Local Portrait* (opened 1999). The latter has a multi-media formula and through the photographic sections (panoramic views of the Jewish district and pictures of individual buildings) and the audio sections (parts of the *Spoken History*, pre-war city sounds, Yiddish songs) it restores the atmos-

³ Thanks to the financial support of the Project Guggenheim it was possible to issue an anthology of lessons’ scenarios devoted to this subject. See *Dziedzictwo kulturowe Żydów na Lubelszczyźnie. Materiały dla nauczycieli*. Kubiszyn M., Żuk G., Adamczyk-Garbowska M. (red. merytoryczna); Żurek S. J. (spec. ed.), Lublin 2003.

phere and image of the area which ceased to exist many years ago. An integral part of the exhibition was a model of the Old Town district, showing the urban layout of the Jewish area and the scale of the devastation during the Second World War.

The School Guide exhibition shown at the Majdanek concentration camp slightly varies in its subject as it attempts to portray the vicissitudes of four children, the camp prisoners, two Jews, one Pole and one Belarusian.

Of exceptional significance among the artistic projects are the town activities named, the Memory Mysteries. Their aim is to symbolically explore the empty areas in the castle neighbourhood, and bring them back into common memory. Six performances have been staged so far, One Land – Two Temples, Five Prayers Day, the Mystery of Wide Street, the Mystery of the Bell, the Mystery of Light and Darkness, and the Poem about a Place. The 2000 Christian Culture Congress saw the mystery, One Land – Two Temples, with the Righteous among the Nations and the Holocaust Survivors as participants giving their testimonies before thousands of Congress attendants.

One of the major concepts for the Centre organizers is “remembrance”. Its meaning was for the first time focused upon in the programme, Remembrance – Place – Presence, awarded by the Cultural Foundation. Remembrance was defined as, “something that emerges from the meeting of cultures”, or as “what was destroyed and perished”⁴. Until today, this term has been re-appearing in all the programmes and projects undertaken by the Centre, whose founders became characteristic upholders of the memory of the pre-war Polish and Jewish Lublin. By collecting documents, recording reminiscences, carrying out educational projects and artistic actions, they have contributed to the dissemination of this knowledge of this part of Lublin, which used to be called the Jerusalem of the Polish Kingdom.

It is worth mentioning that the topic of the Jewish community, and its history and culture, has been also presented in the Centre’s programmes devoted to the Lublin region. The projects completed so far include, Forgotten Past – the Multi-cultural traditions of the Lublin Region, Following Singer’s Traces (a tour through the sites of the writer’s presence in the Lublin area) and a model-making competition, the Lublin Synagogues, which all fit well into the Centre’s endeavours to preserve the cultural heritage of the Jews of Lublin, in its near and far vicinity⁵.

⁴ PIETRASIEWICZ T.: Projekt: Pamięć – Miejsce – Obecność. [In:] *Brama*. p. 48.

⁵ All undertakings of the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre are presented in, *inter alia*, PIETRASIEWICZ T.: Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN” w Lublinie. [In:] *Małe ojczyzny. Kultura. Edukacja. Rozwój lokalny*. Theiss W. (ed.), Warszawa 2001, pp. 225-247; *Przypadek zamierzony. Dlaczego właśnie Krawiecka 41? O genezie projektu „Krawiecka 41” i działalności Ośrodka „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN” rozmowa z Tomaszem Pietrasiewiczem*. „Scriptores” 2003, Issue 2 (28), pp. 177-201; ZĘTAR J.: Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN” – odbudowa i kształtowanie tożsamości miejsca. *Teka Komisji Architektury, Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych*. vol. II (2006), pp. 193-202.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

Robert Kuwałek (Lublin)*

The Commemoration of the Extermination Sites of Jews in Poland and Ukraine

Before 1939 Lublin and Lviv were among the most developed Jewish pre-war community centres in the central and south-east areas of former Poland. The Lviv community was much more numerous – it comprised 100,000 people (the third largest community in pre-war Poland)¹, although Lublin had a higher number of Jewish inhabitants, as a percentage of the total city population.

However, this was all when it came to the similarities between the two Jewish cities. Both communities had taken different routes up to 1939. Lviv boasted a tradition of Judaist scholarly achievements, yet since the 19th Century, it had been the centre for the Haskala – the Jewish Enlightenment and assimilation movement – which was not the case in traditional Lublin. The different traditions between the development of the two communities was caused mainly by the fact that they had been annexed by different powers during the period of the Polish Partitions.

World War II forced both communities to follow a similar path however still some differences may be pointed out. At the outset of the War, Lviv fell under the Soviet occupation, which saved the Jews from sufferings of their Lublin brothers in the years 1939-1941. Lviv at that time absorbed thousands of Jewish refugees mainly from the central Poland. It is estimated that in June 1941 (when the German forces entered) Lviv was home to some 170,000 Jews². On the other hand, Lublin avoided the pogroms which struck the Lviv Jews upon the arrival of Germans, which claimed over

* Historian; employee of the State Museum at Majdanek; since 2004 head of the State Museum Majdanek museum branch – Bełżec Memorial Museum; interested in the history of extermination of Polish Jews caused by the Operation “Reinhardt”; fellow of Kościuszko Foundation scholarship in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC (2002); vice-president of the Polish-Israeli Association in Lublin.

¹ According to the census of 1931, Lviv was inhabited by 99,595 Jews. Lublin at the same time was home to 38,935 Jews. Cf. JONES E.: *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939-1945*. Łódź 1999, p. 12; RADZIK T.: *Spółeczność żydowska Lublina w międzywojennym dwudziestoleciu. Obraz statystyczny*. [In:] *Żydzi w Lublinie. Materiały do dziejów społecznośc żydowskiej Lublina*. vol. I, Radzik T. (ed.), Lublin 1995, p. 145.

² Among the refugees in Lviv. There were many Jews from Lublin and the Lublin region. Cf. JONES E., op. cit., p. 89.

10,000 victims between 30th June and 27th July 1941³. It is clear that the Lviv Jewish community was more strongly affected by the opening days of the German occupation than the Lublin Jews were during their two-year existence under their occupation.

Nevertheless, since that time the life of both communities was similar – the plunder of property, the order to wear armbands with the Star of David (Lviv became part of the General Government which already had this injunction), the transfer to another district, which up until Autumn 1942, had not been a sealed ghetto⁴.

Both cities witnessed the beginning of deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp at the same time – in March 1942. Lublin and Lviv were the first victims of the Operation “Reinhardt”, and Jews from both cities were the first to reach Bełżec (it became the largest mass grave for both communities)⁵. Most Lublin Jews were deported, with the process starting on 16th April 1942. The number of Jews murdered in Bełżec is estimated at 26,000 Jews from Lublin, and 15,000 Jews from Lviv⁶.

Next waves of deportation to Bełżec – in August and November 1942 – reached 55-65,000 Jews from Lviv. The Lublin ghetto was finally liquidated on 9th November 1942. In the Lviv ghetto thousands of Jews endured till as long as June 1943, when most of them were executed near the Janowska Street work camp, and the remaining ones were made to work until November 1943, being systematically murdered. The last Jews from Lublin, if not in hiding or being harboured by Lubliners, died on

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 45-57; POHL D.: *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941-1944. Organisation Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens*. München 1997, pp. 61, 69. The first pogrom in Lviv began on 30th June 1941, when the town was deserted by the Soviet troops and taken over by the Germans. The opened prisons revealed the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish victims of NKVD murders. German and Ukrainian propaganda used this information to accuse Jews of collaboration with the Soviets, and participation in the massacre. The pogrom in prisons and in the streets was claimed to be spontaneous; it was in fact instigated by the Germans who filmed and photographed it (the horrible collection has survived). Next wave of mass murders in Lviv took place between 2nd and 6th July 1941, when Einsatzkommando 6 entered the town (they also executed the Lviv professors). Between 25th-26th July, Ukrainian nationalists held another pogrom in Lviv, which was later known as the Days of Petlura.

⁴ In Lublin before the liquidation of Podzamcze ghetto (in April 1942), the Jewish district was not entirely isolated. Some Jews lived outside the ghetto until mid-April. Cf. Archive of the State Museum at Majdanek (hereafter, ASMM), Diaries and Reports, catalogue number VII-643, Ida Gliksztajn's Diary.

⁵ It is believed that deportations from Lublin and Lviv to the Bełżec concentration camp began on the same day, 17th March, however, the literature evidence says that the March action in Lviv was initiated on 15th March. It is unclear whether the first transport from Lviv was sent on the same or the following day, as the first transport from Lublin, 17th March. Cf. POHL D., *op. cit.*, p. 186; KRUGLOV A.: *Khronika Holokosta v Ukrainie 1941-1944*. Dnepropetrovsk-Zaporozhie 2004, pp. 87-88.

⁶ Cf. POHL D., *op. cit.* p. 188. From among 34,000 Jews in the Lublin ghetto in 1942, most were deported to Bełżec. About 7-8,000 were murdered in Majdanek. Cf. KUWAŁEK R.: *Żydzi lubelscy w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku*. „Zeszyty Majdanka”, vol. XXII (2003), pp. 77-120.

3rd November 1943, during a mass execution of Jewish prisoners of all the Lublin region camps, at Majdanek concentration camp as a result of the Erntefest Operation. Under the same operation, the Janowska Street camp in Lviv was liquidated and its prisoners murdered on 19th November 1943⁷. In both cities all Jewish traces were gradually being erased. In Lviv this action began in 1941, i.e. with the establishment of the German occupation. First most of the synagogues were pulled down, including the Renaissance Golden Rose Synagogue in the Old Town and the Great Suburban and Tempel synagogues in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. Additionally, both Jewish cemeteries – the Old Cemetery located at the corner of Kleparowska Street and Meisels Street, and New Cemetery established in the inter-war period in Janowska Street were destroyed. In Lublin the demolition process began after the Podzamcze ghetto liquidation in 1942. By 1944 the whole historical centre of the Jewish town had vanished, and three Lublin Jewish cemeteries: the Old, New and Włeniawa, were levelled. The buildings that survived were located outside the Jewish Town (Synagogue Chewra Nosim, the Jewish Hospital, Percec House and Jesziwas Chachmej Lublin)⁸.

In Lviv the demolition of Jewish-related buildings continued also during the Soviet supremacy after 1944. Due to the lack of historical sources, it is impossible now to say when precisely they were pulled down. However, we know that some preserved gravestones from the Old Cemetery were used for the construction of Lenin's monument in the Wały Hetmańskie street. The cemetery itself was altered into use as a market place – so called Krakow's Market. (It is worth mentioning that there is no commemorating plaque or information that this place used to be the oldest Lviv Jewish cemetery). The cemetery in Janowska Street has a separate Jewish section but the majority of these graves were installed after 1945. The nearby bushes still hide some remnants of old tombstones⁹.

The ghetto liquidation entailed the demolition of the western part of Zamarstynów district, in retaliation for weak, yet existing, Jewish resistance in the ghetto¹⁰. Old

⁷ During the liquidation of the Janowska Street work camp, about 4-5,000 Jews, the last camp prisoners, were executed. However, the total number of victims is estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000 people. Between 1st and 4th June 1943, during the liquidation of the Lviv ghetto, the camp saw the execution of 10-12,000 Jews. Cf. KRUGLOV A., op. cit., pp. 162, 174.

⁸ The rubble of the Maharszal Synagogue (dynamited by Germans in 1942 and 1943) was still there up until the early 1960s when it was finally taken away.

⁹ The author managed to find two such gravestones. One has a name and surname of a woman in Polish. The other's letters are blurred. The cemetery was gradually devastated by Germans. The most beautiful gravestones – of marble and granite – were taken to Germany. They were loaded to carriages at Kleparów railway station, the same point that witnessed the deportation of Jews to Bełżec. The Jews of Janowska St. camp were used to this work. At the cemetery there was also a Mauritian-style funeral house. When the ghetto existed Jews suffering from typhoid were kept there. In August 1942 the sick were taken to the Bełżec camp or executed. This information is collected from an interview with an anonymous carer at the cemetery.

¹⁰ Cf. JONES E., op. cit., p. 121.

Łokietek Street disappeared with the last seat of the Jewish Council of Lviv; its balcony acted as gallows for the council members¹¹.

After the war the remaining buildings were levelled and new ones erected. This is especially visible in former Pełtewna Street (today Czornowoła St.) where one of the ghetto gates was installed.

Under the Soviet occupation of Lviv, and the establishment of the Communist authorities in Lublin, a process began by which the Jewish memory and heritage gradually faded into oblivion. This was true of the whole Polish territory, as well as the USSR, where attempts to preserve the Jewish memory were persecuted and punished as nationalism, (especially after 1949). The destruction of the Jewish memory was facilitated by the fact that the surviving Jews of Lublin and Lviv mostly left these cities, and even these countries. The Jews from Lviv arrived in Poland and next scattered all over the world. A vast majority of the Jews from Lublin who endured Holocaust left for the USA or Israel. Some groups of Jews lived in both cities until the 1960s (today, Lviv has more Jewish inhabitants than Lublin), however, they were mostly non-natives of the cities.

Shortly after the war, Lubliners were allowed to commemorate their Holocaust victims. In 1947 a disinterment was held, of the bodies of the children executed from the Jewish Ochronka (orphanage); their remains were transferred to the New Jewish Cemetery. Before 1949 the cemetery had a memorial for the Lublin Jews who perished during the War. The State Museum at Majdanek had a separate Jewish annex.

In Lviv the authorities investigated the crime of genocide in the Janowska Street camp but the preserved records mention "Soviet citizens" as victims, although the majority of them were Jews of Polish citizenship¹². The post-war history of the Janowska Street camp testifies to the Soviet authorities' intention to conceal the fact of the extermination. It was as late as in 1993 when the victims of one of the largest camps in occupied Poland, and later Soviet Ukraine, received their due tribute. Until this day, the camp site is not properly accessible, because a youth custody centre was installed there in the former prison. The custody centre is allegedly profitable, so the municipality refuses to shut it down. On the other hand, there are no grassroots initiatives or those that do exist are too weak to influence the decision-making bodies. In 1993 the authorities consented to the placement of a memorial stone, though not at the camp entrance (the old Steinhaus factory), but outside at the passage to the so named Dead

¹ The photograph of this execution is exhibited at the Bełżec Museum – Memorial.

² The investigation was held by the Extraordinary Commission for Investigation of Genocide Committed by the Occupying German Forces. An extensive photographic record was prepared. Unfortunately, it is not easy to trace these documents in Lviv at present. The investigation files were taken to Moscow where they have been stored until today. This information comes from Józef Sztatman, the retired head of department at the District Archive in Lviv; similar data on the murdered „Soviet citizens” may be found today on some monuments commemorating the mass executions of Jews in the western Ukraine and Belarus which used to be Polish territory.

Valley, where some executions were held¹³. Yet, there is no official permission for local and regional Lviv authorities to erect a monument¹⁴.

In Lublin in 1962, on the initiative of the Jewish survivors, a monument was established commemorating the Lublin and Lublin region Jews murdered during the Nazi occupation, however, its secluded location (between Świętoduska St. and Lubartowska St.) proves the then authorities were leaning towards belittling this problematic subject. A permit was not granted for a location in the present day Castle Square (in 1962 People's Gathering Square), which had been the heart of the ghetto, because it served as the venue for communist festivals and the monument would purportedly have been excessively exhibited. Originally, the city authorities intended to place the memorial among the Old Town tenement buildings, in a little square at the junction of Rybna St. and Noworybna St. Yet, as a consequence of long negotiations the monument found its place in its present location¹⁵. The extermination of Jews was not shown or incorporated in the ideas of international character, of the victimization, as it was in the case with the Auschwitz and Majdanek concentration camps or even the Sobibor extermination camp.

After 1968 Jewish issues in Poland were totally suppressed. In the USSR this lasted even longer – until the 1980's, by which time Poland had already started discussions on the role of Jews in the Polish historical consciousness, and the first commemoration attempts were undertaken. In both countries, however, the surviving historical buildings and monuments still suffered devastation¹⁶.

¹³ Until 2005 this area was the location of a police kennel. In 2006 the Police moved elsewhere but the area remains squalid and the kennel buildings are decrepit. The author's observations from a Lviv trip in 2005 and 2006.

¹⁴ The most known Ukrainian site related to Holocaust, which was affected by the Soviet 'oblivion' policy, is Babi Jar in Kiev; in September 1941 the Germans murdered over 30,000 Kiev Jews there. This place had no monument for many years. The site was completely rebuilt and does not resemble the original Babi Jar today. The nearby Jewish cemetery, where those executed were collected, was totally devastated in the 1960s. Babi Jar was prohibited from being spoken about. It was not until the 1990s when the site was partially returned its correct place in remembrance.

¹⁵ Presently, (since 2006) there is a construction of multi-level underground parking garage, thus the monument was temporarily moved to the vicinity of the pre-war Jewish female school (currently, Primary School 24) at 1 Niecała Street. On the location obstacles, see the unpublished author's interview with Izydor Sznajdman (August 2000).

¹⁶ An example of such devastation is the new Jewish cemetery in Kołomyja, Ivano-Frankivsk District (former Stanisławów Province). In the second half of the 1980s the local authorities decided to have this graveyard completely demolished. The gravestones were shovelled by a bulldozer and cast into the river, and the graveyard turned into a square and football pitch. Only part of the wall survived with visible bullet marks on it – the cemetery was an execution site for Jews, but also for Poles and Ukrainians who helped them. Until now, no memorial plaque has been installed. The information comes from the author's own observations in Kołomyja in 2006 and the interview with Borys Bojko an inhabitant of Kołomyja.

In the 1980s in Lublin (1987 to be precise) on the initiative of Dr. Symcha Wajs (dentist, born in pre-war Lublin, who survived the German occupation in the Soviet Union and returned to Warsaw afterwards) the first memorials appeared at the Jewish historical sites in Lublin; still many of them, especially those connected with the acts of extermination, are awaiting appropriate marks of respect. Examples include the Lublin Umschlagplatz¹⁷, which saw 26,000 Jews deported to Bełżec, or the work camp in Lipowa St., whose workers from November 1943 were almost entirely Jewish and moreover, there was the former Plage-Lańskiewicz factory in Wrońska St. which housed another work camp during the years 1942-1943, where Polish and foreign Jews sorted the property of the victims of Bełżec, Sobibor, Treblinka and Majdanek. The Lubliners' awareness of these places is scant today. Another forgotten site is the provisional ghetto in Majdan Tatarski and the execution area of the Jewish children from Ochronka, also located in Tatory district, today being a green area and football pitch.

In Lviv the commemoration process began in 1993. Behind the bridge, at the former ghetto gate, in Pełtewna St. a monument to the ghetto victims was erected. It was the initiative of the remaining pre-war Jewish citizens of Lviv who are still alive, or the relatives of those who did not live to see this event happening, and whose names are also on the memorial stone. Some more plaques were installed at the sites of the demolished synagogues. These were funded by the Lviv Jews, currently living abroad.¹⁸ Another memorial stone appeared in Janowska St., as mentioned earlier, and a commemorative plate at Kleparowski Station from which the Lviv and Galician Jews were transported to Bełżec (the Lviv Umschlagplatz is nearby).

The first monument in Bełżec, the greatest place of death of Jews from Lublin and Lviv, was raised in 1963, twenty years after the acts of extermination. Up to the 1980's,

¹⁷ In 1993 the area of former Umschlagplatz (in Turystyczna Street), where a meat plant was located after the War, was tidied up and representatives of the Warsaw Jewish Community fixed a modest memorial plaque accompanied by a symbolic monument made of railway track. The access to this area was limited and permission was required from the plant management, and also from the plant liquidator, though the Special Places Memorial Act provided for unconstrained entry. In 2005 a discussion was initiated on the future of the area. It was planned to be put in order and a new way of commemorating the site was mentioned. Unfortunately, the area was sold to private investors and in spite of the documentation and testimonies of the pre-war Lublin inhabitants, there was apparently doubt about the historical significance of the area.

¹⁸ The site of the late Tempel Synagogue has been commemorated on the initiative of Alexander Sarel (Czoban) from Israel, an ex-resident of Lviv. His father was a renowned Lviv lawyer and was killed in the Bełżec death camp, and his grandfather was murdered during the 1941 pogrom in Lviv. Sarel and his sister survived and lived in hiding in the Lviv surroundings. Together with a group of former Lviv inhabitants living in Israel today, he installed few other plaques, including those at Kleparowski Station, from which in 1942 Jews were deported to Bełżec. The information comes from an interviews with Viktoria Venediktova from Lviv (October 2006) and Alexander Sarel from Tel Aviv (March 2007).

the Bełżec camp visitors did not see any information that 99% of the camp victims had been Jews, largely Polish citizens, and the area was unkempt and neglected. In 2004 a new monument was installed and a museum started operating with an extra exhibition on the Jews from Lublin and Lviv. Many locals do not realize that the museum, besides commemorating the tragic fate of the Jewish community, offers the grasp of history which is by mostly Polish. Regrettably, such attitudes prevail in many places yet...

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

Anna Ziębińska-Witek (Lublin)*

Representation of Memory – The Holocaust in Museums

“Memory is an ability to recall and represent the past”¹. However, memories change over time. They are often adjusted so that they fit new circumstances². In addition to individual memories, there is a collective memory. Some researchers say that this is ahistorical or even anti-historical. Understanding something historically means realizing the complexity of a problem, the ability to perceive an event or phenomenon from various angles, the acceptance of ambiguity (including moral ambiguity). As opposed to historical reasoning, collective memory³ simplifies events by perceiving them from one chosen angle; it does not tolerate equivocality but reduces some phenomena to mythical archetypes. In Ewa Domańska’s opinion, post-modernism regards memory as, a “healing cure and tool of salvation” and “liberation” of all groups that history has deprived of their own voice. History is seen as an instrument of pressure, identified with modernism, the state, imperialism, scientism and anthropocentrism⁴. In the case of the Nazi genocide, we are often confronted with a phenomenon that Marianne Hirsch calls “post-memory”, and James E. Young calls “the memory of witnesses’ memory” creating a kind of “supplementary memory”. The post-war generations do not know those events but only historical narratives, novels and poems, photography, films and video-recorded testimonies. From the ethical perspective, the current generation believes that the use of the Holocaust in producing various kinds of entertainment or ridicule, e.g. comic books, or comedies does not serve as a reflection upon the crime, but it is the continuation of it. Historically, however, it is said that the search

* Lecturer at the Department of Culture and History of Jews, Marie Curie University; deals with the representation of Holocaust in historiography, literature, film and museums; author of numerous publications, e.g. the book, *Holokaust. Problemy przedstawiania* (2005) and translated Berel Lang’s *Nazistowskie ludobójstwo. Akt i idea* (2006).

¹ KAVANAGH G.: Making Histories, Making Memories. [In:] *Making Histories in Museum*. Kavanagh G. (ed.), London – New York 1999, p. 7.

² Cf. THELEN D.: *Memory and American History*. “Journal of American History” 1989, Issue 75. After: KAVANAGH G., op. cit., p. 8.

³ The concept of collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs after: NOVICK P.: *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston – New York 1999, pp. 3-4.

⁴ Cf. *Pamięć, etyka i historia*. Domańska E. (ed.), Poznań 2002, p.16.

for aesthetic, religious or political relations between the Holocaust and redemption may, in the perpetrators' mind, provide a justification for the terror⁵.

The current transformation of the paradigm of the commemoration and representation of the past poses new challenges for museum and memorial places. Museums (and the histories they create) are one of the ways that people refer to the issues and ideas pertaining to themselves and their past. Exhibitions do not explain the past but they merely provide an interpretation in the context of present social and individual experiences of the exhibition creators. The past, as it can be viewed in museums, is not in fact what actually happened, it is not the truth of the past but a concept, probably unachievable or non-existent in reality, something that Canizzo named, "negotiated reality"⁶. It is the product of the present and reflects the current assumptions and judgments of the exhibition designer. Piotr Unger says:

"The basic medium used by all museums is the exhibit – [that is] a relic or document related to specific past human activity. The informative role however is achieved not by individual exhibits but by the way they are arranged in collections, created in accordance with a specific principle and central idea in order to form a museum exhibition. The exhibition consists of not only collections of exhibits but also of the architectural and graphic design as well as auxiliary materials such as, maps, blueprints, diagrams, explanatory texts, etc. all these elements constitute a form of historical narrative"⁷.

Consequently, the role of the exhibition designer is of utmost importance and the museum stories are intended to strengthen or legitimise the prevailing social and political standards of the present time⁸. Thus, we must accept that the history presented in a museum tells both the story of the past, and of the present, of what people know and of what people feel, of historical facts and of the reactions and attitudes to these facts⁹. It is in the museum where the official versions of the past called history meets the individual experience called memory, with the visitors being its living carriers¹⁰.

The core of the public historical presentation is a specific interpretation strategy necessary to create a certain vision of the past, and resulting from a compromise between three involved subjects, the actual originator (historian, designer), the sponsor and the visitor. The originator must take account of the sponsor's requirements (private or state sponsor), and the expectations of the visitor. The exerted pressure limits the

⁵ Cf. YOUNG J. E.: *At Memory's Edge. After – Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. New Haven – London 2000, p. 2.

⁶ CANIZZO J.: *How Sweet It Is. Cultural Politics in Barbados*. Muse, 1987, Winter. After: KAVANAGH G., op. cit., p. 6

⁷ UNGER P.: *Muzea w nauczaniu historii*. Warszawa 1988, p. 17.

⁸ Cf. SHANKS M., TILLEY C.: *Re-Constructing Archaeology. Theory and Practice*. London 1992. After: OWEN J.: *Making Histories from Archaeology*. [In:] *Making Histories in Museums*. p. 203.

⁹ KAVANAGH G.: Preface. [In:] *Making Histories in Museums*. p. XII – XIII.

¹⁰ Cf. KAVANAGH G., op. cit., p. 1.

actions. Sponsors can influence the political interpretation, hence it serves more the mystification rather than explanation of the past-present relationship; it supports securing, rather than discrediting, the existing status quo. The audience is also an active party (although less directly). Most public historical presentations are 'marketed' like a product, and its 'customers' have specific opinions and wait to have them confirmed. Artists who would like to make the public change its mind on a specific matter must rely on innovation¹¹. The stronger personal and emotional connection between the recipient and the subject, the stronger the force for identification, which can be used in order to create a dramatic and meaningful exhibition. On the other hand, extensive dependence on the emotions of visitors may impede the achievement of certain goals, and reduce the public readiness to new historical interpretations¹². The only solution would be to entirely give up the division: active communicator – passive recipient, and create an active interpretation process.

According to Sheldon Annis, museums must embody three forms of symbolic space. First of all, satisfy the formal requirements for intellectual reception, museum material should be examined, analyzed and must serve further development. This is the so called *cognitive space* which should contain a wealth of evidence material, interesting interpretations (the total sum of many layers of understanding and the final product of many invisible hands). This space is the most dominating and visible part of the history in a museum, the most conspicuous element of the museum space. Another type of space is the *social space* in which the visitors participate regardless of the character of the exhibition. The act in which they take part together improves upon the social bonds developed throughout life. Some of these are created by sharing experiences from the museum visit (in particular, the collective memories that occur). They may agree or contradict the proposed vision of the past, or possibly may be only slightly related to the subject of the presentation. However, the main reason for the museum to be a powerful incentive for human memory is the space called by Annis the *dream space*; it enables auxiliary and creative thinking, fantasizing and may open a door to long-forgotten reflections or emotions. When we are in a museum, human bodies and minds travel through all these three spaces¹³.

The museums created at the sites of former concentration camps and extermination camps are specific. They are often referred to as historical museums of a new type, for – according to Tomasz Kranz – the subject they deal with does not only touch his-

¹¹ Cf. WALLACE M.: The Politics of Public History. [In:] *The Representation of the Past. Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*. Walsh K., London – New York 1992, pp. 42-43.

¹² FRISCH M. H., PITCAITHLEY D.: Audience Expectations as Resource and Challenge. Ellis Island as Case Study. [In:] *Past Meets Present. Essays about Historic Interpretation and Public Audiences*. Blatti J. (ed.), Washington D.C., 1987, pp. 157-158.

¹³ Cf. ANNIS S.: *The Museum as a staging ground for symbolic action*. "Museum" 1987, Issue 151. After: KAVANAGH G., op. cit., pp. 3- 4.

tory but also other fields of human activity such as, sociology, social psychology and anthropology. Besides moral and historical obligations that such institutions fulfil for the victims and survivors, they also bear a responsibility for the historical awareness and remembrance of contemporary generations¹⁴. Kranz claims:

“they are multifunctional and multidimensional institutions. For their role is to be the communicators of the past, components of the culture of remembrance, the subjects of historical communication and the centres of social influence. Yet, from the viewpoint of material culture they are necropolises, relics and monuments. Thus, they affect both the emotional and cognitive sphere”¹⁵.

In Young’s opinion, in contrast to the monuments located far away from the extermination sites, the remnants of concentration and extermination camps seem to level the difference between what they actually are and what they are supposed to represent. This “rhetoric of ruins” suggests that the sites in question do not only point to past events but they are an integral part of them.¹⁶ Kranz calls it the bridge between the past and present, and notices the specific atmosphere of these places and their powerful influence “which is founded on the preserved relics, and emanates the moment they are approached, thus determining the manner of their perception and experiencing of the past”.¹⁷ However, this approach to the memorial places poses a threat of exaggerated “metaphorisation” – taking part for the whole. As Aleida Assman points out, the relationship between history and the present day does not rely on continuity:

“In a memorial place specific history never went any further but it was more or less abruptly broken. Broken history materializes in the relics and ruins which are mirrored in the reality as strange, remaining. What was broken, fossilized in the remnants and has no connection with the local present-day life, which not only kept going but even more or less visibly disregarded those remnants”¹⁸.

The museums established at the former concentration and extermination camp sites use the surrounding area, as well as materials leftover such as: barbed wire, guard

¹⁴ Cf. KRANZ T.: *Edukacja historyczna w miejscach pamięci. Zarys problematyki*. Lublin 2002, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 38. The culture of remembrance – according to this author – “is generally regarded as [...] a collection of commonly recognized customs, signs and notions concerning the past, and broadly speaking the understanding of the process of historical communication. The culture of remembrance reflects the historical preferences of a community and its image of their own history, thus creating with other figures of memory, including historical science, a specific repertoire of forms and contents which are used to express the relationship with the past and manifested in the manner of its experience.” Ibidem, p. 19.

¹⁶ Cf. YOUNG J. E.: *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorial and Meaning*. New Haven – London 1993, pp. 120-121.

¹⁷ KRANZ T., op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁸ ASSMANN A.: *Erinnerungsorte und Gedächtnislandschaften*. [In:] *Erlebnis – Gedächtnis – Sinn. Authentische und konstruierte Erinnerung*. Loewy H., Moltmann B. (ed.), Frankfurt/Main 1996. After: KRANZ T., op. cit., p. 40.

turrets, barracks, farm and administrative buildings, crematoriums and gas chambers as components of the narrative matrix. Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska claims:

“This approach to the monument of martyrs causes the visitor to be not only the passive recipient but an involved participant of the quasi-theatrical spatial composition, which makes them an actor experiencing what the author of this odd spectacle forces them to experience”¹⁹.

Death camps and extermination (that is places and people) were strictly combined as if being one category. With the passing of time, places and events have gradually diverged. The former, though silent, have always remained present, tangible in their physicalness. The latter seem to be more and more belonging to other world. Only a mindful act of remembering may put them back where they belonged. Nevertheless, the extermination sites are themselves devoid of what Pierre Nora called the “will of remembering”²⁰. This means that without this will they are nothing more than a part of landscape, without meaning and significance. When the memory of people is reduced to mere objects they used to possess, the memory of their lives, relationships, families, education, tradition and community is irreversibly lost.

Another problem is the progressing reduction of the actual value of memorial places to tourist attractions of selective design, which often causes damage and the trivialisation of the historical past. According to Tim Cole, such a process is under way in the case of the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, where a tourist centre was established referring to Auschwitz as “mythical”. During the war, the Auschwitz complex comprised about 40 satellite camps and three main camps (Auschwitz I, Auschwitz II – Birkenau and Auschwitz III – Monowitz), which varied in terms of size and function. The mythical Auschwitz is borrowing the elements of all historical camps, in particular Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II, thus creating an imaginary reality. Auschwitz I – today a tourist site – was a prison and the seat of administration for all the satellite camps. The prisoners were mainly Polish intellectuals, political prisoners and Soviet POWs. Auschwitz II was extermination site for Jews and Gypsies and Auschwitz III was a work camp supplying the German chemical concern IG Farben. The mythical Auschwitz obliterates or neglects the geographical and functional differences²¹. Additionally, this results in the effacement of the distinctions between the prisoners, the so called homogenization of prisoners and the creation of the stereotype

¹⁹ GRZESIUK-OLSZEWSKA I.: *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa w latach 1945-1995*. Warszawa 1995, after: KRANZ T., op. cit., p. 41.

²⁰ NORRA P.: *Between Memory and History: “Les Lieux de mémoire”*. “Representations” 1989, Issue 26. After: YOUNG J. E., op. cit., p. 119.

²¹ COLE T.: *Selling the Holocaust. From Auschwitz to Schindler. How History Is Bought, Packaged and Sold*. New York 1999, pp. 105–106.

of one Auschwitz captive²². The creation of Auschwitz as a tourist attraction causes controversies around the Jewish or Polish character of the camp. (Some suggest a division into Polish – Auschwitz I and Jewish – Auschwitz II, but this may lead to the overlooking of other victims, e.g. Gypsies). Therefore a return to the historical and geographical complexity of the Auschwitz camp and a departure from the mythical Auschwitz, alongside other memory-oriented aspects, emerges as the only solution to the present disputes, and to the false claims of various historical revisionists concerning, for example, gas chambers or crematoriums in Auschwitz I²³. The sightseeing of “Auschwitz-Land” resembles roving in the countryside when tourists, depending on their actual location, stroll from “one sacral monument to another, or, in the museum, from one showcase to another, from picture to picture, from the famous square to the historical fountain, glancing at the display or monument: mainly absorbed in their guidebooks or explanatory signs or listing to the recording. The important thing is that they tell them what they can see”²⁴.

Another example is the Washington Holocaust Museum. Auschwitz is presented here as *simulacrum*, a reality which is not false (as Omer Bartov claims²⁵), but replaced with the signs of reality²⁶. The designers created “a world of concentration pictures” by using genuine artifacts and replicas of real objects from Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II, and arranged them in a way they would fit their vision (for example, we pass by a transportation wagon borrowed from Treblinka, next we go to a gate with the sign *Arbeit macht frei* – as in Auschwitz I – and we proceed to the models of wooden barracks from Auschwitz II; then, we can see gas chambers from Auschwitz I; the crematorium is a copy of the Mauthausen camp installation). Violating the difference between what is true and what is false, real or imaginary, the designers offer a simulation²⁷ whose aim is to cause the experience of annihilation. One of the exhibition designers, Ralph Appelbaum, said:

“We realized that if we make people leave their everyday life and make them descend to ghettos, from ghettos to trains, from trains to camps, and further along the camp ways until the very end [...], if the visitors were able to follow the same way, they will identify with the history through experience”²⁸.

²² The total number of victims of the Auschwitz complex: 960,000 Jews, 70-75,000 Poles, 21,000 Romanies, 15,000 Soviet POWs and 10-15,000 others. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²³ *Ibid.*, s. 109

²⁴ HORNE D.: *The Great Museum. The Re-Presentation of History*. London - Sydney 1984, p. 10

²⁵ BARTOV O.: *Murder In Our Midst. The Holocaust, Industrial Killing and Representation*. New York – Oxford 1996, p. 182.

²⁶ Cf. BAUDRILLARD J.: *Symulakry i symulacja*. Królak S. (translated by), Warszawa 2005, p. 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸ After COLE T., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

Leon Weissberg went even further to say, “by means of the US government and the Council of Auschwitz Museum of Holocaust it comes to you”²⁹. The trip is obviously unreal, we walk along the non-existent virtual camp, which never existed in this very form, and even for a short moment we do not forget that we are still in a museum, hence we do not follow the same path as the camp victims and our trip is just the same as that of other accompanying tourists.

In historical monuments – as the Holocaust museums are – we encounter narrative layers: the story of Holocaust unfolds before the viewers. One should bear in mind the threats lurking in creating such linear narratives. It is all about the ending – in the Holocaust museums it is the liberation and departure of the survivors to the United States to begin a new life, in Yad Vashem – it is the rebirth of the state of Israel. Such conclusions have their consequences – instead of showing the complexity of the phenomenon, it presents it as comprehensible, especially when thinking of the notions of “rebirth” or “liberation”. Somehow the Holocaust is then presented as a means to reach an end, and not an end in itself.

Much of museum research relies upon well-established, yet sometimes unverified premises. There is a conviction that a museum constitutes a neutral dimension, comprising nothing but inscriptions and a silent unequivocal message, delivered by the exhibits, speaking for themselves. Such convictions are also held about such harrowing events as the Holocaust.

²⁹ WEISSBERG L.: *Memory Confined*. “Documents” 1994, Issue 4 (Spring), p. 88. After: COLE T., op. cit., p. 161.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

Marta Grudzińska (Lublin)*

How to Tell about the Extermination of the Jewish Children from Lublin? Selected Educational Materials of the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre and the State Museum at Majdanek

To tell young people about the history of a place so that they would show empathy and feel moral courage, and at the same time not to treat the past as exploitable is not an easy matter. It is not out of the question that when it comes to memorial places it is virtually unfeasible. Nevertheless, the educational work in such a place is all about passing on the knowledge of its history.

Beata Braiter¹

When considering the history of the Lublin Jews, it is not only the Majdanek concentration camp (today a State Museum) which deserves the designation of a memorial place; there is also the Podzamcze district (literally, the foot of the castle) which was home to the pre-war Jewish community and during the war turned into a ghetto; another memorial site of importance is today's Lublin district, Majdan Tatarski, which served as an auxiliary ghetto (the so called provisional ghetto).

Working with young people, we not only pass on knowledge concerning the history of these places, but by presenting factual biographies we teach about the life of long-lost Lublin and the annihilation of its Jews. On a yearly basis, we meet a group of students from the whole of the Lublin region who have little or no awareness of their own hometowns' history, and whose knowledge of Jews is limited to a bunch of stereotypes. We are aware that every passing day takes us further from those days sixty years ago, about which we, as teachers, try to inform our students, days, which to them seem almost next to unreal. There may be several reasons for that: students do not and did not have contact with Jewish people; they do not know their own history and tradition, and their society is filled with stereotypes, prejudices and anti-Semitism. Bearing in mind such limitations and educational obstacles, the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre (which uses artistic and educational initiatives to further the know-

* Post-graduate student of the Institute of History, Catholic University of Lublin; employee of the State Museum at Majdanek; in the years 2001-2004 co-ordinator of the programme, Spoken History – the Region and the educational project, the School Guide – Life of Children in Majdanek

¹ BRAITER B.: Miejsca pamięci jako miejsca wspólnej nauki. [In:] *Pamięć i upamiętnianie. O znaczeniu edukacji historyczno – politycznej w polsko – niemieckiej wymianie młodzieży. Materiały z konferencji w Berlinie, 6 -8.10.2000.* Dethlefsen K. (ed.), Poczdam-Warszawa 2003, p. 187.

ledge of Jews and their extermination) and the State Museum at Majdanek (being the seat of scientific and didactic programmes)² embarked upon this challenging task. As a rule, the youth activities, both in the centre and at the museum, are extra-curricular and are not correlated with the school programme. Below are a few initiatives of these institutions which endeavour to sustain the memory of the Holocaust.

1. Letters to the Ghetto

This is a periodical project run by the Centre since 2001. Its audience is mainly local pupils. The project aims to restore the memory of the Jewish inhabitants of pre-war Lublin. Annually, young people send letters to specific long-dead persons, to their presently non-existent addresses. The letters are then returned to senders with a note such as “address unknown”, “addressee unknown”, “street unknown”. These actions are connected with previously arranged educational and artistic projects allowing the youth to meet witnesses, involving teacher seminars, or film and audio screening devoted to the Lublin Jews³.

2. Letters to Henio

In mid-March 2005 during the anniversary of the demolition of the Podzamcze ghetto, young people sent letters to Henio (Henry) Żytomirski who was a child-prisoner of the Majdanek concentration camp. This action was preceded by classes which familiarised the participants with the boy's short life, illustrated by preserved photographs. (Henio was born in 1932 in Lublin, as the son of Samuel and Sara, née Oksman. He attended kindergarten and was to start primary school in 1939. During the war he moved to the ghetto on Kowalska St. and from 1942 lived in the new ghetto in Majdan Tatarski. On 9 November 1942 during the liquidation of the ghetto, around 3,000 people were transported to Majdanek. Those unfit for work were killed in gas chambers. Henio probably died so)⁴.

In 2006 the Letters to Henio project was held during the April Holocaust and Genocide Remembrance Day commemorations, accompanied by the guiding motif, the Child's Fate in the Face of Extermination – the Help of the Righteous among the Nations. The project co-ordinators hosted a meeting between young people, a bearer

² Cf. [online:] http://www.tnn.pl/k_20_m_3.html; www.tnn.pl/k_5_m_3.html and www.majdanek.pl/articles.php?acid=4&mref=4.

³ Cf. KRYCZKA I.: *Adresat nieznany*. “Obyczaje” 2004, Issue 16, p. 18; more on the project at: [online:] http://wtl.tnn.lublin.pl/listy/2005/komentarz_lg.htm.

⁴ Cf. [online:] <http://tnn.pl/henio/main.php>.

of the medal, Righteous Among the Nations, and a person saved from the Holocaust. Later the young people wrote letters to them and to Henio. On 19th April 2006, at 5pm, the NN Theatre mounted a letterbox in front of present day PKO S.A. Bank, at 64 Krakowskie Przedmieście St. where Henio had his last photograph taken before the war. The senders put their letters there. The programme included a walk along Henio's dwelling places: the family house at 3 Szewska St. and the ghetto home at 11 Kowalska St. The walk ended at the last preserved Jewish town street lamp in Podwale St.

3. The School Guide – Life of Children in Majdanek

Another initiative, the exhibition, the School Guide – Life of Children in Majdanek, accompanied by a four-year-long educational programme of the State Museum at Majdanek, also tells the story of Henio's life⁵.

Neither the exhibition nor the programme is exclusively focused on Jewish children – the camp prisoners. We get to know the life stories of Polish and Belarussian children as well. Both undertakings, by recalling two biographies of Jewish children: Henio and Halina Birenbaum – a fourteen-year-old Warsaw ghetto inhabitant – show the life of Jewish children who found themselves in a concentration camp as a result of the Reinhardt Action (the extermination programme in General Governorship region).

Before seeing the exhibition, the pupils have classes on the violation of children's rights during the Nazi occupation. While at the museum, the schoolchildren watch films about the camp and children's fate during the Second World War, work on historical documents and biographic articles and present the collected pieces of this information during the visit to the camp area. Before visiting the School Guide exhibition, the schoolchildren are partly familiar with the story of the camp children and are able to tell the biographies of the main characters. After seeing the exhibition and hearing the witnesses' testimonies, they talk to the guide and prepare a book – a school guide – in which every letter of the alphabet is supplemented with words describing the physical and psychological aspects of life in the camp. After the museum visit the teachers are requested to hold more discussions in their classes about the pupils' observations at Majdanek and to help them prepare their own reflection on the subject, in whatever form, and deliver it to the museum. This follow-up work testifies to the effects of the programmes⁶. Our experience shows that the schoolchildren in all their written works, besides displaying extensive knowledge of the Majdanek children, attach strong attention to the fact that the camp visit revolutionized their perception of the world. The works are dominated by the opinions that the exhibition teaches the meaning of toler-

⁵ More on the Project in: GRUDZIŃSKA M.: *Wystawa Elementarz*. "Pro Memoria" 2006, Issue 24, pp. 79-83; [online:] <http://tnn.lublin.pl/elementarz/>

⁶ Ibid.

ance towards other nations and religions. A leading motif is also the consideration for the life of the child and the observance of childrens rights in the present day world.

The above discussed educational initiatives offer a way we should speak about the extermination with young people. For schoolchildren it is an opportunity to supplement the standard coursebook knowledge, often incomprehensible due to a flood of numbers, dates and names, devoid of individual character and not calling for action or for deep consideration.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

*Tadeusz Przystojecki (Lublin)**

The Role of Cyrulicza Street as a Bridge between Today's and Yesterday's Lublin

The Jewish district surrounding the castle hill and stretching north as far as the Old Town was a vital part of pre-war Lublin, and the specific character of local Jews, their homes, outlets, temples and schools had shaped the identity of this place for ages. The city owes its specific flavour to this and despite unquestionable disparities, the two regions had long created a mutually beneficial symbiosis.

Having slowly established itself in the local landscape, this world suddenly disappeared as a result of the murderous plan of the German Army in the Second World War. It planned to erase this world from the map and from history, first, by exterminating the local community and then by demolishing whole streets. Shortly after the Second World War a new urban spatial design took over the area of this annihilated district.

Today's Castle Square, half-embraced with a row of tenement houses, has made Lubliners forget that half a century ago this place was the location of the busy Szeroka Street – the oldest and most important of streets, and that vehicles which today pass by the Castle, dashing along the present-day Millennium Avenue towards Chełm and Zamość, unconsciously cross the place where the oldest and largest Lublin synagogue was located. True, there are a few plaques commemorating these places but they are not that conspicuous or easy to find.

The vast part of the former Jewish district has been turned into rubble and its memory has faded. However, some parts of it, merely a few streets, has survived. One of these streets is Cyrulicza Street running parallel to Kowalska Street. Before the Second World War, crossing with Furmańska Street in the middle, Cyrulicza Street stretched from Lubartowska Street as far as Nadstawna Street. Nadstawna Street does not exist today and Cyrulicza Street ends with Furmańska Street and is very short, with just a handful of decrepit tenement houses.

This inconspicuous place is of great significance for a historian. As a street which in part survived the War it is a symbolic bridge between the old and new Lublin. It aspires to become a crucial connectivity channel with the past; it deserves particular interest due to its rich history, corroborated by various sources, which have not yet

* Historian and archivist, co-operating with the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre in Lublin.

been fully explored, studied and published. They include archives and reminiscence of the old inhabitants which, when put together, may fill in many missing pages of the history.

An interesting and material source of historical knowledge of the Jewish district are the records maintained by the municipality in the years 1918-1955. They are contained in the Lublin State Archive and provide facts on various issues related to particular properties, houses and their inhabitants. Cyrulicza Street can boast an extensive documentation which may contribute to the restoration of its pre-war image. It is necessary to stress here that although the data is numerous and various, it displays numerous deficiencies.

The most vital and most exciting facts concerning some of the individual properties of the inter-war period are stored in the Construction Inspection Division of the archive. It has many attractive architecture designs (also designs which were thwarted by the outbreak of the War). The records contain photographs of buildings, information about shops and their owners. We are able to learn the rules of the region at that time, for the files offer actual examples of applications, appeals and complaints – a rich source of data about events but even more about the everyday matters of the city dwellers. These are of immeasurable value, especially considering the non-existent Jewish town, which if it was attempted to be historically reconstructed should rely on such documentation, photographs and oral testimonies.

The contents of the file on the property at 1 Cyrulicza Street casts some light on this place and its inhabitants. First, we learn that when the records were established the building was owned by the Zylberbaum family. The house was fitted with electricity, gas, running water and sewage system. It consisted of 8 flats of 21 rooms occupied by 35 people (9 men, 12 women, 6 children under the age of 6, and 8 children aged between 7 and 18), all being Jewish. The files also inform us about their professions: 1 merchant or industrialist, 3 craftsmen, 2 persons of other, unknown professions and 2 unqualified persons. The record even reveals that the residents had one backyard toilet at their disposal.

The documentation also contains photographs and the design for refurbishing the shop windows in the ground floor of the building. We know who they belonged to and we know their external view. The file also has a number of different applications, appeals, complaints and even denunciations.

Another valuable source of information is the resident registration books. They contain lists of flat residents, chronologically from 1920 to 1955. An interesting process may be observed in the years 1942-1955, i.e. in the period of mass displacement of the Jewish district inhabitants, and next in 1944 when some of the few survivors returned to their homes.

Yet, it is evident that the files are incomplete. Indeed, some of the houses boast an exhaustive record, whilst others have little or no historical documentation. Some

material is found accidentally while leafing through the files of other buildings. Of utmost value are – as has been stated previously – reminiscences and reports which, when combined with the files, may facilitate the reconstruction of a whole.

The aforementioned Cyrulicza Street was the first street to become the subject of research under the Lublin – Virtual City project. The project aims to virtually recreate the old Jewish town and further the whole pre-war Lublin. A database will be developed containing different sort of information, as discussed above, or collected from the press. In consequence, every visitor will be able to find a particular building on-line and obtain the relevant information. Every home will be virtually “open” to come inside. The visitor will be able to see who were its residents and the type of conditions in which they lived; besides, it will be possible to learn about the residents’ professions, age, nationality and denomination. Likewise, the building’s authentic photographs will be obtainable as well as maps and construction plans. If this should not satisfy the guest, he or she will see the shop windows and signs of workshops. Finally, on the basis of the preserved sources, one will be able to get acquainted with the issues and everyday problems that the inhabitants of that time contended with in their homes and their local district community.

*** Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

*Rudolf Myrs'kyj (Lviv)**

The Tragedy of Yanivskiy Concentration Camp in Lviv: From Ignoring Holocaust to Studying

In the period 1941-1944 in Lviv – a city with a population of 340 thousand, the Fascist occupiers organized three concentration camps, where they killed 500 thousand prisoners. The largest of them, the Zwangsarbeiterlager, was situated in the shops of the Jewish entrepreneur, Steinhauz, at 134 Yanivska street. Later it became known as the Yanivskiy death camp and its existence is connected with extermination of 150 thousand Jews and also Ukrainians, Polish and people of other nationalities. The Fascists brought here Jews from the whole of Galicia. And because of this the Yanivskiy concentration camp symbolizes the Holocaust of the Galician Jews, who were physically killed as an ethno-cultural community.

After the War, during the period of the Communist regime, the tragedy of the Yanivskiy concentration camp was covered up and on its location a prison, a detoxication centre and a provision base were established, and in the “Death Valley”, the place of mass shooting, a pig-breeding farm and a dog kennel were created.

A memorial complex the “Yanivskiy Concentration Camp” must be created in Lviv, and this is the conclusion of the majority of the Jewish and Ukrainian communities in Lviv. In order to fulfill this programme an International Memorial Fund for the “Yanivskiy Concentration Camp” (re-registered as the “Dr. Alexander Shwarts – International Holocaust Centre” in 2001) was established, which in October 1993, together with the Lviv Memorial, organized an international meeting and scientific conference dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Yanivskiy Concentration Camp tragedy. The main aims of the meeting was the commemoration of the memory of the Fascist genocide victims, the restoration of the historical truth, the reduction of old stereotypes in Ukrainian-Jewish relations and the introduction of a new civilized level of democratic co-existence. The participants of the meeting and the conference adopted a concluding document – The Declaration.

This says: “The lessons of Holocaust from the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp are evidence of the importance of a timely rebutal to any manifestation of anti-Semitism,

* Prof., Director of Regional Scientific-educational Centre for Holocaust Studies, National University “Lviv Politekhnik”, President of the “Dr. Alexander Shwarts - International Holocaust Centre”.

Ukrainophobia and other chauvinist actions which, unfortunately can be noticed at the present time ...

We, the participants of the conference, consider the Jewish people to be native citizens of Ukraine, who have lived on this territory together with the Ukrainians for hundreds of years. We think the State must treat Jewish cultural monuments and the religion as national property of the culture of Ukraine” (newspaper “Poklyk Sumlinnya” #38, October 1993).

But the problem of the commemoration of the memory of the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims has not been solved so far, despite the fact that the Jews of Germany and former prisoners of the camp have gathered funds for a monument. It is hard to believe but, unfortunately, a similar situation to that in Galicia is repeated on the regional level: the history of the monument to the victims of the Babyn Yar tragedy is well known, when the Soviet power wanted to hide the Holocaust by putting an “international” monument to the Soviet people killed in Babyn Yar in 1941. The suppression of the Holocaust problem in Lviv took the form of the refusal by the Lviv city administration deputy commission to erect a monument to the Jewish victims of Yanivskiy Concentration Camp.

Only after International Memorial Fund “Yanivskiy Concentration Camp” initiated erecting a complex of two monuments according to Judaic and Christian traditions with the funds gathered by the Galician Jews abroad, did the position of the Lviv city administration change slightly. The corresponding organizational committee was created with this purpose, and the new Lviv city council adopted a decree to erect a monument to the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims. This decree of the Lviv city council, number 1207, on erecting a monument to the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims in Lviv, was adopted on 22nd September 1994, has not been realized yet although there was a contest for the best monument project. The memorial to the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims must be a symbol of the Holocaust tragedy, the commemoration of which may only unite people of different nationalities and religions and strengthen international concord. All the attempts to suppress the Holocaust of the Galician Jews in the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp unfortunately testify to the vitality of old stereotypes formed in the Ukrainian self-consciousness during the period of the Fascist occupation.

One may hope that the International Holocaust Centre, and the Regional Scientific-Educational Centre for Holocaust Studies, established in 2002, on the basis of the National University “Lviv Politechnika”, with the promotion of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine, will help to overcome old anti-Semitic stereotypes and form a new real inter-ethnic tolerance, and act as a counter-action to neo-Nazism and national extremist and ideological terrorism.

The Regional Scientific-Educational Centre in Lviv is the first state educational structure in Ukraine which in practice introduces the teaching of Holocaust problems

to the high schools of the Western Ukrainian region. The Centre has organized several scientific methodological seminars on this problem for the university teachers of the region. The topic of the last seminar was the “International Agreement: Common Past – Common Future. Teaching the problems of the Holocaust and ethnic tragedies in Ukraine, in higher school”.

In connection with the 60th anniversary of the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp tragedy in Lviv and on the initiative of the Dr. Alexander Shwarts – International Holocaust Centre, an International Forum “The Challenges and the Lessons of Holocaust” took place in November 2003 dedicated to this event. The following events of the Forum were organized:

1. International scientific conference : “The Holocaust in Ukraine in regional and human context”,
2. International meeting of prisoners of concentration camps and ghettos,
3. The opening of the exhibition “The History and the Holocaust of the Galicia Jews” – the first exhibition of a Jewish museum in Lviv,
4. A public-prayer meeting was dedicated to the Memory Day of Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims in Lviv.

A Round Table: “Xenophobia, extremism and terrorism as a threat to mankind” took place during the International scientific conference on November 20, 2003. The participants stated that “Even today the Holocaust can be seen in the escalation of neo-Nazism, terrorism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. It is necessary to consolidate democratic and anti-fascist forces to prevent these dangerous tendencies in Western and Eastern Europe.

The appeals to define November 19th as a Commemoration Day for the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims, and to the Mayor of Lviv, and to the Presidents of Ukraine, Poland, Germany and Israel to support the initiative of International Centre “Holocaust” to erect a monument to Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims in Lviv, were expressed at the meeting.

The practical result of the Forum was the establishment of the Organizational Committee of Lviv Regional Administration on erecting the monument to the Yanivskiy Concentration Camp victims, and the liquidation in 2004, of the dog kennel of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which has functioned in the “Death Valley” since 1982.

*** Translation from the Ukrainian language by Rostyslav Dmytrasevych.

PRESENT

Stawomir Jacek Żurek (Lublin)*

Lublin – A Place of Christian-Jewish Dialogue

When thinking of Christian-Jewish dialogue, the city of Lublin seems to play a foremost part. Before the Holocaust it was a multi-cultural centre, a merger of two different worlds: the upper Christian town and the lower Jewish town (separated by the Grodzka Gate, Town Gate, also called the Jewish Gate). Up until the outbreak of the Second World War, Jews comprised almost half of the city dwellers. Until today, Lublin, the city of the Jewish university (Yeshiva Chachmei Lublin – Lublin Wise Men Academy), the Great Maharshal Synagogue, one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Poland, and of Tzaddik Isaac Horowitz (the Seer of Lublin), and the head of the Lublin Yeshiva, Meir Szapira, has been anchored in the Jewish nation's consciousness as a legendary Central European hub of Jewish science and culture, and thus with good reason called the 'Jerusalem' of the old Polish Kingdom. There were many towns of similar character in the region. The following are worth mentioning: Piaski, Kazimierz Dolny, Lubartów, Kock, or Izbica; they, on account of their Hassidic inhabitants, have always been symbols of the Jewish presence in Europe. The present day generations see Lublin and the Lublin region as a resting place of thousands of Jews from all over Europe.

The revival of the memory of the Christian-Jewish Lublin region is now not only the task of secular institutions but also a task for the local Roman Catholic Church. It was as early as in 1881 when Father Szymon Koziejowski (administrator of the Lublin Diocese) wrote a Letter to the Faithful in which he reminded them to show a "respectful attitude to Orthodox Jews", "Because we are of the same land where its people are welcoming, peaceful and amicable. [...] Rebuke the thoughtless and rash youth and protect it against wrong persuasions. Try to live in harmony in our land; do

* Dr hab. Professor KUL; head of Polish-Jewish Literature Studies at the Institute of Polish Philology, KUL; co-ordinator of the programme EU – Interreg IIIA/TACIS CBC at the Faculty of Humanities, KUL; author of numerous articles and monographs, e.g. "...lotny trud półistnienia". *O motywach judaistycznych w poezji Arnolda Śluckiego Śluckiego* ["...Ethereal Effort of Half-Existence". *On Judaistic Motifs in Arnold Ślucki's Poetry*] (1999), *Synowie księżyca. Zapisy poetyckie Aleksandra Wata i Henryka Grynberga w świetle tradycji i teologii żydowskiej* ["*The Sons of the Moon. Aleksander Wat's and Henry Grynberg's Poetic Works in the Light of Jewish Tradition and Theology*"] (2004); member of Polish Episcopate Council's Commission for the Dialogue with Judaism, Archdiocesan Ecumenical Council of the Metropolitan Archbishop of Lublin, Polish Council of Christians and Jews.

not break the relation with Jews, which has developed through the many centuries of living together”.¹

Christian-Jewish dialogue, as initiated in the Roman Catholic Church, according to the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council, was not only one facet of a inter-denominational dialogue, it also set an important direction for internal Church ecumenism. John Paul II said, the “Jewish religion is not an external reality for us, Christians, but utterly internal”. The Catechism of the Catholic Church (hereafter referred to as CCC) clearly states that “The Church is a cultivated field, the tillage of God. (1 Cor 3:9). On that land the ancient olive tree grows whose holy roots were the prophets and in which the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles has been brought about and will be brought about again.” (CCC 755). These words from the Epistle to Corinthians, states, with text underlined by the author, that we, Christians, are the wild olive, which has grown from the noble olive – Israel. And finally states: “As the sacred synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham’s stock” (*Nostra aetate*, 4). As opposed to other non-Christian religions, the Jewish faith is the response to God’s Revelation in the Old Covenant. It is the Jewish nation “to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises. Who are the fathers, and to whom as concerning the flesh Christ came”. (Rom 9: 4-5) “For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.” (Rom 11:29) (CCC 839). Church documents also remind us of that the Christian liturgy, is derived from the Judaist Biblical tradition (CCC 1096), in which the Eucharist is most the prominent and is “the peak of Christian life”, and reminds us of Jewish prayers “that proclaim – especially during a meal – God’s works: creation, redemption, and sanctification.” (CCC 1328)

Christian-Jewish dialogue helps Christians understand who their Saviour is, Jesus Christ who was “born a Jew of a daughter of Israel” (CCC 423), “a young Jewish woman of Nazareth in Galilee,” (CCC 488) “espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David” (Lk 1:26). The Catechism of the Catholic Church when speaking of Jesus’ Revelation stresses his circumcision, thus showing an institutional connection with the Law of Moses, synagogue and Judaism, as well as the tribute of the three Magi “that seek in Israel, for the messianic light of the star of David, the one who will be king of the nations. Their coming means that pagans can discover Jesus and worship him as the Son of God and Saviour of the world only by turning towards the Jews and receiving from them the messianic promise as contained in the Old Testament.” (CCC 528) It is noteworthy that Jesus led a life “of a Jew obedient to the law of God” (CCC 531), and his transfer of faith was “within the framework of rabbinical interpretation

¹ More on this subject in: ŻUREK S. J.: Kościoły i związki wyznaniowe na Lubelszczyźnie. [In:] *W służbie Ewangelii i człowiekowi. Archidiecezja Lubelska w latach 1992-2002*. Mariański J., (ed., rev.), Lublin 2005, pp. 839-858.

of the Law.” (CCC 581) Jesus meticulously observed “the dietary law, so important in Jewish daily life” and Sabbath (CCC 582). He followed the rhythm of the Jewish liturgical calendar as the Gospel frequently proves. Annually, he celebrated the Passover, being faithful to the tradition of the Passover Seder.

Proper Christian-Jewish dialogue at the institutional level began in the Lublin Archdiocese in the mid-1990s. Its main promoter and moderator was the Metropolitan of Lublin, Archbishop Józef Życiński. His most important initiatives in this regard were: the establishment of the Catholic-Jewish Dialogue Centre (hereafter CJDC) of the Lublin Archdiocese, the celebration of the Days of Judaism in Lublin parishes, the proposal of the issue of Christian-Jewish dialogue at the Christian Culture Congress, and the organization of a series of liturgical meetings called, Prayer Mourning for the Jews.

1. Catholic-Jewish Dialogue Centre of the Lublin Archdiocese

On 6th May 1999 the Metropolitan Archbishop of Lublin decided to establish a Catholic-Jewish Dialogue Centre with the Rev. Prof. Krzysztof Gózdź (from the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, hereafter KUL) as its head, succeeded later in 2003 by the Rev. Prof. Marian Rusecki (with deputy-head, the Rev. Dr Tomasz Adamczyk). The operation programme of CJDC was prepared by the Consultation Council, chaired by the Rev. Prof. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (KUL). The council members were: Edward Balawejder (ex-director of the State Museum at Majdanek), Prof. Władysław Bartoszewski (Senator), Sister Dr Barbara Chyrowicz (KUL), Czesław Kulesza (President of the Board of the Main Majdanek Preservation Society), the Rev. Dr Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel (KUL) and the Rev. Prof. Alfred Wierzbicki (KUL). The CJDC is seated in the Diocesan Seminary in Lublin, at 6 Prymas Stefan Kardynał Wyszyński Street.

The mission of the CJDC is the development of co-operation between the Catholic and Jewish communities, in compliance with the provisions and the spirit of the Second Vatican Council (in particular, the declaration, *Nostra aetate*), as well as the inspiration of any religious, cultural, educational and scientific activities that may serve the communion of prayer, reflection and brotherly inter-denominational dialogue.

Beginning in 2000 (on 15th March) the CJDC was a co-organizer of the Youth March to the sites of deportation of the Lublin Jews from the local Umschlagplatz to the Bełżec extermination camp, the successive Days of Judaism and scientific and popular scientific lectures on Christian-Jewish dialogue with Dr Deborah Weissman (Hebrew University), Prof. David Novak (Toronto University), the Rev. Prof. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (KUL), and the Rev. Prof. Henryk Witczyk (KUL) as lecturing guests. The CJDC has made contact with numerous Jewish communities and organizations worldwide.

2. Day of Judaism in the Lublin Archdiocese

Day of Judaism in the Lublin Church has been organized since 1998 (i.e. its formal establishment). The first meeting place was the university church at KUL where the Holy Mass celebration was held on behalf of the Jewish nation and Prof. Urszula Szwarc (KUL) delivered a lecture. The 2nd Day of Judaism (held in 1999) was of an ecumenical character, and the prayer service was held in the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Lublin. During the meeting, the author of this article delivered a commentary on the reading of the Torah. Since 2000 the meeting point for the January Christian-Jewish gatherings on the Day of Judaism has been the Diocesan Seminary in Lublin. In 2000, the Lublin Church had as guests representatives of the Warsaw Jewish Community with it then head, Helena Datner. During the prayer service the Torah reading was followed by a dialogue (between Helena Datner and the Rev. Dr Weksler-Waszkinel). The Fourth Day of Judaism (in 2001) focused on a meditation on a Torah reading and a panel discussion, including representatives from the Jewish Assimilation Culture (four participants, including Jewish representatives). In 2002 Lublin hosted a three-stage event on the Fifth Day of Judaism. First, the Chief Rabbi of Haifa, Yeshuv Cohen, said a prayer prepared in commemoration of the Jewish victims of Holocaust; the event took place at the site of the Majdanek concentration camp in barrack no. 47. The Catholic part of the service was headed by the Chairman of the Polish Episcopate Committee for Inter-denominational Dialogue, Arch. Stanisław Gądecki. The Majdanek gathering was attended by the Israel Ambassador, Prof. Shevach Weiss and the Rabbis Michael Schudrich and Józef Kanowski. Among numerous guests were Members of Parliament, representatives of local authorities and the city dwellers. The last stage was a discussion on the Theological Meaning of the Sacrifice of Isaac, with Polish and Israeli scientists participating. The conclusion event was a Christian-Jewish Biblical service. In the years following the event of the Day of Judaism has consisted of two parts, scientific and religious.

3. Christian Culture Congress, Part I (One Land – Two Temples – 16th September 2000)

The Christian Culture Congress of 2000 witnessed an undertaking symbolic for Christian-Jewish dialogue. Its originator and organizer was the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre in Lublin. Jews and Poles (guests from Israel and local people) gathered in two historical sites: in the area of the destroyed pre-war Maharshal Synagogue – in the lower Jewish town (today split by Millennium Avenue) and at the remnants of the medieval St. Michael's parish church in the upper Christian town (today the old church square exhibits the ruins of the church's foundations). In the locations of past temples, standing in a circle, young people from Rishon Le Zion, Israel (at the synagogue), and

young people from Lublin (at the church's square) formed living temples joined by two rows of standing people (half a kilometre long). In the circle, they embraced the Lublin Jews – the Holocaust survivors – and the Righteous Among the Nations. In the Christian temple square, Archbishop. Józef Życiński handed a clay bowl with earth to one of the Righteous and he passed it to his neighbours. From the synagogue site, the bowl travelled from the hands of Rabbi Michael Schudrich to one of the Holocaust survivors and on. The events were accompanied by the testimonies of the survivors and the Righteous, broadcast from loudspeakers. Inside the Grodzka Gate, the earth from both bowls was mixed by the Rev. Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel and subsequently two young people, from Poland and Israel, planted in the bowl two grapevines, from Lublin and Rishon Le Zion. The event was a commemoration the Holocaust and a symbol of Polish-Jewish reconciliation and a hope for brighter future.

4. Christian Culture Congress, Part II (Five Prayers Day – 7th November 2000)

An important event for the ecumenical and inter-denominational dialogue was (as part of the Christian Culture Congress) the Five Prayer Day – a joint prayer of the priests of three Christian denominations (Orthodox, Catholic and Lutheran) and two religions – Judaism (Rabbi) and Islam (Imam), as well as former prisoners of the Majdanek camp and Lubliners. The event was held in the Majdanek Museum. On the same day, the Chief Rabbi of Rome, Prof. Elio Toaff, was granted a Honourable Doctorate of the KUL University (this is an exceptional figure entirely devoted to Christian-Jewish dialogue in Europe). In 1986 the Rabbi received Pope John Paul II in the Great Synagogue of Rome.

5. Prayer Mourning of Jews

A series of Christian-Jewish prayer gatherings (Prayer Mourning for the Jews) commemorated the Jews who perished during the Holocaust from the Lublin region, in the areas largely populated by them. The meetings were organized in Piaski (24th May 2001), Izbica and Tarnogóra (10th June 2001), Kazimierz (24th September 2001) and Trawniki (30th September 2001). The opening part of the meeting usually began in a church and next the participants went to the Jewish cemetery. In Piaski the Jewish community was represented by Roman Litman, the supervisor of the Lublin branch of the Warsaw Jewish Community. However, he could not say the special prayer – *kadish* – because at least ten Jews are required for that (the Lublin branch contains only fourteen persons, who are mostly elderly and in poor health, so unable to leave their homes). Izbica had as a guest the Rev. Grzegorz Pawłowski (Jakub Hersz Griner),

a Polish Jew born here in 1931 and saved during the war by Polish peasants and nuns. Currently, the Rev. Canon Pawłowski acts as a carer for the Polish emigrant community in Israel. The service in Kazimierz Dolny was led by Rabbi Michael Schudrich, and in Trawniki the meeting had Dawid Efrati as participant, a volunteer from the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem who, as a boy, survived the deportation to the Trawniki death camp, as well as the Rev. Prof. Michał Czajkowski and the Rev. Dr R.J. Weksler-Waszkinel (a Holocaust survivor). After the Holy Mass in Trawniki a plaque was unveiled marking the German murder of Jews in November 1943. Besides Trawniki, the Metropolitan of Lublin, Archbishop Józef Życiński led all the ceremonies.

6. Polish Episcopate Council's Commission for Dialogue with Judaism

There is little doubt about the statement that in 2006 Lublin became the leading centre for Christian-Jewish dialogue. This was possible on account of the alteration in the make-up of the Polish Episcopate Council's Commission for Dialogue with Judaism, presently chaired by the auxiliary Bishop of the Lublin Diocese, the Rev. Dr Mieczysław Cisło, and the commission members from Lublin: the Rev. Dr Tomasz Adamczyk (secretary), Prof. Monika Adamczyk-Grabowska, Ryszard Montusiewicz (editor), the Rev. Prof. Alfred Wierzbicki and the author of this article.

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One of the directions in Christian-Jewish dialogue is set by the need for co-operation and exchange of ideas. This need may be addressed by lectures, presentations or discussions organized by the Archdiocesan Centre for Catholic-Jewish Dialogue. The positive facet of the initiatives discussed above has been that they involved local institutions such as the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre; the Division of History and Culture of Polish Jews, at the Marie Curie University; the Polish-Israeli Friendship Society and also the Warsaw Jewish Community and the Jewish Cultural Society in Poland.

Another direction is common prayer during the annual Day of Judaism in many city sites but also, owing to the endeavours of Arch. Józef Życiński, in many parishes of the Archdiocese of Lublin. It is worth noting that the Jewish side actively participates in the common prayers and invites Catholics to celebrate traditional Jewish festivals.

And yet another aspect of this dialogue is the education of young generations of Poles through various types of meetings promoting knowledge of Jewish culture, history and religion in order to shape an attitude of openness and toleration.

* Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

*Piotr Piluk (Lviv – Warsaw)**

Jewish Traces in the City of Lviv

The magnificent towns in the borderlands between Poland and Ukraine frequently face disputes among their multi-national inhabitants with regard to 'belonging'. This is the case with Lviv. This phenomenon, though most obviously, concerns the Jews – a religious and national group which for many ages was deprived of its own unequivocal nationality, and yet very clearly had an impact on the local environment and created strong bonds there. This may seem to be an oversimplification but it allows us to recognize the centuries-old history of the Jewish community of Lviv as a phenomenon continuing up until the present day.

The present-day observation of Lviv from a Jewish perspective will, to a certain degree, have a historical and sentimental character, with 'what happened' as a prevailing factor. This however does not signify that this problem has ended – the present day Jewish picture of the town is also noteworthy and varied. The historical and sentimental view is supported by the fact that, considering the current dynamics of development in the modern world, Lviv emerges as backward in every respect. This adds to the Impression of Lviv's historical authenticity and even forms a delusion of slow-motion and the tangibility of 'what happened'. A town, especially a large town, is never homogenous. It embraces dissimilar enclaves and spaces, each with its own rhythm, scenery and atmosphere. The municipal body is temperamentally vivid and undergoes quick changes – as far as Lviv is concerned, this was the unfortunate deterioration of the town's centuries-old fabric during the Soviet rule. When it comes

* Photographer, documentary film-maker and journalist dealing with Jewish heritage in East-Central Europe; works at the fortnightly publication, *Słowo Żydowskie – Dos Jidisze Wort*, in Warsaw and co-operates with the Jewish press in the USA and Ukraine, and also with the Shalom Foundation and Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; Member of the Board of the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland; author of individual exhibitions and presentations devoted to the Jewish cultural heritage in Poland, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, USA and Bulgaria, which were created as a continuation of the undertaking, *Remnants of Presence*, a contemporary record and interpretation of Jewish motifs in the urban space; currently organizes a project documenting Jewish traces in western Ukraine; holder of a scholarship at International School of Humanities at Warsaw University, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, Goethe Institut in Berlin and European Institute for Jewish Studies in Stockholm.

to the Jews, of crucial importance is the knowledge of a separate past (although not detached from other national groups) and culture, filled with multifarious shades. This knowledge facilitates the recognition, observation and understanding of Jewish motifs in the urban landscape.

The traces of the Jewish presence include, for example, part of an inscription in Yiddish preserved on a tenement wall advertising an old company; a contemporary memorial plaque in the place of a destroyed synagogue; a derelict century-old factory erected by a Jewish industrialist in the suburbs.

Old historical buildings in Lviv are fairly well-preserved largely because the town did not suffer considerably in the warfare of the Second World War. This cannot be said about the Jewish monuments destroyed by Germans, and also later by the Soviets. The most noteworthy Jewish buildings and traces that still exist date back to the 19th and 20th Century, though there are some which are much older and unique. The image of the Jewish monuments in the town is possible due to the divisions proposed by Majer Bałaban (1909) and Jacob Schall (1935); the latter wrote:

Other Jewish towns have generally one Jewish centre but Lviv has two historical centres: one in the old Ruthenian Lviv and another in the new Kazimierz's Lviv¹.

They provide a sort of foundation for the description and observation of the influence of the Jewish settlement on the city's image beginning with the Middle Ages, passing through modern times until the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th Century. On the other hand, the reference to Filip Friedman's study (from 1945) analyzing the period of the German occupation (the planned demolition of the buildings of Jewish activity and the time of ghetto being an enclave of inhuman living conditions) demonstrates the size of the losses and demolition caused by the last war and, consequently, the ever-present emptiness.

The oldest Jewish traces in Lviv can be found in the area of the Old Town, which in 1998 was listed as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage monument. The Jewish settlement in Lviv was estimated to have been present since the founding of the city, i.e. the mid-13th Century. In 1350 after the annexation of Lviv by Kazimierz the Great there was a great fire that turned the city into rubble; it was rebuilt into a new settlement with Jews occupying its south-east part. Ever since, two Jewish Lviv centres, as mentioned earlier, have existed.

Even today some of the relics can be seen in the former city ghetto (mainly high tenements of narrow facades). Its main street is Starojewriejska Street. (formerly, Boimów Street and Żydowska Street.). At the very first stage of the settlement, the Jewish district was also inhabited by Christians – the city walls bordered the city hangman's keep and his apprentices; this was where criminals were tortured and a brothel was located. These establishments were unwelcome in other districts due to their aw-

¹ SCHALL J.: *Przewodnik po Zabytkach Żydowskich m. Lwowa*. Lwów 1935, p. 7.

ful reputation, but nobody asked the Jews about their consent. There was also a gunpowder storehouse in the neighbourhood, whose explosion in 1703 razed many Jewish houses. The city ghetto was struck by fire in almost every historical period. The 1571 fire was described by Schall:

[...] horrible fire broke out in the city ghetto; almost all the wooden homes were consumed by flames. Jews rebuilt their settlement by permission of King Zygmunt August both in wood and stone [...]. The reconstructed ghetto had no clear plan and formed a complicated network of streets devoid of architectural beauty².

This rebuilt district gave rise to the city ghetto which has been partly preserved until today.

The most recognizable and legendary ghetto building was the Golden Rose Synagogue (*Di Goldene Rojz*) founded by a merchant, Isaac Nachmanowicz. In 1580 he purchased a plot for its future construction, which was completed in 1582. The man in charge was an architect, Paolo Felice. In front of the synagogue a residential building was erected, later the seat of kahal. The establishment of the synagogue was opposed by the Lviv Archbishop and Jesuits who in 1606 took it over and used as a church. Fortunately, in 1609 the temple was returned to Jews and they adopted a tradition to say a grace which commemorated that fact. There was also a legend about Róża Nachmanowiczowa, the founder's wife, who interceded between the King and the Archbishop, which has three different versions, each ending with her death as a martyr or heroine in specific circumstances. In fact, she died in 1637 and was buried in the Old Jewish Cemetery. The old synagogue description is delivered by Schall:

“We enter the synagogue through a little door to the part with low vault. Three openings between the pillars supporting the female gallery and the wall form a frame with the synagogue behind”.³

Today upon entering the ruins through that little door we will see the sky above and dirty and weed-covered floor under our feet. The north wall is best preserved, and partly preserved are the east and west walls. The whole remains are protected as a ruin. There is a prospect of rebuilding the Golden Rose – in autumn 2006 (after the building was cleaned, the local Jewish community celebrated a few festivals here)⁴. Recently, the ruins have been fenced in due to the planned construction works. (It is a shame that fence was soon covered with anti-Semitic graffiti). The old kahal seat ceased to exist; there is only an empty square, as is the same case with another synagogue, the Great City Synagogue, which left a plot of a regular shape. This Synagogue was erected in 1555 and pulled down in 1799 in order to be rebuilt in two years in a new design being more suitable for the religious services. Relatively many houses of the Jewish dis-

² Ibid., p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴ TURCZYNA T.: *Złota Roza postane u Lwowi*. „Lwiwska Hazeta” 17 October 2006, Issue 17; pp. 1-2.

trict were preserved in the neighbourhood, easily recognizable due to narrow facades and more floors than the average old Lviv tenements. This shape was required by the spatial requirements of the district development controls, imposed by the city authorities throughout the centuries; therefore, the houses were built in tiny plots and were generally higher in order to increase their capacity. Some of the existing houses boast late Renaissance elements and the interior layout, particularly in lower floors, reflects the specific character of Jews' daily activities, mainly trade and craftsmanship. Even now some door frames reveal oblique grooves – Mezuzah traces. Majer Bałaban wrote about the tenements:

The set of houses at the synagogue retained its old features. When you have a closer look at [...] narrow entrance halls, winding breakneck stairs and vaults, you will know the age of these houses⁵.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, some of the brick houses were pulled down as a result of building development regulations.

The other Jewish settlement in Lviv was concentrated in the Krakowskie Przedmieście (Krakow Suburb) area, where the Jewish enclave grew more rapidly than in the Old Town. Among the more favourable conditions were: the easy purchase of land and less restrictive construction laws. Yet, the inhabitants were exposed to many dangers, such as assaults and sieges, which regularly involved the demolition of the area to stop the enemy from entering the city. Therefore, the Jewish suburb underwent constant changes, more frequently than the area inside the city walls. Schall provides the following description:

In the centre of the suburban ghetto [...], today Krakow Square, there was a synagogue. The synagogue burnt with a huge number of houses in 1620. The fire destroyed the whole ghetto and resulted in a ban to build houses near the city walls (1624). In 1632 new suburban synagogue was erected in the same place. [...] The so called Great Suburban Synagogue was the only new stone building in the suburb and provided shelter for the Jews in the event of siege or town disturbances (such as in 1664)⁶.

Even in recent times this district was marked by poverty and urban sprawl, but at the same time by liveliness and bustle. Stanisław Wasylewski in the 1930's describes a Stranger (Jew) from the Polish viewpoint:

In Krakowskie and Żółkiewskie district the Lviv Jews sit and multiply. They are easy to recognize at first glance. Gabardine, velvet hat and side locks distinguish them from a dweller of Nalewki and the Russian fur in their Jargon from Krakow Jews in Kazimierz. [...] They multiply in the traditional dirt and sloppiness [...]⁷.

This narrative reflects the author's contemptuous attitude towards Jews.

⁵ BAŁABAN M.: *Dzielnica Żydowska. Jej dzieje i zabytki*. Lwów 1909, p. 75.

⁶ SCHALL J., op. cit., p. 42.

⁷ WASYLEWSKI S.: *Lwów*. Poznań [1931], p. 74.

The present-day Krakowskie Przedmieście is a deserted and shabby area, although a stone's throw from the touristic town centre. Its old shape is not discernable due to serious losses in the surrounding buildings. Against all the odds, one can find here 'what happened': small, peeling tenements, bumpy pavement with pools of water, old smells of an entrance hall. It is a place that differs from others in Lviv – it is a peculiar *shtetl*, unexpectedly located in the present town centre. The most outstanding preserved building is a splendid, late classical synagogue (Jankl Glancers Shul) which was built in the years 1842-1844, with a regular, cubic shape, and a facade divided with pilasters, fitting into the rhythm of the windows and covered with a pitched roof. The interior hides stuccowork and inner galleries for women. At present, the building is used by the Jewish cultural centre. It is worth stressing that in the post-war period it was the only operating synagogue in Lviv (until 1962 when the authorities closed it down).

Another synagogue, luckily open to the Jewish public today, is sited in Leszczyński Street (formerly Michnowskich Street.). It was designed by Aba Kornbluthain and erected 1924. Its architecture may be classified as modernist, leaning towards the classical form (in particular the five-axis façade topped with a triangle tip resting on a massive cornice). However, the east part, which is less visible, was designed in a quasi-Renaissance style which shows associations with the ornamentation of the old synagogue in Żółkiew. It is hard to determine what actually inspired the designer. The interior was embellished with polychromy produced by Maksymilian Kugel in the 1930's – they survived almost intact. In the Soviet times, the synagogue was used as a cold store. It was returned to the faithful in 1992. In 2004 the facade was refurbished and the interior is currently being redecorated – the non-original floor was removed and there is a chance to restore the polychromy and the women gallery.

There are many 20th Century buildings that served the Jewish community of Lviv or were built by Jews which deserve a brief mention. Of outstanding character is the former Jewish hospital constructed in Rappaport Street in the years 1898-1901 and founded by the industrialist Maurycy Lazarius. The architecture distinguishes the structure from the surrounding constructions through its oriental style. Its chief element is the central turret with a steep dome and its rhythm is determined by the symmetrical breaks, dividing the brick facade, decorated with horizontal yellow and red stripes. The construction is topped with delicate attics, with ceramic shaped stone. The building still houses a hospital, yet without any religious references.

Equally interesting is the former seat of the Jewish Community from 1899, in Bernstein Street (Szolem-Alejchem Street) with neo-Baroque architecture and an asymmetrical facade. The interior reveal the community board sitting room, but the condition of the building is disastrous. Today the building houses two Jewish institutions: the lodge Bnei Brit Leopold and the Holocaust Research Centre.

Today's shopping centre, Magnus, was built in 1913 according to a design by R. Feliński on commission from the Jewish merchant families, involved in the under-

taking initiated by the Frenkle family. It is a gigantic, corner, five-storey edifice with facades holding tall windows, located in the heart of the city – at the corner of Kazimierz Wielki Street (Horodecka St.) and Słoneczna Street. (Kulisz St.). For many years it stood deserted and idle; happily, recent redecoration has restored its original shine. Another splendid structure is the work of Ferdynand Kassler – the 1911 house of the merchant Guner family in Jagiellońska Street. (Hnatiuk St.). The modernist design is decorated with late Art Nouveau details and located in the vicinity of the Guners' shopping arcade, designed by Józef Piątkowski, which is one of the largest shopping malls in the city.

The inter-war period in Lviv saw a rapid growth of Jewish education, although before its role had also been considerable. A few preserved town centre buildings housed different Jewish schools (among others, the former Jewish Educational Institute). One of the most renowned was the Jewish Industrial School whose location, a 1891 neo-Renaissance structure, can be seen in Alembeków Street. (Tamanska St.). It is worth noting that until the present day some industrial structures built by Jews continue to operate. Some more Jewish buildings still exist: mikvah, hotels, theatres, and seats of secular institutions.

The ordinary rhythm of life of the Jewish community was abruptly disrupted by the German occupation, which commenced in July 1941. Shortly afterwards, in August, the Germans burnt and pulled down the Lviv synagogues. Their rubble was quickly removed, with the last remnants of the modern synagogue in the Old Market disappearing in 1942. In October 1941 the Nazis issued an order for the establishment of a ghetto in the most unkempt part of Lviv, Zamarstynów and Kleparów. As Filip Friedman reports, "The ghetto area mostly occupied by little houses and mud huts was too modest to hold even the decimated Jews of Lviv"⁸. The ghetto districts were separated from the rest of the town by railway embankments; hence one of the flyovers above the ghetto entry was named "Death Bridge". Today, both districts are still poverty-stricken and gloomy; it feels even more horrible when you walk along the streets where people died of hunger, overwork and inhuman treatment. The final liquidation of the ghetto took place in June 1943. In 1992 in Czornowół Street, next to the railway viaduct, a monument was installed commemorating the victims of the Lviv ghetto; the memorial was designed by Wołodymir Plichowski and the sculptures by Luiza Szternsztajn and Jurij Szmukler. Besides the ghetto, Lviv was surrounded by numerous work camps with the Janowska Street camp as the largest. There is a memorial stone next to the prison built on the former camp site.

Nearby the camp there is a small railway station Kleparów. The traffic is relatively light, just a few local trains from Lviv to Rawa Ruska. This unremarkable place saw about half a million Jews from the Lviv area transported by the Germans to the Bełżec extermination camp. This fact is commemorated by a small plaque on the station building.

⁸ FRIEDMAN F.: *Zagłada Żydów Lwowskich*. Łódź 1945, p. 20.

Unfortunately, none of the four Lviv Jewish cemeteries survived the German occupation. It is hard to determine the date of establishment of the oldest one – the town records mention the date of 1414, when Jews purchased this plot. Probably, the first burial ceremonies took place earlier and the cemetery was gradually extended. It was located at the back of the Jewish hospital. In 1855 the cemetery was closed down and a new one opened. Old photographs reveal the oldest gravestones were decorated with expressive high reliefs and the inscription layout was asymmetrical in comparison to the accompanying symbols. The long-lost cemetery was described by Bałaban:

A large garden overgrown with thicket with protruding countless gravestones; generally, stone fragments more or less sunk into the ground. Here and there a higher stone catches the eye which is lost in the distance. This cemetery is the oldest in Lviv and maybe in the whole Ruthenia. [...] In the heart of the cemetery where stones lie thick there is a Jewish pantheon, the memorial of glory and misery of the Lviv Jews⁹.

In 1947 the site of the old cemetery was turned into a market place (Krakiwskij Rinok). Some elderly Lviv dwellers say that during the removal of gravestones the workers were frequently bitten by adders snakes, lurking in their nests, between the broken tombs. Of the other Jewish cemetery very little also remains – just a part of the old Wall near Pilichowska Street. (Jeroszenka St.) and a few old tombs (the oldest dated 1914). A splendid and beautiful funeral house (*bet tahara*) was destroyed. It was erected before the Great War. The surviving gravestones are relatively new and come from the post-war period when the portion of the cemetery was incorporated into the Janowski cemetery. The style of these Stones does not depart from the commonly accepted Soviet design – some have additional Hebrew or Yiddish engravings (next to the Russian) and often a photo of the dead or a bas-relief with their image, which is against Jewish tradition. The cemetery layout is irregular. At the borders the Jewish tombs neighbour Christian or Muslim graves. Simultaneously, many graves do not indicate religious affiliation. The cemetery has an obelisk commemorating the Holocaust victims, raised shortly after the war by the victims' families. Two other Jewish cemeteries of the 19th Century in Kulparkowo and Zniesienie do not remain.

Jewish Lviv can be also be perceived as a 'town to be read'. The walls of the tenement buildings in Rzeźnicza Street (Naliwajka St.) still display old inscriptions in Yiddish or partly in Polish; they surfaced some time ago from below a layer of peeling paint, and drew the attention of passers-by, due to their unusual font. Regrettably, at the end of 2006 most of them were thoughtlessly painted over by the occupiers of the commercial premises located in the houses. Parts of inscriptions in Yiddish and Polish were sometime ago visible on the walls of some houses near Krakowskie Przedmieście, however, in recent years they have also vanished, after the repainting of the facades of these buildings. Throughout the city one may find a dozen or so Jewish commemo-

⁹ BAŁABAN M., op. cit., p. 98.

rative plaques, mainly referring to the Holocaust, but they also act as reminders of destroyed synagogues – the most splendid monument in the Old Market immortalizes the Tempel synagogue, which used to be the pride of the progressive Lviv Jews. A special plaque was also installed on one of the houses in Kotlarska Street where Szolem-Alejchem lived in 1906 (today one of the Jewish societies in Lviv is named after him).

Pre-war Lviv had its Jewish topography. Many town centre streets had Jewish names, for example, Bernstein St., Bożnicz St., Joselewicz St., Meisels St., Starozakonna St. and Rapaport St. (the last still existing). Today some of these can still be found, among others, Starojewriejska St., Bałaban St. (former Joselewicz St.), Szolem-Alejchem St. and Leinberg St.

Jewish traces in Lviv, the third largest Jewish community in pre-war Poland, are still many and various, despite the lapse of time and effacement; this forms an interesting picture of the closest surroundings of the local Jewish people, unfortunately only historically. The knowledge of these traces and their observation, without doubt, contributes to a better understanding of the cultural heritage of the town and its Jews, as well as their relationships with other ethnic groups.

* Translation from the Polish language by Konrad Szulga.

The Role of Museums in Reviving the Ruined World of Jews in Lviv

The Lviv Jewish community is one of the oldest and most influential in Ukraine. It was officially established in the middle of 13th Century when “there was erected a fortified town, named Lviv – after Prince Leo, the son of great Prince (later king) Danylo Halytsky.”¹

The unique characteristic of the life of Jewish population in Lviv was the existence of two communities – the Jewish Town community, and the Jewish community of the suburbs (which was established in the 14th Century), until they were unified in early 20th Century. Only the new constitution of the Austria-Hungary Empire made the Jews equal to other nations of the Empire, granting them equal social and political rights. After this the number of Jews in Lviv started to grow rapidly. At the beginning of 20th Century Lviv was one of the busiest and most active centres of Jewish activities in Eastern Europe, comparable with Odessa, Warsaw and St. Petersburg².

In the interwar years the Jewish community of the city was the third largest in Poland, after those in Warsaw and Lodz³. While analyzing the statistical data of 1931,

* Defended his candidate dissertation in Ethnology. Dr. Chmelyk is the Director of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts of the Institute of Ethnology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnology on issues concerning the museums' operation. He is the author of many scientific articles and monographs including *Small Ukrainian Peasant Families of the Second Part of 19th and early 20th Centuries* (1999) and *Treasures of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts of the Institute of Ethnology at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine* (in co-authorship) (2005). Dr. Chmelyk is a member of ICOM (International Council of Museums), a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the head of Lviv city society “Ukraine-Poland”, a member of the Alumni Board at the East European Summer School at Warsaw University, as well as a member of editorial board of “Narodoznavchi zoshyty” (“Ethnological Notes”) periodical. He has been awarded the diploma of the Ministry of External Affairs of Poland for popularizing the Polish culture in the world.

¹ ISAIEVYTCH YA. D.: Vstupne slovo. [In:] *Yevrei vo Lvove (XIII – pervaiia polovina XX veka). Sobytiya, obshestvo, liudi, Sovmestnoie ukrainsko-amerikanskoie predpriyatiye Tekop.* Melamed V., Lvov 1994, p. 7.

² BARTAL I.: Among Three Nations: The Jews in Eastern Galicia. [In:] *Treasures of Jewish Galicia. Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine.* Harel Hoshen S., Hatefutsoth B. (ed.), Tel Aviv, The Nahum Goldmann Museums of the Jewish Diaspora, 1994, p. 28.

³ MELAMED V.: *Yevrei vo Lvove (XIII – pervaiia polovina XX veka). Sobytiya, obshestvo, liudi, Sovmestnoie ukrainsko-amerikanskoie predpriyatiye Tekop.* Lvov 1994, pp. 21-22.

Piotr Ebenhardt, a modern Polish researcher, states that according to religious confessions, Lviv was the home of 15.9 % Greek Catholics, 50.4% Roman Catholics and 31.9 % Judaists at that time. Since the researcher proposes to consider religion as the main criteria for establishing nationality, we may affirm that Jews constituted one third of the population of Lviv, (99.6 thousand people) on the eve of World War II⁴.

The socio-political, civil, cultural, and sporting life of the Jewish population in Lviv prior to World War II was extremely active and abounding with events. At that time dozens of Jewish parties and organizations (from assimilatory ones, to those radically Zionist) operated in Lviv; more than one hundred religious and charity societies operated; and dozens of newspapers and magazines in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish were published. Starting in the 1910s several dozens of Jewish sport clubs operated in Lviv⁵. Furthermore, educational, music, and drama institutions and organizations, as well as museums, existed and operated. It is quite illustrative that in his article "Among Three Nations: The Jews in Eastern Galicia", Israel Bartal entitled one of the parts "Lvov, a Jewish Mother City"⁶.

In 1909, Maximilian Goldstein, a famous collector and connoisseur of Jewish antiquities, expressed the idea of creating a Jewish museum in Lviv. However, it was not until 1925 that the "Museum for the Care of the Monuments of Jewish Art from the Judaic Community" was established. This institution organized the Exhibition of Jewish Monuments of Art in 1928, on account of the III Congress of Polish Bibliophiles. Naturally, the main attention was paid to published works and manuscripts, while there were relatively few examples of other artifacts. One of the most important steps of Museum's activity was to create an inventory of the preserved cultural monuments and artifacts in Lviv and Eastern Galicia as a whole⁷.

This activity of the Jewish community in Lviv set the pattern for other cities and towns in Galicia. For example, the local Jewish community of Ternopil set up a special section of Jewish cultural monuments and artifacts at the Regional Exhibition in Ternopil in 1931. Yet such events were of episodic character, and quite modest in scope⁸.

The first large-scale exhibition of Jewish culture at the national level was organized by the Lviv Museum of Crafts in 1933. It consisted of the museum's own displays, as well as exhibits borrowed from synagogues in Lviv, Brody, Ternopil, and from the private collections of Mark Reichenstein and Maximilian Goldstein. From the first

⁴ EBERHARDT P.: *Przemiany narodowościowe na Ukrainie XX wieku*. Biblioteka "Obozu", Warszawa 1994, pp. 99-100.

⁵ NOHA O.: *Svit Lviwskoho sportu (1900-1939)*. Ukrainski tekhnolohiji, Lviv 2004, p. 227.

⁶ BARTAL I., *Among Three Nations: The Jews in Eastern Galicia ...*, p. 19.

⁷ HARTLEB K.: *Obecna wystawa zabytków żydowskiego przemysłu artystycznego...* [In:] *Tymczasowy Katalog wystawy żydowskiego przemysłu artystycznego*. Lwów, Muzeum przemysłu artystycznego we Lwowie, 1933, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

days of its existence, the Museum's priority activities were collecting, studying and promoting the art and crafts of different nations and ethnographic groups, as sources of ancient art. Prior to the Jewish exhibition, the museum conducted a "Hutsul Art" exhibition and an Armenian exhibition, which were of great success.

The Jewish exhibition of 1933 offered an incentive to realise Maximilian Goldstein's idea, and create the first Jewish museum in Eastern Galicia. The idea was implemented in 1934 by the Head of Judaic Community, the bank director Mr. Victor Hayes. The museum collection consisted of deposits from Dr. Reichenstein's family, the property of the Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum, and the property of the Museum of the Judaic Community⁹.

When describing the life of Jews in Lviv at the turn of the 20th Century, it is worth quoting the extremely interesting opinions of L. Hońdo, the Head of the Chair of Jewish Culture, from the Department of Jewish Studies, at the Jagiellonian University. He states that during the period of the end of 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century, the traditional culture of the Jewish community changed somewhat, due to the processes of acculturation and assimilation. These processes, which effected all the Jewish communities in Europe, broke the solidness of the religious form. Jews became more open to the cultures of other nations, that is, Austrians, Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians. At that time the Jewish environment witnessed the development of new ideological directions – Zionism and Socialism. Moreover, Jewish culture started to evolve towards multi-lingualism. The educated Jews of Galicia fought against the brow-beaten, intolerant, orthodox majority, yet with relatively insignificant outcomes¹⁰.

The cultural inheritance of the Jews of Eastern Galicia is their thousand year old Jewish tradition, with oriental roots developed in the Ukrainian ethnic lands in the Central Eastern part of Europe, under Ukrainian, Polish and Austro-Hungarian rule. All these factors added to the uniqueness and individuality, of the every day and cultural life, of the Galician Jews. Their religion and world outlook existed in a Ukrainian-Polish environment, at the intersection of Orthodox and Catholic worlds. The impact of a multi-religious, multi-cultural and international environment on Jewish spiritual life gave rise to new directions in the development of Judaism, in terms of religion, philosophy, literature, and art. A specific cultural phenomenon emerged, that is, the Galician Jewish community – with its distinct and unique mentality.

⁹ SCHALL J.: *Przewodnik po zabytkach żydowskich m. Lwowa i historia żydów Lwowskich w zarysie*. Nakładem księgarni "EWER", Lwów 1935, p. 66.

¹⁰ HOŃDO L.: *Żydzi w Galicji i ich kultura*. [In:] *Kultura żydów galicyjskich ze zbiorów Muzeum Etnografii i Rzemiosła artystycznego*. Muzeum Regionalne w Stalowej Woli, Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska, Instytut Narodoznawstwo Państwowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy, Gdańsk – Stalowa Wola 2006, p. 24.

Along with conscientious sectors of the Jewish community in early 20th Century, the Polish State and Ukrainian civil institutions started to actively develop the idea of studying, preserving and popularizing Jewish culture and traditions. By that time at least two Lviv museums, the City Museum of Crafts (founded in 1874) and the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (founded in 1895), had already been collecting interesting items of Jewish ethnography and art. As mentioned earlier, in 1933 the City Museum of Crafts organized a large exhibition of Jewish art. Maximilian Goldstein's collections and the judaica of the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society presented mainly ethnographic artifacts; the City Museum of Arts mainly gathered the items of Jewish decorative and applied art, while the collection of the newly established Museum of the Jewish Community presented synagogue textiles and household articles. The majority of these artifacts were donated to the museum depository by synagogues and private collectors, while some of them were purchased from the Foundation of the Society of Friends of the Jewish Museum in Lviv.

The gradual and natural development of the Galician Jews' cultural life was brutally and tragically interrupted by the Communist and Nazis regimes. After Western Ukraine was annexed by the Soviet Union in September 1939, virtually all private and public collections were nationalized. In 1940, the collections of the Museum of the Jewish Community were passed to the City Museum of Crafts. During the German occupation, Maximilian Goldstein voluntary donated his collection to this museum where he was employed as a research officer. By the end of World War II the cultural monuments of the Galician Jews had been mostly gathered in two museums in Lviv – the City Museum of Crafts and the Ethnographic Museum of the Academy of Arts of Ukraine (formerly the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). In 1951 these two museums were united to form the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts at the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Thus, at present this museum possesses the largest and most valuable collection, which represents the cultural heritage of Galician Jews from the 17th to 20th Century. Moreover, the monuments of Jewish cultural heritage are located in three other Lviv museums: the Lviv History Museum, the Lviv Art Gallery, and the Lviv Museum of Religious History.

In the times of the Communist totalitarianism control the Jewish collections were not accessible to the wider circles of interested people; moreover, to study or promote them was virtually impossible. The size of the Jewish population of Lviv reduced considerably. By 1989, the last year of the Soviet Union's existence, 12,823 Jews resided in Lviv, which constituted 1.58% of the total population. In the Lviv region they took the fourth place in number, after Ukrainians, Russians and Poles – that is, 14,240 people or 0.5 % of the total number of inhabitants.

After Ukraine regained its independence, in 1992 the Lviv Society of Jewish Culture, named after Sholom-Alejhem, was registered; it had 1,100 members and published the "Shofar" newspaper. In 1998, the Academy of Ukrainian Jewish History and

Culture, named after Sh. Dubnov, which comprised 35 people, started operating. In 1999, "The Golden Rose" Lviv Regional United Jewish Community was formed; the number of its members amounting to 1,500 people.¹¹ Simultaneously, the Bureau of the American Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union started its energetic and proactive activities. In 2005, the Scientific Centre of Judaica and Jewish Art, named after F. Petriakova, was registered in Lviv, its founders being the Lviv city non-governmental organization the "Association of Museums and Galleries", led by Prof. Yaroslav Dashkevych (Head of the Department of Institute of Ukrainian Archaeography and Sources Studies, named after M. S. Hrushevsky, at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Meylakh Sheykhet (the Bureau Director of American Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union). As of 15th December 2001 four Judaic communities and two communities of progressive Judaism were registered in the Lviv region.¹²

Not only did the independence of Ukraine create favorable conditions for the development of national cultural societies, it was also promoted the cultural heritage of national minorities in Ukraine. In 1989, The Museum of Ethnography and Crafts organized the first exhibition, "Traditional Jewish Art of from the 17th to early 20th Century" within the territory of the Soviet Union. Due to the efforts and diligence of the Ukrainian intelligentsia the exhibition was also shown in Moscow in the same year; also, since the exhibition raised a large public interest, the next year the monuments of Jewish culture were exhibited in Kyiv. For the first time after fifty years of being hidden, one of the best Jewish collections in Europe, not only became widely accessible, but also was promoted in various ways. In the hard times of establishing a new society, searching for a new ideology and identity, Ukrainian scientific and cultural institutions placed the issues of cultural development of national minorities, and the elimination of blank spots in history, among their priorities.

It was also important for the young state of Ukraine and the new intellectual elite to show the world community its openness for dialogue, and its desire to collaborate in creating a common future. The cultural and scientific circles of Ukraine started to search for partners in the West. The transformational processes in Central and Eastern Europe enhanced the development of new contacts with close neighbors. Thus, it was only natural that in 1993 the collection, the "Traditional Jewish Art of from the 17th to early 20th Century" was first exhibited abroad in Poland, at the Krakow History Museum. The historical connections between Lviv and Krakow (the second largest Galician city), gave rise to a large interest from Polish people in Ukrainian Jewish cultural heritage.

¹¹ The information was obtained at the Department of Nationalities and Migration of Lviv Regional State Administration.

¹² The information was obtained at the Department of Religion Issues of Lviv regional State Administration.

The next year, in 1994, the “Treasures of Galician Jews” exhibition was shown at the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv. In this way, not only did the staff of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts show their involvement to the selfless task (sometimes with a risk to their own lives under Hitler’s occupation) and the self-sacrificing work of several generations of Ukrainian museum staff, aimed at preserving Jewish cultural heritage, but it also showed their desire to restore this essential element of regional Galician culture, as well as give it a new flavor, in the variety of the national cultural life of independent Ukraine.

After the exhibition returned to Ukraine, the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts organized the tours of exhibition to the cities of Eastern Ukraine: Dniprodzerzhynsk (2000), Dnipropetrovsk (2000), and Zaporizhia (2001). In 2002, the “Treasures of Galician Jews” exhibition was displayed at the request of Schlossberg Museum in the city of Chemnitz (Germany) on the occasion of the opening a new synagogue. Next, from March to October 2005 the Jewish cultural monuments of Galicia of 17th to 20th Centuries were open for observation to the thousands of visitors of the Ethnographical Museum Schloss Kitsee in Austria.

As a result of fruitful co-operation between the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts and Polish partners, and due to Polish interest in the Jewish collection, in 2006/2007 exhibitions were displayed at the Gdańsk History Museum and the Regional Museum in Stalowa Wola, along with tours to other cities in Poland. Until now, the exhibitions have been displayed in Szczecin and Katowice.

Other Lviv museums also made their contribution to the revival of the unique world of Galician Jewry. For example, the Museum of Religious History organized three exhibitions of Judaic unique ritual culture and Jewish books (1999, 2000, 2001). Lviv History Museum exhibited a part of its own Jewish collection in 2001. Under the initiative of the “Hesed Arye” Jewish Charity Foundation, Lviv Art Gallery organized an exhibition entitled “Little Motherland: Religion and Family Life of the Galician Jews through the Eyes of Artists” in 2000¹³. In 2004, the Lviv Art Gallery, jointly with the Dr. A. Schwarz – International Holocaust Centre, organized the “Images of the Vanished World” exhibition in Lviv, comprising materials from the collections of the Lviv Art Gallery, the Lviv History Museum, the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts, the Museum of Religious History, and private collections.

The above mentioned activities of the Lviv museums have been implementing the exhortation of Mytropolyt Andrey Sheptytsky, made at the opening of the National Museum in Lviv on December 13th, 1913, “We do not want to be coffin guards; we

¹³ VOZNYTSKY B.: Foreword. [In:] *Images of a vanished world. The Jews of Eastern Galicia (From the mid-19th century to the first third of the 20th century). Exhibition catalogue from the collections of the Lviv Art Gallery, Lviv Museum of History, Museum of Ethnography and Crafts, Museum of Religious History, private collections.* Lviv, “Centre of Europe” Publishing House, 2003, p. 4.

would rather be witnesses of revival.”¹⁴ While learning about other nations that used to live or are living nearby, we learn and perceive our history, traditions, and customs. Our knowledge and experience of the past must serve the coming generations in building a safe future for our home – the European community.

¹⁴ SHEPTYTSKY A.: Z istorii i problem nashoi shtuky. Vyklad, vyholosheny na s'viati otvorenia "Natsionalnoho Muzeia" dnia 13 hrudnia 1913 roku. [In:] *Ne khochemo chuzhoji kultury, knochemo zhyty svojeju!* Kosiv M. (compiled by, foreword), Lviv, Logos, 2005, p. 21.

*** Translation from the Ukrainian language by Halyna Kaluzhna.

ANNEX

*Weronika Litwin**

**The Preservation of Jewish Heritage as
a Factor Stimulating Regional Development**
(p. 57-59)



*The synagogue
in Zamość*



*A Teachers
Training session*



*Students clean
a Jewish cemetery
in Ustrzyki Dolne*

Joanna Zętar

**Documentation – Education – Art Projects.
The Activities of the ‘Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre’
for the Preservation of the Heritage of Lublin Jews**
(p. 60-63)



The Grodzka Gate in 2006

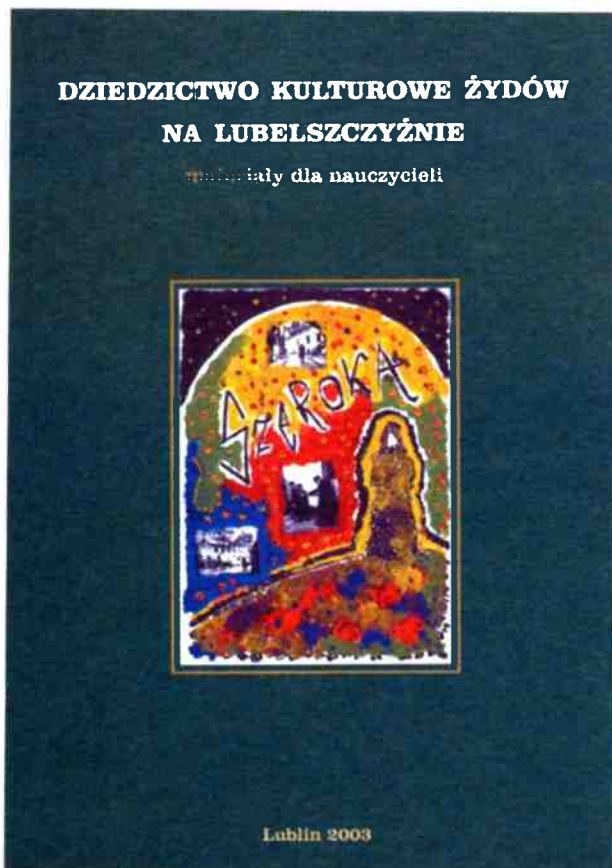
Author.: J. Zętar



*The Grodzka Gate in the inter-war period.
(1918-1939)*

(Author unknown..

*The collection of the Photograph Archive
of the Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre Centre)*

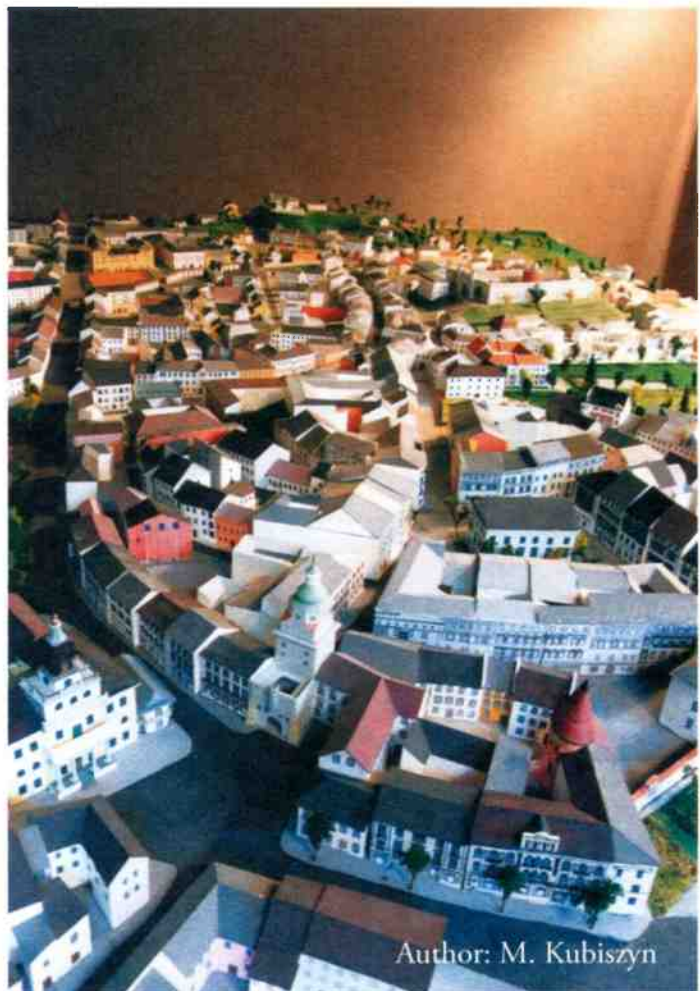


*The front cover of the teachers' book, The Jewish
Heritage in the Lublin Region*

*A scene from
"Tajbete
and the Demon"*



*The model of the Lublin Jewish
district*





Author: M. Kubiszyn

*The mystery,
One Land – Two
Temples (2000)*

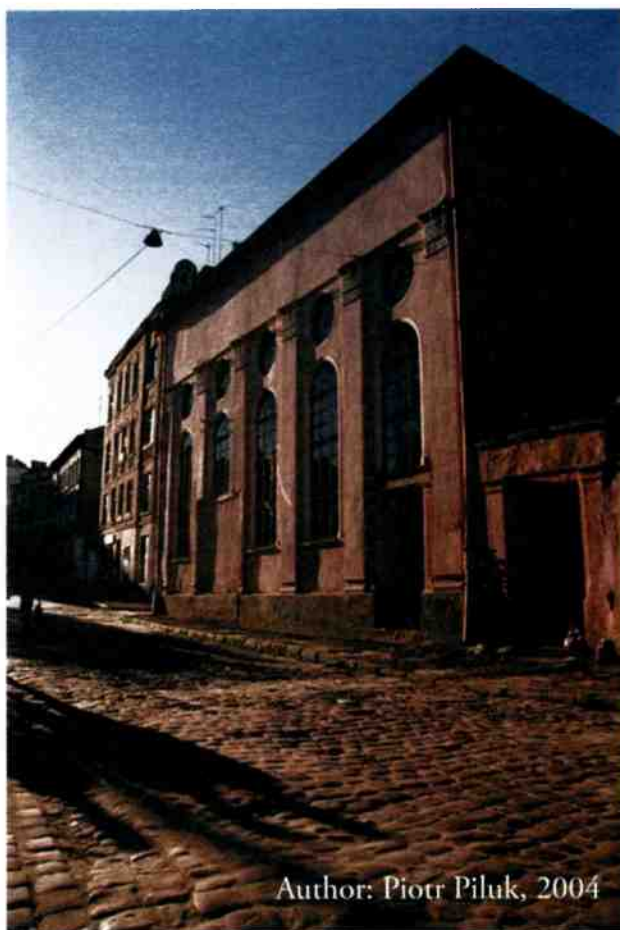
Piotr Piluk

Jewish Traces in the City of Lviv
(p. 97-104)



*The synagogue in Michnowskich St.
erected in 1924; design by Aba Kornbluth*

Author: Piotr Piluk, 2004



Author: Piotr Piluk, 2004

Jankl Glancers Szul in Przedmieście Krakowskie St.; built in the years 1842-1844



Author: Piotr Piluk, 2004

The monument commemorating the victims of the Lviv ghetto; erected in 1992



A Yiddish inscription (1) preserved on the wall of a building in Naliwajka St.

Author: Piotr Piluk, 2004



The Jewish hospital, built in the years 1898-1901

Author: Piotr Piluk, 2004



Cooperation of Universities supporting the development of the Lublin and Lviv regions

Realization of the Project (May 2006–December 2007)
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Ivan Franko National University of Lviv



The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Al. Raclawickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, Poland



Ivan Franko National University of Lviv
Universytetska str. 1, 79000 Lviv, Ukraine



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