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Beyond the Trauma:
New Perspectives for Preservation,
Management and Museum Representation of
Jewish Cultural Heritage in post-Soviet Cities

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To Nina Felcher, my grandmother,
with love

Contents

Acknowledgements

While I am writing these lines I recall the almost six years that had passed between when I had first seen the ruins of the synagogue in Rashkov village in autumn 2010, and when I finished this thesis. I recall the feeling of astonishment and determination to find out why such a breathtaking monument stood abandoned in a rural area in the north of Moldova with a public toilet adjusted to its wall. As this story is partially revealed in the present thesis, I would not have been able to do it without institutional and individual support I have been receiving during these six years.

Vita

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Publications

- A. Felcher. "Alongside but separately: Competing Memory Projects and Jewish Memorial Landscape in Chişinău." In *Cultural Diversity in East-Central European Borderlands: Cityscapes, Memories, People*, edited by Eleonora Narvselius and Niklas Bernsand. 2016 (in print).

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- A. Felcher. 'Towards a Common Trauma? Asymmetric Memories of Jewish Life and Death in Eastern Europe' presented at *Towards a Common Past? Conflicting Memories on Contemporary Europe* conference organized by the Center for European Studies at Lund University, Lund, Sweden, 14-16 May 2012.

- A. Felcher. 'Politics and Development of Heritage Protection System in Post-Soviet Moldova' presented at the *BASEES Postgraduate Workshop 'Modernity'* organized by the Department for Central & East European Studies at the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK, 23 January, 2014.

- A. Felcher. '(Mis)-management of Jewish Architectural Sites in the Context of Heritage Protection System in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe' presented as the *public talk* at the Center for European Studies, Lund University, organized by the Center for European Studies, Lund, Sweden, 19 February, 2014.

- A. Felcher. ''Jewish Spaces' and Architecture in today's L'viv: Value

Creation and Challenges for Maintenance' poster presented at *Jewish Architecture – New Sources and Approaches Conference* organized by Bet Tfila – Research Unit for Jewish Architecture in Europe at the Technische Universität Braunschweig & the Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Braunschweig, Germany, 1-3 April, 2014.

⚔ A. Felcher. 'Interviews with 'elites' in Chişinău concerning their Knowledge, Interest, Attitudes, Policies and Activities towards the Memory of the Vanished Population Groups' presented at the *Final Conference of the Project 'Memory of Vanished Population Groups in today's East-Central European Urban Environments. Memory Treatment and Urban Planning in L'viv, Chernivtsi, Chişinău and Wroclaw'*, organized by the Center for European Studies at Lund University, Lund, Sweden, 19-21 November 2014.

⚔ A. Felcher. 'Neglect behind the Fence: Jewish Heritage Sites' Preservation in Post-Soviet Cities' presented at the *Heritage, Images, Ideologies* conference, organized by LYNX Center for the Interdisciplinary Analysis of Images at IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca, Lucca, Italy, 23 January 2015.

⚔ A. Felcher. 'No Simple Past: the Many Meanings of Cultural Heritage in Post-Soviet Societies' presented as the *public lecture* at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, organized by the Harriman Institute, New York, USA, 11 March 2015.

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⚔ A. Felcher. 'Community House, Museum or Memorial? Jewish Heritage Interpretation in Chisinau, Odessa and Lviv' presented at the '*Jewish Cultural Heritage. Projects, Methods, Inspirations'* conference, organized by the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw, Poland, 8-10 June 2016.

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⚔ A. Felcher. 'The 'Various Others': managing Jewish Cultural Heritage in post-1991 Ukraine' presented at the *14th EASA Biennial Conference 'Anthropological legacies and human futures'* organied by the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Milan, Italy, 20-22 July 2016 (forthcoming).

Abstract

The thesis is based on three starting points. The first is on the acknowledgement of the lamentable condition of buildings of Jewish-related heritage in cities with a multicultural past across the present-day former Soviet Union. The second is on the acknowledgement of a slow process of gradual recognition of these traces as examples of tangible heritage and a provisional resource for heritage commodification. The third is the on the acknowledgement of 'heritage', 'memory' and 'space' as phenomena that are subject to manipulation on various levels.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the understanding of what constitutes national heritage in the newly-appeared independent states has conformed to correspond with the interpretations and values of national histories. In managerial terms some immovable heritage of ethnic minorities has been returned to the symbolic successors of previous owners. This defined provisional sources of funding for partial renovation of this heritage, as well as its use. The remaining sites, the majority of which are monuments protected by the state, most frequently stay unattended. In order to design policy recommendations to improve the situation, a complex understanding of factors that influence heritage protection, interpretation, and promotion in the post-Soviet space is needed.

Within this state of affairs, the thesis aims to analyze agency behind 'top-down' policies and 'down-up' grass-roots initiatives towards (non)interpretation of Jewish-related heritage sites in Chişinău (Moldova), Odessa and L'viv (Ukraine) and Minsk (Belarus). This selection of cities is chosen to reveal the multiplicity of factors that determine apparent similarity in heritage condition and management in the post-Soviet space, but instead reveal diverse dynamics of interaction between heritage and politics; heritage and nationalism; heritage and civil society, etc.

The methodology utilized here includes archival search, participant observation, media and expert opinion analysis, as well as examination of museum exhibitions. The fieldwork included data collection on the actual condition of Jewish heritage in the cities under discussion and interviews with various agents. Elite interviews were analyzed as basis for authoritative heritage discourse before discussing actual heritage projects in these cities.

Based on interdisciplinary analysis, the thesis provides an embracing overview of the broad spectrum of agency behind Jewish heritage-related initiatives (or their absence). It then offers recommendations for the advancement of managerial strategies.

Introduction

*"We arrived in Emsk at noon on 9 August and immediately walked around the town.
The castle* (where the wartime Jewish ghetto was located – A.F.) *is still half ruined,
as it was when we were moved there at the end of 1941. Local townspeople came out,
but there are very few left who remember those events. Young people, we found, know
nothing about what happened here 50 years ago.*
[...]
*The following day, 10 August, a public meeting was organized in Lenin Square at
which Rymkevich, the chairman of the town council, and a partisan hero,
Savva Nikolaichik, made speeches.*
[...]
*Then I spoke, Ruvim Lakhish, a citizen of Israel, and thanked the town council and local
people for having preserved half the Jewish cemetery and having built a very fine sports
stadium on the other half.*

*When the speeches were over, we laid flowers at the monument to the Heroic Liberators
of Belorus and the Town of Emsk from the German Fascist Usurpers.*

*There was then an amateur concert in the square in which a group of schoolchildren
performed Belorussian folk songs and dances*
[...]
*Some actors read poetry by Pushkin and Lermontov, and by the war poets Konstantin
Simonov and Mikhail Isakovsky."*[1]

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[1] Ludmila Ulitskaya. *Daniel Stein, Interpreter: A Novel* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2011), 334-335.

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Stating the Problem

The aforecited fragment originates from a bestselling novel by Russian author of Jewish origin and of Russian Orthodox faith Ludmila Ulitskaya. The novel (*'Daniel Stein, Interpreter'*) was first published in Russian in 2006 and translated into English in 2011. The excerpt above takes place at a castle near the fictional Belarusian town of Emsk and describes a gathering of the 44 remaining survivors from a WWII local Jewish ghetto in 1992 in order to commemorate the fate of their 500 fellow ghetto prisoners shot to death by the Nazi in 1942, as well as of those 300 Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto with the help of Daniel Stein, a Polish Jew forced into service by the Germans. Stein, who later became a Catholic priest, is the novel's protagonist.

The fragment accurately reflects on three key points that constitute the subject of this thesis. First, it distinctly hints at the practice of oblivion and misuse of Jewish heritage sites in the post-war Soviet Union. This is a result of both the Holocaust itself and its dismissal in public memory and USSR public space prior to the dissolution of the country. Second, it indicates that even an individual memory of the wartime events was not the subject of transmission and dissemination, which resulted in the younger generation's ignorance about such 'alien' aspects of local history. Finally, the excerpt clearly signals the absence of particular forms and practice for commemoration of the Holocaust and its victims (rather than heroism of the Soviet soldiers and the people) when it finally became possible to openly discuss this topic.[2] This is why eventually the fictional visit of ghetto survivors to Belarus has been 'celebrated' within the clichéd forms of an average official Soviet-style public action within the narrative of the *Great Victory*: with the help of permissible institutionalized forms of folklore, canonic high-brow Russian literature, as well as authorized 'war poets', whose works significantly contributed to elaboration of canon of the *Great Patriotic War* in public sphere across the USSR. The canon constituted praising the courage of the Red Army and the Soviet people in their fight with the enemy and in their way to the *Great Victory*, omitting a number of 'uncomfortable' details.

The aforecited passage from the novel is even more telling taking into account the fact that the fictional town of Emsk and its castle is drawn from a

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[2] According to Anton Astapovich, such practices of 'celebrating' the anniversaries related to the Holocaust may still be met in present-day Belarus, see interview to Anastasia Felcher, January 17, 2014.

real 16th century *Mirsky Castle Fortification Complex* currently located in Hrodna region 97 km southwest of the capital city Minsk in present-day Belarus. The construction of the castle presumably started in 1522 for reasons of prestige while the territory under discussion was part of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the territory had been passed to the rule of the Russian Empire in 1795, the castle and its surrounding area has entered into a phase of gradual desolation after being looted, destroyed and burned in several consecutive battles in which the castle was used for defensive purposes. Since 1921, the castle has been 'moved' to the Second Polish Republic in immediate proximity to the Soviet border, and in 1939 it 'moved' again, this time to Baranavichy *oblast'* (region) after the incorporation of West Belarus into the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). The castle was immediately nationalized, and hosted the production of a co-operative until 1941. Afterwards, after the Nazi invasion, it 'hosted' a ghetto for the local Jewish population. Additionally, a POW camp was organized there. Both the ghetto and the camp were organized and liquidated in 1942. On August 9, 1942 about 250 Jews managed to escape, which was followed by the shooting of those remaining in the ghetto (about 650 people) in the nearby forest three days later.

In July 1944 the Red Army liberated Belarus and from then on until 1962 the castle complex was used as a shelter and housing facility for those whose houses were destroyed in the war. That brought around the irretrievable loss of the castle's authentic interior. Restoration works started in 1983, and since 1987 the castle functioned as a branch of the National Art Museum of Belarus. In 1988 it was declared a *Historical and Cultural Value of National Importance* by the BSSR Government Decree. In 1993 the first exhibition in the southwest castle tower welcomed visitors, and finally the whole complex was declared a *UNESCO World Heritage Site in Belarus* in 2000. One of the most popular tourist destinations in Belarus (it is claimed that 62,200 people visited the place in 2000), the *Mirsky Castle Complex* has been commodified after the most recent restoration was finalized by 2010.

Today the castle contains several reconstructed premises, a hotel, conference facilities, a restaurant, a night bar, souvenir shops, a museum etc. It hosts numerous festivals, performances, and exhibitions, including the *Belarusian Writing and Language Day*, the annual festival of arts, and many others. Presently the castle complex is promoted as 'the most distinctive medieval castle in Belarus, an excellent example of local castle architecture from 16th-20th centuries and an iconic symbol of the national heritage of the

independent state of the Republic of Belarus'[3]. However, the most recent restoration draws criticism among some experts, who claim that it made the castle lose its authenticity, that currently the construction looks 'too clean,' and its museum halls are filled with random artefacts, copies, and reproductions, which are barely connected either with the interiors, or with the castle itself.

Marketing the castle complex within the framework of revival of national consciousness is of less consequenc since the Mir township (within 450 m proximity to the castle) is known for its pre-WWII multicultural history with four communities of different faiths cohabitating within one settlement. As for its heritage, in Mir township the main Orthodox and Catholic churches adjoined a wooden mosque (which has not survived) and the architectural ensemble of the synagogue courtyard. The courtyard is partially preserved although all buildings have changed their purpose long ago. In 2002 together with the rest of the township, the courtyard underwent a reconstruction dedicated to the *Day of Belarusian Writing and Printing* celebration. Despite the architectural evidences of former multiculturalism and certain recognition of the Holocaust[4], both the Mir township and the Mirsky castle are currently far from standing for the memorialization of either local Jewish life or Jewish death. Instead, in memory of those Jews from Mir township, who died in the Holocaust, the *Jewish National Fund* and the municipality of Jerusalem planted in early 1980s the first 1000 trees, which eventuall formed a forest north of the city.

Twists and turns similar to those described above took place with Jewish-related heritage sites in Chişinău (in Moldova), Odessa, L'viv (in Ukraine) and Minsk (in Belarus), which are in the center of this thesis. Two of the cities are national capitals (Chişinău and Minsk), and two are administrative regional centers (of Odessa and L'viv *oblast'* respectively). The thesis focuses on intersection of heritage management, politics of memory, and museum representation in matters related to interpretation of local and global Jewish history and local Jewish heritage. The research embraces the time period beginning in the late 1980s, follows declarations of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, and traces the progress of the matter to 2015.

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[3] From the official website of the *Mirsky Castle Fortification Complex*, see http://mirzamak.by/istoriya/obshchaya-istoriya, accessed on August 8, 2015.

[4] The exposition within the castle narrates the *Wars of the 20th century*, *Ghetto* and contains a *Hall of Memory*.

Aim of the Thesis

Several important contributions have recently enriched the historiography related to memory politics implemented within the urban public space in post-Communist Europe. There has also appeared new literature on Jewish heritage interpretation and Jewish museums in post-1991 Central and Eastern Europe. However, these studies are not focused on the territory of the former Soviet Union. To be precise, it is a rediscovery of Jewish heritage in post-1991 Poland and Germany that has provoked the highest academic interest. Studies on the Holocaust and its memory are also important here. Recent publications have focused on the 'Holocaust in the East' and on the treatment of memory related to it.

However, there is still a substantial literature gap on mechanisms of rediscovery and interpretation and management of Jewish-related cultural heritage precisely at the post-Soviet space. This thesis aims to fill this gap by bringing new data on the subject, as well as by demonstrating interlinks between heritage discourse and practice of heritage management, as well as the influence of political agendas and the market towards heritage treatment in the present-day Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus.

The thesis brings the analysis of this state of affairs in the above mentioned cities to amplify the picture. It aims 1) to evaluate and to describe the present-day visibility and condition of Jewish-related architectural, burial, memorial and musem landscape in the cities under study; 2) to reveal agency distribution involved in Jewish heritage interpretation within these four types of landscape; 3) to indicate strategies of Jewish heritage management, commemoration of the Holocaust and exhibition-making applied by each type of actor. Having analyzed these three points, the thesis aims to develop recommendations for practitioners involved in heritage interpretation.

As a subject of study, Jewish cultural heritage and its interpretation comprise certain significant distinctions, which may be interpreted both as challenges and opportunities for prospective research. First, the study of Jewish heritage management in post-1945 reality per se is impossible without referring to the Holocaust and the state of memory about it. This also bears an indelible challenge for those willing to interpret Jewish heritage, as this very initiative imposes a moral obligation for reference to the trauma. As practice shows, this

may also become a point of severe criticism if the heritage interpretation project is not primarily directed to an emphasis on trauma. Second, the study of Jewish heritage afterlives after genocide and emigration allows tracing the mechanisms of construction and functioning of discourses related to ethnic- and religious-based alienation, or 'othering'. This includes not only the delimitation between 'Jewish' and 'Gentile', but also the understanding of what is meant by each category. This is observable within conflicts between different bodies over the different ways of implementation of heritage-related projects. Examples of such are to be found in chapters 3 to 6 of this thesis. Finally, due to the global dimension of Jewish culture and experience, a comparative potential of studying Jewish heritage interpretation is particularly rich.

Main Arguments

Several factors influenced the choice of this particular sampling of case studies. All four cities are known for their pre-WWII rich Jewish culture and heritage (which is partly reflected in the cities' identification and current branding), but at the same time for anti-Jewish violence, including both the pogroms of 19th and early 20th century and the Holocaust of 1940s. Once being a home for Jewish population, which constituted up to 40% of city residents, today these cities are hardly recognized for visibility and their Jewish heritage today. This is explained by the sharp reduction of residents of Jewish descent and the intentional demolition of built heritage as result of the Holocaust, as well as further incorporation of all four cities within the borders of post-war Soviet state. The latter was characterized by disregard of certain historic sites for the scope of post-war urban development, intentional misuse of former religious buildings, such as their adaptation to industrial or social use. Finally, the Jewish emigration since late 1970s significantly contributed to the reduction of the present-day percentage of the Jewish population among residents of Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk. All four cities meet certain common criteria of urban development within post-Soviet space. All four were in similar historical setting right after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, facing similar challenges within newly formed independent states, but eventually ending up with rather contrasting vectors of urban development, since they are incorporated into different national frameworks. Regional differences, composition of stakeholders and various points of geopolitical gravity influence management of culture and politics of memory in the cities and states under study. Since two capitals and two regional centers are brought to comparison, the research aims to reveal center-periphery and local-national-global dynamics in heritage

management, the Holocaust commemoration and the introduction of the Jewish topic into the museum scene.

Present-day Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus share such characteristics as political and economic instability, an upsurge of various (sometimes competing) nationalist discourses, the intensification of conflicts over symbolic and historical issues and introduction of intentional policy efforts to regulate collective memory, although dynamics of these processes vary. In their recent history, Moldova and the Ukraine, in contrast with Belarus, experienced intense dynamics of change in leadership and ruling political forces, some of which had opposing geopolitical orientations. This caused certain ruptures in the identity-building process and in logic of politics of history and memory. In all three countries political forces are divided in accordance with different understanding of identity, geopolitical orientations, symbolic ideals and judgements on national, as well as global history. These judgments, in their turn, are embedded in the views on present, future and, most importantly for current thesis, past of these societies, presently organized within independent states. Belarus represents a contrasting case due to its almost unchanging political leadership since 1994.

The organization of the heritage protection system in all three countries presupposes the direct involvement of the state and its responsibility for integrity and safety of heritage. At the same time, the treatment of heritage and selectivity of its protection is directly linked with the politics of memory and the presence or absence of attempts to come to terms with the difficult past. These tendencies may be traced via the dynamics of awarding the status of monuments protected by the state to certain buildings and by distribution of funds allocated for restoration. After 1991 in the Ukraine and Moldova the heritage gained the functions of expression of national aspirations and identity. The lists of landmarks protected by the state have been reviewed in order to eliminate the buildings related to the Soviet past in favor of housing related to previously neglected historical periods. Belarus did not follow this tendency.

A great distance still separates the real from the ideal in heritage preservation in all three countries, as they share the inconsistency of the legislation in the heritage protection sphere. This legislation has been inherited from the Soviet times and only since recently has been brought closer to international standards. The recent tendency of rediscovering multicultural heritage as tourism attraction does not necessarily lead to the better preservation of immovable heritage of ethnic minorities in the region, but may

explain the interest of authorities to approve and support projects related to the protection of such heritage.

The extensive reports of the *United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad* identified more that 1,500 cemeteries, mass graves, and synagogues within the territory of present day Ukraine and over 100 Jewish and Holocaust-related historic or religious sites in Moldova.[5] The condition of the sites inclused in the survey has ranged from good to deplorable, and it was indicated that only recently any efforts to identify the indicated sites have begun. In the reports there were given certain recommendations that would lead to the improvement of this situation. These include:

- a need to reach agreement on the procedure of the return of properties to Jewish communities and organizations;

- a need to structure a system of financing to assist owners in being responsible for historic properties;

- a need to compile the complete documentation of existing Jewish-related sites and properties;

- a need for further inclusion of Jewish-related sites to the *National Registry of Protected Historic Places;*

- a need to strenghten regulatory processes and penalties;

- a need to develop programs and policies to strenghten participation of NGOa and professionals;

- a need to introduce recognition awards[6].

For those willing to interpret today the Jewish-related sites and/or their ruins on post-Soviet space as heritage, an inevitable message of trauma and challenge to 'work' with it prevails. However, In spite of the fact that through many channels (academic publications, photo albums, documentaries, literature, exhibitions, etc.) Jewish heritage in this area continues being perceived through the prism of trauma and loss, this well-established image

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[5] Samuel Gruber et al., *Jewish Cemeteries, Synagogues, and Mass Grave Sites in Ukraine* (United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2005); Samuel Gruber et al. *Jewish Heritage Sites and Monuments in Moldova* (United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 2010).

[6] Gruber et al., "Jewish Cemeteries," 76-77.

only partly reflects the present-day reality. Also, as empirical data collected for this thesis shows, for some cases of Jewish heritage interpretation it was precisely an attempt to go 'beyond the trauma' that stimulated several projects discussed in this thesis.

Research Questions

Following the aim and scope of the thesis, the latter seeks to answer the questions listed below:

- ✹ What were the strategies applied by the amalgam of multiple actors towards the interpretation of Jewish architectural, burial, memorial and museum heritage landscape in Chisinau, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk since late 1980s to 2016?

- ✹ To what extent have the local, national and international factors and contexts been defining the state of affairs related to the condition, visibility and promotion of Jewish cultural heritage in the time and places under study?

- ✹ What were and are challenges that prevent a more dynamic and successful Jewish heritage interpretation (the restoration of buildings and cemeteries, commemoration of the Holocaust, exhibiting Jewish items in museums) in the time and places under study?

- ✹ What efficient managerial strategies should be applied in order to improve the situation with Jewish heritage condition, visibility and promotion in the cities under study, taking into account both the local context and the global trends?

Jewish Heritage Landscape

The triad *'material heritage (buildings, cemeteries), memorials, and museums'* has been selected as a sampling for detailed analysis. This combination has proven to be fruitful as a research subject since the state of the arts in one of these areas inevitably affects the way things are in the other.

The synagogues, apart from being houses of prayer and assembly where Jewish religious and social life has been concentrated, appear as the sites of looting, devastation and deliberate desecration and humiliation that 'accompanied' anti-Jewish violence within the Pale of Settlement starting with the pogroms of late 19th century and further on. It was the famous ethnographer

and writer S. Ansky who in 1915 in his four-volume memoir-essay *The Destruction of Galicia*, published in Yiddish in 1925, depicted and emphasized the destruction of religious premises in the region in line with war-time slaughter of those, who once used these buildings. Right after his multiple expeditions to the *shtetlah* of Volhynia and Podolia of 1911-1914, a year later Ansky participated in a relief effort to Jews living on the territories of Eastern Front, being 'caught' between the opposing armies within the WWI. He writes:

"[In Sadagora – A.F.] I myself went to the Hasidic rebbe's court, which was located on the outskirts of town.

Two red medieval castles in Moorish style were flanked by ingeniously ornamented circular towers with battlements and enormous portals. Of the two castles, which were identical in size and architecture, one was rebbe's home, the other the synagogue.

The walls of both buildings were still whole, but the interiors had been thoroughly looted, wrecked, and soiled. Now both structures housed a military typhus hospital.

I shuddered when I saw the rebbe's house: gutted rooms, broken walls thickly coated with mud and spit. In the largest room, the walls were lined with cots, on which sick Romanian soldiers, newly arrived from the front, were sitting or lying"[7].

Or

"[In Filzne – A.F.] I went over to the synagogue, an old wooden building in a small muddy alleyway. The women's section was occupied by soldiers, who sat there, cleaning their boots and singing. The men's section was free, but it showed fresh signs of the pogrom: everything was ripped and smashed. Only the Holy Ark was unscathed. I ran into an old man, who told me about the many calamities the Jews had suffered. The looters have also carried off the precious silver articles"[8].

The devastation of Sadagora, a former shtetl and currently a settlement in Ukraine located not far from the city center of city of Chernivtsi in Bukovina

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[7] S. Ansky, *The Enemy at His Pleasure: A Journey Through the Jewish Pale of Settlement During World War I*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003), 279.

[8] S. Ansky, "The Enemy at His Pleasure," 101.

region, as well as of Filzne were, of course, 'normal' rather than exceptional for Jewish settlements within the Eastern Front. Further on, since the notorious Pale of Settlement had been abolished after 1917, the synagogues that 'found themselves' on the territories under Soviet rule, were subjected to new wave of looting, this time of antireligious propaganda and policies. The Jewish 'identity' of these buildings has been legally cut by the nationalization of property. As the WWII came, the deliberate destruction of Jewish property, including the synagogues, and robbing them of utensils made of precious metals, coincided with the extermination of Jewish population, with the *Night of Broken Glass* in Nazi Germany and Austria that took place on 9–10 November 1938 being a herald of this practice. Jews being killed by suffocation by locking them in synagogues and setting those on fire is one of many dreadful episodes of the Holocaust.

After WWII only a tiny number of synagogues in the region have preserved their initial function, and those rare buildings that survived the war have been adjusted for non-religious everyday use. The same is true for Jewish cemeteries. These sites were the last refuge for victims of pogroms, which connect them to the sense of trauma. Further on, this sense has been enhanced by the deliberate marauding of cemeteries during the times of the WWII, when the gravestones had been used as construction materials or when the victims of the genocide had been shot on the territories of the cemeteries. Finally, after the WWII this desecration was continued by the deliberate demolition of cemeteries within post-war urban reconstruction, while recreation spaces, market places or else have been organized on their place. This practice is not exclusive for Jewish cemeteries, as neither churches nor mosques were immune to closure within the anti-religious campaign in this region that started from 1917.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union allowed Jewish memory 'to go public'. In the 1990s, the discourse of trauma and the possibility to discuss the Holocaust publicly coexisted with the optimism related to the renewal of religious and communal Jewish life. In spite of recognition (although a random one) of Jewish-related sites as heritage on discourse level due to the appearance of Jewish heritage tourism in the countries of former USSR, the spectrum of narratives within which Jewish heritage (be it material, intellectual or spiritual) in the area is debated, remains to be within 'trauma' and 'hope'. Academic literature, popular culture and documentaries produced locally and/or from abroad contribute to crystallization of these patterns. For instance, in a 2014

documentary '*Boris Dorfman - A Mentsh*'[9] a 90-year-old representative of L'viv Jewish community 'virtually the last one in town still speaking the almost extinct language of Yiddish'[10] wanders throughout 'the places of horror and hope reflecting the Jewish history' of the city. Passing by ruins of Jewish built heritage he claims that

"everything is in ruins […] no one comes here [to the cemetery – A.F.], everything is scattered, friends are gone, everyone has left".

In contrast to this, the documentary '*Standing on the Shoulders of Sholem Aleichem,*'[11] produced in the same year, shows how Yiddish, the legacy that might supposedly be gone together with Dorfman, is being taught and learned in L'viv and Kyiv by enthusiasts of both Jewish and non-Jewish descent.

The same is true for academic studies. In his book '*Erased. Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*', Omer Bartov described his travel in search for Jewish heritage in the region known as Galicia (today's Western Ukraine- the journey started with L'viv). The book was first published in 2007 and was followed by discussion in international[12] and Ukrainian academia[13]. Bartov claimed that the condition of traces of Jewish presence in the region indicate:

"the poverty of memory and the selective marginalization of the past"[14] as well as "ignorance of the city's past"[15]

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[9] *Boris Dorfman - A Mentsh,* directed by Uwe & Gabriela von Seltmann (Apfelstrudel Media Berlin, 2014).

[10] From official plot synopsis.

[11] *Standing on the Shoulders of Sholem Aleichem. A contemporary look at the impact of Yiddish culture on today's generation,* directed by Jean-Gabriel Davis (France, 2014).

[12] Steven Seegel, John Paul Himka, Wendy Lower, Myroslav Shkandrij and Omer Bartov, "Review of Omer Bartov's "Erased": Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in present-day Ukraine," *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 2 (2010): 291-305.

[13] Tarik Cyril Amar, Krystian Hantser, Miroslav Shkandriy, Anna Veronica Vendlyand, Ilya Hyerasimov and Omer Bartov, "Yevreys'ka spadshchyna v Ukrayini ta reprezentatsiyi Holokostu: obhovorennya knyzhky Omera Bartova *Zabuti* " [Jewish Heritage In Ukraine and Representation of the Holocaust: Discussion of the Book by Omer Bartov "Erased"]. *Ukraina Moderna* 4, no. 15 (2009): 273-348.

[14] Omer Bartov. *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-day Ukraine*. Princeton University Press, 2007.24

[15] Bartov, "Erased," 32.

and

"remarkable neglect, suppression, and even destruction of all signs of the land's multiethnic past"[16].

Another pessimistic image of perspectives for Jewish heritage condition and management has been presented by Patrice Bensimon[17]. According to him the small number of rapidly aging Jews remaining in Ukraine speaks to the urgency of renewal of the Ukrainian state's approach to Jewish heritage sites. The urge is increasing since internationally there is a limited number of Jews for whom the Ukrainian experience stopped with the WWII and who are rarely interested to visit ruined synagogues in a remote place. According to Bensimon, such are American Jews from this generation, among whom the number of people who do not associate themselves with the tragedy of European Jewry is particularly large.

Those 8 years that have passed since '*Erased*' has been first published (and 6 years after Bensimon has presented his address) have been marked by the development of the matter both in terms of gradual recognition of Jewish-related sites as heritage (but also as a commodity) and practical moves to interpret this heritage. Development in terms of actual rearrangement of the sites in Western Ukraine, as well as all over the country, has also taken place, although one would notice several separate cases rather than a full-scale strategy.

In Western Ukraine an example of such development is recent reconstruction of the 16th century fortress *Great Synagogue* in Sataniv in Khmelnytskyi Oblast in Podolia may serve as an example. After the *Khmelnitsky Regional Jewish Community* took control over the synagogue's building in 2012, reconstruction followed and was almost finished by 2015. Since 2010 the *Kiev Interfaith Forum* has been functioning in Ukraine, which in 2013 awarded an activist from Sataniv with the *Crystal Noah Tolerance Award* for guarding the Sataniv synagogue and for support of renovation work. According to Sergey Kravtsov, the reconstruction of Sataniv synagogue exemplifies those restorations performed thanks "to the efforts of wealthy investors, the so-called

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[16] Bartov, "Erased,*"* 40.

[17] Patrice Bensimon, "The Politics of Jewish Sites of Memory in Ukraine", presentation, proceedings of the Fifth Annual Danyliw Research Seminar in Contemporary Ukrainian Studies (Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa, October 29-31, 2009), 23.

'oligarchs.'[18] Although in such cases the work is performed in a relatively short time, "the decision-making and conservation policies are often shrouded in mystery"[19] and the access of the public to the restoration process is limited.

According to post-1991 policies towards ethnic minorities (in absence of restitution legislation) a number of buildings have been given back to ethnic and/or religious communities. It is those communities that today are responsible for the integrity and preservation of major Jewish-related sites in the cities under discussion. However, the weakness and small size of local Jewish communities, as well as the reduction of local Jewish population, explain the lack of sufficient funds available to preserve the sites[20].

One may point to continuous demolition of the material traces of Jewish presence in the region. Although the majority of the buildings of currently functioning synagogues were renovated since the 1990s, the condition of the Jewish-related architectural landscape in the cities under study remains to be problematic. Buildings of former synagogues, *yeshivas* and other Jewish-related constructions (former Jewish schools, hospitals, etc.) constitute this landscape, while Jewish cemeteries and the sites of their former location represent a burial landscape. The latter often require urgent reconstruction. The thesis outlines the condition of this architectural landscape and presents a detailed account of the initiatives to interpret (in terms of actual physical intrusion, including cleaning of cemeteries) of selected Jewish-related heritage sites.

Memorial landscape constitutes an important entry to the overall Jewish-related heritage landscape in all four cities under study. While memorials to the victims of ethnic cleansing have been installed before 1991, information on the ethnic identity of victims has been omitted, reducing them to 'peaceful Soviet citizens'. The memorials installed after 1991 were indicators of the possibility to speak about the Holocaust openly. Still, this has mostly remained a private and collective memory promoted, and essentially relevant for local Jewish communities and diaspora. The agency behind absolute majority of memorials installed in 1990s clearly indicates this tendency. The

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[18] Sergey Kravtsov, "The Jewish Religious Heritage in Europe: Value and Preservation," Future for Religious Heritage, the European network for Historic Places of Worship, last modified April 8, 2015, accessed June 12, 2015, http://www.frh-europe.org/the-jewish-religious-heritage-in-europe-value-and-preservation/?hc_location=ufi.

[19] Kravtsov, "The Jewish Religious Heritage".

[20] Arkadzi Shulman, interview by Anastasia Felcher, January 16, 2014.

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change brought by 2000s and 2010s is in the focus of this thesis. Still, memorial plaques indicating former Jewish-related sites are rare. The borders of former ghetto area are not indicated or marked. Cobblestone-sized 'stumbling blocks' were so far laid only in Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi (in Kyiv province) in Ukraine in 2009.

Perception and interpretation of the extermination of those residents of Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk, who were of Jewish origin, is to a significant extent shaped by the dominant politics of memory and history. The latter, in its turn, is framed by relations of ruling political elites with their domestic political rivals, neighboring states and international institutions. While the Holocaust commemoration remains one of the main pillars of memory culture within the European project, its commemoration and recognition in the post-Soviet space continues to be problematic.[21] A sensitive point for the post-Soviet elites is the question of the war-time local population's collaboration in anti-Jewish violence. In Moldova this sensitivity is explained by the involvement of the Romanian administration in the execution of local Jews on the territories of the Transnistria governorate, which included Odessa, as well as in the deportations of those kept in ghettos across Transnistria further on to extermination camps. The participation of local population in anti-Jewish violence remains to be a sensitive aspect for all three countries under study. In addition, in Ukraine this sensitivity is related to the (non)recognition of war-time anti-Polish and anti-Jewish violence, in which participants of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its militant formations the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, took part. Since late 2015, these organizations are officially recognized in Ukraine as fighters for independence, and denial of this is punishable by law. In Belarus, memory about WWII is performed within the concept of the *Great Patriotic War.*[22] Roots of this raise from a Soviet canon of

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[21] See Aleksey Bratochkin, "Pamyat' o Holokoste i natsiostroitel'stvo v Belarusi i Ukraine (itogi 2000-kh gg.)" [Holocaust Remembrance and Nation Building in Belarus and Ukraine (the Results of the 2000s.)], *Perekrestki. The Journal of the East-European Borderland Research* 1-2 (2013), 57-84.

[22] For culture of memory of the WWII in Ukraine and Belarus see David R. Marples. *'Our Glorious Past': Lukashenka's Belarus and the Great Patriotic War* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2014); David R. Marples. *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007); Per Anders Rudling. *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths,* Carl Beck Papers in Russian &: East European Studies 2107 (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian & East European Studies, 2011); Andrej Kotljarchuk.

remembering the war, but present-day memory canon about the WWII in Belarus is 'localized' in accordance with home-grown political needs.

The museums constitute the forth landscape, where interpretation of Jewish cultural heritage is practiced. Until the 2010's, the only museum premises that had specifically discussed Jewish-related topics had been local 'alternative' small-scale museums, organized within local Jewish organizations. Since then non-Jewish actors have been involved in the matter, though the dynamics of this involvement varies. The thesis purposes at explaining the nature of this process, emphasizing the agency and rationale behind launging the exhibitions.

Research Design and Methodology

An interdisciplinary methodology has been applied for this current research, synthesizing humanities methods across fields: anthropology, history, heritage studies, memory studies, and museum studies, while adopting a comparative transnational framework. Such methods as archival search, discourse analysis, media analysis, interviews, and data interpretation have been applied. Comparison has been applied in terms of geography (three states and four cities) and in terms of timeline, as data on both past and present have been brought together in order to come up with recommendation for efficient managerial solutions in the future.

First, preliminary data has been collected on selected built heritage sites. Then the sampling of sites has been defined for all four cities in dependence on available data (current condition, ownership). Grass-roots initiatives targeted on the interpretation of some sites and/or commemoration strategies related to the memorials have been selected as case-studies within the cities.

The following locations have been chosen for further analysis: in Chişinău the ruins of former 'Magen Dovid' *yeshiva* and synagogue[23] bought by local Jewish community from the state in order to reconstruct it and build a new community center; a former burial synagogue at the Jewish cemetery[24] and three monuments to memorialize the pogrom of 1903 and the Holocaust in occupied

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"World War II Memory Politics: Jewish, Polish and Roma Minorities of Belarus," *The Journal of Belarusian Studies*, 2013: 7-37.

[23] Located at Rabbi Țirilson street, 8.

[24] Located at Milano street, 1.

Transnistria governorate. In Odessa the former Brody synagogue that till recently has been hosting the regional state archive[25]; the location of two former Jewish cemeteries (neither of them survived to This day) and the Holocaust memorial[26]. In L'viv, the ruins of the former 'Golden Rose' synagogue[27]; the former 'Jakob Glanzer Shul' synagogue[28] that today hosts the *Center for Jewish culture*; the location of former Jewish cemetery, where currently the *Krakivskyi* (Cracow) *Market* is placed and the space nearby the former Jewish hospital, where the spontaneous lapidarium for pieces of Jewish tombstones spontaneously appeared in 2012. Monuments to the victims of L'viv Jewish ghetto and Janiv concentration camp have been also taken into account. In Minsk several places have been chosen as case-studies: the *Trinity Hill* and *Rakovsky disctrict*. *'Yama' (the 'Death Pit')*[29], the memorial to European Jews deported to Minsk ghetto, the memorial to the victims of the ghetto and finally the *Malyi Trostinets memorial complex* have been also taken into account. In addition, four local Jewish museums have been selected as case studies on the narrative conceptualization on Jewish past and present: in Chişinău *The Museum of Jewish Heritage of Moldova* at KEDEM Jewish Center, in Odessa *Migdal Shorashim Odessa Jewish Museum* at Migdal Cultural Center, in L'viv the museum room *Tracing Galician Jews* at Hesed-Arieh Jewish Home and in Minsk *The Museum of Jewish History and Culture of Belarus* at Minsk Jewish Campus.

The data-collecting fieldwork in all four cities followed. It included archival research on the files of the buildings in Odessa and L'viv, files of Jewish communities and official documentation of heritage responsible institutions, such as reports of Ministries of Culture, documentation of regional committees responsible for culture, heritage related decisions, legislative acts, memos and lists of monuments protected by state. Then local and international media coverage in relation to the selected 'sampling' of sites has been carried out. Speeches delivered by officials at Jewish-related commemoration days, all interpreted through discourse analysis, constitute additional sources.

The second component of fieldwork was aimed at completing the picture with semi-structured interviews with politicians, intellectuals, academics, civic society and NGO representatives, heritage-related officials,

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[25] Located at Zhukovs'koho street, 18.

[26] Located at Prokhorovsky square.

[27] Located at Fedorova street, 27.

[28] Located at Vuhilna street, 1-3.

[29] Located at intersection of Mielnikajte and Zaslauskaja streets.

academics, representatives of local Jewish organizations, communities and actors involved in the implementation of grass-roots initiatives related to Jewish heritage (up to 7 in each city), as well as with employees of local Jewish museums (1 for each city). The list of respondents has been determined on the basis of preliminary data collection. Some of the selected actors have been interviewed following 'the snowball effect' method. The questionnaire has been designed in order to reveal how respondents perceive heritage in general (in terms of values, ownership and responsibility) and to evaluate awareness and level of concern in relation to existing Jewish heritage in the cities. This data has been compared with the interviews with representatives of political and cultural elite in Chişinău conducted in 2012 within the Center for European Studies at Lund University's project *'Memory of Vanished Population Groups in today's East-Central European Urban Environments; Memory Treatment and Urban Planning in L'viv, Chernivtsi, Chişinău and Wroclaw'* (2011-2014). The fieldwork also contained participant observation and visual analysis of permanent and temporary exhibitions at the selected museums.

It is important to emphasize that the research has not been designed as a strict comparative analisys, which would require equal attention given to all types of subjects under study in each of four cities (former Jewish religious buildings, cemeteries, memorials and museum exhibitions). Instead, the subjects have been given attention depending on the existing historiography, availability of data and presence or absence of heritage interpretation activity.

Structure of the Thesis

The **Introduction** is followed by **six** research chapters:

Chapter 1 –*Theoretical Framework*

This chapter brings to discussion core theoretical concepts relevant for the thesis. The first section discusses such concepts as 'heritage', 'memory' and 'space'. For each concept, the concise historiographic overview is provided, with special emphasis on such attributes as production, use, perception and display of heritage, memory and space in various historical and geographical settings. The second section discusses concepts of 'Jewish heritage' and 'Jewish space', understood broadly. The third section discusses problematic aspects in displaying Jewish history, culture and heritage within the museum space. It

offers an overview of Jewish and Holocaust museums and memorials around the globe and the politics of their foundation and functioning

Chapter 2 – *'Patrimony' vs 'Heritage' or from 'late Soviet' to 'Post-Soviet'*

The chapter embraces the historical background of cities under study. The first section outlines dynamics of relations between Jews and their neighbors within all 4 cities from a historical perspective. The second section speaks about changes introduced to the national inventories of monuments under state protection since late 1980s. The third section is devoted to regional differences of renewal of Jewish religious and communal life in all three countries after 1991, including the selective return of former Jewish property to the communities in absence of restitution legislation.

Chapter 3 – *Jewish Architectural Landscape: Visibility, Condition, (non)Recognition*

This chapter is devoted to an overview of present-day Jewish-related architectural landscape in all 4 cities under study and of the initiatives of Jewish heritage interpretation and agency behind them. Sources of funding for these initiatives, actors involved, related rhetoric and the stance of the authorities towards the implementation of these projects are of the chapter's interest. The 4 paragraphs present case studies in each city separately, emphasizing differences in local level and explaining them through the dynamics of (non)cooperation between the actors.

Chapter 4 – *Jewish Burial Landscape: from Destruction to Instrumentalisation*

The chapter focuses on the former and present Jewish burial landscape in all four cities under study. This landscape consists of existing and vanished Jewish cemeteries, on the place of which market squares and recreation parks were constructed after 1945. After 1991 some vanished cemeteries were marked either by memorial plaques or by spontaneously occurring lapidariums, while the only remaining historical Jewish cemetery – the one in Chişinău – became the target for civic activity by local Jewish and non-Jewish youth. The chapter discusses these actions of Jewish burial heritage interpretation from the perspective of critical heritage studies.

Chapter 5 – *Jewish Memorial Landscape: New Life of the Old Monuments*

The chapter presents an outline of the memorials to the victims of the pogroms and the Holocaust installed in each city under discussion. It is of particular interest in this chapter if there was and/or is any dynamics in emergence of those monuments. It is also of the chapter's interest whether there is any

difference in the amalgam of actors involved in the construction of those memorials in the 1990s in comparison with the 2000s. The chapter also discusses tensions related to the opening of the above mentioned memorials.

Chapter 6 – *Urban Museum Scene and Judaica on Display*

The chapter is devoted to the museum facet of Jewish heritage interpretation in post-Soviet space. It starts with an outline of Jewish museum scene in Chişinău and continues with Odessa, L'viv and Minsk. The chapter offers a detailed analysis of those parts of exhibitions at the state-sponsored museums of history that are devoted to the local Jewish history and culture. The chapter also discusses 'alternative' Jewish museums – those that function within local Jewish cultural and charitable organizations. Two competing, though not necessary incompatible, strategies to exhibit the Jewish past are to be distinguished. The first puts emphasis on trauma and victimization (pogroms and the Holocaust), while the second one tends to appreciate former Jewish life and achievements before the Holocaust. The fifth section brings those small local Jewish museums to comparison from the agency and management strategies' points of view. This section gives an account of pre-conditions for the opening of these museums, on the start of their collections (private belongings turned into museum artifacts), and on the museum directors, who within the provided setting *are* the museums.

The thesis completes with the **Conclusion** that introduces main findings and policy recommendations, and outlines limitations of this research, as well as ways of overcoming them through further research development. The thesis finishes with **References** and **Appendices**.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses major concepts, methodological approaches and definitions that constitute the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. The theoretical treatment of *heritage*, *memory* and *space*, understood broadly, are of core importance here. This chapter brings together historiography on the above-listed concepts, as well as traces the most recent developments in theorizing these matters. Then *Jewish heritage* and *Jewish space* are discussed. The chapter also discusses the history of Jewish museums, indicating the latest development of the phenomenon in practice.

1.1 Cultural Heritage, Collective Memory and Public Space

Among the terms 'patrimony', 'legacy,' and 'heritage', it is the latter that gave name to the academic discipline. Heritage studies have gained rapid growth and recognition within recent decades. The discipline embraces an eclectic spectrum of theoretical matters and case studies and its methodology benefits from a variety of other academic fields. However, since the turn from the object- and artifact-oriented approach towards the critical heritage perspective, the focus has decidedly shifted to the study of multiple contexts within which cultural heritage, understood as a complex phenomenon, operate.[30] Leading

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[30] See Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, John Carman and John Carman, eds., *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (Routledge, 2009); Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, *The*

scholars in the field have shown commitment to this analytical perspective, emphasizing the close relation between heritage and identity, as well as mechanisms of heritage-making, transmission, dissemination, and (ab)use for political purposes in both discourse and practical dimensions.[31] Although 'heritage' remains to be an exceedingly negotiable and fluid term, a phenomenon relevant for private, as well as public dimensions of human existence, it is the acknowledgement of various agencies that stands behind heritage-making that unite scholars across the discipline. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has resources in the past […] while it looks old, heritage is actually something new."[32] In other words, heritage-making presupposes that meanings and values created in the present are applied to material objects or intangible 'traditions' that belongs to the past. It is this theoretical principle of a constructive nature of what we consider as heritage (understood as material culture and intangible matters worthy of preservation) that the current thesis relies on.

If one accepts that heritage is subjected to the process of 'making' both in discourse and in practice, than it is of core importance to understand who 'makes' it. From the top-down perspective, those are state-affiliated and international institutions that are responsible for theorizing heritage and for preserving it in proper condition. As Rodney Harrison formulates it, "identity, social class, and nationhood may be woven into the provision of official heritage."[33]

Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Brian Graham, Peter Howard, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008).

[31] See M. Anico and E. Peralta, E., eds., *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (Routledge, 2009); G.J. Ashworth, B.J. Graham and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (Pluto Press, 2007); Tim Benton, ed., *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (Manchester University Press, 2010); Rodney Harrison, ed. *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (Manchester University Press, 2009); Brian J. Graham, Gregory John Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (Arnold, 2000); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Matthew Rampley, ed., *Heritage, Ideology, and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: Contested Pasts, Contested Presents* (Boydell Press, 2012).

[32] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (University of California Press, 1998): 7.

[33] See Rodney Harrison, ed. *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (Manchester University

From a theoretical standpoint Laurajane Smith interprets this 'making' within construction of the *authoritative heritage discourse*. This discourse, according to Smith, is formulated by experts and promoted by the cultural and political elites.

"The *AHD* focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect, and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past."[34]

Thus, heritage treatment from this perspective is highly selective. For Harrison heritage selectivity indicates "[…] less about upholding truth or authenticity and more about delivering political objectives."[35]

Developing the idea of a plurality of actors involved in heritage-making, Laurajane Smith introduced the concept of *subaltern heritage discourse*. The *SHD* supposedly reflects the vision of heritage promoted by various grass-roots initiatives, local heritage practices, and interests on the spots that may be in counter-action towards the *AHD*. Case studies discussed in this thesis reflect the dichotomy of discourse categories introduced by Smith and reveal tensions that appear within different visions of the past interpreted by various agents of 'heritage-making'. It is important to emphasize that the thesis focuses on the 'production' of heritage and memory, but not on perception of 'heritage product' by the targeted audience or the feelings that memorials evoke of the addressees of various age, gender, and origin.

Another concept relevant for the theoretical design of this thesis is the phenomenon of 'plurality of the past(s)' introduced by Gregory Ashworth et al.[36] The principle of plurality of the past(s) and analysis of the coexistence of different interpretations of the events of the past are highly relevant for the study of former and present multicultural realities. Since both 'past' and 'heritage,' as well as their interpretation may be used to legitimize territorial and/or other claims, heritage-related matters and initiatives by default contain

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Press, 2009).

[34] Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage* (Routledge, 2006): 29.

[35] Harrison, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*.

[36] See Ashworth and Tunbridge. *Pluralising Pasts*; Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds. *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (Routledge, 2003).

conflict-generating potential. Jewish-related and the Holocaust-related heritage interpretation initiatives are not an exception. One of the most representative and most thouroghly studied cases here is the changing interpretation of the former Auschwitz death camp as the site of primarily Jewish victimhood after 1989 as opposed to 'fashioning' it as the site of primarily Polish martyrdom in between 1945-1989. This transformation was accompanied by a number of conflicts and protests, and required substantial changes to be introduced in the museum representation of the camp *in situ.*

Widely known cases of destruction of heritage that were considered to be "alien" or "inappropriate", such as the fall of the *Berlin Wall* in 1990, demolition of the *Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum* in 1999 and many others, indicate the dynamics of post-Communist landscape cleansing.[37] The same is true for the symbolic meaning of cases of reconstruction (or building of replicas) of former historic and architectural monuments, such as the *Cathedral of Christ the Savior* in Moscow in 1997, the *Old Town Hall* in Minsk in 2003, the *Dresden Frauenkirche* in 2006, the *Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania* in Vilnius in 2009, etc. According to Monika Murzyn, there are three major factors that influence a peculiar attitude towards heritage within the framework of present-day Central Europe: the area was traditionally economically backward and was the subject of delayed industrialization and modernization; its state borders have been fluid and instable within last 200 years; and the fact that communities and minorities that had created the rich heritage of some places, due to frequent changes in political status of certain borderland territories and consequent armed conflicts, no longer live there.[38] Indeed, as Eleonora Narvselius formulates it, "traditionally multi-ethnic cities were stripped of their ethnic diversity mainly in the wake of WWII, political repressions, extinction of certain population groups, re-drawings of national borders and expulsions."[39] According to the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's numbers, Moldova preserved only 27 synagogues, (ca. 9% of their pre- WWII number), Belarus – 135 synagogues (ca. 8%) and Ukraine – 474 (ca. 13%).[40]

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[37] See Monika Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, 2012).

[38] Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation", 316.

[39] Eleonora Narvselius, "Spicing up Memories and Serving Nostalgias: Thematic Restaurants and Transnational Memories in East-Central European Borderland Cities," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23, no. 3 (2015).

[40] Kravtsov, "The Jewish Religious Heritage".

The concept of *heritage* is inherently linked to the concept of *memory*. As with *heritage*, *memory* is a study category for multiple disciplines, from psychologists studying individual processes of remembering in relation to the biological advancement of an individual, to historians, sociologists and anthropologists. Those in humanities and social sciences analyze complex processes of formation, development, consolidation and fluctuations of individual, but, in most cases, of collective (or social) memory. Once the latter was approached as a flexible, altering and manageable phenomenon, the studies of *production*, *construction*, *performance* or even *imposition* of collective memory came to the fore of academic demand.[41]

Since individual (or private) memories, reflections or eyewitness accounts are not listed among the sources for this research, the latter focuses exclusively on the public dimention of memory and its production. This is reached through analisys of memory-related discourse that accompany Jewish heritage interpretation initiatives in all 4 cities under study. The interviewees selected for the current study in the first instance performed as public persons (professionals, intellectuals, curators, officials). The discourse they produced coincided with other public addresses given by these individuals in the recent past. Taking into account such important characteristics as selectivity of collective memory and forgetting,[42] the research traces what episodes of local history (and their subsequent interpretation) were brought to the fore within the initiatives listed as case studies for the current research (see introduction).

Memory of the Holocaust and the process of constructing the global canon for such memory are of particular importance for this thesis. According to Jeffrey Alexander, within the last 50 years anti-Jewish violence recognized and codified on the global scale as *the Holocaust* has been reformulated from a traumatic experience of a particular group to a traumatic phenomenon for all humankind, an exceptional crime, unprecedented in terms of its cruelty and

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[41] See Maurice Halbwachs, Lewis A. Coser. *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 1992); Sharon Macdonald. *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London: Routledge. 2013); Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, eds. *Performing the Past. Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010); Aleida Assmann, Linda Shortt. *Memory and Political Change* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[42] See John R. Gillis, ed. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton University Press, 1996); Jeffrey K. Olick. *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

scale.[43] Whereas right after WWII the references were limited to the term 'atrocities', currently the cultural construction of 'recognition' of the mass murders of European Jewry as trauma relevant for the whole of humanity is coded within understanding of Nazi deeds as 'sacred evil', which brought up a trauma inexplicable in its horror in rational terms.[44] The institutional resources have significantly contributed to formulation of the Holocaust as the trauma of global scale and a 'crime against humanity', starting with the accusation of Nazi leaders at the trial in Nuremberg in 1945.[45] The discussions from the late 1960s contained the message of the inexplicability of the Holocaust, narratives of suffering and tragedy. The term itself was introduced around this time and dramatization in books, movies, plays and TV dramas reinforced the image.[46]

According to Aleida Assman, by the late 1980s interest in the cultural heritage of the European Jews manifested itself as the attempt to transform the Holocaust into the 'paradigmatic European memory.'[47] Today the European framework of perception and commemoration of the Holocaust is established with the help of globally recognizable symbols, such as a memorial complex in the former Auschwitz extermination camp, Anne Frank[48], or a metaphor of a barbed wire, a pile of abandoned shoes and suitcases, be they authentic or not. The latter elements are extensively used in museum installations.[49] Also, the historiography on construction of memory about the Holocaust is no less extensive than the historiography of the Holocaust itself.

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[43] Jeffrey C. Alexander, "On the Social Construction of Moral Universals: The 'Holocaust' from War Crime to Trauma Drama," in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander (University of California Press, 2004), 197.

[44] Alexander, "On the Social Construction," 122.

[45] Alexander, "On the Social Construction," 211-13.

[46] Alexander, "On the Social Construction," 224-31.

[47] See Aleida Assmann, "The Holocaust—a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories,* ed. Aleida Assman and Sebastian Conrad (Palgrave Macmillan: 2010): 97-112; Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, Claudio Fogu, *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Duke University Press, 2006).

[48] See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jeffrey Shandler, eds., *Anne Frank Unbound: Media, Imagination, Memory* (Indiana University Press, 2012); Omer Bartov., *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

[49] See Jennifer Hansen-Glucklich, *Holocaust Memory Reframed: Museums and the Challenges of Representation* (Rutgers University Press, 2014).

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the enlargement of the European Union the consensus established after WWII on assessment and memory paradigm concerning the results of the war, fluctuated significantly. These alterations include assessment and change in the canon of collective memory concerning the division between victims and perpetrators, winners and losers, etc. Collapse of the Communism and of its control over the countries of 'Eastern bloc', as well as establishment of independent states instead of former Soviet republics, triggered the liberalization of memory discourses and a highly dynamic mastering of the national past. Extensive academic literature has recently appeared on complex economic, political, as well as cultural transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[50] The downfall of Communism has led to the possibility of rethinking the past publicly and introducing the newly approved historical and cultural canon within the framework of national histories. These processes became especially evident since 2004, after the biggest enlargement of the European Union.[51]

This also affected memory of the Holocaust, previously suppressed in the Soviet Union, as well as memory about local actors, their selective heroization and search for competing victimhood as the basis for legitimization of political ambitions. One the one hand, joining the European Union sets a certain framework for treating the Holocaust and recognition of multicultural heritage, including Jewish, as part of national cultural richness.

First and foremost this turn concerned a new judgement of the Soviet, as well as Socialist, past in terms of oppression, coupled by the rhetoric of

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[50] See Barbara Törnquist Plewa and Krzysztof Stala, eds., *Cultural Transformations after Communism: Central and Eastern Europe in Focus* (Nordic Academic Press, 2011); Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik, eds., *Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2014); Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind and Julie Fedor, eds., *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Georges Mink, Laure Neumayer, eds., *History, Memory and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Memory Games* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rampley, *Heritage, Ideology, and Identity*; Kiril Stanilov, *The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2007); Oliver Schmidtke and Serhy Yekelchyk, eds., *Europe's Last Frontier?: Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine between Russia and the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[51] This brought Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia within the EU.

victimization of local residents and the heroization of some groups, mostly of a nationalist character, the memorialization of whom had previously been suppressed. After the fall of Communism the emphasis in memory politics has been made on the search for identity-defining trauma-dramas. Thus the victimization dynamics is directed towards the titular ethnic group in opposition with the oppressive Communist regime.

On the other hand, since the 1990s nationalist historical discourses in Eastern Europe have been constructing Jews as "alien", referring to interwar stereotypes of Jewish disloyalty, which implies that Jews are to some extent to be blamed for their "misfortunes."[52] At the same time there exists evidence widely recognized by the international scholarship that, for instance, Moldovan peasants committed acts of violence towards the Jews kept on the territory of occupied Transnistria during WWII[53] and that during the war the Ukrainian nationalist army participated in the annihilation of Jews in Galicia.[54]

Some local actors who gained appreciation within the new national historiographies had participated in the ethnic cleansings and ethnic-based

[52] See Dmitry Tartakovsky, "Conflicting Holocaust Narratives in Moldovan Nationalist Historical Discourse. East European Jewish Affairs," 38, no. 2 (2008): 221-229; John-Paul Himka, "The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine," in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic. University of Nebraska Press (2013), 626-661; Andriy Portnov, "Velyka Vitchyzniana viina v politykakh pamiati Bilorusi, Moldovy ta Ukrainy: kil'ka porivnial'nych sposterezhen" [the Great Patriotic War in memory politics in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine: some comparative observations] *Ukraiina Moderna* 15, no. 4 (2009), 206-218; Sarah, Fainberg, "Memory at the Margins: The Shoah in Ukraine (1991–2011),"in *History, Memory and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe Memory Games*, ed. Georges Mink and Laure Neumayer (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 86-103;, John-Paul Himka, "Debates in Ukraine over Nationalist Involvement in the Holocaust, 2004–2008," *Nationalities Papers*, 39, no. 3 (2011): 353–70.

[53] See Vladimir Solonari, "Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northam Bukovina, July-August 1941," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 8 (2007): 749-87; see also Martin Dean. *Collaboration in the Holocaust. Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-44* (New York: St. Martin press, 2000); Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia: The Ukrainian police and the Holocaust," *East European Jewish Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2004): 95-118; John-Paul Himka, "The L'viv Pogrom of 1941: the Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53 (2–3–4): 209–243, 2011.

[54] See Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA"; Himka, "The L'viv Pogrom".

violence during the war. Outstanding examples of post-1989 and post-1991 re-writing of history in favour of the local perspective, the heroes of which are rather problematic due to their direct or indirect participation in war-time ethnic cleansing and deliberate acts of violence against civilians, may be found in, among other countries, Moldova, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic countries. However, it must be mentioned that every national historical narrative in each and every country is a subject of the politics of history and memory. The introduction of laws that regulate public and professional discourse about historical events represents the ultimate manifestation of the state attempting to control collective memory.

Another problematic feature about the constructing and functioning of collective memory in post-Communist Eastern Europe (or about politics of memory) is that the narrative of an entangled multi-ethnic past remains to be extremely weak and its presence influences the nationally-centered interpretation of the past (by the majority) in a superficial and hardly noticeable way. Althoughe the narrative of multiculturalism and a common past and responsibility happen to be promoted via heritage-related projects (see chapter 3), mutual non-engagement divided along the lines of ethnic origin and interests still prevails.

To exemplify the statement given in the paragraph above, an example from Chişinău is useful. A sample of 40 elite interviews – with politicians and experts in cultural sphere, was conducted by Nicolae Misail in 2012 for the project *'Memory of Vanished Population Groups in today's East-Central European Urban Environments. Memory Treatment and Urban Planning in L'viv, Chernivtsi, Chişinău and Wroclaw* led by the *Center for European Studies* at *Lund University* (see references). The sample is representative for the current political and cultural elite in the city since the majority of interviewees occupy key positions within the political, and especially cultural vertical after the parliamentary election in July 2009 and November 2010, which in many ways justifies the certain homogeneity of opinions and attitudes within the sample. The group of politicians contained 14 people, all of them are residents of Chişinău between 51 and 65 years old, 80% men, which, on the one hand, reflects the snowball effect principle of acquiring the interviews and, on the other hand, to some extent shows the gender distribution among the political elite in the country. The other 26 interviews were conducted with architects, journalists, writers, artists, political analysts, composers, historians, educators, lawyers, publishers, poets, scientists, civil society activists, sociologists, archaeologists, ethnographers, film-makers, museum administrators in between 41 to 77 years old, residents of

Chişinău and nearby towns and almost entirely represented by men (95%). All interviews were conducted in the state language.

The major limitation of such a sample for Chişinău was ignoring the existence of the oppositional political elite (which eventually gained visibility and power by the parliamentary elections of 2014) and local cultural actors who either operate in Russian or who propagate an alternative vision of the character of the state language and of local identity in general: not to be Romanian-oriented, but a Moldovan one. In comparison with L'viv, another case study in this chapter, which is characterized by a recognized homogeneity in terms of treatment of Ukrainian as national language and the city itself as a centralization of national culture and identity,[55] Moldovan society and its political and cultural elites concentrated in Chişinău, as well as the population in general, remain to be divided on the questions of identity and geopolitical orientations. The sample of interviews analyzed here does not reflect these dynamics. However, the existence of tensions over the question of identity of the majority of the local population does influence overall attitudes towards multicultural heritage. This tendency is reflected in the interviews sample.

The aim of the sample of expert interviews was to reveal the character of expert knowledge, interest, attitudes and activities (if any) concerning memory about the vanished population groups of Chişinău, whose heritage is still to some extent visible within the urban environment, namely Jews, Germans, Armenians and to some extent Russians. The data was acquired though clusters of questions targeted at revealing:

- ✠ understanding of the notion of *multicultural heritage* and the responsibility for its preservation within the city;

- ✠ actions towards heritage related issues taken by the respondent him/herself or by an institution he/she is affiliated with;

- ✠ opinion on distribution of responsibility among the current city residents for preserving memory about former residents, who vanished as a result of the twentieth century calamities and for

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[55] See William Jay Risch. *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet L'viv* (Harvard University Press, 2011); Anna Susak, "Jewish Heritage in the Historical Memory of East European City Dwellers: The Case of L'viv in Comparative Context " (MA diss., Central European University, 2009); Narvselius, Eleonora and Niklas Bernsand. "L'viv and Chernivtsi: Two Memory Cultures at the Western Ukrainian Borderland." *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 59-83.

preservation of material traces of their presence;

- ✍ opinion on performance and responsibilities of the authorities in relation to multicultural heritage preservation;

- ✍ opinion about actions necessary to be taken towards multicultural heritage in the city;

- ✍ participation in related networks of collaboration within heritage-related institutions and initiatives;

- ✍ awareness on the heritage related issues that took place in the city within the last 5-6 years;

- ✍ understanding of how collective memory functions within the local setting: who is conferred authority to define authoritative heritage discourse and memory politics in the city ('producers of memory'), be those public organizations, structures, or figures;

- ✍ opinion on relevance of certain historical figures, events, and periods;

- ✍ opinion on relevance of historical tragedies of the twentieth century (wars, the Holocaust, deportations, persecution based on ethnic/religious/ political reasons);

- ✍ attitudes towards places of pride and shame within the city infrastructure.

Apart from general consent on the unsatisfactory infrastructure within the city and deteriorating condition of heritage, the absolute majority of respondents exemplified a conscious alienation and estrangement from the post-war Soviet Moldovan past as heritage (both tangible and intangible), but at the same time expressed general space-related nostalgia for the *good old past* ("it was a green city"), which, eventually, coincided with the Soviet period (the time of adulthood for majority of respondents). With some variations, the experts showed a rather vague understanding of the meaning of the multicultural heritage concept, which indicates non-acquaintance with the term on a theoretical level and also indicates certain confusion with the concept of "friendship of peoples", promoted before 1991. However, heritage, be it tangible or intangible, as well as the past and memory in general is clearly identified as a tool for identity construction, but understood rather within the concerns of the titular ethnic group while the notions of application, need for preservation, and concern for the heritage of vanished population groups

specifically remained unvoiced.

Concerning actions towards heritage related issues, the absolute majority of intellectuals and culture-related actors applied accusative discourse strategies on authorities for lack of care for heritage preservation and for the all-pervading corruption, whereas politicians adhered to defensive discourse strategies. General agreement is observed among all experts on the necessity to preserve heritage both as civic responsibility and as an obligation of the authoritites. Citizens are thus seen to be both carriers of intangible heritage and its consumers at the same time. Both politicians and intellectuals agree on symbolic roles ascribed to 'elites' to produce and carry out memory and heritage-related related actions. Non-politicians symbolically empower non-governmental organizations and other initiators of grass-roots actions to be 'producers of memory' together with politicians attributing to them the leading role in formulating the politics of memory.

However, the dissatisfaction with corruption among authorities positions certain individuals within the network of political and cultural elites to prominent position for their public activity in defence of heritage and for 'what has been done in the field' rather than administrative achievements.[56] All the experts showed a mosaic and random knowledge, as well as concern with the issue of vanished population groups – basic knowledge about the former structure of the city's population, sporadic interest with the Jews (although the pogrom from 1903 was mentioned due to commemorative ceremonies in 1993 and 2003) or Germans and focused concern on alienating and 'othering' Russians. The sample indicates an absence of consent on how to define the local titular ethnic group: ether as Moldovans, as Romanians, or as Bessarabian Romanians (although the last definition remains to be dominant).

No positive connotations were given about any historical period related to Russians, be it in either the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, but there is rather a common attitude towards Russians as to 'invaders' and 'occupants'. The interwar period was commonly acknowledged as the 'Golden Age' not only because of Bessarabia being part of the Romanian state and, consequently, being under the 'correct' cultural policies of Romaniation, but also

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[56] The individuals named the most frequently are Iurie Colesnic (writer and ex-member of Parliament), Ion Ştefăniţă (director of the *Angency for Inspection and Protection of Historic Monuments*), Sergiu Musteaţă (archaeologist and historian, *the State Pedagogical University 'Ion Creangă'*), Gheorghe Postică (archaeologist, vice-minister of culture).

due to the factor of multiculturalism – the co-existence and legal possibility of one for numerous organizations of ethnic minorities, including the Jews. Further on, no relevance of the Holocaust and necessity to promote its memory for educational purposes has been indicated, as well as no no direct accusation of Romanian troops for the extermination of Bessarabian Jews during WWII, but there has been rather a conceptualization of deportations of civilians from Soviet Moldavia in June 12-13, 1941 and July 5-6, 1949 as the major historical tragedy in local history and as *the Holocaust of Bessarabian Romanians*. According to the sample of interviews, the major attention in terms of commemoration should focused on the deportations, which coincides with the direction of memory politics in the country since 2010 and to a major extent explains the almost monopoly engagement of local Jewish community with the concerns of commemoration of Jewish traumatic past in the region, which since 2010 has been promoted as a practice in opposition to the authorities (see chapter 5).

The understanding of the concept of s*pace* varies from defining it as real location (as an actual space and as a landscape) to a metaphoric, figurative location, which accommodates memories and meanings through pieces of art, literature or music, such as 'the landscapes of postmemory.'[57] Be it real or virtual, *space* is eventually also subjected to construction.[58] The 'classical' concept of 'lieu de memoire' by Pierre Nora reflects the idea of constructed space via presupposition that such sites appear out of the will to remember, eventually representing an interplay between memory and history.[59]

Special attention has been given to the public city space as one subjected to rapid transformations in dependence of political will.[60] Places of memory

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[57] See Brett Ashley Kaplan, *Landscapes of Holocaust Postmemory* (Routledge, 2011).

[58] See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Wiley, 1992).

[59] See Pierre Nora. *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*. University of Chicago Press, 2006.

[60] See A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford University Press, 2003; D. Walkowitz, L. Knauer, eds. *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (London: Duke University Press, 2004). For the changes in East-European cities brought by post-1989/1991 transformation see John Czaplicka, Nida Gelazis and Blair A. Ruble, eds., *Cities after the Fall of Communism: Reshaping Cultural Landscapes and European Identity* (Washington, DC, Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; Monika Murzyn, "Heritage Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. 2012), 315-346; Mariusz Czepczynski, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-*

penetrate into the urban fabric via practices of commemoration and marking of public space. Taking into account a temporal, as well as spatial perspective, the accumulation of memories and traces of different social groups concentrated within urban fabric has been described with the help of metaphors of 'palimpsest,'[61] as well as 'battlefield.'[62] Expanding the research focus on memory sites towards "encounter, dialogue, network building, cultural activism and preservation"[63] should enrich the analysis with a more inclusive, anthropological perspective.

1.2 Jewish Cultural Heritage and Jewish Space

As discussed above, neither *heritage* nor *space* are stable categories since both are subjected to development and changes, defined by multiple factors. The same relates to *Jewish heritage*, *Jewish memory*, *Jewish space* and to *Jewish architecture.* All these terms are 'fluid' and are related to the multiplicity of the meaning of Jewishness understood from religious, ethnic, genealogical or cultural points of view.

How should Jewish heritage be defined? In her recent essay devoted to the celebration of Shavuot in 2015 entitled '*Ten Commandments of Jewish Heritage'* Sally Berkovic, the CEO of the *Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe*, discussing thee major principles of dealing with and treating Jewish heritage, defined it as

"[…] *everything* that touches upon Jewish life, culture, art, ritual, history and literature, *everything* that touches upon Jewish space and Jewish time. A Jewish language, a Jewish building, the Sabbath, the rise of Zionism, Sephardi wedding dress, cantorial music, your grandmother's Passover plate, an illuminated manuscript, and in our digital age, Jewish websites are all part of a broad definition of Jewish heritage […]"[64].

Socialist Cities: Representation of Powers and Needs (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. 2012).

[61] See Huyssen, "Present Past".

[62] Sofia Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield': Commemorative and Heritage Projects in L'viv after 1991," Presentation at the ASN World Convention at Columbia University, April 19–21, 2012.

[63] Erica T. Lehrer, "Can there be a Conciliatory Heritage?" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 4–5 (2010): 272.

[64] Sally Bercovic, "10 Commandments of Jewish Heritage," last modified May 19, 2015, http://ejewishphilanthropy.com/10-commandments-of-jewish-heritage/, accessed May 22, 2015.

According to architect Sergey Kravtsov, Jewish religious heritage may be defined as the

"legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present, and bestowed for the benefit of future generations […] a unique and valuable component of European culture and its cityscape […] that demands the attention and care of local, national, and European society, Jewish and non-Jewish alike"[65].

The portal *Jewish Heritage Europe* (http://www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu/) focuses on built Jewish heritage, which is defined as:

- ⚔ "Archaeological sites with evidence of Jewish activity and/or settlement, or events significant in the history of Jews;

- ⚔ Buildings such as synagogues, Jewish schools, mikvaot, [sic] houses of rabbis and other prominent people;

- ⚔ Various types of former and actual Jewish quarters, ghettos, settlements, and neighbourhoods;

- ⚔ Cemeteries and other funerary sites and all the art and architectural elements they contain."

The *Bratislava statement*, or the *Final Statement of Principles and Procedures from the Seminar on the Care, Conservation and Maintenance of Historic Jewish Property* was formulated as a concluding remark of a seminar held in Bratislava, in 2009 that discussed the condition of Jewish heritage sites in Europe, strategies for restoration of those sites, as well as their use. International Jewish heritage experts together with representatives from Jewish communities from different countries, who participated in a seminar, among other, concluded that:

- ⚔ "Jewish heritage is the legacy of all aspects of Jewish history – religious and secular;

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[65] Sergey Kravtsov, "The Jewish Religious Heritage."

⚔ Jewish history and art is part of every nation's history and art. Jewish heritage is part of national heritage, too;

⚔ Documentation, planning and development of sites benefit and enrich society at large as well as Jews and Jewish communities;

⚔ Jewish tourism and tourism to Jewish sites should be part of every country's tourism strategy;

⚔ Synagogue and former synagogues should retain a Jewish identity and or use whenever possible, though each one does not necessarily need to be restored or fully renovated;

⚔ Jewish communities and local heritage, cultural and tourist bodies should work together to develop regional, national and trans-border heritage routes"[66].

These principles were further developed and discussed at the *Managing Jewish Immovable Heritage* conference that took place in Krakow in 2013. Jewish tangible and intangible heritage has been subjected to European cultural policies and cross-border initiatives targeted at the overcoming of perception of 'things Jewish' solely in the framework of trauma. *The European Day of Jewish Culture* – a local initiative that emerged in the Alsace region of France, was celebrated internationally for the first time in 1999 and since then takes place yearly across Europe on the first Sunday in September.[67] Wide range of cultural activities timed for the day, such as seminars, exhibitions, presentations, book fairs, art projects, concerts, etc. explore a wide range of topics, from Jewish humour, music to the female component of the Jewish tradition, aiming to reconfigure the understanding of present day Jewish culture in its European edition. It is important that the events take place even in localities where Jews no longer live today. The opening of a number of synagogues, cemeteries, *mikvah*, museums, etc. for the general public indicates the goal of t*he European Day* – to promote Jewish culture not bounded to

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[66] Samuel Gruber, "Final Statement of Principles and Procedures from Bratislava Seminar," last modified June 10, 2009, accessed April 16, 2015, http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.hu/2009/06/final-statement-of-principles-and.html.

[67] Ruth Ellen Gruber, "Letter from Europe: A Jewish Holiday for Everyone," *Hadassah Magazine* (2008): August/September, accessed May 8, 2014, http://www.hadassahmagazine.org/2008/08/02/letter-europe-jewish-holiday-everyone/.

religious restrictions and understandable to both Jews and non-Jews alike. Eventually the events are co-organised at the European level by B'nai B'rith Europe, the Tourist Agency of Bas-Rhin (ADT-Alsace), the European Council of Jewish Communities and the Spanish Route of Judaism (the Red de Juderias de España). It is noticeable that t*he European Day* is celebrated in the same period as Rosh Hashanah, the first of the High Holy Days in Judaism that usually occurs in Europe in the early autumn. Thus the *European Day of Jewish Culture* offers a civil equivalent of a Jewish-related cross-border celebation, with activities often taking place in synagogues across the continent. In comparison with the religious nature of Rosh Hashanah festivity, contingent upon gender-related boundaries, the *European Day* is characterised by an inclusionary nature and is equally targeted at both Jews and non-Jews. The fifteenth edition of the EDJC was celebrated on September fourteenth 2014 and was devoted to "Women in Judaism". European countries participate, with Italy, Spain, Germany and France being the most active in hosting related activities.

Apart from *the European Day*, another significant initiative related to the celebration of Jewish culture on the European level occurred recently. The *European Cultural Route* is awarded by the Council of Europe to cultural routes recognised as important within the whole entity of Europe. This project aims at the development and promotion of itineraries based on a historic route, a cultural concept, figure, or phenomenon of a transnational importance that manifests common European values. The first route was awarded in 1987 and by 2014 the total number of routes recognized by the Council of Europe reached 29. The wide range of topics of the routes varies from pilgrim routes, routes related to historical figures of Europe, nature-related routes – such as those embracing parks, gardens and landscapes, as well as architecturally-centred routes, such as military architecture, or industrial heritage in Europe. The *European Route of Jewish Heritage* is directed at highlighting the traces left by Judaism throughout generations across Europe. The route allegedly covers 29 countries and was officially launched at a seminar in Luxembourg in 2004 and in the same year it was recognized by the Council of Europe as an official *Major European Route*.[68]

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[68] Countries participating in the route are Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom.

The *European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture* (*AEPJ*) was created in 2005 at the request of the Council of Europe to act in favour of the structure and development of the *European Route of Jewish Heritage* and indicated an attempt to reformulate the focus of the *European Day of Jewish Culture.*[69] The rationale behind launching the route project is formulated in the following way:

- ✠ *"Opening elements of the Jewish culture to the broad public is an intercultural learning process in a wider sense. It shows the diversity of Mankind [...] it offers the possibility to discover the many facets of the European identity;*

- ✠ The itinerary should recreate a cross-cultural, pan European space in which European citizens can discover the variety and value of Jewish heritage throughout the European continent;

- ✠ The Routes of Jewish Heritage would not only enable visitors to discover the history of the Jewish people but would also enable them to know better their local and national history […]. Together, they have suffered the wars and have enjoyed the victories of their nations. Together, they have created their own values, their ways of life and a common heritage, our Europe;

- ✠ The Jewish People like all other European citizens have played a role in the building of Europe."

Thus, the launching strategy emphasizes Jewish culture as an integral part of European culture, welcomes non-Jewish users, and points out the richness of potential of Jewish culture for identity rediscovery in the common European space. Later on, the AEPJ developed the concept of a route further, dividing it to several different routes, such as *Architectural Modernism in European Synagogues*, the *Wooden Synagogues in Central and Eastern Europe* (Latvia, Lithuania, Romania) and *Women in Judaism – throughout Europe*.

The nostalgia for *shtetl* as for a space of Jewish and Christian interaction has been mirrored in various heritage projects. The *Shtetl Routes, Vestiges of Jewish Cultural Heritage in Cross-border Tourism*, which is supposed to run from 2013 to 2015, is one of such projects.[70] Its message emphasizes the

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[69] Gruber, "Letter from Europe".

[70] "Project "Shtetl Routes. Vestiges of Jewish cultural heritage in cross-border tourism," last modified December 12, 2013, accessed November 20, 2014,

potential of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarusian borderland for the development of cultural tourism, since "the local memorial sites related to Jewish history and culture have not been sufficiently studied and appreciated as valuable items of European and local heritage." Thus, the project's goal is "to develop a narrative and tools that will be successfully used in tourism and to support local development."

Heritage sites related to the Holocaust embrace actual sites of atrocities, such as the sites of mass execution or former extermination camps, but also memorials. These sites of violence are understood in historiography as "atrocity heritage," which is commemorated in various forms, including the raising of memorials on actual sites of elimination, monuments, plaques, etc. and the establishment of memorial museums.[71] For these sites the trauma discourse remains to be a leading one, as a cohesive memorial direction to commemorate Jewish history as a part of 'darker, or death tourism.'[72] For these sites, dispersed across Europe (for instance former German extermination camps in Poland, but also the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* in Berlin) and also in Israel (Yad Vashem remembrance site in Jerusalem) and the USA, the trauma discourse is characterized as a comprehensive experience, the remembrance of which may erase the national boundaries within the cross-continental area. At the same time, as part of atrocity heritage, these sites raise particularly complex issues of interpretation for those who associate with victims, perpetrators, or observers. It is the global Jewish community which provides most of the visitors to atrocity sites, while the host community might react ambiguously to the growing attractiveness of these sites. Such a reaction is related to discontent of both the high amount of foreign visitors in the locality and the fear of displacement through the return of expropriated property to the heirs of previous owners.[73] Sites of former extermination camps clearly indicate this tendency, with a radical change of destinations of incoming visitors to the memorial site, who are currently represented by majority of tourists from the US and Israel in comparison with the majority constituted by Polish visitors

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http://teatrnn.pl/kalendarium/node/1833/project_shtetl_routes_vestiges_of_jewish_cultural_heritage_in_cross_border_tourism. For results of the project see http://shtetlroutes.eu/, last modified December 12, 2015.

[71] Gregory John Ashworth, "Holocaust Tourism: The Experience of Krakow-Kazimierz," *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 4 (2002): 363.

[72] Jeffrey S. Podoshena and James M. Huntb, "Equity Restoration, the Holocaust and Tourism of Sacred Places," *Tourism Management* 32, no. 6 (2011): 5.

[73] Ashworth, "Holocaust Tourism," 366.

before 1989. This reflected a change in understanding of the site from as symbolic reference point of Polish martyrdom to that of a Jewish one[74]. These factors influence theoretical approaches to Jewish heritage as example of *difficult*, *dissonant*, *uncomfortable*, *dark*, *contested* and *traumatic* heritage[75].

Another challenge for preservation of Jewish heritage in the cities under study is necessity to overcome the division along the lines of ethnic belonging while speaking about the division of responsibility for heritage care. An example from L'viv is exemplary for illustration of such division. A sample of 55 surveys with experts resulted from the third phase of the study *Current State and Prospects for the Jewish Community in the City of L'viv,[76]* conducted by Larysa Klymanska, Victor Savka, and Ruslan Savchynskyi in 2010 for the *Center for Urban History of East Central Europe.* The aim of the whole study was to determine attitudes and visions of Jewish and non-Jeiwsh inhabitants of the city of L'viv in regards to the development of the community itself, as well as on the prospects of heritage-related initiatives. The expert surveys were called up to trace expert evaluation of the role of Jewish culture's development as part of the sociocultural space of the city. Due to the inaccessibility of the surveys themselves, for this paragraph I mainly refer to the summary and the analysis of surveys made by the authors with additions related to current state of affairs.

The expert group consisted of three categories: representatives of local authorities (civil servants, members of the city council, etc.), academics (cultural studies, ethnologists, historians, political scientists, sociologists, etc.) and media

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[74] Sławomir Kapraski. "Amnesia, Nostalgia, and Reconstruction. Shifting Modes of Memory on Poland's Jewish Spaces," in *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland*, ed. Erica T. Lehrer and Michael Meng (Indiana University Press, 2015), 149-169; see also Sławomir Kapraski "(Mis)representations of the Jewish Past in Poland's Memoryscapes: Nationalism, Religion and Political Economy of Commemoration," in *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places*, ed. Cynthia E. Milton, Erica Lehrer, Monica Eileen Patterson (*Palgrave Macmillan* 2011), 179-192.

[75] See J. E. Tunbridge, Gregory John Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Wiley, 1996); Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis, eds., *Displaced Heritage: Responses to Disaster, Trauma, and Loss*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2014; Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (Routledge, 2010).

[76] Larysa Klymanska, Victor Savka and Ruslan Savchynskyi, "Kompleksne doslidzhennya suchasnoho stanu ta perspektyv yevreys'koyi obshchyny u m. L'vovi" [Current State and Prospects for the Jewish Community in the City of L'viv], presentation, in three parts (Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in L'viv, 2010).

representatives (journalists, etc.) in between 23 and 59 years old, gender distribution: 33% female and 67% male. 45% of experts in the sample had professional experience in between 1 amd 5 years, 25% - in between 6 and 10 years, 23% - in between 11 and 20 years and 7% - more than 21 years of professional experience. The aim of the expert survey was to understand attitudes towards the existing traces of Jewish presence in the city of L'viv and major opinion on the prospects of their preservation. The set of questions has been designed to bring out the following aspects:

- ✍ attitude towards the importance of promoting cultural heritage of local Jews to present-day L'viv;

- ✍ attitude towards the need to popularize Jewish cultural heritage in the city;

- ✍ opinion on what forms and methods of preservation and promotion of Jewish heritage in the city are the most appropriate;

- ✍ vision of the future prospects and the reality of implementation of selected forms of heritage preservation and promotion

- ✍ opinion on the major barriers and threats for preservation and promotion of the above-mentioned heritage;

- ✍ attitide towards involvement of local authorities in the above-mentioned heritage-related issues.

According to the authors,[77] the following reasons are to be seen as barriers to the preservation and promotion of Jewish cultural heritage in L'viv, although some respondents indicated a complete lack of any barriers at all: prejudice of the residents towards Jews as minority; negativism provoked by right-wing political forces; the unfavorable economic situation, which leaves not much attention for cultural projects in general; an insufficient culture of tolerance in the city, caused by the current monoethnicityof the city; a lack of funds that would come primarily from Jewish organizations to cover heritage preservation projects; the fragmented Jewish community of the city.

The Jewish community was seen as the main responsible actor for promotion of heritage, however, respondents indicated a low acquaintance with the actual actions undertaken by the community, and some of them expressed regret of this, noticing that low visibility of the community's activity indicates

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[77] Klymanska, Savka and Savchynskyi, "Kompleksne doslidzhennya".

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its insufficient activity. The support for the multicultural image of the city is generally acknowledged to be a sign for the Europeanness of the city. Respondents supported the idea of cooperation between local authorities and institutions of the Jewish community for the projects that would be mutually beneficial and that contributed to the attraction of investments and tourists to the city, increasing the profit from the tourist industry. The importance of popularizing the historical and cultural heritage of local Jews for the present-day city is acknowledged by the majority of experts within the framework of a need to preserve the memory of multiculturalism that the city once represented. However, according to most experts, the leading role in this should be performed by the local Jewish community and international organizations. Among possible forms of action the following have been enumerated: commemoration of famous Jewish residents of the city, creation of a memorial at the territory of former Yanivsky concentration camp, organization of exhibitions and festivals on Jewish history and culture, publishing books, etc, but preferably refrain from projects that would violate the current architectural face of the city. The need to rebuild destroyed synagogues and other architectural objects has not been acknowledged, which indicates difference in visions towards restoration perspectives between Jewish and non-Jewish actors. As it is shown below, the need to reconstruct one of the synagogues in the city, known as the *Golden Rose*, as well as other buildings in the former Jewish quarter, is promoted by a representative of a Jewish religious organization, with a nostalgic perspective to revive the Jewish life within the quarter as it had been before WWII. However, this non-inclusive vision of prospects for preservation of Jewish heritage was not targeted at non-Jewish audiences and thus is rarely supported by groups of experts. Moreover, the majority of actions taken by the present-day Jewish community in L'viv are targeted to meet the needs of the community's members and directed within the community itself and aimed at the social protection of members of the community[78].

The definition of *Jewish space*, another core concept for the current thesis, is as broad as *Jewish heritage*. Difficulty in defining what is meant by Jewish space originates from the dilemma of whether those spaces where Jews don't live anymore as they had been doing so before should be considered Jewish or not. This concerns former *shtetlah* across Eastern Europe, as well as locations, mainly quarters, in metropoles. The core question here is whether in order to be considered Jewish, the space should maintain the link with living

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[78] Klymanska, Savka and Savchynskyi, "Kompleksne doslidzhennya".

Jews, even if they do not live in that very location, but overseas. This dilemma is highly relevant for the sites discussed in this thesis since a great number of them have not regained their former function as sites used by local Jewish communities, which leaves the question of their definition as Jewish ones open. In contrast to this Michel Laguerre discusses the existence of actual Jewish everyday life of contemporary Jewish neighbourhoods in Paris, London, and Berlin and discusses its organization. He argues that miltiple overseas diasporic connections and interactions – primarily with the US and Israel – make these sites 'operate' as transglobal entities and communities. He coins those multiple quarters as urban diasporic sites and calls them *global neighborhoods.*[79] This demonstrates that *Jewish space* as a theoretical category may well be interpreted in sociologial terms, as well as in spatial ones.

Throughout time the forms, content, and meaning of such 'traditional' Jewish spaces as *eruv*, *ghetto* and *shtetl* changed significantly. According to Joachim Schlör, the rapid urbanization of Jewish life in Western, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought around the change in nature of this life, resulting in it being "more Jewish: mobile, active, adaptable, changing."[80] At the same time, in comparison, for instance, with the eighteenth century, today the notion of "ghetto" bears solely negative connotations, becoming the synonym for restriction of contacts between Jews and Christians,[81] whereas the notion of "*shtetl*", after its actual dissolution, acquired highly nostalgic associations. Within the context of the current thesis *Jewish Space* is understood as an integral set of traces of historic Jewish presence – space within former pre-war and war-time ghettoes and beyond them rather than separate buildings and other constructions.

As stated by Ruth Ellen Gruber, by the end of 1990s, Jewish heritage issues were on the agenda for authorities and local organizations in most European countries.[82] However, in the majority of cases the outbreak of interest towards Jewish heritage and culture throughout Europe took place in the

[79] See Michel S. Laguerre, *Global Neighborhoods: Jewish Quarters in Paris, London, and Berlin* (SUNY Press, 2008).

[80] Joachim Schlör, "Jewish Forms of Settlement and their Meaning," in *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, ed. Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė and Larisa Lempertienė (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 1-6.

[81] Schlör, "Jewish Forms of Settlement".

[82] Samuel Gruber et al., *Jewish Heritage Sites and Monuments in Moldova*, report by the "United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad," 2010, 64.

absence of Jews. Within this framework non-Jewish actors, claims Gruber, create a virtual replica of authentic Jewish space sometimes subjected to superficial performance.[83] This vitality is reached through renovation of built heritage,[84] representation of Jewish topics at museums, and via Jewish-themed festivals.[85]

The further tendency of commodification of Jewish heritage across Europe, but specifically in Poland since the 1990s led to the appearance in the historiography of another version of manifestation of Jewish space, notably, the *Jewish Disneyland*. It presupposes a particular way of treatment of Jewish culture, a tendency towards "romanticism, exoticization, folklorization and historicization"[86] mainly reducing it to simplified and superficial 'highlights' for the purposes of 'public consumption,' which might border on the anti-Semitic stereotypes.[87] The criticism of virtual Jewishness was eventually developing to appeal to more complex study, understanding, and promotion of Jewish tradition to non-Jewish 'consumers.' According to Iris Weiss "it used to take great effort to participate in Jewish culture: one first needed a Jewish education, be it religious, historical or secular"[88] and thus skipping this effort would presumably diminish the creative potential of intercultural contacts. As Iris Weiss formulates it:

"as long as Jews are reduced to clichés and the variety of Jewish cultures are not considered, legends and falsified history will continue to blossom. The danger in the exoticization of Jews is that one loses the sense of how Jewish culture and the local

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[83] See Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (University of California Press, 2001); Ruth Ellen Gruber, "Beyond Virtually Jewish . . . Balancing the Real, the Surreal and Real Imaginary Places," in *Reclaiming Memory. Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, ed. Murzyn-Kupisz Monika and Jacek Purchla (Cracow: International Cultural Centre, 2009): 63-80.

[84] See Meng, Michael, *Shattered Spaces. Encountering Jewish Ruins in Postwar Germany and Poland* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

[85] On rediscovery of klezmer music in Germany and Poland see Magdalena Waligórska, *Klezmer's Afterlife: An Ethnography of the Jewish Music Revival in Poland and Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

[86] See Iris Weiss, "Jewish Disneyland - the Appropriation and Dispossession of "Jewishness"," *GOLEM European Jewish Magazine* 3, no. 6 (2002), accessed January 17, 2014, http://www.hagalil.com/golem/diaspora/disneyland-e.htm.

[87] See Gruber, "Beyond Virtually Jewish".

[88] Weiss, "Jewish Disneyland".

environment influenced one another […] Instead, this pattern helps maintain stereotypes of the Jew as an outsider, at least in Central Europe."[89]

At the beginning of the 2000s, a discussion over multiple manifestations of the heritage of Jews, whose presence was visible, significant, and considerable prior to WWII, took place in Poland.[90] Poland is currently known as an outstanding example of a country where Jewish heritage gradually became a resource for the attraction of tourists, but at the same time it became acknowledged on a local level as a source for an alternative hybrid identity search.[91] In contrast to the criticism towards the revitalized historical Jewish district of Kazimierz in Krakow as the *Jewish Disneyland*, Erica Lehrer interprets it as "a unique urban space whose recent Jewish-themed development both reflects and extends grassroots Polish–Jewish relationship building in the post-Holocaust, post-Communist era."[92]

According to Diana Pinto, "Jewish space is an arena of creative solutions and embracing of things Jewish by non-Jews."[93] Pinto distinguishes two types of Jewish spaces. Those religious and cultural spaces that belong to Jews, including, for instance, community-owned museums are, according to Pinto, *Jewish-Jewish spaces (*type one*)* "in which non-Jews can participate but only as guests who have to accept the rules and cultural givens of the house." However, an alternative phenomenon occurred in present-day Europe- spaces that "occupy a conceptually new middle slot on the identity spectrum. Their originality stems precisely from the fact that Jews and non-Jews stand as equal participants in these spaces" and thus they may be called *Jewish-inspired spaces*

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[89] Weiss, "Jewish Disneyland".

[90] See Maciej Janowski, "Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Debating the History of a Single Day," I *The Convolutions of Historical Politics*, ed. Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman (Central European University Press, 2012), 59-90; Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla, *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities* (Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 2009); Meng, *Shattered Spaces*; Erica T. Lehrer, "Jewish Heritage, Pluralism, and Milieux de Mémoire: the Case of Kraków's Kazimierz", in *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland*, ed. Erica T. Lehrer and Michael Meng (Indiana University Press, 2015), 170-192.

[91] see Diana Pinto, Epilogue to *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland*, ed. Erica T. Lehrer and Michael Meng (Indiana University Press, 2015), 280-286; see also Diana Pinto, "A New Role for Jews in Europe: Challenges and Responsibilities," in *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, ed. Sandra Lustig, Ian Leveson (Berghahn Books, 2008), 27-40.

[92] Lehrer, "Can there be a Conciliatory Heritage?"

[93] Pinto, "Epilogue".

(type two), the impact of which is seen to be crucial for Europe, since they manifest an example of "the incorporation of the continent's numerous indigenous minorities into a wider public discourse."[94]

According to Manuel Herz, it is problematic to speak about Jewish architecture since it leaves undefined whether Jewish users, Jewish architects, or buildings with a Jewish theme are referred to. A more comprehensive definition would be rather a contemporary *architecture with Jewish context*, so that it would embrace buildings with different functions and of different styles, united by the broad feature of various relations to the Jewishness, such as the Jewish museum Berlin, newly built community centres or recently restored synagogues. The common feature for such architecture in contemporary Germany would be high conceptual quality, a tendency towards breaking the rules, anarchic quality, and 'rebellious' character,[95] The expressiveness of such architecture is taken as a tool of a critical voice for society, architecture that confronts rationality brought to the Holocaust and sometimes the symbolic value of these buildings in the context of Germany may exceed its 'functional' value. This changed dynamics of defining the character of Jewish presence with the help of architecture. Today it is reached with a small number of key buildings containing Jewish functions in a centralized space rather than unspectacular presence of Jews

> "in the shape of kosher butchers or mezuzahs on doorframes that would spread throughout the city, thereby establishing a minimum "Jewishness" in a maximum of space."[96]

1.3 Jewish Museums: Polyphony of Forms and Functions

Evolving from elitist depositories of precious artifacts for private use into state owned institutions providing public access, present-day museums perform multiple functions. During the era of nationalism and beyond museums have been widely recognized as powerful tools 'at the forefront of identity work.' Institutions with a high social meaning and a high contribution to the construction of a collective vision of the past and preservation of memory connected with it, their spread is all-embracing both in terms of geography and topics covered. Recent decades have witnessed a 'boom' in the appearance off so-called 'narrative museums', where the exhibition topic may be brought to the

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[94] Pinto, "Epilogue".

[95] Manuel Herz, "Institutionalized Experiment: the Politics of "Jewish Architecture" in Germany," *Jewish Social Studies* (New Series), 11, no. 3 (2005): 58-66.

[96] Herz, "Institutionalized Experiment," 65.

masses even without the actual authentic artifacts or a collection. Within such museums indoctrination openly goes hand in hand with education, and exhibitions devoted to a particular topic have proven to be a powerful tool for disseminating the message to a broader public. Emotional involvement has proven to be a highly efficient tool for reaching out to the audience, especially while displaying traumatic topics. The advancement of technology, in its turn, provides new tools for elaboration of emotionally-driven exhibition designs that enable message transmission even in the absence of actual artifacts.[97]

Jewish museums, as well as the Holocaust museums around the globe, although not being original in that matter, offer a rich variety of examples of such exhibition development. The term 'technology' here is used not only to mean technical equipment, but also to mean the strategy of interaction between the public and the exhibited pieces, as well as the architectural layout. The following paragraphs bring a short overview of the evolution of Jewish museums in terms of variety of forms and functions. Their role as agents of collective memory formation on a national and global scale is emphasized.

The history of Jewish museums dates back to the late nineteenth century, starting from displaying Jewish ritual objects as examples of decorative art. The focus was made on the aesthetic qualities of these objects and for the first time they were exhibited internationally at the world fair in Paris in 1878.[98] The further spread of Jewish items on display in major European capitals and in the United States has been linked to Jewish emancipation and the desire to claim European and/or American Jewry as part of modern world, as well as an aspiration to demonstrate the contribution made by Jews to major spheres of activities.[99] Another reason was the intention to increase awareness concerning Judaism as one of world's great religions, as well as the wish to preserve the history of local Jewish quarters in situations where old housing was being demolished.[100] Jewish museums established prior to WWI in Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Berlin, Danzig and other European cities, as well as

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[97] See Shosh Rotem, "Constructing Memory," 9-23.

[98] David Clark, "Jewish Museums: from Jewish Icons to Jewish Narratives." European Judaism 36, no. 2 (2003), 4-5.

[99] Cohen. "The Visual Revolution," 6-8.

[100] Clark, "Jewish Museums," 5-6; Tobias Metzler, "Collecting Community: the Berlin Jewish Museum as Narrator between Past and Present, 1906-1939," In *Visualizing and Exhibiting the Jewish Space in History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen (Oxford University Press, 2012), 71.

Jerusalem, represent this tendency. The early Jewish museums were centered in rather modest surroundings, seldom in buildings of their own. Conditionally, one may refer to these initiatives as the *first wave* in the launching of Jewish museums – those established and functioning prior to the Holocaust.[101]

The initiative to establish a Jewish museum in the Romanov Empire dates back to 1914 S. An-sky's expeditions. Some museums were established within the state-supported scheme under Soviet rule in 1920s and 1930s. The museums and exhibitions in interwar Leningrad, Odessa, Minsk, as well as in that time Polish territories – in Wilno and Lwow – should be listed here (on 2 of these museums see chapter 5). While collections of these prewar museums had been dispersed after their closure by the government and/or WWII, the memory about their existence had a very strong influence on the opening of post-1991 museums – as justification in terms of 'restoration of historical justice.'

During WWII some parts of the collections exhibited in those European (as well as the Soviet) museums were looted, some artifacts were lost, and some parts of the collections ended up in depositories of various post-war museums. These depositaries also contained confiscated property from the destroyed synagogues, both in post-war Europe and in the pre- and post-war Soviet Union. One will find comparatively little interest in preserving Jewish sites and studying the war-time mass extermination of Jews and other categories of victims profoundly or in exhibiting Judaica and the fate of European Jewry in the immediate post-WWII Europe and the US. However, by the late 1960s-early 1970s recognition of the mass murder of European Jewry and other victims by the Nazi regime and its collaborators in 1941-1945 as an exceptional crime redefined the genocide, known as the Holocaust, as a traumatic event for all humankind.[102] Post-1960s discussions of the Holocaust as trauma, mainly initiated by intellectuals, contained the message of the inexplicability of genocide of such a scale, with an emphasis on the victims and their suffering and tragedy. Books, movies, plays, TV dramas, and other

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[101] For examples of such museums see Michael Korey, "Displaying Judaica in 18th-Century Central Europe: a non-Jewish Curiosity," in *Visualizing and Exhibiting the Jewish Space in History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen (Oxford University Press, 2012), 25-54; Metzler, "Collecting Community," 55-79; Cohen, Richard I. "Self-Image through Objects. Toward the Social History of Jewish Art Collecting and Jewish Museums," in *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 203-242.

[102] Alexander, "On the Social Construction", 197; Clark, "Jewish Museums," 9; Cohen, "The Visual Revolution," 11-12.

channels of media production have been crucial in shaping the discourse of the Holocaust.[103] Museums and memorials, monuments, and plaques placed on actual sites of physical elimination and devoted to the memory of crimes against Jewish people may be interpreted as 'atrocity heritage' (both as object[s] and as destination[s]) – those that have trauma discourse as a cohesive memorial direction to commemorate European Jewish history.[104] Memorial museums across the world contributed a lot to the consolidation of memory and research related to the Holocaust. These museums function as commemorative institutions as well as – in most cases – research centers. As Isabel Wollaston puts it, four major functions are performed by Holocaust museums today: as sites of mass tourism, agents of narrative construction, history preservation, and education.[105] Such institutions may be referred to as the *second wave* of Jewish museums, this time focused on the recognition of 'atrocity heritage' and solely devoted to the Holocaust. Those museums constitute an important milestone for representation of genocide and ethnic-based mass violence in public space, which Paul Williams coins as a 'global rush to commemorate atrocities,' pointing at the worldwide embrace of the phenomenon that has not declined in recent decades. These museums, although having substantial differences in exhibition design, significantly contributed to the formulation of 'canon' in terms of how to present the Holocaust in a language of museum items and for global audience. Apart from using exhibition design as well as architecture, landscape is an entity that 'big' museums tend to build dialogue with. Evidently, Jewish-relater and/or themed museums do not exclusively practice such methods, but rather reflect global trends in museum development.

As Ruth Ellen Gruber points out, the very fact of a synagogue standing empty of Jews, used as an exhibition space, conveys a sense of loss – and this feature instead is characteristic for Jewish-related museum matters.[106] Thus, the very location of Jewish museum may have a powerful interpretative potential, especially in post-Holocaust Europe. According to David Clark, locating Jewish museums in buildings that have a Jewish past reinforces a spatial narrative, linking Jewish settlement in the past with present concerns of cultural

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[103] Alexander, "On the Social Construction", 224-231.
[104] Ashworth, "Holocaust Tourism," 363.
[105] Isabel Wollaston, "Negotiating the Marketplace: The Role(s) of Holocaust Museums today," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 4, no. 1 (2005): 63-80.
[106] Gruber, "Post Trauma "Precious Legacies"," 118.

tourism.[107]

Holocaust museums continue being established across the world and the time framework of their dedication and opening to the public indicates the specifics of the memory culture in a particular country in relation to the Holocaust matter and – if one speaks about Europe – to attempts to come to terms with the difficult past. Also, the major museums and memorials have a high potential to influence tourist inflow and affect mass tourism routes, so their appearance inevitably contributes to the tourism industry. The earliest examples are to be found in Israel with the *Ghetto Fighters' House* (*Itzhak Katzenelson Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum*) established in 1949 and *Yad Vashem* and its *Holocaust History Museum* established in 1953 (opened to the public in 1957). Since *Yad Vashem* is a national institution that performs a function of commemoration and research on the Holocaust, the date of its establishment and further revamps directly points to the crucial role assigned to the matter for Israeli identity and legitimation of the creation of the state. This is also confirmed by the amount of funds invested by the state in *Yad Vashem* initially, as well as in renewal of the exhibition inside the institution. In Israel those museums serve for the narrative of heroism and bravery, as well as the formula of rebirth within the Israel state after the genocide in Europe.[108]

Germany's post-1945 *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* influenced both recognition of Jewish-related ruins and sites as worthy of being preserved and gaining memorial potential, and also influenced the conservation and musealization of former concentration camps on the territory of the country. While small Jewish museums started appearing well before the fall of the Berlin Wall, by now Germany has no central Holocaust museum, although the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* was inaugurated in 2005. Instead, a number of former concentration camps function as museums or memorials. These include former camps in *Dachau* (monument installed in 1968, exhibition redesigned in 2003), *Buchenwald* (monument erected in 1958, first exhibition launched in 1985, redone in 1995), *Bergen-Belsen* – the site where Anne Frank perished (memorial inaugurated in 1952, first exhibition opened in 1966, redesigned in 1990 and 2007), *Sachsenhausen* (memorial inaugurated in 1991, museum launched in 1993), *Flossenbürg* (Holocaust museum opened in 2007) and *Neuengamme* (memorial built in 1953, a 'document house' added in 1981,

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[107] Clark, "Jewish Museums," 11.

[108] James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (Yale University Press, 1993), 219-242.

new memorial site opened in 2005).[109] Additionally, the architecture of the *Jewish Museum Berlin* partially performs a musealizing function for the matter in the country's capital. Finally, since the first Stolperstein was installed in 1992 in Cologne, these cobblestone-sized memorial plaques for individual victims of Nazism, not exclusively Jewish, but also others perished on ethnic, sexual orientation, or disability grounds, by 2014 these memorials were installed in over 330 cities in Germany.

In the US establishment by the above mentioned institutions was initiated by opening of *the Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust* in 1961 and by now 23 states out of 50 have either museum(s) or memorial(s) dedicated to the matter. The *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* in Washington D.C. (founded in 1980, dedicated in 1993) is a national museum. It has played a highly important role both as a research center and as a museum project that attracted close scholarly attention for its 'Americanization of the Holocaust.'[110] The *Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre* was founded in 1979 and inaugurated as a museum in 2003, while in Australia the *Jewish Museum Holocaust and Research Centre* has been functioning since 1984.

The tendency to exhibit Jewish experience and story not primarily through the lens of trauma, but rather through lens of the complex history of Jewish co-existence with their non-Jewish neighbors distinguishes the museums that may be conditionally attributed to the *third wave* of Jewish museums in Europe and beyond. This embraces institutions with grand budgets, as well as more modest ones. Along with the museums solely dedicated to the Holocaust, for these museums attraction of both public and private bodies for elaboration (including finances and other resources) plays a significant role, but is not a prerequisite. The distinctive feature of exhibition design in those museums is that while the Holocaust represents a significant part of the exhibition, it is not brought to the fore, but is rather 'incorporated' in the exhibition telling the story of Jewish presence in the area.

Apart from deliberate curatorial decision to bring those two patterns of Jewish history together, the museums of the 'third wave', due to their (most often) recent opening, tend to emphasize the use of technology within exhibition design. Also, within the evolution of exhibition strategies of 1990s and 2000s, different 'voices' of previously neglected actors, such as ordinary

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[109] See Young, *The Texture of Memory*, 49-80.
[110] See Shosh Rotem, *Constructing Memory*; Young, *The Texture of Memory*, 81-89.

people, minorities and other marginal groups, entered the museum scene, including the Jewish one.[111] The museums of the 'third wave' have recently been in the close focus of academic analysis. Also being narrative museums, they may use architecture as one of the means to transmit the museum's message. One of the most known and well-researched cases here is *the Jewish Museum Berlin* (construction completed in 1999, dedicated in 2001). Although the content of the museum discusses Jewish life in Germany (the permanent exhibition is called 'Two millennia of German Jewish history'), it is the powerful architecture of Daniel Libeskind that transfers the sense of loss, emptiness, break, and void by the building's form and façade, as well as with the help of inner space design as axes of the Holocaust, of exile and of continuity at the lower floor of the museum. Recently major European capitals have witnessed either the opening or the renewal of exhibitions their Jewish museums. Among other is the *Danish Jewish Museum*, also designed by Libeskind. Opened in 2003, the museum mainly narrates the culture of the Jewish community in Denmark, emphasizes Danish Jewish history, and the 1943 rescue of the Danish Jews. Amsterdam houses both the *Jewish Historical Museum* and the *Anne Frank House*, established in 1960 and reopened in 1999. These new Jewish museums gradually became an integral part of the European cultural landscape. However, their emergence, running, management and exhibition design keep remain to be subjects of debates on the appropriate way to exhibit 'things Jewish'.[112]

The US offers a great number and variety of Jewish museums, with exhibitions dedicated to the American Jewish experience, but not exclusively. The *Museum of Jewish Heritage* in the New York City opened in 1997 and narrates twentieth and twenty-first century Jewish history, including the Israeli part of it, while the pyramid structure on the top of the museum stands for the *Living Memorial to the Holocaust*. Among other significant institutions the *National Museum of American Jewish History* located in Philadelphia (founded in 1976), the *National Museum of American Jewish Military History* in Washington, D.C. (founded in 1958), and the *American Jewish Museum* in Pittsburgh may be recalled. In comparison with the USHMM the above mentioned museums have been established with little or no involvement of governmental bodies. It is highly important to emphasize that each of the above mentioned museums function in its own particular surrounding and political, as well as symbolic

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[111] Clark, "Jewish Museums," 7.

[112] See for instance Richard Schneider, "The Jew under the Glass: the Problem of Being an Exhibition Object," *European Judaism* 36, no. 2 (2003): 26-33.

and educational contexts. The complexity of forms and exhibition solutions of these institutions make the problem of defining a Jewish museum a matter of great importance for scholarly research.[113]

The apppearance of post-1945 Jewish museums and especially museums of the 'third wave' provoked heated debates not only on the design of permanent exhibitions and appropriateness of 'non-orthodox' architectural solutions, but on the political implications of such museums, where the local Jewish past is re-contextualized within the framework of a local history of co-existence. The emergence of Jewish museums on the global scene after WWII brought a problematic point for public discussion. It was about the potential of a Jewish museum's message to be called in to question in case a number of the ceremonial objects have a problematic provenance. Since a number of ceremonial items that were looted and expropriated from Jewish families during WWII entered collections in result of the Holocaust, this created an urgent need for the revision of collections at some museums.[114] It was Sally Berkovic, the Chief Executive of the *Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe*, who claimed that in the museums of many European Jewish cities due to several reasons Jewish visitors may end up being tourists. Since those museums may function in isolation of actual communal life, they do not serve as an educational platform and aid for young members of local Jewish communities, being targeted at the non-Jewish public instead.[115] Indeed, according to Ruth Ellen Gruber, Jewish museums often serve as 'anchors for broader Jewish tourism itineraries and are among the most significant tools within which Europeans seek to fill in the blank spots regarding the Jewish phenomenon.'[116] Berkovic has developed Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek's argument, which emphasized the memorial function of Jewish museums in the twenty-first century as a leading one.[117] For Berkovic, Jewish museums should instead perform the following three functions: as 'guardians of important Judaica collections' provided with adequate facilities; as institutions performing 'an

[113] Young, *The Texture of Memory*, 323-350.

[114] Felicitas Heinmann-Jelinek, "Thoughts on the Role of a European Jewish Museums in the 21st Century," in *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen (Oxford University Press, 2012), 243-260.

[115] Sally Bercovic, "Jewish Museums: are They good for the Jews?", last modified May 20, 2013, accessed June 15, 2013, http://ejewishphilanthropy.com/jewish-museums-are-they-good-for-the-jews/.

[116] Gruber, "Post Trauma "Precious Legacies"," 126-127.

[117] Heinmann-Jelinek, "Thoughts on the Role," 243-260.

important socio-political role to play in exploring the tensions between universalism and particularism;' and while Jewish museums are to be involved in local Jewish communities, they have potential to contribute to identity building 'particularly where the formal structures within the community are rigid' (Ber13). Another issue potentially labelled as 'disturbing' and brought to discussion is the proportional representation of professionals of Jewish and non-Jewish descent within the governing bodies and curatorial staff of Jewish museums in major European capitals. Indeed, these museums are not necessarily run by Jews. While ethic origin does not define professional expertise, it was Richard Schneider who commented on the opening of the Jewish Museum Berlin, doubtful on whether the opening of this particular institution 'really does justice to Jews in Germany' or not and asked 'does it in fact have anything to do with us'?[118]

As subject of scholarly research the topic attracts much interest.[119] While community-related Jewish museums have been randomly functioning across the Socialist space, the lack of tradition of commemorating the Holocaust and speaking about the issue openly together with the post-1989 outburst of national narratives of local histories and the reformulation of national memory cultures in favor of competing national victimization did not create a welcoming atmosphere for public recognition of the Holocaust, as well as Jewish legacy in general.

In Eastern Europe, where the Holocaust largely occurred, its memory did not develop until the end of communist rule in 1989–91. However, the tendency of recognition of the Holocaust and Jewish contribution to the local history coexists with the competing victimization and national heroization principles in the countries all over the former Socialist bloc. Museums have been highly instrumentalized as platforms during these processes and the dynamic of appearance of the platforms that would publicly discuss the Jewish-related matters allows tracing this (non)recognition dynamic.

An important example of dynamics in this matter is the musealization of the former Auschwitz concentration camp. *The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum* was founded in 1947 after the camp was handed to Poland. The

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[118] Schlör, "Jewish Forms of Settlement," 26.

[119] See V. Gradinskaite, "Shest' istoriy: yevreyskiye muzei v Litve" [Six Stories: Jewish Museums in Lithuania], *Zeitschrift* 6, no. 1 (2011), 103-119; Gruber, "Post Trauma "Precious Legacies"".

exhibition went through several rounds of changes after 1955 and since 1989 has been gradually redefined on the global scale as a place of Jewish suffering in comparison with pre-1989 emphasis on the extermination of Poles. This tendency was reflected in research on the actual number of inmates of different nationalities perished in the camp, in representation of the site in media culture, redefining the exhibition, infrastructure, and logistics facilities within the former camp structures and finally by changes in the ratio of countries where the audience of the museum comes from. These changes, however, touched upon sensitive grounds bounded to competing symbolic martyrdom and identification of the site with national victimhood, which was manifested by the 'war of crosses' from 1998.[120] While the site has been recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site for its authenticity and integrity since 1979, following a claim by the Polish Foreign Ministry in 2007 it was granted a new name, *Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945)* thus pointing to the identity of the perpetrator. Although the former camp in Auschwitz is the most known, other former concentration and extermination camps in Poland, such as those in Treblinka, gained the status of national monuments of Jewish martyrdom since 1964 with exhibition centers being launched later on.

The POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw (opened in 2013, exhibition opened in 2014)[121] is recognized as an important pillar and milestone in the matter of 'normalization' of Jewish topic at the European museum scene. The museum performs several highly important functions as it 'works' both for the Polish milieu and an international arena. Within the national framework the museum has a high potential to become a platform for further recognition and discussion of the Holocaust and responsibility for it, as well as the significance of the Jewish contribution to Polish history and experience. It may also contribute to the painful coming to terms with the past in terms of local collaboration in the Holocaust – a process pushed to the forefront of public debates with the publishing of *Neighbours* by Jan Gross in 2004., which resonates with the image of Poland as a martyr – an image deeply

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[120] Kapraski, "Amnesia, Nostalgia, and Reconstruction," 149-169; see also Kapraski, "(Mis)representations of the Jewish Past," 179-192.

[121] Hansen-Glucklich, "Holocaust Memory Reframed," 27-86; Rotem, "Constructing Memory," 141-156, 172-180; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Museum of the History of Polish Jews: A Postwar, Post-Holocaust, Post-Communist Story," in *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland*, ed. Erica T. Lehrer and Michael Meng (Indiana University Press, 2015), 264-279.

rooted in the national culture of memory and supported by the Socialist authorities, which contributed to the image's rooting.

From the later examples *the Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest* in 2005 may be listed. On the one hand, the existence of this museum in Budapest, plus several widely known places of Jewish heritage in the city, indicate official recognition of the matter on the governmental level. On the other hand, the *Holocaust museum* coexists with the *Terror Haza* – the museum notoriously known for its unequal treatment of the Nazi and Communist halls 'in favor' of the latter in terms of space devoted to it at the exhibition. It is also famous for emphasizing Hungarian victimhood to the prejudice of the Jewish one while omitting Hungarian collaboration in the Holocaust.[122]

Opening of t*he Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center* in Moscow[123] and opening of the museum *Jewish Memory and Holocaust in Ukraine* in Dnipropetrovsk in 2012 indicate two rather different settings. Dnipropetrovsk one points at the raise of new local establishment of Jewish descent. The museum in Menorah community center is not the only collection of Judaica gathered and exhibited in Ukraine recently due to the efforts of private collectors. As it has been indicated in previous chapter, the initiators of the provisional *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in Odessa also plan to purchase some part of their future collection at the antique market. However, as it has been fairly noted by the chief of the Judaica section at the *L'viv Museum of History of Religions:*

"People who set themselves the task of creating a collection [of Jewish artifacts – A.F.] face two aspects. First, they are forced to buy objects from antique dealers, but the origin of these objects may be uncertain or unknown. Second, they are forced to buy these objects at inflated prices. Only a few may afford this. Besides, a lot of artifacts on the antiques market are newly-made fake replicas."[124]

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[122] See Anna Manchin, "Staging Traumatic Memory: Competing Narratives of State Violence in Post-Communist Hungarian Museums", *East European Jewish Affairs* 45, no. 2-3 (2015), 236-251.

[123] See Olga Gershenson, "The Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center in Moscow: Judaism for the masses," *East European Jewish Affairs* 45, no. 2-3 (2015), 158-173; Deborah Yalen, "The shtetl in the museum: representing Jews in the eras of Stalin and Putin" *East European Jewish Affairs* 45, no. 2-3 (2015), 174-189.

[124] Maksym Martyn, interview to Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

1.4 Concluding Remarks

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, the primary concern of this thesis in relation to the 'heritage' concept is the assumption that heritage is being constructed, disseminated and used – both in terms of discourse and in practice. This is the focal point through which I examine, analyze and compare the case studies selected for the current thesis. The second focal theoretical point is that heritage exists as a concept as well as amalgalm of real movable and/or immovable artifacts.

The following chapters analyze the efforts to preserve/reconstruct (or interpret in some other way) ruins of former Jewish religious buildings, efforts to clean Jewish cemetery, efforts to build/repair memorials and efforts to set up museums as actions of construction and production heritage and discourse about heritage. The research thus aims to deconstruct the narratives that surround these efforts and to reveal the factors that influence success of failure of heritage interpretation projects. It is from this theoretical perspective that influence and interests of multiplicity of actors are analyzed. The concept of 'memory' and especially of collective memory and its construction and dissemination is a leading one for approaching the Jewish memorial landscape in all 4 cities under study, Finally, it is the thesis' direct objective to discuss if the sporadic presence of ruins of former Jewish buildings constitute *Jewish space.*

Chapter 2

Patrimony vs *Heritage* or
from *late Soviet* to *post-Soviet*

This chapter offers a concise overview of history of all 4 cities under study from the perspective of high dynamics of changes: territorial, political and demographic. Special focus is given to Jewish experience and history in these cities. Further on, post-1991 institutionalized attempts to promote the cities on global level with the help of *UNESCO* label of world heritage sites are discussed. The importance of these attempts is (at least in Odessa and in L'viv) in deliberate effort to incorporate the multicultural past of the cities, for which the Jews played an important if not crucial role, as an asset in the present. The legal aspects of heritage interpretation and its norms are then discussed in order to set the frame of what is meant as heritage in the countries under study. Finally, the aspects of post-1991 revival of Jewish community life are brought to discussion in this chapter in relation to appropriation, renovation and re-use of Jewish architectural heritage.

2.1 Historical Background of Cities under study

2.1.1 Chişinău

While the history of Chişinău dates back to the 16th century, the development of the city was closely related to and highly dependent from the policies applied by different political regimes and rules that controlled the territory since the 19th century known as Bessarabia. This high dynamics of change of influenced not only the architectural layout of the city, but its identity and even its name. The period relevant for the 'Jewish chapter' starts with the annexation of the part of Moldova principality by the Romanov Empire in 1812 and creation of the Bessarabia region. Majority of sites that represent Jewish architectural, as well as burial, landscape, date back to the 19th century, which is related to tremendous growth of Jewish population in the multiethnic city in the periphery of the Russian Empire and within the Pale of Settlement. According to the '*YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*',

> "During the nineteenth century, the Jewish population rose from a small percentage to almost half of the city's inhabitants: in 1847, there were 10,509 (12.2 %); in 1867 the numbers had increased to 18,323 (21.8%); and in 1897 to 50,237 (46.3%)".[125]

The same dynamics was true for Bessarabia region in general. By the end of the 19th century the Jewish population within the territory of present-day Republic of Moldova has reached 230,000 people (about 12% of the total population)[126]. The beginning of the 20th century was marked by the notorious internationally known Jewish pogroms of Kishinev from 1903 and 1905 (see details in chapter 5). After Bessarabia became part of the Greater Romania in 1918, its Jewish population became subjected to all restrictive mesures and laws that functioned in Romania. This contrasted wth the inclusive policies towards ethnic minorities applied across the border by the Soviet power with the establishment in 1924 of the MASSR. As well as in other urban centers of Central and Eastern Europe, the interwar years for Chişinău Jewish life were

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[125] Wolf Moskovich, "Kishinev," the YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified August 18, 2010, accessed June 24, 2015, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/kishinev.

[126] See Miriam Weiner, ed., *Jewish Roots in Ukraine and Moldova: Pages from the Past and Archival Inventories*, in cooperation with the Ukrainian State Archives and the Moldovan National Archives (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1999).

charactezied by highly dynamic religious, social, cultural and welfare activity and diversity.[127] According to Dmitry Tartakovsky,

> In Romanian Bessarabia, the Jewish community, already divided in late Imperial Russia, was further splintered between Orthodox traditionalists, democratic secularists, autonomists, Zionists of numerous stripes, socialists and underground communists. In Soviet Transnistria, the devastated provincial Jewish towns were divided primarily between the pro-Bolshevik party, state bureaucrats, activists, and everybody else that desired a different future, including underground Zionists, the religiously devout, etc.[128]

The stigma of Jews as Bolsheviks was fatal for between 280,000 and 380,000 victims of the Holocust in the occupied territory of Transnistria governorship during WWII.[129] Although several new significant academic contributions on the Holocaust in occupied Transnistria appeared in the recent years, the topic remains to be a difficult one for the national historiography in Moldova (see chapter 5). While the Holocaust and the wartime years eliminated the Jewish population of the city, its immovable Jewish heritage and a significant part of the old Jewish cemetery were lost due to subsequent post-war urban rebuilding and city planning.[130] Since 1944 to 1991 the city and the region were part of the Soviet Union, which defined all facets of its development. As for the Jewish sites, only one synagogue remained functioning out of about 70 before WWII. The old Jewish cemetery was turned into the park following the post-war urban re-design and building of new city districts and quarters as the whole architectural ensemble was significantly damaged during WWII (see chapter 3 for details). Reconstruction of Jewish community and cultural life in

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[127] Jacob Kopansky, *Blagotvoritelnye organizatsii evreev Bessarabii v mezhvoennyi period, 1918-1940* (Kishinev, 2002); Jacob Kopansky. *Yevreyskoye natsional'noye dvizheniye v Bessarabii v mezhvoyennyy period (1918–1940 gg.)* [Jewish National Movement in Bessarabia in the interwar period (1918-1940)] (High Anthropological School; Cultural Heritage Institute, Academy of Sciences of Moldova, 2008).

[128] Dmitry Tartakovsky, "Parallel Ruptures: Jews of Bessarabia and Transnistria between Romanian Nationalism and Soviet Communism, 1918-1940," (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 2010), 373.

[129] Tartakovsky, "Parallel Ruptures", 371. On the Holocaust in occupied Transnistria see Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940-1944* (University of Chicago Press, 2000) and Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation. Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

[130] Gruber et al., "Jewish Heritage Sites," 2010.

the city started in the late 1980s and continued after Moldova gained independence in 1991. By 1998, after dynamic emigration that took place since the late 1980s, the total Jewish population in Moldova was estimated 35,000 people and approximately 15,000 Jews are believed to live in the country today. Today the most visible projects related to commemoration of the Holocaust and provisional reconstruction of the former *yeshiva* are initiated by the local Jewish community and not the city council (see chapter 3 and 5 for details).

The period of independence brought changes for the architectural layout of the public space in the city. After 1991 of the most distinctive features in the re-evaluation of tangible heritage has been recognition of freedom of religious expression. This was followed by recognition of the Orthodox Church (and representative organizations for other religions) as powerful institution and by restitution of former religious property with further restoration works. In Chişinău the most known episode concerning post-1991 reconstruction of tangible cultural heritage in Chişinău is related to the architectural complex of the *Cathedral of Christ's Nativity* at the very heart of the city. Commissioned by the governor of Novorossiya, the cathedral was built in the 1830s by architect Abram Melnikov and by 1840 the whole ensemble consisted of the cathedral itself, the bell tower, and the triumphal arch built in commemoration of the Russian victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29. Since 1940/44 worship at the cathedral had been prohibited, the cathedral transformed into an exhibition center, and in 1962 the bell tower was blown up. The cathedral building was returned to the church in 1989-1991 and the reconstruction completed by 1996. By 1998 the destroyed bell tower had been rebuilt and inaugurated as part of the ensemble. Similar cases took place across the post-Soviet space, namely, the grand reconstruction and opening of the *Cathedral of Christ the Savior* in Moscow originally built in the nineteenth century, destroyed in 1931 on Stalin's order, and rebuilt in 1995-2000, as well as the reconstruction and rededication in 2000 of the *Dormition Cathedral* destroyed in WWII at *Kyiv Pechersk Lavra*, a monastery complex that gained the status of a national historic-cultural preserve in 1996.

For Moldova renovation of the cathedral and building the bell tower anew has been rather a singular case. By today the country lacks an elaborate policy of heritage preservation or reconstruction to be articulated as heritage. This has several reasons. First, in spite of discussions that took place by academics in early 1990s calling for the need to take actions to emphasize architecture from the interwar period as appropriate national heritage, the actual availability of such architecture, represented mainly by villas within the city, is critically low

due to the short time period within which this housing appeared (1918-1940/44). Second, due to demolitions resulting from WWII and post-war redesign of the city, the architectural landscape of present-day Chişinău still to a significant extent reminds one of a Soviet city. Parts that constituted the historic nucleus of the city (the so-called "low city") have been extensively changed, and little historical housing remains. Appreciation of architecture from the 19th and early 20th centuries is reduced to the non-reference of its 'ethnic component,' since the period of Bessarabia under Russian rule is perceived as one of occupation that continued in 1944. Also, parts of the historic city nucleus have been articulated as heritage by the Soviet government starting from the 1950s, mainly in terms of heritage related to the Russian national poet, Alexander Pushkin and his presence in Bessarabia in 1821-23. These parts of the "low city" were not ideologically reconfigured after the 1990s, apart from changes of street names, but the space underwent chaotic and sometimes unauthorized construction, which severely damaged its integrity and significantly reduced the chances of the area to be both properly restored or commodified. Among the heritage of three ethnic communities that defined the city's architectural landscape since the early nineteenth century, the Jewish one is almost invisible in the present-day architectural fabric, the Russian one (so-called "upper city") is selectively neglected and the local one, together with the Romanian component, is scarcely scattered among the city center.

By the 2010s several 'brutal' cases of commercial use of public space in historic city centers stimulated civic activism in protection of historical housing. The reason for was that, though the legislation on heritage protection in Moldova has been adjusted to international trends, its implementation is far from ideal. A number of grass-root initiative groups and movements stood behind these actions, such as *My Favorite City* or *Postmen of Chişinău*, a group that appeared following discussions on social networks on the threat of the demolition of downtown *Old Post Office* building by a commercial agent in 2011. The main message of these initiatives was that Chisinau is a young city with not so many historic buildings left to afford the destruction of some of them. The group was advocating for the necessity to introduce proper administrative and legislative mechanism to protect the buildings and public spaces from encroachment of private business. The *Old Post Office* was built in the early twentieth century and was officially protected by the state. But a private company managed to ignore the building's status as a monument after acquiring the site in private ownership. In this conflict, heritage and the duty of its preservation became the main argument of the protesters, who claimed the

historical city center was losing one monument per month and were using the 'responsibility argument' against the official authorities and the lobby of private business. This was an example of an initiative that failed as the building was eventually demolished. After the building was demolished, the protesters demanded the private company restore the monument in its original form, which never happened.

Despite the fact that the *Register of Monuments Protected by the State* was approved by the *Parliament of the Republic of Moldova* in 1993, it was only published in February 2010 due to the efforts of *Agency for Inspection and Restoration of Monuments*. The final publication was connected to pressure from representatives of civil society, since the continuing failure to publish had allowed the misuse of heritage for commercial purposes by new owners, and cases of unsanctioned intervention were becoming more frequent. The legislation still permits the right of private ownership of the monuments and their use. Thus both the promotion of discourse and actions towards heritage protection in Chişinău since the late 2000s have been down-up due to grass-root local activism directed against the chaotic building in the city center for the sake of profit.

While no singular *UNESCO World Heritage Site* is located in Moldova, the country clearly has the ambition of being on the map of world heritage tourism since two sites have been recently included in the *Tentative List of World Heritage Sites:* the *Typical Crernozem Soils of the Balti Steppe* were claimed in 2011 and the *Orheiul Vechi Archaeological Landscape* – in 2014. So far Moldova is mentioned only due the location on its territory of one of 34 original station points of the *Struve Geodetic Arc*, a chain of survey triangulations 2820 kilometers long that crosses 10 countries, the only geodesic and the only purely intellectual monument in the *UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites*. Moldova's point is located in the north of the country. It was inaugurated in 2006; the next year after the arc itself was awarded *UNESCO World Heritage Site* status. It was supposed that the point may become one of the tourist attractions on a rather poor tourist map, but in reality by 2014 it was in desolation.

For Moldovan foreign policy since 1990s one of the core factors has been the influence of Romania as a neighbor state and a member of the European Union after its enlargement in 2007. However, Romania may also function as an influential actor in heritage-related issues in Moldova, which is similar to the Polish-Ukrainian relationship. In 2015 parliamentarians in Bucharest proposed to identify legislative solutions to protect the *Cemetery of*

Honor in Chişinău, where Romanian soldiers who fought in WWI and WWII are buried. The cemetery was established in 1927-1938 by Romanian administration while Bessarabia was under Romanian rule. The cemetery was then destroyed in 1959 by Soviet authorities that built a hospital on its place. After Moldova gained independence the space where the cemetery was once located was gradually brought to ruination. Thus the cemetery symbolically stands for the image of might of Greater Romania, neglect, and promotion of one-sided ideology by the Soviet authorities (the cemetery shared the destiny of many others, including Jewish, monuments and burial places), as well as a lack of elaborated strategy aimed at heritage promotion in present-day Moldova. Until recently only several local NGOs, including *Action-2012* were concerned with taking care of the cemetery. Its representative claimed that it is internationally important to reconstruct the cemetery since "there lay hundreds of Romanians, dozens of Hungarians and Austrians, some Czechs and one Jew," aiming at avoiding the framing of initiative to properly take care of the cemetery within potential accusations of using this case as a manifestation of political claims from the Romanian side.

2.1.2 Odessa

Indicating the distinctiveness of Jewish experience in Odessa, historian John Klier formulated it as, "Odessa Jews were indeed 'Jews of a Port', if not 'Port Jews'" [131]. Indeed, the uniqueness of Odessa as the Jewish city is in its distinctively different character in terms of economic opportunity for the Jews living there since late 18th century, as well as presence of urban Jewish culture that highly contrasted with the experience of the shtetl. The port has been the reason of the city's appeal as a location where fast enrichment was possible since the city's foundation in 1794 by Cathrine II.[132] The chance for relatively rapid economic and social mobility attracted masses of people from the surroundings to the new and fast developing metropolis, including the Jews. This conditioned the dynamics of growth of Jewish population in the city, who came both from within the Pale of Settlement and outside of the Russian Empire. The grain trade was one of the major, though far not the only one,

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[131] John D. Klier, "A Port, Not a Shtetl: Reflections on the Distinctiveness of Odessa," *Jewish Culture and History*, 4, no. 2 (2001): 173.

[132] See Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794-1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1986); Charles King, *Odessa: Genius and Death in a City of Dreams* (W. W. Norton, Incorporated, 2012).

fields of income and interest. The seaside location of the city contributed to further romanticizing of the place in popular, as well as high-brow culture, contributing to the formation of the so-called Odessa myth and Odessa identity.[133] As for the meaning of this multiethnic city for modern Jewish culture, historian Steven Zipperstein noted:

> Odessa was a town without 'native' Jewish traditions, where new Jewish traditions had to be created. Given this absence of the past, Odessa functioned as a kind of 'anti-shtetl'. Thus, while Odessa was never a center for traditional Jewish learning, it produced whole cadres of Jewish intellectuals who played a major role in almost every movement which characterized modern Jewry. These included the eastern variant of Haskalah, all the various shades of Zionism, Territorialism, Autonomism, and the whole gamut of Jewish socialist activity. Odessa was the birthplace of a modern Jewish press in Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew.[134]

By 1892, those 124,511 Jews of Odessa formed the second-largest group in terms of number of people, which was almost equal to the number of Russians living in the city at theat time.[135] The 19th century was characterized by a highly dynamic spread of multiple Jewish institutions and facilities and a heyday of Jewish literature in Yiddish, Hebrew and Russian. Several anti-Jewish pogroms marked the city's history of late 19th and early 20th century.[136] After the city became Soviet in 1920, the new regime targeted elimination of religious practice, including the Jewish-related one, and mobilized the Communist Jewish youth agains the tradition. In the 1920s this caused transferring of multiple religious facilities to the Jewish Workers Clubs (see chapter 3 for details). The occupation of Odessa of 1941 and incorporation of the city into the Romanian Transnistria that lasted till 1944 took lives of approximately 80% of Jewish population of the city. After the war Odessa was developing as the Soviet city with significan boost of the industry and territorial

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[133] On Odessa myth see Tanya Richardson, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa. History and Place in Contemporary Ukraine* (University of Toronto Press, 2008) and Jarrod Tanny, *City of Rogues and Schnorrers: Russia's Jews and the Myth of Old Odessa* (Indiana University Press, 2011).

[134] See Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794-1881* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 175.

[135] Steven J. Zipperstein, "Odessa", the YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified September 13, 2010, accessed January 16, 2015, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Odessa.

[136] On anti-Jewish violence in Odessa see Robert Weinberg. "The Pogrom of 1905" in *Odessa: a Case Study. Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, edited by John Doyle Klier, Shlomo Lambroza (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 248-289.

growth, and was not immune to the state-sponsored antisemitism of late 1940s and further on. Integrity of significant part of the housing left after the war and seaside location were the reasons why some areas of the city were announced as sanctuary since Soviet times, which they remain to be until today. In spite of an emigration waves of late 1970s and 1990s, the Jewish communal life in Odessa was visible and vibrant after Ukraine gained independence. About 30,000 Jews are believed to live in the city today. In terms of orientation towards the Ukrainian nationalism as the leading narrative of local history Odessa represents a striking contrast to L'viv. In comparison with the latter, Odessa is rather known for indifference of the Ukrainian nationalism and for preference for Russian as the language of everyday communication (Russian is also the main language the Jewish organizations at the post-Soviet space operate at).

Main challenges in heritage management in today's Odessa relate to the high centralization of power in the country and tensions between central and local influence, as well as the lacuna between the law and its implementation into practice. As for the Jewish-related architectural landscape, its recent social history has been characterized by the involvement of cultural and archival professionals as well as authorities and the general public in fierce debates about the destiny of the former Brody synagogue located in the city center. The Brody synagogue, built in 1863, was turned into an archive during WWII and continued hosting the *Odessa Region State Archives* until early 2016. This building was the subject of a long-lasting debate on the possible return of its function and transfer of ownership from public to private, but the critical condition of the building remains to be a major challenge for potential claimants. Recent developments related to the change of power in the country, as well as on the regional level in 2014 and 2015 brought around the emergence of several cultural initiatives targeted at the reconfiguration of the city's public space. Within the framework of one of them the former Brody synagogue is seen as the future core tourist attraction as it may potentially host the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum*. The building was transferred to the Chabad Jewish religious community of the city in early 2016 and by now its further purpose and use remains under question. Details of this case are given in the chapter 3. The other three former synagogues (two of them are currently in use for religious purposes) are occupied by Jewish religious or cultural organizations. Buildings were returned to Jewish ownership in the 1990s, which played an important role for the dynamics of the revival of Jewish life in the city, but hardly raised public access to the sites.

Reconstruction of major religious facilities took place in Odessa after

1991 as well as in other cities in the region. The *Transfiguration Cathedral* that used to be the main church of Novorossiya since 1808 was demolished by the Soviet authorities in 1936 and rebuilt starting from 1999 with further re-consecration in 2003 belonging to the *Moscow Patriarchate.*

The interpretation of Odessa's past causes tensions as well as in the other cities under study. Conflict around monument to Catherine II (or the Great) and the city's founders serves as an illustrative example here. The monument was raised in 1900 at Yekaterininskaya square, but removed already in 1920 by the Soviet authorities and the square received the name of Karl Marx. However, the original monument's pedestal remained and was used for a temporary statue of Marx, which then was replaced by a statue honoring the 1905 mutiny aboard the battleship Potemkin. In 2007 the restoration of the original monument was ordered by the City Council and the monument was opened the same year.[137] The decision was publicly opposed and caused protests organized by the Ukrainian nationalist group *Ternopol Cossacks* who interpreted the Russian ruler as an oppressor hostile to the Ukrainian people. Before the official opening of the monument protesters, with the disapproval of the mayor, removed a fence at the monument's provisional site and erected an Orthodox cross that was further removed by the authorities.

A splash of violence in clashes over Odessa took place in the aftermath of Euromaidan on May 2nd 2014 when the clashes between Euromaidan and anti-Maidan demonstrators and a fire in the *Trade Unions House* in the center of the city resulted in forty-six people dead. This act of violence became one of the most tragic cases in post-1991 city's history. It also indicated that no single interpretation of Odessa's symbolic belonging is possible in the era of grass-roots political mobilization.

As for marketing the city on international level, apart from seven sites included in *UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites* from Ukraine (the sites were included in between 1998 to 2013 and still counted as seven, although the site of *Ancient City of Tauric Chersonese and its Chora* is currently beyond Ukrainian rule) Odessa is among 16 properties submitted to the *Tentative List.* The sites were inaugurated in the *Tentative List* between 1989 and 2015, with Odessa introduced in 2009. It is important that Odessa has been nominated for the authenticity and integrity of its housing (although constantly threatened by the development of current construction) and for its historical multiethnic

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[137] King, *Odessa,* 279.

composition reflected in the architecture and urban toponymics. As it is stated in the application,

> "Odessa is the only city in Ukraine that has entirely preserved the urban structure of a multinational southern port town typical for the late eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. [...] Odessa shows a unique example of a city, which due to its status of *Porto Franco* became a center of gravitation for [a] multiethnic population [which] buil[t] a settlement representing both [a] conglomerate of different cultural traditions and a harmonic architectural polyphony."[138]

2.1.3 L'viv

Out of all 4 cities under discussion it is the city of L'viv that triggered the most impressive historiography devoted to its development, architecture, convolutions of political history, outbreaks of violence, dynamics of changes in demographic composition, and recent use of nostalgia for the golden age of peaceful multicultural coexistence.[139] The city's history that dates back to the 13th century within the Galicial-Volhynian principality positions the city within the medieval heritage and imagery and contrasts with the highly modern account of Odessa's development.

The diversity of inhabitants in terms of religion and ethnicity was the characteristic of what now bears the name of L'viv from its very establishment, including the Jews. Since the 14th century the Jews were represented by two communities that were concentrated within the city (what will further be referred to as 'the Jewish quarter') and outside the city walls in the Krakow suburb. Since 1340 the Polish (and Catholic) presence and eventual dominance became the locality's reality. The Cossack uprisings of the 17th century and counterreformation were harmful for both Jewish communities and influenced further relation of forces within the city. The impressive architecture that by today became the canon for imagery of the city was mainly built in the period since 1772, after the region became part of the Austrian Empire. The further emancipation of Jews that would be characteristic for the city in the 19th and the

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[138] "Historic Center of the Port City of Odessa", UNESCO World Heritage Site Tentative List, last modified January 6, 2009, accessed May 14, 2015 http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5412/.

[139] For the comprehensive collection of articles on the history of the city see the volume John Czaplicka, ed., Lviv*: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture* (Harvard University Press, 2004) and the historiography on the city mentioned in chapters 1, 3, 5 and 6.

first half of the 20th century, was initiated by the granting them the religious equality in the end of the 18th century through the second half of the 19th century. By 1900 the number of Jews living in the city reached 44,258,[140] which included permanent residents, as well as those incoming in search for social mobility provisionally granted through education and further engagement in liberal professions (which became possible after legal emancipation of 1867).

WWI, occupation of the city by the Russian army, the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918 brought escalation of violence and anti-Jewish pogroms. However, this violence never repeated within the interwar period when the city became part of independent Polish Republic (1919-1939) and further on "Lwów was transformed into one of the most important Jewish centers in the country".[141] This period of multiethnic and multicultural coexistence (although not free from tensions on multiple levels), understood in modern terms, is currently being referred to in terms of nostalgia for heyday of cultural diversity and interrelation within one city. It was also the period of crystallization of national cultures understood as necessity to preserve the material cultural values. This was also true for the Jews of Lwów and in 1925 the Committee for Preservation of Jewish Artistic Heritage was created, which, in its turn, significantly contributed to the establishment of the canon of archiectural Jewish heritage of the city and successful functioning of the Jewish museum (see chapter 1 and 6).

WWII terminated this peaceful coexistence with consequent conquest and reconquest of the city by the Soviet and Nazi rule and armies, with devastation brought by the war, with the pogroms of 1941 (the identity of perpetrators remains one of the most heated subjects of debates in historiography till now) and intentional elimination of the Jewish population of the city (see chapter 5 for details). These devastating policies and actions took up to 98% of Jewish citizens of the city, while the forcible post-war transfer of population between the USSR and Poland (after the city was captured by the Red Army in 1944) made the Polish community vanish from the city. This partially resulted in the present-day demographic composition of the city's population, which is characterized by the predominance of ethnic Ukrainians. In spite of complex and multiple attempts to Sovietize the city between 1946 (the year when the city became part of the Soviet Union) and 1991, including

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[140] Rachel Manekin, "L'viv," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe 2010, last modified August 27, 2010, accessed June 7, 2014, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Lviv.

[141] Ibidem.

the industrialization, the development of infrastructure and city planning, as well as the introduction of Soviet institutions in all spheres of management and education, it was the movement for Ukrainian national aspirations that since late 1980s dominated the city's political and cultural milieu. The city is known as a stronghold of the Ukrainian nationalism, which defined the changes brought to the public space of the city after 1991.

As for the Jewish built heritage, the city lost its *Turei Zakhav* (built in 1580), the *Temple* (built in 1844-45) and many other synagogues, due to deliberate demolition by the Nazis in the 1940s. Today only two buildings of former synagogues survived, one of them is a functioning one and another, in a state close to critical, hosts the cultural society. The ruins of *Turei Zakhav*, also known as the *Golden Rose* synagogue have recently become the most frequently mentioned in connection to the survival of Jewish heritage in the city, as well as its reconfiguration on symbolic level. The project called the *Synagogue Square* was initiated by the city council together with the *Center for Urban History of East Central Europe* and other partners in 2010s and is currently moving towards completion. Conservation of the former synagogue's ruins constitutes a part of the project, together with the re-design of the adjoining territory. At the same time there exists an alternative vision on the fate of the *Golden Rose* ruins and the need to rebuild the synagogue, as well as to reconstruct an old Jewish quarter, promoted by representative of the local Jewish religious community (see chapter 3 for details).

After WWII on the place of the former old Jewish cemetery adjacent to the former Jewish hospital a market was organized and still occupies the place today. For the purpose of its proper preservation and commemoration of the place's original function, the Krakovski market needs to be relocated, which creates an insurmountable challenge because of the function of the market for neighboring residential apartment houses. The visibility of absence of Jewish immovable heritage in the city where about 5,000 Jews live today is reached by several 'spaces of void' – an empty place at the space where the synagogues stood with an informational memorial plaque (see chapters 3 and 5).

The concept of multicultural heritage in L'viv and the city as the place historically characterized by welcoming milieu for multiculturalism have been interpreted and used as a commodity by both private business and the city council (L'viv as the *Cultural Capital of Ukraine*, as the *City of Festivals*, etc.)

starting from 2000s.[142] This, however, contrasts with the image of the city as a center of national rebirth,[143] for the consolidation of which local intellectuals played an important role and which is clearly noticeable in the toponymics of the city and presence of monuments (that appeared right after the country gained independence) praising Ukrainian national narrative[144]. As Tatiana Zhurzhenko formulates it:

> "L'viv positions itself as a bridge to the West and as the most European city in the country. However, the European image of the city and the rhetoric of multiculturalism coexist with […] rather monocultural memory politics. [...] While profiting from nostalgic tourism, L'viv keeps a defensive stance as far as the dominant narrative of the city's history is concerned."[145]

The *UNESCO* plays an important role for use of multicultural past as an asset for the city's present and future. *The Ensemble of the Historic Centre of L'viv* was the first site included in the *UNESCO World Heritage List* for

> "an outstanding example of the fusion of the architectural and artistic traditions of eastern Europe with those of Italy and Germany"[146] which contributes to recognition of its architectural landscape as [a] core value and defines the city's identity for [the] international [tourist] market. The second criterion that justifies L'viv's historic city center as a *UNESCO* site is related to its former multiculturalism: "the political and commercial role of L'viv attracted to it a

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[142] Narvselius, "Spicing up Memories". For exact measures and cultural policies taken by the L'viv Regional Council by 2007 to forward the status of L'viv as the cultural hub of the country see DALO, f. R-3257 "L'vivska oblasna Rada". The policies, however, mostly tartgeted the promotion of Ukrainian high-brow culture and dissemination of the Ukrainian-centered version of national history, while reducing policies towards Russian, Polish, Jewish, Armenian and other cultural institutions as the institutions of minorities. This meant that the support for such institutions was limited by financial share given for the organizations of the sporadic events of Russian, Polish, Jewish, Armenian and other cultures. This demonstrates the subordinate relations between the Ukrainian culture and those of minorities promoted by the state related instututions.

[143] See Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield' and Risch, "The Ukrainian West".

[144] See Viktoria Sereda, "Politics of Memory and Urban Landscape: the Case of L'viv after World War II," *Time, Memory, and Cultural Change.* Proceedings of the 25th IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences 25, ed. S. Dempsey and D. Nichols (Vienna, 2009); Narvselius and Bernsand, "Lviv and Chernivtsi".

[145] Zhurzhenko, "The Border as Pain," 262.

[146] "L'viv – the Ensemble of the Historic Centre", last modified December 2, 1998, accessed May 16, 2015, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/865.

number of ethnic groups with different cultural and religious traditions, who established separate yet interdependent communities within the city [...]".[147]

However, as the 2 examples discussed below show, the appropriation of cultural heritage of vanished ethnic communities and reconciliation towards the difficult past is a complex and long-lasting process that is far from completion. The first case relates to the monument known as the *Citadel,[148]* or more precisely, its fort No.2 (*Great Maximilian Tower no.2*) which was constructed within the Habsburg Empire in 1850-1856 for defense purposes. During WWII, starting from July 1941 the *Citadel* held a concentration camp *Stalag-328* for POWs and became a place through which over 280 thousand people moved and over 148 thousand people died there,[149] including French and Italian troops, but the Red Army troops outnumbered the rest. Most frequently the deaths were caused by starvation and it is currently possible to indicate the places of destruction and burial of the camp's prisoners on its territory.[150]

In 2003 the City Executive Committee transferred the tower to 'Halytska Tsytadel' Ltd. and in 2009 the *Citadel Inn Boutique-Hotel & Resort* opened in the building. Historian Andriy Portnov explains the very possibility of such a transfer by several factors that are lack of attention paid to this memorial site during the Soviet period; indifference of the local authorities; weakness of protests against transforming the former camp into a source of profit and place of leisure in the late 2000s and finally L'viv's demand for new modern hotels in anticipation of the 2012 *UEFA European Football Championship.[151]* As one might expect, at the hotel's website there is not a single word about the camp, the information is reduced to the end of Habsburg rule, emphasizing the citadel as an example of the "charm and might of Habsburg military architecture", which

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[147] Ibidem.

[148] See "Vul. Hrabovskoho, 11 – former Great Maximillian Tower No. 2", L'viv Interactive, accessed June 1, 2016 http://www.L'vivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/?ci_objectid=39.

[149] B. Chetverikov, L. Babiy. "Metodyka stvorennya istorychnoho sytuatsiynoho planu kontsentratsiynoho taboru "Stalag-328" (Tsytadel') u L'vovi na osnovi arkhivnykh aeroznimkiv" [Methods of creation of historical situation plan concentration camp "Stalag-328" (Citadel) in L'viv (Ukraine) on the base archival aerial image], *Suchasni dosyahnennya heodezychnoyi nauky ta vyrobnytstva* 2, no. 28 (2014), 71.

[150] Chetverikov, Babiy, "Metodyka stvorennya," 72.

[151] "Historian Andriy Portnov on Sites of Forgetting in Lviv", last modified March 21, 2011, accessed March 12, 2015, http://cambridgeculturalmemory.blogspot.ru/2011/03/historian-andriy-portnov-on-sites-of.html.

"offers you a chance to feel the spirit of the epoch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire - times of luxury, grandeur, and fascinating gracefulness."[152] It is questionable if due to the existence of this hotel and what international attention it attracted, or due to the general concern of Habsburg legacy in terms of nostalgia and its re-interpretation as heritage, as well as raising interest for military heritage in general, but in 2012 the *Ensemble of the Citadel Buildings* was included in the list of architectural landmarks of national significance.

Another case worthy to be discussed in relation to the selectivity of heritage management in present-day Western Ukraine is the case of inclusion in 2013 of sixteen *Wooden Tserkvas of the Carpathian Region in Poland and Ukraine* into the *UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites* as transnational property. The churches were built within the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries by Orthodox and Greek Catholic religious communities and are coined as "outstanding examples of the once widespread Orthodox ecclesiastical timber-building tradition in the Slavic countries that survives to this day."[153]

The case is important for framing the gaining of UNESCO status within the rhetoric of a shared Polish-Ukrainian common past, cooperation, and reconciliation. However, this narrative overshadows historical episodes of a difficult nature, such as the responsibility of Ukrainian nationalist army for massacres of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia in 1943-1944. The information booklet about the entry in the UNESCO list emphasizes "cultural interaction [between Ukrainians and Poles – A.F.] lasting for 1000 years."[154] At the same time, the very practice of protection of these churches dates back to the Soviet practice. In Ukraine all nominated properties are included in the *State Register of Immovable Historical Monuments* under the *Law on Protection of Cultural Heritage*. Apart from the *Nyzhniy Verbizh Tserkva of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary* taken under protection in 1991, the other six churches were included in the *Register of Protected Monuments* in 1963 in accordance with the *Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine* No.970 with the further enlargement of the protection zone for some *tserkvas* between the late 1970s and

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[152] "Exclusive mini-hotel in Lviv – Citadel Inn Hotel & Resort", accessed May 16, 2015, http://citadel-inn.com/hotel/about-hotel/ and http://citadel-inn.com/hotel/history/.

[153] "Wooden Tserkvas of the Carpathian Region in Poland and Ukraine", UNESCO World Heritage List, accessed May 12, 2015, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1424/.

[154] *Wooden Tserkvas of the Carpathian Region in Poland and Ukraine. Cultural Property of the Republic of Poland and Ukraine for Inclusion in the World Heritage List* (Warsaw and Kiev, 2011), appendix 1, 8.

1980s[155]. Subjected to the *State Programme of the Protection and Maintenance (Use) of Wooden Ecclesiastical Architectural Monuments for the years 2006–2011*, which aimed to implement preventative measures designed to preserve objects of ecclesiastical wooden architecture, the *tserkvas* are managed with the help of funds coming from the local budget and *Programmes of Border Cooperation of the European Union*. Another important aspect is that seven *tserkvas* from the L'viv, Ivano-Frankivs'k, and Transcarpathia regions are located practically in or in close proximity to former *shtetlah*.

However, with rare example of recent monuments in Rava-Rus'ka installed with the help of international (mostly German) funding, there is no indication of remaining Jewish sites. In fact old Jewish cemeteries are left close to the *Yasynia Tserkva of Our Lord's Ascension* and the *Zhovkva Tserkva of the Holy Trinity*. The building of a former synagogue is also located in Zhovkva, as well as in Drohobych, the place of the *Tserkva of Saint George*. The *Uzhok Tserkva of the Synaxis of the Archangel Michael* is located in the area from where the majority of Jewish locals were sent to Auschwitz and murdered there.[156] The *Rohatyn Tserkva of the Descent of the Holy Spirit* is located in a former shtetl. Near the *Potelych Tserkva of the Descent of the Holy Spirit* a site with the cemetery of the reburied Germans killed in Ukraine in WWII (Nazi soldiers) is located, while there are no Jews left in Potelych. In a nine-minute drive from Potelych there was located an old Jewish cemetery of Rava-Rus'ka, destroyed by Soviet authorities in 1952 (only one wall still stands). A Jewish cemetery established in the nineteenth century in Matkiv, where the *Tserkva of the Synaxis of the Blessed Virgin Mary* is located, was vandalized during WWII and currently is not maintained properly. Taking into account such close coexistence of Christian and Jewish sites, a more integrative approach to heritage and its promotion would be more beneficial for promotion of the idea of a shared common past.

Similar to the intensity of Romanian influence to Moldova as to its former territory in terms of claims for the 'right' to interpret remaining cultural heritage, be it in proper shape or destroyed, Poland is an influential actor for Ukraine in general and for L'viv in particular. On the one hand, Poland performs as Ukraine's partner and supporter of the county's European aspirations, which is done by multiple cooperation projects, such as the 2012 *UEFA European Football Championship* or those emphasizing common heritage,

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[155] *Wooden Tserkvas*, 264-265.

[156] Father Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

such as the common Polish-Ukrainian entry to *UNESCO World Heritage List* in 2013. On the other hand, heritage-related projects called for emphasizing the history and memory of Polish Lwow, such as the restoration and opening of the *Eaglets Memorial* at Lychakiv cemetery in 2005, potentially meet opposition from the Ukrainian side. As illustration of this principle, a *Cemetery for the Warriors of the Ukrainian Galician Army* has been built anew in close proximity to the *Eaglets Memorial* for reburials of Ukrainian fighters for independence from 1918 to 1950, including UPA soldiers.[157]

2.1.4 Minsk

On the one hand, in terms of facing the Soviet experience the history of Minsk is similar to the one of Odesssa. The Soviet rule was established in the city in 1919, substituting the long-lasting rule of the Russian empire (since 1793 as the result of the 2nd partition of Poland). The amount of Jewish population in the city by the early 20th century was "from 45,000 in 1914 to 67,000 in 1917".[158] In the following years the city became the hub for Yiddish-oriented Jewish culture of the Soviet style and origin, which meant intentional abolition of majority of forms of Jewish traditional and religious life substituting them with the Soviet ones.[159] On the other hand, the experience in terms of devastation brought by WWII and elimination of Jewish population is similar to the one of L'viv. By the time the Red army liberated Minsk in 1944 "13 Jews had survived the ghetto and about 5,000 Jewish partisans and their families returned from the forests."[160] Out of the 4 cities under discussion in the current thesis, in terms of destruction of the infrastructure it was Minsk that suffered the most because of WWII. This was then used by the Soviet architects and city planners to create the Stalinist city practically anew. The city center had to be significantly rebuilt after the war. This reconstruction significantly contributed to erasure of the city's remaining historical parts, including traces of Jewish presence. Today about 10,000 Jews lives in Minsk. The trend of rebuilding anew some parts of

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[157] See Zhurzhenko, "The Border as Pain," 242-268.

[158] Elissa Bemporad, "Minsk," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified September 2, 2010, accessed June 25, 2015, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Minsk.

[159] See Elissa Bemporad, *Becoming Soviet Jews: The Bolshevik Experiment in Minsk* (Indiana University Press, 2013).

[160] Bemporad, "Minsk".

Minsk historical quarters started from 1980s and continued until today, affecting the Jewish immovable heritage. The 2010s were marked by introduction of several grand construction projects that intend to inscribe the city's public space within the present-day political regime.[161] Several buildings in the newly rebuilt 'historical' parts either have formerly served as synagogues or repeat the plan of synagogues with no indication of relation to Jewish communal life, though.

Belarus hosts one natural (Białowieża Forest, included in 1979) and three cultural *UNESCO World Heritage Sites*. Apart from point of the *Struve Geodetic Arc* (included in 2005), the other two sites are former medieval castles that are currently the main tourist attractions in the country: the *Architectural, Residential, and Cultural Complex of the Radziwill Family at Nesvizh* (included in 2005) and *Mir Castle Complex* (included in 2000) discussed in the introduction.

In 2014 Minsk hosted the *2014 Ice hockey World Championship*. This event was broadly advertised within the country and apart from international prestige was supposed to bring an unprecedented number of foreign tourists to the capital. Timed for this event, the grand project of reconstruction of the historical city center of Minsk was adopted by local and central authorities. Due to the fact that by the 2000s no authentic historic quarters remained in the city because of the grand destruction of urban structure brought by WWII and further redesign of the whole city, it was decided that parts of the quarters should be built anew. The project was targeted not only at the attraction of foreign tourists, but, in addition to the championship, at emphasizing the aspiration to look European. The neighboring areas of the *Trinity Hill*, an area already partially restored in 1980s, the *Upper Town* and the *Rakovsky Suburb* underwent serious interventions for this purpose (see below). The building of the 16 century *City Hall* was reconstructed as early as 2004.

However, apart from skepticism concerning such an approach to the principle of authenticity, corruption-related scandals accompanied the project since, parallel to it, newly built multi-story constructions were appearing near the 'historic' quarters. For instance, in 2010 in about a hundred meters from the quarters the construction of the 25-storey residential complex *The Trinity* began, appearance of which violated the legislation of cultural heritage protection. However, no significant public protest movement followed.

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[161] See Larissa Titarenkoa* & Anna Shirokanovaa, "The phenomenon of Minsk: the city space and the cultural narrative," *Limes: Borderland Studies* 4, issue 1 (2011): 21-35.

Another reconstruction project in the making is that of bringing back the *Minsk Zamčyšča* historic district adjoining the Rakovsky district where the medieval castle of Minsk once stood. Currently shops, apartment houses, the *Palace of Sports*, and the *Alley of Victors* are situated there. Still, the area is an archaeological monument and protected by the state due to the cultural layer preserved there. In order to avoid criticism in violation of the authenticity principle the designers claim the project *Minsk Castle Site* to be a museumification following the concept of an interactive display of historical heritage in newly built entourage. It is expected that the area will host an archaeological museum, a museum of the history of the city, a shopping arcade and recreated early medieval bridges, walls, and elements of former communication.

2.2 Legal Definition of Heritage and Institutional Framework

The system of heritage protection as it functions today in Moldova, Ukraine, and Belarus is to a major extent a legacy from the Soviet times. In the conditions of institutional intolerance towards any expression of religion in the USSR, some churches (although they were not performing their original function) were still considered to be monuments, but not the buildings of former synagogues (with the rare exception).

As stated by Kateryna Goncharova, in the 1950s and 1960s legal and practical protection by the state was provided only to exceptionally valuable historic monuments, while the rest did not enjoy such attention, which brought around their gradual deterioration. Following the logic of imposition of atheism "in the early 1960s, more than ten thousand religious buildings were closed".[162] Since 1980s one may already meet the development of a concept of 'heritage', although not yet formulated precisely with this term (it will further be developed into *patrimoniu cultural* in Romanian, *kulʹturna spadshchyna* in Ukrainian, and *historyka-kuĺturnaja kaštoŭnasć* in Belarusian). The multi-volume project, the *Code of Monuments of History and Culture of the Peoples of the USSR* took place under supervision of the Republican Academies of Sciences and Ministries of Culture from 1985 to 1990.

A separate set of volumes was published for republics and then

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[162] Kateryna Goncharova, "The Place of the Venice Charter Principles in the Context of National Cultural Revival in Ukraine after 1991," *Change Over Time* 4, no. 2 (2014): 289.

divided into regions.[163] These catalogs featured detailed descriptions of selected items divided under the categories *monuments of archeology*, *monuments of history*, *monuments of architecture* and *monuments of monumental art*. The division into categories followed the logic of political implications. *Monuments of history* were divided into sites of people's industrial activity, sites associated with the state system, with the class struggle and revolutionary movement, or with the development of science, education and art. As to official state protection, the only lists of monuments that had official legislative status were the *all-Union* and *Republican Lists of Monuments under State Protection.* Precisely these Soviet publications together with various legislative acts defined the set of monuments that are still referenced as a core set of national heritage objects worthy of preservation by the state in independent Moldova, Ukraine, and Belarus. First attempts to modify the *Lists of Monuments under State Protection* and *Code of Monuments* were made in the early 1990s and the process is still going on.

Since the 1990s some monuments have been added to the lists and some reinterpreted following two main factors. First, recognition of freedom of religious expression, and, second, treatment of heritage of ethnic minorities as valuable. Minor monuments related to the *Great Patriotic War* were deemphasized. There also was a new regional emphasis on sites from the interwar years in Moldova[164] and Western Ukraine, while this happened much less in Belarus or Eastern Ukraine. Regarding multicultural heritage, such as Polish or Jewish sites, they began to be gradually included both in the *Lists* and in the *Codes*.

Since the 1990s in all three countries under discussion there took place significant changes in heritage-related legislation.[165] Separate laws on the protection of intangible, archaeological, etc. heritage, have been adopted since the 2000s and major legislative acts that recognize the significance of protection of cultural heritage at the national level were updated in order to correspond with international norms and standards and a number of publicly funded

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[163] In Moldova this project started later due to number of practical reasons, and only the 1st volume – on the Northern part of the Republic was published.

[164] See Tamara Nesterov, Preface to *Cultural Heritage in the Republic Moldova: from the Reality to the Necessity*, ed. Sergiu Musteata (Chişinău, 2011).

[165] For the full list of legislation in the field of culture in all 3 countries under study see I. Martynenko, *Mezhdunarodnaya i natsional'nyye pravovyye sistemy okhrany istoriko-kul'turnogo naslediya stran-uchastnikov SNG* [International and National Legal Systems for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage of the CIS Member States] (Moscow, 2012).

institutions have been launched to monitor heritage protection in the area.

The constitutions of all three countries state both civic and state responsibility to protect heritage. For instance, article 59 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Moldova* states "environmental protection, preservation, and protection of historical and cultural monuments are the responsibility of every citizen´; article 54 of the *Constitution of Ukraine* states 'cultural heritage is protected by law. The State ensures the preservation of historical monuments and other objects of cultural value, and takes measures to return to Ukraine the cultural values of the people from abroad" and article 54 of the *Constitution of Belarus* states 'everyone must preserve historical, cultural[,] and spiritual heritage and other national values'.

The legal situation in Ukraine in the sphere of cultural heritage protection is to some extent similar to the one in Moldova as the basic legislation on culture became operational in 1992 (*Fundamentals of the Legislation on Culture of Ukraine*). The abolition of principle of imposed atheism has led to the rebuilding of significant amount of lost monuments all over Ukraine in disregard for previously developed requirements in terms of the quality of restored monuments.[166] Later on, substantial changes were introduced and the adoption of the new *Law on Culture* came into force in 2011 and before that, in 2000, the parliament approved the law *On Protection of Cultural Heritage.* The order of the President *On Measures for Reconstruction of Significant Monuments of History and Culture* appeared in late 1995 and was followed by approval in late 1998 of the *List of Significant Monuments of History and Culture That Require Urgent Reconstruction.*[167] However, the presidential order was canceled in 2001 and the program for restoration in 2007.

In Belarus current legislation in the sphere of heritage protection is based the *Law of BSSR On Protection of Monuments of Culture* from 1969 and the *Law on Protection and Use of Monuments of History and Culture* from 1978. The system of responsible indstitutions has been reorganized in 1991 with the *Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR.* A new law was adopted in 1992 and states that "heritage is the set of distinctive outcomes and witnesses of historical and spiritual development of the people of Belarus, embodied in historical and cultural values". Major state programs and other legislative acts in the area were adopted after 2001.

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[166] Goncharova, "The Place of the Venice Charter," 301.
[167] Goncharova, "The Place of the Venice Charter," 297-298.

2.3 Renewal of Jewish Community Life

As John-Paul Himka and Johanna Mivhlic formulate it,

"political transformation triggered a revival of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and today the remaining, mostly insignificant Jewish communities of the region have a more assertive sense of Jewish identity and are highly engaged in memory projects and commemorations of the Holocaust."[168]

Two main features characterized the Jewish population in the post-Soviet space right after the fall of the Soviet Union. These were its low density and areligiosity. These appeared due to a number of historic, economic, political, and social reasons, and, in spite of organizational efforts and financial support from international Jewish organizations since the late 1980s, these features still characterize Jewish life on post-Soviet space[169]. Official Jewish organizations of a non-religious, but civic and cultural character started appearing in Soviet republics since 1988. Branches of the *Society of Jewish Culture* have been registered in Kiev and Minsk that year and similar organization appeared in Chişinău in 1989. This development has been followed by appearance of more solid organizations and associations thanks to international financial support, mainly from the US and Israel.[170]

Among major concerns of the Jewish organizations and representative bodies in the (post)Soviet space in the late 1980s–1990s has been the establishment of community-related infrastructure as well as encouragement of Jewish education (Jewish educational organizations [kindergartens, schools]; Hebrew and Yiddish courses, infrastructure for religious education, etc.). Such

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[168] John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, Introduction to *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic (University of Nebraska Press: 2013), 15.

[169] See Zvi Gitelman, *Jewish Identities in Postcommunist Russia and Ukraine: An Uncertain Ethnicity* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[170] On transnational and national Jewish institutions see Zvi Gitelman, "Jewish Communal Reconstruction in the Former Soviet Union," in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: XI: Values, Interests, and Identity: Jews and Politics in a Changing World*, ed. Peter Y. Medding (OUP USA/Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995), 136-158; Anita Weiner, *Renewal: Reconnecting Soviet Jewry to the Jewish People; A Decade of American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) Activities in the Former Soviet Union, 1988 -1998* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2003).

initiatives, together with engaging in public commemoration of the Holocaust victims, the spread of a network of Jewish organizations, and open religious practice are counted as indicators of the "Jewish renaissance" in the former USSR. After having got the possibility to 'practice' Jewish culture and tradition openly, multiple grass-roots actors across the (former) Soviet space have started being engaged in activities related to Jewish material (tangible), as well as non-material (intangible) culture. The latter presupposed attempts at reviving Yiddish as a language of communication, as well as academic Jewish studies.

It must be emphasized that even the sporadic development of academic Jewish studies, that included ethnographic expeditions to the former Pale of Settlement, has significantly contributed to the development of a detailed corpus of knowledge about Jewish tangible heritage in the area. Consequently, this has contributed to the discourse of what objects count as tangible Jewish heritage. On the one hand, within academic discourse, as limited as the latter has been in terms of spread and influence, sacred spaces, such as Jewish cemeteries and former synagogues, have received special attention and have unquestionably been treated as Jewish heritage worth if not restoring then at least being concerned about.

Additionally several religious organizations and associations entered the area and in general the activity related to communal life aimed at establishing constantly functioning community centers, Jewish preschool educational facilities, schools, libraries, synagogues of different congregations, etc. It became possible due to recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities by the newly-appearing states and by now a relatively high number of Jewish cultural, charitable and religious organizations function in all three countries under discussion. However, their activity is characterized by ongoing internal tensions and conflicts of different kind, with the authorities preferring not to be involved.[171] Also, still a relatively small amount of post-Soviet Jews keep taking part in organized Jewish community life.[172]

On the other hand, since some former Jewish property has been given to local Jewish communities, which intended to use this property – either as sacred space or office space – within non-academic Jewish discourse this property has been discussed as a target for fundraising in further hopes of re-

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[171] Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny".
[172] Privalko, "Jewish Life in Ukraine," 14; see Klymanska, Savka and Savchynskyi, "Kompleksne doslidzhennya."

establishing local Jewish life. It is important to notice that although the fact of lamentable condition of tangible Jewish heritage has become a thematic subject in the informal Jewish press from the region, this subject has always been discussed in connection to the past (blame for ruination) and never to future. For instance, never has the *aliyah* (immigration of Jews from diaspora to Israel) been discussed in connection to the prospects of further ruination of the tangible Jewish heritage in the prospective absence of strong community caused, among other factors, by the *aliyah*.

The data from the informal Jewish press also allows for tracing the exact tools that newly-established (in late 1980s) Jewish organizations, institutions and communities on (post)-Soviet space were using to publicly verbalize memory of the Holocaust and its victims. Although such tools have been present as conferences, academic and non-academic publications; fundraising for, installation, unveiling, and consecration of monuments – the same tools that are used today for the matter – the message behind these actions has been that memory of the Holocaust is rather an internal traumatic memory that unites the Jews. This was dictated by the agency behind the Holocaust commemoration, which in the late 1980s – early 1990s was represented by multiple public and private Jewish actors and has rarely involved the state as a decisive 'stakeholder'. These public and private Jewish actors have been setting the tone for the aesthetics and content of the Holocaust commemoration fir these years, which may conditionally be defined as 'an internalized framework.'

This state of affairs has been characteristic for the informational environment at the end of the Cold War, when the concerns with the national past, history, and competitive victimization have been at the center of memory politics throughout the region, as well as separation on the matter along the ethnic/national lines. Such national-oriented discourse was also represented on the pages of the non-Jewish informal press in Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus of the time, with rare random attempts to incorporate the Holocaust and its victims into the narrative of national history as 'fellow-victims.'

Out of all 3 countries, Ukraine contains the largest number of Jewish organizations of various kinds, including centralized powerful associations and separate peripheral ones. The level of cooperation and unity between those organizations within the country remain to be low due to multiple reasons. In Moldova the autonomy of Jewish community life is guaranteed by policies towards ethnic minorities since the early 1990s. This life, however, as well as the functioning of multiple local organizations, continues to be dependent on

foreign financial aid and power, although since the 2000s the appearance and influence of local entrepeneurs of Jewish origin and their participation in community life increased significantly. In Belarus, according to Dmitry Sheveliov, a relatively small number of Jewish organizations, weakness of community structures, and their complete dependence on government and foreign aid correlate with the fact that these community structures are not patronized by big private businesses and heavily rely on the authority of their prominent representatives, including (recently deceased) architect Leonid Levin.[173]

In Moldova the opening of the first Jewish organizations in late 1980s coincided with early recognition of various belongings of Jewish families as articles worthy to be collected and exhibited. Such a practice eventually brought around the creation of the *Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova*. In 1989 the *Law on Languages* was adopted, which declared Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication, and Yiddish and Hebrew are languages allowed to be used for educational purposes. Later on legislation was adopted in the field of culture and policies towards ethnic minorities, for instance in 1991–1992 laws and decrees concerning the rights of national minorities, such as "On the Measures concerning the Development of Jewish National Culture and Meeting the Needs of the Jewish Population of Moldova" from 1991.[174] Additionally, April 7th is declared the *Day of National Reconciliation*, which is part of political practice and strategy of government under the *Party of Communists* (2001-2009) that was targeted at the inclusion of ethnic minorities into political life with further instrumentalization of the matter.[175]

The highlights of organized Jewish community life are the Jewish Cultural Center, or *Chişinău United House of the Jews of Moldova* (KEDEM) which

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[173] Dmitry Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny Ukrainy, Moldovy i Belarusi na rubezhe 1990-2000-kh gg." [Jewish Communities in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus at the turn of 1990-2000's], *Perekrestki. The Journal of the East-European Borderland Research* 2 (2009): 21-86.

[174] Decree 161 dated 12.08.1991.In December 1991 the Governmental act on these measures was adopted (Act 682 dated 09.12.1991). On this see Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny".

[175] See Diana Dumitru, "The Use and Abuse of the Holocaust: Historiography and Politics in Moldova," *Holocaust Genocide Studies* 22, no. 1 (2008): 49-73; Diana Dumitru, "V labirinte politizatsii: prepodavaniye Kholokosta v shkolakh Respubliki Moldova" [In the Labyrinte of Politicization: the Teaching of the Holocaust in Schools in the Republic of Moldova]. Holokost i Suchasnist 1, no. 3 (2008): 27-38.

opened in 2005 in a former synagogue (figure I.1) and the *Jewish Library in the name of Itzik Manger* (figure I.2) which has been functioning since 1991. The opening of the *KEDEM* and long-lasting reparation and adjustment of former Lemnaria synagogue's building for use as an office facility is a direct consequence of the restitution policy of the early 1990s. By today only some former Jewish property in Moldova has been restituted and is thus owned by local Jewish communities.

The other option is ownership of property by private enterprises or individuals, but the majority of former Jewish objects that survived WWII are still owned by the state as the result of the nationalization campaign from the 1940s and later. Although the Jewish community gained significant privileges in terms of freedom of religious expression after the 1990s and the synagogue, as well as other related institutions function in the country, an incident concerning the removal and knocking down of *Chanukiah* from the square at the entrance to the *Chişinău Central Park* in December 2009 by a group of Christian Orthodox believers, has been reported internationally. The group, led by archpriest Anatoly Cibric from 'Saint Paraskeva' church, protested against the installation of Chanukiah in a public square that hosts the monument of the Saint Stephen the Great.[176] Later on, Cibric accused the *Chişinău City Hall* and the mayor personally for insulting the feelings of Christians by allowing the menorah to appear in that particular public space, however, claiming that the protest itself had nothing to do with anti-Semitism and the conflict had been of purely religious character.[177]

A survey of the Jewish population in Moldova from 2002 confirms that an ethnic and cultural understanding of being Jewish rather than religious one prevails in the country.[178] Since the 1990s major sources of funding for Jewish community life in Moldova, as well as major international actors in the issues related to former Jewish property (as in many other countries on post-Soviet

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[176] "Scandal între un grup de credincioşi de la Mitropolia Moldovei şi comunitatea evreiască" [Scandal between a group of believers from the Moldovan Metropolita and the Jewish community], Unimedia News Agency, last modified December 13, 2009, accessed November 19, 2014, http://unimedia.info/stiri/-15171.html.

[177] "Protoiereul Anatol Cibric acuză primăria de conflictul apărut în urma demontării menorah în centrul Chişinăului," [Dismantling menorah in downtown Chişinău], Infotag News Agency, last modified December 14, 2009, accessed November 19, 2014, http://www.infotag.md/reportaje/765278/.

[178] Esther Katz; Korazim, Malka and Bruter, Vladimir, *Survey of the Jewish Population in Moldova*, Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute, Jerusalem. 2002.

space) have been the *Jewish Agency for Israel* and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.*

Since the 2000s the local businessmen of Jewish origin started being active in community life as sources of funding and as decision-makers in what concerns property consumption for community needs, as well as the Holocaust memorialization. In 2003 the *Jewish Congress of the Republic of Moldova* was established, directed by entrepreneur Alexander Bilinkis (who was its Director General until 2005 and currently is the President of the Jewish community of Moldova). Since June 2007 a single directorate was created for the *Jewish Congress* and the *Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Moldova,* headed by another influential businessman Alexander Pinchevsky. These organizational changes, according to Sheveliov, strengthened the lobbying potential of the local Jewish community.[179]

Another actor, the activity of which became more noticeable recently is the *American Jewish Committee*, an advocacy organization that in September 2014 signed an association agreement with the *Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova* in presence of the country's Prime Minister, President of the Parliament, and the U.S. Ambassador. For the Moldova's political elite the signing of such agreement indicates further ambitions to strengthen relationships with Europe, the U.S., and Israel after signing the association agreement with the European Union in June of the same year. However, such cooperation has a certain history since the preliminary agreement related to the preservation of Jewish immovable heritage was signed between the governments of the U.S. and Moldova in 2000 followed by a full-fledged the *Agreement on the Protection and Preservation of Certain Cultural Properties between the U.S. and Moldova* signed in 2001. The negotiations have been led by the *U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad,* an agency of the Government of the U.S. that formulates its goals as:

"to identify and report on cemeteries, monuments, and historic buildings in Eastern and Central Europe that are associated with the heritage of U.S. citizens; and to obtain, in cooperation with the Department of State, assurances from the governments of the region that the properties will be protected and preserved."[180]

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[179] Sheveliov. Yevreyskiye obshchiny; Dmitry Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival in Moldova (a Survey of the Jewish Life in Moldova in the 1990s–2000s)," *Journal of Ethnology and Culturology* 15-16 (2014): 58-66.

[180] "About the Commission," http://www.heritageabroad.gov/About.aspx, accessed November 19, 2014.

An analogous document was signed with the government of Ukraine in 1994. As for the academic research of Jewish-related matters in Moldova, as an element of policy targeted to ethnic minorities, the *Judaica Department* has been functioning at the *Moldavian Academy of Sciences* since 1991 and a group of scholars there has been pursuing research on the Chişinău pogroms from 1903 and 1905[181] and the Holocaust-related matters. Currently, the department has been reduced to the *Jewish Ethnology* group at the *Center of Ethnology* at the Academy's *Institute of Cultural Heritage* and its research focus has been shifted to cultural and ethnologic concerns.[182]

Another form of expression of non-religiously-bounded Jewish activity in Moldova, as well as throughout the former Soviet Union, has been the hosting (since 2012) of the biannual *Limmud Conferences* in Chişinău aimed at bringing Jewish learning (in a broad sense) to young Jews across the area. The model of such conferences, first developed in Britain as a major event by a British-Jewish educational charity *Limmud*, has spread internationally and since recently has been considered as the main get-together for post-Soviet Jews in their 20s and 30s. The event in 2012 gathered around 400 participants from Moldova and the southern region of Ukraine, which is considered to be a significant number. However, in comparison with the 'traditional' model of Limmud conferences that are supposed to be grassroots, volunteer-based conventions, the events in Moldova were coordinated and co-sponsored by the local Jewish community together with the *Limmud FSU*, an organization that coordinated the actions of volunteers and has been arranging similar conferences throughout the former Soviet Union.

According to a report by the London-based *Institute for Jewish Policy Research*, by 2010 in Ukraine up to 288 Jewish national organizations, about 100 charitable organizations and foundations have been functioning and 297 Jewish religious congregations have been registered.[183] The same report formulates the

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[181] See Shlomo Lambroza, "The Pogroms of 1903-1906," in *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, ed. John Doyle Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (Cambridge University Press, 1993): 195-247.

[182] See Victor Damian, "20 let gruppe "Etnologiya yevreyev" tsentra etnologii Instituta kul'turnogo naslediya ANM" [20 years of the "Jewish Ethnology" Research Group at the Center of Ethnology at the Institute of Cultural Patrimony of the ASM], *Journal of Ethnology and Culturology* 15 (2014): 106-112.

[183] See Darina Privalko, "Jewish Life in Ukraine: Achievements, Challenges and Priorities from the Collapse of Communism to 2013," Jewish Policy Research Report (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2014).

main achievements of the Ukrainian Jewish community since the early 1990s as "the creation of a communal infrastructure (consisting of the religious institutional framework and a range of welfare and cultural institutions); the recognition of the Jewish community of Ukraine by the state; the creation of a broad Jewish educational infrastructure; the establishment of links with international Jewish organizations and the emergence of multiple Jewish religious alternatives."[184] The decree "On measures of returning religious property to religious organizations" was signed by the President of Ukraine in 1992 and presupposed the restitution of religious buildings to religious communities. However, out of more than 2,500 objects of former Jewish property that have been identified by the *Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities* (Va'ad, an organization that functions since 1991), only about fifty have been actually returned.[185] Several other influential associations of Jewish communities and organizations function in the country, both those established in early 1990s and those that were either established or gained power in 2000s patronized by Ukrainian oligarchs of Jewish origin, such as Igor Kolomoyski or Victor Pinchuk.

Odessa Jewish community life managed to exist relatively independently from the above-mentioned national unions due to the activity of a number of culturally-oriented and religious organizations that acquired facilities in early 1990s (see below), as well as due to sufficient financial and overall support by local businessmen of Jewish origin.[186] As an indicator of the stable presence of Jewish communal and public life in the city, a grand *Jewish Cultural Center 'Beit Grand'* (see figure I. 14) appeared in 2009 in ten-minute walk from the city's main promenade at Derybasivs'ka Street.

The main feature of L'viv's present-day Jewish population is its lack of continuity with the pre-WWII one since those of very few Jews who survived the Holocaust left the city between 1945 and 1947 and those Jews that have been living in Soviet L'viv came to the city from different parts of the Soviet Union[187]. The one and only synagogue functioning in the city after the war has been closed by 1962 and the re-appearance of Jewish communal life since late 1980s has been built on the inner task to memorialize the Holocaust as a common Jewish trauma, since those responsible for the erection of the monument to the

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[184] Privalko, "Jewish Life in Ukraine," 17.
[185] Privalko, "Jewish Life in Ukraine," 31.
[186] Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny," 28.
[187] Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield'," 13; Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 261-281.

victims of L'viv ghetto in 1992 were not related to the victims by family ties. Today several Jewish organizations, societies, and a charity foundation (see below) function in the city, and religious services are held in the synagogue, as well as services are held by the organization *Turei Zakhav*.

Out of all three countries discussed here the Jewish community of Belarus with its headquarter in Minsk is the least active and visible within the political landscape of the country. Local actors are still relying on financial and overall support from the *AJJDC* and local entrepreneurs remain reluctant to represent the Jewish community and to defend its interests. The community leaders see their main task in the commemoration of the memory of Holocaust victims, which gained significant recognition by the authorities by 2014 (see below). However, there still remain a significant amount of unmarked killing sites and graves, and the *Republic Foundation 'the Holocaust'* in collaboration with the *Jewish History and Culture Museum of Belarus* have been responsible for archival work in the matter.[188] There are three community associations functioning in Minsk, as well as three religious associations and all of them providing religious services (see detail below).

To conclude, before 2000s the leading factor in the development of Jewish communal life in all three countries under discussion has been presence, financial support and guidance provided by various international Jewish organizations. Since then substantial influence and sponsorship by successful and wealthy businessmen of Jewish origin coming from the countries under discussion complement the picture. Such local actors tend to participate in community leadership, but at the same time to invest in status-related secular initiatives and practices aimed at consolidating their own (and the community's) status within the local milieu, as well acquiring financial profit. Such practices may include the opening of museums or new facilities, some parts of which may be potentially be let out on hire. The situation is true for all of the post-Soviet space with certain exception for Belarus, and exemplifies logic to some extent different from the one behind the sponsorship of the revival of Jewish community life before the 2000s.

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[188] See Sheveliov, "Yevreyskaya obshchina"; Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny".

2.4 Concluding Remarks

The historical background of each city to an extent set the framework for present-day presentation and promotion of the Jewish-related architectural, burial, and memorial landscape. As the concise comparison showed, Jewish experience in these cities since modern times until the late 1930s was diametrically different due to rather different political and state frameworks. As the practice shows, the framework of 'Jewish' remains an embracing definition for present-day heritage interpretation. Within this interpretation the boundaries set up by the differences decribed above, blur. Thus 'Jewish' refers to ethnic and religious belonging, while detailed accounts of local Jewish experience and its uniqueness continue to be subjects of academic research and specialized (museum) exhibitions.

All three countries under discussion share the tendency of adjusting legislative norms in heritage protection area gained from the Soviet legacy in the early 1990s towards European and global norms in 2000s. However, in some cases it was the pressure from NGOs and rising concern from the public related to ruination and destruction of built heritage in all four cities under discussion, as well the threat of the commercialization of public space that brought close attention to heritage issues and to some extent pushed the above-mentioned reforms to come.

The rise of 'heritage discourse,' clearly noticeable in local academia, media, and national legislation on heritage protection, reflects an advance in understanding of the term and influences the logic behind decision-making in the field. Still, a number of recent incidents related to heritage and its inappropriate management in the search for commercial benefit reflects the existence of lobbying in those countries and indicates significant distance between the thinking about proper heritage preservation and actual practice.

In the 1990s multiple Jewish organizations in post-Communist Eastern Europe, as well as Jewish communities, were concerned both about the need to preserve neglected Jewish heritage sites and the need to be provided with the office facilities for further work. Absolute majority of buildings that by today became part of recognizable Jewish architectural landscape in the cities under study was set up to operation in the 1990s. As this chapter showed, the reconstruction that followed in some cases was subordinated to the need of facilities provision. It was during this time that the basics of post-Soviet academic Jewish studies took shape. Boundaries set for what stands for Jewish

cultural heritage that were established in academic discourse inevitably influence Jewish heritage interpretation practices.

Chapter 3

Jewish Architectural Landscape: Visibility, Condition, (non)Recognition

This chapter surveys the Jewish-related architectural landscape in Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk and reviews the post-1945 social history of this landscape. The emphasis is put on former Jewish property that has survived to this day (safely or in ruins) and still contains distinctive features of its former use. The chapter discusses pre-war and post-war use of these sites, as well their current condition, destination, and use. Sites that have recently been subjected to initiatives of heritage interpretation have been considered of particular importance for this research. These cases are discussed in detail with an emphasis on the agency behind these interpretation projects and on the (non)collaboration between authorities and grass-roots initiators/participants of the projects. Each section of the chapter is concluded by analytic annotations on the present-day situation in each city. Concluding remarks compare 4 cases comparison through a number of criteria.

3.1 Chişinău: Invisible Jewish Landscape

Traces of Jewish presence are dispersed throughout the present-day Chişinău urban fabric, with conditional concentration in the former 'lower city.' The 'lower' part was richly inhabited by an eclectic multi-ethnic population of

various backgrounds (including Jewish) and contained the majority of small synagogues and prayer houses that stood in Chişinău prior to WWII. According to general knowledge that has been repeated multiple times in various academic and non-academic publications, by 1940 the city had 77 synagogues.[189] However, so far the document that would confirm this exact number has not been copied from archival holdings and re-published in an academic paper. It also might have happened that this particular number includes small prayer houses within the city or in neighborhoods.[190] Instead, the references are given to the list of synagogues in the city compiled by Rabbi Yeguda Leib Tsirelson in 1911 that indicated 59 synagogues. According to several historiographical entries, this list was updated between 1934 and 1939 with 65 to 68 entries, and then confirmed by war-time Romanian administration.[191] The majority of these synagogues were lost either during the war or due to the post-war redesign of the city. Usually these buildings are referred to as an entity with no further details given. Still, the titles of the majority of these lost synagogues may be recalled and their location identified using pre-war address books, city plans, photographs and archival files. Using this technique, Bo Larsson refers to 65 pre-war synagogues in both the 'lower' and 'upper' parts of the city.[192]

The 'lower' part of the city also 'hosted' the wartime Chişinău ghetto.[193]

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[189] Rita Kleiman, Irina Shihova, *Kul'turnoye Naslediye Yevreyev Moldovy* [Cultural Heritage of Jews in Moldova] (Kishinev: Elan INC., 2010): 7; Anastasia Moscaliuc, "Jewish Contribution to Architecture in Chişinău ," *The Journal of Ethnology and Culturology* 15 (2014): 34-38.

[190] Yevgeniy Bric, "Etnokonfescional'nyye osobennosti sinagog Kishineva [Ethno confessional features of synagogues from Chişinău], *The Journal of Ethnology and Culturology* 11-12 (2012): 164-168.

[191] Moscaliuc, "Jewish Contribution," 34-38.

[192] Bo Larsson, "What is to be remembered? Glimpses of daily urban environment before World War II with special reference to the vanished population," Contribution to the research project "The memory of vanished population groups in today East and Central European urban environments. Memory treatment and urban planning in Lviv, Černivci, Chişinău and Wrocław," last modified November, 2014, accessed February 24, 2016, https://memoryofvanishedurbanpopulations.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/what-is-to-be-remembered-built-environment-before-ww2-compressed1.pdf,

[193] See Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: a Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands*, contributed by Radu Ioanid and Brewster Chamberlin (University of Alabama Press, 2015).

Due to historical development, the selective heritagization of the 'lower city' area as the one primarily identified with the presence of Russian national poet Alexander Pushkin (in 1820-1823) and his legacy,[194] the post-1940 nationalization of Jewish communal property, and war-time destruction of urban fabric and post-1945 reconstruction of it, only several random buildings remind one about the Jewish component of the area's history.

Present-day material traces of Jewish presence consist of former communal property partially returned to the local Jewish community after 1991, several buildings in private property, as well as some property that remains in possession of the state. All these sites and those that constitute Jewish-related memorial and burial landscape are not embraced as *Jewish space* in managerial terms, since there has been introduced no strategy in promotion of this area as such (as an entity). All sites have different owners and only some have a community-related purpose. In what follows the survived buildings of former synagogues are mainly described.[195]

Out of several buildings given back to the local Jewish community in the 1990s is the building of the former *Lemnariya (*or *Wood)* synagogue. It currently hosts the *JCC Community House KEDEM* (see figure I.1)[196] opened in 2005 after the reconstruction financed by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC)* and from other sources. Originally built in 1835, the construction has been nationalized by the Soviet authorities in 1940 together

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[194] On legacy of Pushkin's presence in the area through heritage lenses see Anastasia Felcher, "Between Muse and Politics: Pushkin Museum-house in Chişinău and the (un)Making of Heritage," last modified February 7, 2016, accessed March 8, 2016, http://www.platzforma.md/between-muse-and-politics-pushkin-museum-house-in-Chişinău-and-the-unmaking-of-heritage/.

[195] Although there are several historical buildings – former private housing known for its Jewish owners. For instance, an urban villa located at Maria Ciobotari street, 26 (first owner – M.V. Bernstein-Kogan), see "Conac urban" [Urban Villa], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului la începutul secolului ai XXI-lea: Repertoriul monumentelor de arhitectură*, ed. Tamara Nesterov, Boris Gangal, Eugenia Râbalco et al. (Chişinău : ARC, 2010): 176; or a house located at Bucureşti street, 63, see "Casa in care a locuit pictorul Moisei Gamburg" [House where the artist Moisei Gamburg has lived], in *Centrul Istoric*, 146.

[196] Located at Alexandru Diordiţă street, 5, see "Clădirea sinagogii" [the Building of the Synagogue], in *Centrul Istoric*, 214. For more detailed information on this and other former synagogues listed in this thesis see the *'Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art'* prepared by the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, accessed June 2, 2015, http://cja.huji.ac.il/browser.php?mode=treefriend&f=location.

with the other cult buildings and the movable precious possessions of the community. After 1945 the building was remodeled from the inside and up until the collapse of the USSR was used as a space for a pilot projects factory. Currently the building hosts several offices, including those by the local Jewish community. It is listed in the inventory of monuments of architecture as one of local value. By the 2010s there took place a conflict related to the principles of common use and sharing of the building by the *JDC* and the local Jewish community. Representatives of the former started renting the inside offices both to different Jewish organizations and to commercial enterprises without coordinating the deals with the latter.[197] The conflict was resolved only by 2014 when both representatives of the *JDC* and the community signed a settlement agreement on the joint use of the building.

The former synagogue at sf. Ilie Street (see figure I.5) is located at a 10-minute walk from the *KEDEM*.[198] Its construction was originally sponsored by grave-diggers and undertakers. The building was also nationalized in 1943, and then until 1954 was used as a warehouse for typographic paper. Since 1963 the construction has been owned by the *Religious Community the Church of Baptist Evangelical Christians 'Jesus the Savior'*, while the land the building stands at remains in state property. The construction is labelled a monument of architecture of national significance. The former Jewish college for girls is located within a 6-minute walk from there,[199] registered as a monument of architecture of local significance. Constructed in 1910-1920 for private investment, currently the building also remains in state property and is used by the *Vocational School no. 2*.

The former Choral synagogue (see figure I.3)[200] is located in the same neighborhood, within a 15-minute walk from the former synagogue at Sf. Ilie Street. Built in 1913 with the help of the local Jewish community's funds, the Choral synagogue eventually became the main and biggest prayer house in the city. Surprisingly, it was not severely damaged during WWII, but, following

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[197] Dmitry Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival in Moldova (a Survey of the Jewish Life in Moldova in the 1990s–2000s)," *Journal of Ethnology and Culturology* 15 (2014): 58-66.

[198] Located at Sf. Ilie street, 41, see "Clădire de cult" [a Cult Building], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului*…, 426.

[199] Located at Alexadru cel Bun street, 111, see "Clădirea fostei şcoli evreieşti profesionale pentru fete" [Building of a former Jewish Professional School for Girls] in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului*…, 83.

[200] Located at Vlaicu Pircalab street, 75.

nationalization in 1945 the construction was given to the *Russian Drama Theatre in the name of Anton Chekhov.* Because of this in 1966 the building was rebuilt and internal layout was changed completely. Currently the building is in state property, is still used by the theater, and is in lease by the *GMC Imobiliare* limited liability company. The lessee-company is dealing with brokerage, buying, selling and renting real estate and other property and has recently become a figurant in several scandals related to unconscionable real estate bargains, including the questionably-reached lease of historic monuments. After the 2009 incident with the removal of the Chanukia from public space in front of the central park (see chapter 2), the Jewish community has been using the space in front of the theater to locate and light a Chanukia.

The former building of *Talmud Torah* (primary school for boys, see figure I.4)[201] is located in front of the former Choral synagogue and is currently adjusted to the theater's building. It also remains in state property, was partially destroyed during WWII and remodeled to host a dormitory. It is currently used as apartment building and is labeled as monument of architecture of local significance.

The complex of the former Jewish hospital, monument of architecture of national significance (see figures I.9)[202] is currently owned by the Chişinău municipality and is used by the public health care facility *Municipal Hospital no. 4.* The hospital got its official status back in 1843 and by the beginning of the 20th century 10 buildings already constituted a complex of hospital blocks. Another public health care facility in municipal property, the *Maternity Hospital no. 2* was built after WWII at the place where formerly the Chişinău ghetto was located.[203] The monument to the victims of the ghetto stands in immediate proximity to the hospital's fence, while the territory of the ghetto remains unmarked.

The former *Hay* synagogue, Beit HaMidrash and yeshiva *School of Sinai* (see figure I.6)[204] constructed in 1886 and nationalized in 1940s, housed the

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[201] Located in Vlaicu Pircalab street, 77, see "Clădirea fostei şcoli 'Talmud-Tora'" [Building of a former 'Talmud Torah' School], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului…*, 394.

[202] Located at Columna street, 150, see "Complexul de clădiri al fostului spital evreiesc' [Complex of Buildings of former Jewish Hospital], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului…*, 207-208.

[203] The hospital is located at Grigore Vieru boulevard, 12; for the exact geographical boundaries of the Chişinău ghetto see Paul A. Shapiro, "The Kishinev Ghetto".

[204] Located at Sciusev street, 5, "Sinagogă" [a Synagogue], in *Centrul Istoric al*

residence of the Gestapo during WWII (which is not marked anyhow) and then, after the war, a *State Employment Office*. Listed as a monument of architecture of local value in the inventory of monuments, the building was restituted in 1991 and for some time hosted a synagogue and the *yeshiva Agudat Yisrael*. Currently it stands empty in semi-dilapidated condition and remains in private property (it is owned by *Rothschild Bracha/Rothschild Zeev,* USA).

The building of the only functioning synagogue in the city (figure I.8),[205] a former synagogue of glaziers and bookbinders *Gleyzers Shul,* is currently in municipal property, but is used by the *Federation of Jewish Communities of Moldova Chabad Liubavici*. Constructed in 1888 and partially destroyed during WWII, the building was restored in 1946-1948 with the help of community funds. This modest synagogue also openly operated under Soviet authorities and is included in the registry as a monument of national significance.

In a five-minute walk from the functioning synagogue is located a bone of contention between the local Jewish community, which so far has been the most influential actor in the issues of Jewish heritage interpretation in Moldova, and state and municipal authorities. This bone of contention is the monument of architecture of local value – the ruin of a former *yeshiva Magen David,* a former synagogue named after Yehuda Leib Tsirelson (the chief rabbi of Bessarabia) and an elderly house (see figure I.7).[206] Since 2010 the reconstruction of the ruin was initiated and financially guaranteed (at least in the preliminary stage) by the local Jewish community, who sets preservation of Jewish cultural heritage among its core goals. What is now a ruin was constructed in the late 19th century in its original version the building represented an eclectic architectural style and consisted of two wings, which hosted a *yeshiva* and a synagogue with an elderly home. After 1945 it hosted a printing house, after 1991 renamed the state enterprise *'Poligraf Servis'*. In 2010 the ruins were purchased from the state by the local Jewish community through an investment competition. In absence of a restitution law in Moldova, the

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Chişinăului…, 430-431.

[205] Located at Habad Liubovici streer, 8 and 10, see "Sinagoga Geamgiilor" [Synagogue of the Glaziers], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului…*, 242. For the view of that synagogue in the late 1970s, as well as other Jewish-related sites in Chişinău and Odessa see collection of photographs by Nodar Djindjikhashvili at YIVO Archives, f. RG 1218.

[206] Located at Rabbi Ţirilson street, 8–10, see 'Clădirea fostei sinagogi cu azil' [Building of a former synagogue with an elderly house], in *Centrul Istoric al Chişinăului…*, 495.

purchase continues to be the path that would theoretically guarantee the success of Jewish heritage interpretation projects. The need for purchasing and remodeling the ruins for the needs of the local Jewish community was claimed by its representatives since the moment of purchase. It has been claimed that the currently functioning synagogue does not accommodate all the prayers, which adversely affects the image of the community and thus indicates that it requires new facilities for everyday needs. The community and private donors (local businessmen of Jewish descent) funded the reconstruction plan, but the total cost of works is estimated up to $3.4 million, which indicates the need for further fundraising. The project presupposes keeping the general view and layout of the building complex in its original form and the renovated complex should house a synagogue, a *yeshiva*, a *mikvah*, a kosher restaurant, a market and provisionally a Holocaust museum. This structure is intended to become a focal point for the community in order to host various events. The project was designed with no involvement of the general public, but was approved by the *Mayor's office* and the *Ministry of Culture of Moldova*.

After the ruin was purchased by the community, the event got significant media coverage, but journalists have been reducing the original function of the ruin (which incorporated a synagogue, a *yeshiva* and an elderly house) to simply 'a synagogue' while reporting about the case. This indicates limited knowledge about Jewish communal organization in Moldova's public discourse, as well as a lack of language instrumentarium for Jewish heritage sites within the local media sphere. While the terms 'synagogue' and 'Jewish cemetery' remain prevalent, the journalists' vocabulary is most often limited by these terms, while more specific definitions, such as '*yeshiva*', are problematic both for those producing and those receiving the media content.

The reconstruction project was also advertised internationally, for instance, at the international seminar *'Managing Jewish Immovable Heritage in Europe: a Working Seminar on Projects, Challenges and Strategic Thinking'* in Krakow in April, 2013, where the reconstruction of the former *yeshiva* project was coined by its promoters as "one of the most important starting points towards a renovated Jewish Chişinău."[207] The reconstruction was supposed to begin in 2012, but was temporarily frozen because of factions within the municipal administration that tried to claim the purchased property back,

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[207] Marina Lecarteva "Tirilson Yeshiva Project – Big Plans to Restore this Huge Ruin as Jewish Cultural Center," presentation at "Focus on Development" seminar session, April 25, 2013, accessed March 12, 2015, https://vimeo.com/66379441.

arguing that by not having finished the restoration of the ruins by the time planned at the moment of purchase, the community did not comply with the conditions of the contract. Having claimed this, in December 2014 the Agency of Public Property PM appealed to the court against the Jewish community for the termination of the contract of sale of the property with its provisional return to state property.

Behind the metal fence surrounding the ruins no sign of restoration works has been visible so far. As in the case with the installation of the monument for the victims of Fascism (see chapter 4), the local Jewish community extensively used media, especially those online, to distribute information and raise social discontent over the fact of intentional non-collaboration on behalf of the official bodies: the Public Property Agency, the Territorial Cadastre Authority, and the mayor's office. In its official statement the community claimed the actions of these state-related bodies as re-confiscation,[208] thus pointing to the behavior of present-day authorities as no better than the Soviet ones' in treating the Jewish community and its (former) property. So far the online posts and press-releases by the Jewish community on the matter remain the most accessible, although one-sided, source for tracing the development of the matter. The decision concerning whether the ruin would remain the community's property took place at the seating of the court of Chişinău Buiucani region on December 30, 2015. The court decided the case in favor of the community, in whose possession the property remained. It is planned to finish all the works within the upcoming five years. However, there may still be appeals of the court decision coming from the Public Property Agency. The adjoining building of former *heder* (an elementary religious Jewish school for boys)[209] remains in common municipal and state property.

The Jewish-related architectural landscape of Chişinău thus may best be characterized by considerable absence – both in terms of discourse and practice.

1) Due to a number of reasons discussed above, out of the remaining

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[208] See for example "Gosudarstvo obmanulo yevreyskuyu obshchinu" [The Government has cheated the Jewish Community], Vedomosti News Portal, last modified December 29, 2015, accessed on December 30, 2015, http://www.vedomosti.md/news/gosudarstvo-obmanulo-evrejskuyu-obshinu.

[209] Located at Rabbi Ţirilson street, 6.

buildings only several may easily be recognized for their former purpose and used as Jewish religious premises. Thus the recognizability and visibility of this landscape within the current urban fabric is rather low. The same low visibility is characteristic for museum holdings of Jewish-related items in state museums. As has been indicated above, since the early 1990s local authorities have been supportive in terms of guaranteeing renewal of Jewish communal life and structures, as well as guaranteeing Jewish presence in the religious scene of the country. However, by 2016 the built Jewish heritage (its ruins, to be precise) has been reformulated on a discourse level into an important entity through which the local Jewish community positions itself (through concern and actions to preserve Jewish heritage, to be precise). The case of the long-lasting affair over the restoration of the former *'Mogen Dovid'* synagogue and elderly home has been a decisive factor in the development of this matter;

2) The specificity of Chişinău remains in absence of easily accessible detailed knowledge about pre-WWII Jewish life and the built environment. As was demonstrated at the beginning of this section, even academic publications on the topic (rare and published in small number of copies) offer limited account on the matter. Most frequently the information is reduced to giving the number of 77 (or 65, or 68) synagogues and some data on the remaining buildings. The sourcebase for such a study also continues to be limited and a number of valuable sources, such as Bessarabian Jewish press (in Yiddish) or pre-war travel accounts and memoirs have not yet been exhausted for the purpose of reconstruction of the lost Chişinău Jewish architectural landscape. Instead, detailed information on the matter is to be found and easily accessed within alternative information channels, such as online platforms/forums devoted to the architecture of old Chişinău , where professional and amateur historians, as well as former residents of the city, interact. This tendency may be demonstrated by an example of mapping Jewish-related architectural heritage in Chişinău. The 'Map of Jewish Kishinev' published by the *KEDEM* center (year of publication not indicated, but provisionally the 2000s) indicated the exact locations of community, religious, educational, and foreign Jewish

organizations, as well as monuments, Jewish historical places and former synagogues buildings. The latter included only buildings discussed in this chapter (former Choral, Hay and Lemnaria synagogues), while the only map of the synagogues lost during WWII and the post-war years was designed by an amateur historian on the basis of two lists of Chişinău synagogues from 1911 and late 1930s (in between 1934 and 1939) presumably compiled by Rabbi Tirilson and, as it has been claimed within the web-forum, available in Chişinău and Jerusalem archives. This map has been shared and is temporarily available on the web portal/forum http://oldchisinau.com/ (topic 'Synagogues of Chişinău ', page 7)[210];

3) Chişinău did not experienced development similar to L'viv's, where since the late 1980s a number of random cultural events (mainly exhibitions) emphasized the borders of the former inner city Jewish quarter within the present-day city. This eventually contributed to the further recognizability of the quarter as an entity and influenced some decisions on how to interpret the area as an attraction, but also as heritage within tourist-oriented enterpreneuralship (see the section on L'viv below). In Chişinău the lack of detailed knowledge about the former Jewish-related architectural landscape and almost total absence of its propagation has contributed to the phenomenon that those parts of the historical area of the city where several dozens of the lost synagogues stood prior to WWII, is not associated with Jews in the public consciousness. However, this concerns not only the Jewish subject. The fact that the limits of the historical nucleus of the city have been recognized only recently and through a grass-roots initiative, is quite telling. Also, in comparison with Odessa, the Jewish component has not become an acknowledged part of general knowledge used for the tourist market. The offer of Jewish-themed guided city tours exists, but it is far less developed and demanded than, for instance, in Odessa or in L'viv;

4) The detailed information about the lost Jewish architectural landscape of the city is quite informative in terms of the pre-war

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[210] "My Chişinău City" online discussion platror, the topic "Synagogues of Chişinău", accessed July 17, 2015, http://oldchisinau .com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=15&t=178.

social, economic and professional composition and division of Jewish Chişinău since a significant number of synagogues had been built and attended by professional guilds. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the location of the lost buildings and marking the sites of their former location may contribute to visualizing both the pre-war structure of the city and the logic of the radical post-war redesign of urban space. Owing to archival information, the exact location of pre-war Chişinău synagogues may be identified with more or less relative accuracy. Thus it is possible to mark these centers with information plates, which would have added destination points for heritage and general tourism in the city and would have been one of the possible solutions for how to represent Chişinău as a pre-war multicultural center. Since due to nationalization of communal property in 1940 number of former Jewish religious premises is still in state property, public access to these premises as to heritage sites may be organized bypassing the challenges that emerge when heritage objects are in private ownership. Political will remains to be a decisive factor in the provisional implementation of such an enterprise.

3.2 Odessa: Choosing between a Synagogue and a Museum

Odessa shared the same destiny as Chişinău in terms of losses in built heritage and integrity. The Jewish-related architectural landscape of Odessa has been gravely transformed since early 20th century due to historical turns that directly influenced the use and ownership of housing and public spaces. In comparison with Chişinău, though, Odessa started losing the integrity of its sacral buildings and their movable objects made out of precious metals much earlier, since 1920, when the Red Army took control of the city, and Odessa was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. Out of more than 70 prayer houses and synagogues functioning in Odessa prior to 1917, only four buildings are widely recognized for their Jewish identity today. Two out of these four buildings currently hold religious services.

In 1991 the *Society for Jewish Culture* got the building of the former kosher butchers' synagogue, which was a rare case of when the building was given to non-religious body. Currently the *International Centre of Jewish*

Community Programs 'Migdal' is located there (see figure I.12)[211], as well as the offices of the *Israeli Cultural Centre* and the *Association of Ghetto Survivors*.

In 1997 the '*Or Sameah' Odessa Orthodox Jewish Religious Community* received the building of the former Great Choral Synagogue (see figure I.11),[212] while the community itself was founded in 1994, the same year that Rabbi Shlomo Baksht came to the city. The building was initially constructed in 1840 and was among the first synagogues closed by the Soviet authorities and then transferred to the *Department of Physical Education* of *Odessa Pedagogical Institute*, which used it as a gym. After 1994 it became obvious that the building required restoration in order to be used for religious purposes since its interior underwent significant changes. Restoration was organized in 1996 to 2008 with the help of funding from the *World Monument Fund's Jewish Heritage Program*, which provided support for replacement of the roof, repair of the drainage system, refurbishing the staircase, and replacement of windows. Odessa was one of four destinations of the Fund's sponsorship in Ukraine. In between 1989 and 2001 the Fund also contributed to excavation or restoration works at Kiev *Choral Synagogue*, L'viv *Tsori Gilod Society Synagogue* and *Zhovkva Synagogue*.

Another functioning synagogue in Odessa is in use of the *Chabad Shomrey Shabos Jewish Religious Community* since 1992 (see figure I.10).[213] It is located within a 10-minute walk from the synagogue described above. Since 1893 *Malbish Arumim*, a prayer house of weavers, was located there, as well as a Jewish charitable society. Both were closed in the 1920s and the building was used as a warehouse. Religious services renewed only after 1992. As well as in Chişinău and in L'viv, Odessa's former Jewish hospital is currently in use as the *Municipal Clinical Hospital No.1*. The Jewish hospital existed since the 1800s, but this building complex was purchased in 1829 and further expanded in 1865.[214]

As for the heritage interpretation initiatives, the most advertised and most frequently referred to episode in Odessa is the situation involving the former Brody synagogue (see figures I.13)[215] and the debates about property rights and potential re-use of it. Started to be built in 1863, it hosted the first reformed synagogue in the Russian Empire and by the end of the 19th century

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[211] Located at at Malaya Arnautskaya street, 46a.
[212] Located at Evreyskaya street, 25.
[213] Located at Osipova street, 21.
[214] Located at the corner of M'yasoidivs'ka and Bohdan Khmelnytsky streets.
[215] Located at Zhukovsky street, 18.

evolved into a cultural center for Jewish intelligentsia.[216] The Brody synagogue, together with many others, was closed in 1920s. The synagogue's property was confiscated; the building was given to *the Club of Communist Jewish Working Youth* and underwent partial reconstruction in 1925.[217] Within several years the building was claimed back by the religious community and debates of who should get the building took place in form of official requests sent by the Club to the city authorities. Representatives of the Club argued for the building to remain with them not only in support of treating religion as the vestiges of the past, but also because of claimed emotional bonds the Communist Jewish youth had managed to establish with the building as their home during the short period when the building was at their disposal.[218] This claimed value of the building had nothing to do with its traditionally recognized architectural value or as the premise for local religious life, or as demonstration of the Jewish community's power and influence. Instead, it was a re-appropriation of the site on the discourse level that accompanied actual re-use of the building.

In 1929 the building was given to the club of shoe factory workers. During the WWII occupation, the Romanian administration started using the building as an archive. In April 1944, when the city was recaptured by the Red Army front the Romanian administration, the *State Archive of Odessa Region* reopened in the building and is still functioning there today.[219] The building underwent major internal restructuring in order to meet the requirements for an archive. In independent Ukraine, the former Brody synagogue gradually became one of the icons of 'the Old Odessa', but actually the building was in an emergency state since 2004 (or 1988 according to different sources). Only routine repairs were carried out in 1986, 1990 and 2004.

Several Jewish organizations, including the Jewish religious community of the city, have been claiming the property right for the building using the argument of restoration of historical justice. However, because of the insertion of concrete detailing and the addition of shelves while adjusting the building to the needs of an archive, the building became much heavier than it was in the 19th century In conditions of sinking soil in proximity to the sea there exists a

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[216] Gruber. "Jewish Heritage Travel", 129.

[217] For decision to transfer the building see DAOO f. 99, op. 2, sp. 63.

[218] DAOO f. 99, op. 2, sp. 63, ark. 222-225.

[219] The archive itself has been established in March 1920 as *the Odessa Historical Archives* (since 1932 called *the Odessa Regional State Archives*). In 1941 major part the archival holdings were evacuated and up to 50% of the funds remained in the city were lost.

risk of the building 'slipping down'. This requires a solid investment for restoration and possible redesign of the building, which is beyond any single organization's financial strength. The inappropriate conditions caused by the building's emergency state continuously influenced both the archive's employees working conditions and those of incoming researchers. The archive storage was almost totally filled and the archive itself was dispersed within three buildings, one of which is situated in the neighboring town Ismail.

One of the discussed options has been the establishment there of a *Common Center for National Cultures* due to the lack of a cultural center that would accommodate large-scale exhibitions and would host the offices of national cultural organizations. The Regional Department of Nationalities and Religions requested the city council to allocate land in order to construct such a center, but after getting refused, the former Brody synagogue was discussed as a possible venue of a provisional center.

After former president of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili was appointed as the head of the Odessa Regional State Administration in May 2015, with the agenda to fight against corruption in local and regional administration, as well to reform it, several new initiatives on the reformation of management of culture in the city have appeared with the hopes of gaining the support of the new governor. For instance, in July 2015 the *CREADODESSA Foundation for Cultural Reforms*[220] publicly presented three projects targeted at the modification of functions of a public building, a private one and a promenade zone that would trigger the reconfiguration of the public image of the city as a destination for art and culture.[221] The first project presupposes conversion of the building of the "Porto-Franco" bank into the multifunctional cultural center inspired by *the National Art and Culture Museum Complex "Mystetskyi Arsenal"* ("the Arsenal of Arts") established in Kyiv in 2006. The second project is focused on launching of *the Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in the building of the former Brody synagogue and in the neighboring buildings. The museum is seen as one of the main attractions of the provisional *Theater and Museum Quarter*. Promoters of the idea of this museum hope to exhibit the collection of ritual silver from the interwar *Ukrainian Museum of Jewish Culture.* Part of this collection is currently stored in

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[220] Its initiative group brings together such local figures as Arnold Kremenchutskiy, Alexei Botvinov, Mikhail Reva, Alexander Roitburd and Boris Khersonskiy.

[221] "CREADODESSA - fond kul'turnykh preobrazovaniy" [CREADODESSA – Foundation for Cultural Transformations], Odessa – Cultural Capital, last modified July 31, 2015, accessed July 31, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4qKkMK0IXIk.

the funds of *the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine* on the territory of *the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra*. On February 19, 2016 deputies of the Odessa Regional Council signed the decision according to which the Jewish religious community *Chabad Shomrey Shabos* officially gained the building of the former Brody synagogue.[222] As stated in the text of the decision, it is based on law "on local government in Ukraine", on the Civil Code of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations" and finally on the Decree of the President of Ukraine № 279/2002 "On urgent measures to overcome the final negative consequences of totalitarian policies of the former USSR concerning religion and restoration of violated rights of churches and religious organizations."

Transferring the building presupposes that financial responsibility for provisional restoration has also been transferred to the religious community. Since it has been stated since the 1990s that the need for substantial financial investment has been one of the most considerable challenges for transfer of the building, it is expected that a long-term fundraising campaign awaits the community. The same reason gave voice to suspicions that decision to transfer was dictated by the deputies' intention to avoid investment rather than restoration of historical justice. Representatives of the religious community have not yet announced the provisional use of the building. In case the initial purpose, the functioning synagogue, will be preferred, the development of the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* project would remain under question.

By the time decision of transferring the former synagogue to *Chabad Shomrey Shabos* religious community was approved, there was no strategy developed for relocation of the archival funds. While the project of moving the archival funds out of the former synagogue, aired in 2005, was supposed to be finished by 2015, it was not realized in time due to various managerial challenges. There have been discussed several alternative spaces for relocation. By 2013 one of the options most often discussed was the former cadets' dining room of the rear department of the Institute of Land Forces at the 6th station of the Big Fountain. For this the building of the former cadets dining room and the adjusting territory should have been transferred by the *Ministry of Defense* (with headquarter in Kyiv) to the balance of the Odessa executive committee. The process took a much longer time than expected. It was also slowed down by

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[222] See text of the decision on the building's transfer, accessed March 9, 2016, http://archive.odessa.gov.ua/files/derjarhiv/news/news2016/listuvannya/160303_oor-rishennya_61-vii.pdf.

negotiations concerning the possibility to sell the building instead of transferring it and the need to reconstruct the former canteen building to adjust it for archival needs. Eventually this option was abandoned. Another option, voiced by representatives of the archive as preferable for relocation by August 2015, was the unused complex of industrial buildings of the 'Chernomorets' publishing agency.

Since the destination of relocation was not discussed at the session of Regional Council when the transfer of former Brody synagogue to the Jewish religious community was voted for, this raised concerns about the resolution of the relocation. Right after February 19, 2016, the Regional Council proposed to relocate the archival funds to an abandoned building in the psychiatric hospital in Aleksandrovka village from Komintern area. Representatives of the archive refused this offer due to the unsatisfactory condition of the building, lack of provisional working, and deposit space and location out of the city. At the official web-site of the archive the situation was entitled 'a resonance one', while the temporary uncertainty caused vibrant discussion in the local media, where the heritage (funds) and responsibility arguments were massively used. The grass-roots actors in the field of culture were mobilized within this discussion. For instance, on February 22 representatives of the "World Club of Odessans" organization have addressed an open letter to the chairman of the Odessa Regional calling for an adequate solution and emphasizing the value of authentic archival sources for local history. Finally, on March 4, 2016 it was announced that the archive would gain new premises attached to its branch building at Pirogov street, 29.[223] The adjustment of the premises is planned to be subsidized by the Regional Council and the works will provisionally take at least a year. It is noteworthy that representatives of the archive have used media extensively to gain public attention for the case, as well as framing the conflict within the rhetoric of historical justice.

As for the provisional *Ukrainian Jewish Museum*, according to Boris Khersonsky, who is an internationally recognized poet from Odessa and one of the initiators of the project, there are several reasons why the idea of Ukrainian Jewish Museum found its way within the *CREADODESSA* initiative:

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[223] "Oblasnyy arkhiv. Dopomohty ne slovom, a dilom," [The Regional Archive. Helping not by word, by by acting], Odessa Regional Council. Official Web Portal, accessed March 9, 2016б http://oblrada.odessa.gov.ua/blog/oblasnyj-arhiv-dopomogty-na-slovom-a-dilom/.

"First of all, in Odessa there once was a Jewish museum. […] Secondly, this idea did not appear out of the blue. In Odessa there are already two Jewish museums […] But these two museums are private initiatives and in fact there is nothing exhibited there that would attract attention. And the main thing is that the form of the presentation there is very primitive."[224]

The detailed outline of the exhibitions of both museums that Khersonsky refers to, as well as agency behind them, is presented in chapter 5. Khersonsky's replica indicated the potential competition for audience and for artifacts, which may take place once the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* is opened, but also reflected on development of Jewish museum scene in Odessa and the difference in strategies of collection acquisition the new museum would practice. While the existing Jewish museum *'Migdal Shorashim'* (see chapter 5) started gaining its collection through acquiring objects of everyday life from local Jewish families, initiators of provisional new museum are willing to overcome 'the principle of intimacy.' The 'heritage argument' and condition of former Brody synagogue play a core role in this matter:

"But there is a third factor - the condition of the former Brody Synagogue. Since during the rebuilding of the synagogue into the archive there were floors installed and ceilings made out of concrete, and the building itself is made out of much less heavy material, this has led to very serious changes inside the building. The archive may not remain there – it will be moved out […] A huge building, which nobody is capable of 'covering' [financially – A.F.] by him/herself is going to be released. And if nobody will take care of it, it will at once fall down. This very desire to save the former Brody synagogue, as well as the desire to open a museum…both coincided in this project."[225]

Finally, the third project is aimed at revitalizing *the Devolanovsky Descent* area, a 500 meter promenade in the city center that is currently in degrading and neglected condition. It is planned to regenerate the neighborhood with the help of leisure commercial enterprises and to make a public 'Soho' area out of it. According to Khersonsky:

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[224] Boris Khersonskiy, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.
[225] Boris Khersonskiy, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.

"These are strategic projects. No one expects that they will be finished in the next six months. This is rather a roadmap - a pointer - where we are heading. The Devolanovsky descent strategically should end up being something like Soho in New York. [This is sort of a guarantee – A.F.] that Brody synagogue will not be torn down, that it will not be remaining in ruins and desolation for centuries, and over time a good modern Jewish Museum – in a broader sense [will be located there – A.F.] […] This idea was in the air for a long time and embodied some variants. We are very concerned about the destruction of the historic architecture of Odessa, and it is clear that the fate of the former Brody synagogue – a pearl of historic architecture of Odessa – makes us very concerned."[226]

The core aim of these initiatives is to reformulate the public spaces of Odessa in order to make it more attractive for international tourists. Because of the high number of tourists traditionally coming to Odessa from Russia and Ukraine, the city has been a major summer destination. However, this flow of tourists has declined drastically since 2014 due to the escalation of tensions on political level after the post-Maidan change of power, the armed conflict in Donbass and Donetsk regions, and the economic crisis in both countries. Thus the projects targeted at the reconfiguration of urban public space are taken into consideration as contribution for restoration of incoming tourism. Having the example of successful cultural initiatives, such as *the Odessa International Film Festival* that takes place early since 2010, the *Odessa Biennale of Contemporary Art* and the city's location at the seaside, Odessa indeed has the potential for development of cultural initiatives. Representatives of *CREADODESSA* were open about the rationale of the project targeted to attract categories of tourists 'non-traditional' for Odessa, to contribute to the raise of prestige of Ukraine on the international level and to show the country under its current local and national government as treasuring and appreciating its ethnic minorities. According to Khersonsky, initiators of *CREADODESSA*

"[…] all have certain achievements, which exclude any bias. […] If we do something, we do it for Odessa, and not for ourselves. […] And precisely this process of destruction and degradation of Odessa, which got uncontrollable, has moved us to oppose it."[227]

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[226] Boris Khersonskiy, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.
[227] Boris Khersonskiy, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.

In addition to the will to make the provisional Ukrainian Jewish Museum a state enterprise, members of *CREADODESSA* are closely cooperating with the local and regional government to pursue the projects, which is inevitable since the area in interest is the state property. According to Khersonsky:

"The project not only received great interest from the governor, it was already approved at the session of the Regional Council. It was affirmed, and this is the latest news. [..] I do not think that our initiative is linked with the appointment of a new governor - a project has been developing over the years - and for this session we went out with a ready project."[228]

The state of affairs concerning the Jewish architectural landscape in Odessa reflects the following:

1) Present day use of the Jewish historical buildings (use by multiple organizations and several religious communities) indicates the diversity of forms of post-1991 institutionalized Jewish life in the city. The latter is much more diverse in comparison with Chişinău, which to an extent contributes to the visibility of Jewish-related sites (due to their number);

2) This diversity of forms of Jewish life in present-day Odessa, however, is neither identical nor comparable to the pre-WWII composition of Jewish institutions and diverse religious groups. This break of continuity is especially visible in the matter of transferring the building of the former Brody Synagogue to the Chabad Jewish religious community in 2016. The latter clearly dominates the Jewish religious horizon in post-Communist Eastern Europe. Although the local representatives of the religious community of Progressive Judaism tried to claim the building relying on the argument of continuity and historical justice, this led to no further development;

3) The variety of plans and broad spectrum of ideas about the provisional use of the building of former Brody synagogue reveals the richness of secular interpretations of the 'Jewish topic' in absence of a strong and highly influential traditional Jewish life. The initiative to locate the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in the building, in its turn, reflected the specificity of representation

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[228] Boris Khersonskiy, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.

functions and high authority of museums, including Jewish museums, as institutions in the reality of today.

4) The critique of actions of the Odessa executive committee by the general public concerning the hastiness and spontaneity of the decision to transfer the former Brody synagogue to the Chabad religious community reveals the absence of strategy by the city administration towards management of Jewish architectural heritage. This episode also demonstrated the unavailability of the financial resources for the matter by the city or regional administration;

5) It is noteworthy that the transfer of the former Brodsky synagogue building to the *Chabad* religious community in 2016 was executed according to number of laws and decrees, including the one about overcoming the negative consequences of totalitarian policies of the former USSR. This contrasts to the transfer of (former) religious buildings that was taking place in the 1990s. The latter was executed exclusively following the laws and decrees about the freedom of religious expression, which the young demotaric states guaranteed, as well as other democratic basics and principles. The transfer of buildings thus served as a consolidation of this guarantee. With the consolidation and institutionalization of the memory politics in the region targeted at the anti-Soviet rhetoric, the discourse about transfer of material heritage started being additionally subordinated to the one of harm brought by the Soviet regime. This action, in its turn, targets consolidation of the image of post-1991 independent state not only a democratic one, but as an entity that guarantees restoration of violated rights within the rethorics of transitional justice.

3.3 L'viv: International Cooperation for Jewish-themed Public Space

The majority of the iconic buildings that stand as L'viv's Jewish heritage sites were deliberately destroyed during WWII and what has survived was mis-maintained after 1945. This contrasts with the condition of other historical urban housing and buildings that remained intact after the war (the historical

city center), which, in its turn, contributed to making a 'culture capital' out of post-1991 L'viv.

The Jewish-related architectural landscape of L'viv contains deliberately emphasized voids created in 1994 by placing memorial plaques at the location of several former synagogues and the Holocaust-related sites. For instance, a memorial plaque is attached to the wall of a neighboring building nearby the place where the *Great Suburb Synagogue* (of the Krakow suburb), built in 1630s, stood before 1941, when the building was deliberately destroyed.[229] The building has not been reconstructed after the destruction and the vacant lot is located there instead with the *Dobrobut* market in the closest proximity.

The rest of the plaques are also attached to the walls of the neighboring buildings – except two – a separately standing plaque at the empty site where the *Temple* synagogue once stood and a separately standing plaque installed in the forest at the place of a mass shooting. The first one, a memorial plaque mounted within a stone, 'crowns' a barren lot where the *Temple*, or the Reform (Progressive) synagogue, built in 1840s and destroyed (burned and exploded) in 1941, once stood. Nothing has been built at the site since then and the vacant lot is currently located within the Staryi Rynok square, a four-minutes' walk away from the plaque devoted to the *Great Suburb Synagogue* (see figure I.18[230]). Thus since the 1990s within the public space of L'viv there has been consolidated a link between the Jewish-related topics and the sense of loss, emptiness and absence. This link has been visualized with the help of those memorial plaques.

In a one-minute walk from the first plaque discussed here there was located a synagogue for Chasidic Jews built in 1791, rebuilt in the second half of the 19th century and destroyed in 1941.[231] Today nothing serves as a reminder of this synagogue and on its place the household buildings surrounded by a wall currently stand.

The close proximity and high density of Jewish-related heritage sites is explained by the fact that formerly those sites were located within one of the Jewish districts – the Krakow suburb. The buildings that survived until today and were given back to the Jewish community have also been located within this neighborhood. One of the two historic synagogue buildings that remained

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[229] Located at the corner of Sianska and Stara streets, see Oksana Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova* [the Synagogues of L'viv] (L'viv: VNTL-Klasyka, 2008), 49-76.

[230] Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 142-153.

[231] Located at the corner of Sianska and Lazneva streets, Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 125-126.

in the city, former *Chasidim Synagogue*, is also known as the *Jakob Glanzer Shul*. It is also located in one-minute walk from the plaque that indicates former placement of the *Great Suburb Synagogue*. The Baroque *Jakob Glanzer Shul* (see figure I.16)[232] was built in 1844. At the moment of its construction this synagogue was the second-largest synagogue in the city. In 1941-1944 it was used as a warehouse and in 1946-1962 it was the site of religious worship and the center of community life.[233] After the closure of the synagogue in 1962 the building was transferred to the *Polygraph Institute*, for which it served as a gym.

Since 1991 the building has hosted the *Sholem Aleichem Jewish Culture Society* to which the monument was transferred. The society itself has been active since 1988 and played a crucial role in the implementation of the project to raise a monument to the victims of L'viv ghetto inaugurated in 1992. By 1991 the building of former *Jakob Glanzer Shul* had all the traces of being mis-maintained – with holes in the roof, rotten floors, an idle heating system, rusted pipes and moisture penetrating to all floors. Due to the financial help from private donors, the *JDC* and some allocations from the regional budget, the building was repaired to some extent. However, the building has been ageing and by 2014 its condition has been estimated as poor and close to an emergency. In 2012 a construction site appeared close to the monument. Construction works have aggravated the building's condition. By 2013 a new shopping center *InterCity* was built right behind the former synagogue,[234] which caused a public outrage expressed mainly by representatives of Jewish organizations. A small protest meeting was organized in front of the city administration office.[235] The main discontent by the protesters, apart from the fact that the construction damages the monument, was caused by the suspicion of corruption and lobbying that the city officials and other functionaries might have been involved in while issuing the permission for construction of the shopping center. In her turn, this functionary stated that no rules have been violated during the construction of the shopping center and the documentation met all requirements.

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[232] Located at the Vulilna street, 3, Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 134-141.

[233] See Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Cornell University Press, 2015), 261-281.

[234] Located at Chornovola avenue, 67b.

[235] "SOS. Old Lvov Synagogue in danger," last modified 16 August 2012, accessed April 23, 2015, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=j8k-wWf9Las.

Another building given back to the community is the former interwar headquarters of the Jewish community that prior to WWII housed the *L'viv Jewish museum* and a Jewish court (see figure I.20).[236] After the war it functioned as a branch of the city's medical school. Since 1990s it hosted offices of several Jewish cultural and religious organizations, however, not for a long time. It was soon announced to be not safe to allocate any activities due to its condition. The offices were relocated. It was this building that could have presumably hosted Jewish-related museum artifacts located in storerooms of local museums. However, by now there have been no developments of the matter and the building still stands empty (see chapter 5).

The only functioning synagogue in the city, the second historical synagogue building that survived WWII, is the *Tsori Gilad* or *Beis Aharon V'Yisrael* (figure I.17).[237] It houses Jewish Orthodox services conducted by the *Chief Rabbi of L'viv and West Ukraine*, Rabbi Mordechai Shlomo Bald from Karlin-Stolin Hasidim (Borough Park, Brooklyn) who has been serving this function since 1993. Originally built in 1925, used as a as a horse stable during WWII (the building is located in close proximity to the train station), then as a warehouse after 1945, it was given back to the Jewish religious community in 1989. The building underwent several restorations in the 1990s and in the 2000s. Apart from restoring the building from the outside, the works, funded from abroad, have been focused on interior restoration of murals from 1930s. The murals are considered to be a rare example of synagogue wall painting and have artistic value. However, as with the synagogue in Sataniv, while works have been maintained, no broad public access to decision-making has been provided, which provoked doubts as to the quality of the interior restoration among some specialists.

Finally, the most known and internationally discussed Jewish-related site in L'viv is located at the former midtown Jewish quarter. This is the ruin of a 16th century synagogue destroyed in 1941 known as the *Golden Rose* (see figure I.15)[238] and adjoining territory where the *Great Central City* synagogue (built in

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[236] Located at Sholem-Aleichem street, 12, Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Jewish Heritage Travel*: *a Guide to Eastern Europe* (National Geographic, 2007), 112-113.

[237] Located at Brativ Mikhnovski street, 4. Gruber, "Jewish Heritage Travel," 110-111; Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 154-158.

[238] Located at Fyodorova street, 27, see Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 91-124; "Vul. Fedorova, 27 – former Golden Rose Synagogue (Taz, Turey Zahav)," Lviv Interactive, accessed November 30, 2014, http://www.L'vivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/golden-rose-

1799-1801, destroyed in 1943)[239] and the *Beit HaMidrash* (built in 1797 and demolished in 1943)[240] stood. Apart from the ruins of the *Golden Rose* nothing has remained intact from the rest of the buildings. The area has attracted particular attention in relation to the ongoing development of the *International Design Competition for Sites of Jewish History in L'viv,* its branch project the *Synagogue Square* (currently renamed into the *Synagogue Space*) and tensions around them. Those tensions illustrate how the projects and initiatives related to Jewish heritage may generate clashes of interpretation between Jewish and non-Jewish actors. These clashes may be caused by differences in understanding as to whom the heritage sites 'belong to', as well as by the competing interest in distribution of resources related to implementation of the projects.

The *International Design Competition* was announced in 2010 by the City Council in cooperation with several partners, including the driving force behind the project, the *Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe.* As Ruth Gruber formulates it, the *Center*, which is financed internationally, but acts locally:

"aims to be not only a center for research and projects, but also a facilitator, providing a 'neutral space' where the sometimes conflictual elements of L'viv's political and cultural society and policy-makers can come together for discussions."[241]

Indeed, since its opening in 2004 the *Center* has initiated and/or been involved in several important projects targeted at research, commemoration, promotion, and public discussion of the until-recently unpopular multicultural history of the city, which involves the Jewish component.[242] Among such

synagogue/.

[239] See Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 77-90; "Vul. Staroyevreiska, 54 – former Great City synagogue," Lviv Interactive, accessed November 30, 2014, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/great-city-synagogue/.

[240] "Vul. Staroyevreiska, 41 – former Beth Hamidrash building," Lviv Interactive, accessed November 30, 2014, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/staroyevreiska-beit-midrash/.

[241] Ruth Ellen Gruber, "Ukraine - L'viv Conference and Travel," last modified November 2, 2008, accessed April 14, 2015, http://jewish-heritage-travel.blogspot.de/2008/11/ukraine-L'viv-conference-and-travel.html.

[242] See Susak, "Jewish Heritage," 39-40.

projects, completed and ongoing, implemented by the Center's team or in collaboration with invited scholars, are *Around Starojevreiska* – a project targeted at the accumulation of a database that would contribute to renewing the memory of the Jewish legacy in L'viv; *Searching for Home" in Postwar L'viv: The Experience of Pidzamche, 1944-1960,* an oral-history project targeted at local residents who began their postwar life in that district; *Survey of Synagogues in Galicia* focused on documentation and archival research of ritual buildings and centers of the communal life of Jews in Galicia; *Дрогобич–Drohobycz– דראָהאָביטש: Public Space of the Galician District City in the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* targeted at creation of a three-in-one interactive map of Drohobych that would emphasize the Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian heritagescapes.[243]

The *Golden Rose* synagogue is a heritage site of particular importance for L'viv since it is a rare example of a 16th century (ruined) monument standing in the city center of the present-day Ukrainian city. The synagogue was built in 1582 by the family of Nachmanowitch, and designed by the architect Pablo Scyastlivyi. Until 1801 it functioned as the main synagogue of the city. It was then reconstructed several times and in 1941 was looted and then deliberately blown up by Nazis in 1943.[244] Parts of the northern, western and eastern walls, as well as the beam's foundations and the portal of the main entrance remained intact until today. Since the late 1990s the ruin is located in the area protected by UNESCO and declared to be a landmark of local value. The ruins of the northern wall of the synagogue and the area surrounding it were measured already in 1943. In 1989-89 there was realized a conservation project by the city council, which to some extent changed the way core architectural fragments looked. The idea to reconstruct the synagogue in full appeared in 1993 by the Institute *Ukrzahidproektrestavratsia* however, it was never implemented.[245] A memorial plaque installed on one of the walls is one of several plaques installed in early 1990s to mark the sites related to the destruction of local Jewish life and death (see above). Inaccuracies in the data provided by the plaques have been indicated by several researches. A virtual reconstruction of the building was done by the *Center for Jewish Art* at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2004-2006.

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[243] For detailed account of those projects see "Research Projects", The Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, accessed November 12, 2014, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/researchprojects/.

[244] Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 128; Sergey R. Kravtsov, *Di Gildene Royze: The Turei Zahav Synagogue in L'viv* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011), 28.

[245] Boyko, *Synahohy L'vova*, 122; Kravtsov, *Di Gildene Royze*, 29.

By 2006 the area was abandoned and covered by trees, with no indication of any further intentions to fix it up. By 2007 archaeological excavations were held on the site of the synagogue led by Yurii Lukomskyi and by the end of the same year chairman of the *Jewish Revival* organization and Ukraine's representative on the *Union of Councils for Jews in the former Soviet Union* (*UCSJ*) Meilakh Sheikhet announced the initiative to restore the synagogue. He organized a prayer center of the Jewish religious community *'Turey Zahav'* and claimed it was necessary to restore/reconstruct the synagogue in full with an aim to make it a functional house of prayer and thus to set up the first step in the revival of the former Jewish quarter.[246] This vision presupposed an orientation towards the Jewish religious (international) audience and rested upon the idea that since the former Jewish quarter was the space used primarily by the Jews, the reconstruction should bring back this function, bypassing the vision and understanding of space by current quarter residents. Thus Sheykhet's vision is rather exclusive and ignores the quarter's changed function, as well as the radical changes in the city's population composition. It remains unclear unstated by Sheikhet to what extent the quarter, be it restored in its original function, would be in demand by Jews currently living in L'viv. On the other hand, taking into account the recent increase of Jewish heritage travel to Eastern Europe in general and to Ukraine in particular,[247] one may envision potential interest and use of the restored quarter for religious demands. This case exemplifies two core attributes of heritage that determine its interpretation and eventually, its management: an assumption of a heritage mission and purpose and the selectivity, in this case, of the audience.

Later on Sheikhet continued developing the idea of restoring the former *Golden Rose* synagogue and its surroundings within other project proposals (see below). Sheikhet's activities have been labeled in the media as 'a fight for the Jewish heritage' – in opposition to the actions of the authorities. The statement for justification of Sheikhet's vision of heritage preservation and interpretation of memory about Jewish presence in L'viv is based on the claims that Sheikhet represents the American Jewry with roots in Ukraine, as well as the Orthodox Jewish community in the city, to whom, in their turn, belongs "this unique sample of heritage."

In 2008 the space around the former *Golden Rose* synagogue gained

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[246] "Vosstanovleniye sinagogi «Zolotaya Roza»," putevoditel' po L'vovu, accessed May 17, 2015, http://www.guid.lviv.ua/content/view/113/27/.

[247] see Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield," 21-24.

international attention in relation to opening of the *Halytska zhydivska knaipa pid Zolotoiu Rozoiu* (the Galician Jewish restaurant *at The Golden Rose*) in immediate proximity to the ruins of the former synagogue. *Knaipa* is a place designed and implemented by the local *!Fest* company, famous for its thematic restaurants, especially *Kryivka.* A scandalously known thematic cafe opened in 2007, *Kryivka* uses the heroization of the Ukrainian nationalist struggle in WWII and beyond as its creative concept and decoration, but also contributes to the promotion and spreading of this myth.[248] The restaurant *at the Golden Rose* became known because of acute discussions within the local milieu, as well as because of on-line debates.[249] The place nostalgically refers to the atmosphere of a "golden age" of interwar multiethnic L'viv. A flurry of indignation, condemnation, and suspicious arose due to the fact that it uses Jewish themes as a decoration and theme for the public catering service, mainly directed towards tourists, while non being properly Jewish, but rather a commodified enterprise that uses virtual Jewishness for making profit. An official web-site of the owning company says: "visitors are met with Jewish customs here. The menu is without prices and the cost of the dishes depends on customer's skills to bargain."[250]

This very principle, seen by the organizers as a distinctive feature of a place and its lure, has been perceived as a kitschy one and even an embodiment of anti-Semitism, because of emphasizing the stereotypes related to Jews and commerce. The availability of pork in the menu, not following the rules of kashrut, use of hats with side locks as an element of a costume for the entertainment of visitors, while it is a symbol of religious Jews and is allowed to be worn only by men and, finally, use of the word "żyd" in the title of restaurant, were among the major complaints directed at the enterprise.[251] Eventually the restaurant was blamed for causing anti-Semitic feelings by using stereotypic anti-Semitic clichés in its decoration and translating them to the public as a canon representation of Jews. Indeed, the place should be referred to

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[248] Narvselius, "Spicing up Memories".

[249] See Vasyl' Rasevych, "Ale lakhn makhn fun mir shpas …," ZAXID.NET News Portal, last modified October 29, 2008, accessed January 12, 2015, http://zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?ale_lakhn_makhn_fun_mir_zhpaz_&objectId=1063991>.

[250] "*At the Golden Rose* Galician Jewish Restaurant", !FEST Holding of Emotions, accessed May 12, 2015, http://www.fest.Lviv.ua/en/restaurants/pidzolotojurozoju/.

[251] See Susak, "Jewish Heritage," 35-36; Uilleam, Blacker. "Urban Commemoration and Literature in Post-Soviet L'viv: a Comparative Analysis with the Polish Experience," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 42, no. 4 (2014): 641.

as a thematic restaurant, rather than a Jewish one (as restaurants adjusted to a synagogue). Jewish-themed restaurants are problematic because of using the 'Jewishness' as a concept for an entertainment enterprise, which is what a restaurant or a cafe is. The 'folkloristic' treatment of recognizable elements related to Judaism and the commodification of Jewish heritage by actors alien to the Jewish tradition is an implication of the authenticity that the customers, uninformed of Jewish history or tradition, may get via such enterprises. According to Ruth Gruber, when 'Jewish' becomes a brand, it is treated as an isolated, exotified or even codified category.[252]

The opening of thematic restaurants indicates the commercialization of memory cultures and is related to a simplified perception and depiction of history via the design of the restaurants, mostly highly nostalgic. Thematic restaurants may be devoted to a range of historical topics and try to re-create nostalgically an atmosphere of the past. As Eleonora Narvselius puts it "thematic or heritage restaurants rather specialize in selling stylized representations of the ethnic 'others' who used to be met with persistent silence in the socialist/Soviet period."[253] Jewish themed restaurants are scattered across Ukraine, however, not all of them are proper ethnic restaurants (such as the one in Odessa that adjoins the functioning synagogue). There are also thematic ones, as, for instance, the *Tsimmes* restaurant in Kyiv. The one in Odessa is targeted at Jews and non-Jews alike; it serves kosher food, offers a milk kitchen and does not use any depictions of Jews in its decoration. Kiev *Tsimmes* restaurant, opened in 2003 following the inspiration with the restaurant industry in Krakow, relies on its décor of Chagallic representations of Jewishness and wooden carvings of Jews, and the place is used by Kyiv Jews to celebrate special occasions.[254] However, thematic restaurants may also accompany a revitalization of the area, as happened with the *Ariel cafe* in Krakow, opened in Kazimierz in 1988, followed by multiple other Jewish themed restaurants that have been functioning in the quarter until today and which eventually significantly contributed to a revival of Jewish heritage in the city.[255]

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[252] Gruber, "Beyond Virtually Jewish," 67.

[253] Narvselius, "Spicing up Memories".

[254] Gruber, "Beyond Virtually Jewish, 75-77.

[255] On *Ariel* cafe see Monika Murzyn, *Kazimierz. The Central European Experience of Urban Regeneration* (Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 2006); Lehrer, "Jewish Heritage, Pluralism," 170-192; Gruber, "Beyond Virtually Jewish," 70-71.

L'viv restaurant *'at the Golden Rose'* participates in the promotion of Jewish culture in the city as it figures among the organizers of the annual festival of Jewish music *L'vivklezfest*, an initiative inspired by the success of Jewish festivals in Poland in general and in Kazimierz in particular. The restaurant has been used as one of the festival's platforms and the adjacent space hosted gala concerts in early editions of the event, linking it with the space of historical Jewish presence in L'viv before the festival gained enough visibility and significance to move to the central square of a city, the *Market Square*. The festival is followed by exhibitions (including those in state museums), guided tours within the city, seminars and days of concerts. It is organized by the charitable foundation *Hesed Arieh*, the same one which hosts the museum-room *Tracing Galician Jews* (see chapter 6) and is supported by, among others, the *JDC*, the *Israeli embassy* and the city council.[256] The inclusive character of the festival and its deliberate non-religious presentation of Jewish culture, although with reference to tradition in broader sense, indicates the existence of multiple visions among Jewish organizations in the city on the way to interpret and promote Jewish heritage.

Since 2010 a new turn in the story of ruins of the *Golden Rose* synagogue started to develop. Following the conference *Urban Jewish Heritage and History in East-Central Europe*, in October 29-31, 2008, where international experts and academics were brought, in 2010 the city executive committee together with the *Center for Urban History for East-Central Europe* initiated and announced an *International Design Competition for Sites of Jewish History in L'viv* to mark three sites in the city. These sites were 1) the old inner Jewish quarter; 2) the 14th-century Jewish cemetery located nearby the former Jewish hospital; 3) former Yanivsky Nazi camp located outside of the city.[257] The aim of the competition was claimed to be to increase awareness of the history of L'viv's Jewish community, to memorialize its significance and the tragedy of its destruction, and to safeguard what remains of its heritage.[258] With the help of architects and landscape designers, organizers of the competition intended to visualize the former presence of Jews as L'viv residents by re-designing three public spaces through the prism of entangled past, striving to achieve recognition of sites of Jewish history in a fitting fashion.[259] Winning designs

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[256] Blacker, "Urban Commemoration," 641.

[257] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition".

[258] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 19. 4-5.

[259] "«Prostir Synahoh»: u L'vovi vporyadkuyut' yevrey s'kyy kvartal" ["The Synagogue Space": a Jewish quarter in L'viv is being brought in order], Tvoe Misto News Agency,

were intended to be implemented with the overall support of the city of L'viv, which should raise the project's recognition among the local and international public, and with the support of Ukrainian-German project *Municipal development and renovation of L'viv's old town*, implemented by the *German Society for International Cooperation* (*GIZ*) GmbH. In the foreword to the competition's information brochure, the words of L'viv's mayor are cited, who calls for the practice of memory about "the Other" to be treated as a civic-minded duty that implies involvement of very city dweller. The basic assumption of the organizers of the competition, addressed to the public, is that physical remains of the Jewish presence in the city constitute heritage and are subject for preservation. Since the expected result of design competition is primarily targeted at present-day L'viv residents and at overcoming of stereotypes about the historical perspective of exclusivity of L'viv as a Ukrainian city in public consciousness, it was considered to be of high importance to inform residents and stakeholders about the concept of the competition and gather their opinions in order to incorporate them into the competition rules, which was done in March and June 2010. Eventually the requirement of commissioners for the design projects was that "all proposals should signify the meaning of this place and the loss of the Jewish culture that once flourished here. Suitable commemoration of the religious buildings that used to occupy the site should underline the city's multicultural heritage and thus enhance the openness and tolerance of its contemporary inhabitants."[260] However, according to the results of several public opinion surveys, recognition of former Jewish, as well as Polish, presence in L'viv by current residents is rather low.[261] Thus, the design competition is rather targeted at fostering these features and actualizing values of tolerance and respect towards multiculturalism through implementation of the project and through engaging the public at large in a discussion on dynamics within public memory and personal responsibility. Coupled with gradual recognition of the significance of multicultural element in the city's history by local intellectuals,[262] the city's administration policies targeted at emphasizing the principle of multiculturalism as L'viv's branding strategy, and

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last modified July 16, 2015, accessed July 20, 2015, http://tvoemisto.tv/news/prostir_synagog_u_lvovi_yakym_i_dlya_kogo_vin_bude_71680.html.

[260] Sofia Dyak, Iris Gleichmann, Ben Kern and Lenka Vojtová, *International Design Competition for Sites of Jewish History in L'viv/Ukraine, Documentation* (L'viv, 2011), 20.

[261] See Susak, "Jewish Heritage".

[262] See Narvselius, Bernsand, "L'viv and Chernivtsi".

involvement of international, as well as local experts at decision-making for the design competition, it contributes to the gradual incorporation of former Jewish-related sites into symbolic urban fabric of present-day L'viv and at the same time into of memory on Jewish communities' life and death to current memory landscape. Having received 70 project submissions from 16 countries, the jury met in December 2010 to award three prizes and up to two honourable mentions for each of the sites.

By the time the competition had been announced, the ruins of the former Golden Rose synagogue were hidden behind a metal fence,[263] which had been previously installed to protect the site from vandals, but eventually prevented the public from access to the site.[264] The winning design of the *Synagogue Square: Jewish History, Common Heritage and Responsibility* project authored by architects from Germany Franz Reschke, Paul Reschke, and Frederik Springer envisioned keeping the territory of the *Golden Rose* synagogue as it is and turning the territory of the *Beth HaMidrash* into a green area open for further development, while the site of the Great City synagogue would become a memorial site that would inform about the history of the synagogue and its destruction, and at the same time serve as a public place.[265]

The ruins of the former Golder Rose synagogue, as well as Jewish heritage in general, have also been used for manipulative accounts, especially before the European Football Championship, jointly hosted by Ukraine and Poland in 2012, took place. In 2011 an article *"Goodbye, Golden Rose!"* authored by the journalist Tom Gross, appeared in *'the Guardian'*. The article informed that the remaining ruins of the *Golden Rose* synagogue started to be demolished in order to build a hotel on the eve of *'Euro-2012.'* Tom Gross grieved about the lost tolerance found in 16th century L'viv, hardly comparable, according to the author, to the present-day situation: "Last week I watched as bulldozers began to demolish the adjacent remnants of what was once one of Europe's most beautiful synagogue complexes, the 16th-century Golden Rose in L'viv."[266]

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[263] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 19.

[264] Susak, "Jewish Heritage".

[265] Sofia Dyak, "Lokal'i, etnichni, transnatsionalni ta inshi: diskusiï, vyklyky ta praktyky proekty 'Ploscha sinagog' u L'vovi" [Local, Ethnic, Transnational and Other: Discussions, Challenges, and Practices of the "Synagogue Square" Project in L'viv], in *The City and the Renewal. Urban studies*, ed. S. Shlipchenko, V. Tyminskti et al. (Kiev, 2013), 315-336.

[266] Tom Gross made one more mistake, referring to the Citadel made into the hotel as the place of extermination of Jews and not of Soviet POWs. It is unclear if the mistake has

The publication met with international resonance and compelled close attention to be paid to the condition of Jewish sites in L'viv, making the city's mayor Andriy Sadovyi give a statement, explaining the misunderstanding:

"I want to reassure everyone that no construction has ever taken place at the site of the *Golden Rose*. Construction of a hotel in the neighboring Fedorova Street, which has drawn criticism from some civic organizations' representatives, has nothing to do with the site of the former synagogue."[267]

However, construction of a hotel in a *UNESCO* world heritage zone, even if no synagogue ruins were damaged directly, would have disturbed the integrity of a quarter and, as stated by Samuel Gruber, could have compromised a *mikvah*, the foundations of a former kosher butchery, and other buildings in the old Jewish quarter.[268] Eventually no hotel was built, leaving the metal fence and blocking passage to the adjacent street. It is important that in his article Gross referred to investigating the case of ruins potentially under threat, he was accompanied by Meilakh Sheikhet, who, not mentioning the announcement of the international design competition, complained that: "it is hard to imagine these sites being treated less respectfully [...]. The Holocaust has not stopped here, the destruction goes on."[269]

Meilakh Sheykhet spoke disapprovingly about the international design competition on repeated occasions[270] and eventually in 2014 protested in the *Supreme Economic Court of Ukraine*, claiming that: "the city's plans conformed

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been made on purpose or not. See Tom Gross, "Goodbye, Golden Rose," *The Guardian*, last modified September 2, 2011, accessed April 7, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/02/ukraine-holocaust-denial-lviv.

[267] Samuel Gruber, "Ukraine: Golden Rose Synagogue ruins NOT under threat of demolition (though as has been the case for years, longterm care remains uncertain)," Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art & Monuments, last modified September 10, 2011, accessed March 2, 2014, http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.hu/2011/09/ukraine-golden-rose-synagogue-ruins-not.html.

[268] Gruber, "Ukraine: Golden Rose Synagogue".

[269] Gross, "Goodbye, Golden Rose".

[270] "UCSJ Ukraine Bureau Director Promotes Jewish Cultural Preservation in Lviv, Officials Respond," last modified March 4, 2003, accessed January 14, 2015, http://www.ucsj.org/2013/03/04/ucsj-ukraine-bureau-director-promotes-jewish-cultural-preservation-in-lviv-officials-respond/.

neither with international standards for heritage preservation nor with Ukrainian law and government resolutions on this matter."[271]

The court issued its ruling against the city's plans to advance with the international design competition. As to his disapproval of the *'Synagogue Square'* project, in multiple interviews Sheykhet claimed to stand for the principle of authenticity and necessity for "authentic preservation of Jewish sacral cultural heritage" in comparison with the principle of the *'Synagogue Square'* project that, according to him, seeks to: "cover up and commemorate the Jewish past instead of restoring its ruins and celebrating Jewish life here and now."[272]

In his letter to the leaders of charities, NGOs and international organizations, diplomats and the media from 11 December 2014, Sheikhet accused the city council for deliberate misuse of the Jewish sites in commercial interest and for the wish to trick international experts, who supported the idea of international design competition and the winning design, claiming that "we could do very little in L'viv because of the stiff resistance of the city council and L'viv city executive committee."[273]

Sheikhet narrates Jewish heritage within the discourse of trauma, loss, and harassment coming from different powers that dominated Ukraine before it gained independence. An ardent anti-Communist and supporter of Maidan, Sheikhet publicly denounced the Crimea affair and claimed that anti-Semitism was planted into the Ukrainian society for centuries by the several authorities, including the Soviet power and explained the solidarity between Jews and Ukrainians by the fact that they were both discriminated by the Polish authorities during the interwar years and then by the Soviet regime.[274]

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[271] "Ukrainian court nixes controversial Jewish heritage projects in Lviv," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 15, 2014, accessed January 14, 2015, http://www.jta.org/2014/08/15/news-opinion/world/ukrainian-court-nixes-controversial-jewish-heritage-projects-in-lviv.

[272] "Ukrainian court".

[273] Meylakh Sheykhet, "A letter to the leaders of charities, NGOs and international organizations, diplomats and the media, to preserve Jewish cultural heritage in Lviv," last modified December 11, 2014, accessed January 14, 2015, http://www.jewishheritage.org.ua/en/3228/a-letter-to-the-leaders-of-charities-ngos-and-international-organizations-diplomats-and-the-media-to.html.

[274] "Meylakh Sheykhet – A fight for the Jewish heritage in Lviv," Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union, last modified April 4, 2014 http://www.ucsj.org/2014/04/04/meylakh-sheykhet-a-fight-for-the-jewish-heritage-in-lviv/, accessed April 14, 2015.

In 2012 under supervision of Sheykhet there were 10 project proposals developed within *Faina Petryakova Scientific Center for Judaica and Jewish Art in L'viv.*[275] Established in 2005 and situated in the former apartment of Petryakova, an expert on glass, ceramics, and porcelain, the center claims to open up a community venue for the exploration of Jewish cultural heritage through reasoning, research, and public discussion. The existing center is known for a lack of public access and the unavailability of the personnel.

In 2012 at the order of Sheikhet *The Program for the Regeneration of the Former Jewish Quarter of L'viv (Fyodorova-Arsenall'ska-Staroevreyska-bratyiv Rogatintsyv Streets)* was developed, designed by the institute *Ukrzahidproektrestavratsiya* and approved by the scientific methodological board on the preservation of cultural heritage at the ministry of culture in Kyiv in 2013.[276] As a result of approval it was recommended to continue working on scientific planning documentation, but neither an action plan nor the sources of financing were suggested. The approval was gained bypassing L'viv city authorities, who openly supported the international design competition. This was possible due to complex bureaucracy and hierarchy at the Ukrainian state

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[275] See www.ucsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Presentation-of-the-unique-work-for-the-Preservation-the-Jewish-Heritage-in-Ukraine.pdf. Apart from the revitalization of the mykvah, synagogue Turei Zahav, beithamidrash and the Great Synagogue (project no. 5), there were indicated such activities as *Legal Support for the Preservation of Jewish Cultural Heritage* (project no. 1), *Raising Public Awareness about the Urgent Need to Safeguard Jewish Cultural Heritage* (project no. 3), *Cultural and Artistic Festival* (project no. 4), *Survey of Jewish Historic Sites in Western Ukraine* (project no 6), *Creation of a Common Database of Jewish Archive Material in the Ukrainian Archives* (project no 7), *Annual International Conference on the Development of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations* (project no. 9), *Training Sessions for Tour Guides and Students* (project no. 10). These project proposals cover all possible spheres of heritage-related activities and indicate the growing influence of Jewish heritage tourism on L'viv. It is important that while arguing for the necessity to implement those project proposals the nature of heritage as a mediator of peaceful intercultural communication was emphasized: "preservation of cultural heritage is a key to improving relations among people, creating a peaceful society and a stable economy", following the westernized concept of the social functions of heritage that interprets potential of heritage to become a tool for reconciliation and cooperation.

[276] "The Program for the Regeneration of the Former Jewish Quarter of L'viv (Fyodorova-Arsenall'ska-Staroevreyska-bratyiv Rogatintsyv Streets)," ordered by the "Representation to Ukraine of the American Union of Councils for the Jews in the Former Soviet Union", developed by the State Enterprise "Ukrzakhidproektrestavracija", 2012.

institutions in the sphere of management of culture. The *Program for the Regeneration* presupposed archeological excavations and work on the quarter.

The *Program* approached the quarter from the Jewish perspective and emphasizes its sacral value from a religious point of view – as there have once been a *skhita*, a *mikvah*, a building of former Jewish school for girls, a *kagal* building, the fundament of *Beit HaMidrash* and the *Great City Synagogue*. In sum, the project presupposed the interference to different extents into the present-day appearance of more than 20 sites. It presupposed making additional archaeological excavations for all above-mentioned sites. For the former *Great City Synagogue*, musefication of findings and creation of an archaeological museum were planned. For the former *Golden Rose* synagogue it was planned to conserve remaining ruins, but also to rebuild the synagogue, to discuss the possibility of the restoration of *Beit HaMidrash* and to renovate the facades of the other buildings. It was also planned to restore the *mikvah*, *bath*, and to add new buildings to the places where they are currently missing in order to recreate the structure of the inner city quarter.

The declared aim of the project was to renew the historical memory of the Jewish community of old L'viv and to show historical stratum of the community as a part of the city's multicultural heritage.[277] It thus relays on two core ideas – historical justice, and on the idea of value of the quarter as part of *UNESCO* world heritage site. However, the value distribution is rather selective. If ever accomplished, it is targeted at freezing the appearance of the quarter the way it looked in the 18th century and thus would diminish the importance of the further history of the quarter. Also, the project emphasizes the Jewish identity of the quarter and seeks to emphasize it visually with the help of restoration and addition of elements, thus leaving behind the importance of current non-Jewish quarter dwellers, whose presence marks the post-WWII history of L'viv in general and of the quarter in particular. One meets similar concern in Kazimierz in Krakow, where preoccupation with Jewish heritage to an extent left behind the very question of interpretation of co-existence between the dwellers of the quarter with the incoming flows of tourists.[278] Also, the very principle of making a functioning synagogue out of ruins of the *'Golden Rose'*, according to Sheykhet, should symbolize the emblematic revival of the Jewish community as opposed to the Holocaust. This, however, would have diminished the symbolism of ruins as a manifestation of

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[277] "The Program for the Regeneration," 33.
[278] See Lehrer, "Can there be?".

the Holocaust and at the same time might have limited access to the site for the non-Jewish public.

The execution of the '*Synagogue Square'* project, currently re-named as the *'Space of the Synagogues'* was postponed in comparison due to a number of factors mentioned above. Since the project was targeted at an international appeal and consideration, the online media and communication strategies have been extensively used to disseminate information about the project and its development. Starting with numerous reports and interviews related to the project being regularly published in the local (in Ukrainian) and international online media channels, the project eventually got its own web-site in 2015.[279]

On July 27, 2015 the first phase of the project's implementation started with the conservation of the surviving ruins of the *Golden Rose* synagogue and marking the place where the Beith HaMidrash once stood. These events have been coupled by the photo exhibition and a set of seminars, the *Jewish Days at the City Hall,* with the participation of international experts in between July 28 and August 10, 2015. It is expected that restoration works will be finished by July 2016 and the memorial part of the project inaugurated by autumn 2016.

There are three characteristic features that define the specificity of L'viv's Jewish architectural landscape:

1) The fact that tangible Jewish heritage (and its absence visualized with the help of memorial plaques) carries a memorial function – this function is emphasized by early, as well as present day projects that deliberately promote this function. Thus the division between Jewish architectural and memorial landscape in L'viv is not as strict as in the other cities under study. Due to the character of heritage interpretation projects, the Jewish architectural landscape of L'viv complements its Jewish-related memorial landscape;

2) The situation develops in local and global dimensions at the same time. Jewish heritage sites and their interpretation have caused unprecedented clashes related to the distribution of resources and understanding of the 'right' to interpret and distribute the cultural capital related to the Jewish sites. The ruin of the *Golden Rose* synagogue is so far the most recognizable symbol of Jewish heritage in L'viv. It is an example of a contested heritage site, neglected for

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[279] "The Space of Synagogues", http://jewish.lviv.travel/en_US/ , accessed July 29, 2015.

years and recently becoming a point where interests of different parties, who tends to claim the space for their own aspirations, clash;

3) Within the *'Space of the Synagogues'* project the site opts to become a new symbol of Jewish–Ukrainian reconciliation and in this respect it might act similarly to the Eaglets cemetery and memorial on Lychakiv cemetery. According to Serghey Kravtsov, there are several factors that influence the intensification of the discussion over the restoration or conservation of the *Golden Rose* synagogue's ruins. These factors are: 1) the revitalization of the Jewish community of L'viv; 2) the inclusion of L'viv downtown into *UNESCO* world heritage list; 3) a growing interest in the city's past; 4) Ukraine's political ambition to join the EU; 5) capitalization of the post-Soviet period; 6) reconsideration by some leading L'viv intellectuals of the importance of multinational heritage and past for L'viv's present[280]. To this one should add existence of grass-roots initiatives by local actors, whose activity targets Jewish-related sites across the city, although vision of these actors of how those sites should be interpreted may vary and/or differ;

4) The incorporation of local Jewish heritage into the paradigm of multicultural heritage – both as a framework for a memorial project and as a product (commodity) for tourist 'consumption.' Following the example of Krakow, the 'use' of Jewish topic for the tourist industry has become a recent trend in L'viv in comparison with Chişinău and Minsk. In Odessa the Jewish topic is a part of localism. In L'viv it is a part of multiculturalism as opposed to regional Western Ukrainian localism. This division the *Space of Synagogues* project is trying to break. In L'viv branding Jewish heritage for the tourism market adopts many of its forms from neighboring Poland.

3.4 Minsk: Loss of Jewish 'Identity' at the Historical City Center

The establishment of the Soviet power in Belarus in 1918 and then in 1920 brought the first changes for the use of the Jewish architectural landscape of

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[280] Kravtsov, "Di Gildene Royze," 57-58.

Minsk, as well as Odessa, turning a number of premises used for religious purposes into clubs and other educational, but not religious-oriented purposes.[281] As Elissa Bemporad has demonstrated, in spite of the Soviet rule, the process of such a transfer took time and contained a number of challenges and cases of opposition between the Jews depending on whether they were supporting the changes brought by the new regime or, via a number of reasons, were attached to the traditional use of the synagogues.[282] With Yiddish recognized as one of the state languages in the BSSR, in the 1920s and 1930 there were several, mostly educational, institutions functioning in this language in Minsk. All of them, however, were Soviet in content. Additionally, it was the new general plan of the city that brought to elimination of 19th century housing in the.

The decisive damage to the Jewish architecture of Minsk was brought by WWII and its aftermath. In July 1941 a significant territory located near the Jewish cemetery was turned into a ghetto, where not only local Jews, but those deported from locations across Austria, Germany and Czech territory were kept.[283] While the Holocaust took 90 percent of the Minsk Jewish population, those architectural traces of Jewish presence in the city that have survived the war were, as in other cities in focus of this study, are almost completely demolished by the post-war intentional changes of urban landscape and following the state-supported anti-Semitic campaign of late 1940s – early 1950s. As mentioned above, WWII severely damaged the architectural integrity and urban ensemble of Minsk.

The post-WWII geopolitical design of the world, new architectural landscape, and radical changes of population structure of the city brought about the shift towards Minsk as the capital of the Soviet republic.[284] The authorities and their vision of the changes needed to be implemented in the urban structure have played decisive role in destroying historical housing and cemeteries right after the war and the later attempts of random reconstruction

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[281] For details see Bemporad, "Becoming Soviet Jews", 112-144.

[282] Bemporad discusses severl examples in chapter 5 of her book "Becoming Soviet Jews".

[283] See Barbara Epstein, *The Minsk Ghetto 1941-1943: Jewish Resistance and Soviet Internationalism* (University of California Press, 2008).

[284] See Tomas M. Bohn. *"Minskiy fenomen". Gorodskoye planirovaniye i urbanizatsiya v Sovetskom Soyuze posle Vtoroy mirovoy voyny* [The 'Minsk phenomenon'. Urban Planning and Urbanization in the Soviet Union after World War II] (Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2013), 134-156.

of some historical quarters. In this regard the destiny of Minsk pre-war architectural and burial landscapes, including Jewish ones, is similar to that of Chişinău. Both cities have experienced radical changes in urban structure, removal of pre-war architecture and introduction of new avenues that have crossed former densely populated areas and become the reason of heritage loss.

In late Soviet times the most known example of more or less historically accurate reconstruction is the case of *Trinity Hill*, one of the oldest surviving districts of Minsk located at the left bank of Svisloch river.[285] The reconstruction of the area started in 1982-1985 after, according to local folklore – a 1959 visit to the city by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev, who asked if he may have a stroll at the historic center and, as it turned out, no such place in Minsk at that time existed. On March 26, 1980 a decree *On the Reconstruction of the Historical Part of the City of Minsk* was signed, which indicated the intent to "reconstruct the basis of the existing historic housing." The reconstruction was inspired by the architecture of the suburbs from the 19th century, but with no intention to copy it entirely.

Today the area is considered to be 'the most European quarter' of the city and one of the most important tourist attractions. The restored Western part of the suburb imitates and exemplifies the urban stone housing of the 19th century However, the new 'European' image of the quarter does not reflect the fact that by the 18th century majority of population residing at *Trinity Hill* were Jewish merchants. Leonid Levin, a famous Byelorussian architect of Jewish descent who has been active in the Soviet times an beyond and who is known for a number of monuments devoted to WWII and the Holocaust memorials spread across Belarus, led the team of architects responsible for the reconstruction of *Trinity Hill*. No signs of the Jewish-related past of *Trinity Hill* was reflected or visualized by the reconstruction project. For instance, no signboards in Yiddish were put on display or information plaques installed. The only recognizable sign that indicates the former Jewish 'identity' of the area is the building of former *Koydaneve Shtibl* (or *Kitaevskaya Synagogue,* see figure I.26)[286] that serves as *House of Nature* and hosts an exhibition on the natural environment in Belarus.

Since the 2000s the country's state policy has been directed towards a

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[285] Located within Svisloch river, Storozhevskaya and M.Bogdanovich streets.

[286] Located at M. Bogdanovicha street, 9a; Inna Gerasimova, *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam Minska* [Guidebook for Jewish Places in Minsk] (Minsk: Paradox, 2012), 24-25.

visualization of the historical city center, which in practice means the (re)construction of the former housing alongside the parallel development of up-to-date infrastructure located in such areas as *Trinity Hill*, *Upper Town* and *Rakovsky suburb*. The main principles of such a policy of urban development are formulated in the decree signed by the President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko from July 14, 2004 *On the Development of the Historic Center of Minsk.* According to this document, the single customer responsible for decision-making in the design of the above-mentioned areas is the *Minsk City Executive Committee,* which has delegated this function to the municipal unitary enterprise *Minsk Spadchina*. The latter is supposed to raise funds for the reconstruction from future tenants (commercial enterprises), but the development of external engineering networks should have relied on the budget.

The competition has been announced with the requirements to redefine those three areas and to reconstruct the historical and cultural environment; to create a single territorial unit of the historic center of the city of Minsk; to design pedestrian communications; to develop infrastructure services and to resolve transportation and parking problems. Since then the reconstruction, including building anew quarters that are reminiscent of historical housing, started and was planned to be implemented by 2014 with the help of budgetary funds, as well as private investments.

Since 2008 parts of *Upper Town* within the Svisloch River, Nemiga, Internacyjanalnaja streets and Svobody square located within a 10-minute walk from *Trinity Hill* underwent revitalization. The plan has been to build up five square kilometers that would house shopping malls, restaurants, catering facilities, office buildings, etc. Such scheme of treatment of the historical areas caused criticism not only for ignoring the principle of authenticity for the sake of investment interests, but also for a lack of transparency and public access to decision-making, as well as for the non-social, but commercial character of the reconstruction. Since not all the buildings have been unpopulated, several families have been moved out to the outskirts of the city due to reconstruction, which caused court proceedings. Some buildings from the 20th century have been demolished and a stylized 'old' architecture has appeared instead. One such building copies the former synagogue building. This newly constructed copy of the synagogue is currently used as an office of a commercial enterprise (see figure I.24).

The *Rakovsky District* located within a 12-minute walk from *Trinity Hill*

has also been subjected to the currently ongoing reconstruction.[287] The area was historically (by the 18th to the 20th century) been densely populated by Jews, mostly artisans and small traders. In 1941-1943 the area was included in the Minsk ghetto[288] and further, due to post-war redesign of the area in 1960s and 1970s, most of the old houses were demolished and the area lost a significant number of its housing. One such lost building was the 16th-century *Cold Synagogue* that was located in proximity with the district and got demolished in 1968. As well as *Trinity Hill*, the *Rakovsky District* contains its own former synagogue building (see figure I.25).[289] Constructed in 1864, in 1920s it hosted a club and in 1950s – a cinema and a *Pioneers House*. It is currently in state property and hosts the *Children and Youth School of Olympic Reserve for Chess*.

The synagogue building constructed in the second half of the 19th century and formerly located at Dzimitrava Street was demolished in 2001. Those rare historic synagogue buildings that were left continue to be used for non-religious purposes. For instance, like in Chişinău, the former Choral synagogue built in 1904 (see figure I.28)[290] has been hosting the *Russian Drama Theatre named after M. Gorky* since 1949 (currently called the *National Academic Drama Theatre named after M. Gorky*). Precisely in this attribution (as a Russian theater) the building is registered as a monument protected by the state, which is claimed on the memorial plaque at one of the building's walls and precisely like this the building is introduced into the registry of monuments. The decision to remember this building as a Russian theater is debatable. Supporters of this claim that the decisive role in this question is played by the number of years during which the building served as a theater (67), while the synagogue was located there only for 15 years. Moreover, since the building was dramatically damaged during the war, it was reconstructed with major changes of the interior, while the exterior is still reminiscent of the former synagogue frame. Taking this reconstruction into account, the question of authenticity also appears in debates on the appropriateness of official memory of the building as a theater, not as a synagogue. On the other hand, those who opposes the current state of affairs claim the initial purpose of the building to be decisive in how it should enter the registry of monuments, in spite of the fact that since 1921 to 1949 the building consecutively held a Jewish Theatre, a working club, a House

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[287] Located within the oldest streets in the city: currently Ostrovskogo, Osvobozhdeniya, Vitebskaya, Zamkovaya and Dimitrova.

[288] See Epstein, *The Minsk Ghetto*.

[289] Located at Rakovskaya street, 24; Gerasimova, *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam*, 25.

[290] Located at Volodarskogo street, 5; Gerasimova, *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam*, 23.

of Culture, and a cinema.

Out of 99 synagogues and small prayer houses located in the city by the end of the 19th century,[291] only 3 synagogues function today, and none of them are located in the original synagogue building. The first one is located at the former yeast-distillery factory[292] that is owned by the *Jewish Religious Association* since 1994, followers of the Orthodox *litvish* tradition, historically strong in Belarus. Another one hosts the *Religious Association of Progressive Judaism in Belarus* and is located not far away from the *Rakovsky District*.[293] The building for the third functioning synagogue, the biggest and the most recognizable as a synagogue out of all three, was constructed anew in 2003-2009 and designed by Galina Levina (see figure I.29)[294]. This synagogue stands on the place of former Jewish prayer school (transferred for free use to the Jewish community in 1998). The synagogue is in use by the *Association of Jewish Religious Communities in the Republic of Belarus*, which embraces 14 communities from different places across the country including the *Chabad Lubavitch Religious Community*.

The main features of Minsk from the perspective of the social history of the Jewish architectural landscape are reflected in the following aspects:

1) Minsk is more known by the monuments to the victims of the Minsk ghetto (see chapter 4), images of which widely circulate in academic and tourist-oriented literature, than by its architectural component;

2) The gradual and proceeding oblivion of Minsk's historical quarters' Jewish character – the areas currently subjected to reconstruction and renewal, but looking 'European-like.' This case is exemplary for illustrating how decision-making in the heritage and tourism fields may be dependent on a top-down vision of what the tourists expect to see as the 'historic city center.' To an extent this situation is similar to the case of Chişinău , with the difference that in the former case there were no actions undertaken to preserve the

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[291] The number of 99 is taken from Elissa Bemporad, "Minsk", the YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified September 2, 2010, accessed June 8, 2014, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/minsk.

[292] Located at Daumana street, 13b; Gerasimova, *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam*, 77.

[293] Rymarskaja street, 20, Gerasimova; *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam*, 79.

[294] Located at Kropotkin street, 22; see Gerasimova, *Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam*, 78.

historical areas in a 'distilled' way, allowing chaotic development instead. In Minsk the possibility to commodify the 'historical-looking' built environment has been understood and actions have been taken to perform it. The difference between Chişinău and Minsk is contained in the fact that in the former the whole historic city center fell into managerial oblivion, while in the latter it is the Jewish character of the area that is silenced. At the same time Belarus in general and Minsk in particular provide an example of active non-Jewish actors aiming to introduce Jewish sites to the list of landmarks protected by the state on the principle of 'shared heritage.' Such actions are performed by the *National Council of the Public Association 'Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Preservation of Historic and Cultural Monuments;'*[295]

3) In comparison with the other cities under discussion, none of the functioning synagogues in Minsk are located in a historical religious building that has formerly been owned by the community, leaving no continuity performed through the use of architectural heritage. This situation is similar to L'viv, but in comparison with Minsk the former is currently preparing for launching *'the Space of Synagogues'* project that has brought international attention to the lost Jewish architectural heritage in L'viv. In Minsk it is rather the newly built functioning synagogue at the Kropotkin street, 22 that serves as such a 'flagship' and recognizable symbol of the Jewish architectural landscape, but not historical objects like, for instance, the former Choral synagogue;

4) Another significant feature of the Minsk case is the total absence within the present-day urban fabric of visual traces of what Elissa Bemporad called 'the Bolshevik experience in Minsk.' This included the adoption of modern and Sovietizatized forms of life while keeping continuities with prerevolutionary patterns of life organization. This specific form of Sovietization included from the top-down perspective the announcement of Yiddish as the official language in East Belarus together with Belarusian, Polish and Russian. Thus Yiddish has been present within the urban public

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[295] See Aleksandra Bielawska, Agata Maksimowska and Ala Sidarovič, eds., *Good Practices in the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Heritage: A Guide Based on the Polish and Belarusian Experiences* (Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2012).

space, along with repurposed former religious premises. This experience is not traceable in the present-day city and in this quality Minsk is similar to Odessa.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The present-day state of affairs related to Jewish architectural landscape in 4 cities under study may be characterized through 3 criteria:

1)   *The visibility of the Jewish-related architectural landscape;*

The adoption of the 'freedom of religious expression' principle on a legislative level at the beginning of 1990s brought around the ethnic (including Jewish) communities acquiring some buildings owned by these communities prior to WWII. However, no restitution law functions in any of the countries under study. Together with the ownership, local Jewish communities and organizations acquired responsibility for the maintenance of the property, which included responsibility for the reparation and/or restoration if one is needed. Under these conditions there is no direct financial responsibility that the state should fulfill to stop the ruin of the historic monument in case it is transferred to another body. One of the main challenges for managing the 'Jewish heritage' in all four cities as an entity is the scarcity of remaining Jewish-related architectural heritage and the low visibility of this heritage on the background of the current urban fabric (in comparison with the architectural integrity of Jewish quarters in present-day Krakow and Prague).

2)   *Discourse and practice about symbolic ownership of this landscape and about the responsibility for integrity of this landscape;*

The fieldwork conducted for this thesis revealed the coexistence of conflicting understandings of financial and symbolic responsibility by different interested parties. While officials and representatives of authorities refer to the responsibility of owners, grass-roots actors, such as

representatives of ethnic and religious organizations and communities, representatives of civil society and activists refer to state responsibility for any heritage within current borders of independent states and to the need for not dividing cultural heritage by the ethnic principle. Interviews with local heritage professionals of non-Jewish descent showed the dominance of the logic according to which each ethnic group is responsible for taking care of its own heritage. The difference in terms of discourse here may evolve into contention in practice. While material property, such as built heritage, remains to be in private ownership, the logic of ethnic division of material responsibility refers to the non-use of public funds for restoration in case one is needed. This demonstrates correlation between the perception of heritage (discourse) and the character of decision-making towards it (practice).

3) *Strategies applied for the implementation of successful heritage-related projects;*

After the buildings were acquired, partial restoration took place at some of them. In the majority of cases it was implemented with the help of private funds and privately selected specialists, which meant the absence of public control over the quality of works. In cases when the community had no sufficient means to restore the acquired buildings or the community leaders showed no interest in it, the property remained unrestored and the fact of ownership prevented other interested parties from interfering.

A significant number of former Jewish property remains in state possession due to the nationalization that accompanied the Soviet rule. In absence of a proper restitution legislation the body that targets the building is either forced to rely on the random collaboration of the authorities, as happened in Odessa and L'viv, or to invest in purchasing the property, as in Chişinău. In either case it is not an entirely favorable situation for grass-roots Jewish-related heritage interpretation initiatives. Successful projects, such as in L'viv and partially in Odessa represent outstanding examples of the continued overcoming of multiple challenges and search for ways to collaborate with the authorities and other public bodies rather than flagships of cultural policies adopted top-down.

For Moldovan authorities, care for local tangible Jewish heritage

and concern for the memory of the Holocaust is seen as a sign of civility and being part of internationally-approved experience. However, the latest episodes that involved the interpretation of Jewish tangible heritage and the memory of the victims of the Holocaust in Chişinău demonstrate that authorities in Moldova have not yet developed a mechanism of appropriation of concern over the Jewish heritage and over it as a political capital. These episodes reflect the dynamics of non-cooperation between the local Jewish community and the authorities in the conflict over the ownership of the former *Mogen Dovid* yeshiva, over the reconstruction of the monument *'To the Victims of Fascism'* (see chapter 5) as well as the fact that not a single top-down initiative concerning the preservation of Jewish heritage has been implemented into practice.

One may observe a slow turn toward an internationalization of the framework of reference and a rediscovery of multicultural heritage in the post-Soviet republics. This principle may be observed in the reasoning of parties responsible for the *Synagogue Square* project in L'viv, who emphasized the necessity to implement the project as a sign of stability on the background of the currently-ongoing armed conflict in the East of Ukraine and the high destabilization of the county's economy and other spheres in the aftermath of Euromaidan and subsequent outbreaks of violence, political upheaval and territorial losses.

Similar rationale has been brought forward by the initiators of the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in Odessa – it is envisioned that the implementation of such a wide-scale cultural project would not only pay tribute to the image of Odessa as a city with a rich historic Jewish background, but would also oppose the image of present-day Ukraine as a country where ethnic-based intolerance, violence, and an extreme right-wing political mood prevail.

Heritage marks a space of contested interaction and integration of not only of the past, the present, and the future, but also of global and local aspirations and the interests of actors involved. For instance, the presence of international organizations, such as *UNESCO* (or aspirations to attract *UNESCO* and other international attention to local heritage sites) may contribute to the expression of concerns towards the condition of cultural heritage of vanished population groups at the local level. However, it is difficult to judge to what extent this concern is conditioned by the civic consciousness or by the possibility to 'convert' it as

contribution towards positive image of the country on international level.

Further on, there exist several challenges potential claimants of Jewish-related property meet while claiming the ownership rights, be they representatives of (local or international) Jewish communities, public or private bodies:

- ⚔ The necessity to face long-lasting and complicated bureaucratic procedure related to the transfer/purchase of property;

- ⚔ High costs required to restore and maintain property since in the majority of cases it has been reconstructed to meet the purposes of post-WWII use (as sport halls, swimming pools, cinemas, theaters, storehouses, etc.);

- ⚔ Difficulty in defining the final function of the building after acquisition/purchase. The size of present-day Jewish communities in post-Holocaust and post-Soviet Eastern Europe does not presuppose need for several grand synagogues. This condition makes potential use of the buildings for strictly religious purposes unmaintainable and requires either use for civic purposes (such as a community or cultural centre, a museum, an exhibition platform, etc.) or use by not the Jewish community alone. The fieldwork conducted for this thesis showed a high level of frustration in the question of perspectives for possible re-use of such property;

- ⚔ Ruins of Jewish-related heritage or voids where this heritage once stood for some actors (photographers, artists, writers, former residents of the cities and/or their descendants) represent value in their proper condition. Alteration of the current ruined condition of the sites would inevitably lead to the alteration of this symbolic meaning.

Chapter 4

Jewish Burial Landscape: from Destruction to Instrumentalisation

The chapter's objective is to discuss the Jewish burial landscape in all four cities under study from the point of actual presence or absence of Jewish cemeteries. The chapter lists the reasons why out of 4 cities under study today only in Chişinău there is a part of a 19th century Jewish cemetery, as opposed to the other 4 cities where the only visual markers of former cemeteries are recently installed memorials and/or spontaneous lapidariums.

4.1 Chişinău: a Half Ruined / Half Preserved Jewish Cemetery

Historically there were 3 historic Jewish cemeteries in Chişinău. The first one is the no-longer existing Jewish cemetery from the 17th-18th century formerly located in the 'lower' part of the city (at the place of present-day Ismail Street). The second one, known as the *Old Jewish Cemetery*, is, as well as the first one, completely destroyed by now and was also located in the 'lower' part of the city.

The third one, known as the *New Jewish Cemetery* originates from the early 19th century It is currently located in the *Sculeni* district, being the only

remaining historic Jewish cemetery in Chişinău (see figure II.2, II.3, II.4).[296] In total it equals around 11 square hectares and is currently officially under state protection as a monument of national significance. Back in 1958 the cemetery was divided into two parts, one of which was supposed to become a market square. Following this decision by 1960 the eastern part of the cemetery was destroyed, the tombstones crushed into pieces and used for the construction of the fence that divided the provisional market square space from the part of the cemetery that have remained intact.

Eventually the public recreation park *Alunelul* was built at the place of the former eastern part of the cemetery with pieces of *matsevas* used for paving the alleys of the park. In 1978 the cemetery was closed, but in 1993 it was again temporarily allowed to make funerals there. In 2002 a charitable foundation *DOR le DOR* was registered under the supervision of the local Jewish community and for several years this foundation was responsible for the cemetery's safety and overall condition. Territory surveying, clean-up, partial restoration of the stone fence surrounding the cemetery, the installation of new entry gates, and surveying of the graves (more than 23,000) were carried out. Currently the cemetery is within the municipal property and is under the supervision of a municipal enterprise *Combinatul Funerar*, to which the supervision over the cemetery was transferred in 2006.

Overgrown vegetation that since then has gradually spread over the cemetery became the reason for volunteers of both Jewish and non-Jewish descent, primarily students, to initiate regular clean-up sessions of the site. The Jewish student organization *Gigel* organizes the clean-up initiatives on a regular basis. The graduate students of the *Ion Creanga State Pedagogical University* (located in close proximity to the cemetery) also participate in the clean-up actions. A voluntary donation of a day's work organized by these students (solely, without the *Gilel*) in November 2014 was extensively covered by the media. According to the initiator, the students decided to take actions out of a feeling of civic responsibility for the site formulated in a non-ethnic way: "it is our task to show the public that there are people who care. This is our cultural heritage, and my friends and I will do everything possible in order to preserve it."

Several similar voluntary days of work followed, some of them organized on Saturday. To my question about whether the action participants

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[296] Located at Milan street, 1.

are aware of the meaning of Saturday in Jewish tradition as the day of rest, the initiator responded that for students Saturday was the only day they may mobilize themselves in order not to interfere with their academic schedule. Sunday instead is the day of rest (also, due to the Soviet practice the voluntary work was 'traditionally' held on Saturdays via so-called *subbotniki*). In this case one observes a mismatch between an understanding of actions needed to be taken towards the cemetery space as towards heritage by (observant) Jewish and non-Jewish actors.

While the cemetery occupies a special status within the Jewish tradition, which is related to requirement that Jews should be buried among other Jews (thus the cemetery's land is regarded as holy) the Jews happen to visit cemeteries rather seldom.[297] There are certain times when visiting the cemetery are most appropriate, but one would traditionally refrain from doing it on Shabbat. For non-Jewish residents not bound by that particular tradition the Jewish cemetery's value is represented by its historical features. An episode with the clean-up of the Chişinău Jewish cemetery indicates distance between the value ascribed to heritage objects and spaces by various actors, which influences potential differences in actions held. The episode exemplifies an attempt to pay respect towards a Jewish site with the help of actions beyond the Jewish tradition. Grass-roots initiatives when non-Jewish residents mark the mass-killing sites of the Jews with crosses or marking a Jewish grave or a monument with flowers (which is discouraged in the Jewish tradition) represent other examples of such kind.

The cemeteries scattered throughout Moldova have also become the subject of ttelevision programs made by local journalists, which is a recent phenomenon. Beyond any doubt such media coverage and involvement raises recognition of Jewish-related sites as heritage within the local and international audience. However, the absolute majority of these programs emphasizes the dichotomy 'we' and 'the other' reporting about the Jewish culture as about foreign, unfamiliar and an exotic to the present-day local context.

The last tangible heritage object to be discussed here is the ruined former *Bait Taara* burial synagogue at the Jewish cemetery in Chişinău (see figure II.4). Built in the late 19th century, the building was severely damaged during WWII, and partially destroyed by bombing and then by an earthquake

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[297] Valery Dymshits, "The Jewish Cemetery: a Place where One Does not Go," *East European Jewish Affairs* 37, no. 3 (December 2007): 319–333.

of 1977. Since the 2000s the spread of international, as well as heritage, tourism has turned these ruins into a metaphor for East-European Jewish heritage sites in decay as this is how the site has appeared in multiple travel blogs. While the cemetery and the burial synagogue have been under the supervision of the charity foundation *Dor Le Dor*, there have started initial discussions about the provisional restoration of the *Bait Taara.* These discussions, however, have not brought to any further actions after the transfer of supervision over the cemetery to the municipal institutional body.

The ruins attracted the attention of the public and authorities in relation to the 70th anniversary (in 2015) of the liberation of the concentration camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau. On February 6th 2015 the mayor Dorin Chirtoacă publicly expressed the city administration's intention to assist in the reconstruction of a building, which he has referred to as 'the chapel.' The mayor has referred to the international experience of restored synagogues and Jewish cemeteries as an argument for provisional restoration, but not the deplorable condition of the ruined building or intention to pay tribute to the victims of the Holocaust.[298] The mayor has stated that in case the Jewish community agrees with an offer to initiate restoration, it may gradually proceed, under the condition that the Jewish community might be responsible for the financial burden of the restoration, including responsibility of the fundraising campaign among international donors. However, no reconstruction plan has been further proposed by any side, nor has any particular work followed.

The fact that the mayor used the term 'chapel' for the *Bait Taara* has caused resentment within the Chişinău Jewish mediasphere. Two days after the announcement made by the mayor, on February 8th 2015 an article was published in the *Moldova's Jewish News Portal 'Dor-le-Dor'* emphasizing the incorrectness use of the term 'chapel' in relation to the ruined building.[299] This episode, as well as one with limited vocabulary while reporting the news about the provisional restoration of former *Mogen -Dovid* yeshiva (see chapter 3), indicates the lack of linguistic instrumentarium for dealing with Jewish

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[298] "Restaurarea capelei din cimitirul evreiesc din Chişinău," ["Restoration of the Chapel at the Jewish Cemetery in Chişinău"], Chişinău Mayor's Office, last modified February 6, 2015, accessed June 10, 2015,
http://www.chisinau.md/libview.php?l=ro&idc=403&id=10828

[299] "Vosstanovit' «chasovnyu»?" ["Restore 'the Chapel'?"], DorLeDor News Portal, last modified February 8, 2015, accessed June 10, 2015,
http://www.dorledor.info/article/восстановить «часовню».

heritage. As a consequence of this lack of language tools (and lack of easily and publicly accessible knowledge) the objects of non-Christian heritage are being interpreted and appropriated within the help of a familiar vocabulary and semantic framework – this was the reason why the *Bait Taara* appeared as 'a chapel' even in the official press-release about the restoration initiative issued by the city administration. This case of cultural and semantic appropriation of Jewish heritage is not unique and instances of this process have been studied in multiple areas of Eastern Europe, including Ukraine.[300]

As to the practical sense of provisional restoration of the *Bait Taara* and the further use of the building, both remain unclear. Restoration for the purpose of making the building functional again would need the cemetery also to be functional in order to execute burial ceremonies. This, according to regulation, is not the case since no additional burial is allowed at the cemetery. Thus, there remains the option of restoring the former burial synagogue as a monument or to locate a museum there. These options, though, have not been publicly discussed. According to the head of the *Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova*, one may find the traces of bullets on the walls and doors of the *Bait Taara.* This may indicate that war-time executions were carried out there, which resulted in more than 800 people killed. In case the provisional reconstruction would be targeted at memorialization purposes, this data may be turned into a message for the promotion of discourse of shared memory and responsibility.

4.2 Odessa: Voids instead of Cemeteries

As well as in L'viv and Minsk, no old Jewish cemetery has been preserved in Odessa, while the Jewish graves from the 20th century may be found at the cemeteries in the Eastern and Southern outskirts of the city.

The *First (or Old) Jewish Cemetery* was founded in 1793 at the currently central area of the city, in close proximity to *Privoz Market* and *Central Railway Station.* The cemetery was placed nearby the Christian, Muslim and Karaim ones, so the area occupied large space.[301] All the cemeteries were demolished in 1937, with the *Preobrazhenskiy Park* and *Odessa Zoo* built instead. The *Yanvaets Stadium* (located in close proximity to the zoo) appeared at the place of the old

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[300] Anna Chebotariova, "How Mikveh became Vodokhreshcha", *New Eastern Europe* 17, no. 3-4 (May-August 2015), 63-72.

[301] Located between Novoschepnoy Ryad street, Mechnikov street and the buildings along the Vodoprovidnaya street.

Jewish graveyard. Today only four small yellow pillars that were part of the former entrance to the first Jewish cemetery remained built within the sequence of buildings at one of the streets.

The *Second (or New) Jewish cemetery* was opened in 1873 in a thirty-minute walk from the first one, in the direction of Lyustdorf suburb. Victims of the pogrom from 1905 were buried there. The cemetery was closed by the Soviet authorities in 1978 and further demolished in order to organize the *Artillery park* on its place. An imitation of the former gates to the cemetery currently stands near the entrance to the park to the side as a monument. This monument, however, does not honor the people of Jewish descent buried at the site, but members of the *Foreign Propaganda Board at the Odessa Underground Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine* shot to death at the site in 1919. One of the victims of this shooting was Jeanne Labourbe, a revolutionary of French descent, whose life story has circulated in the USSR via multiple publications and 2 movies.

Finally, the *Third Jewish Cemetery* opened in 1945 at the Eastern outskirt of the city (at Khimichna Street), functions until now, it is one of the largest cemeteries in Ukraine and it contains a *Memorial to the Victims of Pogrom from 1905* transferred there from the Second Jewish cemetery. The Jews of Odessa are also being buried at a separate section of *Tairovske (or Novogorodske) Cemetery* opened in 1961 at the Southern outskirt of the city within a thirty-minute drive from the *Odessa International Airport.*[302]

Due to their location and recent age, none of the functioning Jewish cemeteries may easily be interpreted as heritage sites of international appeal. Due to the demolition of the old Jewish cemeteries in Odessa, an effort and political will are required to make these sites a landmark for commemorative and tourist interest. This is the core difference of all four cities under discussion (with the exception of Chişinău in terms of presence of cemetery) from such prominent destinations of Jewish heritage tourism as Kazimierz (the historical district of Kraków) and Josefov (the Jewish quarter in Prague).

4.3 L'viv: Bulldozers and a Lapidarium

As mentioned in the chapter 3, the location site of the former synagogue *'the*

Golden Rose' was one out of three sites that has been targeted by the *International Design Competition* since 2010.

The second site is located behind the former Jewish hospital and was formerly part of the old Jewish cemetery of Lwow. The Neo-Moorish style building of the former Jewish hospital was built in 1898-1901 in close proximity to the medieval Jewish cemetery (closed for further burials in 1855) out of red and yellow bricks. Today the hospital hosts the municipal maternity hospital No.3 (see figure I.19).[303] The Jewish character of the building is recognizable by the set of the Stars of David located below the solid dome.

The above-mentioned cemetery has been known since the 14th century and by the moment of its closure in 1855 it contained the graves of, among others, the most prominent representatives of local Jewry, as well as victims of the pogroms. The cemetery was destroyed by the Nazis in 1943 and since a lot of *matsevas* have been relocated and used as paving material, almost an empty space remained by the end of the war nearby the central part of the city. This circumstance was used by the Soviet authorities and by 1947 the *Central Market*, also known as the *Krakowski market* has been organized there and is still functioning.

In the 1990s the possibility to publicly discuss the memorialization of the market space as historically Jewish appeared. However, this possibility was overshadowed by tensions that appeared over the question whether the market itself should and could be relocated. On the one hand, since, even covered by the concrete, the soil still holds the remains, the space remains to be holy according to canons of Judaism, and the space may theoretically be reorganized and memorialized as a burial ground, in possession of the local Jewish community or not. On the other hand, moving the cemetery would require investment from the city administration that would be responsible for providing the neighboring area with the market space in proximity to current market. Thus, apart from financial concerns (the cost of moving the market), there appear logistical issues, as well as a possible danger of the epidemic nature.[304]

The situation with the market functioning on the site of a medieval Jewish cemetery has been continuously attracting international attention. In 1996 representatives of the City Executive Committee and rabbis of L'viv signed

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[303] Located at Jacob Rappoport street, 8.
[304] see Susak, "Jewish Heritage," 32-33.

a protocol that allowed for the possibility of the allocation of the new site to the market and for the conservation of the cemetery site.[305] Since the issue did not develop since then, it was raised again multiple times. For instance, in 2012 representatives of the *International Committee for the Preservation of Cemeteries, Mass Graves and Historic Sites in New York* that unites rabbis from US, Germany, Israel and France, appealed to the mayor of L'viv with a request for a meeting in order to discuss the possible relocation of the market and recognize the site according to its initial function.

The image of the gravestones used as construction material is widely present in discussions about prospects for the preservation of Jewish-related heritage sites in L'viv, including the debates about the present-day location of Krakivsky market. For instance, in 2013 the *Jerusalem Post* published an article entitled '*Ukraine: Town to Stop Paving with Jewish Graves'*, which referred to the functioning of the market on its current location as a 'blasphemy'. Although the author clearly stated that the practice of using *matsevas* for construction purposes in the city referred to the time of WWII and right after it, the phrasing "the municipality of L'viv, Ukraine, recently announced its decision to stop using Jewish headstones as paving materials"[306] caused an international outrage. The mayor of L'viv replied with a statement that such practice is absent in the city currently[307] and a journalistic investigation disproving the statements published in *Jerusalem Post* followed.[308]

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[305] Samuel D. Gruber, "Ukraine: Lest We Forget Lviv's Krakovsky Jewish Cemetery – Now a Bustling Marketplace," last modified August 7, 2008, accessed April 18, 2014, http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.hu/2008/08/ukraine-lest-we-forget-lvivs-krakovsky.html.

[306] Nissan Tzur, "Ukraine: Town to stop paving with Jewish graves," *The Jerusalem Post*, last modified March 3, 2013, accessed April 16, 2014, http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-News/Ukraine-Town-to-stop-paving-with-Jewish-graves.

[307] Marta Kryvets'ka, "«Jerusalem Post» vylyv vidro brudu na L'viv, - mer," *Zaxid.net*, last modified March 5, 2013, accessed April 18, 2014, http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?jeruzalem_pozt_viliv_vidro_brudu_na_L'viv_mer&objectId=1279484.

[308] Shimon Briman, "L'vov: yevreyskiy uzel" [L'viv: a Jewish node], *Deni*, last modified May 21, 2013, accessed March 12, 2014, http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/mirovye-diskussii/lvov-evreyskiy-uzel; see Sheikhet's response in Meylakh Sheykhet, "L'vov: yevreyskiy uzel-2" [L'viv: a Jewish node-2], last modified June 18, 2013, accessed March 12, 2014, http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/mirovye-diskussii/lvov-evreyskiy-uzel-2.

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However, the article in *Jerusalem Post* mentioned a factual and important episode when in 2012 fragments of *matsevas* were discovered in a location at the outskirt of the city and, instead of being used for construction purposes, were brought to the former Jewish hospital and stored there as an improvised lapidarium (see figure II.5). It was organized spontaneously in 2012 and today, together with other markers, this lapidarium reminds about the former fate of the site. The organization of lapidarium was accompanied by outrage, as was nearly every episode related to Jewish heritage interpretation in post-1991 L'viv. The chief specialist of the Judaica department at the *L'viv Museum of the History of Religion* described the matter in the following way:

"Just before the Euro-2012 championship, in the spring [2012 – A.F.], I got a call from a colleague of mine, one of the teachers at the *Hesed-Arieh* kindergarten. And she said to me that she has been walking on the border of the present-day cemetery at the outskirts of L'viv and found a pile of stones, and it had seemed that these stones had inscriptions in Hebrew. Together with the whole kindergarten we went there, and nearby one of the country houses found out about fragments of *matsevas* from the 19th century (later on various experts created a database of these matsevas). Then I went to local Jewish organizations asking for help in this matter. It turned out that the only one, who got interested in helping was Rabbi Bald, who agreed to give the money to rent a truck to take these fragments of *matsevas* out of that remote place. I found the owner of the county house and we persuaded him not to use these *matsevas* as material for construction. He had no idea how Jewish tombstones looked. […] Next, I convinced Rabbi Bald to go to the town hall, we arrived there and explained the situation, the municipality allocated a temporary spot for these fragments – the yard near the former Jewish Hospital. This makes sense, since in close proximity to this place there once was located a medieval Jewish cemetery […]. Then there was a scandal. That morning, when people from the town hall had to take the fragments of *matsevas* out, TV crews appeared […]. For a European city this is a scandal. At lunch all central channels already knew about it – our [Ukrainian – A.F.] channels and Russian channels, so this story did not do the city a good service at that time […]. And when the scandal declined, everybody forgot about the *matsevas*. It is unclear where these matsevas appeared from at all. We found another pile at the outskirts; we took them in the lapidarium at the Rappoport Street. This location was given by the city. At first it was a temporary measure, but it seems, in the end, this location is going to be "legalized" […].[309]

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[309] Maksym Martyn, interview to Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

In 2014 the *Direction of Urban Development at L'viv City Council* claimed the need to develop a new detailed master plan for the improvement and landscaping of the area bounded by Rappaporta, Kleparivs'ka, Brovarna and Bazarna streets (this territory embraces both the former Jewish hospital and the Krakivsky market, see figures II.6, II.7). The reason for such a need was explained by the fact that configuration of the roads nearby the area defined back in the 18th century currently forms an inconvenient traffic interchange, its current capacity does not meet the requirements, and should be changed for convenience of both the drivers and the pedestrians. However, the *Executive Committee of L'viv City Council* did not approve the initiative of the private enterprise *'Nash Rynok'* to develop the needed master plan, arguing that private enterprises have their own interest in the matter and since the area discussed above has heritage status, it should be the public body, such as the City Council, that would develop and finance the plan.

As for the *International Design Competition,* it did not aim to relocate the market, but instead was focused on the area in between the former Jewish hospital and the current market as a space for the provisional *Besoilem Memorial Park.* Announced in 2010, at this particular site the competition aimed "to redefine the site as public space that respects its former use as a cemetery, commemorates those buried here, and provides opportunities for reflecting on Jewish history and its legacy."[310] The rationale behind the project was the interpretation of the site as holding an "extremely important religious and historical significance,"[311] which is not recognized due to multiple reasons. Apart from the use of the former cemetery site as a market space, the area around it is not maintained as a memorial one and market customers, as well as other residents, cross the former cemetery area on an everyday basis. The project aims to change the character of the site and thus to contribute to the education of respectful behavior at the site. The first prize was awarded to Israeli architect Ronit Lombrozo from Jerusalem and the project might be implemented after the completion of the *Synagogue Square*.[312] Meanwhile the *Center* aimed at attracting attention to the former Jewish character of the site organizing a small exhibition in summer 2015 entitled '*Conventional Signs. Traces of Jewish history at the Krakow Market'* held within the annual summer school

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[310] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 34.
[311] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 32.
[312] The winning design, as well as other submitted projects are to be seen at http://archilviv.city-adm.L'viv.ua/en/content/view/98/9/, accessed January 10, 2015.

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The year 1855 was marked by the opening of the new Jewish cemetery (currently located near Schevchenko Street) as the old one had been closed due to the need for more space for burials. After the L'viv Jewish community was dispersed in 1962 the cemetery was united with the Christian Yaniv cemetery and today is in use by the local Jewish community as the cemetery's compact part (see figure III.10).

4.4 Minsk: Merge of Burial and Memorial Landscapes

The metaphor used as an epigraph for introduction to this thesis of a literary character openly expressing his grief mixed with irony while thanking authorities and local residents for building "a very good stadium" on the half of local Jewish cemetery is relevant for Minsk as well as for Odessa (see above).

As well as in Odessa and L'viv, not a single old Jewish cemetery is preserved in the Minsk of today. The *Dinamo* stadium was built in 1931 on the place of an old Jewish cemetery closed in 1850s. Another 19th century Jewish cemetery fully vanished by the early 20th century under the *Central Train Station* built in 1870s.

The most known old Jewish cemetery emerged in the 1870s and functioned until the 1950s.[313] During WWII (in 1941-43) the territory of the cemetery was part of the Minsk ghetto. In 1951 the new *Moscow Cemetery* was opened in the north-east of the city and the cemetery at Kaliektarnaja Street was closed. In 1970 this closed cemetery was torn down in order to make a city park at its site. Since 1991 the meaning and value of the area as a site of Jewish burial landscape has merged with treating this area as a site of Jewish memorial landscape. Today the site of former cemetery 'hosts' several memorials to the victims of the Holocaust in Minsk and in the wartime extermination camps around the city. These memorials were installed in between 1991 and 2008 (see figure III.8, III.9, III.10; see details in chapter 5). Symbolic lapidarium made out of pieces of Jewish gravestones reminds about the initial use of the site as a cemetery (see figure II.8). As well as in the other cities under discussion, currently the Jews from Minsk are buried at a separate section in the commonly

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[313] Located between Kaliektarnaja, Suchaja and Rakaŭskaja streets.

used mixed cemetery, in Minsk it is the *Moscow Cemetery* that opened in 1951.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

The 2012 movie *Pokłosie* (*Aftermath*) directed by Władysław Pasikowski, co-produced by Poland, Russia and the Netherlands and inspired by a non-fiction book *Neighbors* by Jan Gross, devoted to the murder of the whole Jewish community of Jedwabne in 1941 by their Polish neighbors, directly introduces the metaphor of use of *matsevas* as embodiment of memory about the life and death of the Jews who used to live in a given location. According to the plot, in the 2000s in a distant Polish locality one of the main characters pinches or buys out from neighbors old Jewish tombstones used as paving stones for sidewalks and for other auxiliary needs in order to relocate them into a new symbolic 'Jewish cemetery' that he made in a wheat field owned by him. The number of gravestones at the field reached 328, and the act itself brings on discontent and alienation from the Polish neighbors (as no other neighbours were left after WWII). The character explains his reasoning for such an outrageous action by saying: "I do not know why I did it, but I could not have acted other way […] I thought this was not right".

The feeling of deep discontent similar to the one expressed by the protagonist of the *Aftermath* movie was the motive force behind actions of real people who either in 2014 installed the commemoration marks about the *tsaddiks* buried at the L'viv's medieval Jewish cemetery or who keep participating at the clean-up sessions at the Jewish cemetery in Chişinău. Still these actors ascribe the value understood differently to the sites of former or preserved old Jewish cemeteries. Odessa represents a remarkable exception from the other cities under study due to the absence of old Jewish cemeteries and absence of commemorative markers that would identify the original destination of the sites where these cemeteries were located. The only existing plaque at the site of one of the city's old Jewish cemeteries honors not the Jews buried there, but also the heroes of the Communist revolutionary canon. In Minsk the merge of the Jewish burial landscape (the site of the former cemetery) and the memorial landscape is determined by the historic circumstance of the burial site being part of the wartime Minsk ghetto. Thus the Soviet policy of post-war urban development that determined the actual destruction of the Jewish cemetery in Minsk contributed to the possibility of turning the site into a memorial after 1991.

Chapter 5

Jewish Memorial Landscape:
New Life of the Old Monuments

This chapter offers a descriptive overview and further analysis of the Jewish-related memorial landscape in all four cities under study. This landscape is understood as all monuments and memorials to the victims of anti-Jewish violence (pogroms and the Holocaust). The chapter examines the social milieu that made the making and unveiling of these memorials possible. An emphasis on the character of involvement of actors such as representatives of local and international Jewish organizations and communities, and national and local authorities allows tracing the aspects of ideological and political use of this landscape.

5.1 Chişinău: Marking the Pogrom, Marking the Holocaust

The Jewish-related memorial landscape in Chişinău is represented by three monuments/memorials: 1) *To the Victims of Chişinău Ghetto* (see figure III.2); 2) *To the Victims of Fascism* (see figure III.3); 3) *To the Victims of Chişinău Pogrom* (see figure III.1). In the following passages I discuss the process of the construction of all three monuments/memorials and the further political use of commemorative actions that take place at those memorial sites annually.

According to data provided by historian Vladimir Solonari, the

number of indigenous Jews killed by the Romanians, Germans, and their local supporters in occupied Transnistria of 1940-41 reaches between 115,000 and 180,000 people, the majority of whom are from Bessarabia and Bukovina, in addition to between 105,000 and 120,000 deported Romanian Jews, also killed in Transnistria[314]. Any assessment and discussion of the Holocaust in academic and public spheres in Moldova is highly sensitive. The question of behaviour and voluntary or involuntary participation of the local population in the extermination of Bessarabian Jewry is highly tense and has not reached the point of recognition in either academic or public spheres at the national level. Such a state of affairs is caused by the fact that the responsibility of the Romanian army for the Holocaust in occupied Transnistria constitutes a difficult past that a significant part of Moldovan society is unwilling to accept. This, in its turn, is explained by identity aspirations linked to Romania, as well as a certain value of the're-unification' political project that gained more visibility in approximation of 2018[315].

Before 1991 according to the narrative on the WWII, termed in the Soviet Union *the Great Patriotic War*, in Soviet Moldavia the intentional extermination of Jews during the war was minimized and glossed over as the losses and suffering of "peaceful civilians." Thus, there was an intentional strategy to keep silent about the Holocaust in academic, as well as in commemorative discourse.[316]

The first monument to be discussed here – *To the Victims of Chişinău Ghetto* (see figure III.2) represents the case of a memorial built as an immediate and direct result of the liberalization of memory politics after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The end of the USSR has brought the possibility to speak publicly and openly about matters related to Jewish memory and the

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[314] Vladimir Solonari. "Public Discourses on the Holocaust in Moldova: Justification, Instrumentalization, and Mourning," *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic (University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 380; see also Vladimir Solonari, "Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northam Bukovina, July-August 1941," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* no. 8 (2007): 749-87.

[315] See Dumitru. "The Use and Abuse," 49-73; Solonari, "Public Discourses," 377-402; Diana Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration in the Holocaust: The Borderlands of Romania and the Soviet Union* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[316] For details see Zvi Gitelman, ed. *'Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR'* (Indiana University Press, 1997).

Holocaust. The monument was built soon after Moldova gained independence. At the same time, appearance of this memorial is characteristic for the involvement of local Jewish organizations that were opening in the country since the late 1980s. Local organizations, such as the *Republican Society for Jewish Culture,* as well as international ones such as the *Permanent Mission of the Jewish Agency for Israel* and *Israeli Cultural Center,* have joined their efforts together with individuals (who have contributed financially) in order to mark the site of the former entrance to the war-time Jewish ghetto as a memorial site. The idea to erect this monument appeared as early as 1991 and was completed by 1993 for the 90th anniversary of the notorious Chişinău pogrom of 1903. The monument was designed by famous (since Soviet times) architect and at that time the chairman of the *Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the Republic of Moldova* (founded in 1989) Semion Shoikhet. The monument depicts an old rabbi, who is grabbing his chest with his left hand on the background of two plates with an opening in the middle in the form of the Mogen Dovid broken in two halves. The inscription on the plates (in the state language, Russian and Hebrew) reads *The Martyrs and Victims of the Kishinev ghetto! We, the Living, Remember you*.

It is important to emphasize that although the authorities have officially allowed this memorial to be constructed, it was the local Jewish community and multiple Jewish organizations that have carried the financial load for the monument. The creation of this memorial site was an embodiment of the commemoration of the Holocaust and its victims as an internal Jewish matter, with no declared need for official bodies to be involved in the process. Since the 1990s Jewish organizations that have appeared in Moldova have been the main bodies that have stimulated the commemoration of the Holocaust. Those organizations have claimed the issue to be one of their main tasks, which also include welfare and Jewish education. The building of the monument to the victims of the Chişinău ghetto exemplifies such activity. This situation wasdistinctive for the early 1990s, when the state-related memory politics mainly ignored the Jewish-related victimhood and Jewish-related matters of the local history.

According to Diana Dumitru, among non-Jewish Moldovan academics in 1990s the problem of the Holocaust remained almost unnoticed due to the politicization of history that prioritized certain topics, such as the identity of the local population, the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact and the outcomes of WWII, the famine of 1946–47, the Stalinist deportations, and forced collectivization. These topics were (and still are) considered to be more important than others,

including the Holocaust.[317] Still, the monument has become a place of memory for the Holocaust in Bessarabia with the annual rally-requiem under the auspices of the *Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova* held there. Since 2006, after the *UN General Assembly* declared January 27 to be the *International Holocaust Remembrance Day[318]*, the date of the rally has shifted to January 27.

In 2001-2009, during the governing of the *Party of Communists of Moldova*, the issue of the Holocaust has gained more recognition in academic, educational and public spheres within a political agenda of support for ethnic minorities proclaimed by the party, efforts to incorporate European-oriented discourse in external policy, and the revival of certain aspects of WWII memorialization in a manner ideologically close to the Soviet one.[319] The 2003 decision to transfer copies of documents devoted to investigations of crimes related to the Holocaust held at the domestic Security Service to the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, as well as the 2005 publication of a book on the Holocaust of Bessarabian Jews authored by Sergiu Nazaria, and a 2007 decision to introduce an integrated history textbooks (instead of textbooks on the history of Romanians) for middle and high schools, where several pages were devoted to the Holocaust, may be attributed to this tendency of making the Holocaust more 'visible' within official discourse of the history of Moldova. As stated by Diana Dumitru, "in contrast with professional historians, till 2009 for the most part it has been Moldovan officials who have made efforts to memorialize the Holocaust."[320]

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[317] See Dumitru, "The Use and Abuse of the Holocaust," 49-73; Diana Dumitru, "V labirinte politizatsii: prepodavaniye Kholokosta v shkolakh Respubliki Moldova" [In the Labyrinth of Politicization: the Teaching of the Holocaust in Schools in the Republic of Moldova]. Holokost i Suchasnist', 1(3): 27-38, 2008; Solonari, "Public Discourses," 377-402; Dmitry Tartakovsky. "Conflicting Holocaust Narratives in Moldovan Nationalist Historical Discourse," *East European Jewish Affairs* 38, no. 2 (2008): 221-229; Vladimir Solonari, "From Silence to Justification? Moldovan Historians on the Holocaust of Bessarabian and Transnistrian Jews," *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 3 (2002): 435–457.

[318] Declared on November 1, 2005.

[319] The latter includes renovation of the memorial complex "the Eternity" with incorporation to it a monument to 1992 Transnistrian conflict. The other action has been restoration of a memorial "Serpeni Bridgehead"; see Gabriela Popa, "War Remembrance in the Republic of Moldova: Commemoration, State-formation and Belonging," (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2011), 165-186.

[320] Dumitru, "The Use and Abuse of the Holocaust," 54-55.

This strategy, however, ran up against the position of professional historians in the republic, who reacted to Nazaria's book with debates and then protested against the mandatory adoption of the new textbooks (authored by him) in public schools[321].

The *Party of Communists of Moldova* actively used the tangible heritage and reconstruction of memorials for the purposes of politics of memory. For instance, the party invested in the grand reconstruction of a number of memorials related to the war, including the *Memorial Complex 'Serpen Bridgehead'* 60 kilometers to the east of Chişinău that was reconstructed in 2003 and inaugurated on August 22, 2004. Another example is the reconstruction in 2006 of the *Memorial Complex 'Eternity'*. Built initially in 1975 as the *Memorial of Victory* to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the *Victory in the Great Patriotic War,* after reconstruction it was re-inaugurated on August 24, 2006 to mark the date of the liberation of Bessarabia. As stated by Gabriela Popa, in 2001-2009, "commemoration activities have been monopolized by the state, bringing back the Soviet narrative of associating the Romanian as the fascist." At the same time

> "in an attempt to create a new usable Moldovan identity, different from the Romanian one, the Communist party has been searching for legitimization and was trying to drift from the association with the Soviet past."[322]

After the change in power in 2009-10 under the influence of the newly arranged political alliance "for European integration," the vector of memory politics has again shifted towards efforts and emphasis of decommunization. This has presupposed that the topic of the oppression of local population by the Soviet regime, which has been recognized as a totalitarian one, has received priority as opposed to the Holocaust. In 2010 such actions as creation of a special commission for study and assessment of *the Totalitarian Communist regime in Moldova,*[323] installation of a memorial stone *In Memory of the Victims of Soviet Occupation and Totalitarian Communist Regime*, the declaration of June 28,

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[321] On dilemmas of construction of national memory canon in the history textbooks in Moldova see Sergiu Musteaţă, "We and our Neighbours: what we know about each other. History teaching and Textbooks in the Republic of Moldova and Romania," *New Europe College Black Sea Ling Program Yearbook (*2013-2014), 139-191.

[322] See Popa, "War Remembrance".

[323] See Andrei Cuşco, "The "Politics of Memory" and "Historical Policy" in Post-Soviet Moldova," in *The Convolutions of Historical Politics*, ed. Alexei Miller and Maria Lipman (Central European University Press, 2012): 175-210.

1940 to be *The Day of Soviet Occupation*, opening of the *Museum of Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions*, are the actions directed to consolidate the strategy of decommunization as the leading indoctrinational strategy.

In 2010 representatives of high authorities for the first time participated in commemorative events dedicated to deportations of the local population from July 6, 1949. The commemorative events took place on the square in front of the central railway station in Chişinău. Since then this became the tradition repeated annualy, with the status of that site as a symbolic one consolidated by the erection and inaguration of the *Monument in Memory of Victims of Deportations by Communist/Stalinist Regime* in 2013. However, the new government has not ignored the memory about the Holocaust completely, but has rather used it for political purposes, although in a different way in comparison with the government of 2001-2009. Within the efforts of decommunization there was an attempt to use the Holocaust in support of the competitive victimhood rhetoric. For instance, it was the 2010 initiative of the Mayor's Office to create a common *Museum of the Holocaust* and the *Museum of Soviet Occupation*, planned to be thematically united by the embracing traumatic discourse. This initiative has been opposed by the Jewish community and only *the Museum of Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions* has been created (see chapter 6).

The period after 2010 is characterized by increasing international influence on the character of memorialization of the Holocaust in Moldova. In March 2011 the Parliament adopted a law in order to enable the cross-border transmission of professional indemnity insurance data from 1933-45 processed by the *State Service of the Archive of Republic of Moldova* to the *US Holocaust Memorial Museum* for purposes of research in order to study crimes which occurred during the Second World War. This and other data was then processed and presented at the conference on the Holocaust against the Jews and Roma people that took place on the territory of present-day Moldova and Ukraine in 1941-44. The conference titled *Transnistria – the Forgotten Holocaust* took place in Chişinău in 2012 under the auspices of the *Institute for Global and European Studies* at the University of Leipzig, in cooperation with the *Center for the Study of Totalitarianism at the State University of Moldova* and the *Holocaust Museum in Odessa*. The director of USHMM, Radu Ioanid, reported that the documents on Bessarabia kept at the museum represent evidence that the Holocaust in Bessarabia was not only an influence of Nazi Germany, but it was a local phenomenon as well, and the local population accepted the opportunity kill Jews without protest. This has been an important step in debates among

professional historians on the issue of the behaviour, participation and, eventually, responsibility of local people for the extermination of Jews in occupied Transnistia.

At the same time, the Party of Communists that ended up in opposition since 2010 kept taking measures to memorialize the Holocaust by registering in the parliament in 2011 a draft law *On the Inadmissibility of Actions for Rehabilitation of Nazi Criminals and their Accomplices.* The draft law has been examined by a Profile Parliamentary Committee in 2012, which recommended to the plenary of the Parliament to reject the document due to non-compliance with the *Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Moldova* from 1991 and the *Declaration of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe "On the Condemnation of the Totalitarian Communist Regimes*" from 2006. In continuation, on July 17, 2013 representatives of the *Union of Communist Youth of Moldova* and the regional branch of the *World Without Nazism* international organization have gathered for a rally at the *Monument to the Victims of Ghetto* in the presence of deputies of the *Party of Communists*, who claimed the rally to be held to commemorate the date when Ion Antonescu in 1941 signed a decree that marked the beginning of the extermination of the civilian population of Bessarabia, mainly Jews and Roma people.

Taking into account that by that time July 6 had already become a significant commemorative date within memorialization of Stalinist deportations, actions such as the above-mentioned rally may be interpreted as an attempt to 'keep the balance' in commemorating both the fate of Jewish and the local population. It is important though that these 'balancing' commemorative actions are performed by competing political actors, who do not unite the efforts to commemorate both episodes of local history, but rather prefer to be associated with either sympathy to the Holocaust-related victimhood or the one related to deportations of 1940s.

Participation of high officials at the memorial actions devoted to the Holocaust became common practice in Moldova, as well as use of pro-European rhetoric and incorporation of international frame of memorialization in relation to the events. For instance, on January 27, 2013 two high officials, that time the Parliament Speaker and the Prime Minister participated at the memorial event organized by the *AJJDC* and the *Jewish Cultural Center KEDEM* dated to the *International Holocaust Remembrance Day* designated by the UN. In his speech, the Parliament Speaker strayed from the subject of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, preferring to treat Jewish history within the framework of a history

of ethnic minorities in Moldova, as well as paying tribute to all victims of the WWII, referring to the tens of million people that are to be remembered. In turn, that time Prime Minister called the Holocaust one of the greatest crimes against humanity, using an internationally accepted formula while, however, avoiding discussing the Holocaust in occupied Transnistria. He also mentioned signing a decree on the establishment of the *Holocaust Museum in Moldova* that is to be located at the *National Museum of Archaeology and History* (which indicates state support of the museum, as well as its possible status as a national museum), referring to the international experience of establishing such museums. However, the Prime Minister avoided an explanation on the reasoning for the decision to create such museums, as well as who would have provisionally been responsible for its design, content and management. No further development of this issue has followed.

On January 29, 2015 the high-level *International Remembrance Conferenc*e dated to the 70th anniversary of the liberation of concentration camps from Auschwitz-Birkenau took place on Chişinău, organized by the Foreign Ministry in partnership with the *Bureau of Interethnic Relations* and the Jewish Community of Moldova. The Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration responded to the inquiry about the non-existance of the Holocaust museum that

> "in order to create a museum it is not enough to allocate the building, one needs a concept, artifacts and documents".

The Holocaust, memory about it and efforts to commemorate its victims remain a politicized issue in present-day Moldova and may be interpreted as a touchstone used by competing political actors. The day before the above mentioned conference, on January 28, 2015 the annual rally devoted to the memory of victims of the Holocaust has been visited by the highest officials of the country, including the then-acting Prime Minister Iuria Leancă. The other politician present at the rally was Igor Dodon, the chairman of the left opposition *Party of Socialists*, which gained a majority of mandates at the parliamentary elections in autumn 2014. Dodon claimed that Moldovan people and Jews have always been living side by side in peace and mutual understanding. He emphasized the role of the Romanian administration in the extermination of Bessarabian Jews, and also pointed to attempts at giving into oblivion "these dark pages of the recent past", hinting to the non-prioritization of the matter by his political opponents. He then claimed his party was always advocating the memory of the Holocaust in occupied Transnistria not to be

forgotten and to be studied in schools, referring to his past as a member of the Party of Communists, and promised to keep making efforts for this to happen.

By 2015 the *Jewish Community of Moldova* has proven to be an important agent in memory production and dissemination at the local and national levels. As claimed at the web-site of the community, one of its crucial tasks is the protection of cultural and historical heritage, which includes the dissemination of memory of the Holocaust, the creation and reconstruction of monuments and memorials on the sites of mass executions, rallies, marches, monuments' protection and continued efforts at caretaking of these sites.[324] In 2015 the Jewish community planned the opening of 3 memorials to the victims of the Holocaust: the one discussed below (in Chişinău) and 2 more were supposed to be installed in the unrecognized Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, also called Transnistria.[325]

On May 8, 2015 in Chişinău, far from the city center, after the restoration, there took the place unveiling of the second monument to the victims of the Holocaust that is focused on in this chapter: *To the Victims of Fascism* (see figure III.3).[326] The ceremony was timed for the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. The opening date indicated at the plaque attached to the the base of the monument is May 9, 2015 – the *Day of Victory* in the Soviet and present-day Russian historical memory paradigm. However, the opening ceremony took place on May 8, which is officially celebrated in Moldova as the *Day of Europe* and which is celebrated in the EU as the *Day of Liberation from Fascism*. Thus within the opening of a single monument one may find references to the two competing cultures of memory and commemoration of the WWII. The opening was attended by the Deputy Minister of Culture Georgy Postica, MPs and leaders of public organizations, representatives of diplomatic corps, but not by the acting Prime Minister or the President.

The monument was initially built in the 1960s at the site of mass executions. According to some data there were at least 14,000 people shot at the place where the monument stands, and not all of them were Jews. The sculptor

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[324] "Protection of Cultural and Historical Heritage,*" Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova*, http://www.jcm.md/en/activity/protection-of-heritage, accessed June 12, 2015.

[325] The *Monument to the Victims of the Holocaust* was supposed to be unveiled in Tiraspol, the capital of Transnistria and the *Monument to the Memory of Victims of Fascism* was supposed to be opened in Bender.

[326] Located at Calea Orheiului street, 36.

Aurel David has created a project in the 1960s. The monument is made in form of two symbolic fists pierced through by the barbed wire. The 'fists', made out of concrete, were covered by the metal plates with a plate on the pedestal claiming: *'To the Victims of Fascism, 1941-1945'*. In the 1990s the metal plates have been removed by vandals, presumably in pursuit of easy profit. At that time no guard was provided for the monument and its remote location made this possible. By the 2000s the monument was abandoned and dilapidated, the territory around it neglected, although the site was included in the list of monuments of local importance protected by state. Later on, in 2005 the city council allowed the construction of the commercial enterprise (Mercedes-Benz Automobile Service Centre) near the territory of the monument, which damaged the integrity of the memorial.

This, together with the robbery of 1990s, marked as 'vandalism', set the tone for the discourse around the process of restoration initiated by the local Jewish community:

"in the absence of initiatives by the government, the Jewish community organized a self-restoration of the monument and landscaping of the adjacent territory"[327].

At the beginning of 2013 the community received funding for this project from the *European Jewish Fund* and initially planned to finish renovation by the end of 2013. They succeeded only by May 2015. The initial project for the memorial's restoration was designed in 2007-2008 by a prominent architect Semion Shoikhet, with the final version redesigned and executed by sculptor Vyacheslav Zhiglitsky.

The dates 1941-1945 carved on the pedestal of the initial monument authored by Aurel David, as well as the wording 'to the victims of Fascism', allowed in the Soviet times (but without any indication of the Jewish identity of the victims) referenced the paradigm of the 'Great Patriotic War'. The new version of the plaque at the memorial also does not indicate nationality of the victims, but

"men and women, mothers and sisters, fathers and brothers, who were

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[327] "Grazhdanskoye Obshchestvo vystupilo v zashchitu «Pamyatnika zhertvam fashizma»" [Civil society acted in defense of the "Monument to the Victims of Fascism"], The Jewish community of the Republic of Moldova, last modified April 28, 2015 http://www.jcm.md/ru/all-news/item/308-grazhdanskoe-obshchestvo-vystupilo-v-zashchitu-pamyatnika-zhertvam-fashizma, accessed May 1, 2015.

exterminated in the years of World War II".

The plaques at the monument (in the state language, Russian and English) do not indicate the identity of victims, their number, timing, and reason of the mass killings, nor the identity of perpetrators. In the conditions of low awareness about the Holocaust in present-day Moldova, such – absent – information about what actually happened at the site of the memorial is crucially important. The reference to Jewish identity of some of the victims is indicated at another plaque, which informs that it was the Jewish community that sponsored the restoration of the memorial.

Before the opening of the restored monument the Jewish community organized a civic action on April 27, 2015 in order to communicate to the public about the problems associated with the progress of reconstruction work before the opening of the memorial. The process of restoration was presented in antagonistic rhetoric:

"everything is done to prevent the restoration of the monument, and under the pretext of making the process longer they (owners of Mersedes-Berz center – A.F.) try to get the territory on which the monument is located. We invite all active civil society to rise up against tyranny, against looting and indifference to the memory of the people. Let us not let to desecrate the memory of tens thousands of innocently killed Bessarabians!"[328]

Within the action the participants made reference to 'classic' visual imagery related to the Holocaust and made a direct link between this imagery and the matter. For instance, the Chairman of the *Association of Former Ghetto and Concentration Camps Victims*, Vladimir Tsinkler demanded to get rid of the wire fence that divides the automobile service centre and the monument zone, since it 'reminds one of a concentration camp'. Participants in the action signed an appeal to the managerial board of the German automotive corporation *Daimler AG* (owner of car brand Mercedes-Benz), demanding intervention, claiming that "a representative of a German large car factory was being allowed to build a car wash on the bones of martyrs." This reference indeed contains a powerful symbolic potential. It touches upon the dynamics of guilt recognition in the European canon of memory about the Holocaust in contrast with the local situation. Participants of this civic action have also emphasized the responsibility of civil society in present-day Moldova for the integrity of the memorial. The argument of a common past and history has been used for the

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[328] "Grazhdanskaya aktsiya: Zashchitim pamyatnik «Zhertvam fashizma»!" [Civil action: Let us protect the monument "to the Victims of Fascism"!], *Hey event*, last modified April 27, 2015, accessed May 1, 2015, http://heyevent.com/event/774933829293413/.

justification of this responsibility. Participants of the action have emphasized that not only the Jews were killed at the place of the memorial, but people of other nationalities. The same argument one finds at the web site of Jewish community, where the victims of the shooting at the site of the memorial are called 'Bessarabians'. Thus the reference is made to an embracing locally-centered identity rather than ethnic or national one[329].

As illustrated above, the role of the local Jewish community in post-1991 Chişinău and the gradual gain of influence of business people of Jewish origin was crucial for the appearance of the restored monument *To the Victims of Fascism* in the city's public space in 2015. It was the financial contribution secured by the community (gained from multiple sources) and those businessmen that made restoration and re-opening of this monument possible. The same actors stood behind the third monument which is focused on in this chapter, *To the Victims of Chişinău Pogrom of 1903* (see figure II.2).

In absence of a full-size memorial to the victims of the Chişinău Jewish pogrom of 1903 (it was built by 2003 for the 100th anniversary of the pogrom), for nearly 10 years (since 1993) the monument *To the Victims of Chişinău Jewish Ghetto* (the first one discussed in this chapted) personified memory of both notorious trauma episodes of local Jewish history. It is no accident that a picture of the monument to the ghetto victims has been placed at the cover of an academic book on the Chişinău pogrom published in 1993[330]. This matter reflects how the memory of the traumatic aspects of local Jewish history (the pogrom and the Holocaust) is shaped and dissiminated in Chişinău. Since the city was and still remains infamous for the 1903 pogrom (as well as the one in 1905), the memory of the pogrom is linked to the memory of the Holocaust as two related events. The inseparability of these two traumatic episodes was reflected in the core exhibition of the *Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova* at the *KEDEM Jewish Center.* Before the exhibition was relaunched in 2015, the pogrom was represented as a forerunner episode for the tragedy of the Holocaust and the latter – as a direct consequence of the former.

The pogrom took place on April 19 and 20, 1903. At that time the city and the region were under the rule of the Russian Empire within the province of Bessarabia. Followed then by the pogrom in October 1905, the pogrom of 1903 lasted for three days with no intention on the side of the authorities to stop

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[329] "Grazhdanskoye Obshchestvo".
[330] See the book cover in Damian. "20 let gruppe "Etnologiya yevreyev"," 106-112.

the riots until the third day. It took 51 lives (49 of the victims were Jews), left 500 people injured, and up to one third of the city's housing damaged. The pogrom drew the condemnation of leading Russian intellectuals, who denounced both the outbreak of violence itself and the inaction of the authorities. The pogrom also caused international resonance, occasioned the mass exodus of Russian Jewry abroad, and stimulated the spread of Zionist ideas[331]. Although traditionally the condemnation related to this pogrom has been and still is directed towards the top-echelon government officials of the Russian Empire, as well as towards the Russian police at the local level, the fact that the pogromers were fellow townsmen makes the memory of it not only a highly traumatic historical episode for Jewish memory, but also a difficult, potentially tense past to discuss in present-day Moldova.

The monument *To the Victims of Chişinău Pogrom* o*f 1903* (figure III.1) built in the city park 'Alunelul' at present-day Calea Ieşilor street in the north-western part of the city is dated 1993-2003. On April 22, 1993 the memorial stone to the victims of the pogrom authored by Semion Shoikhet was installed, but no full-size memorial existed until 2003. The monument in its present form was designed by Semion Shoikhet together with Naum Epelbaum[332] and built following the government decree from March 27, 2003 in order to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the pogrom[333].

The monument contains religious symbolism (depictions of a prayer scarf and a menorah), as well as the Mogen David cut in between, which may be interpreted as a reference to an internationally recognized symbol, as well as a reference to the state of Israel, which is complemented by the inscription in Hebrew, in the state language, in Yiddish (a language spoken by the victims of the pogrom) and in Russian – the common language of post-Soviet Jewry. Behind the monument fragments of stone flags, as well as the remains of

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[331] Andrey Cuşco, Viktor Taki, "Bessarabiya v Sostave Rossiyskoy Imperii: 1812-1917" [Bessarabia as the Part of the Russian Empire: 1812-1917] (Moskva: Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye, 2012), 259-278; Edward H. Judge, *Easter in Kishinev: Anatomy of a Pogrom* (New York: New York University Press, c1992).

[332] Epelbaum is a prominent sculptor, who made his career in Soviet Moldavia by designing the *Monument to Liberation of Chişinău from Nazi Invaders* in 1969 and who, like Shoikhet, emphasized his Jewish descent by contributing to several monuments related to Jewish memory since late 1980s.

[333] See the Government decree Nr. 369 from March 27, 2003 on the establishment in Chişinău the memorial to the victims of the pogrom of 1903, accessed June 11, 2015, http://lex.justice.md/viewdoc.php?action=view&view=doc&id=301427&lang=2.

gravestones are placed, reeminescent of a lapidarium, thus referring to the fact that the park, together with the monument, is laid out on a place of Jewish cemetery. This also links the monument and the pogrom, since victims of the latter were buried precisely in this cemetery. However, there is no inscription explaining why the monument is placed there.

The cost of construction and installation of the monument, as well as the arrangement of the adjacent territory have been attributed to the *Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the Republic of Moldova*. The erection of this monument indicates the increase in power and influence of a number of businessmen of Jewish descent, who financially participated in the matter. This is stated at the back side of the monument. The same actors stood behind the Jewish institutions established in Moldova in the 2000s. The charitable foundation *Dor le Dor* and the *Jewish Congress of Moldova* (created in 2003) represent such institutions.

Since its opening, the monument has become a site of memory and has joined the gallery of widely recognized images related to the pogrom. The *National Postal Service* used the image of this monument for a postal card issued in 2003 in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the pogrom. The monument hosts annual commemorative rally-requiem with the participation of representatives of the authorities. The inauguration and mourning ceremony on the opening of the monument was launched on April 7, 2003 with the presence of then-president of Moldova Vladimir Voronin, representatives of Israel, Russia, Ukraine, Romania and the UK. In his inaugural speech the head of the official Israeli delegation Avigdor Lieberman not only linked the 1903 pogrom with outbreaks of violence in Israel, but also claimed the pogrom to be a cause for the first time for enlightened Christians to make a stand with the Jews (meaning the international public reaction after the pogrom had taken place)[334].

This commemoration event took place in 2003 while the Party of Communists of Moldova was in power (2001-2009). As stated by Diana Dumitru, this government was characterized by a more visible Holocaust subject-related activity in Moldova on the background of an obvious

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[334] Yuliya Semenova, "Reportazh. Kolokol skorbi" [Reportage. The Bell of Sorrow], DorLeDor News Portal, last modified April 1, 2003, accessed June 12, 2015, http://www.dorledor.info/node/6048,.

politicization of the issue.[335] This argument also relates to the dynamics of thee recognition of the pogrom, which, as well as the Holocaust, during the 1990s was discussed in rare academic and other publications primarily supported by local Jewish organizations or the department of Jewish studies at the Academy of Sciences of Moldova. In 2000 the Academy of Sciences published a set of documents and photographs on the pogrom. The volume appeared with the financial support of the *AJDC* and in collaboration with the National Archives of Moldova. Academic publications of 2004 and 2013 followed[336], paired with an international conference to commemorate the pogrom organized by the *Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Moldova* and the *Institute of Interethnic Research* of the Academy of Sciences in 2003.

Another academic event was been the international symposium *'The Impact of the Kishinev pogrom in 1903 on the Public Consciousness of Bessarabia and all over the World'*, which marked the 110th anniversary of the riot in 2013. Then-Parliament Speaker Marian Lupu visited the conference and in his address linked the pogrom with the present-day, claiming that Moldovan society should be guided by European norms and standards of tolerance and mutual respect, thus referring to the rhetoric of European aspirations and future for Moldova that became central for both foreign and domestic policy discourse of central authorities after Parliamentary elections in 2010. Within the commemorative events of 2013, at the rally-requiem at the monument *To the Victims of Chişinău Pogrom o*f *1903* on April 11, then-Prime Minister Vladimir Filat in his address linked the events of 1903 with the Holocaust claiming that:

"we showed our unity in the days of the Second World War, when Russians, Ukrainians and Moldovans side-by-side saved Jewish women and children"[337].

Thus, although in Chişinău (in comparison with Odessa and Minsk –

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[335] Dumitru refers to the years 2000-2006, see Dumitru. 'The Use and Abuse," 51.

[336] The published books were E. Levit, ed. *Kishinevskiy Pogrom 1903 goda: sbornik statey* [Kishinev Pogrom in 1903: Collection of Articles] (Kishinev, 1993); Yakov Kopansky, ed. *Kishinevskiy Pogrom 1903 goda: sbornik dokumentov i materialov* [Kishinev Pogrom in 1903: Collection of Documents and Materials] (Chişinău, 2000); Yakov Kopansky, ed. *Kishinevskiy Pogrom 1903 goda: vzglyad cherez stoletiye* [Kishinev Pogrom of 1903: a Gaze through the Centuries] (Kishinev, 2004); Josephina Kushnir. *K 110-letiyu Kishinevskogo Pogroma: pamyatnyye daty'* [For the 110th Anniversary of the Kishinev Pogrom: Memorial Dates] (Kishinev, 2013).

[337] Lyudmila Zubova, "My pomnim!" [We Remember!], DorLeDor News Portal, last modified April 11, 2013, accessed June 12, 2014, http://dorledor.info/article/мы помним.

see below) there does not exist an *Alley of the Righteous Among the Nations* and all three sites that constitute the Jewish memorial landscape of the city openly refer to the trauma narrative and exclusive Jewish suffering (in two cases out of three), the authorities keep accidentally avoiding discussion of the difficult past that brought about those traumatic events via reconciliatory rhetoric.

Having discussed the construction and unveiling of the 3 monuments related to anti-Jewish violence that have been installed in Chişinău in 1993, 1993/2003 and 2015 (restoration), one may specify 4 distinctive features of the memory of the pogrom of 1903 and the Holocaust in the public space in the capital city of Moldova.

1) The two notorious episodes of escalation of anti-Jewish violence in Bessarabia – the pogrom of 1903 and the Holocaust – are treated within the narrative of causal relationship. This is reached first of all by cross-references given within the addresses of the officials at the commemorative rallies. This narrative is also present in academic literature and was present in the former exhibition at the local alternative Jewish museum (see details in chapter 6);

2) In Moldova treatment of the memory about anti-Jewish violence and its dissemination in public space is highly dependent on the vector of memory politics and on how the authorities attempt to incorporate this memory into political and indoctrination agenda. Since treatment of historical subjects and separation for heroes and victims have significantly varied in 2001-2009 and 2010-2016, the character of instrumentalisation of the memory of anti-Jewish violence as episode of local history has significantly varied respectively;

3) In the 2010s the local Jewish community has been acting as the most active agent in promotion of the memory of the Holocaust and its dissemination in Moldova's public space. In this decade the collaboration between the community and the authorities has been significantly reduced, which explains the community transmitting the message of its actions for commemoration the 'black' pages of local Jewish history in opposition to authorities. The Jewish community uses the

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same methods as the authorities for promotion and dissemination of memory – it installs the memorials, thus adding to the diverse canvas of memorial landscape of Chişinău.

4) Restoration and re-opening of the monument *To the Victims of Fascism* in 2015 initiated by local Jewish community significantly altered the meaning of this Soviet monument. The original monument authored by Aurel David was an embodiment of the Soviet narrative about civilians – victims of Fascism, which eventually contributed to the narrative of the *Great Victory.* The narrative within which the restored monument is placed refers to the victimhood divided by ethnicity. At the same time this narrative aims at treating the Jewish victimhood within the framework of the common past. The latter is reached by deliberale emphasis on the fact tha these were not only the Jews killed at the site where the monument stands, but representatives of other ethnicities embraced by a neutral term that targets local identity: 'Bessarabians'.

5) In the 2010s there took place a certain standardization of the forms of public memory about the Holocaust in Moldova in accordance with international practice. This is performed through the standardization of the calendar of commemorative dates, as well as rhetoric of the addresses of authorities at the annual requiem rallies.

5.2 Odessa: Reconciliatory Approach to the Holocaust

Several monuments and plaques to the victims of the Holocaust installed after 1991 complement Odessa's rich memorial landscape related to the official collective memory of the WWII. In 1965 Odessa was awarded the status of *Hero-City* and several colossal memorials installed after this year position the city within the Soviet meta-narrative of the *Great Victory* in the *Great Patriotic War*.

These memorials include, among many others, the *Memorial of Glory* from 1965 with the *Monument to an Unknown Sailor*, as well as the *Alley of Glory* (with burials) installed at the public recreation area (city park) overlooking the

seaside. The *Belt of Glory, a* chain of 11 monuments erected on the former border of the defense of Odessa in 1964-1967 'embrace' the city from the outside. The principle of Odessa's *Belt of Glory* mirrors the one of the *Green Belt of Glory*, a more-than-200 km-long chain of 26 monuments installed in between the green planting at the borders of the battle for Leningrad (1941-1944) in 1965-1968. The Odessa's memorial landscape devoted to the WWII also contains the memorial complex *The Catacombs* (opened in 1969) that commemorates partisan activity in the region. The *Memorial to the Heroic Defense of Odessa '411th Coastal Battery'*, which faces the sea, exists since May 9, 1975 at the southern outskirt of the city. The memorial was based on the wartime position of the coastal battery and contains a museum, an open air spacious exhibition of military equipment that continues to a large oak park planted for the occasion of the memorial's opening. Finally, since 1984 (the 40th anniversary of liberation of the city) the memorial *The Wings of Victory* dominates the road junction in proximity to Odessa's *Arcadia* sea resort area.

In contrast to the totality of grand scale and depersonalized aesthetics of Odessa's Soviet war memorials, the artistic solution of the Holocaust rememberence sites in the city is eclectic and emphasizes distress through the image of emaciated bodies. Rare Soviet war memorials in Odessa have the figures of human beings in their composition, giving preference to grand stele. Instead, the most known memorial related to anti-Jewish violence in the city opposes this style together with the pathos of the *Great Victory*, literally portraying the victims instead.

Odessa's memorials devoted to the memory of victims of the Holocaust may conditionally be united within the complex entitled the *Road of Death*. Each part of this complex is located at the sites related to the actual events of the Holocaust in the city. For instance, the *Odessa Holocaust Memorial* (see figure II.5) is located at the beginning of the symbolic road known as the *Road of Death*, at the Prokhorovsky square. The memorial honors the memory of Odessa residents of Jewish and Roma descent that perished in the massacre of October 21-24, 1941. The latter took 25,000 to 34,000 Jewish lives and about 15,000 Romani. The location of the memorial is symbolic as it indicates the starting point of the forced march taken on foot by 10,000 Jews from the city to the concentration camps of Bogdanovka, Domanovka and Acmecetca at the outskirt of the city after December, 1941.

The Prokhorovsky square is located at the eastern edge of *Moldavanka*, a huge former suburb and currently a district in the center of the city, globally

known primarily thanks to *Odessa Tales* by Isaak Babel.[338] The present-day urban landscape of the area unites well-preserved authentic courtyards, part of Odessa nostalgic mythology and a few dozen high-rise buildings constructed recently. The history of the *Odessa Holocaust Memorial* at the Prokhorovsky square may be divided into 2 phases. First, in 1994 the site was marked by a modest pair of granite stele with the image of Mogen Dovid and a menorah. It was installed with the use of the private funds and contained inscriptions in Russian and in Hebrew.

The second phase, already in the 2000s, was marked by a more high-cost project carried out by a star sculptor and a more sophisticated approach towards design of the memorial site (as well as surrounding area). It was followed finally by a deliberate effort to incorporate the site and the rituals publicly performed there into both the global ethos of the Holocaust remembrance and the local ethos of the *Great Patriotic War* commemoration. The latter has been achieved by redesigning the whole square into a memorial site. In 2001 the *Alley of Righteous among the Nations* (see figure III.4) has been added to the memorial stele, with the number of trees equal to the number of Odessa residents who saved the lives of the Holocaust victims during the war. Each tree has a name tag that indicates after whom it is planted and the overall list of the righteous from Odessa is placed on a granite plaque at the head of the alley. The alley adds a reconciliation message to the site, as well as the narrative of Jewish-gentile relations. This highly contrasts with the stele installed in 1994, the message of which was limited to a postulation of distress and a reminder about the *Road of Death*.

In 2004 the monument by famous sculptor Zurab Tsereteli and architect Vladimir Glazyrin finalized the memorial complex as it appears today (see figure III.4). The monument is made in the form of a three-stage cone with a cut-off top surrounded by barbed wire. At the top of the cone there is located a symbolc bonfire with five naked figures holding chained hands standing in the center of it. This monument was officially opened on May 9, 2004, deliberately timed for the celebration of the *Day of Victory* and with inscription 'Never Again!' at the bottom of the monument is made in Ukrainian, Russian and Hebrew. Such deliberate effort to refer simultaneously to a global narrative of memory about the Holocaust, to recognition of post-1991 independent state as a legitimate entity (consider the use of languages), and to official memory culture of the *Great Patriotic War* is in its form similar to the the state of affairs in

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[338] See Richardson, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa*, 106-133.

Minsk. However, neither for Odessa nor for Minsk can the way WWII is publicly remembered today be reduced to the Soviet model.

Another fragment of the *Road of Death* memorial complex is marked by a memorial unveiled in 2013 located at the Fyodor Tolbukhin square in the southern part of the city in proximity to the Odessa international airport.

The memorial landscape of Odessa is characterized by the coexistence of the grand memorials devoted to the victory in the *Great Patriotic War* and the memorials devoted to the Jews – victims of the Holocaust in Odessa. As in other cities under study in the 2000s the aesthetic within the memorial landscape of the city has significantly changed in favor of a more precise depiction of the subject of the memorial. This tendency is visible in the monument to the victims of the Holocaust from 2004, while the *Alley of the Righteous among the Nations* represents reconciliatory rhetoric since 2001.

5.3 L'viv: from grass-roots Monuments to International Design Competition

In the L'viv of the early 1990s, commemoration of the Holocaust was primarily a concern of local Jewish community, local and international Jewish organizations, and former residents of the city who had emigrated from the USSR or from Ukraine[339]. The first attempts to commemorate the traumatic Jewish past of the city took place as early as in 1992, which coincides with the general dynamics of the appearance of the first monuments to the victims of the Holocaust in the post-Soviet space.

The memorial complex *To the Victims of the L'viv Ghetto (1941-1943)* (figures III.6) at Chornovola Avenue has been built owing to the *Sholom Aleikhem Jewish Cultural Society*, which in 1988 approached the party-state bodies of L'viv with an initiative to mark the site of the ghetto. The decision was realized by 1992, with the funding gathered through fundraising managed by the above-mentioned cultural society[340]. The monument, which stands near the entrance to the wartime Jewish ghetto, was unveiled on August 23, 1992. Survivors of the ghetto, members of the local Jewish community, official figures,

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[339] Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield'," 21. On memory of the Holocaust in Soviet L'viv see Amar, "A Disturbed Silence", 158-261.

[340] Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield', 17.

and other participants from Ukraine, Israel, Poland, United States and other countries were present at the ceremony. The monument was designed by the Israeli-based sculptor Luisa Sterenstein. The motives for assigning precisely this sculptor for the task have not been announced to the public.[341] The monument consists of the figure of an old man in the pose of grief and prayer, who lifts his hands to the sky. This sculpture is surrounded by an imitation of gravestones, and a tree has been planted behind the sculpture to symbolize peace. The monument's ensemble is finalized with a black massive menorah in front of the sculpture.

In 1993 due to another private/grass-roots initiative the actual location of extermination of Jews was marked by memorial signs. This location was the site of the former concentration camp not far away from the Yanivsky cemetery to the North-West from the city center. The camp was established in September 1941 at the territory adjacent to the armaments factory. It also served as a transit point for the Jews sent further on to the death camp at Bełżec and was abolished in 1943. While the exact number of prisoners killed at the camp's site is not established with certainty, it is estimated to be between 100,000 to 120,000 people[342]. A memorial stone (figures III.7) has been placed at the site of the mass shootings in proximity to the former camp with an information plaque near the stone. The placement of the stone was initiated by Alexander Schwarz, one of the camp's rare survivors. Currently the prison on behalf of the *Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior* occupies the space where the camp barracks once stood and an area itself represents an abandoned zone, uninhabited and potentially not safe. This constitutes the main reasons why the site is not widely visited by the public.

In 2010 part of the former Yanivsky camp known as the *Valley of Death* was introduced as the target site for the *International Design Competition for Sites of Jewish History in L'viv.* As stated in chapter 3, the design competition project aimed to draw public attention to "non-places" left after extermination of the prewar Jewish community. The other goal was to incorporate abandoned spaces related to local Jewish history into a common urban public space. The

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[341] "Prosp. Chornovola – Lviv Ghetto Victims Memorial", L'viv Interactive, accessed January 4, 2015, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/memorial-lviv-ghetto/ and "Ceremonious Opening of the Monument to the Victims of the Lviv Ghetto", L'viv Interactive, accessed January 4, 2015, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/lia/events/1992-08-23--vidkryttia-pamiat-zhertvam-getto/.

[342] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 46.

memorialization of the *Yanivsky Concentration Camp Memorial Park*, one of three spaces in focus of the competition, was supposed to

"point to the consequences of Nazi policies, of committing crimes against humanity and of violating human rights, and to honor the memory of those who suffered and were killed at Yanivsky concentration camp, who were mainly Galician Jews"[343].

The first prize for this site's memorial project was awarded to the USA architects Ming-Yu Ho, Ceanatha La Grange, and Wei Huang. It presupposes the rearrangement of the area in proximity of the already-existing memorial stone. The project is supposed to contribute not only to the emphasis of the memorial aspect of the site, but also to increase security and public exposure of the area and to add to the site's importance as a place to visit and pay tribute to. The project's implementation, as well as its provisional further development into a full-scale memorial complex with a museum, is set as a long-term goal by the competition's organizers due to the priority of the *Space of Synagogues* project (see chapter 3). In comparison with Chişinău and Odessa, where since the 2000s there have been added new monuments that constitute present-day Jewish memorial landscape, for L'viv (as stated in chapter 3) such a memorial function is implemented by the *Space of Synagogues* project, which combines heritage conservation, drawing attention to the lost architectural Jewish landscape and references former Jewish life in the city through memorialization. This, however, reflects the major dynamics true for all 4 cities under study when, in the 2000s, the memory about local Jewish life and death became the subject of heritage and memory interpretation activity in public space. This activity, in comparison with the 1990s, is characterized by a more diverse range of actors involved in its implementation and more complex discourse treatment of the matter as opposed to the leading trend of the 1990s that primarily exploited the trauma discourse.

As it has been stated in chapter 3, the *Space of Synagogues* project promotes the rhetoric of local common/shared history and responsibility, but intentionally refers to a global audience. The global dimension of Jewish memory and heritage interpretation in Western Ukraine may be traced in the initiative to install a regional network of 5 monuments to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The monuments were unveiled in late June of 2015 at the sites of the previously-unmarked mass graves of the Holocaust victims in Rava-Rus'ka, Ostrozhets' (L'viv oblast), Kysylyn, Prokhid and Bakhiv (Volyns'ka oblast). All

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[343] Dyak, Gleichmann, Kern and Vojtová, "International Design Competition," 48.

five memorials were designed and implemented under leadership of the Berlin branch of the *American Jewish Committee* (AJC) within the initiative *Protecting Memory*, launched for the first time in 2010. The funding came cooperatively from the Bundestag, Germany's parliament, and the German Federal Foreign Office. The sites were first identified by Father Patrick Desbois, founder of the *Yahad in Unum* Paris-based NGO during his oral history oriented fieldtrips to Ukraine[344]. On the occasion of the dedication of five memorials the press-conference was held in the L'viv city hall in the presence of representatives of international diplomatic missions.

In Rava-Rus'ka the monument on the formerly unmarked site of mass killings represents a fenced area with the *Wall of Memory (*made out of pieces of matsevas from the old Jewish cemetery) 'crowning' the monument. While not all the fragments of broken headstones may be brought together in order to restore the tombstones and not all the graves the stones belonged to are possible to identify (due to the destruction and desolation of old Jewish cemeteries), these pieces acquire new symbolic meaning as components of a monument. The pieces of different matsevas brought together in a monument obviously transfer the message of trauma hinting that those tombstones have remained in pieces because there were no Jews left to take care of the cemeteries. Additionally, the use of tombstone pieces in a monument symbolically glorifies them and is called to overcome the image of matsevas as paving stones and other construction material.

In spite of the recognition and approval of the project on regional and international levels, certain dissatisfaction on the local level has been voiced. The reason for it is the wording on the bronze memorial plaque installed at one of the memorials that claims the fault for the extermination of local Jews lies with both Nazis ("German occupiers") and locals ("their local subordinate authorities"). Since the team of *Yahad in Unum* has identified a large number of the Holocaust-related unmarked graves all over Eastern Europe, there are plans to continue installing the memorials across the region.

One may indicate the following features of L'viv's Jewish memorial landscape from the perspective of heritage and memory interpretation:

1)   The 'classic' division between the decades of the 1990s and the

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[344] See Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets.*

2010s, when during each decade the monument to the victims of the Holocaust was installed in the city (with different actors responsible for those monuments' implementation), is present in L'viv through the parallel presence of the memorial complex *To the Victims of the L'viv Ghetto (1941-1943)* installed in 1992 and the *Square of Synagogues* to be opened in 2016. Further rearrangement of the the *Valley of Death* site will provisionally enrich the city's Jewish memorial landscape.

2) The global dimension and internationalization of the framework related to the treatment of memory of the Holocaust and its visual objectification in Western Ukraine is meaningfully present in the implementation of the *Square of Synagogues* project, on opening of memorials in Rava-Rus'ka, Ostrozhets', Kysylyn, Prokhid and Bakhiv.

3) Tensions around the memorials to the victims of the Holocaust installed in 2015 in Rava-Rus'ka, Ostrozhets', Kysylyn, Prokhid and Bakhiv indicate a division across the Jewish/non-Jewish memory work and its result in the region, while tensions around the *Space of Synagogues* project (see chapter 3) rather indicate alternative visions of the purpose of the site.

5.4 Minsk: the Holocaust and the *Great Patriotic War*

Numerous memorials to the victims of the Holocaust in Belarus in general and to victims of Minsk ghetto in particular, as well as to Jewish resistance, have been installed in recent years in Minsk[345].

The *Death Pit* ('*Yama*') (see figure III.10) sculpture installed in 2000 at a former site of mass shootings in the ghetto in 1942,[346] has become an emblem of the Minsk Jewish memorial landscape. The sculpture is located in proximity to the authentic stele installed in 1946, thanks to survivors of the Holocaust in Minsk. The stele is known as the first, and an extremely rare, Soviet monument to the victims of the Holocaust with inscriptions in Yiddish. The inscription

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[345] See Gerasimova, "Putevoditel' po yevreyskim mestam," 56-69; Waligórska, "Jewish Heritage," 27.

[346] Located between Zaslaŭskaja and Mieĺnikajte streets.

stated *"In bright remembrance for all eternity of the 5,000 Jews who perished at the hands of the cruel enemies of humanity - the fascist-German criminals, March 2, 1942"*. The open statement of the Jewish identity of victims was an exception for the pre-1991 period. Further on, other attempts to commemorate the fate of Jews perished in the Holocaust have been gradually repressed by the authorities of the Soviet Belarus[347].

After dissolution of the Soviet Union, commemorative ceremonies have been held at *Yama* since 1992. Authorities have been present at these ceremonies occasionally, including President Alexandr Lukashenka[348]. The *Alley of the Righteous among the Nations* was installed in close proximity to the memorial in the mid-1990s.

In 2000 the memorial complex was extended with the addition of a sculpture authored by Leonid Levin and Else Pollack (see figure III.10). This sculpture, together with other monuments devoted to the atrocities of WWII in Belarus and to the Holocaust in particular authored by Levin, has consolidated the status of this architect and his family as the leading and the most influential experts in the architectural expression of Jewish-related concerns in present-day Belarus.[349] Levin, who since 1991 has been the *Chairman of the Union of Belarusian Jewish Public Associations and Communities* shares a public profile and career development track similar to those of Semion Shoikhet from Chişinău). Right after his passing away in 2014, Levin was commemorated by awarding his name in 2015 to the *History Workshop* (see figure I.27).

The area where the *History Workshop* is located is the second one in the city which gained memorial significance for public dissemination of the memory of the Holocaust. The area is primarily connected to both burial and memorial landscapes of the city. The old Jewish cemetery existed there from 1870s to 1970, when following the decision of the Soviet authorities it was torn down for the city park (as in Chişinău). The area was part of the Minsk ghetto in 1941-1943. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union the area has started gradually gaining significance as both a local and transnational site of memory.

[347] See Leonid Smilovitsky. "Attempt to Erect Memorial to Holocaust Victims blocked by Soviet Byelorussian Authorities," *East European Jewish Affairs* 27, no. 1 (1997): 71-80.

[348] See Per Anders Rudling, "The Invisible Genocide. The Holocaust in Belarus," in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic (University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 59-82.

[349] On Levin's career see David R. Marples, *'Our Glorious Past'*, 226-232.

The latter was accomplished with the constant installation since 1993 (stones have been added gradually one by one starting from this date) of a memorial complex *To the Jews of Western Europe Killed in Minsk Ghetto and in Maly Trostenets* (Jews of Germany, Austria and Hungary (see figure III.8),[350] and with the opening in 2002 of the *'Historical Workshop'*, a joint German-Belarusian educational and research center that deals with the matters related to WWII. The local dimension of the area as the site of memory is embodied through the installation in 2008 of the monument *To the Belarussian Jews Killed in Minsk Ghetto* (see figure III.9) in commemoration of the 65th anniversary of the destruction of Minsk ghetto. The monument is authored by Leonid Levin and Maxim Pyatrul. In contrast to the laconic style of memorial stones of the complex *To the Jews of Western Europe*, the monument of Levin and Pyatrul is delibetrately intimate and transmits the message of dissent through the image of a destroyed dining set (a metaphor for comfort and home).

As for the framework of official state-supported recognition and commemoration of the Holocaust in present-day Belarus, in spite of the existence of the above-mentioned memorials and the yearly activity of Jewish organizations aimed at discovering the identity of victims and memorializing their death, the position of the authorities and personally of President Lukashenka until 2014 was characterized by his occasional, rather than continuous, appearance at the ceremonies.[351] This situation has changed since June 2014, when the President in the presence of multiple officials and representatives of Jewish organizations participated in the ceremony of, at that time, yet-to-be built *Maly Trostenets Memorial* at the site of the former extermination camp. Lukashenka placed a capsule with the known names of those who died in the death camp at the foundation stone of the future memorial. The inscription on the stone indicated that the "memorial complex is created by the order of President Alexander Lukashenka", which aims at granting the politician the symbolic capital related to supporting promotion of the memory of the Holocaust in Belarus. The implementation of the project was granted by mixed funding coming from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from German NGOs, from fundraising organized in the cities in Germany from which the Jews had been transferred to the Minsk ghetto, as well as from the budget of the Minsk City Executive Committee. The German contribution to the memorial complex was not limited to being financial. The

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[350] Located at Suchaja street, 25.
[351] See Rudling, "The Invisible Genocide", 59-82.

project gained support from German politicians and a delegation from Germany was one of the first that visited memorial after its opening.

The common noun *Trostenets* embraces several former extermination sites. It unites the *Blagovshchina Ravine* – a site of mass executions, the death camp *Maly Trostenets* itself (formerly located in 10 kilometers away from the city, in the south-eastern outskirt close to the village Maly Trostenets), and the *Shashkovka Ravine*, where a mass burning took place. *Maly Trostenets* has been the biggest death camp on the territory of both Belarus and the occupied areas of the Soviet Union. It functioned in between 1941-44 and was the place of imprisonment and death for more than 206 thousand people, mainly Soviet POWs, as well as prisoners of Jewish origin from Poland, Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia, as well as prisoners of the Minsk ghetto.

The institute *Minskproyekt* has been responsible for the memorial's design (see figure III.11) and a separate part designed by Leonid Levin is integrated within the common project. The ten-meter high *Gates of Memory* authored by Konstantin Kostyuchenko portray suffering prisoners of the death camp as if they were imprinted on the wings of gates behind barbed wire (see figure II.11). Other elements of the design include two train carriages meeting the visitors, reminding how prisoners were brought to the camp; the A*lley of Death;* and the *Alley of Memory*, which provides information on the dates and the number of victims perished in all Belarusian regional centers (see figure II.11). Minskproyekt is currently developing a design for the second part of the memorial complex.

Initially the first part of the exhibition (devoted to the extermination camps on the territory of Belarus) was planned to be opened on May 9, 2015, which was celebrated in the post-Soviet space as the 70th anniversary of the victory in the *Great Patriotic War.* Eventually the opening was postponed until June 22, 2015, which, as the day of the German attack on the Soviet Union, is the second important date after the *Day of Victory* and which in Belarus is officially appointed as the *Day of Remembrance of Victims of the Great Patriotic War*.

The opening of the *Maly Trostenets Memorial Complex* exemplifies the political instrumentalisation of memory of the Holocaust in Belarus. Demonstrative patronage of the highest authorities aims at gaining recognition on an international, mainly European, level. The official informational description of both *Maly Trostenets* former extermination camp and memorial site contain a comparison with such internationally recognized 'icons' of the Holocaust imagery as Auschwitz and Treblinka. This indicates an attempt to

frame Belarus within meta-European narrative of the Holocaust and WWII as opposed to limitations of the *Great Patriotic War* narrative. It is important to emphasize that although through the *Maly Trostenets Memorial Complex* the Lukashenka's regime has granted more 'visibility' to the memory of the Holocaust in the country, the 'difficult' episodes, such as the memory of the victims of Soviet mass killings 'buried' at the *Kurapaty Ravine,* remain a 'blank spot' in official memory culture in present-day Belarus[352].

The Jewish memorial landscape of Minsk and its neighbourhood has been shaped by 4 phases:

1) The stele of 1946, exceptional for openly claiming the Jewish identity of the victims of the Holocaust in Minsk, has defined the memorial character of the site that is currently best known as *Yama*.

2) Grass-roots initiatives of 1990s have resulted in installation of the *Alley of the Righteous among the Nations* in proximity of the stele of 1946 and of the memorial complex *To the Jews of Western Europe Killed in Minsk Ghetto and in Maly Trostenets* at the site of former old Jewish cemetery. These two locations have been later consolidated as Jewish memorial sites due to addition of sculptures in the 2000s.

3) In the 2000s the 2 sculptures authored by star architect Leonid Levin redefined the Jewish memorial landscape of Minsk. These sculptures (installed in 2000 and in 2008) are easily recognizable for denial of both the grand form and heroic pathos. Both of these sculptures have become emblematic for the visualization of the trauma of the Minsk ghetto.

4) The 2010s are characterized by a more precise concern on behalf of Lukashenka's regime towards the issue of the wartime extermination of Jews in the neighbourhood of Minsk.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The post-1991 Jewish memorial landscape in Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv, and Minsk represents the space where local top-down and grass-roots, as well as

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[352] Waligórska, "Jewish Heritage," 16-20; Kotljarchuk, "World War II Memory Politics".

international narratives on the Holocaust, meet. In Chişinău, Odessa and L'viv the memorial stones and full-size monuments installed in the 1990s reflect the first steps of the penetration of Jewish memory into the public urban space as soon as this has been allowed (for Minsk the stele of 1940s fulfills this function). These memorial sites have appeared due to the initiatives of local grass-roots Jewish actors with occasional support from international Jewish organizations. In the 2000s and 2010s the character of the installation of new memorials to the traumatic events of local Jewish history significantly changed, as it included hiring star architects (with the exception of L'viv) and in Odessa and Minsk the aesthetics of appearance of new memorials tends to bring an individual-based dimension into public memory about the events. In the 2010s the palette of actors directly involved in the memorialization of the Holocaust in all 4 cities under study through installation of new memorials, was enriched by a more intense cooperation with the authorities (except Chişinău). The concern of the latter for new memorials to the victims of the Holocaust (or in L'viv for the Jewish heritage conservation and memorialization project) reflects the presense or absence of any recognition of memory of the Holocaust as a symbolic capital relevant for international acknowledgment. At the same time since the 2010s the normalization of rituals of the Holocaust commemoration (dates and narrative of addresses of authorities) took place depending on the character of the politics of memory in the given city.

Chapter 6

The Urban Museum Scene and Judaica on Display

This chapter discusses agency in memory transmission within enterprises conditionally joined under the title of local or 'alternative' Jewish museum. Sections 6.1 to 6.4 place the small 'alternative' Jewish museums (they function as umbrella programs within local Jewish organizations) in Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv, and Minsk into the context of a general museum setting in each city. Section 6.5 brings together four case studies of those small Jewish museums for a more detailed overview. The museums are *Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova* at the *KEDEM Jewish Center* (Chişinău, Moldova), *Museum of the History of the Odessa Jews 'Migdal Shorashim'* at the *International Centre of Jewish Community Programs 'Migdal'* (Odessa, Ukraine), museum room *'Tracing Galician Jews'* at the *Hesed-Arieh Jewish Home* (L'viv, Ukraine), and *Jewish History and Culture Museum in Belarus* at the *Minsk Jewish Campus* (Minsk, Belarus). These museums are then compared within five criteria:

   1) Rationale behind opening of the museum and principles of collection acquisition;

   2) Principles of exhibit narrative construction;

   3) Relations with the state and state-governed institutions;

   4) Personality of the director and his/her influence on the narrative;

5) The audience and work with it.

Section 6.6 concludes the chapter with considerations of the following points:

1) How does the functioning of local ('alternative' or 'insider') Jewish museums enrich our understanding of a Jewish and/or the Holocaust museum as a universal phenomenon?

2) What is the value of those small museums for the local Jewish community, for diaspora and for local non-Jewish audience?

3) What is the major message transmitted by these small 'alternative' museums?

4) By what practical and symbolic means is the message transmitted?

6.1 Chişinău: Absence of Judaica

In Moldova the period after 2009 is characterized by swift changes in the politics of memory in comparison with 2001-2008, with the clear turn towards the production of state-sponsored infrastructure for memory culture which is focused on a victimization narrative exemplified by the memorialization of two waves of local residents' deportations from 1941 and 1949. At the early stages of setting the commemorative paradigm related to deportations, the memory of the Holocaust and the idea of the Holocaust museum have been instrumentalised in support of the paradigm of Moldova's local population being 'caught' between two totalitarian regimes (the Nazi and the Communist one) as 'two evils'.

In 2010 the Public Relations Office at the Chişinău Mayor's Office informed that on July 5th the City Council decided to set up two new museums in the capital that would be situated in the city center;[353] *the Holocaust Museum* and *the Museum of the Soviet Occupation*. It is noteworthy that both museums were supposed to be placed within the same building (with no indication of the committee responsible for content or exhibition design). Reasoning to launch those two museums together has been explained within the terms of necessity to transmit *the historical truth*, as well as by reference to Moldova's aspirations to keep up with international experience. In response to this, representatives of local Jewish community called two press-conferences, on July 7 and 8, 2010

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[353] Located at Kogălniceanu street, 52.

where they expressed discord with decision to open both museums under the same roof (or one common museum), arguing that the Moldovan capital truly needs *the Holocaust museum*, but the Jewish tragedy shall not be used for political purposes, hinting at the political nature of the mayor's decision, as well as the fact that the intensity of collaboration between the community and the authorities had degraded. At the first press conference, held on July 7 the co-chairman of the Jewish community Alexander Bilinkis claimed that the unification of museums on two such important topics is "a failed idea", pointing at the possible instrumentalization of the Jewish suffering as an instrument of political struggle. Having expressed his agreement on the need to commemorate the memory of those who had been deported since 1941 and referring to these events as to "the common tragedy", Bilinkis emphasized that the difference between the two phenomena may be measured by the survival rate: "if some people managed to return from Siberia, nobody survived in the gas chambers."[354] Apart from bringing up the argument of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the argument about the necessity of civil society's involvement in general and of the Jewish community in particular in order to launch a museum related to the topic has also been brought up.

At the second press-conference, gathered the next day on July 8, 2010, a more conciliatory rhetoric was employed with parallel emphasis on the exclusive right of the Jewish community to interpret the Holocaust in public memory. At the same time the speakers highlighted that historical events related to the local Jewry are perceived in isolation with the common canvas of local history. Speakers also emphasized the sensitivity in interpretation of the Holocaust in Bessarabia due to involvement of the Romanian army in the persecution of Jews. The speakers claimed that those who suffered within the Holocaust in Bessarabia have nothing in common with the experience of those who fell under the Soviet deportations. The community required a clear demarcation be kept between those two episodes of local history. Opposing the idea of launching two museums under the same roof, the speakers added that the "the so-called "Soviet occupation" has nothing to do with the Holocaust. They also claimed that "moreover, thanks to "the occupation" countries of Europe were released and saved from the Hitler's genocide". However,

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[354] Igor Crudu, "Yevreyskaya obshchina vystupaet protiv sozdaniya Muzeya kholokosta i sovetskoy okkupatsii v Kishineve" [the Jewish Community has Opposed the Creation of the Museum of the Holocaust and the Soviet occupation in Chişinău], *Komsomol'skaya Pravda v Moldove*, last modified July 8, 2010, accessed August 9, 2015, http://www.kp.md/online/news/698808/.

representatives of Jewish community did express the interest in establishing the Holocaust museum: "the emergence of this museum in Chişinău will contribute to the development of tolerance in society, humanity, and the education of the young generation in the spirit of historical truth about Fascism as being one of the greatest scourges of human history"[355]. As one may notice, the argument about 'the historical truth', was brought up by representatives of the city council, as well as by representatives of the Jewish community, although it was interpreted differently. The same is true for the argument of international prestige. Representatives of the community claimed that placing both museums together "will not only distort history, but can adversely affect the international reputation of the Republic of Moldova". This episode, on the one hand, clearly indicates a claim by the local Jewish community on the 'exclusive right' to preserve memory of the Holocaust in the local public sphere. On the other hand, this episode emphasized the clear absence of the entangled framework within which the Holocaust in Bessarabia and Soviet deportations would coexist.

Eventually the initiative to establish two museums together did not get developed. Following the government decree issued several days before the debates on two museums to be located in the same building, the *Museum of Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions*, subordinated to *the National Museum of Archaeology and History* was opened in 2010.[356] A permanent exhibition is dedicated to local victims of two waves of deportations that took place in 1941 and 1949. The exhibition contains about 600 items, including documents, photographs, objects, clothes, and memoirs that reflect, according to the museum web-site, "one of the most tragic periods in the history our people."[357] In 2012 the exhibition was revamped into *"Soviet Moldova: Between the Myths and the Gulag"*.[358] Already by that time the state-sponsored campaign to commemorate the victims of repressions and deportations was further

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[355] Crudu, "Yevreyskaya obshchina".

[356] See Government Decree no. 605 from July 2, 2010.

[357] "Despre Muzeului Victimelor Deportărilor şi Represiunilor Politice" [about the Museum of Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions], accessed November 14, 2014, http://mvdrp.blogspot.hu/p/despre-mvdrp.html.

[358] "Soviet Moldova: Between Myths and the Gulag, Exhibition of the Museum of the Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions," The National Museum of History of Moldova, accessed November 14, 2014, http://www.nationalmuseum.md/en/exhibitions/soviet_moldova_between_myths_and_the_gulag/

developed such an extent that the prime minister, who visited the exhibition's inauguration, claimed that "the deportations that took place in 1941 and 1949 are *the most* [emphasis is mine – A.F] tragic events in the history of the country".

However, although being promoted and supported by the state, by 2014 *the Museum of Victims of Deportations and Political Repressions* did not acquire a separate location, as was planned initially. In order to broaden the exhibition, it needed to be relocated to a separate building across the road, which has not happened. The building that should have hosted the museum is a monument of architecture and history and a landmark of national significance, protected by the state. It constitutes part of the complex of buildings of *the National Museum of Archaeology and History*. However, it is occupied by the private owner and is pledged to a bank. This indicates tensions related to corruption on the construction market in Moldova and the inconsistency of regulations in the sphere of public and private property.

The National Museum of Archaeology and History itself is an influential agent within dynamics of memory politics in Moldova. According to Andrei Cuşco, the museum's main concept was revised and established in the early 1990s and then re-approved in 1997 in accordance to the pro-Romanian "nationalization" of historical discourse of that time. Since then no significant alterations in the interpretation of local history at the museum followed, in spite of differentiations in vectors of historical politics in 2001-2009. That version of the exhibition mentioned very briefly that part of the Holocaust that took place on the territory of Bessarabia, at the same time emphasizing post-war repressions and deportations.[359] As for the Holocaust, "there is no denial but, equally pernicious, no blame is apportioned to anyone; it was simply something that happened during World War II."[360]

In relation to the use of language within the permanent exhibition and labeling the historical presence of foreign rule, the authors cited above also indicate that:

> "It seems to be a modern approach to automatically mark everything connected with Russian power as an occupation […] the implication that only one foreign country has been an aggressor follows from the observation that other terms

[359] Cuşco. "The "Politics of Memory," 193.
[360] Adi Schnytzer, Alina Zubkovych, "Comparative Symbolic Violence: The Chişinău and Tiraspol National Historical Museums," *Crossroads Digest* 8 (2013): 68.

such as "annexation" and "foreign domination", are all related exclusively to either the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union"[361].

Since 2010 the museum contributed to the interpretation of WWII in opposition to the Soviet heroic rhetoric, hosting an exhibition "the Memory of the War", dedicated to the 65th anniversary of the victory over Fascism. The exhibition reflected the dynamics of recognition of all people who participated in the war as suffering equally and thus deserving to be commemorated.[362] The exhibition was supposed to be "a tribute to all victims of the war, no matter what side of the barricade they fought for."[363]

This discourse opposes the Soviet narrative of the winner established since the 1960s that presupposed a clear division, praising both those who fought in the Red Army and the Allies, and with subsequent condemnation of those who fought for the Axis-related army, reserving an undefined status for prisoners of war. In 2012 the same museum hosted an exhibition *"13 Years of the Stalinism. The Moldavian SSR in 1940-1953"*, which censured the Sovietization of Bessarabia.[364]

Within the permanent exhibition on history and civilization, *the National Museum of Archaeology and History* has recently added the Department of Spiritual Culture, which is supposed to reflect religious diversity and identity in present-day Moldova. Several pieces of Judaica are exhibited within this department. Accrording to Schnytzer and Zubkovych:

> "The exposition is of a generalized nature with no exact data on the presented religions regarding the specifically Moldavian case. It tells us of religions and what kind of art they contain: icons, Bible, Torah, holy clothes, etc."[365]

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[361] Schnytzer, Zubkovych, "Comparative Symbolic Violence", 69.

[362] On this dynamics see Popa, "War Remembrance," 110-136.

[363] "Memory of War, (May 6 – June 28, 2010)," The Museum of History of Moldova, accesed May 14, 2015,
http://www.nationalmuseum.md/en/exhibitions/memory_of_war/#.

[364] "13 Years of Stalinism. Moldavian SSR in 1940-1953, (6 – 18 November 2012)," The Museum of History of Moldova, see also
http://www.nationalmuseum.md/en/exhibitions/13_years_of_stalinism_moldavian_ssr_in_1940_1953/.

[365] Schnytzer, Zubkovych, "Comparative Symbolic Violence", 71.

Apart from state regulated initiatives, in Moldova there exists a number of grass-roots initiatives to memorialize victims of Soviet deportations within the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist rhetoric, such as *the Museum of the People's Memory,* which emphasizes national (pro-Romanian in interpretation of the museum) feelings of those deported to be the main reason for the Soviet authorities' distrust of them.[366]

In 2013 the then-prime-minister of Moldova declared his intention to establish *the (State) Holocaust Museum* in Chişinău. So far there has been no development of that matter. Thus, together with the Jewish/ the Holocaust museum that should have appeared in the restored ruins of former 'Magen Dovid' yeshiva and synagogue, since 2010 in the capital of Moldova there have 'appeared' three phantom Jewish/Holocaust museums.

Apart from that in 2015 the Jewish community of Moldova launched a project called *"On the Trails of History" Virtual Museum of Judaica in Moldova*, which is an online museum based on fieldwork from 2013-2014 and created with the help of international funding. The museum has a catalogue of Judaic objects from regional centers of the country, digitalized and placed on a web-platform.[367]

The Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova is located in the semi-basement of a former synagogue and occupies one room and a hall at *the KEDEM Jewish Center*. The exhibition covers local Jewish history and heritage of the region and starts from late 19th century (see figures IV.1 and IV.2). The museum opened in its current location in 2005, but the acquisition of objects started in late 1980s and early 1990s, which overlapped with the peak of *aliya* (repatriation to Israel) from the former Soviet Union in 1990–1991. Immigrants from Moldova represented a high percentage of total immigrants from the former Soviet Union – up to 10.5% in 1991.[368] According to this museum director, the first acquisitions were gathered in 1989, within the *Society for Jewish Culture*. The objects were randomly gathered following the initiative of amateur 'native ethnographers' (*krayevedy*) under the support of respective Jewish

[366] See "Muzeul „Memoria Neamului" – Cutia cu amintiri deportate" [The Museum "Memory of the Nation" – a Box with Deported Memories], Timpul, last modified July 22, 2013, accessed May 6, 2014, http://www.timpul.md/articol/muzeul-memoria-neamului---cutia-cu-amintiri-deportate-45976.html

[367] See "Virtual museum of Judaica in Moldova *On the Trails of History*," accessed http://www.jewishmuseum.md/en/main/menu?alias=museum.

[368] Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival".

organizations – a process directly connected with the revival of Jewish communal life in post-Communist Europe. The museum still receives sponsorship from the *American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee*, which since 1989 sponsored the biggest part of all the Jewish social and cultural activities in the CIS countries.[369] According to the museum director:

> "It was a private initiative «from below». I know a certain number of people who more or less stood at the origins. [...] And then, the library across the street [...] became Jewish. [...] It was Isidor Pilat [...] or it maybe his assistants, who began to collect some Jewish objects. This was an absolutely private initiative, a collection [...] on the level of a small school museum. By that time, and it is either in 1993 or 1994, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee* came to Moldova [...] with a double mission: to not let [the elderly Jewish population of Moldova] die of hunger', [...] and to participate in the Jewish [spiritual and cultural] renewal. [...] The culture that has been pushed to revive here is a common Jewish culture; of the Israeli type [...] it was tradition-oriented. [...] When this building was restored (the former synagogue – A.F.), [...] this museum was taken from the library and brought here. [...] My mother participated in this collection coming to life, and here is my stuff as well, for example, my grandfather's watchmaker's shop model. It was such an impulse. [...] Then, apparently, the *AJJDC* became responsible for it from 'top-down'. Almost no money has been spent for collection *per se*. Almost everything here is because of voluntary donation, except for some silver items. [...] The logic was to collect everything that is to be given. In this sense we are in a very difficult situation, because after the WWII and after the post-war reconstruction of Chişinău there are very few items left"[370].

It is noteworthy, though, that in spite of the fact that since the early 1990s some Jewish property in the former Soviet Union, including number of former synagogue buildings, has been returned to Jewish communities, only this museum out of the four local Jewish museums discussed here is located within the former synagogue. It occupies the semi-basement of former *Lemnaria* synagogue, built in 1835, nationalized by the Soviet authorities in 1940, and then turned into an experimental workshop used by the *Academy of Sciences of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic*. Eventually the building was given back to the community after the 1990s.

According to the museum director, the main topic of the exhibition is

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[369] Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival".
[370] Irina Şihova, Interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

"Jews in a common Moldovan, common Bessarabian context." When I visited the museum in late 2013, there was placed at the entrance a 19th century funerary tombstone brought from Briceva, a former agricultural commune, where a dilapidated Jewish cemetery is located. The decision to open the exhibition with a tombstone was linked to an awareness of the tangible Jewish heritage all around the country. This heritage is presented by deserted and neglected cemeteries, former synagogues, yeshivas, Jewish schools, hospitals, private houses, etc. As one moved forward the exhibition, the story of Bessarabian Jewry was narrated from a temporal perspective, emphasizing the inclusion of the Jewry into local society under different political regimes up to the moment of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. A strong emphasis was made on the intimacy of the stories that the donated objects tell, as well as on the authenticity and personalized nature of each object:

> "we start from the end of the 19th century (for historical and financial reasons). That means that within the exposition we have the Bessarabian province in the Russian Empire, then the interwar Romanian period, then the early-Soviet one, then the late Soviet one. [...] There I have a typical Russian pot for the Russian stove, and I am proud to show it, emphasizing that it was used in a Jewish family, and this seems to indicate good, neighborly relations somewhere in the shtetl"[371].

The director tended to tell the story of the peaceful cohabitation between both Jewish and non-Jewish residents in the region for decades. At the same time, the museum emphasized the poverty of Jewry from the Pale of Settlement. However, the museum failed to portray the Jews as active subjects within that story and at the same time tended to avoid making judgements on the region's historical fluctuations. Separate sections were devoted to prominent community members. The timeline is important here. The changing status of the region and its 'transition' from one state to another was narrated in neutral terms, avoiding such terms as 'annexation' in relation to 1812, 1918 or 1940/45.

The exhibition started with 1812, with the Russian empire taking the territory as the result of the Bucharest peace treaty. The fate of the Jews, who lived at this territory in previous epochs (if any) remained unrepresented. The inflow of Jews to Bessarabia after 1812 was explained by privileges received, although the empire tried to "make the most out of Jewish economic activities."[372] The interwar years were shown as oppressive for the Jews, with

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[371] Irina Şihova, Interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

[372] From the information plaque at the museum hall.

the repressions of 1920-30 affecting the Jews, while the nature and reasons of these repressions were not explained. Inconsistency between the narrative transmitted by information boards and the director's narrative and vision of local Jewish history were obvious. It may be explained by the exceptional role of the director in such small museums. It is that particular person with his/her private vision who is entitled to design the exposition and its design. With one director changing another, this vision may vary and this may easily lead to the exhibition change. Personal attachment to the exhibition also varies in dependence of the participation of each director in designing the exhibition. In Chişinău it was not the present-day museum director who designed the exposition the way it was by late 2013. Neither did she agree with the message or the design. This eventually brought around the exhibition being revamped.

The narration on traumatic topics was not separated in terms of space. The black arch with enlarged pictures of pogrom victims was 'welcoming' visitors at the main exhibition hall, narrating on pogroms from 1903/5 (see figure IV.1). The 1903 pogrom was narrated by the information plaques in direct connection with the Holocaust, as "the first scary alarm bell", although neither the reasons for pogrom were explained, nor the instigators and those responsible were called out directly. Suffering for local Jews was communicated to come from both the Nazi and the Soviets, including the Soviet repressions and deportations of 1940-41, followed by the extermination of "major parts of Jewish inhabitants of Bessarabia by German and Romanian invaders"[373] in July-August 1941, which, in its turn, was followed by the post-war Soviet state antisemitism. At the main hall the start of the WWII was indicated in 1941, but a separate poster section located at the corridor indicated the starting year as 1939 and treated it not as 'the Great Patriotic War'. This shows a lack of consistent strategy on treating the historical context as the exhibition has been gradually changing.

The current museum director, a specialist in literature, has been leading the museum for more than 7 years. She 'inherited' the exhibition design from the previous director, and has been aware of the effect such a design had on visitors, as it set the tone of trauma from the very beginning:

> "the tragedy is in the center, because it is chronologically in the center [of the exhibition in its current design – A.F.]. Personally, I am against the fact that it

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[373] Ibidem.

takes such a central and oppressive position, but this is how it happened. If I had the possibility, I would have done a little corner or separate room for black pages for pogroms and the Holocaust. But so far it is like this. [...] I did not design the exhibition, I would rather make it not according to the chronological principle. I would do a thematic showcase devoted to "a shtetl", another showcase about "a town", separately - «a tailor shop», separately – «a watchmaker's repair shop"- following the thematic principle, more conceptually oriented, not the open storage, but in a more 'living' way."[374]

Eventually, the museum was revamped to avoid the dominance of the trauma discourse and reopened in February 2015 with the additional installation of interactive devices. Much lighter colors were chosen as the background for the exhibition hall and black as the dominant color has totally disappeared.[375]

Since the outreach capability of small local Jewish museums is limited due to restricted spaces and remote locations, the staff attempt to enhance the outreach program and entice the broader public by introducing talks, seminars, workshops and other educational initiatives – in Chişinău as well as in other cities discussed here. They also organize visits to Jewish-related sites in the city, which is how the museum is being brought outside of its walls. Such practice is common for Jewish museums as their employees generally have enough background knowledge to act as tour guides (which may also become an additional source of income when not working at the museum). In Chişinău the museum director said:

"I, as far as it is possible, try to gather information about old Chişinău - what and where there once was and how it looks now, and so on. I also lead excursions to Jewish Chişinău, to synagogues, to places of pogroms and the Holocaust — there are different thematic units, depending on the interests of the audience, and yes, it is a private initiative [...] I also work as a tour guide, several tourist agencies cooperate with me"[376].

[374] Irina Şihova, Interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

[375] See report of post-2014 revamp "Muzey yevreyskogo naslediya Moldovy. Vtoroye otkrytiye" [Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova. The Second Opening], last modified January 27, 2015, accessed on December 20, 2015, http://free-time.md/rom/library/i5453-muzei-evreiskogo-nasledij-moldovy-vtoroe-otkrytie/ and on Facebook page of the museum, accessed on December 20, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.803961919664720.1073741843.2041755129 76700&type=3. Pictures from the museum's official Facebook page are presented in Appendix IV with permission of Irina Şihova.

[376] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

6.2 Odessa: Competing for Jewish Symbolic Legacy

The Jewish component has been of core importance for the international image of Odessa as a cosmopolitan hub due to its flourishing Jewish life, business, and culture, both religious and civic, prior to the 1940s. In 1927 the Soviet authorities allowed the opening of the *All-Ukrainian Museum of Jewish Culture named after Mendel Meyher-Sforim.*[377] The museum's rich collection contained objects of ritual use (gained from the closed synagogues across the region), paintings and many other types of artifacts. By 1937 the collectio reached more than 30 thousand artifacts.[378] This museum was closed in 1934, but opened again in 1940. Its collection was expropriated and looted for several times, a significant part of it has been lost, and some parts are currently stored in the *Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine* located within the *Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra*. It is noteworthy that precisely this collection is aimed to be brought back by the initiators and promoters of the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in Odessa that, according to initial plan, is supposed to be located in the building of the former Brody synagogue (see chapter 3). Moreover, this very interwar museum, according to director of *Museum of the History of the Odessa Jews 'Migdal Shorashim'*, as well as according to one of initiators of the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* project, serves as an inspiration for both post-1991 Odessa Jewish museums projects. According to director of *'Migdal Shorashim'* museum:

> "for quite a long time in Odessa's intelligentsia milieu there was a thought wandering around about lost museums. These were some museums that had been opened in October 1927 – to commemorate 10th anniversary of the Great

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[377] Yevgeniy Kotlyar, "Yevreyskiye muzei i kollektsii pervoy treti XX veka (L'vov–Sankt-Peterburg–Odessa–Kiyev)" [Jewish Museums and Collections of the first third of the 20th century (L'viv–St. Petersburg–Odessa–Kiev)], *Visnyk KHDADM* 12, no. 2 (2009): 121-124; Mikhail Rashkovetskiy, "K voprosu ob istorii 1-go Vseukrainskogo muzeya yevreyskoy kul'tury im. Mendele Moykher-Sforima" [On the History of the First Ukrainian Museum of Jewish Culture named after Mendele Moykher-Sforim], in *Odessa and Jewish Civilization: Proceedings of the Second International Conference*, ed. Mikhail Rashkovetskiy et al. (Odessa, 2004), 37-50; Vera Solodova, "Odesskyy muzey evreyskoy kul'tury (1927– 1941)" [Odessa Museum of Jewish Culture (1927-1941)]. Materialy IV mizhnarodnoyi naukovoyi konferentsiyi "Dolya yevrey'koyi dukhovnoyi ta material'noyi spadshchyny v XX stolitti", August 28-30, 2001, accessed May 14, 2014, http://judaica.kiev.ua/old/Conference/Conf41.htm.

[378] Kotlyar, "Yevreyskiye muzei," 121.

October Revolution and all of them had been closed by the mid-1930s. One of them was *the State museum of Jewish culture of Mendel Meyher-Sforim*[379].

Another legitimating point for opening in 2002 the *'Migdal Shorashim'* museum (see the detailed study of this museum below), again, according to its director, was the absence of the Jewish topic within the Odessa museum scene, in spite of the crucial role Jewish life played in the city's past:

"I remember that when we were creating this museum of ours ('Migdal Shorashim' – A.F.), I went to the *Odessa Local History Museum* with students of the 'Migdal' center, we had a tour guide with the surname Cohen, and within the excursion he never said the word "Jew" and only once said the word "synagogue"[380].

Indeed, the permanent exhibition of the *Odessa Local History Museum* (or *Museum of Local Lore, Krayevedcheskiy muzey*) as I witnessed it in late 2015 did not discuss the presence of Jews in the city from a historical perspective openly. The only reference to this stratum of residence is seen on the second hall of the permanent exhibition, where the proto of the Brody synagogue and statistics concerning the population at the end of the 19th century are shown (see figure IV.6), and a significant part of it consisted of Jews. The permanent exhibition starts with the portrait of Bohdan Khmelnitsky and a praising narrative about the 1648-1657 Ukrainian Cossack uprising within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This interpretation is an accepted one within the Ukrainian historical tradition. However, since the uprising was accompanied by mass atrocities and massacres against civilians, including Jews, it is known as a devastating event within Jewish memory.[381] It is precisely in this manner that the uprising is interpreted within the exhibition of the recently launched *'POLIN Museum of History of Polish Jews'* in Warsaw.

Neither does the part of permanent exhibition at Odessa Local History Museum devoted to WWII explicitly discuss the fate of Odessa Jews during the Holocaust. Visual reference is given through a single corner in the hall winded round by a barbed wire (see figure IV.6). Within this corner the fact of the

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[379] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.

[380] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.

[381] On Khmelnitsky's 'career' in historiography see Amelia Glaser, ed. *Stories of Khmelnytsky: Competing Literary Legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising* (Stanford University Press, 2015).

Odessa Jewish ghetto's existence is noted, as well as the fact that local Jews were forced to relocate there, but neither the scale of devastation brought to Odessa Jews by the war nor exact data on the Holocaust in the city is given.[382] Generally, the museum gives an impression of inconsistency in terms of exhibition and narrative design since, on the one hand, the exhibition devoted to war is officially called *'the Second World War Hall'*, while the narrative design inside the hall reminds one of the tone of the Soviet narrative of the *Great Patriotic War*. Also, the permanent exhibition still contains halls where the methods of Soviet museum-making and artifacts used at the time are located, while at the same time the exhibitions devoted to *'the Holodomor'*, as well as to the *'Antiterrorist Operation in Donbass and Luhansk Regions'* have been opened to the public.

A separate museum devoted to the Holocaust functions in Odessa: the *Odessa Museum of the Holocaust – Victims of Fascism (muzey «Holokosta – zhertv fashizma»)* founded in 2009 by the *Odessa Regional Association of Jews, former Prisoners of Ghetto and Concentration Camps* (an organization established in 1990, the first of this kind in the Soviet Union). The main task claimed by the museum is:

> "to collect, to preserve and to transmit to future generations the story of the Holocaust as an unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered; and educate a new generation of those able to resist to Fascism."[383]

Although located in the city center, it is randomly open to the public and visits must be arranged beforehand.

The *Museum of the History of the Odessa Jews 'Migdal Shorashim'* at *the International Centre of Jewish Community Programs 'Migdal'* in Odessa, Ukraine chronicles the story of a city that had the third largest Jewish population in the world at the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The exhibition nostalgically narrates a story of the space once universally recognized for its Jewishness and communicates a nostalgic melancholy for Jewish Odessa. The museum is located in a former private apartment in a 'classical' Odessa courtyard (a former communal apartment,

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[382] On these matters see Sofiya Grachova, "The Past of Ukrainian Jews in General and Local Histories in post-Soviet Ukraine," (MA diss., Central European University, 2007), 63-65.

[383] See statement at the official web-site of the museum: "Istoriya otkrytiya muzeya" [History of the Museum's Opening], accessed May 15, 2015, http://www.holocaust-odessa.org/istoriya-otkrytiya-muzeya/.

with removed partitions), which emphasizes the sense of nostalgia for not only the once-flourishing life of Odessa's Jewish population, but also for a mythical 'good old Odessa' and narrates the personalized 'primary' ties people used to have with the city (see figure IV.4). This attitude personifies in a phenomenon 'Odessian by nationality'.[384] As in all other cases discussed here, the collection has been gathered thanks to donations "by local public figures, leaders of Jewish organizations, ordinary citizens of Odessa as well as members of the city's large diaspora community who continue to cherish their native city" and consists of "documents, photographs, books, newspapers, postcards, religious garment, household goods, music instruments and some pieces of art."[385]

On a discourse level the museum puts a strong emphasis on primacy in terms of the time of opening after 1991. As stated by museum's official web-page: "Previously, the history of Odessa's Jewry was not exhibited or displayed in any other museum around the city. This exact absence served as the primary reason for the unveiling of this historical treasure."[386]

This statement is not entirely true if one takes into account the interwar Jewish museum in Odessa. Moreover, as it is indicated above, the museum *'Migdal Shorashim'*, represented by its director, recognizes the interwar Jewish museum as one of the pretexts for *'Migdal Shorashim'* to be opened. Its creation, as well as the creation of all local museums discussed here, is a result of a grass-roots initiative and activism, supported by international funding from the Jewish foundation. According to the museum's director, a professional art historian:

> "So this idea [about lost Odessa museums – A.F.] has been there from the time of the Thaw. In reality, it was possible to make such a museum only after the Perestroika and only after Ukraine gained independence. All the time there were some impulses, initiatives [...] And I also wished that in Odessa there would be a Jewish museum, not just a museum program. And with the permission of the *AJJDC* we started to collect something on our own [...] By 2002, Kira Verkhovskaya invited me to leave the *AJJDC* and to engage, together with the 'Migdal' center, in the creation of the museum. We organized the first

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[384] See Tanny Jarrod, *City of Rogues and Schnorrers: Russia's Jews and the Myth of Old Odessa* (Indiana University Press, 2011); Richardson, *Kaleidoscopic Odessa*.

[385] "The Odessa Jewish Museum," Migdal International Society, Inc., accessed July 10, 2014, http://migdalworld.org/our-program/the-odessa-jewish-museum.html.

[386] "The Odessa Jewish Museum".

festival of Jewish books, *'OFEK'* and during one of these *OFEKs*, using me as an art historian and museum curator with a decent experience, we opened the exhibition "Odessa Jewish artists of 19-th and 20-th centuries at the Odessa Art Museum" and even made a small catalog. And in fact the items in that catalog were signed as "from the collection of the future museum of Jews of Odessa." It was the end of 2001. [...] Somehow there appeared this space and the Migdal center ' made a small repairs of its own, and not from public funds, and installed an alarm system and transported existing items from the office of AJJDC. After that items were stored in cabinets at the 'Migdal' center, items that people brought there, it was before the official announcement on the opening of the museum. We initially decided that we will have a movable and a not pretentious museum"[387].

The museum mission is formulated as:

"to store, to study, to promote, and to answer to the question "the Jews of Odessa – is it only the past?". We try to make it so the answer to this question was "not only" [...] this idea is being patronized in this museum. In this sense we are the ideological structure, we are biased, and we do not hide this. On the other hand, it is work with people, with representatives of other nationalities; we try to inform them that there exists a Jewish component of Odessa life."[388]

The fact that the museum is located in an apartment sets the tone for the whole exhibition, as the visitors move from one hall to another, they move to the 'common room', the 'office', the 'music room', or the 'kitchen'. The 'music room' is devoted to famous Jewish writers, journalists, musicians, and doctors as well as their works, and the 'kitchen,' which is installed in a small corridor, is devoted to everyday life of ordinary Jewish people, showing cookware from different years, tools, stove, etc. Next hall shows shoe-making, engineering, hairdressing tools, thus telling the complex story of Jewish occupations in Odessa starting from 1770s. The utensils devoted to religious ceremonies is also exhibited in the next hall, it eventually educates the visitor about Jewish calendar cycle, but generally the focus of exposition is rather shifted towards the experience of Jews living in 'the old Odessa', including the religious experience, rather than towards an explanation of the pillars of Judaism.

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[387] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.
[388] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.

Within the permanent exhibition some pictures, postcards or photographic reproductions of previously extant communal property educate visitors of the former Jewish landscape of Odessa. Jewish space, imaginary in this case, is thus symbolically brought inside the museums.

> "We talk about the number of buildings within the excursions, but not about the buildings themselves, rather about the activities that took place in these buildings, for example, we talk about relationships between Brody and the main synagogues, we speak about the synagogue that functioned in Soviet times. But this topic is not central for us."[389]

There is also a room devoted to the Holocaust and Jewish survival during the years of WWII. The museum contains a separate 'black' corridor devoted to World War II, which recounts the story of the extermination of the local Jewish population as well as the Jewish contribution to the defense of the city in 1941 (as the city gained the hero status after the war, references to 'heroic' pages of local history are often mentioned in many other museums across the city). But it is emphasized that the Holocaust is not the major topic of the museum:

> "in the article of Stern on Jewish museums in Ukraine there was expressed an interesting idea: that when one enters provincial museums in Ukraine he/she gets the impression that Jews never lived in Ukraine, and then there was the Holocaust and they appeared (in Ukraine – A.F.) exactly for it, and then they disappeared. Therefore, we specifically tell in the memorial room about the families, and this is how we tell about the Holocaust. We do not hide the trauma, but we "add some syrup." In the first hall we have tubes with soil from places of mass executions, one of the exhibits in our museum is the bed from the house of the Holocaust victim, family portraits, etc., we remember about it all the time, not only about the Holocaust, but about anti-Semitism in general, but it is used as a background, the exhibition as a whole is not "black." I'm talking about it to visitors - we have to love a happy end - not because we are optimists, but because most of the items donated to us were donated by those who survived"[390].

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[389] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.
[390] Ibidem.

The exhibition finishes with an optimistic narration on the revival of Jewish life in the region that highlights the emergence of Jewish organizations in Odessa beginning in the 1990s. The curatorial decision to conclude the exhibition with the message of the continuation of Jewish life in Odessa is targeted both at non-Jewish visitors (to raise the awareness about Jewish presence in the city in the past and today) and at the Jewish audience – in order to illustrate the existence of communal life in present-day Odessa and thus to strengthen the sense of belonging. Thus, both the Odessa and Chişinău museums try to squeeze out the narrative of trauma and Jewish suffering, concentrating on life instead.

It is not clear yet how the provisional *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* (see chapter 3) in Odessa will 'work' with the trauma and balance this narrative with the one about Jewish life and achievements in the city. It is important, though, that the provisional museum contains references to former and existing Jewish museums in Odessa, thus claiming a symbolic continuity. On the other hand, according to one of the initiators of the future museum project, the principle according to which the provisional exhibition shall be designed, must significantly differ from the way the Jewish topic is currently displayed in Odessa:

"The provisional museum is expected to be much bigger, its exhibition to be much richer, and the exhibition's form shall be contemporary - using interactive - and here should be not only ritual objects, but documents and also what the artists-Jews coming from Odessa, and not only – everything that has cultural value. This is not going to be a museum of objects of everyday Jewish life."[391]

Since the project was only announced in July 2015, it is still in the making and it is not particularly clear yet how much time will it take to finish launching the exposition as much depends on how successful the initiators will be in fundraising since a substantial invention is needed to redesign the former Brody synagogue for the museum's needs (see chapter 3):

"There is this building, but at the same time it is a castle in the air, since we realize what huge investment there must be made. We, of course, hope for the

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[391] Boris Khersonsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.

assistance of international Jewish organizations […] Financing is very low for today, and in many respects it is in private hands and my opinion is that as long as there are no large investment, we shall focus on the acquisitions for future exhibitions"[392].

The absence of Judaica within the city official museum scene is also brought up as an argument for making the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum*, as well as – according to opinion cited below – the relevant absence of Jews in today's Odessa. Thus in this sense the message of a provisional museum might differ from the one the initiators of *'Migdal Shorashim'* emphasized, answering 'no' to the question of Jewish Odessa, meaning it is only in the city's past:

> "[By calling it provisionally 'the Ukrainian Jewish Museum' we mean – A.F.] that the Jews came to Russia together with Ukraine - as part of Poland, which Catherine II has conquered. The Jews came to Russia via Ukraine at the end of the 18th century, together with the territory that eventually became the Pale of Settlement. And the new lands have also been included in the Pale of Settlement, including Odessa. And one more important reason for the desire to musealize history of Odessa's Jewry is that most of the Jews left Odessa and at the present moment this story is the city's past, and not its present, but Odessa is unthinkable without Jews. […] I believe that for the Jews both ethnic and religious categories set the frame. The concept of ethnicity in the museum is flawed, but in Odessa - due to the exceptional destiny of the Jews of this city - it is possible"[393].

6.3 L'viv: Judaica in the Storage

The museum landscape in L'viv reflects the dynamic of heritage framework's development in terms of management of premises and co-existence of different, sometimes competing, narratives on the city's past. The post-1991 renewal of Jewish communal and religious life was marked by the selective return of former Jewish property, as well as in other cities under discussion. Exhibitions at a number of museums underwent significant changes, this time in favor of national history and the culture of memory with emphasis on Ukrainian heroism, martyrdom and the concept of Western Ukrainian lands as an entity. Since the 2000s the number of narrative museums in the city grew rapidly,

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[392] Ibidem.
[393] Boris Khersonsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, August 20, 2015.

which both reflected and accompanied an emphasis on the tourism industry as the strategic choice of city branding. As it is stated at the official city guide website: "L'viv is not only an open-air city museum, but also a city of museums."[394]

Thus the 'traditional' history, ethnography, natural history museums and art galleries displaying high-brow culture and established post-1945 adjoin 'the museum pharmacy, arsenal and L'viv museum of beer'. The latter, together with the 'coffee mine' installation at the coffee-house owned by 'Fest' holding, museum 'secret pharmacy', 'museum of the Postal Office' and others, aim at entertaining visitors, as well as at enlightening. The city museum offer is rich and is receptive to global trends in the sphere of tourism, as well as to indoctrination demands. State museums in the city reflect the national version of history and a number of commemorative projects tend to emphasize ethnic Ukrainians as victims throughout the violent events of the 20th century. The introduction of multicultural heritage, one side of which is Jewish, by opening a separate branch of the *Museum of History of Religion* and discussion of the Holocaust within the permanent exhibition of *National History Museum*, adjoins *the Museum of General-Lieutenant of the UIA Roman Shukhevych* and musealization of the former prison *'at Lontskoho Street'* devoted solely to the victimhood of its prisoners of Ukrainian descent. Such projects as *The Museum of Resettled Ukrainians* in the town of Vynnyky near L'viv have been proposed since 2005,[395] and *the Monument to the Victims of the Communist crimes* which was unveiled in 1997, *the Monument for Victims of Political Repressions of 1939-1941* unveiled in 1999, *the monument to Stepan Bandera* unveiled in 2007[396], and an ongoing project to launch *the Museum of Totalitarian Regimes "the Territory of Terror"* contribute to

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[394] "Lviv Travel, Official City Travel Website", accessed June 9, 2013, http://lviv.travel/ua/lvivgalleries/lviv_museums.

[395] Full title of the provisional museum is the *Museum Complex of History, Culture and Everyday Life of Ethnic Ukrainians from Nadsyannya, Lemkiv, Holm, Podlasie Regions with a Branch on the History of Ukrainian Emigration in Vynnyky town*. The museum branch in Vynniky town is supposed to memorialize Ukrainians deported from Poland and relocated to L'viv between 1944 and 1946; see Sofia, Dyak. "In Place of Displacement: Commemorating Deportations in L'viv after 1991," (paper presented at the Fourth Annual Danyliw Research Seminar in Contemporary Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa, October 23-25, 2008).

[396] See Eleonora Narvselius, "The "Bandera Debate": The Contentious Legacy of World War II and Liberalization of Collective Memory in Western Ukraine," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 54, no. 3-4 (2012): 469-490.

an introduction to the canon of national memory in the urban landscape of L'viv and its adjoining region.[397]

The National Museum-Memorial of Victims of the Occupation Regimes "Prison on Lontsky Street", which is located inside the building of a former prison, opened to the public in 2009. According to the museum's official website, its exhibition focuses on harm made by "three occupational powers: Poland, the Soviet Union, and Germany."[398]

The exhibition highlights the massacres carried out by the NKVD in that particular prison, as well as in other prisons in the city in the last days prior to the taking of L'viv by the German troops in June 1941, and emphasizes Ukrainian-centered martyrdom, voiced in ethnic terms[399]. However, the exhibition doesn't discuss the Jewish pogrom that took place after the German troops took the city (only the museum's web-site gives a short reference), and neither is the participation of L'viv residents in that pogrom reflected in the permanent exhibition.[400] Still, the banners in the museum's courtyard, along with the banners related to the main exhibition's topic, referred to the Holocaust in Ukraine as a global tragedy which only the Nazi are responsible for (see figure IV.11). The latter contain the label of the *'Faina Petryakova Academic Center of Judaica and Jewish Art'*, which might indicate that this particular center was responsible for the design and execution of the banners. The '*Faina Petryakova Center'* is one of the institutions under the leadership of Meylakh Sheikhet (see chapter 3), who, in his turn, in multiple interviews argued for a suffering that Ukrainian and Jewish people shared at the hands of the Soviet totalitarian power. He was also responsible for the Holocaust commemoration events at the

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[397] See Dyak, "In Place of Displacement"; Tarik Cyril Amar, "Different but the Same or the Same but Different? Public Memory of the Second World War in Post-Soviet L'viv," *Journal of Modern European History* 9, no. 3 (2011): 373-396.

[398] "Misiya" [Mission] http://www.lonckoho.lviv.ua/muzej/misiya, accessed March 1, 2016.

[399] See Tarik Cyril Amar, "Lonts'koho: pam"yat' pro tyurmu chy uv"yaznena pam"yat'?" [Lontskoho: the Memory of a Prison or an Inmate Memory?], *Zaxid.net*, last modified August 3, 2009, accessed June 4, 2014, http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?lontskogo_pamyat_pro_tyurmu_chi_uvyaznena _pamyat&objectId=1083037; Blacker, "Urban Commemoration"; Dyak, "Diaspora 'Battlefield'"; John-Paul Himka, "The Lontsky Street Prison Memorial Museum: an Example of Post-Communist Holocaust Negationism," in *Perspectives on the Entangled History of Communism and Nazism*, ed. Klas-Goran Karlsson, Johan Stenfeldt, and Ulf Zander (Lexington Books, 2015), 137-166.

[400] On pogrom see Amar, "Tha Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv," 88-142.

museum *"Prison on Lontsky Street"* in January 2013.[401] As for the permanent exhibition per se, according to John-Paul Himka:

> "The memorial museum of the Lontsky St. prison misinforms an international public about what happened in L'viv in the summer of 1941, presenting a one-sided picture of Communist crimes, while suppressing knowledge of the involvement in pogroms and mass executions of Jews at Lontsky St. prison itself and elsewhere"[402].

In her thesis from 2007 Sofiya Grachova claimed that the Jewish presence in the city's past was not presented at the exhibition of the *L'viv Museum of History,* apart from a single watercolor picture of the Golden Rose synagogue from the 19th century.[403] In contrast to this, by autumn 2015 the permanent exhibition of the *'Department of Western Ukrainian Lands' History',* which is a branch of the *L'viv Historical Museum*, did notice the past of the L'viv Jewry, although in a particular way. The collection and exhibition of the historical museum is dispersed throughout the city and occupies different locations, in sum containing 11 departments. Located in the very city center, at the Rynok Square, the most visited and the most popular tourist attraction in the city, the *'Department of Western Ukrainian Lands' History'* shares the building with the *'Department of the History of the Ukrainian Diaspora'* and narrates contemporary local history (from mid-19th century until present day). As it is stated at the official web-site, the leitmotif of the exhibition created in 1995 is:

> "the struggle for realization of nation ideas in all areas of the historical existence of the Ukrainian people. […] The exposition exhibits help the visitors not only to understand the historical processes that took place at Western Ukrainian lands during the interwar period [although the exhibition presents also prewar

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[401] "Lektsiya Meylakha Sheykheta v "Tyurmi na Lonts'koho" do dnya pam'yati zhertv Holokostu 28 sichnya 2013 roku" [Lecture by Meylah Sheykhet at the "Prison on Lontskoho street" museum for the Holocaust Remembrance Day on January 28, 2013], last modified January 31, 2013, accessed March 3, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cKXetaBnZT0.

[402] Himka, "The Lontsky Street Prison," 158.

[403] Grachova, "The Past of Ukrainian Jews," 57. For representation of Jewish heritage in L'viv and its management see pages 45-64.

and postwar times – A.F.], but also to value national and liberation movement on the other territory of Ukraine from the point of view of Lviv."[404]

This narrative is then developed within the '*Department of Liberation Struggle*' that constitutes another part of the same state museum and is located in different premises. As for *'Department of Western Ukraine Lands History'*, the Jews appear at the exhibition hall related to the WWII. Similarly to the state *Local History Museum* in Odessa, the Jews appear in exhibition only in relation to the Janiv concentration and extermination camp. As in Odessa, one of the corners in the exhibition is 'designed' with use of barbed wire. This part of the exhibition recalls the number of victims, the borders of the camp, pictures from the location, and contains parts of an authentic sowing machine used for spreading the burnt ashes of victims (see figure IV.10). Still, the exhibition totally ignores the flourishing cultural activity of L'viv Jews in interwar years, although it does reflect the Ukrainian component of local urban culture in the same years, devoting a separate hall to it. The permanent exhibition has clearly been subjected to recent random changes, since the information plaques and design of showcases differ in various halls. The situational character of random redesign of some parts of the exhibition is also seen through the fact that some showcases have clearly been added after the exhibition has been installed, for instance, the part devoted to protests on Maidan Nezalezhnisty in Kyiv in 2013-2015.

The L'viv museum scene is particular and to some extent unique since several state local museums, such as the *Museum of Ethnography and Crafts,* the *L'viv Historical Museum*, the *L'viv Museum of the History of Religion* and the *L'viv Art Gallery* contain rich holdings of Judaica, which they gained from different sources, be it parts of collection of the interwar L'viv Jewish museum, random discoveries of artifacts hidden during times of the Holocaust, the redistribution of items from other museums within Soviet Ukraine, and etc. Currently the absolute majority of these holding is not exhibited for the general public due to a number of reasons, which, among other things, includes the provenance of these items (as they may be subjected to restitution claims).

As well as in Odessa, L'viv's history of exhibiting Judaica starts from interwar years with the *Museum of the Jewish Religious Community in L'viv* that

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[404] "Department of Western Ukraine Lands History," accessed January 14, 2016, http://www.lhm.lviv.ua/eng/ekspozyciyi/viddil_istoriyi_zahidnoukrayinskyh_zemel.htm,l.

was functioning in 1934-1939.[405] After the museum was closed, artifacts from its collection and from the collection of Maximiliam Goldstein ended up in the holdings of the above-listed state museums.

The *Museum of Ethnography and Crafts* is the one which, in spite of inheriting the largest 'piece' of collection from the above-mentioned pre-war museum, exhibits the least number of Jewish-related artifacts from all city museums.

The holdings of the *L'viv's Art Gallery* contain paintings authored by artists of Jewish origin. These paintings depict scenes from Jewish everyday life, as well as religious rituals and many other subjects. In 2003 in cooperation with other state museums in the city, the gallery organized an exhibition 'Images of a Vanished World', where some of these paintings were exhibited. The exhibition, which resulted in a catalogue[406], was to some extent a pioneering gesture of this kind in the L'viv of that time. However, it gained a criticism for emphasizing the Jewish component of local culture as a vanished one,[407] although, as showed in the introduction to this thesis, such an interpretation of local the Jewish past is being reproduced even today through various channels of cultural production.

Among the four state museums in L'viv, the holdings of which contain Judaica objects, it is the *L'viv Museum of the History of Religion* (former *Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism*, established in 1973) that openly exhibits a certain number of Judaica items (see figure IV.9). These artifacts include books, sculptures, paintings, rituals objects, and Torah scrolls and are organized into

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[405] Galina Glembotskaya. "Deyatel'nost' yevreyskikh obshchestvennykh organizatsiy L'vova v oblasti sokhraneniya natsional'no-kul'turnogo naslediya (1910– 1930-ye gody)" [The activity of Jewish organizations in L'viv for preservation of the national cultural heritage (1910- 1930-ies)] (paper presented at the conference "Dolya êvreys'kikh gromad tsentral'noĭ ta skhídnoĭ Evropi v pershíy polovíní XX stolíttya," National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, August 6-28, 2003), last modified August 30, 2003, accessed May 12, 2015, http://judaica.kiev.ua/old/Conference/Conf2003/39.htm. For the documents related to the museum's functioning and guidebook see DALO, f. 7, op. 3, sp. 1369, 2386, 2879.

[406] Halyna Hlembotska, Mykhaylo Sherman and Vita Susak, *Images of a Vanished World: the Jews of Eastern Galica (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 and private collections (Centre of Europe Publ. House, 2003).

[407] Bartov, "Erased", 24-27.

the Judaism department, one of 9 departments within the museum. A permanent exhibition is devoted to the history of three world religions, the history of national religions, church institutions and organizations, and is designed to offer general impression about these religions rather than going into details about theological aspects of each of them. According to the chief specialist of the department devoted to Judaism:

> "It is necessary to show the history of every religion, rituals, holidays, and the current condition. Therefore, as you understand, we have no biblical artifacts, I mean, from Palestine. The engravings from 16-18th centuries represent the Christian view over the Judaism, and those are works of famous artists […] Within the project of the exhibition's re-design it is provisionally planned to return attention to artifacts themselves, since so far the artifacts are used to construct a narrative, while in reality they have a value in themselves, and they carry a narrative within themselves. Secondly, one shall talk not about the Temple - about how the Temple was built, but about the fact that within the Jewish culture there exists an idea of the Temple and its various implementations."[408]

Although the project of the exhibition's redesign exists, the collection constantly needs financial investment for being properly preserved:

> "Our museum has not set itself the task of preserving Jewish heritage, in comparison with the Odessa museum, for example, we have a focus on an educational function. Firstly, our museum is focused on the educational path – this is how it has happened. […] The collection is constantly in a state of preservation – all the time something is being done. For some things we have our own experts, but for some things we do not. The logic of an exposition [in the main museum complex] after its reformulation in the 1990s was defined as 'the museum for school and for university"[409].

In 2013 the museum hosted an exhibition *'Before and After'*[410] organized in cooperation with other institutions in the city. It presented eleven Jewish

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[408] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

[409] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

[410] "Do i pislya" ["Before and After"], last modified September 2013, accessed June 6, 2014, http://www.museum.lviv.ua/vystavky/2013-rik/224-do-i-pislia.

ritual silver objects received from the *L'viv History Museum* in 1970s and recently restored with the help of external funding. The exhibition contributed to raising the visibility of Jewish artifacts within the museum scene of the city.

Since 2011 there have taken place several consecutive attempts to create a 'common' Jewish museum in L'viv that was provisionally entitled the *'Museum of History and Culture of the Jews of Galicia.'* The museum should have provided a space and a platform where the artifacts stored in the above-mentioned state museums would have been exhibited and presented to the public. The former community house building (see figure I.20)[411] has been discussed as a possible location for the future museum. In this case the historical argument, as well as a continuity one, has been used to legitimize the building choice, since it was this very construction, built in 1899, that once hosted the interwar Jewish museum, which was located on the third floor. The construction was given to the *'Beis Aharon Veisrael'* L'viv Religious Community in 2001, and afterwards hosted offices of several Jewish originations, but after some time remained unused due to its emergency condition. Several organizations stood behind the initiative to create the provisional *'Museum of History and Culture of the Jews of Galicia.'* The most active have been the *Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations (Vaad) of Ukraine* (*VAAD*) with its Chairman Joseph Zissels (who also initiated creation of Jewish museum in Chernivtsi) and the *Euro-Asian Jewish Congress.* Although some reparation works took place in 2013 and signatures in support of the museum launching have been gathered, due to the number of challenges this has not developed so far[412]. However, according to the chief specialist of the department devoted to Judaism in *L'viv Museum of History of Religion*, an extensive work has been done to catalogue the items on hold in the four state museums in L'viv: "Together with the *Euro-Asian Jewish Congress* we are working on a database of Jewish artifacts in the storages of Ukrainian museums, but this is not available for the public."[413]

To an extent, the principle behind this provisional museum is reminiscent of the one applied at the provisional *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* in Odessa. Both of these museum aim at bringing to their premises items of interwar Jewish museums, but it is planned to not be limited to only these

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[411] Located at Sholem-Aleichem street, 12.

[412] See Sergey Kravtsov, "L'vivs'kyi evreis'kyi muzey: istoriia, porekt, propozytsiia" [The Jewish Museum in L'viv: Background, Project and the Proposal], *Yehupets* 23 (2013): 386-390.

[413] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

items. The proposal for the L'viv museum is called the 'Regeneration of the Jewish Museum', meaning the interwar one.[414] On the one hand, it serves as a certain legitimation for these museum projects to be made at all, since they claim return of local urban cultural heritage, which the interwar museums were. On the other hand, receiving the items from state museums for temporary or permanent hold may be interpreted as the restoration of historical justice and as a gesture that may potentially positively influence relations between the state and ethnic/religious minorities living in Ukraine. For both these museum projects both the provisional premises and the items to be exhibited are equally important in their significance, value, and as tools for disseminating the project's message of bringing the heritage back to the cities. It is noteworthy that in comparison with Odessa the project in L'viv tended to emphasize the regional dimension of the museum, focusing on Galicia, whereas the project in Odessa emphasizes the local dimention, but claims national significance. According to the respondent cited above, this has historical grounds:

> "If one talks about cultural heritage, he/she cannot talk about it in the abstract way - about the heritage of the Jews, as it is a heritage of the Galician Jews. Generally there were few phenomena that have ever united Jews everywhere, those were phenomena of modernity and of Zionism, but traditional culture is a regional one. And if one shall preserve, demonstrate or reconstruct it, it shall be done only this way - given the regional dimension. [..] There is a project that sets its task to focus on this aspect - on the regional culture of the Galician Jews – it is a project of the *Euro-Asian Jewish Congress*."[415]

Apart from the main offices of state museums, these are their branches, as well as local 'alternative' Jewish museums (parts of Jewish cultural institutions) that play a significant role in making the L'viv Jewish museum scene. Two such museums will be discussed below: the branch of the *L'viv Museum of the History of Religion* and the museum-room *'Tracing Galician Jews.'*

In summer 2012 at one of the buildings within the former inner Jewish quarter at Staroievreiska street (house no. 36) there opened the *Museum of Jewish Culture* (*Muzey Yevreys'koyi Kul'tury*), which is a branch of the *L'viv Museum of the History of Religion* (see figures IV.8). The branch has been opened in

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[414] Kravtsov, "L'vivs'kyi evreis'kyi muzey".

[415] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

collaboration with the Greek-Catholic church and the *Ukrainian Catholic University.* According to the chief of Judaism section at the main office of the museum:

> "I and our former director [Zoryana Bilyk, former director of the *L'viv Museum of History of Religion* - A.F.] [were responsible for launching the museum branch – A.F.]. It was supposed that the museum would be used for exhibiting our Jewish collection. We should have exhibited the original artifacts, but that is also the problem of financing. We could not have redeemed the basement – it would have made sense then to hire a guard […] It is a communal property leased by the city, it may any time decline to renew the lease and that is why *Rothschild Foundation* did not support the project and all that has been done here – it was done only with the help of our money [the *Museum of the History of Religion's* - A.F.]. We made an exhibition, but for us it was a matter of importance to do it on Staroyevreyska [street - A.F.] based on the fact that this is the former Jewish quarter. [...] It was unacceptable for me that in the Jewish quarter of L'viv there is nothing about the Jews, only that café […] Majority of decisions were not taken because of the preference of a particular design, it was because of banal poverty – we simply had no money to do otherwise. […] the idea appeared completely inside the museum."[416]

The aforecited fragment indicates that the initiative to launch the museum was a grass-roots one, although coming from the state institution. It is crucially important that the location contributed to the decision to launch the exhibition devoted to a Jewish topic. This indicates the extent to which heritage discourse (here – recognition of the site as part of former inner Jewish quarter) may influence decision-making. It is noteworthy that none of the initiators of the museum branch project were Jewish. The time framework and the speed within which the exhibition was made also indicate problematic points in the top-down management of culture in L'viv:

> "We were making the exhibitions within 3 months. Until February 2012, all this was "hanging in the air", every year we were promised that we would receive money to make the exhibition happen, all the time the money was not given, and then we received a directive that the subject of the future exhibition is this one and that it should open in the summer, God knows how. […] In February 2012,

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[416] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

Zoryana Bilyk has instructed us that at Staroyevreyska street something has to be done, otherwise the space will be taken from us. Once upon a time there was our photo lab, and the building was not in the best condition. The director gave me and several other employees a topic - the first exhibition should have been devoted to the Holocaust and the righteous of the world. But it was immediately decided that it is strange to discuss the Holocaust and WWII without giving a background - otherwise it turns out that Jews only died here, but had not lived here for 600 and something years. Therefore, the history of the Jews from L'viv is on display, albeit very briefly. […] We wanted to show the pre-war context - what was happening in the 1920s, the 1930s […] Again, I understand that this is a look through the "distorting mirror." These were the Jews who identified themselves as Poles visiting the synagogue. That is, we look at the Jewish community of L'viv of the 1920-1930s through the eyes of assimilators. An exception is those Zionists who managed to leave in 1930. Therefore, using the memoirs of survivors, I am aware that this is the view of only about 10% of the Jewish community of that time, and that this is the view of this community's "cream." These were usually rich, successful people, who felt themselves pretty comfortable in their integration into Polish culture and society […] Each stand, at least, makes the visitor give a thought about what was the Jewish community of L'viv before the war. To what extent it was Jewish. How exactly were the Jews, the Poles and the Ukrainians cohabitating in the region. I do not give any ready-made answers. The fact that a Jew could have lived for 20 years in L'viv of the time and not speak with a Ukrainian even for once, and never cross with him – this was the reality of that time. I also wonder how it had happened that in Germany – a country where Jews felt the most comfortable in Europe – what did happen could have happened?"[417]

Launched in the absence of the financial possibility to exhibit precious objects, *the Museum of Jewish Culture* uses the technique of a narrative museum and informs about the broad framework of Jewish history and European-scale extermination of Jews in a continent-wide context. The information on the local context of the Holocaust is reduced to emphasizing how Ukrainians, especially the Greek-Catholic clergy, rescued the Jews, avoiding discussion of the involvement of Ukrainian nationalist forces in anti-Jewish violence in the L'viv city and region during WWII.[418]

"Initially I wanted to insert some Ukrainian officials at the same information

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[417] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.
[418] Narvselius, Bernsand, "L'viv and Chernivtsi," 75.

stand [which informs about anti-Semitism in late 1920s-1930s - A.F.], but there appeared some purely methodological questions. […] As for the 1930s and 1940s, I was temptedto inform about the activists of Ukrainian radical nationalism, but there also appeared a [methodological – A.F.] split […] Here is the photo of the Jewish pogrom in L'viv of June 1941, of a so-called prison pogrom - the Jews were driven into the prison yard [present-day National museum 'Prison at Lontsky street' – A.F.], they were forced to dig up and remove the bodies left by the the retreating Red Army. As a result part of those Jews were shot by the Germans, and in the process the Jews were mocked and violated by the crowd. And here another problem has risen in front of us. How to describe that crowd? As L'viv residents? [...] Since we are talking about the city in which the Ukrainians at the time accounted for 16 percent of the population. And how could there be in a Polish city a pogrom made exclusively by the Ukrainians? That is why we were trying to avoid these things since many things are still simply not clear."[419]

It is evident from the aforecited excerpt that the initiators and designers of the exhibition were aware of the tensions and sensitive points of the local history and consciously avoided open discussion of them:

"We were trying to be careful. Most Ukrainian memoirs say that those involved in the pogrom were Poles, and among the Jewish memoirists there is no unity. […] We were trying to avoid ethnic markers in this matter […] We have opted for compromises consciously […] We have not gotten any counselling [on how to design the exhibition – A.F.]. We have received criticism [after the opening of the museum - A.F.], in particular, for the fact that we have not disclosed the topic of Ukrainian anti-Semitism and pogroms. But how I am supposed to disclose it in the absence of national historiography on the subject? […] The next part of the exhibition, it seems to me, was not very successful, because we focused on the church subject, but only one church – the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic. That is, yes, their action to save the Jews was the largest and most organized. […] What Roman Catholics made [in connection with the salvation of the Jews - A.F.] is very poorly presented [on display – A.F.]. But this was how the given topic of the exhibition was formulated, there is nothing personal in it"[420].

As well as in Odessa, the L'viv museum scene indicates a certain competition between the actors involved in exhibiting Jewish-related topics. For

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[419] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.
[420] Ibidem.

instance, as stated by the director of the museum program at Hesed-Arieh foundation, who is responsible for running the museum-room *'Tracing the Galician Jews'*:

> "there is almost nothing there [at the museum at Staroyevreyska street – A.F.], they have no security, no money, but the exhibition is located at the house of Solomon Friedman, the oldest on this street, with the original sign of eternal rent, and the fact that the deputies permitted the lease to be extended and let at least something to be opened there – this is the first step for the further hope that there will be exhibited some parts of the collection from the *Museum of the History of Religion*, since so many objects are kept there [...] The Jewish community has no relation to the museum at Staroyevreyska street, and we [*Hesed Arieh – A.F.*] cooperate with them periodically when there are annual festivals of klezmer music"[421].

In terms of relation with the space, two Jewish-related museum projects discussed here – the one located at *Staroevreiskaya street* and the one not realized so far – a phantom 'common' Jewish museum – emphasize the link to the Jewish identity of the places they are (or planned to be) located at. This serves as a symbolic legitimation of the projects. At the same time the (provisional) existence of those museums strengthens the link of the area with its Jewish past. It contributes to afterlives of those places as Jewish ones – in the absence of Jews living there and, before recently – in absence of the recognizable Jewish buildings, which leaves the area to be almost not identifiable as its former self.

The most recent news concerning the further development of the matter indicated that as complementation to the 'Space of Synagogues' project, by spring 2017 it is planned to exchange the present permanent exhibition for the one called *'The Old Jewish Quarter in Lviv: Diversity, Experiences, Inhabitants.* This joint project is being carried out by the *Center for Urban History* together with the Judaica *Department of the Museum of the History of Religion* based on the research made in 2014-2015 with an aim 'to show that the people who used to live in the Jewish quarter, the buildings that are here, and the people who live in them today all have a part in the history and the current life of the city.'[422]

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[421] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

[422] Sofia Dyak, Iris Gleichmann. *The Space of Synagogues. Jewish history, Common heritage and Responsibility* (Lviv: Lviv City Council, 2015), 26-27.

The museum-room *'Tracing Galician Jews'* at the *Hesed-Arieh Jewish Home* is located relatively far from the compact historic city center and main tourist attractions, which reduces the chance of random visitation and requires visitors either to make a deliberate effort to reach the museum or have a background knowledge about it (see figures IV.7). The museum came into being following the initiative of the head of a hosting Jewish charity foundation, *Hesed-Arieh* (founded in 1998). Similar to other cities, the activities of the foundation are focused on multiple communal and social programs, including the museum as one of those. According to the current director of the museum program, what has led to the foundation of the museum-room was the actual Ukrainian-Jewish encounter:

> "It all started 12 years ago, when Ukrainians found at home two parts of the Torah, they began asking their relatives about this discovery and were told that during WWII those Jews who were leaving the ghetto left them the Torah to hide. This Torah was hidden at a time when the Nazis were here (in L'viv- A.F.), and in the Soviet times, because it was dangerous to show it. Children were not told about it, and when it was found in our time, it was brought her here, and it happened so that the Torah was brought on Yom Kippur and became the first exhibit of the museum, then the museum was still in another building, together with the foundation. When the Torah was brought, the idea that one needs to collect and preserve Jewish heritage appeared, as in L'viv before the war there was a great museum, which opened in 1934 on the initiative of Maximilian Goldshtein."[423]

The smallest and the most modest of all four museums, the museum room occupies a single room in the foundation's building, which serves simultaneously as an exhibition space where the permanent collection and temporary exhibitions are displayed, a meeting space, and a depository area for museum funds. It has a limited number of artifacts at its disposal (the majority of which are printed panels that depict Jewish life and death as well as lost and remaining immovable heritage) spread to all surfaces of the room. According to the head of the museum program at the foundation:

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[423] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

> "We have very modest museum funds, and it is hardly possible to call ourselves a museum in the end, though when visitors come, the shortest tour in the museum-room lasts for an hour and if there is time, it lasts up to two and a half hours, and then one may continue the tour to the Jewish-related places in the city. The more I do it, the more I realize I do not know anything, it is such a huge layer of culture."[424]

This museum is about urban/city Jewry – it portrays intellectuals, professionals, and representatives of middle class, whereas the other museums put an emphasis on the 'traditional' occupations of a shtetl Jewry – with the help of handicraft artifacts as part of the exhibition. However, none of the museums had the direct goal of reviving the East-European shtetl within the walls of the museum, although it is the shtetl that is generally recognized as the symbolic locus (of return) of East-European Jewish experience.[425] In L'viv with the help of homemade posters, the following concepts are communicated: narratives about the former Jewish landscape of the city, the pogrom of 1918, communal and religious life, eminent Jewish figures and the flourishing artistic life of Polish Lwów, the pogroms of 1941, the establishment of the ghetto, the losses during the Holocaust, personal accounts of survivors, the Jewish soldiers in WWII, everyday life in Soviet L'vov, aspects of religious life and highlights of the post-1990s activities of Jewish organizations in Ukrainian L'viv. In contrast to the Odessa museum, this one transmits a nostalgic message about the interwar 'golden age' of Lwów Jewry as a world that will never be repaired. A message of trauma, related to the multiple losses of Jewish population in 1918 and in WWII is communicated with the help of recognizable metaphors, such as once-worn shoes or abandoned suitcases, which are not original artifacts but items used to prompt an emotional reaction.[426] The narrative is a victim-centered one of loss, coupled with the denunciation of both the Nazi and the Soviet powers as those guilty in the misfortunes of Lwów Jews.

> "We have tried to present all aspects of Jewish life in order to show how big the layer of culture that has been lost for the current generation is, because the L'viv Jewish community was almost completely destroyed, and those Jews who now

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[424] Ibidem.

[425] Shandler, "The Shtetl Subjunctive".

[426] On exhibition principles used in the Holocaust museums see Hansen-Glucklich, "Holocaust Memory".

live here, these are people of another culture, people who came from Eastern Ukraine or Russia, even if they had lived in the Jewish tradition in Soviet times, it was still under the Russian and other cultures and countries' influence. And we tried to restore this lost link, to show that the Jewish culture of this place is unique [...] We talk about the synagogues, about the cemeteries, the hospital, the buildings built by representatives of the Jewish community, and which belonged to them. And of course we also talk about how this community was destroyed here, not forgetting the fact that the destruction began in 1939, by the Soviet power. It was not as much of a global destruction as it was under the Nazis, but much of what happened in 1941 had its roots in 1939 and did not happen under the influence of Nazi propaganda, but was influenced by what the Soviet power was doing."[427]

So far the museum room *'Tracing Galician Jews'* is one of the rare platforms where the story of anti-Jewish violence that took place in L'viv is narrated openly, and recently, an exhibition devoted to the Holocaust in L'viv was opened there.[428] On the one hand the museum room discusses a collection by Maximilian Goldstein and the interwar Jewish Museum, which opened in 1934, but does not claim to be its successor. On the other hand:

"there was no Jewish Museum in L'viv [after Ukraine gained independence – A.F.] […]. It is clear that the synagogue opened, people were visiting it, but it is religious vector, and in the synagogue one thinks about the soul, and in 'Hesed' when the museum was opened, something was bought, something was found in the trash and brought here."[429]

In comparison with the Odessa museum *'Migdal Shorashim'* there is no sense of the slightest possibility of 'a happy-end' communicated at the museum: in spite of the fact that there are several Jewish organizations functioning in present-day L'viv and *The Annual Festival Of Jewish Music, Song, And Dance 'L'vivKlezFest'* takes place in the summer, contributing to the popularization and commodification of what Ruth Gruber called 'virtual Jewishness', the museum-room focuses on the almost total destruction of the Jewish

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[427] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

[428] See http://www.hesed.lviv.ua/en/museumengl.html?start=25, accessed November 11, 2014.

[429] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

architectural landscape of the city in 1941-43, as well as on elimination of the flourishing artistic life of Polish Lwów. The rare museum brochure claims the existence of the Galician Jewry since 1085, with its golden times (16th-mid17th centuries) ruptured by a series of misfortunes starting from the 2nd half of the 17th and especially by the years 1941-43. The rupture is additionally emphasized by reminding that the Jews, who currently live in the city as well as their descendants, are the 'other Jews' who came to the city after WWII from other regions of the Soviet Union.

> "during the festival I lead excursion-quests throughout the Jewish quarter […] we cooperate with many municipal and private tourism companies, and they disseminate information about these tours [...] we are doing tours at the museum, in the city, and in the region, there are tours and volunteer projects where we reach the cemeteries and clear them."[430]

6.4 Minsk: the Jews and the Partisans

Until recently the museum scene in Minsk has not been subjected to radical changes or entries, but 2014 was marked by the opening of a newly refurbished and relocated *State Museum of the Great Patriotic War* (initially opened in 1944 and fully redesigned last time in 1966). Jewish history within the museum landscape of Minsk is represented by part of the permanent exhibition at this currently relaunched museum.

The Jewish-related topics are also presented to the public within the exhibition area of the *'Historical Workshop'*, a joint Belarusian and German project that deals with programs of historical education and research in military history, WWII in Belarus, and the Holocaust, as well as works with former prisoners of ghettos and concentration camps. The workshop has been functioning in Minsk since 2002, established by the *Dortmund International Educational Center, Minsk International Educational Center* and the *Union of Belarusian Jewish Public Associations and Communities*. The workshop is situated on the territory of the former Minsk ghetto and has recently gained the name of well-known architect Leonid Levin, one of the authors of the *Khatyn* memorial complex.

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[430] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

However, the only museum solely devoted to the topic is the *Jewish History and Culture Museum in Belarus* at the *Minsk Jewish Campus* (see figures IV.12). As is stated by official web-site of the museum, it "possesses a vast collection of photographs [...] and artifacts related to the centuries-old history of Belarusian Jews."[431] The museum's mission is formulated as: "collecting, preserving, studying, and presenting all aspects of the history and culture of the Jews in Belarus."[432] It was created and led for more then 10 years by professional art historian and then historian, who handed over the administration to the successor several years ago.[433] The former director stated:

> "I am from Bobruisk, but all my adult professional life took place in Minsk, so I will always consider myself a Belarusian person, a Belarusian Jew. I was in the leadership of the community for a long time. [...] Since 2002, I have created and have been leading *the Museum of the History and Culture of Jews in Belarus*. As director of the museum and as the only employee [...] I started dealing with the subject of the Holocaust, I did not want to engage in this topic for number of reasons, it is a very difficult topic […] But there was no choice, because somebody had to do it, almost nobody was dealing with this topic in Belarus [...] There were two organizations - the museum and *the Holocaust Memorial Foundation*, these two organizations collaborated, I was in both of them. *The Foundation* was created in 1999 by the association of former ghetto prisoners [...] It allowed us separate, so that the museum continuued to be about history and culture."[434]

The permanent exhibition recounts the history of the Jews in Belarus in the 16th century, in the interwar years, during the Holocaust, and post-war Jewish life in Belarus and the revival of this life at the end of the 20th century. A stronger emphasis, however, is placed upon detailing of the Jewish experience during WWII, the spread of ghettoization in Belarus, the Minsk ghetto as one of the biggest, and the Jewish participation in the partisan movement. The museum claims to narrate the history of all Belorussian Jews, not only those who lived in the capital, and, thanks to archival research undertaken by the museum employees and volunteers, the exhibition contains materials on anti-Jewish violence from the 1940s. The museum puts an emphasis on Jewish actors

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[431] As stated at http://www.meod.by/en/mjc-organizations/museum.html, accessed July 10, 2013.

[432] Ibidem.

[433] On the museum also see Waligórska, "Jewish Heritage".

[434] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

within the framework of the Great Patriotic War in terms of values of bravery, fighting and resistance, of praising warriors who went to the battlefield, of representing the Jews as not any less brave than the other Soviet soldiers and partisans. The Minsk museum narrates the fate of Jewish lives during WWII within the tradition of Soviet rhetorics, and museum employees invested much effort to research the Jewish partisans in order to represent the Jews not only as victims, but also as active and brave fighters. Heroic Jewish soldiers stand in the center of memorialization of WWII at the museum, together with the victims of the Minsk ghetto. According to the museums' founder:

> "Belarus is situated at the center, at the intersection. The Soviet government, before and after WWII, did more harm to the Jewish heritage than the Germans did. In the archives I found that up to 1937 in Belarus there were about 700 synagogues, and then there remained about 20. The same thing happened to the churches."[435]

It is noteworthy that the museum founder applied a personalized attitude to her work at the museum, closely bounded with a feeling of vocation and a duty:

> "While I was working on my dissertation, I worked a lot in the archives and made extracts from a number of documents, which were not known to anyone. And I started having the idea that it would be nice to make a museum to show it all. And there was not a word that once in Belarus there was the Jewish Museum. Then, when I was already working in the AJJDC, I was visiting houses of ordinary people and looked closely at objects of everyday use, and I did not stop thinking about the museum. Then in *the Minsk Jewish Society for Culture* there was made an exhibition on the Jewish theater and the Holocaust […] The copper pots, which are for cooking jam, that were brought by train from Moscow to Minsk, were the first exhibits of our museum. I knew it must be collected. Even when there was no museum yet the future exhibits were stored in the AJJDC office under the cabinets, etc. In 1999, I started working in the AJJDC and traveled extensively on community programs and always asked about Jewish things. And by 2001 I have already collected some items of Jewish life and I placed them in a glass cabinet in AJJDC office. Six months later the building at Vera Horuzhei street was bought and I told the head that it would be strange if there would not be anything in a

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[435] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

Jewish home about the Holocaust. […] And since I already had some items, I began to work with families with objects of everyday use. After some time I got my first volunteer. Over time it became clear what we must do, but it was necessary to collect the museum archive to show something that other places did not have. But as soon as people got to know that there is a place where one can bring personal belongings, they started doing it."[436]

6.5   Local 'Alternative' Jewish Museums: Comparative Overview

This current section brings together a comparison of four local 'alternative' Jewish museums of the area from a managerial point of view. They all have been created and still function within local Jewish community structures or other local Jewish-related organizations. Relation to those bodies guarantees symbolic capital in terms of knowledge on the subject and the symbolic 'right' to represent Jewish-related matters for broader public. A comparison between them allows emphasizing common principles, following which the museums related to Jewish institutions or organizations function, as well as the rationale behind their creation and common challenges they face. At the same time the striking differences in the exhibition design (see above) and the implicit message disseminated through it show a high dependence on the personal vision of the director, as well as of the general culture of memory prevailing in the region. The four museums are:

> - the *Museum of Jewish Heritage in Moldova* at the KEDEM Jewish Center (Chişinău)

> - the *Museum of the History of the Odessa Jews 'Migdal Shorashim'* at the International Centre of Jewish Community Programs 'Migdal' (Odessa)

> - the museum-room *'Tracing Galician Jews'* at the Hesed-Arieh Jewish Home (Ukraine)

> - the *Jewish History and Culture Museum in Belarus* at the Minsk Jewish Campus (Minsk, Belarus).

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[436] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

Artifact collections related to local Jewish life became the starting point of the museums-to be in the early 2000s. However, they result from private initiatives of local activists, enthusiasts, and/or employees of local Jewish organizations dated in early 1990s. These collections formed the core body of artifacts for Jewish museums across the former Soviet Union. The term 'small-scale' or 'insider' is applicable to those museums since none of them are either nationally accredited or funded publicly, and they are not run by state-affiliated bodies, but rather by a single person and do not have a board of trustees and/or a permanent advisory board at their disposal. These museums are community programs run at various cultural and/or charitable Jewish organizations, and this fact inevitably influences the decision-making process on what to exhibit. As there is no assistance from the state (and only one out of four has ever sought for it), all four museums are maintained from local or international Jewish organizations and initiatives. All four aim to undertake the same work as accredited museums, such as *documentation*, *conservation*, *promotion* and *research*. However, the success rate of such work is strictly limited by budget constraints, available exhibition space, and the number of staff. These museums are not placed centrally within urban settings, unlike new Jewish museums across the world. Instead, they are located within the buildings of host organizations. On the one hand, such a type of setting creates a number of managerial challenges related to collection management, workload, and the distribution of responsibilities, which compels the employees to be creative and constantly multitask. On the other hand, this setting provides visitors with intimate experience at the museum, and employees see a great value in it. Also, these museums embody the actual space of Jewish and non-Jewish encounter. These museums perform indoctrination on several levels: on the public level – as agents of narrative production, targeted at both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences; on the communal level – to explain the meaning of Jewishness and basics of the tradition to people, who have been raised in and anti-religious setting; and on the personal level – employees and volunteers either (re)discovered their Jewish identity (if they were Jewish) or appropriated Jewish culture as part of their own cultural capital (if they were non-Jewish). Therefore, one observes mutually dependent memory transmission dynamics: people

almost solely create and/or lead these museums and, further, the fact of being directors and employees of such museums, in its turn, influences their perception of self.

The scale of Jewish museums in Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk and consecutive failures to open an official or 'common' Jewish (or the Holocaust) museum, indicate tensions and discord between the authorities and various local and international Jewish actors. The hosting Jewish organizations function as a supporting and hosting milieu for the four small-scale museums discussed below in contrast to the situation prior to WWI, when Jewish communal institutions took little interest in collecting and preserving Jewish art and artifacts.[437] The appearance of the museums under discussion results from post-1990s official policy under which Jews, along with many other ethnic groups on post-Soviet space, received institutionalized opportunities to manifest their own identity through a number of ways, including practicing religion, media and culture. Dmitry Sheveliov links the fact of the opening of those museums to the opening of the community centers and availability of space, but not with the fact of *alya*.[438] I argue that if not *alya*, a considerable amount of objects that currently constitute collections at the Jewish museums would not have reached the museums.

The museums analysed here operate as communal programs, which are part of Jewish organizations and community centres, and, to a great extent, their existence depends on various local and international sponsors.[439] Several parties have an impact on these museums: founders (collectors), current employees, heads of umbrella organizations, local communities and the diaspora. Due to their modest budgets, these museums are rarely able to purchase ritual silver or other expensive items, the provenance of which may be problematic. Additionally, the exhibition design and strategies in such small museums are dependent on the interpretation by the heads of the hosting Jewish organizations or sponsors. No engagement with the general public took place during the preparation and the set up of the permanent exhibitions. It is not easy to get officially stated mission of these museums, since none of them

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[437] See Richard I. Cohen, "The Visual Revolution in Jewish Life – An Overview," in *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen (Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-24.

[438] Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival".

[439] Among them are *the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee* (AJJCC), *the Dutch Jewish Humanitarian Fund*, local unions of Jewish associations and communities, etc.

has a separate statute, mission or other statutory documents due to their status. As the director of the museum in Chişinău formulated it: "the text, which is stated as the description on the Facebook museum page, if one puts a seal on it, will become our mission."[440]

2) *Principles of construction of the exhibition narrative*

The message shared by all four museums is that Jewish contribution has been highly significant for the local history and is equally important if compared with the contribution of major ethic groups. Although the idea of the multicultural nature of localities runs through the expositions at all four museums, they confine themselves to discuss local gentiles by statistical numbers and percentage of total population, not offering a complex picture of co-existence between Jews and non-Jews.

The manifested value of those museums is in preserving intimate knowledge – family histories, communal history (selectively), but also knowledge of local celebrities of Jewish origin, who are not widely praised elsewhere. The very mission of those museums is directly linked to possession and exhibition of objects on display.

Objects that entered collections of museums under study were personal items, gathered by the urge to collect and preserve what was possible to collect, encouraging members of the community to donate clothing, tools, fine arts objects, photographs, documents, books, etc. It resulted in the appearance of an authenticity narrative in relation to collected objects: everything that is exhibited in all four museums is *truly* Jewish. These are the objects, with the help of which those museums seek to promote awareness about Jewish everyday life in the region from 19th century until today, but at the same time to educate visitors about the Jewish calendar and the place of Judaism as one of the world religions. Holding the objects donated by members of the community (current residents or those from diaspora), as well as objects donated by local public figures and leaders of Jewish organizations, allows these museums to function as tools to increase the sense of belonging among current members of the community.

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[440] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

Today, objects are being gained through a combination of donation, purchase, seldom inheritance or barter (if any), borrowings, and the archival work of people involved in museums' activities. As collection development became an ongoing process, the criteria of what to preserve became stricter with time, as the collections grew bigger. Due to lack of space and resources, holdings may not be kept and/or cataloged properly, as well as the quality of keeping records on items that enter collections depends on if the museum can afford to hire a registrar.

Apart from personal items that once belonged to members of the Jewish community, it was possible to collect and later exhibit other material evidences of not only the Jewish presence in the cities under study, but also of the Jewish contribution to local history in all spheres of endeavor. It is not the contribution to commercial, but to creative, artistic life that is emphasized by exhibitions. The history of Jewish theaters, ensembles, literary societies from interwar and post-war years, biographies of actors, musicians or writers are narrated with the help of posters, photographs, music books and publications. These stories are targeted to emphasize the Jewish component of the intangible heritage of the cities, exemplifying both the logic of equivalence of Jews to the society they lived in and the logic of difference at the same time. In comparison with major Jewish museums across the world, core exhibitions do not explain the bases of Judaism, but rather narrate local features of Jewish life, although information about the Jewish calendar is generally also provided. Such a design makes exhibitions secular-oriented, although items related to religious practices are present, but rather as elements that help to demonstrate features of everyday Jewish life. The collected objects thus become artifacts worthy to be preserved and exhibited precisely because they have reached the museum collections and not because they were selected as museum artifacts (although some items have been purchased, it is rather an exception than a rule).

All four museums discussed here are highly nostalgic in the way they exhibit everyday Jewish life. Since the majority of objects were donated by members of the community or collected with the help of local enthusiasts, they are symbolically linked to family and, more broadly, to the communal history. These displayed objects effectively perform community for an internal audience and help individuals to embed themselves into both the past and present of the local community.[441] As Richard Cohen notes, museum curators, as a group, tend

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[441] Clark, "Jewish Museums," 13.

to follow similar patterns of thought, either consciously or subconsciously.[442] This, in my opinion, may eventually explain obvious similarities in exhibition strategies at all four museums in this sample.

While the exposition is focused on the 19th and 20th centuries, a long-lasting history of Jewish presence in the region is illustrated by pictures of the disappeared shtetls and destroyed cemeteries. At the same time, this is the way to emphasize the sense of loss. Such an approach, present in all four specified museums, makes the fact that the objects have been acquired by amateurs 'work' for the museum. None of these museums present themselves as a Holocaust museum, which is clearly reflected in the design of permanent exhibitions, wherein the 'fragile balance' between the narrative of everyday life and anti-Jewish violence-related topics is more or less successfully maintained. Dramatic events, such as pogroms and the Holocaust, which marked each city in question, are present at the exhibitions. Although all four museums employ some form of trauma narrative, none of them have engaged it as a major part of an overarching historical presentation, although the museum in L'viv emphasizes the trauma to the highest degree among all four museums. They also do not challenge the 'traditional' aesthetics of representing trauma, such as an emphasis on black as the color used for designs, a didactic tone of narration, and the use of informational posters detailing the sequence of events and the enumeration of the victims. It is important that while exhibiting traumatic pages of local Jewish history, none of the museums discusses non-Jewish victims. The Roma people, as well as POWs are misrepresented and the Holocaust is shown as an exclusively Jewish tragedy. Neither are the other historical cases of genocide mentioned. None of the museums discusses such complex term as totalitarianism, rather formulating the rhetoric within the Soviet tradition: 'fascist vandals', etc. There is also no mention of the experience of local population during WWII, instead, solely the Jewish fate is brought into focus. No personal testimonies of victims or perpetrators are to be found within the expositions, but the narrative on the number of people perished. None of these museums are able to use architecture as a method to communicate a sense of loss or absence because the space given to the museums is too small while also being used to exhibit collected artifacts. This sense of absence is further emphasized by the excessive presence of private items, both authentic and counterfeit. One of the main challenges has been to maintain a balance between communicating trauma and 'normalizing' the history of everyday Jewish life in

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[442] Cohen, "The Visual Revolution," 16.

the region. There is no aim to reconstruct, even symbolically, the lost world of Eastern-European Jewry (in comparison with the shtetl living-history museum project by Yaffa Eliach),[443] but rather to remember it.

It is noteworthy that none of the museums explicitly discusses or explains how to define Jewishness – either it is an ethnic, social or religious category. From what is displayed one may conclude that Jews were a separate ethnic group that for some reason differed from the rest of local population and was persecuted for this reason. However, certain pieces of ritual artifacts of Judaica displayed in all four museums help defining Jews through religion and generally through tradition. For instance, the Chişinău museum informs the visitor that "for two millenniums the Jews dispersed worldwide and, victimized by the authorities, kept their unity. The people […] have preserved their Jewish identity due to our eternal religious tradition."[444] Such a definition coincides with post-1989 policies of the self-representation of minorities in the post-Soviet space, followed by the opening of the synagogues (mostly of Chabad congregation). At the same time, this conflicts with the self-identification of secularized and russified post-Soviet Jews, who primarily identified themselves through ethnicity, as sociological studies showed.

None of the four museums discuss ancient Jewish history, the establishment of the state of Israel, or the fate of those Jews who emigrated from Moldova, the Ukraine or Belarus. This may be explained by the availability of items to be displayed, but remains surprising taking into account that a significant part of the visitors are former city dwellers or the descendants of these emigrants. No aspiration for an exodus to another homeland is openly exhibited. As Sheveliov puts it "there are no reflections to *alya* within the expositions - neither in Zionist nor in assimilative rhetoric"[445].

3) *Relations with the state and stare-governed institutions*

The paradox here is that with the absence of institutions of the

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[443] See Jeffrey Shandler, "The Shtetl Subjunctive: Yaffa Eliach's Living History Museum," in *Culture Front. Representing Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Benjamin Nathans and Gabriella Safran (University of Pennsylvania Press: 2008), 288-306.

[444] From the infrormation plaque at the museum hall.

[445] Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival".

Holocaust memory and the non-existence of official commemoration of the matter within the USSR, there was no open public discussion of it, nor was there an official recognition of the Jewish origin of victims, remembered as ' Soviet citizens'. The silencing of the Holocaust and its memory in the Soviet Union made its commemoration in the early 1990s the matter of highest importance for the Jewish-related actors and at the same time was linked to the inclusionary policies towards ethnic minorities adopted by the newly emerged independent states.[446] In Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv, and Minsk this led to the appearance of several sites of memory – monuments to the victims of the ghetto and the Holocaust were raised from 1992 to 2004 (one being renovated in 2015), mainly by the initiative and financial support of the international Jewish actors and communities. On the one hand, this was a sign of the liberalization of memory politics at the post-Soviet space, and on the other hand it brought the diminishing of memory about Jews living in the area to the memory of their death, rather than their life and co-existence.

4) *Personality of the director and his/her influence over the narrative design*

All four museum directors that I interviewed pointed to their goal of setting up and running a museum as professionally as their ability. These museums are to be treated as arenas of clashes and co-existence of a number of motivations, interests, and manifestations in terms of agency.

A research focus on such small-scale museums allows seeing the agenda of directors as an individual with his/her own bias, which is to be taken into consideration. While non-official museums remain understudied and academic production on such museums is limited, a close look at them may provide new theoretical perspectives on museums as institutions with the potential to formulate an ideological message and influence memory and perception of the past.

The decision of how to mediate the fragile balance between the narration of Jews as valuable members of local society (communicating Jewish life in the region) and the story of the destruction of this part of the same society (communicating Jewish elimination and death) has been taken independently in

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[446] See Sheveliov, "Yevreyskiye obshchiny"; Sheveliov, "The Jewfish Revival".

all four cases by the directors of museums or organizations, which host the museums. The decision to what extent to display trauma at the museums under discussion depends on how the museum head sees his/her mission. However, these decisions are not totally independent from the general framework of memory politics dominant in each city. All four museum directors that were interviewed for this chapter were aware of their function as an engine for the museum's development and saw their personal responsibility as pushing it forward. They were motivated by the idea and feeling of a mission rather by financial results. The work at the museum is characterized by a personalized approach and is related to an emotional attachment and a sense of vocation. Directors and employees see themselves as educators, a source of a particular type of knowledge, and those who communicate this knowledge to the Jews and non-Jews alike. Museums in Chişinău, L'viv, and Minsk are run by only one person, but rely on the assistance of volunteers who have unfixed schedules (In Odessa the museum staff consist of the director, the guide, and the warden). In Chişinău: "the museum never had more than one employee."[447] In L'viv: "I am the only employee and the head, and the director, and the curator, and the researcher, and I try to make the items that are already in the museum come alive."[448] In Minsk: "the museum has one and only employee - this is the director. And volunteers who have worked with us every day, it was interesting to them [...] Jewish museums — they are all different. All depends on the person who is there and how he/she sees what he/she has to do."[449]

As mentioned above for those employees and volunteers who had Jewish roots, museums became a platform to re-engage their own past, to (re)discover their Jewish identity. All interviewed museum directors were Jewish and local, both men and women. Three out of four had PhD degrees in humanities. However, the level of personal attachment and possibility for criticism of the exposition directly depends on if the museum was established by the interviewed person or if it was "inherited." The first option (Odessa and Minsk) shows higher sensitivity and identification with the museum, whereas the second one (Chişinău and L'viv) shows detachment from the museum origins and indicate a "generation gap." Non-Jewish employees and volunteers working at the museums appropriated Jewish heritage as a valuable part of the local heritagescape or borrowed it as part of their own cultural capital.

[447] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

[448] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.

[449] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

It is noteworthy that the head of this museum represents a 'new' generation – the one that 'inherited' the museum, but did not create it:

"I have personally been working here for 5 years [...] the museum is filled by a person who works in it. The first head of it mainly collected items, and there were guided tours. The next head was a very competent and a scrupulous woman. She lectured, selected photographs, worked on personalia and guided tours. Then there was a lady who was more an actress, she created a special atmosphere here, so when one came here, he/she felt like they were inside a Jewish house. Then there was the head of this museum, who was a museum worker, and she catalogued it all well. It all depends on the person who works here. I came here and in parallel try to learn something, to guide excursions [...]."[450]

This respondent was the only one out of four cases when the museum director was not academic and had not dealt with museum-making before. This influenced her perception of challenges:

"the main challenges are my own little knowledge and little space (in the museum - A.F.). I understand that what I know so far is not enough and one needs to gain more knowledge. I would like to have more funding to be able to afford more expensive exhibits."[451]

Similar challenge has been indicated by the chief specialist of the Judaism section at the *L'viv Museum of History of Religion*:

"First, it is the lack of basic training - a lot of special knowledge I already got during the actual process of work- including learning Hebrew. Second, it is a problem of access to specialized literature, which is not available online, somethings I manage to get by myself, but this is, of course, not enough"[452].

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[450] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.
[451] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.
[452] Maksim Martyn, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 24, 2013.

5) The audience and work with it

The targeted audience includes local school and university students, former city residents and/or their descendants, local and international tourists, and individuals interested in Jewish history and culture. Equal access to exhibitions is provided to both a Jewish and a non-Jewish audience in order to emphasize the danger of intolerance, which parallels the educational strategies of Jewish museums across the world. As the head of the Chişinău museum puts it:

> "we on principle work with everybody. These are children of primary school age (6-7 years) to infinity. No age restrictions, Jews and non-Jews, moreover, it does not happen on purpose, but I understand that in some ways I work even more with non-Jews. [...] Every year three to four thousand people visit the museum. Last year (2012 – A.F.) I had 3800 visitors, which includes the audience of educational programs that I regularly organize. [...] Most often, the school calls and the teacher asks me to hold a lecture on the Holocaust, because they themselves do not know how to teach this subject. [...] It is about the Holocaust that they ask to talk most often. As I understand, it happens because this topic is most often associated with the Jews, unfortunately. And I see the problem here. Because we do mention about ourselves, but, as a rule, the informational occasion is the trauma, it is either the Holocaust, or sometimes the pogrom."[453]

In order to legitimize the educational activities, the museums directors assign educational centers at the museums, officially or not. For instance, in Chişinău the museum director says "the title 'scientific and educational center of Jewish Heritage in Moldova' comes from me. I called it like this, it is my initiative. It is not shown in documents. They know about us on the state level, but only unofficially" (Shi13). In the Odessa museum

> "this year (2013 – A.F.) we had about 4500 visitors, which is relatively few. On the other hand, if we compare the area and the number of employees of other museums in Odessa, we are the second most popular museum among foreign tourists [...] [P]eople come just because it is interesting for them, and not only Jewish groups. At the moment we have a, though not large, but professionally

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[453] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

made museum, excursions are of a high quality, including those in English [...] even that hour-and-a-half that people spend here, even for those who were quite biased, makes them abandon their stereotypes [...] we welcome everyone, both Jews and non-Jews, adults and students. Each excursion is specialized, we are individualists and each does the excursion in his/her own way, and specifically for a particular audience [...] almost all schools from Odessa were here. A lot of tourists come here, as well as individuals, and families, and students."[454]

In L'viv:

"Monthly programs of the museum involve about 150 people. These are tourists and local L'viv people, children and adults, the Jews, who left this city and their descendants, the Japanese who read somewhere about our museum, people who are simply curious. [...] People are very different, tourists, researchers, and people randomly coming in, and foreigners, guides bring groups to us. All people come to us and we are glad to see all of them."[455]

Those museums are not an integral part of civic upbringing, but they rather serve a wide educational purpose, or an entertaining one, in case of tourists as audience. According to the museum director in Chişinău:

"As for the audience, the difficulty lies in the fact that they are basically very little prepared, especially young children (pupils and students), they have skipped the Jewish context to an extent that they do not distinguish between Jewish surnames. They have lost an experience that, for example, I had, in my generation: my non-Jewish neighbors had Jewish neighbors - us and a dozen of others. There was a milieu in which Yiddish was identified by ear, but now is not used at all."[456]

In L'viv the director of museum program at Hesed-Arieh foundation claimed that:

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[454] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.
[455] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.
[456] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.

"our population has a low awareness of the subject, they have confusion in heads and when I talk about this in school, they remain with their eyes wide open. Even if at the school during the course of history there are about 3 minutes left to ensure that the teacher told them that during the war there were Jews, and that they were killed, it passes by them."[457]

In Minsk:

"I believe that the Jewish organization should be as open as possible, especially in the Diaspora, in places where there are few Jews left. But they were here, and historically that has done something. Our task is to let non-Jews know about it. For many, what they see in our museum, they see for the first time"[458].

These museums also exist separately from other cultural initiatives to commemorate the Jewish past and also independently from one another, not creating a strong professional network. The museum staff undertakes a personal approach when interacting with the visitors. In Minsk:"if a person comes in alone, I try to ask why he/she came to us. Large state museums cannot afford it. And we have a small-scale, intimate museum"[459].

The main actors in such small-scale museums in terms of exposition design and the main agents in memory transmission are their directors, which may be the only employee at the museum ,and its creator at the same time. Taking into account the limited resources available for museum development, one may say that in these cases the heads *are* the museum. Such a setting offers certain opportunities, but at the same time creates challenges. For instance, in Chişinău:

"I cannot say that it is completely comfortable to work here, but I rather have more problems of internal management than public ones. I have a little space, I could have shown more and would have divided the space in a different way,

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[457] Olga Lidovskaya, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 23, 2013.
[458] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.
[459] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

but this is connected with the financing to the extent that I physically do not have enough manpower and working hours, it is a disaster - I do what I can, but still. I do not have enough time to sit in the archive, to discover something on purpose, although this should be the main work. I do not have the resources to work with official donors, it is a problem of resources and of the "leaving reality"- people leave, take things with them, throw things out, etc."[460]

In Odessa there exists:

"the problem of availability of space to store and work with the funds, but within this space, we have already hit a ceiling. That is, we can increase the capacity, but for this space, where the crowds are not needed, the museum designed such that one may not jump further than we have already reached, taking into account the resources and the purpose. [...] Unfortunately, we cannot be a serious research center. Once we took over the function of the coordinator with archives, universities, collectors and institutions, we are in one way or another performing a number of coordinating functions. The next step is to become a full-fledged research center, and in these conditions and with the resources available this is not possible."[461]

In Minsk:

"all of the work consisted of difficulties. There was only me, and I was trying to do the job for the whole research center. Within these ten years I have not lived, I have just worked. [...] There was the dissonance between the abilities and the desires. It is a rough work. I do not consider myself to be an unintelligent person, but I was sorry that I had lived all my life without giving something to ours – to the Jews. Still, I was a Jew. [...] I had to show that the Jewish-related topic may be the subject of a scholarly research, when I defended my PhD thesis I was already 53 years old. I realized my Jewishness in the late 1980s, when I started getting something to know about the Jews, because in our house this topic was not raised."[462]

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[460] Irina Şihova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, November 22, 2013.
[461] Mikhail Rashkovetsky, interview by Anastasia Felcher, December 3, 2013.
[462] Inna Gerasimova, interview by Anastasia Felcher, April 4, 2014.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

As this chapter has demonstrated, the museum scene in all four cities under discussion has been subjected to, if not radical, at least essential changes within the last 6 years. This process has its own internal dynamics, which is not equal in all four cities under discussion, but which will certainly continue in the future. For instance, in Ukraine the recent politics of decommunization led to an announcement by the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine in April 2015 concerning the establishment of the *Museum of the History of Totalitarianism*, presumably to be opened in Kyiv, where, among other items on display, statues of Lenin (or pieces of them) recently thrown off across the country, are expected to be exhibited. On April 23, 2015 there took place a meeting where the concept and design of the above-mentioned museum, as well as possible places of its location, were discussed. Among those present at this meeting was Josef Zissels, chair of the *Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities (VAAD)* of Ukraine known for his involvement in, among other, the launching of *the Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews* in Chernivtsi. In December 2015 the Kyiv office of the VAAD hosted the meeting, where the possibility of turning the '*House of Farewell*', or '*Beit Kadishin'* located on the territory of the Chernivtsi Jewish cemetery, into a *'Museum of the Holocaust in Bukovina'* was discussed.

Within those recent 6 years a new tendency of dealing with the Jewish topic in the urban museum scene has been indicated: although the fact that Jewish organizations are still the most active in presenting local Jewish past as the subject of museum exhibitions, recently the non-Jewish actors, although randomly, have joined this tendency. The establishment of the museum at Staroyevreiska street in L'viv exemplifies such actions.

Still, while the state museums minimizes the 'Jewish topic' to discussion of the bases of Judaism (as in Chişinău and L'viv) or to the Holocaust (as in Odessa, L'viv and Minsk), local 'alternative' Jewish museums tend to tell the story of local Jewry from multiple angles and in its full richness. The existence and functioning of these 'alternative' or 'insider' museums enriches our understanding of the multiplicity of forms and functions of the Jewish/the Holocaust museum from the perspective of items held as a part of museum collections. All four local Jewish museums discussed in details in section 5.5 have started as community targeted initiatives with the aim of voicing and reinforcing the sense of belonging within local Jewish communities through

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collecting personal belongings from Jewish families that have emigrated or remained behind. All four museums eventually evolved into a tool of outreach to the non-Jewish public, into institutions that interpret the Jewish/non-Jewish past, contributing to the formulation of a common memory through claiming a Jewish contribution to local history and ethno-cultural diversity as a core, but lost feature of the local social landscape. In terms of functions they are similar to officially accredited museums. What makes them different is the grass-roots character behind their establishment, channels of object acquisition, and the reasoning behind these processes, as the logic they propagate is an attempt to collect, preserve and exhibit the objects that are still available rather than aiming to display the best examples of individual types of objects. As they remain to be outside of the state-affiliated museum system, these museums get no financial support from the local government, but for this they retain the full freedom in terms of museum management. Their participation in the professional associations of official Jewish museums is precarious, but non-official collaboration based on personal contacts with a number of think tanks and archives has been established.

The value of these small local museums is in the fact that they increase the visibility of Jewish heritage in all four cities under study, enrich local museum landscape, and support the growth of the Holocaust awareness. However, none of these museums have the resources to become an initiator of public discussion aimed at coming to terms with the difficult past.

Directors of those museums or leaders of hosting organizations are usually responsible for decisions related to permanent exhibition designs or the launching of temporary exhibitions. Therefore, the design and message of exhibitions depend on these individuals' vision of Jewish history, heritage, and the meaning of Jewishness.[463] In all four cases the public has not been included in the decision-making about permanent exhibition design. However, visitors are highly important as recipients of the message disseminated by the museums, which is confirmed by the inclusionary nature of work with the public.

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[463] Marianne Hirsch, Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (University of California Press, 2010), 303-318.

Conclusion

The conclusion sums up the main theoretical points of the thesis, as well as the principal outcomes that result from the conducted fieldwork and research. It starts with an overview of the chapters' content and then moves on to a discussion of the main findings with an emphasis on the indicated challenges for Jewish heritage preservation and promotion in present-day post-Soviet cities on discourse and practical level. This is followed by policy recommendations that aim at overcoming the indicated challenges through an intensification of cooperative relations between the actors involved in the implementation of the Jewish-related heritage projects in the area under study. Then the limitations of this research are enlisted, including those related to the initial design and scope of the thesis, as well as those related to actual research implementation. These limitations, however, are to be overcome with the possibilities for further research development, which are summarized in the last section.

Main Findings

This thesis aimed evaluating the condition and visibility of the Jewish cultural heritage in Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv and Minsk represented in architectural, burial, memorial and museum hypostases. The second aim was to indicate discourses and actions around efforts directed towards preservation and promotion of this heritage in the cities under study since the late 1980s till today. In contrast to the 'classical' statement in historiography about inactivity

and stagnation that characterize Jewish heritage interpretation in post-Soviet space, this thesis proved the opposite. The high dynamics of development, as well as the unpredictability of the outcome, characterize the situation across states and cities.

When the fieldwork for this research started (in late 2013), the leading narrative on the condition of the Jewish-related cultural landscape in Eastern Europe in general and on post-Soviet space in particular has been one of absence, loss and, stagnation. For instance, in Chişinău the ruins of the former *'Magen Dovid' yeshiva* and synagogue were hidden beyond a metal fence with no certainty if the reconstruction project would ever be implemented. The only foreseeable perspective for the Brody synagogue in Odessa was the protracted exemption of the regional archive – with no certainty when the move would take place. It was also totally unclear as to when the *'Synagogue Space'* project would begin development. It was the common expectation that the *'Death Pit'* memorial complex would remain the major Holocaust memorial in Minsk and its surroundings.

By late 2015 the restoration and reconstruction of the former *'Magen Dovid' yeshiva* in Chişinău was guaranteed by a court decision. In mid-2015 in Odessa there was announced the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* project that would provisionally be opened in the former Brody synagogue. The aggressive media campaign for the promotion of the museum project started around that time. However, in early 2016 the *Chabad* religious Jewish community acquired the site, which brings uncertain perspectives for the museum project. By July 2015 the *'Space of the Synagogues'* project in L'viv entered its decisive phase. The actual conservation works were launched and it is planned to finish all works and dedicate the space as a memorial by autumn 2016. Finally, in May 2015 the *'Malyi Trostinets'* Holocaust memorial site was launched in proximity to Minsk, which has significantly aterated the composition of the Jewish memorial landscape in the city.

The same applies for the museum scene. By the time the preliminary work for this research had started (in 2012), the major discourse on the subject was lamentation about the total absence of Jewish items exhibited at the state local museums. At the end of the fieldwork for this thesis (by mid-2015) all four cities under study had the 'Jewish topic' discussed to one extent or another in the exhibitions of major state museums. In addition, by that time local 'alternative' Jewish museums in all four cities under study have upgraded their exhibitions. This indicates a transitional character of the situation across states and cities, as well as changeability of attitudes and actions towards Jewish

cultural heritage.

The thesis addressed cultural heritage as a subject for interpretative manipulation that results from the co-existence of several (sometimes competing) interests and rationales. The analysis across selected case studies indicates present-day plurality in terms of agency. This plurality contrasts with the early 1990's – the period when the first monuments to the victims of the Holocaust first appeared in the area. Within the last 5 years the number of non-Jews that got involved in the discourse appropriation and actual interpretation of Jewish heritage in the post-Soviet space has grown. However, these cases continue to be rather random and by now Jewish communities and organizations still remain in the majority among the actors involved in this matter. In the 2010s the situation is characterized by sporadic, case-based cooperation instead of an elaborate cooperation strategy between the state-related and grass-roots actors.

All cases of Jewish heritage interpretation of 2010s discussed in this thesis are representative for this decade and are unparalleled with the projects of 1990s in terms of scale, aim, budget and targeted audience. The projects of 2010s (restoration and reconstruction of *'Magen Dovid' yeshiva* and synagogue in Chişinău; the *Ukrainian Jewish Musem* in Odessa; the *'Space of the Synagogues'* in Lviv and the *'Malyi Trostinets'* Holocaust memorial site near Minsk) are expensive, globally advertised and complex enterprises. The use of media is highly important as a tool for promotion of these projects on global and local scale. Extensive use of online media accompanied implementation (or preparation for it) of all above listed initiatives and all actors that stood behind these projects extensively used media to state their position and to influence the situation's development. The above listed projects aim at not only to reinterpret the actual newly restored/preserved/reconstructed structures or sites, but to one extent or another to alter the memory culture of the 'hosting' countries. This contrasts with the development of situation in the 1990s, when major projects of Jewish heritage interpretation were targeted within local and global, but primarily Jewish audience.

In spite of the differences between the case studies, there are 2 embracing principles that are equally true for all four case studies. While the top-down government and regional/local authorities-sponsored efforts are directed towards the crystallization of national memory canon with an emphasis on the martyrdom of local civilians and heroism of protagonists of local history, Jewish heritage and memory-related projects function within an alternative frame, which is not strictly subjected to top-down management.

However, as the case studies confirm, the success or failure of these projects is directly related to cooperation with the state-related bodies, or with its absence thereof. This is confirmed by the development of similar cases from abroad. As recent studies in Poland, for instance, in Chmielnik, Przeworsk, Cracow and many other cities and towns show, support, interest and commitment of the local gentile community and authorities is crucial for the success or failure of Jewish-related heritage projects.[464] Other factors, such as official ownership, access to funds, political will, and lobbying play a role in that matter. In comparison with the sites of actual renewal of Jewish religious life in the region – several synagogues are located in the newly-constructed buildings or in those not having any Jewish 'identity' previously – the site specificity is crucially important for heritage interpretation and memory projects. In comparison with site specifics, authenticity and integrity are two categories interpreted much more flexibly in relation to the projects under study – both theoretically and practically. As the research has shown, the opposing parties in dispute may instrumentalise these categories according to a 'proper' heritage interpretation.

All Jewish heritage and memory-related projects under study in this thesis in one way or another build a link to the Holocaust as reference point in terms of message these projects aim to disseminate. These messages and slogans vary from 'Never Again!' to 'Jewish History, Common Heritage and Responsibility' or revival of local Jewish life. At the same time, the newly created memory sites are subjected to political instrumentalisation, which has intensified over the last 10 years. This intensification of the political use of Holocaust recognition and internationalization of the framework for the Holocaust's commemoration constitute the second embracing principle true for all four case studies. In all four cities the internationalization of the framework for Holocaust commemoration is primarily expressed in the forms and timing of commemoration, which is set according to international 'standards' and through reference to the phenomenon as one that has a global significance, but without going into the details of its local dimensions. In comparison with the 1990s, starting from late 2000s one may observe clear changes in the agency composition of those directly engaged in Holocaust commemoration, moving towards an increased plurality of the actors involved.

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[464] On Chmielnik see Monika Murzyn-Kupisz, "Rediscovering the Jewish Past in the Polish Provinces: the Socioeconomics of Nostalgia," in *Jewish Space in Contemporary Poland*, ed. Erica T. Lehrer and Michael Meng (Indiana University Press, 2015), 115-148; on Przeworsk see Kapraski, "Amnesia, Nostalgia, and Reconstruction," 149-169 and Kapraski, "(Mis)representations of the Jewish Past," 179-192; on Cracow see Lehrer, "Jewish Heritage, Pluralism,"170-192.

In Chişinău, Odessa, L'viv, and Minsk the fragmented recognition of the Jewish historical presence as a fact of, if not common, at least local history, more often takes place through the appearance of the topic within museum space, rather than through the practical interpretation of built heritage or its ruins. As well as in Poland, the gradual recognition of the commodification potential of Jewish heritage from post-Soviet space for the tourism market, which is expressed in holding a Jewish-themed festival (so far only in L'viv), along with officials being present at Holocaust commemoration events, does not necessarily lead to the proper preservation of former Jewish property since these actions function and are organized separately. Meanwhile the Jewish-related sites on post-Soviet space continue their afterlives on the pages of photo albums and other editions, through the tour guides and behind the glass of museum glass cases. The museum landscape in all 4 cities under study demonstrates extremely limited and slow introduction of the Jewish topic into narratives of state museums of history. Instead, exhibitions at the state museums and at the local 'alternative' Jewish museums present separate and ethnic-centered versions of local history for display while the employees responsible for exhibition design keep practicing the mutual non-engagement for into the 'other' narrative.

A comparative analysis across cities indicated that although the international actors influence the development of the situation related to Jewish heritage interpretation, the state of affairs depends on local actors and their successful cooperation (or absence of it). High level of local specificity and context dependence emphasizes the importance and need for a local-level case-study focus within a comparative analytical framework. Context dependence embodies in the local dynamics between national, regional, and local authorities and grass-roots actors, as well as between ethnic and religious communities. A concise characteristic of heritage- and memory- making related to Jewish architectural, burial, memorial and museum landscapes in all 4 cities under study is given below.

Moldovan society is still subjected to tense contention over questions of identity, the proper way of calling the state language, and attitudes towards events in local history. The political crisis that has lasted since 2010, and has been recently intensified by a number of corruption scandals and the aggravated economic situation did not contribute to reaching consent over the 'difficult' issues of identity, language and history. In Moldova the rationales and interests of all parties involved in the questions of heritage interpretation are focused in the capital, which makes major 'heritage and memory battles' easy to observe. The fact that the *National Registry of Monuments Protected by State*

was published only in 2010 contributed to the deterioration of the material heritage in the capital city since no proper tool of heritage protection operated prior to this year. It also indicates the prevalence of the benefit-oriented approach towards built environment rather than a clear strategy for heritage preservation.

In Moldova there has not been introduced any strategy of incorporation of former property of vanished ethnic minorities into the national heritage canon. The majority of sites owned by the local Jewish community today were transferred to it in the 1990s within the discourse framework of the freedom of religious expression guaranteed by a young democratic state. The sites that were not targeted by the transfer, such as ruins of the *'Magen Dovid' yeshiva* and the synagogue, by the 2010s became the bone of contention between the state affiliated institutions and the Jewish community of Moldova, for which the project of restoration of the ruins is marked by the highest symbolic and image value and importance (see chapter 3). The 19th century Jewish cemetery – the only Jewish historic cemetery out of 3 that survived in the city, attracts unsystematic grass-roots clean up initiatives. The initiatives are framed within 'common heritage and responsibility' discourse and represent an example of civic activism (see chapter 4).

The 1990s were marked by a lack of political, as well as academic interest towards the Holocaust in the war-time occupied Transnistrian governorate. In 2002-2009 this was followed by a political instrumentalisation of the matter in accordance to the politics of memory promoted by the political party in power. In 2010-2016 this situation was replaced by a new vawe of disregard of the Holocaust as a collective trauma of core importance for national memory. Instead, post-1945 deportations of local civilians by the Soviet authorities were labeled as such 'leading' trauma that deserves commemoration on the national scale. The 'inconvenience' of the Holocaust implemented locally is in involvement by the Romanian troops as perpetrators. Official recognition of the Holocaust by current Moldovan authorities does take place. Still, it is the local Jewish community that continues to be a major actor for the Holocaust memorialization. The tension that surrounded the reconstruction and rededication of the monument *To the Victims of Fascism* in 2015 reveals non-cooperation and agency competition for defining the memory culture in present-day Moldova (see chapter 5).

The museum landscape of Chişinău is the least representative in terms of inclusion of Jewish-related topics into exhibitions of state sponsored museums. The Jewish-related museum scene in Chişinău is dominated by an

'alternative' local museum that functions within the *KEDEM Kishinev Jacobs Jewish Campus.* The revamp of the exhibition in February 2015 that changed the mood and the structure of the museum exposes the freedom that the director has within the given setting of an 'alternative' local museum (see chapter 6).

Odessa is the city where the Jewishness is well incorporated into the discourse canvas about the city's identity. A 19th century image of the city as 'traditionally Jewish' was reinforced by post-WWII popular culture and post-1991 strategies of the commodification of local history.

Today the city has one of the most dynamic, thriving and representative Jewish community and cultural life in post-Soviet Ukraine. Some Jewish organizations occupy the former synagogue buildings, which creates symbolic continuity in the use of the latter. The most recognizable (and 'promoted' through media) object of architectural Jewish heritage, the former Brody synagogue, is in critical condition. Several grass-roots initiatives towards memorialization of the city's Jewish past have been targeting the site since 1990s for its historical, as well as symbolic value and central location. The most recent of them and the one aiming at actual realization was the *CREADODESSA's* initiative to save the building through re-modeling it into the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum.* The transfer of the former Brodsky synagogue building to the *Chabad* religious community questioned the development of the museum project. The composition of decrees according to which the building was transferred (on the overcoming the negative consequences of totalitarian policies of the former USSR) indicates subordination of the heritage management to the politics of memory (see chapters 3 and 6).

The Jewish burial landcape of Odessa is characterized by absence of a single historical Jewish cemetery in the city. This situation, however, did not cause any international involvement and attempts to mark the sites of former location of cemeteries for the people buried there. This contrasts with the situation in L'viv, where the fact that the location of the medieval Jewish heritage is still 'hosts' the market site, keeps generating debates on international and local levels (see chapter 4).

The Jewish memorial landscape of Odessa is represented by the alley in honor of the *Righteous among the Nations* within the memorial complex *Road of Death* in Prohorovsky Square (chapter 4). The memorial site contains several monuments; the first one was installed in the 1990, while the alley and the *Road of Death* were added later. Visial aesthetic and the design of these monuments reveal the amount of funds invested in their implementation and thus speak about the agency behind the installation (see chapter 5).

The *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* project was deliberately targeted at both Jewish and non-Jewish audience and aimed at state museum status, which justified claims for substantial financial support that should have provisionally come from the government and regional authorities. If it appears, such a museum would compete with the two existing 'alternative' Jewish museums in the city. It is the provisional scale and collection of artifacts that, according to the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum's* proponents, will distinguish that museum. On the background of the minor presence of the Jewish topic in state museums of the city and a cursory overview of the Holocaust, the *Ukrainian Jewish Museum* was supposed to change the state of affairs (see chapters 3 and 6).

L'viv is known as a stronghold of Ukrainian nationalism. Since the 2000s the city was heavily promoted as the *cultural capital of Ukraine*. It is the architectural heritage of the historic city center that is currently labelled as one of the city's core assets, tourist attractions, and a tool for arguing for L'viv's European identity. The city administration acts as a devotee, supervisor and sponsor of this development.

The project supported by the city authorities and that is currently on the final pre-launching stage, *the Space of the Synagogues*, presupposes turning the ruin of the 16th century synagogue into a memorial site and a space for reflection open to every city resident and guest. The project is arranged through the promotion of the site's value as a symbol of the city's multicultural heritage and past. The project represents a rare and successful example of cooperation between the top-down city authorities and the grass-roots actors, while challenges for its implementation were related to existence of alternative vision at the preservation of the site and agency behind this vision. However, the official politics of memory on local and regional levels is directed towards the memorialization of national Ukrainian and local history and martyrdom (see chapter 3).

The site where the medieval Jewish heritage was located remains to be a potential target for the future Jewish heritage interpretation projects. Continuous debates about inadmissibility of the situation when the functioning market is located at the cemetery site influence the development of the matter. However, so far the relocation of the market remains to be a challenge from the logistics point (see chapter 4).

It was the local Jewish community that initiated the construction of a memorial honoring the victims of Yaniv concentration camp at the Chornovola avenue in 1992, while the camp site itself remains to be marked only by random memorial sign and a memorial stone installed by private initiative. In present

day L'viv the *'Space of the Synagogues'* project fulfills the memorial function related to the city's Jewish past, demonstrating inseparability of heritage and memory (see chapter 3 and 5).

The city's museum scene demonstrates limitations in terms of presenting the city's Jewish past similar to those found in state museums in the other cities under study. In the *Museum of Local History* the Jewish component is presented through a short reference to the Holocaust, while the leading narrative is devoted to promotion of the regionally and locally oriented Ukrainaian national account. The non-state 'alternative' museums fill in the existing gap. In comparison with other cities under study, in L'viv there exist several platforms where the Jewish topic may potentially be and is actually discussed in the language of museum exhibitions. Several factors influence this situation, including the successful experience of incorporation of the Jewish topic as a commodity at the tourist market (see chapter 6)

The Jewish-related built environment in Minsk is hardly recognizable due to multiple historical reasons. The most recent reconstruction of the areas popularly understood and also officially labeled as historic sites, *Trinity Hill* and *Rakovsky district* have been criticized for inaccurate reconstruction. Neither does this reconstruction recognize the former Jewish character of these districts (which is still randomly visible via several former synagogues that since the establishment of the Soviet rule were used as facilities for non-religious enterprises), but is rather 'fashioned' to make the area European-looking (see chapter 3). While no historical Jewish cemetery in the city survived urban development and deliberate destruction, the area where the Jewish cemetery was once located currently performs the memorial function due to the references to the Minsk ghetto presence of several memorials (see chapter 4).

Minsk represents an example of the correlation between the 'official' version of memory about the events of WWII and the way the Holocaust is publicly commemorated in the city and in the country. On the discourse level, the Jewish suffering and losses remain to be subjected to the leading narrative of the heroic struggle of the Belarusian people against the Nazis, as well as this people's losses, coined as 'every third one'. The memory of the Holocaust is 'inscribed' into an embracing narrative canon of the *Great Patriotic War* and the state's participation is expressed though the commissioning of the memorial sites, including the site of the former Maly Trostenets concentration camp. There are also to be met random grass-roots projects that praise Belarus's Jewish past, not necessarily implemented by the Jewish actors. As Magdalena

Waligórska has demonstrated[465] specificity of Belarus is in probability of suppressed Byelorusian nationalism in its present-day form to find its unexpected links with the promotion of local Jewish culture due to the perception of both as subject for infringement (see chapter 5).

The narrative about the German-Soviet War is visually presented in the recently revamped *Belarusian Great Patriotic War Museum,* while the museum solely devoted to the history and culture of Belarus Jews is implemented and run by local 'alternative' actors at the museum sponsored by the *AJJC* and located in the Minsk Jewish House (see chapter 6).

The comparative analysis revealed that the process of Jewish-related heritage interpretation, preservation and promotion in the region is entangled in the following bones of contention:

On the discourse level:

- Contention related to elaboration of the national 'heritage canon' and lack of inclusive principle towards built heritage of ethnic and religious minorities. In Chişinău and Minsk the elaboration (on theoretical and regulatory level) of understanding concerning what shall be considered the 'historical core of the city' or 'a national style' and how it shall be protected, is still fluid and is in the making. In Odessa and L'viv peculiarity and density of 'historic housing' on the contrary define the identity of these cities and become the tool in city branding. Although since the 1990s Jewish built heritage has been gradually included into the inventory of landmarks protected by the state, it has still not been properly integrated as 'shared heritage'.

- Contention over the 'difficult' and 'inconvenient' past. Inclusion of Jewish heritage into the commonly accepted and shared heritage and memory canon on post-Soviet space requires substantial work to be done on the matter of critical assessment of local history and need for public discussion of local traits of the Holocaust, collaboration and participation in ethnic-based violence during the WWII. As this thesis has demonstrated, instead, there takes place an instrumentalization of the Holocaust topic for political ambitions and the internationalization of its commemoration on discourse level.

- Contention related to the 'right' of heritage interpretation. For the number of actors involved, the ethnic and religious belonging remains

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[465] Waligórska, "Jewish Heritage".

to be a pillar (or a contention) in questions of authority concerning decision-making related to Jewish heritage (non)revitalization. In the 1990s the monuments built in all cities under study emphasized traumatic Jewish memory expressed publicly, promoted by the Jewish actors, and emphasized a sense of community. With the appearance of non-Jewish actors at the scene, sensitivity over the Jewish heritage being (or not being anymore) a primarily Jewish concern, has been raised significantly. As the research has shown, an inclusive positive strategy for Jewish heritage interpretation and promotion 'branding' it as part of a multicultural, but local heritage, has proven to provide the space for compassion and responsiveness from both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences.

- Contention related to moral vs official responsibility for heritage preservation. As the case studies from current theses show, the grass-roots inspired claims for moral responsibility that the authorities are supposed to bear for heritage integrity and safety are countered with the reality of the state not being legally responsible in cases when heritage is in private ownership.

On the practical level:

- Contention over the ownership of the heritage objects. The early 1990s policy of sporadic restitution of the former property that belonged to ethnic communities to a major extent defined current conditions of those restituted sites. Since in a number of cases discussed in this thesis the state is not an owner of Jewish-related heritage objects, its provisional intrusion for the sake of preservation is limited by property rights. The state in that case is not legally responsible for the condition of the sites and the regulatory mechanisms towards the private owners are not developed enough. In cases when the state or the municipality owns the property, on the one hand, this may ease the heritage (re)interpretation process, as with the 'Space of the Synagogues' project in L'viv – under the condition of sufficient funding provision. On the other hand, state ownership of the property coupled with political instability in the region and a high level of corruption in real estate may result in failing to provide guarantees needed for securing external funding for the successful implementation of heritage-related projects. The stagnation of the restoration of the former '*Magen Dovid' yeshiva* and synagogue in Chişinău is exemplary in this case.

- Contention over the budget. As heritage interpretation projects are highly costly to implement, their realization requires the attraction of multiple sources for funding and a professional management.

- Contention over the imperfect legislation in management of culture and heritage, as well as the legislation's imperfect implementation.

- Contention over the fact that so far on the post-Soviet space there have not been elaborated conventional forms for Jewish heritage interpretation, revitalization and promotion.

- Contention over the questionable provenance of museum items that may potentially be claimed once the items are exhibited.

Recommendations Based on the Research Results

The research made for this thesis has demonstrated that one of the core challenges for the successful implementation of Jewish-related heritage projects is a lack of cooperative relations between all involved actors and those actors that are decision-makers on the national level. The list of recommendations has been developed in order to overcome this major challenge as well as other challenges indicated above. This is achieved by coining six principles of cooperative engagement among a number of actors (including state-related institutions, heritage prefessionals, representatives of local Jewish organizations, academics and the public). These recommendations are addressed to professionals in the sphere of culture and its management, whose activity is related to Jewish cultural heritage in the region. Following the indicated principles shall significantly improve practice of Jewish heritage interpretation in present-day locations under study.

⚐ *Elaborate state support*. The research conducted for this thesis has indicated as an obstacle the lack of political will to incorporate Jewish-related sites (most often former cult buildings and cemeteries) into national heritage canon, as well as lack of an elaborate strategy of physical reinterpretation of these sites. Publicly expressed concern over the sites coming from local, regional and national authorities should be present. Cooperative relations between public and private stakeholders and other interested bodies and parties shall be intensified in order to overcome the potential conflict of interests. Since a high amount of former Jewish property still continues to be state property after the post-WWII nationalization, it is practically

feasible to apply an elaborate managerial strategy that would treat the remaining Jewish-related heritage as part of the local urban landscape, rather than reducing sites to singular objects;

⚵ *Improving the legislation.* There should be introduced amendments to regulatory legislation and documentation targeted at ascribing restrictive actions that public bodies responsible for heritage preservation would be authorized to apply in case of improper intrusion into intact built objects regardless if those objects are in private property or not. A more action-targeted authority shall be ascribed to public regulative bodies for cases when the violation of regulations in heritage intervention is indicated. Actions towards higher anti-corruption transparency in decision-making and functioning of construction and heritage preservation are strongly advisable;

⚵ *Inclusive fundraising framework.* One of the reasons the state related bodies tend to eschew responding to public demand for better care and preservation of heritage sites is a lack of budgetary funds and the further need to prioritize one aspect of urban environment care over others. An elaboration of an inclusive fundraising framework that would attract funds for heritage-related projects in combination with guaranteed budgetary allocations is highly advisable;

⚵ *Targeted public engagement.* The restitution of Jewish property may provisionally bring to the limited access of general public to it since the sites would then either serve community purposes or stand empty due to a lack of funds to restore and use them. It is advisable to involve the general public into decision-making concerning interpretation of Jewish-related heritage sites. Public access to remaining Jewish-related heritage sites should be increased (including spaces owned by local Jewish communities or by private owners). A certain role should be ascribed to the local non-Jewish audience to maintain the territory adjoining Jewish-related heritage sites. Public awareness about the existence of such sites in the area, as well as the inclusion of local residents into Jewish-related heritage projects and initiatives should be increased;

⚵ *Elaborate communication strategy.* An elaborate communication strategy about the importance of care for and proper maintenance of the sites under study, as well as about the value of these sites for shared memory and responsibility are crucial. This communication strategy should not be limited to private bodies and parties related to Jewish communities. The promotion of Jewish-related heritage sites, as well as local Jewish history

in terms of a common, shared past in the present-day independent states the sites are located in is highly advisable;

⚲ *Support for educational activities.* The educational potential for promoting the historic, architectural, and symbolic value ascribed to Jewish-related heritage sites should be incorporated into an educational strategy targeted at raising civil society, respect towards the multi-ethnic past, tolerance, civil liability, and responsibility. Decent care for the sites, if carried out and communicated with the involvement of the local public, has the potential to become a visual aid tool and a platform for instruction targeted at an informed, responsible, and inclusive attitude towards the inhabited cityscape. Such strategy has the potential to stimulate a public debate about complexity of the local past that resulted in (former) Jewish communal and private property becoming heritage sites in the places where Jews themselves are barely present.

Limitations

Two types of limitations are relevant for this thesis. The first type is related to the initial scope and research design. While the Jewish-related heritage landscape is rich and diverse, the present research deliberately focuses on former cult buildings (especially synagogues), cemeteries, monuments and museum exhibitions (or their absence). These four categories have been selected due to the recognizability of their Jewish relation and/or belonging, while such sites as (former) Jewish community premises, hospitals, and other constructions of civic use are less known as 'Jewish sites.' However, focusing on these four categories of heritage sites brings up the limitation of a selective research focus that does not analyze the afterlives of the entire Jewish-related urban landscapes and scenes. Also, the mode of perception and/or recognition of the above-mentioned sites and exhibitions by local residents and the incoming tourists have not been part of the research design. This was made in recognition of the potential to use this data for revealing to what extent the message implied by the heritage project's designers actually reaches the targeted audience, as well as to what extent the message is being deflected and simplified in popular perception.

The second type of limitations is related to actual research implementation. Since the thesis is focused on the recent time period (post-1980s years), the availability and accessibility of relevant documents in public archives has been limited. This is true for documents related to national,

regional, as well as local management of culture and heritage: reports and transcripts of the meetings of special committees, decisions took, and correspondence with other public and private bodies. Not all the targeted stakeholders were available for interviews. Since the issue of heritage in general and former ethnic property in particular remains to be a sensitive topic because of low transparency in decision-making, the potential for restitution claims, and the varied interests at stake, some interviewees have been cautious in providing details of the matter. Since a number of the Jewish-related heritage projects have been and some still are ongoing projects in the making, the information available to the public (internal discussions, search for finances, etc.) has been limited. Separate limitations have been related to time constraints. While high dynamics of changes on the ground have been indicated as the principal characteristics of the matters under study, the core fieldwork was done from late 2013 – early 2014. Due to the high level of unpredictability of the actual implementation of heritage-related projects, such a case study as the 'Space of the Synagogues' in L'viv is planned to be finalized in July 2016 instead of the earlier date that had been planned initially. This leaves the thesis not having the final stages of project implementation available for particpant observation.

Further Development

There exist several possibilities for overcoming the indicated limitations and for further development of this thesis's research from historical, geographical, subject-related, and community-focused perspectives.

⛧ *The historical dimension*. This thesis is primarily focused on the present-day situation with certain references to the 1980s and 1990s. As is indicated above, this selection of the time framework contains a provisional risk for the non-availability of data, including archival data, due to the limitation period on the release of this information. This challenge may provisionally be overcome by expanding the temporal framework back to the post-WWII years and further on with occasional additional research from the wartime years. In this case research would rely on archival historical data that is to a major extent available to the public. This would provide an explanation of the present-day situation as an amalgam of factors correlating within historic continuity.

Occasional elaboration of the files related to the Holocaust in the area might reveal data on the identity of victims, whose deaths are commemorated by recently installed or restored monuments. This data

may open new perspectives for research in memory-making. For instance, while opening the restored monument '*To the Victims of Fascism*' in Chişinău in 2015, widely promoted by local Jewish community, the identity and number of victims who died at the mass killing site have not been thoroughly communicated. New data on this subject may potentially significantly alter the framework of interpretation of the monument's symbolic message.

Further on, focus on such factors as wartime strategies and the details of the destruction of Jewish built heritage should bring new data for identifying the vanished heritage within the present-day urban landscape.

The research would also significantly benefit from a detailed study of the post-1945 nationalization of Jewish communal property and the decision-making behind the elimination of some former religious property and Jewish cemeteries for the sake of post-war reconstruction of Soviet cities. Archival data on the reasoning behind particular choices to readapt former religious buildings for practical use after 1945 (or to destroy them), as well on as agency and implementers behind these actions would enrich the picture of dimension of heritage loss and might serve as valuable data for practitioners of heritage interpretation. A better understanding of this logic and practices of elimination of former Jewish property after 1945 would enrich our understanding of the reasons for the selective non-inclusive attitude towards these sites as heritage today.

⚜ *Geographical dimension.* The sample of four cities as case studies has demonstrated the similarities and differences in Jewish heritage (non)preservation, Holocaust commemoration, and museum representation of Jewish-related topics. However, in all three countries under discussion, due to regional differences and sometimes competing preferences in terms of language use, attitudes to the past, and the actions of regional and local elites in addition to residents, other urban and rural localities also deserve to be examined. For instance, in Ukraine such cities as Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv and Uman might be brought as comparison from the agency perspective.

Dnipropetrovsk, originally Ekaterinoslav, is an industrial city that is the third largest in Ukraine and located in the southeast of the country. This city is known for the relatively recent rise and fall of several influential oligarchs of Jewish descent in terms of gaining financial and political power and influence. This has contributed to the high visibility of Jewish communal life and Jewish memory in the city, which is embodied by the

seven-towered Jewish community, cultural, and business center *Menorah* that also hosts the *Jewish History and the Holocaust in Ukraine* museum. Kyiv is crucially important due to the high centralization of power in Ukraine and due to the fact that it is here that the majority of Jewish associations and organizations, who tend to be influential agents in the Jewish heritage preservation and memorialization issue, especially while building ties with the international community, are located.

Uman is a town to the south of Kyiv where a recent phenomenon of the Jewish-Ukrainian encounter of an entirely new nature has been taking place. Over the last 16 years Uman has been a destination of a massive pilgrimage of tens of thousands of Hasidic Jews to the grave of Rebbe Nachman of Breslov (1772–1810), founder of the Breslov Hasidic movement and considered to be a *tzaddik* (a spiritual master), for the Rosh Hashana *kibbutz* that takes place annually in early autumn.[466] On the one hand, the locals only derive marginal benefit from renting to the pilgrims, who often build their own accommodation and do everything I their power to exist in isolation from the local community. On top of the problem of provisional income that is lost by the locals in this way, the pilgrims' tendency to leave large amounts of garbage in public areas, cause random riots and cases of conflicts with local residents, only reproduces hostility, alienation and opposition on religious, ethnic and gender grounds. The manner of communication between the Hasidim and the locals has been labelled as 'it is not about the cross-cultural tolerance per se, but rather about mutually gated communities',[467] leaving 'a large information gap concerning understanding the "Other."[468]. On the other hand, as Alla Marchenko[469] indicates, personal contacts and first-hand communication with pilgrims bring more positive perception by locals of religious tourism. Still, the interview data collected by Marchenko indicates that the two main prisms through which the pilgrims are

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[466] see Mitsuharu Akao, "A New Phase in Jewish–Ukrainian Relations? Problems and Perspectives in the Ethnopolitics over the Hasidic Pilgrimage to Uman," *East European Jewish Affairs* 37, no. 2 (2007): 137-155.

[467] Alla Marchenko, "Hasidic Pilgrimage as a Cultural Performance: Case of Contemporary Ukraine," *Judaica Ukrainica no. 3* (2014): 70.

[468] Marchenko, "Hasidic Pilgrimage," 71.

[469] See Alla Marchenko, "Palomnistvo khasidiv v Ukraïni: sotsiologichni refleksiï schodo mizhkul'turnogo spriynyattya spil'not" [Hasidic pilgrimage in Ukraine: sociological reflections on cross-cultural perceptions of communities], *Metodologíya, teoríya ta praktika sotsíologíchnogo analízu suchasnogo suspíl'stva*, no. 20 (2014): 289-294.

perceived, remain to be 'violation of the residents' comfort zone' and 'pilgrimage as a source of income for local population.' In addition, the Hasidic presence aggravates conflicting visions of the painful local past, with public space becoming the ground for making those visions present in forms of newly erected monuments. Also, the symbolic meaning and value of the locality for incoming pilgrims differs from what it means for the remaining Jewish community of Uman, who immensely suffered from the Holocaust and for whom the 'sacredness' of selective spaces in the town differ from the religiously focused vision of pilgrims.[470]

For Moldova, a more thorough comparative research would include Transnistria, a breakaway republic unrecognized officially within the borders of the country, where a separate memory culture is being constructed. Generally speaking, it is built at the intersection of pro-Russian political feelings with reference to statesmen from the epoch of Catherine II, memory of the WWII interpreted as the *Great Patriotic war*, and memorialization of the 1992 conflict. The inclusion of Transnistria would offer a more complex understanding of points of disagreement on understanding the past within the official borders of Moldova.

In small localities throughout the post-Soviet space there take place numerous examples of grass-roots Jewish heritage-related initiatives, such as the opening of biographic museums, marking mass killing sites (sometimes with the crosses as the only known form of commemoration), the cleaning and enclosure of old Jewish cemeteries, etc. Such initiatives indicate a range of civil-oriented rationales within the framework of 'common heritage', since in most cases local residents responsible for such actions have neither family, nor personal or professional links to Jewry.

Expanding the focus within Belarus towards its Western borders – the area that since recently attracted heritage-oriented tourists, as well as organizers of cross-border Jewish heritage routes – would offer new material on heritage interpretation in the era of global tourism. These locations are mainly the towns (former shtetlah) in the Western part of the country- the territory which was under Polish rule prior to WWII. Development of the research in this direction will inevitably require including Lithuania as potential area for study. Lithuania is crucially important for the study of East European Jewish heritage for several

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[470] See *The Dybbuk. A Tale of Wandering Souls*, directed by Krzysztof Kopczyński (Eureka Media, 2015), DVD.

reasons. First, it was an important center for Jewish religious thought and learning, as well as for secular institutions for Jewish research, such as the *YIVO*. Second, after the country entered the European Union in 2004, there took place several top-down initiatives to recreate the historical Jewish quarter in the center of Vilnius. None of these initiatives were fully executed in practice, but the projects were discussed on the highest levels. Third, Vilnius hosts 2 state Jewish museums, one of which is devoted to the Holocaust. However, the fact that the narrative about the Holocaust is only marginally present in the *Museum of Genocide* in the center of the capital city, makes this case study an example of divided collective memory (literally presented in geographically divided spaces).

One of the deliberate limitations of this thesis is that relations within the selected countries and Russia were covered very briefly. Meanwhile, the dynamics of these relations to a major extent sets the tone of the vector for memory politics in the former republics. A mmore detailed study of these relations would provide a more sophisticated and balanced picture.

⚔ *Subject-related dimension.* The Jewish heritagescape has been selected as a case study for this thesis. In order to trace the complex heritage-making processes in the area in their entirety, the inclusion of other ethnic-related heritagescapes in the research framework would substantially enrich the picture. These include Russian, German, Romanian, and Armenian heritage for Chişinău; Russian heritage in Odessa; Polish and Russian heritage in L'viv; Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Russian heritage for Minsk, and Soviet heritage for all four cases. Additionally, a top-down policy analysis on the management of the above-mentioned heritage in comparison with management of heritage by titular ethnic groups may potentially expand, develop, and deepen the topic discussed in this thesis.

⚔ *Community-focused dimension.* As this thesis has demonstrated, the local Jewish communities and organizations, as well as the global Jewish diaspora, continue to play a core role in the heritage and memory-targeted initiatives discussed in this thesis. However, this agency is not unified; it is subjected to internal conflicts over provisionally discrepant visions of the discourse around heritage interpretation and its practical implementation and management of resources. A more detailed focus on this complex agency would help reveal the link between Holocaust memorialization in the area under study in the 1990s and 'the Jewish renewal' (or 'Jewish renaissance') and compare this correlation to the 2000s.

Also, a more personified research focus, which is to be achieved by in-depth non-elite interviews, would reveal specific features of perception of sites in focus of this thesis by Jewish residents of the present-day cities under study in comparison with this perception by their non-Jewish neighbors and in-coming tourists.

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Documentaries

Boris Dorfman - A Mentsh. Directed by Uwe & Gabriela von Seltmann. Apfelstrudel Media Berlin, 2014. DVD.

Standing on the Shoulders of Sholem Aleichem. A contemporary look at the impact of Yiddish culture on today's generation. Directed by Jean-Gabriel Davis. France, 2014. DVD.

The Dybbuk. A Tale of Wandering Souls. Directed by Krzysztof Kopczyński. Eureka Media, 2015. DVD.

Interviews conducted by Anastasia Felcher

in December 2013 – August 2015:

Chişinău:
1. Colesnic, Iurie – ex-member of the Parliament of Moldova, writer (November 29, 2013)
2. Damian, Victor – historian, leader of the *Jewish Ethnology* section at the *Moldovan Academy of Sciences (*December 03, 2013)
3. Dumitru, Diana – historian, *the State Pedagogical University 'Ion Creangă'* (November 21, 2013)
4. Musteaţă, Sergiu – archaeologist, heritage specialist, *the State Pedagogical University 'Ion Creangă'* (November 26, 2013)
5. Nazaria, Sergiu – historian (December 04, 2013)
6. Şihova, Irina – director at the *Museum of the Jewish Heritage of Moldova* at *KEDEM Jewish Center* (November 22, 2013)
7. Ştefăniţă, Ion – director of the *Angency for Inspection and Protection of Historic Monuments (*November 27, 2013)
8. Ukshteyn, Ozias – the head of the *Jewish Community of Dubosari* (January 07, 2014)

Odessa:
9. Khersonskiy, Boris – poet, one of the initiators of *CREADODESSA Foundation for Cultural Reforms* (August 20, 2015)
10. Kliger, Samuel – director of *Russian Jewish Community Affairs* at the *American Jewish committee (*September 18, 2014)
11. Prysyazhnyuk, Oleksiy – Chief Specialist of the *Department of the Objects of the Cultural Heritage Protection* at the *Odessa Regional State Administration* (December 11, 2013)
12. Rashkovetsky, Mihail – director at the *Museum of History of Odessa Jews*

'Migdal Shorashim' at the *International Centre of Jewish Community Programs 'Migdal'* (December 3, 2013)

L'viv:[471]

13. Dyak, Sofia – historian and sociologist, director of the *Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe* (December 24, 2013)

14. Hanynets, Renata – former research fellow at *Faina Petryakova Scientific Centre for Judaica and Jewish Arts*, employee of the *Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe* (October 29, 2014)

15. Gleichmann, Iris – former coordinator of the GIZ project *Municipal development and rehabilitation of the Old City of L'viv* (November 4, 2014)

16. Hrytsak, Yaroslav – historian, the *Ukrainian Catholic University* (October 28, 2014)

17. Kosiv, Vasyl – art historian, former deputy mayor of Humanitarian Affairs (September 26, 2014)

18. Lidovskaya, Olga – director of the museum program at *Hesed-Arieh Jewish Home*, responsible for museum room *'Tracing Galician Jews'* (December 23, 2013)

19. Martyn, Maksim – Chief of the *Judaica* section at the *L'viv Museum of History of Religions* (December 24, 2013)

20. Martyniuk-Medvetska, Alla – architect the *National University L'viv Polytechnic* (December 24, 2013)

21. Nazar, Alexandr – head of the *L'viv Society of Jewish Culture named after Sholom Aleichem* (December 25, 2013)

22. Onyshchenko, Lilia – the head of the *Office for Historical Environment Preservation* (September 25, 2014)

23. Susak, Vita – art historian, employee at the *L'viv National Gallery of Arts* (December 26, 2013)

Minsk:

24. Astapovich, Anton – historian, chairperson of the *National Council of the Public Association 'Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Preservation of*

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[471] Four interviews, conducted in May 2014 in L'viv - with Ada Dianova (head of the *Center of Jewish Welfare Fund*), Oksana Boiko (the *Department of Restoration, and Reconstruction of Architectural Complexes* at the *National University L'viv Polytechnic*), Meylakh Sheykhet (Director of the *Representation of the American Union of Councils for the Jews in the former Soviet Union*) and Rabbi Mordechai Shlomo Bald (the Chief Rabbi of L'viv and West Ukraine) are not included in the list due to their inaccessibility for technical reasons.

Historic and Cultural Monuments' (January 17, 2014)

25. Barysiuk, Yury – historian, Deputy Head of *Arts Section* of the *Department of Culture of Minsk City Executive Committee* (January 17, 2014)
26. Gerasimova, Inna – former director of the *Jewish History and Culture Museum in Belarus* at *Minsk Jewish Campus* (April 4, 2014)
27. Kozak, Kuzma – historian, the head of the *Historical Workshop*, (January 21, 2014)
28. Levina, Galina – architect (January 17, 2014)
29. Rakhanski, Ihar – architect, head of the Project Design section of the Belarusian *ICOMOS* (January 20, 2014)
30. Sidarovich, Ala – culturology expert (January 21, 2014)
31. Sheveliov, Dmitry – historian, the *Center for Jewish History and Culture in Belarus* at the *European Humanities University* (January 19, 2014)
32. Shulman, Arkadzi – journalist, editor of *Mishpoha Magazine* (January 16, 2014).

Interviews conducted by Nicolae Misail

Interviews with representatives of political and cultural elite of Chişinău were conducted in 2012 for the project *Memory of Vanished Population Groups in today's East-Central European Urban Environments; Memory Treatment and Urban Planning in L'viv, Chernivtsi, Chişinău and Wroclaw* by the Center for European Studies at Lund University (see analysis in chapter 1).

Politicians:
1. Ghenadie Ciobanu, ex-deputy, composer
2. Alexandru Corduneanu, municipal councillor
3. Aurelian Danilă, diplomat, president of the *Union of Musicians*
4. Valentin Dolganiuc, ex-deputy, engineer, businessman
5. Corina Fusu, deputy, the *Liberal Party*
6. Ana Guţu, deputy, the *International Liberal University* rector
7. Valeriu Matei, ex-deputy, director of the *Romanian Cultural Institute*
8. Victor Moraru, political scientist, sociologist
9. Gheorghe Postică, vice-minister of culture
10. Alecu Renita, ex-deputy, director of magazine *Nature*
11. Valeriu Saharneanu, ex-deputy, journalist
12. Ilia Trombiţki, ex-deputy, executive director of *Eco-Tiras*
13. Veaceslav Untilă, deputy, the *Chief State Ecological Inspectorate*

14. Ignat Vasilache, ex-deputy

Public figures:
1. Anatol Adam, architect
2. Marin Alexandru, engineer, teacher
3. Petru Bogatu, journalist, writer
4. Tudor Braga, painter, director of the *Brâncuşi* exhibition center
5. Ionel Capiţa, journalist, writer
6. Mihai Cernenco, political scientist
7. Maria Danilov, historian
8. Alan Dascal, teacher, *Waldorf Lyceum in Chişinău*
9. Boris, Druţă, lawyer
10. George Erizanu, journalist, director of publishing house *Cartier*
11. Iulian Filip, writer, the *Chişinău Direction of Culture*
12. Emil Gălaicu-Păun, writer, poet, literary critic
13. Valeriu Grosul, painter
14. Ion Holban, physicist
15. Petru Macovei, journalist
16. Aurel Marinciuc, physicist
17. Sergiu Musteaţă, archeologist
18. Claudia Partole, writer, journalist
19. Anatol Petrencu, Director of the NGO *Memoria*, historian
20. Ion Proca, writer, journalist
21. Lica Saenciuc, architect
22. Antonina Sârbu, journalist
23. Ion Ştefăniţă, director of the *Angency for Inspection and Protection of Historic Monuments*
24. Mihai Ursu, director of the *Ethnographic Museum*
25. Sandu Vasilache, director of the *Moldova-Film*
26. Tudor Zbârnea, painter, director general of the *National Art Museum in Chişinău*

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Appendix I

Survey of Built Heritage

Chişinău

Number	**I.1**
Official Name of the Site[472]	Building of a former synagogue
Landmark	Yes, local significance
Year of construction	Late 19th cent.
Initial Purpose	Wooden synagogue
Present-day Use	Jewish Cultural Center *KEDEM*, part of the *Kishinev Jacobs Jewish Center*
Address	Diordita street, 5
Photo taken[473]	November, 2013

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[472] As it appears in the inventory of monuments.
[473] If not indicated differently, all photographs are taken by the author.

Number	**I.2**
Official Name of the Site	The Cultural Center and the Library named after Itzik Manger
Landmark	No
Year of construction	Second half of the 20th century
Initial Purpose	Apartment building
Present-day Use	Jewish library and cultural center
Address	Diordița street, 4
Source	Picture 1: http://www.free-time.md/rus/library/i3269-biblioteka-kulturnyi-centr-im-i-mangera/
	Picture 2: memorial plaque to Jewish writer Ikhil Shraibman with inscription 'Moldova is Romania' below. Courtesy to Anastasia Felcher, November 2013

Number	**I.3**
Official Name of the Site	The Russian Drama Theatre
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1913, 1966
Initial Purpose	Choral synagogue
Present-day Use	The Russian Drama Theatre named after Anton Chekhov
Address	Vlaicu Pîrcălab street, 75
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**I.4**
Official Name of the Site	Individual house
Landmark	Yes, of local significance
Year of construction	End of 19th century
Initial Purpose	Talmud-Tora religious school
Present-day Use	Apartment building
Address	Vlaicu Pîrcălab street, 77
Source	http://www.monument.sit.md/vlaicu-pircalab/77/

Number	**I.5**
Official Name of the Site	Individual house
Landmark	Yes, local significance
Year of construction	End of the 19th century
Initial Purpose	Synagogue of gravediggers
Present-day Use	Leased to the *Baptist Christian Evangelists Community*
Address	Sfîntul Ilie street, 41
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**I.6**
Official Name of the Site	Individual house
Landmark	Yes, local significance
Year of construction	1886
Initial Purpose	Prayer house of Jewish community "Sinai School", Agudat Israel Synagogue
Present-day Use	Locked facility, not in use
Address	Alexei Şciusev street, 5
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**I.7**
Official Name of the Site	Building of the former synagogue and and asylum for old people
Landmark	Yes, of local significance
Year of construction	1910
Initial Purpose	synagogue, yeshiva and asylum for old people
Present-day Use	Ruins
Address	Rabbi Țirelson street, 8
Source	Photo 1 and 2: July 2013, courtesy to Andrei Gherciu

Photo 3: http://www.monument.sit.md/rabbi-tirilson/8-10/

Picture 4: Reconstruction project, picture taken from the official web-site of the Jewish Community of Moldova http://www.jcm.md/ on January 4, 2016 |

Number	**I.8**
Official Name of the Site	Sinagoga "Sticlărilor"
Landmark	Yes, local significance
Year of construction	End of 19th century
Initial Purpose	Gleizer synagogue
Present-day Use	Functioning synagogue
Address	Habad Liubovici street, 8
Source	http://www.monument.sit.md/habad-liubovici/8-10/

289

Number	**I.9**
Official Name of the Site	The Complex of former Jewish hospital
Landmark	Yes, national significance
Year of construction	Second half of the 19th century
Initial Purpose	Jewish hospital
Present-day Use	Municipal Hospital no. 4.
Address	Columna street, 150
Source	Photo 1 and 2: courtesy to Anastasia Felcher, November 2013 Photo 3, 4, 5: http://www.monument.sit.md/columna/150/

Odessa

Number	**I.10**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1900
Initial Purpose	Malbish Arumim and Tailors' synagogue
Present-day Use	Synagogue of *Odessa Jewish religious community "Chabad - Shomrey Shabbat"*
Address	Osipova street, 21
Source	Official web-site of the *"Chabad - Shomrey Shabbat"* community [474]

[474]

http://www.chabad.odessa.ua/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/1744856/jewish/English.htm, accessed March 5, 2016

Number	**I.11**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1845-1859
Architect	Morandi, F.
Initial Purpose	Great (Glavnaya) Synagogue
Present-day Use	Synagogue of the Odessa Orthodox Jewish religious community "Or Sameach"
Address	Evreiskaya street, 25
Photo taken	December 2013

Number	**I.12**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1909
Initial Purpose	Synagogue of butchers of kosher meat
Present-day Use	*International Organiztion Jewish Community Center 'Migdal'*
Address	Malaya Arnautskaya street, 46-A
Photo taken	December 2013

Number	**I.13**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1863
Architect	Kolovich, F.
Initial Purpose	Brody synagogue
Present-day Use	the *State Archives of Odessa Region* (till 2016)
Address	Zhukovskoho street, 18
Photo taken	December 2013

Number	**I.14**
Landmark	No
Year of construction	2009
Initial Purpose	Jewish cultural center
Present-day Use	Jewish Cultural Center «Beit Grand»
Address	Nezhinskaya street, 77/79
Photo taken	December 2013

L'viv

Number	**I.15**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	16th century
Initial Purpose	'Golden Rose' synagogue
Present-day Use	Ruins, memorial-to-be
Address	Fedorova street, 27
Photo taken	Pictures 1 and 2: December 2013
	Pictures 3 to 5: October 2015

Number	**I.16**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1841-1844, 1912
Architect	Podhorodecki, Włodzimierz
Initial Purpose	Jakob Glanzer Shul synagogue
Present-day Use	Center of Jewish culture 'Sholom Aleichem Jewish Culture Society'
Address	Vuhilna street, 3
Photo taken	December 2013

Number	**I.17**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1923-1931
Architect	Kornblüth, Albert
Initial Purpose	"Tsori Hilyod" synagogue
Present-day Use	Functioning synagogue
Address	Mikhnovs'kykh brothers street, 4
Source	Courtesy to Oksana Boyko, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/lia/objects/?ci_objectid=568

301

Number	**I.18**
Landmark	Not applicable
Year of construction	1846
Initial Purpose	Temple synagogue or the L'viv progressive synagogue
Present-day Use	Empty square, memorial stone at the place where the Temple synagogue once stood
Address	Staryi rynok square
Source	Photo 1: the synagogue in 1863, Urban Image Database at the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe, ID number: 00423, copyright of Lviv Historical Museum, http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/uid/picture/?pictureid=423 Photo 2: courtesy to Anastasia Felcher, December 2013

Number	**I.19**
Landmark	
Year of construction	1898-1901
Initial Purpose	Jacob Rappoport Jewish Hospital
Author(s)	Kazimierz Mokłowski
Present-day Use	Maternity Department of the 3rd Municipal Clinical Hospital
Address	Vul. Rappoporta, 8
Source	Urban Image Database at the *Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe*, ID number: 00047, courtesy to Alexander Denisenko http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/uid/picture/?pictureid=47

Number	**I.20**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1899
Author	Fleischl, Antoni Rudolf
Initial Purpose	Jewish Community House
Present-day Use	Locked facility
Address	Sholem-Aleichem street, 12
Photo taken	October, 2015

Number	**I.21**
Subject of the photo	Old hand-painted advertisement signs in Yiddish discovered on the façade of the shop in the city centre with the anti-Semitic graffiti
Year of construction	Early 20th cent.
Initial Purpose	Shopping center
Present-day Use	Shopping center
Address	Chornovola avenue
Photo taken	May 2014

Number	**I.22**
Subject of the photo	Hebrew alphabet stylization of the Ukrainian shop's title *Noah's Ark*
Address	Nearby Rynok square
Photo taken	May 2014

Number	**I.23**
Subject of the photo	Interior design and terrace of the restaurant *'at the Golden Rose*' nearby ruins of the former synagogue
Landmark	Not applicable
Year of construction	2008
Initial Purpose	Restaurant and terrace
Present-day Use	Restaurant, the terrace is demolished within the 'Space of Synagogues' project by autumn 2015
Address	
Source	Photo 1 and 2: courtesy to Anastasia Felcher, December 2013 Photo 3: courtesy to Daniel Estrin, http://www.tabletmag.com/podcasts/90161/cheap-eats

Minsk

Number	**I.24**
Landmark	No
Year of construction	2010s
Initial Purpose	Facilities to rent out
Present-day Use	Part of reconstructed *Upper Town*, the building (to the left) repeating the one of the synagogues currently used as an office
Photo taken	January, 2014

Number	**I.25**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1864
Initial Purpose	Synagogue within Rakovsky suburb
Present-day Use	Children and Youth School of Olympic Reserve for Chess
Address	Rakovskaya street, 24
Photo taken	January 2014

Number	**I.26**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1874
Initial Purpose	*Kitaevskaya Synagogue*
Present-day Use	*House of Nature* ,parts of reconstructed *Trinity Hilll*
Address	M.Bogdanovicha street, 9A
Photo taken	January 2014

Number	**I.27**
Landmark	Not known
Year of construction	Not known
Initial Purpose	Private house
Present-day Use	*Historial Workshop* situated on the territory of former Minsk gtetto
Address	Sukhaya street 25
Photo taken	January 2014

Number	**I.28**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	1901-1906
Initial Purpose	Choral synagogue
Present-day Use	Russian Drama Theatre named after M. Gorky
Address	Volodarskogo street, 5
Photo taken	January 2014

Number	**I.29**
Landmark	No
Year of construction	2003-2009
Initial Purpose	Synagogue of Minsk Chabad Lubavitch Jewish community
Present-day Use	Synagogue of Minsk Chabad Lubavitch Jewish community
Address	Kropotkin street, 22
Photo taken	January 2014

Appendix II

Survey of Cemeteries and Lapidariums

Chişinău

Number	**II.1**
Subject of the Picture	Pieces of matsevas nearby the Monument to the Victims of Chişinău Pogrom
Year of construction	Since 1990s
Address	Calea Ieşilor street
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**II.2**
Official Name of the Site	Jewish Cemetery
Landmark	Yes, national significance
Year of construction	19th century
Address	Milano street, 1
Photo taken	November, 2013; May, 2014

Number	**II.3**
Subject of the Picture	Grave of rabbi, public figure, and writer Yehudah Leib Tsirelson, murdered in 1941, on the background of former burial synagogue
Landmark	No
Year of construction	1941 (?)
Address	Milano street, 1
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**II.4**
Landmark	Yes
Year of construction	19th century
Initial Purpose	Burial synagogue at the Jewish cemetery
Present-day Use	Ruins
Address	Milano street, 1
Photo taken	November, 2013

L'viv

Number	**II.5**
Subject of the Picture	improvised lapidarium nearby former Jewish Hospital
Landmark	No
Year of construction	2012
Address	Rappaport street, 8
Photo taken	May, 2014

Number	**II.6**
Subject of the Picture	Monument indicating names of rabbis buries at the former Jewish cemetery under present-day market nearby former Jewish Hospital
Landmark	No
Year of construction	2013
Address	Rappaport street, 8
Photo taken	October, 2015

Number	**II.7**
Subject of the Picture	Krakivski market located at the site of Jewish cemetery nearby former Jewish Hospital
Landmark	No
Year of construction	After WWII
Author(s)	Not applicable
Address	Rappaport street, 8
Photo taken	October, 2015

Minsk

Number	**II.8**
Subject of the picture	Improvised lapidarium in park at the site of former Jewish cemetery
Landmark	Not applicable
Year of construction	1990
Address	between Kollektorna ya and Sukhaya streets
Photo taken	January, 2014

Appendix III

Survey of Memorials and Monuments

Chişinău

Number	**III.1**
Official Name of the Site	Monument to the victims of Chişinău Pogrom
Year of construction	1993, 2003
Author(s)	Semyon Shoikhet
Address	Calea Ieşilor street
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**III.2**
Official Name of the Site	Monument to the Victims of Chişinău Ghetto
Year of construction	1992
Author(s)	Semyon Shoikhet, Naum Eppelbaum
Address	Jerusalem street
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**III.3**
Official Name of the Site	Monument to the Victims of Fascism, courtesy to Nadejda Mitriuk
Year of construction	1960s, 2015
Author(s)	Aurel David, Semyon Shoikhet, Serghey Zhiglitsky
Address	Calea Orheiului
Photo taken	May, 2015

Odessa

Number	**III.4**
Official Name of the Site	the *Holocaust Memorial* and 13 the *Avenue of the Righteous of the World*
Year of construction	2004
Author(s)	Zurab Tsereteli
Address	Prohorovskij skver
Photo taken	December, 2013

L'viv

Number	**III.6**
Official Name of the Site	L'viv Ghetto Victims Memorial
Year of construction	1992
Author(s)	Luisa Sterenstein
Address	Chornovola avenue
Photo taken	December, 2013

Number	**III.7**
Official Name of the Site	Information tablet and memorial stone to the victims of Janowska camp at the site of former camp
Year of construction	1992
Author(s)	Not known
Address	Shevchenko street, 134
Photo taken	December, 2013

Minsk

Number	**III.8**
Official Name of the Site	Memorial to the Jews of Germany and Austria killed in Minsk ghetto
Year of construction	1990s
Author(s)	Multiple sculptors
Address	in between Kollektornaya and Sukhaya streets
Photo taken	January, 2014

Number	**III.9**
Official Name of the Site	Monument to the victims of Minsk ghetto
Year of construction	2008
Author(s)	Leonid Levin and Maxim Pyatrul
Address	in between Kollektornaya and Sukhaya streets
Photo taken	January, 2014

Number	**III.10**
Official Name of the Site	the *Death Pit* (*Yama)* memorial and the *Avenue of the Righteous of the World*
Year of construction	1946/7, 2008
Author(s)	Khaim Mal'tinskiy Mordukh Sprishen, Leonid Levin
Address	Melnikayte street
Photo taken	January, 2014

Number	**III.11**
Official Name of the Site	Parts of memorial complex Maly Trostinets to the south of Minsk and inaugural speech by the President of Belarus at the opening of the site in 2015
Landmark	Not known
Year of construction	1963, 1965, 1966, 2002, 2015
Author(s)	Anna Aksenova, Konstantin Kostyuchenko et al.
Source	http://www.dw.com/ and http://nn.by/?c=ar&i=151727&lang=ru

Appendix IV

Survey of Museum Exhibitions

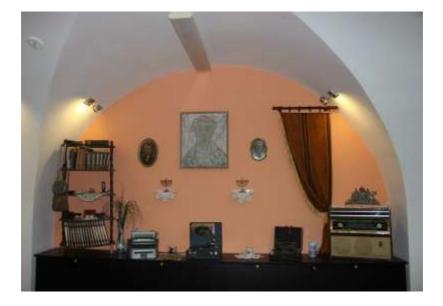# Chişinău

Number	**IV.1**
Museum	Museum of the Jewish Heritage of Moldova
Year of exhibition launching	2005
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Diordita street, 5
Photo taken	November, 2013

Number	**IV.2**
Museum	Museum of the Jewish Heritage of Moldova
Year of exhibition launching	2015
Author(s) of the exhibition	Irina Shihova
Address	Diordita street, 5
Photo taken, source	February, 2015 Facebook page of *'Jewish Heritage in Moldova '*

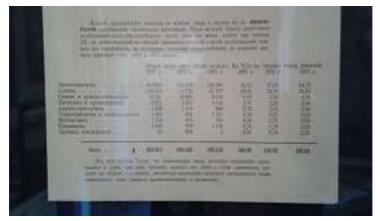# Odessa

Number	**IV.3**
Museum	Museum of History of Odessa Jews 'Migdal Shorashim'
Year of exhibition launching	2002
Author(s) of the exhibition	Mikhail Rashkovetsky at al.
Address	Nezhynskaya street, 66
Photo taken	December, 2013

Number	**IV.4**
Museum	Inner courtyard of the *Odessa Holocaust Museum*
Year of exhibition launching	2009
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Malaya Arnautskaya street, 25
Photo taken	December, 2013

Number	**IV.5**
Museum	Parts of exhibition devoted to Jewish pages of local history and to the Holocaust at the *Odessa Museum of Local History*
Year of exhibition launching	Not known
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Havanna street, 4
Photo taken	December, 2015

L'viv

Number	**IV.6**
Museum	the *museum room 'Tracing Galician Jews'*
Year of exhibition launching	2001-2002
Author(s) of the exhibition	Collective of people
Address	Kotlyarevskogo street, 30
Photo taken	December, 2013

Number	**IV.7**
Museum	Branch of the L'viv Museum of History of Religion
Year of exhibition launching	2013
Author(s) of the exhibition	Maksim Martyn et al.
Address	Staroevreiska street, 36
Photo taken	December, 2015

Number	**IV.8**
Museum	Museum of History of Religion
Year of exhibition launching	Not known
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Museum street, 1
Source	Official website of the museum http://www.museum.lviv.ua/ekspozytsiini-viddily/yudaizm

Number	**IV.9**
Museum	The dishes from Janivska camp and other fragments devoted to the Holocaust in L'viv Historical Museum
Year of exhibition launching	Not known
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Ploschya Rynok, 6
Photo taken	December, 2015

Number	**IV.10**
Museum	National museum "Prison at Lontsky street", banners on the Holocaust in the inner courtyard
Year of exhibition launching	2009
Author(s) of the exhibition	Not known
Address	Bandera street, 1
Photo taken	December, 2015

Minsk

Number	**IV.11**
Museum	the *Jewish History and Culture Museum in Belarus*
Year of exhibition launching	2002
Author(s) of the exhibition	Inna Gerasimova
Address	Vera Khorudjei street, 28
Photo taken	January, 2014