

**JUDAICS IN
POLAND
TOURIST ASPECTS**

State Office for Sport and Tourism

JUDAICS IN POLAND

Tourist Aspects

Andrzej Jagusiewicz, Ph.D.
Henryk Leglenis, M.Sc. — collaboration
Jan Jagielski, M.Sc. — consultant

908(438):736.5

Warsaw 1991

Translated by Krzysztof Skderkowski
Maps by Henryk Legienis

The work of M. Fuks, A. Hertz, M. Krajewska, M. Plechotka and K. Plechotka, I. Rejduch-Samkowa, and A. Trzciński were used in this publication.
Jewish terminology is based on the *Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*.
Jewish names are written in their Polish transcriptions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	3
The Jewish Diaspora in Poland	3
The Cultural Heritage of Polish Jews	9
Synagogues and Cemeteries	9
Judaic Collections and Secular Historical Monuments	16
Literature and Art	20
Jewish Memorials	21
The Jewish Diaspora in Poland Today	25
Services Available for Jewish Tourists	27



7043

Written through the Tourism Institute in Warsaw
Published by the Polish Tourist Information Center

INTRODUCTION

The construction of this paper reflects its scientific origins. Its purpose is to demonstrate Poland's attractiveness to the Jewish Diaspora and to present the rich, historical and cultural heritage of Polish Jews, their impact on Polish history and culture—presently understood as essential, but almost completely unappreciated up to now—and tourist values. This work represents an inaugural effort to cover the subject. It is based on diverse publications and a plethora of sources located throughout the pages of several magazines and specialized monographs. Special thanks are due to Mr. Jagielski, who made available some of the documents in possession of the Public Committee for the Protection of Jewish Cemeteries and Cultural Monuments.

Basically, the whole of Poland has been included in this paper. Emphasis has been placed on the territories included within the Polish State both during the 1918–1939 period and following 1945; this restriction was necessary for obvious reasons and because of limited accessibility of sources. It must, however, be noted that the Eastern Borderland of the Polish Commonwealth was inhabited by a Jewish population with tight cultural links with the remaining Jews of Poland and that Jews of citizenship other than Polish lived for centuries on the current western territory of Poland.

THE JEWISH DIASPORA IN POLAND

The oldest written record on Jewish settlement in Poland dates from the 11th century. The first Jews to arrive at the very beginnings of Polish statehood were merchants. One of them—Ibrahim Ibn Jacob—travelled on business through the Holy Roman Empire and the Slavic countries during the 10th century. He is famous as the author of the first comprehensive report on Poland.

It was not until the period of "Regional Disarray" (13th century) that the Jewish population grew in affluence. This was simultaneously a period of Jewish persecutions throughout Western Europe. Initially, Jewish newcomers from Bohemia and Germany settled in Silesia. There they lived in thirty-five towns. Eventually, they moved into other regions of Poland as well. First reports cite Płock, Kalisz, and Cracow. A second period of growth for Jews is linked with the local tide of disorders and pogroms in Silesia—the time of the Luxembourg and subsequently the Habsburg dynasties.

Jews were granted several privileges by dukes during the early period of settlement and, later, by the Kings of Poland. These privileges safeguarded the right to live peaceable, the right to religious practices, the right to free trade, and the right to self-government (the *Kahal*). These privileges were granted by Casimir the Great (14th century) and were subsequently confirmed by his successors. They regulated the life of the Jewish community throughout the Polish State and were in effect right up to the partitions of Poland (the end of the 18th century). They formed the basic document regulating the legal status of Jews in Poland.

Jewish communities existed in Sandomierz and Kazimierz (Cracow) as well as in several other towns, as early as the 14th century. As time passed, they appeared in several dozen other towns of Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Kujawy, and Pomerania. Jews inhabited eighty-five Polish towns by the end of the Middle Ages; their population is estimated at 18,000. Their primary occupations were trade and

the handicrafts; they also leased mints, salt mines and took profits from customs duties and tolls.

The 16th century resulted in further affluence as well as a significant natural increase in the Jewish population throughout Poland. As a result of the persecutions in Spain and Portugal, as well as in Germany, Bohemia, Silesia, and Hungary, large numbers of Jews settled on the territories of the Polish Crown. They gradually moved from the western to the central regions of the country and then even farther east. There, over two-thirds of the towns were inhabited, to a greater or lesser extent, by Jews. The Jewish population within the Commonwealth of Poland amounted to half a million people by the middle of the 17th century—5% of the total population figure.

It was during this period that the Jewish community underwent further differentiation coupled with an intensification of its economic activity. The handicrafts and local trade were the occupations of Jewish families. In the 17th century, Polish Jews practiced more than fifty crafts; they had their own guilds, including ones in Cracow and Przemyśl. Jewish merchants were generally shop owners of average wealth, street peddlers, and hucksters. The few rich merchants dealt in long-distance trade and were often the owners of banks in most areas. Important activities also included the holding of franchises on mills, distilleries, breweries, and taverns.

As Jewish settlement underwent rapid development, self-government grew in complexity. It took on forms which were unknown in other European countries. Collegiate bodies of the elders—the *Kahals*—governed the autonomous Jewish communities. They were concerned with education, tax apportionment, cemeteries, hospitals, public baths, and slaughter houses and the meat trade, as well as public hygiene, safety, and law and order. The further development of the autonomous Jewish organizations led to the institution of a Jewish Parliament together with a Council and a General Chairman. The Parliament represented all Jews, looked into questions of taxation as well as other matters relating to the livelihood and culture of the Jewish population throughout the Polish Commonwealth.

The numerous wars which plagued the country during the 17th century led to its ruin, the decline of towns and the flagging of Jewish trade and handicrafts. The Jewish community particularly suffered as a result of the Chmielnicki Insurrection, wars against Russia and expeditions into the Ukraine. Many local Jewish communities ceased to exist in the lost territories—some Jews lost their lives, others moved to central Poland or abroad. The drop in the Jewish population during the Ukrainian insurrection is estimated as high as 100,000.

It was not until the 18th century that a dramatic increase in the Jewish population took place. The number reached 900,000 people by the century's end—10% of the total. Most Jews lived in towns.

Pauperization, and economic and political restrictions during the 18th century increased social differentiation within the Polish Jewish community. The situation even led to riots of the poor—specifically in Cracow and Leszno. The tense situation was further exacerbated by religious conflicts, anti-Jewish upheaval and pogroms, and ritual trials. These took place in Cracow, Poznań and other towns. As the Jewish problems increased in severity, they became the object of various initiatives and reform attempts. They even became the topic of parliamentary debates. They were not, however, adequately solved until the decline of the Commonwealth. Throughout its entire period of grandeur, the Polish Jew remained a caste apart. He differed not only in speech, custom, and religion, but was subject to a separate legal system and social position within the State.

Jews, like the whole of the bourgeois class, contributed to the defence of the Polish State. They paid taxes and played a part in defending towns. They some-

times participated directly in the fighting. Examples can be found in the wars against Russia and Turkey during the 17th century. A glorious chapter of Jewish participation was written during the Kościuszko Insurrection: a regiment of volunteers under the command of B. Joselewicz distinguished itself during the siege of Praga (the eastern borough of Warsaw).

The 16th century was marked by a true blossoming of Jewish culture in Poland. It was during this period that a system of elementary religious education was developed. An original Jewish literature dedicated to religion and the sciences—philosophy, ethics, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine—coalesced. Several chronicles were started. The dissemination of writing was facilitated by the development of printing. Renown Hebraic printing houses were active in Cracow, Lublin, Oleśnica, as well as other towns.

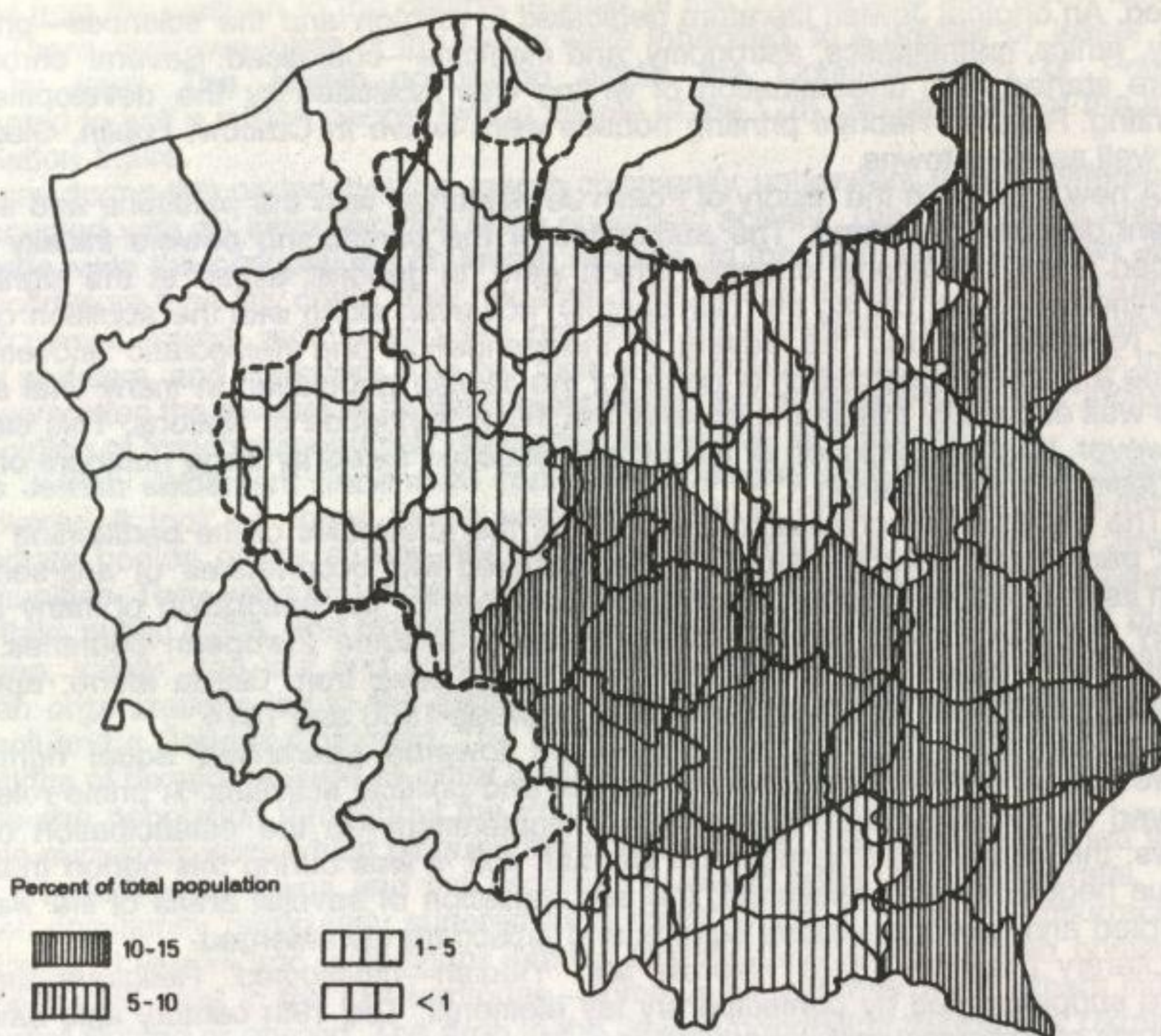
A new chapter in the history of Polish Jews started with the partitions and subsequent downfall of Poland. The authorities of the partitioning powers initially introduced many institutional changes which were, in general, aimed at the significant detriment of Jews. During the 19th century, however, along with the abolition of feudal relationships and the advent of independence and democratic movements, came a gradual equalization of rights for the Jewish population in many vital areas; this was especially true in the wake of the 1848 Springtide of Nations. This did not, however, lead to a solution of the difficult situation faced by large numbers of poor tradesmen and craftsmen.

The persistent discriminatory behavior of the authorities of the partitioning powers, particularly those of Tsarist Russia, coupled with occurrences of anti-semitism with its accompanying pogroms, was responsible for the emigration of many Jews. They primarily moved to the United States and some European countries. The years 1881–1900 saw the departure of 150,000 Jews from Galitia alone; approximately 180,000 left for the United States between 1900 and 1914.

Simultaneously, the ongoing movement towards guaranteed equal rights for Jews enhanced the development of culture and political activities. A prime role was played by the *Haskalah*—the Jewish Enlightenment—in the emancipation of the Jews; this movement originated on German soil. It was during this period that religious hegemony was abolished, the secularization of several areas of life was attempted and new assimilative cultural and artistic trends emerged.

Literary creativity—both Hebrew and Yiddish—blossomed. Religious threads were supplemented by contemporary lay elements. The 19th century also saw the genesis of a professional Jewish theater. The first dramas were written and professional theatrical companies were founded. This was also the time when the first Jewish magazines began publication and differentiated ideological trends, groups, and political parties were established. Of these, the most important were trends intent on assimilation into Polish society, workers' movements tending towards the implementation of a socialist political system, Zionists which were concerned with nationalistic questions and the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, and the conservatives who considered religion and tradition as the prime concern. The educational system, for its part, developed strong pro-secular pressure aimed against religious monopoly in teaching.

Equal rights became the domain of all citizens following Poland's resurrection after the partitions. This included the Jewish community which was given ethnic minority privileges and wide-ranging powers of self-government. It had the right and duty to satisfy religious and social needs, especially to subsidize the rabbinate, erect religious buildings and cemeteries, provide religious education for youth, and the management of property and foundations.



Map 1. The Jewish population during the period between the two world wars (1918-1939)



Map 2. Major Jewish population centers during the period between the two world wars (1918-1939)

Poland was home to about 3,000,000 Jews between 1918 and 1939; this was 10% of the entire population. The largest concentrations of the Jewish population—10 to 15% of the total—was located in the voivodeships [provinces] of Białystok, Kielce, Lublin, Lwów [Lvov], Łódź, Polesie, and Wołyń; it was the smallest—under 1%—in Poznań and Pomerania. The largest Jewish communities were located in Warsaw (400,000), Łódź (200,000), and Cracow (60,000). Sizeable communities were also located in the cities of Białystok, Lublin, Radom, Częstochowa, Będzin, Kalisz, Kielce, Siedlce, and Tarnów.

The bulk of the Jewish population worked in industry and the crafts, as well as in commerce and related occupations. They were primarily employed in small companies and workshops. Certain categories of services were almost completely monopolized by the Jews. This was particularly true of tailoring, shoemaking and the retail trade, where about 70% of all retailers were Jews. A significant portion of the Jewish population was faced with material difficulties.

The complexity of the Jewish question laid a fertile groundwork for multifarious ideological trends and programs. The Marxist Bund and Zionist organizations had the greatest following. Emigration persisted, especially during the nineteen-thirties—a time of varied anti-Jewish sentiment and pogroms rooted in economic and nationalistic matters. This time, the migrants generally travelled to Palestine, the United States, and South America. The total out-migration of Jews from Poland is estimated at 300,000, out of which 140,000 people went to Palestine where they made up about 40% of all immigrants to that country.

The independence of Poland also ushered in the liberation of great initiatives in the life and culture of the Jewish community. Publishing in the Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish languages flourished. It influenced many Jewish centers outside of the borders of Poland. The blossoming of literature, music, and the theater as represented by outstanding artists—Jews and Poles of Jewish origin—is also worth noting.

The Nazi occupation brought with itself the Holocaust of the Polish Jews; it brought their social, political, and cultural activities to an end.

The Jewish population was walled off in Ghettos and forced labor camps. From these, they were deported to mass extermination camps. German atrocities caused the death of over 3,000,000 Jews and Poles of Jewish origin. They also destroyed much of the many century old heritage of Jewish culture in Poland.

Liberation from under Nazi occupation allowed thousands of Jews to emerge from hiding, the camps, and hideouts, as well as re-emigrate from the Soviet Union. Over 150,000 Jews populated Poland in the immediate aftermath of the war; they lived mostly in Lower Silesia. The largest Jewish communities coalesced in Łódź and Wrocław. Social and cultural life was reborn and many religious and secular organizations were founded. Unfortunately, first the tragic pogrom in Kielce and then subsequent events of the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties, brought about a mass flood of Jewish emigration. It primarily encompassed young people. Today, estimates of the Jewish population speak of mere thousands, and most of these are elderly.

In conclusion, some general information on the Jewish Diaspora throughout the world should be noted. Together with Israel, there are about 15,000,000 Jews on this planet. Most are concentrated in the United States—about 6,000,000. Approximately 4,000,000 inhabit Israel. Over 1,000,000 persons in the Soviet Union consider themselves Jews. Countries such as France, Great Britain, and Canada have Jewish populations numbering 300,000 to 500,000. The figures for Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa are about 100,000 each. Several other countries of Western Europe have populations of several dozen thousand Jews. The largest

Jewish community in Eastern Europe lives in Hungary—70,000—while the smallest is in Poland—5,000 to 7,000.

The tides of emigration in the distant past and after the war have resulted in the fact that Jews which are originally from Poland and those whose forefathers come from Poland now populate about eighty countries. At least half of all Jews on this Earth is connected with Poland.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF POLISH JEWS

Jewish history, culture, and art have excited great interest throughout Europe for a long time. Much of the credit for this should be attributed to the Jews of Poland: they have exerted great influence on the Jewish tradition and mindset; they have created a unique sacral and secular culture all their own.

Much of the cultural evidence of Jewish heritage ceased to exist during the Nazi occupation: temples were destroyed, ancient necropoleis were devastated, old manuscripts and print were put to the torch, paintings and engravings destroyed, and entire towns and quarters razed. It was during this period that truly magnificent, timber Synagogues, noted for their architectural wealth, polychromy and interior decorations, were destroyed. These elements were often considered the highest achievements of Jewish art and they testify to the enormous structural and artistic inventiveness of their creators—they were often inspired by Polish courtly and ecclesiastical architecture. The occupants were not, however, totally successful in destroying the past and its cultural achievements. The tradition survived in poetry and prose, in scientific works and religious scriptures, in preserved publications, dramas, and theatrical records, and in paintings and music. It survived in isolated historical monuments.

It is this knowledge of national, historical, and cultural heritage, a return to the roots, and visits to home sites and graves that are the most important reasons attracting Jewish people to Poland as tourists.

SYNAGOGUES AND CEMETERIES

Synagogues (temples) are the Jewish houses of prayer and religious services. In the past, they were also centers of social life in the Jewish community, they were places for studying the *Torah* and *Talmud*, as well as for the teaching of religion and law. They were also a venue for community meetings and the seats of boards and courts of the *Kahal*. The Jewish religious school—the *cheder*—was often located near the Synagogue; this was also true of hospitals, hospices, baths, and occasionally prisons. Larger towns also had what was known as the "Jewish City Hall."

Synagogues were made up of a large main hall for prayer. There, the *Bimah*—a platform for praying and reading the *Bible*—had its location. It was also the site of an ornamented altar closet—the *Aaron-Kodesh*—which was used for storing the holy scrolls of the *Pentateuch* (*Torah*) and other liturgical books. Rooms for the prayer of women and ancillary spaces were located around the main hall.

Several types of stone masonry synagogues evolved through the centuries. By the late Middle Ages, the most common plan for a synagogue was a twin nave hall (such as in the case of the Old Temple in Cracow) and a single nave solution (the Remu Temple in Cracow). The Renaissance introduced columnless rectangular

halls spanned by cloistered vaulting with lunettes. Baroque synagogues were usually wide and had four columns in the center supporting a nine field vault; this type may be found in Łańcut, Rzeszów, and Tykocin. The roof covering all of these types was always multi-tiered. The mass of the main hall was surrounded by out-buildings with galleries and alcoves. The *Aaron-Kodesh* was always by the eastern wall, the *Bimah* was always in its center.

By the 19th century, however, the entire synagogue was of equal height; its compact mass was covered by a common roof. The dominant architectural style of the period was neo-Classic as can be seen in Kępno and Kilmontów. Neo-Gothic, neo-Romanesque and oriental styles were also in evidence. The continued evolution of the synagogue led to the erection of huge "progressive" synagogues referred to as *Temples*. These were built in various pseudo-historical styles and can be distinguished by their modified interior arrangement, which was partly patterned after Protestant churches. These synagogues include the Tempel Synagogue in Cracow and the no longer existing Tłomackie Synagogue in Warsaw.

Certain old stone masonry synagogues were fortified and incorporated as an important element of the town's defensive system. These were buildings erected with massive buttressed walls with ramparts and narrow openings. Several dozen such buildings were erected during the 16th and 17th centuries in Jarosław, Lublin, Szczepieszyn, Szydłów, and Zamość, for example. The architecture of many synagogues was inspired by burghers' buildings. Their builders were usually Jews, but the construction of even the grandest synagogues was also frequently assigned to other architects—often Italians.

Synagogues were usually buildings which were simple in massing and used ornamentation modestly; their interiors, on the other hand, were exceptionally rich and included color mural paintings with symbolic motifs often patterned after illuminated manuscripts with animal and floral ornaments. Furnishings and liturgical utensils were also decorated using bas-relief: wood ornaments for the altar cabinets and wrought iron and copper doors closing off the altar niche. The doors of the Remu, High, and Old Synagogues of Cracow were particularly famous for such work. Other liturgical objects used in the temples were also characterized by a high level of artistic value. The ornaments appearing on the *Torah*, chandeliers, candlesticks, plates, bowls, and pitchers were rich and often embellished with colored enamel and sometimes inlaid with precious jewels. Altar veils, lambrequins, and baldachins were also distinguished for their beauty; they were often strewn with silver and gold threads.

About 240 stone masonry temple buildings have survived up to today. Many, however, underwent fire, ruin, and plunder during the war and their condition varies greatly today. Several were reconstructed after the war; they were preserved and reconstructed, but often adapted for inappropriate use. A few were restored to their original Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque or pseudo-historical look; later additions and alterations were removed.

Many old temples are used for religious and cultural functions. This seems appropriate even if only the needs of tourists are taken into account. Forty to fifty synagogues are actually being utilized in this way. For obvious reasons, not all of the historical synagogues which were reconstructed and refurbished fulfill their original functions as houses of prayer for the Jewish community. Those that do include the Remu and Tempel Synagogues of Cracow and the Nożyk Temple in Warsaw.

The old synagogues in Jawor, Oleśnica, and Strzegom serve as churches.



Map 3 Preserved Synagogues

Positive exceptions of the post-Jewish use of these buildings are museums. The Old Temple in Cracow is now a museum dedicated to the history, culture, and martyrdom of the Jewish people. The synagogues of Lublin, Łańcut, Włodawa, and Tykocin have similar museum functions. Regional museums and exhibition halls are located in the former synagogues of Barczewo, Kolbuszowa, Lesko, Łęczna, Mosina, Nowy Sącz, and Rzeszów. Another sixteen buildings—including those in Inowłódz, Jarosław, Kielce, Konin, Piotrków Trybunalski, Przemyśl, Sandomierz, and Zamość—now house archives and libraries. Another twenty-five had been refurbished as cinemas: Białystok, Chęciny, Kazimierz Dolny, Krynki, Łaszczów, and Opoczno. Culture centers have found homes in the buildings of Biecz, Chełm, Lubraniec, Sejny, Siemiatycze, and Szczepleszyn, while schools are located in the synagogues of Bobowa, Gdańsk, Jarosław, and Parczew.

The situation facing numerous post-Jewish synagogues—transformed to fill commercial-industrial or residential functions—is much more precarious. These buildings are now stores, shops, workshops, factories, fire stations, etc. These buildings—totalling ninety in number—have generally undergone extensive remodelling; remnants of the old architecture and decorations have been destroyed. About twenty synagogues are in complete ruin. These include the historical buildings of Dukla, Działoszyce, Krynki, Krzepice, Łaszczów, Nowy Korczyn, Radoszyce, Rymanów, Tartów, Tarnów, Wrocław, and Złoczew. Fifteen synagogues are now undergoing refurbishment, among them are those in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Kępno, Klimontów, Kraśnik, Łódź, Orla, Pińczów, Przysucha, Tarnogród, Wojślawice, and Włodawa.

Today, about fifty old synagogues represent significant cognitive—artistic, historical, and cultural—values; they are great tourist attractions as well. Of these, the most outstanding buildings are the Old, Remu, and Tempel Synagogues in Cracow, as well as the synagogues of Chęciny, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Lesko, Łańcut, Łęczna, Nowy Sącz, Pińczów, Rzeszów, Sandomierz, Szczepleszyn, Szydłów, Tykocin, Warsaw, Włodawa, and Zamość.

Poland's oldest monument to Jewish sacral architecture is the Old Temple in Cracow. It is the only building of its kind in the Gothic tradition and one of twelve synagogues once existing in that city. It was built by the end of the 14th century and subsequently remodelled by M. Gucci in 1570 with the addition of Renaissance interior decorations. The Old Temple is modelled after the synagogues of Dortmund, Regensburg, and Prague. It is a twin nave structure spanned by six bays of vaulting supported by two columns. The *Bimah* is located in the center, while the *Aaron-Kodesh* faces a wall. The temple's mass is crowned by a Renaissance attic.

Jewish sepulchral monuments located in Jewish cemeteries—*kirkutim*—are characterized by high emotional, historical, and artistic values. The Jews consider cemeteries as holy places. They, particularly the old ones, are crowded by tombs; no paths or aisles are visible, thus forming a unique and expressive collection of erected tombstones. Traditionally, the dead are buried close to each other with no reference to family relation; men and women were usually buried separately.

Of the many preserved cemeteries, the ones with the *Mazevas* as the dominant form of tombstone should be distinguished. This characteristic type of Jewish stele developed over the centuries. It is probably a transfiguration of the posterior wall of the Hellenic sarcophagus. They were erected vertically; they were flat and of stone, rarely of timber, with a semi-circular, rectangular, or triangular copestone covered with Hebrew epitaphial scriptures which were usually concave, not convex. Starting with the 16th century, such tombstones were more and more frequently adorned with ornaments and symbolic signs as well as with the architectonic motifs of the given period. Thus, the scriptures were framed with Corinthian or Tuscan columns

or other decorative elements. Initially, the quantity of the symbols used was modest. They appeared on isolated tombstones. But they became common by the 19th century. Then, the *Mazevas* covered with entire collections of effigies and new patterns, often derived from Christian tradition, made their appearance.

A religious prohibition banned Jews from using representations of human figures on their tombstones. As a result, ornaments only present floral, animal, cultural and professional motifs. Animal symbolism was particularly rich. It was mainly based on the Biblical *beastiarium*, and often represented the animal of the East: lions, tigers, deer, gryphons, leviathans, and beasts of the Apocalypse. Ordinary animals such as squirrels, storks, dogs, rabbits, frogs, and butterflies appeared as well. General symbols of death were also common, these included sinking ships, dying flames, broken candles, smashed trees, deserted folds, nestlings with their mother, etc. Other motifs, including a star and crown, angels' wings, money-boxes, winged hourglasses, can also be found. Jewish tombstones were often adorned with polychromy using pure, bright colors—blue, red, yellow, and green—and black, white, silver and gold. Faint traces of this polychromy has survived to now in eighteen cemeteries, including the one in Lublin, Sieniawa, and Szczepieszyn.

Beautiful, minutely sculptured sarcophagi may also be found in the *kirkutim* in addition to the *Mazevas*. They are, however, rare and are dated to more recent times. They are more numerous in the large cemeteries of Cracow, Łódź, Tarnów, Warsaw, and Wrocław. *Cheles* (*chelters*)—sepulchres in the form of simple stone buildings with one or more tombstone—may be found in some necropoleis, such as those in Bobowa, Nowy Sącz, Rymanów, and Sieniawa. These were usually the burial places of rabbis and *Zaddikim*—Hasidic religious leaders.

Many prominent persons are buried in the Jewish cemeteries of Poland. They include rabbis, political leaders, economic and social leaders, scientists, physicians, and artists; they were often of significant merit for Poland. Many *kirkutim* also hold the mass graves of anonymous victims of Nazi extermination; some are commemorated by simple boards or modest monuments. *Zaddikim*—Hasidic religious leaders—who were greatly venerated are also buried at these cemeteries. Some of their sepulchres—about twenty in all—are still being visited today by Jewish pilgrims both from home and abroad. The tombs of the world famous *Zaddikim* in Góra Kalwaria, Leżajsk, and Rymanów are best known.

Numerous Jewish cemeteries, or locations remaining after them, have been preserved on Polish territory. According to figures published by the former Office of Religious Affairs, there were 430 such cemeteries in 1980. Twenty-two were in good condition, seventy-eight were severely damaged, while 140 had only one tombstone. International Jewish sources put the figure of preserved *kirkutim* in Poland at 700 to 900. Of this number, over 300 cemeteries have only a few preserved tombstones which, in many cases, are damaged or even smashed to pieces. They include Renaissance, Baroque, neo-Classical, and Art Nouveau monuments. Large collections of *Mazevas*—over 100—can be encountered in about 130 *kirkutim*. More than half of these possess tombstones predating the year 1795. Another 200 necropoleis can only be considered as symbolic post-cemetery sites with no traces of their former function. Major centers of Jewish population—Warsaw, Wrocław, Cracow, Łódź, Katowice, Szczecin, Bielsko Biala, and Legnica—have fully functional cemeteries.

A campaign for the safeguarding of Jewish cemeteries was launched in the nineteen-eighties thanks to the efforts of the State Authorities and the Jewish community. As a result, several dozen cemeteries were reconstructed partially or in their entirety. Among these are those in Białystok, Cracow, Lublin, Łódź, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Warsaw, and Wrocław. Thanks to funding by the International Commission

for Jewish Cemeteries, the *kirkutim* of Góra Kalwaria, Krościenko, Leżajsk, Rymaków, and Wieliczka have been put in order. These cemeteries were of particular significance to the international Hasidic community.

Monuments in memory of Jews have been erected in more than a dozen former cemeteries. These expressive objects have taken on the form of collections of tombstone fragments; they are located in Biłgoraj, Kazimierz Dolny, Kielce, Cracow, Łaskarzew, Łuków, Maków Mazowiecki, Międzyrzec Podlaski, Myślenice, Sandomierz, Węgrów, and Zamość.

The most ancient of preserved cemeteries are the Old Cemetery in Lublin, and the Remu Cemetery in Cracow. They date back to the 16th century. Some, including the cemeteries of Biała, Chęciny, Lesko, Ożarów, Tarnów, and Tykocin, were founded in the 17th century. Among Poland's largest Jewish necropoleis are the cemeteries in Warsaw (about 200,000 Jewish tombstones), and Łódź (about 70,000 tombstones); also worth mentioning are the cemeteries in Białystok, Cracow, Lesko, Lubaczów, Szydłowiec, Tarnów, and Wrocław. About fifty Jewish necropoleis can boast exceptionally high historical and artistic values. They are distinguished for their long tradition, the number and quality of their tombstones, the symbolism of their reliefs and ornaments, as well as for the artistic form and content of their epitaphs. Particularly valuable masterpieces of sepulchral art are located in the cemeteries of Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw, as well as in Białystok, Chrzanów, Lesko, Leżajsk, Lubaczów, Łódź, Ożarów, Sandomierz, Sieniewa, Szydłowiec, Tarnów, and Wrocław.

The Old Cemetery of Cracow—also known as the Remu Cemetery—was founded about 1550 in Kazimierz, a Jewish town inhabited by the most numerous and richest Jewish community of ancient Poland. Devastated during the Nazi occupation, it was reconstructed and is now an interesting collection of Jewish stone sepulchral monuments. It contains more than 700 valuable tombstones including marvelous Renaissance sepulchers shaped in the form of sculptured steles and sarcophagi. The oldest *Mazeva* is over 400 years old; the tombstone of the cemetery's founder has also been preserved. The rare, Renaissance sarcophagi, obviously inspired by Italian art, must be considered unique in Poland.

The Old Cemetery of Lublin—called the Polish Jerusalem—is one of the oldest and most illustrious Jewish centers. It was founded around 1540 and served as a burial spot for whole generations of Lublin Jews, right up to the middle of the 19th century. Famous rabbis and *Zaddikim* are also buried there. Among the 100 preserved tombstones, some date back to the 16th century. The oldest one belongs to J. Kopelman, the renowned Talmudist. The tombstones of the early period are of various types of stone. They are rectangular, have no ornaments, and contain only concave Hebrew inscriptions. Later tombstones take on the traditional form of the *Mazevas* and are easily distinguished due to the originality of their epitaphs and the ornaments of their crowns and frames which are adorned with symbolic figures. Best known and most frequently visited are the tombs of S. Szachna—an outstanding Talmudist—and the *Zaddik* J. J. Horovitz—known as the Prophet of Lublin.

The Jewish cemetery of Warsaw, located in the Borough of Wola, is the best preserved and largest Jewish necropolis; it is one of the last functioning Jewish cemeteries in Poland. Jews appeared in Warsaw around the end of the 14th century. They initially lived in the Old Town; it was not until the 18th century that they began settlement in the suburban districts. It was at that time that the cemetery in the Borough of Praga was founded. Warsaw's Jewish community founded a second cemetery beyond Wola's turnpikes in 1806. About 150,000 dead were buried there by the outbreak of World War II; it is also the site of a synagogue and a pre-burial house. This cemetery contains about 200 tombstones of noteworthy persons includ-

ing the rabbis and *Zaddikim* of Warsaw as well as those of Dęblin, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Ostrów, Pilawa, Przedbórz, Radzymin, and Stryków. They include L. Hirsfeld, E. R. Kamińska, J. Korczak, A. Lesser, H. Wawelberg, and L. Zamenhof. Thousands of unknown martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto are also buried there in a common grave. The most magnificent tombs date from the 19th century. In addition to the traditional *Mazevas* which are distinguished by their high artistic mastery, there are also unique family vaults which are distinct from Jewish tradition. A real masterpiece, with two magnificent reliefs, is the family vault of B. Sannenberg, created by D. Friedländer, the outstanding Jewish architect and sculptor. Also worth mentioning is the interesting monument commemorating the Holocaust of the Jews of Praga in the second Jewish cemetery in that borough. It consists of two pylons covered with relief, and a monument on a hill circumscribed by *Mazevas*.

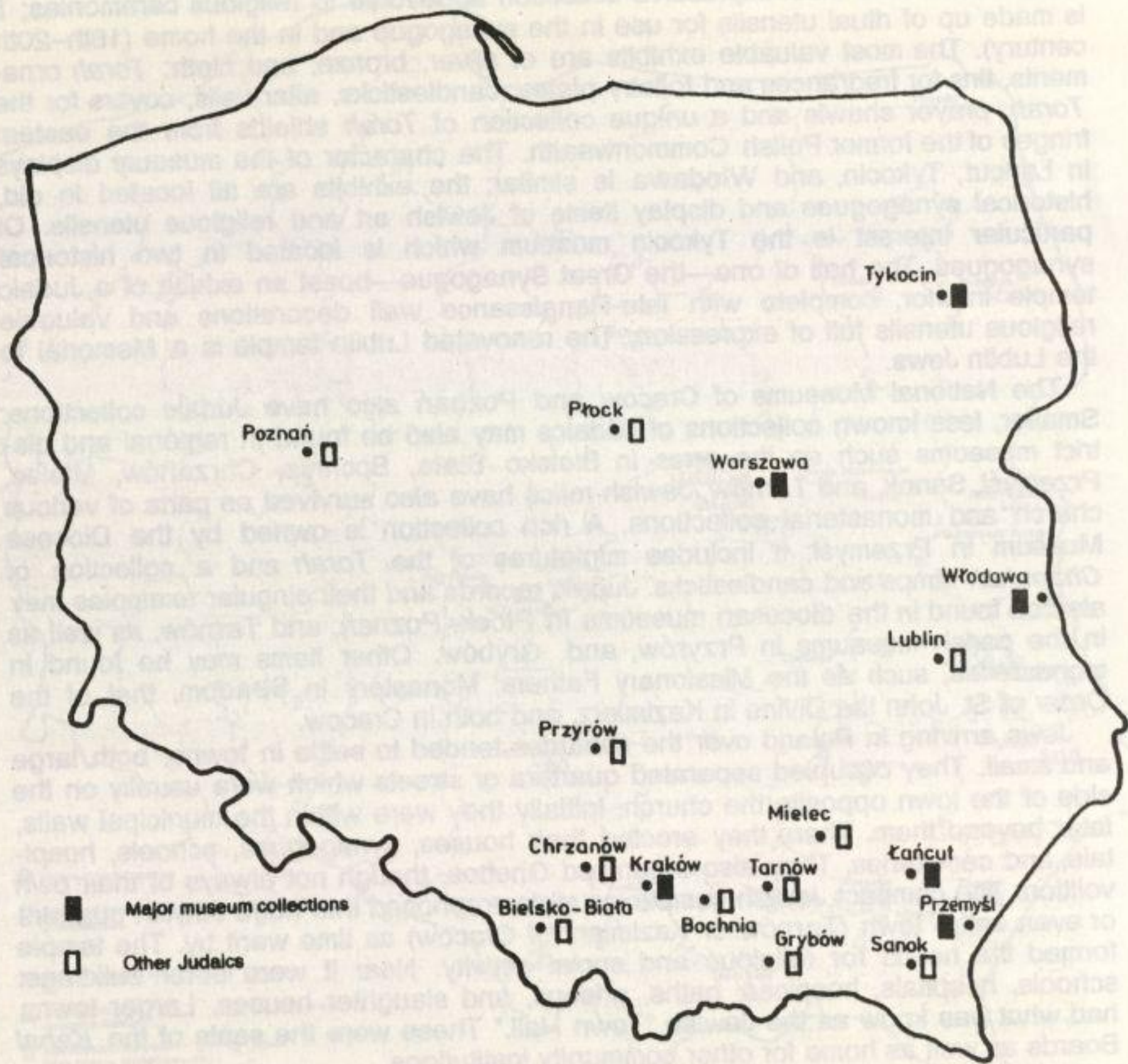
Not founded until the middle of the 19th century, the Jewish cemetery in Wrocław is also worth noting. It is famous for its varied and extremely interesting monuments of sepulchral art. All in all, it contains several thousand tombstones, including the original Medieval tombstones from the old Wrocław cemetery which are assembled to form a unique cemetery wall. There are simple *Mazevas* dating from the 12th through 14th centuries and are believed to be among the oldest tombstones in this part of the continent. The Wrocław cemetery is a unique and yet uniform collection of 19th century sepulchral sculptures. They are made up of free-standing or wall-side family vaults, chapels, mausoleums, baldachins, porticos, portals, arches, columns, obelisks, sarcophagi, steles, etc. Inspired by all the historical styles including Classical and Early Christian art. There is also an alley of the prominent, where F. Lassalle, the outstanding propagator of socialism, is buried. The necropolis of Wrocław will be transformed into a museum of sepulchral art and open to the public after reconstruction due to the high artistic value of the complex.

JUDAIC COLLECTIONS AND SECULAR HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

Various forms of Jewish culture have been preserved up to our times; they are located in museums and private collections. Among these objects—primarily the work of the artistic handicrafts—are engraved medals, jewelry, paintings, sculpture, etchings, clothing and dresses, as well as day to day articles. There are also various fragments of religious and historical writings. Among all these exhibits, an important position is occupied by religious articles which were common in the past and used during prayer, religious services and ceremonies in temples and for domestic use on holy days. They are distinguished because of their great artistic value. Unfortunately, that which has been preserved to our age is but a minute part of the former furnishings of Jewish temples and homes.

The largest collection of Jewish objects is located in the museum of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. It has exhibits on the religion, history, and art of Polish Jews. The museum also has an art department with collections of paintings, engravings, and sculptures; the ethnographic department has exhibits on religious beliefs, customs, and tradition as well as a collection of utensils and photographs from the 1939–1945 period. The collection of religious art is particularly rich. It consists of liturgical and ceremonial objects.

The museum has an art gallery with permanent exhibitions on history, culture, and the martyrdom of Polish Jews.



Map 5. Judaic museums and collections

Many towns continue to have old Jewish origins. Some streets still have old Jewish buildings. The architecture is not monumental, but the streets have a certain air of their own which is usually called "Jewish". Their charm is created by the mingling of houses with little or no courtyards and narrow single or double-story buildings with arched in the front and residential rooms in the back. They have narrow alleys and large shop windows. Their door frames have an indented niche for a scroll of the Holy Scriptures—the *Shema*. Such complexes still survive in Cracow's Kazimierz and Tarnów, as well as in some of the little towns of the Lublin and Volhynia region. In most cases, only isolated buildings remain, and

The National Museum in Warsaw has a very valuable collection of Jewish silver utensils. The Historical Museum in Cracow has relatively numerous and varied records on Jews; it has a special department devoted to the history and culture of the Jews located in the Old Temple. It boasts nearly one thousand paintings, engravings, religious artifacts, historical documents, folklore, as well as medals and numismatics. The most impressive collection is devoted to religious ceremonies; it is made up of ritual utensils for use in the synagogue and in the home (18th–20th century). The most valuable exhibits are of silver, bronze, and cloth: *Torah* ornaments, tins for fragrances and toilet plates, candlesticks, altar vells, covers for the *Torah*, prayer shawls and a unique collection of *Torah* shields from the eastern fringes of the former Polish Commonwealth. The character of the museum displays in Łańcut, Tykocin, and Włodawa is similar; the exhibits are all located in old, historical synagogues and display items of Jewish art and religious utensils. Of particular interest is the Tykocin museum which is located in two historical synagogues. The hall of one—the Great Synagogue—boast an exhibit of a Judaic temple interior, complete with late-Renaissance wall decorations and valuable religious utensils full of expression. The renovated Lublin temple is a Memorial to the Lublin Jews.

The National Museums of Cracow and Poznań also have Judaic collections. Smaller, less known collections of Judaics may also be found in regional and district museums such as the ones in Bielsko Biala, Bochnia, Chrzanów, Mielec, Przemyśl, Sanok, and Tarnów. Jewish relics have also survived as parts of various church and monasterial collections. A rich collection is owned by the Diocese Museum in Przemyśl; it includes miniatures of the *Torah* and a collection of *Chanukah* lamps and candlesticks. Judaic records and their singular examples may also be found in the diocesan museums in Płock, Poznań, and Tarnów, as well as in the parish museums in Przyrów, and Grybów. Other items may be found in monasteries, such as the Missionary Fathers' Monastery in Stradom, that of the Order of St. John the Divine in Kazimierz, and both in Cracow.

Jews arriving in Poland over the centuries tended to settle in towns, both large and small. They occupied separated quarters or streets which were usually on the side of the town opposite the church. Initially they were within the municipal walls, later beyond them. There they erected their houses, synagogues, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries. They also organized Ghettos, though not always of their own volition. The compact Jewish complexes metamorphosed into huge Jewish quarters or even entire town (Tarnów or Kazimierz of Cracow) as time went by. The temple formed the nexus for religious and social activity. Near it were other buildings: schools, hospitals, hospices, baths, prisons, and slaughter houses. Larger towns had what was known as the Jewish "Town Hall." These were the seats of the *Kahal* Boards as well as home for other community institutions.

Many towns continue to have streets with names such as the Jewish Street, Temple Street, or the Exchange Street—names which testify to their Jewish origins. Some streets still have old Jewish buildings. The architecture is not monumental, but the streets have a climate all their own which is usually called *shtetlekh*. Their charm is created by the massing of houses with little or no courtyards and narrow single- or double-story buildings with shops in the front and residential rooms in the back. They have narrow halls and large shop windows; their door frames have an indented niche for a scroll of the Holy Scripture—the *Mesusah*. Such complexes still survive in Cracow's Kazimierz and Tarnów, as well as in some of the little towns of the Lublin and Kielce region. In most case, only isolated buildings remain and

only the empty *Mesusah* niche testifies to their former inhabitants (Chęciny and Konin).

The 19th century and onwards was a time of powerful cultural and economic emancipation for the Jews. Wealthy Jews founded schools, libraries, hospitals, and other public institutions. These facilities did not, however, possess any intrinsically Jewish characteristics. They were simple expressions of the current architectural style.

A preliminary study suggests that there are about one hundred such post-Jewish, secular facilities. They include old Jewish baths, schools, hospitals, and hospices. In most cases, they were erected around the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Only rarely are they distinguished because of their interesting architecture. Among those are the Jewish Theater in Cracow, The "Panteon" Jewish Theater in Lublin, the Main Jewish Library in Warsaw, the Pre-Burial House in Olsztyn, the *Kahal* House in Zamość, and the Landau Bank, Goldfeder's Bank and Palace, and the three Poznański Palaces, all in Łódź.

LITERATURE AND ART

Eastern Europe was the cradle of many trends in classic Jewish literature and art. They flourished within Polish territory, from where they penetrated many other countries and radiated all over the Diaspora.

The Jews are considered the nation of scriptures and books; indeed, education played an important role in the life of Jewish communities. Thus, thanks to tradition and religion, one of the world's oldest obligatory, public education systems was created for religious instruction of youth. This system has survived to the 20th century, a sort of educational museum piece in Europe. Teaching was two-level; it was done in the *chederas*. Larger towns and cities such as Cracow, Lublin, Poznań, and Przemyśl had *Jeshivas*—*Talmudic* academies which were held in great esteem by the Jews of Europe.

An original Jewish literature had its genesis on Polish soil. Initially, mainly religious texts were developed in Hebrew; the main role was played by rabbinical literature which dealt primarily with the *Talmud*. As time passed—beginning with the 18th century—a new trend appeared: the New Hebrew literature which, thanks to the impact of European culture, turned to secular issues. Its exponents included S. J. Rapaport, I. Erter, M.A. Glinzburg, and A. B. Lebensohn.

A new era dawned for Yiddish literature by the end of the 19th century; it particularly flourished in Poland. The outstanding writers of this trend, the classics of Jewish literature were mainly I. L. Peretz, Szalom Asz, M. M. Sforim (G. J. Abramowicz), Szalom Alejchem (S. P. Rabinowicz), and, of course the Nobel Prize winner, J. Singer of Radzymin. A new generation of Jewish writers and poets continued this trend during the 1918–1939 period. The best known of these were: J. Perle, I. M. Wessenberg, E. Kaganowski, I. J. Zynger, and many more.

Many assimilated Jews and Poles of Jewish origin have made indisputable contributions to Polish literature. The works of J. Tuwim, B. Leśmian, A. Śtonimski, J. Wittlin, A. Ważyk, M. Jastrun, W. Słobodnik, A. Stern, L. Lewin, and many others have a permanent place among poets. In prose, prominent names include J. Korczak, B. Schultz, K. Brandys, B. Jasieński, J. Strykowski, A. Rudnicki, B. Hertz, R. Brandstatter, and T. Peiper.

Religious restrictions over the centuries made the performance of Jewish drama and theatrical art impossible. All that was permitted was the putting on of ancient

shows and games during the religious feast of *Purim*. This tradition has survived in Poland through the ages. It was not until the 19th century that authentic Jewish theater organized actors and drama writers of its own. The first theatrical company was active in the fringes of the former Commonwealth; it was founded and directed by A. Goldfaden in 1886. Goldfaden was also an actor and playwright and is considered the father of popular Jewish theater. Many theatrical companies banded together in his wake. The most notable of these was the Vilnius Company led by J. Ben Ami. As time passed, these companies became permanent Jewish theaters. The Poland of 1918–1939 had fifteen professional and several dozen amateur theaters. Warsaw was the primary theatrical center, it was the seat of such Jewish theaters as the Eldorado, Bagatela, Ermitage, Centralny, Nowości, and Elizeum.

The surge of theatrical companies and institutions was followed by the writing of plays. The best known playwrights were S. Abramowicz, J. Gordin, S. Rabinowicz, P. Hirschbein, S. Asz, and others. No less famous were actresses such as B. Kalisch, E. R. Kamińska, and J. Kamińska.

The origins of Jewish music may be found in religion and folklore. For centuries, only vocal synagogue music performed during worship by cantors and choirs was the rule. It flourished during the 19th century in such famous centers as the no longer existing Tlomackie Synagogue in Warsaw and the synagogues in Cracow, Łódź, Lublin, and Białystok. An entire galaxy of magnificent cantors sung there, they included G. Sirota, M. Kusewicz, J. D. Jaszuński, they were comparable to the best opera singers. A popular music developed simultaneously; it was connected with customary and familiar ceremonies and was performed by Jewish homebred musicians—*klezmers*.

A truly glorious chapter was written with the participation of Jews and Poles of Jewish origin in the Polish and international music of modern times. Many famous Jewish musicians performed in Polish symphony orchestras. Among them is a plethora of eminent musicians in both Polish popular and classical music: H. Wieniawski—famous violinist and composer, G. Fitelberg—orchestra director, J. Petersburski—the composer of many songs as well as such world renown virtuosos as A. Rubinstein, P. Kochański, H. Szeryng, B. Gimpel, and others.

Jewish painting had a difficult time breaking through religious prohibitions; it was not until the 19th century that it cut a significant track in the field of artistic creativity. The Nestor of Jewish painters was A. Lesser, but the greatest fame was achieved by Maurice Gottlieb, the creator of spiritual visions of from the New Testament as well as portraits of well known Jewish personalities. Other internationally known names are L. Marcoussis—Impressionist and cubist, B. Schultz—drawer and writer, and J. Adler—creator of the Jewish Monumental Style. Numerous groups of Jewish artists were active, especially in such cities as Warsaw, Łódź, and Cracow.

JEWISH MEMORIALS

Polish territory is strewn with the sites of tragic events and the martyrdom of the Jewish people which took place during the Nazi occupation. Over three million Polish Jews and Poles of Jewish origin were embroiled in a premeditated extermination process which commenced during the first days of the war and turned vast tracts of land inhabited by Jews into gigantic, unthinkable Jewish cemeteries.

The Jewish population was closed off in Ghettos, which the German authorities termed "Jewish Quarters for Living" (*Judische Wohnbezirk*). Initially there were many Ghettos. Even tiny towns had such quarters to which Jews from the neighboring



Map 7 Ghettos during the 2nd World War



Map 8 Memorialized localities of Jewish martyrdom

countryside were herded. The Poland of today was the site of over 200 such Ghettos. As time passed, many, especially the smallest ones, were eliminated; Jews were transported *en masse* to selected large Ghettos. The largest ones were, of course, organized in the large cities. The Warsaw Ghetto was inhabited by half a million people, the Łódź Ghetto had a population of 200,000, the Cracow Ghetto had 70,000 inmates. Jews from other countries also found themselves imprisoned there; the Ghetto of Łódź was inhabited by people deported from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, for example.

By 1940, the Germans began to organize high security Ghettos separated by walls from the remaining parts of the city. Liquidation of the Ghettos commenced in 1942; the Łódź Ghetto lasted the longest—1944. Famine, extreme poverty, disease, and forced labor, coupled with executions and transports to concentration camps decimated the Jewish population of the Ghettos. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, initiated by the Jewish Combat Organization under the command of M. Anielewicz, commenced in April of 1943. It lasted a month. It was quelled by putting the entire Ghetto to the torch and destroying all its buildings. A second uprising took place in the Białystok Ghetto. It was led by B. Tennenbaum and was bloodily suppressed after two days of fighting during August of 1943.

The most tragic places of the history of the Jewish people were the Nazi extermination camps. There, Jews from many European countries, mainly from Poland, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Romania, Hungary, and the Soviet Union met their death. The following extermination centers were responsible for the greatest number of deaths among the Jewish population: *Konzentrationslager* Auschwitz-Birkenau with its many forced labor sub-camps, *SS-Sonderkommando* Treblinka, and the *SS-Sonderkommandos* of Bełżec, Chełmno (Chelmno), and Sobibór, and the *Konzentrationslager* Lublin (Majdanek). Moreover, Jews were also prisoners in other large Nazi extermination centers such as *Konzentrationslager* Gross-Rosen (Rogoźnica), and *Konzentrationslager* Stutthof (Sztutowo) and their forced labor sub-camps.

Treblinka has a special place in the martyrdom of the Jewish people; it was especially programmed for the extermination of Jews. It was the site where prisoners from the Warsaw Ghetto were murdered, including J. Korczak; the inhabitants of other Polish and European Ghettos also met their deaths there. All in all, over 700,000 Jews—mainly Polish citizens—were killed at Treblinka.

Many of the sites of Jewish executions and martyrdom during the 1939–1945 period are now commemorated by monuments, obelisks, plaques, slabs, and stones. These may be found on the sites of former extermination centers, concentration camps, forced labor camps, Ghettos, mass graves, gallows, and places of barbaric murders. Over 200 such locations are so commemorated; they are all somehow linked with the martyrdom of Polish and European Jews. Such memorials have been erected in about 180 localities, including sixty former Jewish cemeteries. Some of these memorials are of international significance; they are dedicated to the shared martyrdom of Jews and the people of other nationalities, mainly Poles and Russians, others recount the martyrdom of Jews from Poland and different countries. Not all places of commemoration are in possession of complete information on their victims, even when historical sources do exist. Very few have inscriptions in Hebrew.

Among Mankind's greatest symbols of the martyrdom of many nations—including the Jewish nation—of greatest significance are the monumental mausoleums located in former concentration camps—museums—Oświęcim and Majdanek. The greatest tragic expression for the Jewish people is provided by the monuments located in the former extermination centers of Bełżec, Chełmno, and Sobibór. Treblinka

ka is a particular place of this kind. The death of many thousand Jews there is memorialized in one of the most expressive monuments of martyrdom: a landscape whose sculptured culmination is a large massing of stones—an allegory of the tombstones of a Jewish cemetery.

Warsaw has its monuments as well. The greatest emotions are delivered by the Memory Tract. It begins at the Monument Commemorating the Heroes of the Ghetto, and proceeds along syenite blocks in homage to J. Korczak and other victims of the Ghetto. The tract is concluded by a symbolic monument at the *Umschlagplatz*—a railroad siding used to load prisoners for transport to Treblinka. Similar symbols memorialize the extermination of Jews during World War II in Białystok, Kazimierz Dolny, Lublin, Łódź, Płock, Tarnów, and Zamość.

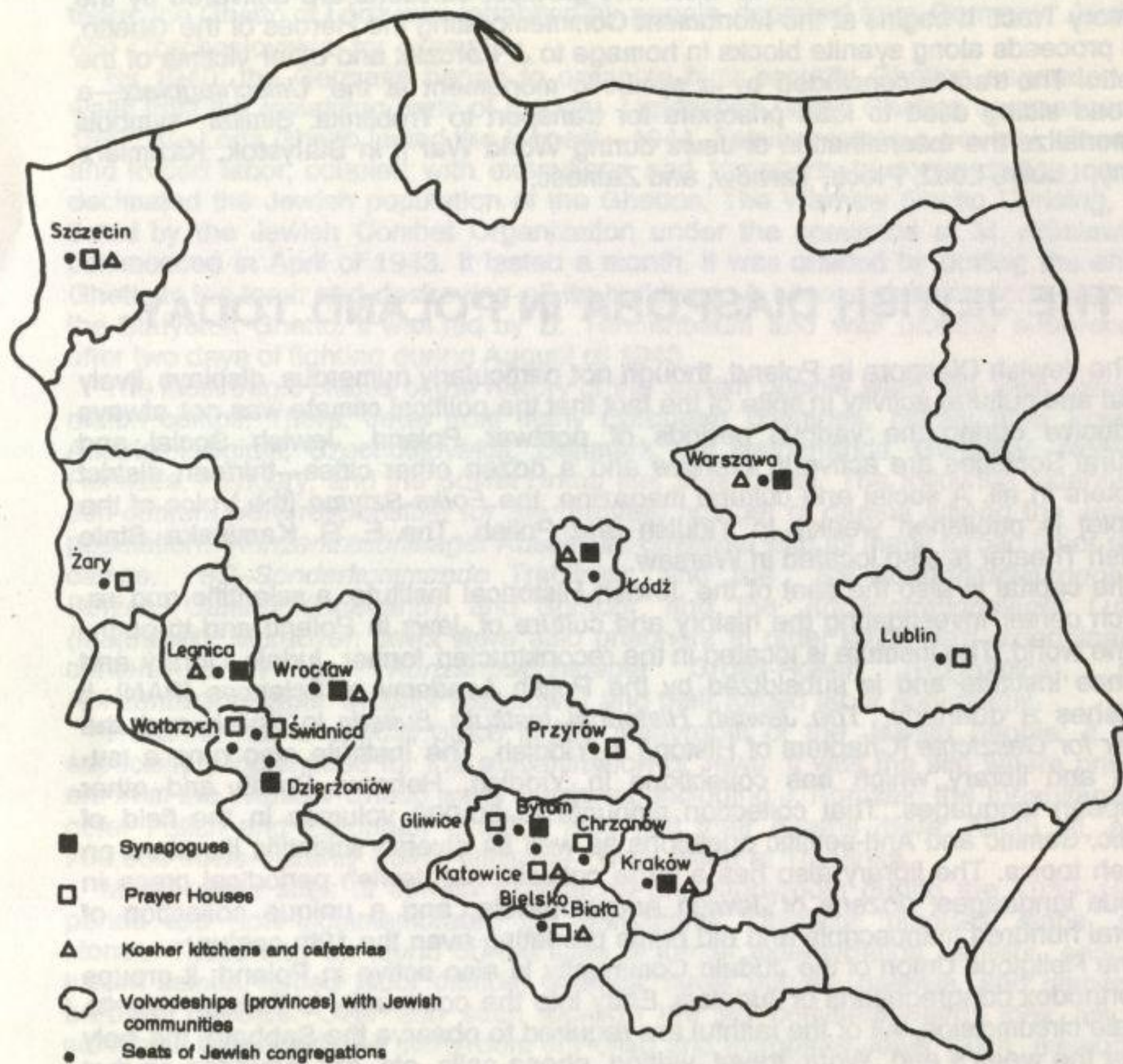
THE JEWISH DIASPORA IN POLAND TODAY

The Jewish Diaspora in Poland, though not particularly numerous, displays lively social and cultural activity in spite of the fact that the political climate was not always conducive during the various periods of postwar Poland. Jewish Social and Cultural Societies are active in Warsaw and a dozen other cities—thirteen district chapters in all. A social and cultural magazine, the *Folks-Sztyme* [the Voice of the People] is published weekly in Yiddish and Polish. The E. R. Kamińska State Jewish Theater is also located in Warsaw.

The capital is also the seat of the Jewish Historical Institute, a scientific and research center investigating the history and culture of Jews in Poland and throughout the world. The Institute is located in the reconstructed former Judaic Library and Science Institute and is subsidized by the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]. It publishes a quarterly, *The Jewish Historical Institute Bulletin* in Polish and the *Bleter for Geszichte* [Chapters of History] in Yiddish. The Institute also runs a museum and library which has collections in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish and other European languages. That collection amounts to 50,000 volumes in the field of Judaic, Semitic and Anti-semitic questions as well as diverse scientific literature on Jewish topics. The library also has a large collection of Jewish periodical press in various languages, dozens of Jewish encyclopædia, and a unique collection of several hundred manuscripts and old prints predating even the 12th century.

The Religious Union of the Judaic Community is also active in Poland; it groups the orthodox congregations of Judaism. Entry into the community is through the rite of male circumcision. All of the faithful are required to observe the Sabbath, the holy day at the week's end. Work, travel, writing, phone calls, etc. are forbidden on that day. The Jewish faithful can eat only specific—*Kosher*—foods. They cannot eat pork, the meat of camels and rabbits nor may they intermix dairy and meat products. They can only eat the meat of ruminant and artiodactylous animals as well as certain species of birds and fishes.

The Union organizes and promotes the religious activities of its members through the founding of congregations, the maintenance of synagogues and prayer houses, ritual cafeterias, Jewish cemeteries, ritual baths, and various religious and charitable institutions. Seventeen regional congregations exist in Poland. Their seats are located in Bielsko Biala, Bytom, Chrzanów, Cracow, Dzierżonów, Gliwice, Katowice, Legnica, Lublin, Łódź, Przyrów, Szczecin, Swidnica, Wałbrzych, Warsaw, Wrocław, and Żary.



Map 9. Jewish communities in Poland

The Union has about 2,000 members. They primarily live in Lower Silesia, the central part of southern Poland, and the Warsaw and Łódź areas. The largest numbers are concentrated in the Wrocław, Cracow, Warsaw, and Łódź as well as the Katowice and Szczecin regions.

The Union is the owner of eight synagogues and ten houses of prayer in the seventeen towns and cities which are the seats of its congregations. Active houses of prayer are located in several old temples: the Nożyk Synagogue in Warsaw, Cracow's Tempel and Remu Synagogues, and the Storch Synagogue in Wrocław. Ritual kitchens and cafeterias function in Bielsko Biała, Cracow, Katowice, Legnica, Łódź, Szczecin, Warsaw, and Wrocław. Some, such as the one in Warsaw, cater to foreign visitors as well, who wish to eat only *Kosher* food.

Worth mentioning are the dynamic activities of the Jewish community aimed at the safeguarding and preserving of memorials, cemeteries, and synagogues. Various public and private bodies and institutions are active in this field, including the Warsaw Public Committee for the Protection of the Cemeteries and Monuments of Jewish Culture, the Cracow Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Jewish Culture, the Nissenbaum Foundation, and the Lauder Foundation, as well as the Foundation for Jewish Presence which was organized by J. Kosiński, the well known writer. The goal of the latter is to promote the cultural achievements of Polish Jews and to erect a Monument to Life in Cracow's Kazimierz—an institution devoted to the braining together and propagation of Jewish culture.

Also worthy of note are the Polish Jews who have emigrated to countries all over the world. Although living in the numerous countries of the Diaspora, they have in most cases preserved their own customs and culture—brought from their old home. They did not loose their emotional ties, either. This is best witnessed by the fact that there are approximately 400 expatriate associations of Polish Jews throughout the world, they are active in public life and culture. One manifestation is the *Pinkas*, richly illustrated publications edited in Hebrew and Yiddish. They contain material, documents, memoirs, diaries, records, and descriptions of home countries and towns. Over three hundred such publications have been issued to date; they are a source of knowledge about times and locations linked with Polish Jews. Some expatriate associations publish periodicals of their own, the *Białystoker Sztyme* is published in New York, for example.

SERVICES AVAILABLE FOR JEWISH TOURISTS

The tradition of Jewish settlement on Polish territory, memorials, historical monuments, and contemporary motifs all combine to form a basis for indicating the potential number of regions and locations of significance to Jewish tourism.

Due to the demographic shifts of postwar Poland, the southern, eastern, and central regions of Poland—places with the highest percentage of Jewish population—should be of particular interest to Jewish tourists. Generally, two large, compact areas can be indicated. The eastern area encompasses the present volvodeships [provinces] of Białystok, Biała Podlaska, Chełm, Krosno, Lublin, Przemyśl, Rzeszów, and Tarnobrzeg, as well as Łomża, Siedlce, and Suwałki in part. The central region includes the volvodeships of Częstochowa, Kielce, Cracow, Łódź, Piotrków Trybunalski, Radom, Sieradz, and Warsaw, as well as parts of Katowice, Płock, and Skierniewice. Additionally, the following volvodeships are particularly, demographically coupled with the Jewish people: Bielsko Biała, Cielchanów, Nowy

Śącz, Ostrołęka, and Tarnów. The geographical picture of Jewish history and culture is similar to that painted when preserved religious and secular historical monuments as well as memorials are analyzed.

Places of greatest relevance to the Jewish people presently number about 280. The cognitive and emotional importance varies depending on the type of objects present as well as their religious, ethical, historical, and cultural value coupled with their state of preservation and utilization. It is possible, on such a basis, to indicate a number of sites which are definitively of greatest importance to the Jewish tourist. They include: Cracow, Kazimierz Dolny, Lublin, Łańcut, Łódź, Oświęcim, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Treblinka, Tykocin, Warsaw, and Zamość. Other important locations include Bełżec, Białystok, Bobowa, Chełmno, Chęciny, Góra Kalwaria, Kielce, Lesko, Leżajsk, Nowy Śącz, Przemyśl, Rymanów, Sandomierz, Sobibór, Szczepczeszyn, Włodawa, and Wrocław. The group of secondary locations is made up of Częstochowa, Chrzanów, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Gdańsk, Gorlice, Inowłódz, Jarosław, Kalisz, Katowice, Kock, Krzepice, Łęczna, Łomża, Łuków, Maków Mazowiecki, Międzyrzec Podlaski, Mszczonów, Orla, Pińczów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Przysucha, Radomsko, Rogoźnica, Sieniewa, Szydłowiec, and Tarnogród. Other locations are generally considered of minimal importance to the history and culture of Jews, but they may be of interest to specific groups.

The actual state of preservation and utilization of many objects which are ethnically, culturally, or emotionally significant to the Jewish population underscore the need to continue activities targeted at their care, conservation, and protection, particularly places testifying to the Jewish presence and qualified as important for Jewish tourists. Preserved *kirkutim* with existing tombstones should be fenced and arranged in accordance with international conventions; the tombstones should be renewed. Sites where cemeteries once existed should, depending of their current state, either be fenced off or memorialized in a symbolic manner. Historic synagogues which are still in a state of ruin or which are not utilized appropriately should be reconstructed and refurbished for uses which do not depreciate their former religious character, such as museums or other cultural institutions, libraries, archives, and reading rooms. Other synagogues, those which have been rebuilt but were deprived of the characteristics of their style in the process, or those which are not appropriately utilized, should, at least, be provided with applicable information concerning their Jewish origin. Similar information should be posted on post-Jewish secular monuments, particularly those linked with prominent persons.

Over 20,000 of Jewish heritage visited Poland in 1989. The largest number came from Israel (15,000); significant numbers also arrived from France, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Italy. Compared with the previous year, the total number of persons arriving increased by 60%; the number of individual tourists also increased.

The time spent in Poland by European Jewish tourists is usually about two weeks; for groups from the United States and Canada the period is shorter, three to four days and the participant usually travel by plane. Jewish tourist seek accommodations almost exclusively in hotels of a high standard; they most frequently stay in Warsaw, Cracow, and Lublin. Some have special requirements: *Kosher* food, Sabbath observances, and participation in religious ceremonies at synagogues.

During their stay in Poland, Jewish tourist are primarily interested in visiting places of martyrdom, sightseeing around Jewish historical monuments, looking up family graves, visiting their home towns or regions, contacting local Jewish communities, and participating in religious ceremonies. Jews of the Hasidic community as well as other religiously oriented groups place great importance on pilgrimages to the graves of famous *Zaddikim* and rabbis during their visit to Poland.

Jewish groups are mainly interested in southern and eastern Poland. Tourist programs most often include charter bus excursions in accordance with several popular itineraries, such as Warsaw – Lublin – Cracow, Warsaw – Treblinka – Tykocin – Białystok, Warsaw – Białystok – Lublin – Zamość – Rzeszów – Cracow – Oświęcim – Częstochowa – Łódź, which make possible the visiting of places of significance to the Jewish people. The most visited towns and cities are Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Łódź, Oświęcim, Treblinka, and Tykocin.

A large number of Jews visiting Poland consists of youth groups from Israel. Their visits are a part of agreements with the Israeli Ministry of Education. These excursions, encompassing three to five thousand young people each year, are a part of the mandatory curriculum of Israeli high schools. The length of time spent in Poland usually seven days, and it is entirely dedicated to the study of sites connected with Jewish history. The program includes the sightseeing of Warsaw, Treblinka, Lublin, Cracow, and Oświęcim. It also incorporates lectures, religious ceremonies, and meetings with local Jewish communities.

Available accommodations in hotels as well as motels, pensions, and lodging houses are usually appropriate for Jewish tourists. Of the 136 specified sites of Jewish tradition, all can provide generally accessible accommodations. They number 43,000 beds, out of which 31,500 are located in hotels, 1,500 in motels, 500 in pensions, and 9,500 in lodging houses. Not all are up to the standards expected by foreign tourists, however.

Accommodations recommended for foreign tourists by Polish travel agents exist in thirty-six of the above mentioned locations; they total 20,000 beds, mostly in large towns and cities. Recommended hotels account for 19,000 beds, out of which 5,000 can be found in four and five star facilities. The remainder are located in motels, pensions, and lodging houses. Recommended camping sites are situated in ten of the above mentioned locations. They can provide a total of 4,000 spots.

Accommodations are present in the locations qualified as being of particular importance to Jewish tourists. Such hotels may be found at thirty-six such locations; their potential is approximately 23,000 beds. Recommended hotels account for 15,000 beds and are located in twenty such locations. There are no hotel accommodations in Treblinka, Bełżec, Bobowa, Chełmno, Góra Kalwaria, Rymanów, Sobibór, Szczepleszyn, Chrzanów, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Inowłódz, Krzepice, Łęczna, Miedzyrzec, Podlaski, Nowy Wiśnicz, Orla, Rogoźnica, and Tarnogród.

Most of the sites important to Jewish tradition lack restaurants and stores offering *Kosher* food. Only Bielsko Biala, Cracow, Katowice, Łódź, Warsaw, and Wrocław have ritual cafeterias run by the Jewish community.

Proposals for new service facilities for Jewish tourists are strictly connected with the accommodation needs of domestic and international tourism. Planned tourist industry investment for the 1990–2000 period assumed the construction of hotels and similar facilities in forty of the locations which are important to Jewish tradition. The target capacity will be approximately 17,000 beds which would provide for the most urgent needs of the nation. These facilities will provide services appropriate for Jewish tourists. A part of the planned accommodations will also be erected at places qualified as particularly important for the Jewish people: Cracow, Kazimierz Dolny, Lublin, Łódź, Oświęcim, Rzeszów, Warsaw, and Zamość, as well as Nowy Sącz, Przemyśl, Rymanów, Sandomierz, and Wrocław as well as in Częstochowa, Gdańsk, Kielce, Łomża, and Piotrków Trybunalski. The total number of accommodations will increase the existing state by approximately 14,000 beds.



The new accommodations will consist of hotels, motels, and pensions of high and moderate standard. Several two star youth hostels are planned for Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, and Rzeszów. Accommodations made of of small hotels and pensions are recommended for the primary centers of Jewish tourism, within former Jewish quarters, and near synagogues which are open for worship. *Kosher* restaurants and stores should also be located, first of all, in cities such as Cracow, Lublin, and Warsaw.



