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Caroline Sturdy Colls

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CULTURAL GENOCIDE: A FORENSIC TURN IN

HOLOCAUST STUDIES?

Introduction

In July 2015, the Director-General of UNESCO participated in a discussion regarding the destruction of cultural monuments by Islamic State (IS) in Syria. In the opening statement, Irina Bokova stated:

> "It is not often that a Director-General of UNESCO is invited to speak about heritage and culture with security experts […]. This says something about the nature of conflicts today, when culture has moved to the centre of the battlefield […]. This is part of a strategy that I call cultural cleansing, used as a tactic of war, to terrify populations, to finance criminal activities."[1]

Although the recent actions of IS have refocused attention on attempts by one group to control and eradicate the culture of another, such practices have a long history. For centuries, cultural genocide has been mechanism used by oppressive regimes as a means of stifling cultural and religious expressions in order to weaken the resolve and identity of a particular group(s), limit or eradicate knowledge concerning the group(s), re-write history, and exploit cultural resources for financial or economic gain. From the desecration of Aztec temples by colonisers in the Americas in the 1500s, through to the destruction of mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s, the built environment has been repeatedly targeted as part of "a war against architecture – the destruction of cultural artefacts of an enemy people or nation as a means of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it altogether."[2] Cultural genocide has also often taken place as a precursor to, or concurrent with the murder of a particular group(s) (physical genocide) "to deny people a past as well as a future."[3]

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[1] Irina Bokova. The Struggle against Cultural Cleansing is a Security Imperative. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/the_struggle_against_cultural_cleansing_is_a_security_imperative/#.ViFSakJB5UQ (14.10.15)

[2] Robert Bevan, The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War, London 2007, 8.

[3] Ibid.

Raphael Lemkin coined the term cultural genocide as a direct reaction to the crimes perpetrated by the Nazi party and their collaborators during the Holocaust.[4] These crimes included the desecration, destruction and theft of public buildings, monuments, cemeteries, businesses and other property owned by those deemed non-Aryan. Assaults on Jewish culture were the most intensive and widespread across Europe; attacks on Jewish libraries, academies, schools, synagogues and cemeteries accompanied book burnings, segregation, public humiliation and prohibition of religious practices. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler was explicit about the need to eradicate Jewish culture since he believed that: "culturally, he [a Jew] contaminates art, literature, the theatre."[5] When tasked with destroying Jewish heritage, the German army took "special pride" in doing so.[6] Although documented to a lesser extent, attacks on cultural property of Poles, Slavs, Jehovah's Witnesses, Romani and other minority groups also took place.

Whilst historians have discussed cultural genocide during the Holocaust, the subject has received less attention from forensic investigators and archaeologists. This is in spite of the fact that cultural genocide directly relates to material remains, the built environment and heritage. It is also in spite of the fact that in recent years there has been an increase in the number of forensic and archaeological investigations at Holocaust sites.[7] This paper provides a timely assessment of approaches to the investigation of cultural genocide and an examination of the potential for a "forensic turn" in this topic. It will demonstrate how investigating sites of cultural genocide offers the opportunity to enhance knowledge of crimes perpetrated during the Holocaust and recover evidence of societies who, as a direct result of both physical and cultural genocide, were diminished, eradicated and/or forgotten.

Defining Cultural Genocide

"New conceptions require new terms" said the famous lawyer and educator Raphael Lemkin when, in 1943, he first coined the term genocide as a means of describing "the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group."[7] By the time the final UN *Convention on the Prevention and*

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[4] Raphael Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Analysis, Proposals for Redress, Washington 1944.

[5] Yitzhak Arad/ Israel Gutman, Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union, Nebraska 1999, 25.

[6] Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government-in-Exile to the Allied and Neutral Powers, Extract of Note Addressed to the Allied and Neutral Powers of May 3, 1941, in: Polish White Book. New York 1942, 36.

[7] See the subchapter *Advances in Holocaust Archaeology* and Caroline Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies: Approaches and Future Directions, New York 2015.

Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the UN General Assembly on the 9th December 1948, genocide was defined as:

> "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
> (a) Killing members of the group;
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."[8]

Thus, the term genocide was ratified for use predominantly in relation to homicide and life-limiting actions. However, for over a decade before the Convention was adopted, there was widespread support for the inclusion of additional acts deemed genocidal in nature: those that related to the "intent to destroy" the cultural heritage of "a national, ethnical, racial or religious group."[8] As early as 1933, Lemkin outlined "a general danger" to society in the form of the "destruction of the culture and works of art," on the basis that these "must be regarded as acts of vandalism directed against world culture."[9] Building on these ideas, Lemkin suggested, "the Germans sought to obliterate every reminder of former cultural patterns" in order to strengthen the Aryan race.[10] He also said that "cultural […] techniques of genocide" should be more specifically defined as:

> "desecration and destruction of cultural symbols (books, objects of art, religious relics, etc.), loot, destruction of cultural leadership, destruction of cultural centers (cities, churches, monasteries, schools, libraries), prohibition of cultural activities or codes of behavior, forceful conversion, demoralization."[11]

This broad definition is adopted throughout this paper.

Consequently, the first draft of the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* included the "systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic,

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[8] Lemkin, Axis Rule, 79; United Nations, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9th December 1948, https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf (13.10.2015).

[9] Raphael Lemkin, Totally Unofficial Man, in Samuel Totten/ Steven Leonard Jacobs (eds), Pioneers of Genocide Studies, New Brunswick 2002, 393.

[10] Raphael Lemkin. Genocide: A Modern Crime, in: Free World (1945), 4, 39- 43.

[11] Raphael Lemkin. Revised Outline for Genocide Cases, in: John Docker, Raphael Lemkin's History of Genocide and Colonialism. Paper for United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, Washington DC 2004.

or religious value and of objects used in religious worship."[12] However, at the sixth meeting of the General Assembly, cultural genocide was removed from the Convention because it suggested a "reasonable policy of assimilation which no State aiming at national unity could be expected to renounce;"' in short, the definition of what constituted a specific culture was disputed.[13] As such, investigations and prosecutions centred on the destruction of cultural life and property alone were not actively pursued after the Holocaust. The material traces of these crimes were also overlooked, forgotten and hidden. Many fell into, and remain in, obscurity because of neglect, redevelopment or re-occupation.

The issue of cultural property was revisited when, in 1954, the *Cultural Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* stated, "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind." [14] Likewise, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* from 1948, the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, the Council of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* and Council of Europe's *Framework on Jewish Cemeteries and Mass Graves* include provisions for the protection of cultural property. Various restitution laws have also facilitated the recovery of stolen property.[15] Yet, as David Nersession argues, "cultural genocide is far more sinister" than simply the destruction or theft of cultural property since "fundamental aspects of a group's unique cultural existence are attacked with the aim of destroying the group."[16] He goes on to argue that in international law "the present understanding of genocide preserves the body of the group but allows its soul to be destroyed" in the absence of specific legislation which addresses cultural genocide.[17] That said, in recent years, the ICTY recognized cultural genocide as an indicator

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[12] United Nations, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, The Secretariat and Ad Hoc Committee Drafts - First Draft of the Genocide Convention [UN Doc. E/447] 1947, http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/drafts/ (14.10.15); Attempts to prevent the use of national languages, the destruction of books and the forced transfer/exile of children and other individuals away from their cultural/religious group were also classed as cultural genocide in this draft.

[13] United Nations, Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, Sixty-Third Meeting: Consideration of the Draft Convention on Genocide [E/794]: Report of the Economic and Social Council [A 1633], http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/C.6/SR.63 (14.10.15). The reference to the transfer of children from one group to another was retained in the ratified version of the Convention but the term cultural genocide was removed in its entirety.

[14] ICRC. Cultural Convention, Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. 1954, https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/0/ea805b1d46112374c125641e004ac0a3?OpenDocument (12.06.15).

[15] For a summary see: Stuart Eizenstat, Imperfect Justice: Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II, United States of America 2009.

[16] David Nersessian, Rethinking Cultural Genocide Under International Law, in: Human Rights Dialogue: "Cultural Rights", (2005) 2(12), 7-8.

[17] Ibid.

of intent to destroy a group during prosecutions relating to the Yugoslav Wars in Bosnia and, even more recently, the UN has recognised the destruction of historic monuments in Syria by IS as cultural genocide.[18] Despite this shift in opinion, cultural property destroyed during the Holocaust has remained largely unaddressed in forensic and archaeological terms, and there have been few attempts to explore the various layers of meaning assigned to this property by its owners, those affiliated with it and those who sought to destroy it.

Documenting Cultural Genocide

Urbicide, Libricide and Beyond

In recent years, a variety of disciplinary perspectives (beyond history) have emerged regarding cultural genocide. A seminal work by Robert Bevan provides a comprehensive overview of the impact of cultural genocide upon the built environment throughout history from an architectural perspective.[19] Several chapters in *The Destruction of Memory* allude to the destruction of cultural property during the Holocaust and consider the ways in which this tactic was used to weaken the identity of targeted communities. This work builds on a wider body of literature concerning urbicide – "violence against a city" – a tactic of war and genocide that has been used to weaken the physical fabric of cities and the communities connected to them in a number of twentieth century conflicts.[20] Several studies have examined the ways in which cultural monuments were destroyed or damaged during the Yugoslav Wars. However, the same level of attention has not been granted to Holocaust-era events. Some publications have focused on the concept of libricide – the destruction of libraries during the Holocaust – in order to consider the social impact of this loss of culture.[21] Others have chosen to focus on "identity politics" or assessing the loss of cultural property from an economic perspective.[22]

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[18] Kristina Hon, "Bringing Cultural Genocide in by the Backdoor: Victim Participation at the ICC," Seton Hall Law Review (2013) 43, 359; Irina Bokova,The Struggle against Cultural Cleansing is a Security Imperative. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/
the_struggle_against_cultural_cleansing_is_a_security_imperative/#.ViFSakJB5UQ (14.10.15).

[19] Bevan, The Destruction of Memory.

[20] For examples, see: Martin Coward, Urbicide: The politics of urban destruction, London 2008; Martin Shaw. New Wars of the City: Relationships of "urbicide" and "genocide," in: Stephen Graham (ed.), Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics, London 2004, 141-153.

[21] For examples see: Rebecca Knuth, Libricide: The Regime-Sponsored Destruction of Books and Libraries in the Twentieth Century, Westport 2003; Jacqueline Borin, Embers of the Soul: The Destruction of Jewish Books and Libraries in Poland during World War II, Libraries & Culture (1993) 28(4), 445-460; Marek Sroka, The Destruction of Jewish Libraries and Archives in Cracow during World War II, Libraries & Culture (2003), 38(2), 147-165.

[22] David B. Macdonald, Identity Politics in the Age of Genocide, London 2007.

Previous Approaches to Sites of Cultural Genocide

To date, very few archaeological projects have sought to examine the physical remains of cultural genocide directly. Most often, evidence has been documented as part of archaeological projects aimed at recording the more distant past. In recent years, the number of archaeological projects examining Jewish heritage has increased.[23] These projects have focused on recovering and/or reconstructing remains relating to pre-war Jewish communities whose history is poorly understood due to the destruction or neglect of their cultural centres. Other lost Jewish heritage has been uncovered unexpectedly in the course of redevelopment works.[24] Away from archaeology, there has been increasing interest in the restoration of cemeteries, synagogues and other public buildings damaged as part of the Nazis' persecution of the Jews. Initiatives by the International Jewish Cemeteries Project (IAJGS), the United States Commission on the Protection of American Heritage Abroad, Jewish Heritage Europe, and the Foundation for the Documentation of Jewish Cemeteries in Poland (FODZ) represent the largest, but by no means the only, projects that have sought to document, restore and raise awareness of Jewish built heritage. There have also been many archaeological excavations across Europe that have focused on the earlier history of non-Jewish sites damaged by the Nazis and their collaborators.

Although these archaeological and conservation projects did not set out to examine cultural genocide directly, they still represent a series of case studies that should be examined in terms of their potential to reveal further information about the destruction of cultural sites. The archives created by these projects contain a wealth of information that offer the possibility to investigate the nature of cultural genocide at regional, national and international level.

Advances in Holocaust Archaeology

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[23] Richard Freund/ Harry Jol/ Philip Reeder/ Vanessa Workman, Ground Penetrating Radar Rhodes, Greece-Kahal Shalom Synagogue Pilot Project Report January, 2015, https://duquesnescience.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/rhodes-report1.pdf (20.10.15); Ariel Zilbur/ Rosie Perper, Israeli archaeologists find remains of landmark synagogue destroyed by the Nazis, http://www.jpost.com/Breaking-News/Israeli-archaeologists-find-remnants-of-landmark-synagogue-destroyed-by-Nazis-410467 (27.09.15); Timothy De Paepe. "Among the most beautiful synagogues of Western Europe": A virtual reconstruction of the Rotterdam synagogue of the Boompjes (1725–1940), Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (2014) 1, 23-31.

[24] Jewish Heritage Europe. Germany: Centuries-old mikveh discovered, http://www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2015/11/10/germany-medieval-mikveh-discovered/" (10.11.15); Roi Mandel. Jewish artefacts looting during Kristallnacht unearthed near Berlin, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3611527,00.html (6.6.15).

In recent years, there has been an increase in archaeological investigations at Holocaust sites. Archaeologists specializing in the recent past have engaged in research and fieldwork at a number of camps and killing sites. These include all of the Nazi death camps – Bełżec, Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz-Birkenau – as well as a range of concentration and labour camps including Westerbork, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen, Falstad, Adampol, Buchenwald, Semlin, Bergen-Belsen, Sylt, Norderney and Wick.[25] Most archaeologists have drawn upon traditional methods of excavation to recover buried evidence of mass murder and internment. Excavations at Bełżec in the 1990s led to the discovery of thirty-three mass graves, whilst those at Sobibor uncovered escape tunnels, the remains of the gas chambers and mass graves.[26] At Falstad, Westerbork and Wick excavations uncovered domestic items used by those imprisoned in the camps and by those who oversaw them.[27]

Some of these projects have utilised technological innovations in order to locate, record and visualise hidden evidence of genocide. Research undertaken at Treblinka has drawn upon a suite of non-invasive methods – ranging from forensic walkover survey, sophisticated GPS systems, aerial photography and videography, airborne and terrestrial LiDAR (laser scanning), and geophysical techniques – alongside excavation, to locate the gas chambers, mass graves, boundaries and buildings within both the extermination and labour camps.[28] Similar approaches were undertaken at Semlin, Bergen-Belsen, Adampol and in Alderney to reveal new insights into the events that occurred there.[29] At Mauthausen, archaeologists used Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to scan the walls of the gas chambers to learn more about how they functioned.[30] At Auschwitz-Birkenau, LiDAR created 3D scans of objects for conservation and archiving purposes.[31] Geophysical methods, which are capable of recording what lies below the ground, were used at a number of sites to locate the remains of building foundations and

[25] For a summary of these projects see: Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies, ch.2.

[26] Andrzej Kola, Bełżec: The Nazi Camp for Jews in Light of Archaeological Sources, Warsaw/ Washington 2000.

[27] Marek Jasinski/ Marianne Neerland Soleim/ Leiv Sem, Painful Heritage. Cultural Landscapes of the Second World War in Norway: A New Approach. N-TAG TEN. Proceedings of the 10th Nordic TAG conference at Stiklestad, Norway 2009. BAR International Series 2399, 2012; Ivar Schute, Comparison of artefacts from Camp Westerbork and Sobibor Establishing Research Potential (campaign autumn 2013), http://sobibor.info.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Report-by-I.Schute-autumn-2013.pdf. (3.1.2014); Gilly Carr/ Lager Wick, http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/lager-wick (15.8.2015).

[28] Caroline Sturdy Colls, 'Earth Conceal Not My Blood': Forensic and Archaeological Approaches to Locating Human Remains of Holocaust Victims in: Elisabeth Anstett/ Jean-Marc Dreyfus (eds.), Human Remains in Society, Manchester 2016. Forthcoming.

[29] Caroline Sturdy Colls, The Living Death Camps in: Forensic Architecture (ed), Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth, Berlin 2014.

[30] Paul Mitchell, Building Archaeology at the Mauthausen Memorial Site, Bulletin Mauthausen (2013) 1, 47–50.

[31] Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau W Oświęcimiu, Projects, http://en.auschwitz.org/m/index. php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=57&Itemid=41 (1.2.2015).

mass graves.[32] These non-invasive approaches offer the possibility to create a detailed record of a variety of evidence types, whilst preventing disturbance to the remains in the process.[33]

Evidence of Cultural Genocide

Cultural genocide during the Holocaust took many forms and varied in scale depending upon its purpose, who it targeted and the timescales involved. These actions had a complex and permanent effect on the landscape of Europe. The intention of those who carried out these crimes was destruction and erasure, and so it could be assumed that little evidence survives of both the cultural elements they tried to destroy and their actions. However, to assume this without detailed research serves only to contribute further to the loss of culture. Therefore, as part of a long-running research project examining the application of forensic archaeological methods to the landscapes of the Holocaust, the author posed the question: when the intention of a nation or group is to eradicate all traces of another, is it possible to find these traces, especially decades later?

After undertaking a substantial amount of research, the simple answer to this question appears to almost always be "yes". Although the above-ground traces of buildings and monuments were damaged and removed, below the ground an abundance of archaeological examples highlight that remnants will likely remain. It is precisely because cultural genocide had a complex and permanent effect on the landscape that it will be detectable; such large-scale destruction cannot help but leave an equally complex and permanent trace. Likewise, although cultural objects and personal property were looted, it does not mean that they vanished forever without a trace. Providing the correct methods are chosen, it should be possible to locate and recover a wide range of evidence related to cultural genocide. Because very few investigations have been carried out with the explicit purpose of examining cultural genocide, the potential of forensic and archaeological methods will be illustrated through a small set of examples provided below. This discussion is not exhaustive since this research is in its infancy but it will highlight possible future avenues and demonstrate some of the challenges researchers may face when pursuing this topic.

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[32] Arne Anderson Stamnes, Geophysical survey at the Second World War prison camp at Falstad, ekne in levanger municipality, Norway, http://falstadsenteret.no/arrangement/2013/recall/filer/Geophysical_survey_report_Falstad. Pdf (20.2.2015); Sturdy Colls. Holocaust Archaeologies.

Jewish Cemeteries

In-Situ Destruction

In Jewish culture, cemeteries are not just places where the dead are buried. They are known as the "house of the living" because the soul of the deceased remains tied to the body.[34] Jewish cemeteries are places where regular mourning takes place, where ceremonies and celebrations are held, where eminent rabbis and community figures are immortalised and prayed to, and where the history of the community is preserved and remembered. Before the Holocaust, cemeteries "were at the heart of the life of every Jewish community" in Europe.[35] As a result, the Nazis saw them as physical and symbolic expressions of Jewish culture and they became a target of their attempts to erase all past and present traces of Jewish people. Tombstones were toppled, graves were desecrated and bones removed, funerary houses were looted and damaged, and cemetery land was used for other purposes. Not content with inflicting physical damage, the Nazis used cemeteries as execution sites. Mass graves were excavated for (and sometimes by) those killed. Tombstones were taken from cemeteries and used for construction projects across the Third Reich.[36] After the Second World War, in the absence of many local Jewish communities and because of further persecution by Soviet occupiers, thousands of Jewish cemeteries were dilapidated or forgotten. Most remain this way to date.[37]

Requirements and Challenges

Therefore, thousands of cemeteries remain unexplored in forensic and archaeological terms. Many of these sites remain under threat of vandalism, redevelopment and damage through nature. Tombstones remain buried and/or broken, bones have been disinterred and boundaries remain undefined. From a humanitarian perspective, it is important to ensure that cemeteries are protected and, in particular, that human remains are not damaged or disrespected. As Michael Brocke has argued "cemeteries must be preserved because so many for whom for

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[34] Isaiah 26, 19.

[35] Andrew Kier-Wise, Making Poland whole again: Germany's opportunity to restore Jewish cemeteries, http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/cms/activity/4803,making-poland-whole-again-germany-s-opportunity-to-restore-jewish-cemeteries/ (24.6.15).

[36] For the examples of Izbica and Gross Hamburger Strasse, see Robert Kuwałek/ Weronika Litwin, Izbica: A Story of a Place, Warsaw 2007, 13 and Joachim Jacobs/ Hans Dietrich Beyer, Houses of Life: Jewish Cemeteries of Europe, London 2008.

[37] Samuel Gruber/ Phyllis Myers, Survey of Historic Jewish Monuments in Poland: A Report to the United States Commission for the Protection of America's Heritage Abroad (2nd ed.). USA 1995.

which they were destined were deprived of their graves."[38] Within Jewish custom, a cemetery should be "timeless in his function to shelter the deceased;"[39] it should be fenced and cared for. In 2015, the Council of Europe adopted a resolution that recognised that:

> "Cemeteries should be considered to be part of our common European cultural heritage and local and regional authorities have a role to play in the protection, preservation, enhancement, management and maintenance of these burial sites."[40]

In order to fully document and restore cemeteries, fences around their boundaries must be erected or repaired, individual and mass graves must be located, tombstones must be reinstated and their inscriptions recorded, monuments and funerary houses must be found and made stable, and vegetation must be cleared. In the past, there have been few attempts to accurately locate the original positions of individual and mass graves when reinstating tombstones; hence the often disorganised appearance of Jewish cemeteries. Likewise, uncovering tombstone inscriptions has relied on the unusual and sometimes damaging use of shaving crème and chalk. Rather than giving equal weight to documenting what was lost and how this occurred (e.g. through cultural genocide, conscious forgetting/neglect by post-war communities etc.), the former has been the focus of most work at Jewish cemeteries to date.

This can be attributed to several factors that must be considered when proposing new methodologies for investigating cultural genocide. The first is a general lack of awareness concerning the new techniques that are now available to assist with the mapping of remains within Jewish cemeteries. Hopefully, this issue will be addressed in part through this paper, and the work of the author and others using these methods. The second issue relates to perceptions that the Nazis were successful in destroying the traces of Jewish cemeteries and that subsequent dilapidation has removed any further surviving evidence. The overgrown nature of many cemeteries in particular may lead to the incorrect belief that absence is the only proof of cultural genocide that survives. The third, most common issue relates to Jewish law (Halacha). The most conventional method to locate graves is excavation. However, Jewish law stipulates that the remains of the deceased should not be disturbed on the basis that, to do so, is to disturb the soul of the person to whom they belong.[41] The soil in a grave is also seen as

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[38] Michael Brocke, 'Admat kodesh' - Tending and Caring for It. Today's Needs and Challenges, Paper presented at the European Jewish Cemeteries Conference, Vilnius 2015.
[39] Rabbi Ginsberg, The value of a Jewish cemetery, Paper presented at the European Jewish Cemeteries Conference, Vilnius 2015.
[40] Council of Europe, Jewish Cemeteries: the Congress calls of local authorities to shoulder their responsibilities, https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=2304169&Site=DC (24.9.15).

[41] Michael Schudrich, Jewish Law and Exhumations, in: International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. Killing Sites, Berlin 2015, 79-84.

the property of the deceased and so to disturb it is forbidden.[42] There are some exceptions to this rule, such as when graves are deemed to be at risk of permanent destruction e.g. because of landslides, erosion or anthropogenic factors such as ploughing. However, Jewish law states that the preferred option would be to protect graves where they lie rather than move them, on the basis that Jewish cemeteries have "eternal status."[43] This is a complex issue that is described by the author elsewhere.[44] In short, these issues often mean that any excavation is often not an option within Jewish cemeteries, even when human remains are not the primary focus of searches. Consequently, individual and mass graves have often remained un-located.

New Approaches

It is clear that different methods are needed to ensure that Jewish cemeteries, and the evidence of cultural genocide they contain, can be accurately located, examined and restored (if required). If restoration occurs without the prerequisite research and mapping, the inadvertent disturbance of graves is likely. Fortunately, a wide range of methods used by archaeologists now exist that could aid such projects and provide new insights into the nature of cultural genocide. On a macro-scale, the combined use of maps, aerial photographs, testimony, topographic survey methods and geophysical techniques offers the possibility to locate original cemetery boundaries even after attempts to obliterate their existence. By collecting historic maps from different periods of history alongside wartime aerial imagery, it will be possible to build up a detailed picture of where boundaries were located and how they changed over time (Figure 1). The value of interviewing members of the local community to narrow down search areas should not be overlooked; as Jonathan Webber discovered during recent work in Brzostek in Poland.

> "The local people knew precisely where the Jewish cemetery was even if it was invisible to an outsider. All that remained were empty plots of land. Yet for local people, the cemetery was still there."[45]

To facilitate the detection of the precise location of boundaries, forensic archaeologists in particular are trained to recognise subtle changes in vegetation and elevation that may indicate

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[42] Ginsberg, The value of a Jewish cemetery.
[43] Louis-Leon Christians, Jewish cemeteries and mass graves in Europe: Protection and preservation, Antwerp 2008, 14.
[44] Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies,, ch.3.
[45] Jonathan Webber, A Jew, a Cemetery and a Polish Village: A Tale of the Restoration of Memory, in: Erica T Lehrer/ Michael Meng, Jewish Space in Poland, Indiana 2015, 238.

the presence of disturbed ground. [46] These may be visible on the ground or on aerial images. In the field, these subtle indicators can be recorded using digital surveying techniques, such as DGPS, in order to document their exact position (Figure 2). Establishing these boundaries is essential for a number of reasons: it brings to light traces that perpetrators sought to erase or that neglect masked, it provides accurate parameters for future search initiatives within the cemetery and it enables boundaries to be accurately marked once again (meeting the needs of Jewish law).

Figure 1: A map and aerial photograph regression demonstrating the development of a cemetery for forced labourers on the island of Alderney in the British Channel Islands (based on wartime maps and aerial photographs from the NCAP archive) (Copyright: Dr Caroline Sturdy Colls)

Walkover surveys to record changes in vegetation and elevation, the analysis of aerial photographs, airborne LiDAR and geophysical methods (such as GPR, resistance survey, magnetometry or gravitational survey) may also prove particularly useful for locating graves, gravestones and funerary buildings (or demonstrating their absence).[47] LiDAR creates a digital terrain model of a landscape, thus revealing depressions that caused by the presence of buried remains.[48] Conversely, geophysical methods can map buried features by recording differences in their physical properties in contrast to the surrounding soil.[49] If, for example, buried tombstones are located, it may be possible to say something about how the Nazis and their collaborators toppled them. Conversely, if no tombstones are located, this may indicate that the Nazis completely removed them from the cemetery. Depending upon the type of geophysical survey method used, it may be possible to determine whether the bodies and graves themselves were desecrated (Figure 2). Knowing the exact locations of buried tombstones and graves through these non-invasive methods can facilitate the recovery and reinstatement of tombstones in such a way that graves remain undisturbed. This approach adheres to Jewish law, in that it removes the risk of disturbing graves, and may provide information concerning attempts by perpetrators to limit funerary practices (e.g. the preparation and burial of Jews

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[46] John Hunter/ Barrie Simpson/ Caroline Sturdy Colls, Forensic Approaches to Buried Remains, London 2013.
[47] Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies, ch.5-7.
[48] Dave C. Cowley/ Rachel S. Opitz, Interpreting Archaeological Topography: 3D Data, Visualisation and Observation, Oxford 2013.
[49] John Oswin, A Field Guide to Geophysics in Archaeology, New York 2009.

killed in the early stages of Nazi occupation) and the activities of communities intent on carrying them out.[50]

Figure 2: Aerial photograph analysis, topographic survey and resistance survey results showing the different zones in the cemetery in Alderney (shown in Figure 1), including the graves of Jews exhumed in 1949 and several possible mass graves (Copyright: Dr Caroline Sturdy Colls and Google Earth).

Archaeological methods may also offer a means to provide insights into pre-war Jewish life and the culture that the Nazis tried to destroy. By examining the layout of cemeteries, the nature and placement of funerary monuments and structures, and motifs (as revealed through archaeological survey methods), it will also be possible to reveal information about the past communities that created and maintained them before the war. As Andrew Kier-Wise argued, "one could almost recreate the life of an entire shtetl by reading the inscriptions and symbols on the tombstones."[51] A number of projects have aptly demonstrated this in recent years.[52] However, there exist many cemeteries where tombstone inscriptions are eroded and difficult to see. Here, terrestrial LiDAR could reveal them. Terrestrial LiDAR uses the emission and return of laser pulses to create 3D models of both large-scale landscapes and small-scale objects (depending upon the equipment used).[53] This method has been used to great effect at the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia (Romania) to document tombstones and provide an accompanying film about the region (Figure 3).[54] High definition photography may also offer a suitable documentation method.[55]

Figure 3: Terrestrial LiDAR (laser scanning) of Jewish tombstones in Alba Iulia, Romania (Copyright: Dr. Daniel Dumitran).

During the Holocaust, cultural genocide sometimes involved the disinterment of human remains already buried in cemeteries. An unfortunate outcome of these actions, and the neglect/deliberate destruction of cemeteries that has occurred in the years since, is that human

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[50] Irving J. Rosenbaum, The Holocaust and Halakhah, New York 1976.

[51] Andrew Kier-Wise, Making Poland whole again: Germany's opportunity to restore Jewish cemeteries, http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/cms/activity/4803,making-poland-whole-again-germany-s-opportunity-to-restore-jewish-cemeteries/ (24.6.15).

[52] See the following for examples: http://cemetery.jewish.org.pl/lang_en/ (1.10.15); http://www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu/focus/conferences/working-seminar-jewish-immovable-heritage/conference-presentations/presentation-by-tobias-rutenik-weissensee-cemetery-project (1.10.15)

[53] George Vosselman/ Hans-Gerd Maas, Airborne and terrestrial laser scanning, Caithness 2010.

[54] https://youtu.be/YRdhkiudkb0 (24.11.15)

[55] For an example, see Leonard Rutgers, Venosa, http://leonardrutgers.nl/research/%20venosa/ (27.10.15).

remains sometimes exist on the surface. [56] In these instances, because they are under threat, Jewish law usually permits recovery. Archaeologists can assist with this in order to ensure that remains are handled respectfully and, in the course of doing so, they may be able to make observations relevant to physical genocide, such as whether any sign of trauma or post-mortem damage exists. The reader is referred to other publications by the author for further information about the treatment of human remains.[57]

Secondary Sites

In some cases, tombstones from Jewish cemeteries were moved to secondary sites and re-used e.g. for road construction, building repairs, and foundation laying. It is important to remember that Jewish cemeteries have been regularly plundered since the Second World War; thus, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether their re-use relates to activities by the Nazis and their collaborators or local communities after the war. [58] Sometimes, stones were dumped in secondary locations to perpetuate the destruction of the cemetery itself. Systematic walkover survey can locate tombstones. This approach is commonly used by archaeologists searching landscapes for remnants of past occupation.[59] Depending upon the nature of the terrain, a line or grid search can be undertaken. Search strategies can be designed around information provided within documents and witness testimonies, supported by interviews with current residents. When remains are located, they should be systematically documented using predefined criteria e.g. size, orientation, location, physical description and photographs. The ways in which tombstones were reused should be reviewed since the locations chosen may have had symbolic meaning for perpetrators and their supporters. Often, it was the communities to whom the plundered tombstones belonged who were forced to re-use them elsewhere; thus forcing them to be party to the destruction of their own culture. When tombstones are moved back to cemeteries, archaeologists can also assist with their recovery to ensure that minimal damage is sustained and further information can be gained about the processes that led to their re-deposition.

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[56] For an example see, Ruth Ellen Gruber, Nis Cemetery Report, http://www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2012/04/14/serbia-nis-cemetery-report/%E2%80%9D (3.10.2015).

[57] Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies, ch. 7 and 10.

[58] http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/26/poland-drought-jewish-tombstones-and-fighter-jets-uncovered-as-rivers-run-dry (26.8.15).

[59] English Heritage. Understanding the Archaeology of Landscapes: A Guide to Good Working Practice, Swindon 2007.

Attacks on Architecture

Attacks on cultural centres during the Holocaust began with the desecration and destruction of the built environment and, specifically, with attempts to plunder and damage religious buildings. The most widely known example is 'Kristallnacht', during which 267 synagogues were damaged throughout Germany, Austria and Sudetenland in one evening.[60] These attacks continued throughout the Second World War across Europe. Attacks on Jewish property also extended to shops, schools, libraries, town halls and other public buildings, the houses that made up shtetls (Jewish settlements) and a variety of other religious buildings.[61] Aside from the Jewish community, other groups were persecuted via attacks on their cultural centres. Many monuments and buildings were destroyed in Poland (with the exception of those deemed to have Germanic qualities) because of the Nazis' perception that the culture of Poles and Slavs (like the people themselves) were inferior.[62] Other buildings were taken over by the General Trustee for the Protection of German Property and 102 libraries, 74 palaces, 96 manors and "a number of private manors" were confiscated in Poland alone, thus depriving Poles of key cultural buildings. [63] Monuments of important historical figures were also toppled and damaged.[64] Jehovah's Witnesses experienced cultural genocide via limitations imposed upon education, their Bible teaching meetings, the forced removal of children and other measures which limited their ability to practice their religion.[65] Churches and monasteries were taken over by the Nazi party for recreational uses, having been dissolved by official decree, and "Adolf Hitler schools" were built in Catholic areas to impose Nazi ideology. [66] These represent just a few examples of the ways in which cultural property was used to persecute a variety of different groups.

Finding Buried Remains

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[60] http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005201 (3.10.14).
[61] Avi Beker (ed.), The Plunder of Jewish Property During the Holocaust: Confronting European History, New York 2000.
[62] Warsaw suffered particularly heavily in this regard; churches, palaces and other buildings were looted and damaged, and only 34 historic monuments survived the war.
[63] Witold M. Góralski (ed.), Polish-German Relations and the Effects of the Second World War, Warsaw 2006.
[64] Polish Ministry of Information, The German New Order in Poland, London 1942.
[65] M. James Penton, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Third Reich: Sectarian Politics Under Persecution, Toronto 2004.
[66] John S. Conway, The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, Vancouver 1997, 257 and 186.

The attempted destruction of architecture sometimes meant buildings were demolished down to ground level and some sites have been redeveloped, making archaeological work difficult. However, archaeological methods have the potential to contribute to knowledge of cultural genocide even when buildings appear destroyed. By analysing maps, photographs, aerial images, testimonies and documents, it may be possible to determine the location of demolished structures and determine when and how they were damaged. Reconstructions of these buildings may then be possible using digital techniques. A recent project at the Rotterdam Synagogue of the Boompjes highlights the value of this approach (Figure 4).[67]

To determine the layout of destroyed buildings (knowledge of which may have been lost because of cultural genocide), geophysical methods such as GPR, resistance survey and magnetometry may prove useful because of their ability to detect buried foundations.[68] The success of these methods was demonstrated in recent surveys of the Great Synagogue in Vilnius and Kahal Shalom Synagogue in Rhodes (Figure 4).[69] Where excavation is permitted, this may result in both the recovery of lost relics and foundations, and information concerning how the building was destroyed e.g. via burning, demolition etc. This was the case during excavations of the Great Synagogue in Oświęcim, which revealed tiles, marble, charred wood and Judaica damaged when the synagogue was burnt down in 1939.[70] The examination of libraries could prove extremely important. Libraries and archives were specifically targeted by the Nazis because they could destroy culture through both damage to the built environment and the items contained within them.[23] Although many of these items will have degraded in the ground or been destroyed through burning, it is possible that manuscripts and objects may survive; thus they could be recovered through excavation. Recently discovered manuscripts, found during excavations for the new Warsaw metro line, demonstrate the potential for documents to survive for over seventy years in the correct conditions.[71]

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[67] Timothy De Paepe, "Among the most beautiful synagogues of Western Europe": A virtual reconstruction of the Rotterdam synagogue of the Boompjes (1725–1940), Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (2014) 1, 23-31.

[68] Oswin, A Field Guide.

[69] Richard Freund/ Harry Jol/ Philip Reeder/ Vanessa Workman, Ground Penetrating Radar Rhodes, Greece-Kahal Shalom Synagogue Pilot Project Report January, 2015, https://duquesnescience.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/rhodes-report1.pdf (20.10.15); Ariel Zilbur and Rosie Perper, Israeli archaeologists find remains of landmark synagogue destroyed by the Nazis, http://www.jpost.com/Breaking-News/Israeli-archaeologists-find-remnants-of-landmark-synagogue-destroyed-by-Nazis-410467 (27.09.15).

[70] Małgorzata Grupa, Badania archeologiczne w Oświęcimiu (Wielka Synagoga) 2004: Sprawozdanie z badań konserwator Kraków, Kraków 2004.

[71] Tomasz Urzykowski, Dokumenty z getta znalezione podczas remontu ul. Próżnej, http://warszawa.gazeta.pl/warsz

Figure 4: Evidence of cultural genocide uncovered via reconstructions at Boompjes synagogue (left, Copyright: De Paepe 2014) and geophysical survey at (right, Copyright: Philip Reader and Dean Goodman 2015).

Above-Ground Remains

Where above-ground remains of buildings targeted as part of cultural genocide survive, conventional building recording methods and innovative recording tools can be employed. Particularly when buildings were since the war, this approach will facilitate a detailed review of the various layers of a building's history. LiDAR, combined with GPR, can be used to examine architectural and below-ground remains in order to reveal: evidence concerning the ways in which crimes were perpetrated, lost information about a site's pre-war use and the impact that wartime activities had upon its post-war treatment.[72] This approach could be applied to individual structures, Jewish shtetls or even entire villages.

Systematic surveys of buildings can also reveal subtle traces indicating the presence of specific communities who no longer live in an area. For example, a recent survey aimed at recording symbols made on Jewish homes (mezuzas) has provided an effective means of demonstrating the loss caused by the Holocaust and remembering the communities who made the marks.[73] Other examples of "marks of existence" may include names, religious emblems, murals and other inscriptions, all of which can be recorded using the methodology suggested above. Where these traces have been defaced, this may also provide evidence of additional means of cultural genocide if this can be traced to a particular period/set of perpetrators.

Trends of Re-use

Bevan observed that "it is interesting to note that in ethnic conflicts destruction and burning is far more common than seizure of property – the pecuniary advantages are subordinated to the desire to eradicate."[74] Whilst there was large-scale destruction during the Holocaust, many structures were retained and put to alternative uses. In many cases, buildings of cultural

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awa/1,34862,15666559,Dokumenty_z_zydowskiej_dzielnicy_odkopane_na_Proznej.html#LokWawTxt (22.3.14).

[72] Caroline Sturdy Colls, "Uncovering a Painful Past: Archaeology and the Holocaust," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 2015 17(1), 38-55.

[73] http://amgathering.org/2015/06/11958/excavating-polands-last-remaining-mezuzas-from-before-the-holocaust/ (25.6.2015).

[74] Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory,*, 15.

importance were given purposes that degraded them and the communities to which they related. For example, many were used as administration or education buildings by the Nazi regime in order to simultaneously destroy culture and replace it with a use that furthered Germany's interests.[75] On other occasions, former cultural centres were used as toilets, brothels and casinos.[76] Further desk-based research and in-field investigations could help advance knowledge concerning the alternative uses of buildings through the analysis of both above- and below-ground remains (using the methods outlined above). Additional research is required within Holocaust studies concerning the economic vs genocidal impact of the re-use of cultural property.

Concurrent Genocide

Many sites targeted for cultural genocide often also became sites of physical genocide. Communities were commonly rounded up, executed in Jewish cemeteries and buried in mass graves, particularly during the Einsatzgruppen massacres in Eastern Europe.[77] Additionally, people were murdered elsewhere and their bodies brought to Jewish cemeteries for burial. In most cases, the locations of these mass graves remain unknown. The forensic techniques discussed above could assist in the identification of these graves, as demonstrated at a number of Holocaust camps throughout Europe.[89]

One of the common reasons that mass graves within cemeteries have never been found is because the boundaries of the cemeteries themselves are not known (because of cultural genocide). Another reason is that many massacres carried out in cemeteries were not thoroughly documented and few people lived who witnessed them. By gaining control of these important cultural centres, the Nazis also gained the privacy to carry out executions. The location of Jewish cemeteries on the outskirts of towns and villages also aided this process. The creation of mass graves within culturally important centres such as cemeteries also further damaged the culture of the communities left behind and served as a final act of humiliation for those executed, many of whom were forced to dig their own graves.

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[75] Wojciech Kowalski, An Appraisal of the Losses to Polish Cultural Heritage Resulting from German Aggression during the Second World War, Warsaw 2006.
[76] Polish Ministry of Information, The German New Order in Poland, London 1942.
[77] Ronald Headland, Messages of Murder: A Study of the Reports of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the Security Service, 1941-1943, Madison 1992.
[89] Sturdy Colls, Holocaust Archaeologies; Caroline Sturdy Colls, "Gone but not forgotten: Archaeological approaches to the landscape of the former extermination camp at Treblinka, Poland," Holocaust Studies and Materials 2014 3, 239-289.

Like cemeteries, many public buildings also became the sites concurrent genocide during and after the Holocaust.[78] Therefore, it is important to consider the fact that human remains may also exist within the remains of buildings targeted as part of cultural and physical genocide and, therefore, they may be discovered if excavation does take place. Depending upon the religion of the victims, different approaches will be needed to recover human remains found in the course of these investigations. Whereas the remains of Christian victims will likely be recovered (and possibly subject to DNA analysis and other identification techniques), this will likely be forbidden for Jewish victims.

Some sites also became the locations of double and even triple genocide after the Second World War because of the occupation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet army and further anti-Semitism.[79] Therefore, it is important to establish what destruction relates to which crimes. This can be challenging, particularly when non-invasive methods alone are used. When excavation is permitted, objects/graffiti may offer indicative dates for some of the activities. Once again, the combination of systematic archival research and fieldwork will assist in answering questions relating to this issue. These acts of concurrent genocide illustrate the links between cultural and physical genocide, and the ways in which the former often led on to the latter. Cultural genocide can only be understood when all of these complexities are considered and when the diverse evidence contained within sites is located and recorded. It is only possible to begin to understand the loss connected to the Holocaust by understanding Jewish cemeteries as a composite of Jewish life. We can only understand mass grave landscapes and killing sites by recognizing the significance of the fact that they were created within Jewish cemeteries and other cultural centres.

Other Evidence of Cultural Genocide

Due to the limitations of space, it is not possible to outline all possible types of evidence of cultural genocide in as much as detail as the examples provided above. However, it is important to observe that there are many other places and evidence types that exist. More research is needed from archaeological and forensic perspectives into: the role of the ghetto in cultural

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[78] For example, in Białystok (Poland), 100 Jews were herded into the synagogue which was then burnt to the ground. See Tomasz Wiśniewski, Reconstructing Atlantis: The Lost World of Small-Town Jewish Cemeteries, Poland 2013. In Brok (Poland), the town was set on fire, many houses were destroyed and their occupants (Polish Catholics and Jews) were burnt alive within them. See Yad Vashem, Pinkas Hakehilot Polin, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Poland, Vol. IV, Warsaw and Its Region, Jerusalem 1989.
[79] For an example, see Šnipiškės in Vilnius, Lithuania.

genocide; the destruction of artworks; the theft of property (which may exist in hidden caches or tunnels); and "victory represented as archaeology" (in the form of Hitler's plan to museologise Judaica and highlight Aryan culture).[80] The interplay between cultural genocide during the Holocaust and how this influenced subsequent acts of cultural and physical genocide also requires further attention. Recent archaeological work at Treblinka has also revealed another potential form of cultural genocide: the Nazis' abuse of Jewish culture to hide the reality of the gas chambers.[81] Further research is needed to determine whether this represents an isolated or wider trend. Finally, because cultural genocide is a forced act, which may take place over a very short period, there is likely a whole range of other evidence that is unknown and which may be difficult or impossible to find. Therefore, when considering the forensic potential of investigations of cultural genocide, it is important to recognise that some evidence will have been completely lost.

Resistance Against Cultural Genocide

As well as providing information about perpetrator and victim experiences of cultural genocide, investigations of material remains also have the potential to provide evidence of resistance. For example, a GPR survey undertaken at Seegasse Jewish cemetery in Vienna revealed the presence of tombstones buried by the Vienna Jewish community in 1943 in order to save them from being destroyed by the Nazis.[82] These tombstones can now provide evidence of the pre-war Jewish community that was long thought destroyed. This example highlights that one possible outcome of investigations into cultural genocide is that they can demonstrate that perpetrators were not successful in their efforts to eradicate the culture of a particular group. In several places where the Nazis enforced laws that prevented religious and other cultural expressions, graffiti alludes to resistance against these impositions (Figure 5).[83] In some cases, it is more difficult to determine whether items relate to cultural genocide or resistance to it. For example, when a hoard of statues designated as "deviant art" by the Nazis was discovered during building work in Berlin in 2010, some experts argued that it had been confiscated whilst others said it had been hidden from those who would have it destroyed.[84] However, this has

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[80] Bevan, The Destruction of Memory,28; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/08/nazi-gold-train-investigators-start-excavating-poland (8.11.15).
[81] Sturdy Colls, 'Earth Conceal Not My Blood.'
[82] Jewish Heritage Europe. Buried matzevot discovered in Vienna, http://www.jewish-heritage-europe.eu/2013/07/12/buried-matzevot-discovered-in-vienna/" (12.5.15).
[83] Joseph P. Czarnecki, Last Traces: The Lost Art of Auschwitz, New York 1989, 155-161.
[84] J.J. Sutherland. 'Deviant' art thought destroyed by the Nazis is found, http://www.scpr.org/news/2010/11/09/20872/deviant-art-thought-destroyed-by-the-nazis-is-foun/ (12.6.15).

now sparked a wave of new research into this topic that will undoubtedly lead to new knowledge.

Figure 5: Resistance to cultural genocide in the form of graffiti expressing Jewish and Polish identity (Copyright: Joseph Czarnecki)

Looking to the Future

By examining the destruction of property and the material evidence connected to these processes, this paper has sought to demonstrate how it is possible to re-evaluate the impact of cultural genocide and the intentions of those perpetrating it. Simply because cultural genocide was not adopted into legal statutes directly related to genocide, this does not mean that such acts were not committed. Cultural centres and cultural property *were* deliberately targeted by the Nazis and their collaborators with the effect of:

1) humiliating individuals and communities, and depriving them of their identities (which were closely connected to the built environment);

2) providing a warning to other members of the same and other cultural groups, by demonstrating what might happen to their communities should they fail to conform to the demands of their occupiers;

3) eradicating material traces of these individuals and communities so that they would effectively be written out of history (since evidence of their culture was embodied in cultural centres);

4) facilitating the looting of valuable material to economically deprive communities and sometimes finance the Third Reich;

5) facilitating concurrent genocide through the mass murder of communities within these cultural centres e.g. executions within cemeteries, synagogues and churches, which in turn would act as a threat/demonstration of power to others;

6) paving the way for physical genocide.

This paper has also demonstrated that the evidence of cultural genocide is very diverse and certainly the examples referred to are not exhaustive. Further research is needed to fully define "an archaeology of cultural genocide" and much more attention needs to be paid to sites relating to non-Jewish groups persecuted during the Holocaust. The evidence that is known has demonstrated how investigations of it provide the opportunity to simultaneously examine pre-war life of the communities that the Nazis and their collaborators sought to eradicate, the events

of the Holocaust, its legacy and post-war responses to it. It seems highly unlikely that a "forensic turn" will take place whereby nation states or individuals are prosecuted for failing to protect cultural property, even though new guidelines are being accepted at European level on this topic. However, as more and more attention is given to these sites, recent developments in forensic and archaeological methods offer the opportunity for a different type of "forensic turn"; one which approaches cultural genocide as a crime from a wide range of perspectives. By working as part of interdisciplinary teams, archaeologists and forensic specialists can provide new insights into cultural genocide and, in fact, archaeology might be the only way to reveal information about lost culture and the people to which it relates. Even when excavation is not permitted, the wide range of non-invasive methods now available to researchers can provide access to sites that have previously been deemed too sensitive/difficult to examine and offer the opportunity to analyse a broader range of evidence connected to these crimes. Similarly, the data derived from these investigations should be used to create educational tools and opportunities in the future e.g. in the form of digital tools, fieldwork experiences, restoration projects and new histories. Recognising that cultural genocide can have such a close relationship with physical genocide (and can in fact pave the way for it) means that its analysis also has important implications for genocide prevention in the future. It is obvious that projects that recover evidence and seek to restore sites will never reverse the effects of cultural genocide. However, they can certainly go some way towards demonstrating that the Nazis and their collaborators were not successful in destroying the culture they so vehemently sought to erase.