

'A CONTEMPORARY LOOK AT THE JEWISH PAST IN POLAND'?

TRACES OF MEMORY AND THE GALICIA JEWISH MUSEUM, KRAKÓW (2004-2011)

by

KATHERINE GERRARD

A thesis submitted to the

University of Birmingham

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology and Religion

School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

October 2012

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This thesis is a rigorous academic study of a museum which has previously not been subject to theoretical examination: that is, the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków, Poland. It analyses the relationship between the museum's permanent exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, and the broader museum from its establishment in 2004 until the end of the research period for the thesis, 2011. Through a case study methodology and detailed analysis of the resulting observations, conducted by the ultimate participant observer – a former director of the museum – and informed by extensive bibliographic research, the thesis provides a unique contribution to knowledge in the fields of museum studies, Polish-Jewish relations and Jewish cultural studies.

Through a close, micro-level reading of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum, and with a concluding that chapter draws together the threads of the thesis – considering them in relation to the broader contexts of the Kazimierz Jewish quarter in Kraków and the European Jewish Space – the thesis provides a Jewish museum contribution to the discipline of 'new museology', and finds that the Galicia Jewish Museum can be seen as the embodiment of what a 'new museum' might be within the defined context of an east European, Jewish framework.

Contents

	Page
Abstract	
Contents	
List of figures	
Introduction	1
1. Key terms in the thesis	5
2. Further background to the central case study	14
3. The mission and purpose of the Galicia Jewish Museum	32
4. Ethical considerations	39
5. Methodology	42
6. Thesis structure	57
7. Acknowledgements	58
Chapter 1: The context for <i>Traces of Memory</i> and the Galicia Jewish Museum	61
1. Jewish museums – a historical overview	61
2. <i>Traces of Memory</i> and the Galicia Jewish Museum – establishing a narrative history	78
3. <i>Traces of Memory</i> – a ‘permanent’ exhibition?	92
Chapter 2: Phase 1 of <i>Traces of Memory</i> (2004-2006)	118
1. The context – the traditional significance of objects in creating museum narratives	120
2. The new narrativisation – moving away from objects	125
3. Constructing the <i>Traces of Memory</i> narrative – Phase 1	129
4. Alternative ways of accessing the Phase 1 narrative	163

Chapter 3: Phase 2 of <i>Traces of Memory</i> (2006-2009)	168
1. Into phase 2 – moving beyond <i>Traces of Memory</i>	169
2. Phase 2 and cultural programming at the Galicia Jewish Museum	175
3. The ‘who’ of the Galicia Jewish Museum	196
4. Changes at the Galicia Jewish Museum and the impact on <i>Traces of Memory</i>	200
Chapter 4: Phase 3 of <i>Traces of Memory</i> (2009-2011)	202
1. Moving into phase 3 of <i>Traces of Memory</i>	203
2. A new publication for the Galicia Jewish Museum: <i>Rediscovering Traces of Memory</i>	224
3. The creation of a <i>Traces of Memory</i> travelling exhibition	237
4. A changing look at the Jewish past in Poland? The significance of the textual	243
5. The Galicia Jewish Museum by the end of 2011	249
Concluding chapter: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland?	252
1. The internal museum narrative	253
2. The local Kazimierz context	258
3. The European Jewish cultural context	280
4. <i>Traces of Memory</i> and the Galicia Jewish Museum: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland?	297
Appendixes	
Appendix 1: <i>Traces of Memory</i> section introductory texts	305
Appendix 2: Phase 1 <i>Traces of Memory</i> captions	315
Appendix 3: Phase 2 <i>Traces of Memory</i> captions	332
Appendix 4: Phase 3 <i>Traces of Memory</i> captions	349
Appendix 5: Consent form, Galicia Jewish Museum	398

Appendix 6: Consent form, Jonathan Webber	401
Appendix 7: Interview questions, Jonathan Webber	403
Bibliography	405

List of figures

	Page
Chapter 1: The context for Traces of Memory and the Galicia Jewish Museum	
1.1 <i>Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (reception area)</i>	90
1.2 <i>Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (reception area)</i>	91
1.3 <i>Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (bookshop)</i>	91
1.4 <i>Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (cafe area)</i>	91
1.5 <i>Table: Summary of exhibition developments, April 2004-December 2011</i>	93
1.6 <i>Map: Location of the Galicia Jewish Museum on ul. Dajwór, in relation to the tourist-heavy areas of ul. Szeroka and ul. Starowiślna</i>	99
1.7 <i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, Traces of Memory photographs on free-standing frames</i>	102
1.8 <i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, Traces of Memory photographs suspended in front of the museum's red brick walls</i>	103
1.9 <i>Table: Summary of exhibition sections, as taken from introductory texts</i>	114

Chapter 2: Phase 1 of Traces of Memory (2004-2006)

2.1	<i>Table: Sample captions in use during phase 1 of the exhibition</i>	130
2.2	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.1.7</i>	134
2.3	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.24</i>	135
2.4	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.4.7</i>	139
2.5	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.13</i>	140
2.6	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.2.28</i>	142
2.7	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.18</i>	143
2.8	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.4.15</i>	144
2.9	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.2.34</i>	150
2.10	<i>Photograph: Roman Vishniac, Entrance to Kazimierz, the old ghetto of Krakow, ca. 1935-38 ©Mara Vishniac Kohn, courtesy International Centre of Photography</i>	151

Chapter 3: Phase 2 of Traces of Memory (2006-2009)

3.1	<i>Image: Floor plan of the Galicia Jewish Museum 2004-2006, showing all public areas of the museum</i>	172
3.2	<i>Image: Floor plan of Traces of Memory, following its reduction to make room for Polish Heroes</i>	173
3.3	<i>Image: Galicia Jewish Museum floor plan showing the phase 2 Traces of Memory exhibition space and the new temporary exhibition gallery</i>	174
3.4	<i>Table: Temporary exhibitions at the Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006-9</i>	176
3.5	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 2.4.7</i>	181
3.6	<i>Photograph: From Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews, Paweł Roszkowski</i>	182
3.7	<i>Photograph: From Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews, Janina Rościszewska</i>	182

3.8	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, section 3</i>	183
3.9	<i>Photograph: Promotional image, from Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków</i>	184
3.10	<i>Photograph: Promotional image, from Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków</i>	184
3.11	<i>Photograph: Promotional photograph from They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust</i>	185
3.12	<i>Photograph: Promotional photograph from They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust</i>	185
3.13	<i>Table: Cultural events at the Galicia Jewish Museum, September-November 2007</i>	186
3.14	<i>Table: Cultural events at the Galicia Jewish Museum, September-November 2009</i>	190
3.15	<i>Table: Key museum partnerships by end 2009</i>	195
3.16	<i>Image: Visitor demographics at the Galicia Jewish Museum, 2009</i>	197
3.17	<i>Image: Organisational chart, December 2009</i>	198

Chapter 4: Phase 3 of Traces of Memory (2009-2011)

4.1	<i>Photograph and table: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.1.5</i>	229
4.2	<i>Photograph and table: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.4.3</i>	231
4.3	<i>Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.2.9</i>	234

Concluding chapter: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland?

5.1	<i>Table: Current usage of pre-war Jewish community properties in Kazimierz</i>	260
5.2	<i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, view down ul. Szeroka</i>	263
5.3	<i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, Jewish-style restaurant on ul. Szeroka</i>	264
5.4	<i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, Jewish-style restaurant on ul. Szeroka</i>	264
5.5	<i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, the Old Synagogue Museum at the end of ul. Szeroka, with a large map of Kazimierz on the forecourt</i>	265
5.6	<i>Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, a preserved mezuzah indentation outside a Kazimierz guesthouse and restaurant</i>	265
5.7	<i>Table: Selected key Jewish cultural organisations in Europe</i>	281
5.8	<i>Table: The categories and disciplines constituting Jewish cultural productions</i>	293

Introduction

This thesis is a rigorous academic study of a museum which has previously not been subject to theoretical examination despite its growing significance in both the Polish and Jewish contexts: that is, the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków, Poland. It will analyse the relationship between the museum's permanent exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, and the broader Galicia Jewish Museum aims, objectives and activities throughout the various stages of the museum's operations – from its establishment in 2004 until the end of the research period for this thesis, 2011. Through a case study methodology and detailed analysis of the resulting observations, conducted by the ultimate participant observer – a former director of the museum – and informed by extensive bibliographic research, the thesis will provide a unique contribution to knowledge in the fields of museum studies, Polish-Jewish relations and Jewish cultural studies.

Since it opened in 2004 in the former Jewish quarter of Kraków, Kazimierz, the Galicia Jewish Museum has rapidly become established within the local and international context: according to the Galicia Jewish Museum annual report, in 2011 the museum received 1,038 individual media mentions that year, up 5% on the previous 12 month period.¹ The report also summarises the museum's position in leading tourist publications, stating: 'The Lonely Planet travel guide calls us "Your first port of call" for visiting Jewish Kraków. The easyJet in-flight magazine lists us as "Superb", and Cracow Life – the most popular website for

¹ Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report (ref: GJM2011/01), p. 6. These media mentions break down as follows – print 188; web 460; TV 68; radio 322.

international tourists to Kraków – “A Masterpiece””.² The museum’s local position is further demonstrated by the number of formal partnerships with well-established institutions it had by the end of 2011 – with memorandums of understanding signed with the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw; the Auschwitz Jewish Centre, Oświęcim; the Department of Jewish Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków; and the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland.³ It is also well established within the broader museum context – as well as more specifically within the Jewish and Holocaust museum field – as evidenced by accreditation from the International Council of Museums and membership of the Association of European Jewish Museums and Association of Holocaust Organisations.⁴

As will be discussed in detail through the following four chapters, the Galicia Jewish Museum was established on the basis of findings from a scholarly-led ethnographic study of the remains of the Jewish past in the Polish areas of the historic region of Galicia. The project was led by British academic Professor Jonathan Webber, then at the University of Oxford and a social anthropologist by training. The research lasted from the late 1980s to 2002, and was initially called the ‘Galicia project’.⁵ The project had began when Webber was scholar-in-residence at the Institute of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University for several years at their summer schools, invited by Jagiellonian sociologist Andrzej Paluch, which were based in various small towns in the Polish countryside. There ‘the idea was born out to search out the

² Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report (ref: GJM2011/01), p. 7. The museum also came in Cracow Life’s top 10 Kraków ‘Best Place for Culture’ awards in 2006, 2007 and 2010 (see www.cracow-life.com/poland/ten-best-places, last accessed 17.05.12).

³ GJM2011/01, p. 42.

⁴ See International Council of Museums www.icom.museum; Association of European Jewish Museums www.aejm.org; Association of Holocaust Organisations www.ahoinfo.org (all last accessed 17.05.12).

⁵ Jonathan Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009, p. 3.

traces of the Jewish past that could still be found dotted about, randomly and unpredictably, whether in physical form (such as surviving synagogue buildings) or more intangibly, in the memories of local people'.⁶

The findings were first intended for academic publication in a major volume to be published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, a UK-based publishing house specialising in works of Jewish interest.⁷ To illustrate his findings, Webber enlisted the services of British photojournalist Chris Schwarz, who had also been working in Poland around the same time Webber began researching for *Traces of Memory*. It was Schwarz who – almost a decade after beginning to work with Webber – decided that in waiting for Webber's research to be completed for publication, he would instead take his photographs and use these to curate a photographic exhibition, also entitled *Traces of Memory*, which would form the basis for a new museum he would open in Kraków – the Galicia Jewish Museum, which opened its doors in April 2004.

By the end of 2011 – the point at which research for this thesis concludes – the Galicia Jewish Museum was in its third management phase: On its establishment, Schwarz became the museum's Founding Director, a post he held until his death in July 2007. I then proceeded him as Director – formally appointed in January 2008, following a six-month stint as Acting Director in the immediate aftermath of his death – before leaving in November

⁶ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 3.

⁷ Founded in 1965, the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization is a well-established British publisher that primarily publishes academic works of Jewish interest, which 'are selected for their outstanding scholarship, objectivity and new insights' (see www.littman.co.uk/about, last accessed 05.05.2012). The Littman Library has published a number of the sources referenced in this thesis, including the acclaimed series, *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, the twenty-fourth volume of which was published in November 2011 (Israel Bartal, Antony Polonsky and Scott Ury (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews and their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750*, 2011). In addition to works directly cited, volumes 2, 12, 13, 20 and 23 all significantly contributed to the research for this thesis.

2010 to return to the UK, at which point my successor, Jakub Nowakowski, took over the directorship, who as the museum's first Polish director is still in post today.

Yet despite the academic basis for the museum and the fact that today it is a well-established institution, it is yet to be subject to in-depth scholarly analysis – unlike many other individual museums. This thesis is an attempt to readdress that, and in doing so I will seek to provide contributions to the broad range of fields identified at the start of this Introduction: museum studies, Polish-Jewish relations and Jewish cultural studies. Whilst also intending to be academically rigorous in my treatment of the secondary literature, what my particular status – as a former director of the museum – is able to offer to this study is a consideration of primary archival documents held by the museum, and analysed for the first time in this thesis. Further, as will be considered further in the methodology section below, this thesis also applies a theoretical museum analysis to what was very much an grassroots, organic project: although highly successful as a museum, it was started by Schwarz, a photographer with no professional museum training or experience, with the input of social anthropologist Webber – a key contributor to the field of Jewish cultural studies and someone who understood the academic issues around the subject matter of the museum, but again not from a professional museum background.

1. Key terms in the thesis

1.1 About the thesis title

The title for this thesis, '*A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*'? *Traces of Memory and the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków (2004-2011)* is taken from the title and sub-title of the permanent exhibition, *Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*. It should be noted, however, that the title *Traces of Memory* refers to a number of different elements, all of which will be explored in detail through the course of the thesis.

According to Webber, the title first originated from his wife, Connie Webber, who was (and still is) also managing editor of the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, who were to publish the findings of Webber's research project. Webber confirms, '*Traces of Memory*, that was Connie's suggestion. Because we approached Littman; Littman agreed to publish the book and she came up with the title'.⁸The full title of the publication was to be *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, and the shortened version, *Traces of Memory*, soon replaced 'the Galicia project' for the working title of the research project and – later – the exhibition based on this project that was to become the permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum.

Chapter 1 of this thesis will note how this title has remained consistent throughout the different phases of the exhibition, which will be examined in turn in the following chapters.

⁸ Interview with Jonathan Webber, 27 May 2012 (ref: KGPCI/04), interview part 2, 00:20:02. Connie's Webber's role in the *Traces of Memory* research project more broadly is also noted by Webber: 'My wife Connie, managing editor of the [Littman] Library, has lived with *Traces of Memory* for many long years – she accompanied me to every single place recorded in this book, mulled over my thoughts and helped me elaborate them, and in ways too numerous to record here has been nothing less than my invisible co-author' (Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 9).

In addition, the travelling exhibition has the same title (as will be discussed in chapter 4), and there are slight variations for the two publications that accompany the exhibition: Schwarz's initial catalogue was entitled *Photographing Traces of Memory* and Webber's later 'companion volume' to the exhibition is *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia* – again both will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. In the prologue to the later publication, Webber in fact describes the differences between the two based on these differences in titles: 'An earlier version of this catalogue was published by the museum in 2005. It has a similar title: *Photographing Traces of Memory*. Its intention, as the title implied, was to give Chris the opportunity to present his own photographs ... This book is somewhat different. With a view to enriching the content I have chosen a somewhat different sample of Chris' photographs (hence *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*)'.⁹The original research publication, *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, is still due to be published by the Littman Library, with the original title.¹⁰

In addition, the exhibition sub-title '*A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*' has also been used concurrently since 2007 as a by-line for the museum itself: for example, both the museum website and the Visitor Guide open with 'Galicia Jewish Museum: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland'.¹¹

⁹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 5.

¹⁰ See www.littman.co.uk/cat/webber-traces (last accessed 17.08.12).

¹¹ See www.galiciajewishmuseum.org (last accessed 17.08.12) and Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide, 2009 (ref: GJM2009/01), front cover.

1.2 Galicia? Jewish? Museum?

In thinking about the usage of key terms for this thesis, it is also necessary to consider the title of the museum itself, to understand the significance of each aspect of its name.

First the term Galicia, which refers to the historical region in which the museum is situated.

The museum itself defines the region as follows:

The region of Galicia... the colloquial name for the southeastern lands of Poland annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1772 and 1795. The capital of the province was Lwów (L'viv, now in Ukraine), and Kraków was the second city. The province of Galicia ended its official existence in 1918 when, following the First World War and the reestablishment of Polish independence, it was given to Poland and renamed Małopolska. At the end of the Second World War and the border changes in central and eastern Europe, the old territory of Galicia was divided between Poland and the Soviet Union. Today, the eastern territories of Galicia, including the city of L'viv, are located in Ukraine.¹²

Galicia was home to the largest Jewish population of anywhere in east central Europe and had, according to scholars of Polish-Jewish history Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky, a 'distinct character',¹³ with life for Jews first under Austro-Hungarian then Austrian rule very

¹² Galicia Jewish Museum map of Galicia (ref: GJMsign/01).

¹³ Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky, 'Introduction: The Jews of Galicia under the Habsburgs', in Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies – Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians, 1772-1918*, vol. 12, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999, pp. 3-24, p. 3. Polonsky is also the editor of the *Polin* series (see Introduction footnote 7, above) as well as the author of a recent and highly comprehensive three volume series *The Jews in Poland and Russia*, covering the period 1350 to 2008 and also published by the Littman Library (*The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1: 1350-1881*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009; *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 2: 1881 -1914*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish

different to that for Jews instead living under the Prussian or Russian regimes. This distinctiveness has been the subject of much scholarly attention, including in Bartal and Polonsky's edited volume in the *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* series, entitled *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians*.¹⁴ The publication addresses in detail Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Galicia; enlightenment and assimilation; religious, political, cultural and national identities; as well as language, migration, and social mobility. For Bartal and Polonsky it was from 1772 until the independence of Poland in 1918 – that is, the period under Austro-Hungarian (and later Austrian, from 1848) rule – that saw 'the shaping of the Galician Jewish community, and the development of the cultural and social image of the modern "Galician" as it endured until the Holocaust',¹⁵ with Galician Jews caught in 'the winds of change from western and central Europe on the one hand, and on the other [absorbing] the beliefs and customs of hasidism'.¹⁶

Regarding the *Traces of Memory* research project – or 'the Galicia project' – the decision had been made early on to confine the research to the area of former Galicia, with Webber guided by Paluch, who knew the region well. Webber describes the decision as follows: 'We decided to remain within the borders of Galicia. Andrzej [Paluch] took that view that it was the most scenic part of Poland. It was coherent because it had been one politic entity of Galicia and therefore we decided that we were not going to go beyond of the borders of

Civilization, 2010; *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1: 1914-2008*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012). Polonsky's own relationship with Poland and contemporary Polish-Jewish history is outlined in his 2009 essay *Polish-Jewish Relations since 1984: Reflections of a Participant* (Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2009).

¹⁴ Bartal and Polonsky, 'Introduction', pp. 3-24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

former Galicia. And Andrzej himself was very sentimental about Galicia'.¹⁷ For logistical reasons, the decision was further refined to remain only within Polish Galicia.

But whilst this may have offered a coherence to the research project, it is worth questioning how practical a choice it was to also use this term for the museum. On one level the term used in isolation is not entirely transparent: what 'Galicia' is the museum focusing on? The region in its entirety – of which Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine) was the capital, not Kraków? Or only Polish Galicia, that is, those areas which fall in present-day Poland? But for the average visitor, there is likely to be an even more basic question as the starting point – that is, to what even is the term Galicia meant to refer? For many, it is a meaningless term, or at best is associated with the Spanish region of Galicia, and so the choice to name the museum with a subject-specific term (and a non-clarified one at that) is perhaps a surprising one. According to Webber, however, there was apparently none of this confusion when originally selecting the name, as he in fact felt that the term did have resonance, at least in Poland. He states, 'we found that the word Galicia was being subject to a revival in Poland, after 1989. We found lots of echoes. Restaurants being called Galicia. Bookshops, I don't know. There were clear signs that the word Galicia did resonate in Poland in the middle of the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s'.¹⁸

This decision will be looked at in more detail in Chapter 1. Moving on to consider the rest of the title, the use of the word 'Jewish' seems perhaps more obvious – although is no less fraught with complexities. Throughout the course of the thesis, I will examine what exactly is

¹⁷ KGPCI/04, interview part 1, 00:12:21.

¹⁸ Ibid., interview part 2, 00:20:02.

‘Jewish’ about the Galicia Jewish Museum, and in particular the *Traces of Memory* exhibition.

Finally, the choice of the term ‘museum’. According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM),¹⁹ the international professional and accreditation body for museums, ‘a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment’.²⁰ Under this definition, the Galicia Jewish Museum is clearly a ‘museum’: it is a registered charity in both Poland and the UK (operating under the name Fundacja Galicia Jewish Heritage Institute and Galicia Jewish Heritage Institute respectively) and is a permanent institution open to the public exhibiting tangible and intangible aspects of the Polish-Jewish past. More specifically within the Jewish context, it also falls under the definition of ‘museum’, and indeed a ‘Jewish museum’. The Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM),²¹ the industry body for Jewish museums in North America, uses the following description:

Jewish museums – and counterpart cultural institutions without ‘museum’ in their names – offer programmes and exhibits on Jewish art, culture and history while stimulating interest and motivating learning in visitors. Often, the visitors to these museums are Jewish – but often they are not. Sometimes, the art and artefacts displayed within these museums are created by Jewish people, but sometimes they are not. Frequently, the

¹⁹ See www.icom.museum.

²⁰ See www.icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition (last accessed 18.08.12).

²¹ See www.cajm.net (last accessed 18.08.12).

people who work in these museums are Jewish, but just as frequently they are not. Jewish museums are found throughout the world, and they vary greatly in style, size, content and approach. Because of the diversity, creativity and professionalism associated with Jewish museums, the Jewish museum field is on an exciting path of growth and vitality.²²

This broad description of a Jewish museum clearly attempts to encompass the field in its widest sense, to the degree that institutions which do not even call themselves a 'Jewish museum' may come under the CAJM definition of one. The description focuses heavily on the dynamic between the Jewish and the non-Jewish at Jewish museums, which will again be significant going forward in the discussions of the Galicia Jewish Museum that will follow in this thesis.

A very different definition of a Jewish museum is provided by the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM), which states the requirement for membership as institutions which are 'legal entities registered in Europe operating a museum or museum service focused on the Jewish culture and/or history and employ at least one paid full-time professional whose primary responsibility includes: the acquisition, the maintenance or the exhibition to the public of objects which are the property of or used by the museum or the museum service.'²³ Despite the focus on the more bureaucratic aspects and personnel status of museums, even under this rather technical definition the Galicia Jewish Museum still fits the definition of 'Jewish museum'.

²² See www.cajm.net/about-us/ (last accessed 18.08.12).

²³ Bylaws of the Association of European Jewish Museums, article 4.2, available at www.aejm.net/mission (last accessed 18.08.12).

Chapter 3 of this thesis will discuss the museum's accreditation by the International Council of Museums and membership of the Association of European Jewish Museums, among other professional bodies. Yet even by the end of 2011, the Galicia Jewish Museum had still to achieve formal 'museum' status in Poland, which legally defines a museum as follows:

A museum is a non-profit organisation with the purpose of collecting and ensuring the continued protection of the natural assets and cultural heritage of humanity, both tangible and intangible; educating about the values and content of its collections; promoting the fundamental values of both Polish and world history, science and culture; shaping cognitive and aesthetic sensitivities; and enabling the use of its collections.²⁴

As far as I am aware official designation was never investigated by Schwarz, but during my own directorship it was an ongoing – and unsuccessful – battle with the local authorities to receive this designation: as the museum was not seen as 'collecting... the cultural heritage of humanity', despite the definition's inclusion of the intangible. This thesis will examine in detail the permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum, but as will be seen from the outset what sets the museum apart from many others is its lack of a permanent object-based collection which resulted in its downfall in receiving any kind of formal Polish status as a museum. In practical terms, this lack of formal designation has had significant consequences for the museum: it is not eligible to apply for grants from the Ministry of Culture or the City of Kraków under the 'museum' category; the museum cannot formally

²⁴ 2007 Law number 136, article 956, paragraph 1 (29.6.2997), Amending the Laws on Museums. Translation: author's own. Available at www.isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WDU20071360956 (last accessed 18.08.12).

participate in the annual 'Night of Museums' (Noc Muzeów) in Kraków,²⁵ the largest annual event in the museum calendar in Poland where museums are open until late at night and are free of charge to visit (although the museum goes ahead and opens independently on this night and receives a large number of visitors, despite not having benefited from any of the Night of Museums marketing, as the assumption locally is that the museum would of course be part of the event); and I was denied membership of the Association of Museum Directors in Kraków (Stała Konferencja Dyrektów Muzeów Krakowskich),²⁶ despite being the institutional representative and playing an active role in the Kraków branch of ICOM, whose membership base was almost identical.

Webber and Schwarz did in fact debate the use of the word 'museum' in the title, although could not have foreseen the complications of this term at the time. Webber describes the discussion as follows: 'I was opposed to the word museum from the beginning. I thought gallery was right but Chris said no, gallery was wrong. And he turned out to be quite right about that. Little souvenir shops call themselves gallery and, as we know, there was Galeria Krakowska [the Kraków Gallery shopping centre] and this sort of thing. So he was quite right as it turns out about gallery'.²⁷ Yet as the above has shown, whilst using 'museum' in its title may have given more weight to the institution, it has not been sufficient to help bring formal designation locally as a museum, despite such recognition in the international museum context and within the Jewish museum field.

²⁵ www.noc-muzeow.pl/index.php/noc-muzeow/wojewodztwo-malopolskie/krakow (last accessed 18.08.12).

²⁶ www.maius.uj.edu.pl/ogloszenia/radamk/html (last accessed 18.08.12). Whilst this is the official website of the Stała Konferencja Dyrektów Muzeów Krakowskich (which translates literally as 'Permanent Conference of the Kraków Museum Directors') it has not, as far as I am aware, ever had any content on its pages. It is a subpage of the Collegium Maius website as the Director of this institution, which is part of the Jagiellonian University, is the Chair of the organisation (www.maius.uj.edu.pl, last accessed 18.08.12).

²⁷ KGPCI/04, interview part 2, 00:28:28.

It should be noted that there are also issues regarding the names of other museums and organisations featured in this thesis. Where the museum or organisation is Poland-based and has an official English-language name, this is what has been used for this thesis – regardless of the accuracy of translation. ‘Kraków’ (rather than Krakow or Cracow) has been used throughout and variations to this in cited text have been corrected to Kraków, except when an alternate version is used for the official title of an organisation (e.g. Cracow Life). American spellings of organisations have been changed to British English (e.g. the Auschwitz Jewish *Center*, as it is officially called, has been written here as the Auschwitz Jewish *Centre*) and where institutions are known by a number of different names, either because of variations in translation or where names have changed over time, such as the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum²⁸ – the versions used in this thesis have been the official ones at the time of writing, with a footnote for clarification where required.

2. Further background to the central case study

Each of the following chapters of this thesis will consider the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition in relationship to the Galicia Jewish Museum during each phase of its operation between 2004 and 2011. As background to this, it is necessary to first touch upon the research project that led to the establishment of the Galicia Jewish Museum – which in fact has only been minimally documented, with available information on this for the purposes of

²⁸ The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim, as it is now officially known, also operates under a number of other names, including the Auschwitz-Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (official UNESCO title, www.whc.unesco.org/en/list/131, last accessed 01.08.12) and the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau (museum website, www.en.auschwitz.org, last accessed 18.08.12). For the purpose of this thesis the title Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (in Oświęcim) will be used, as requested in a personal communication from the museum’s spokesperson, Jarek Mensfelt (ref: KGPCI/05).

thesis being only two sources: (1) the Prologue to Webber's 2009 publication, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish History of Polish Galicia*,²⁹ intended as a companion volume to the *Traces of Memory* publication and discussed in detail in Chapter 4, and (2) an interview with Webber conducted for the purposes of this thesis in May 2012.³⁰ This interview was intended as a 'checking mechanism' rather than an initial evidence gathering interview, hence the reason it was conducted so late in the doctoral study. As I could not include the same for Schwarz – and instead have to rely on my own recollections and the sources outlined on p. 25, below – I wanted to see what I could reconstruct from the evidence first, before interviewing Webber to check my information with his.

Accordingly, Webber makes the following statements of relevance as regards the establishment of the museum:

- 'Chris was diagnosed with a cancer that he knew was terminal. He made the decision to spend the last years of his life in Kraków and open a museum there, both in order to show the world a representative sample of his work and to further the education mission in which he believed'.³¹
- '[The five part structure of *Traces of Memory*] I further elaborated with Chris as we selected the pictures for the exhibition at the Galicia Jewish Museum'.³²
- 'Establishing the Galicia Jewish Museum was an idea that Chris came to me with out of the blue. It was his idea. I think in 2001 or 2002. I do remember very clearly that he told me about it once at a supper in Kraków. He had this idea; wanted to know what I

²⁹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, pp. 2-9.

³⁰ KGPCI/04.

³¹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

thought about it. He was originally interested in what we call today a historic house museum and the idea of a Galicia Jewish Museum either came to him at the same time or subsequently. I can't remember which came first but he came up with the idea and he asked me what I thought about it and I said it was a wonderful idea.³³

- 'Basically the idea of the museum was certainly his idea. It was done with his money. It was his design. He found the location ... He set it up, he said he would go and live in Kraków and so on and so on. We had a written agreement between the two of us governing what we would both be doing. And at that time, essentially, I had to put the book project on hold'.³⁴
- 'Essentially, what had started out as a collaboration where Chris would work together with me on my project, I ended up, in terms of the exhibition, working with him on his project ... So it was a complete reversal, in many cases, of how the project had begun.'³⁵

From these statements, I would suggest that we can see that:

- 1) The Galicia Jewish Museum was established as a vehicle to house the *Traces of Memory* exhibition: at the time the museum opened, this exhibition was the sole output of the earlier research project. Everything was prioritised around the *Traces of Memory* exhibition once it began to take form – to the extent that everything else about the research project was put on hold, even for Webber. As will be seen in the following chapters, however, the museum has developed over time to also include educational and cultural programming – not to mention temporary exhibitions – that

³³ KGPCI/04, interview part 2, 00:20:02.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

are not directly related to *Traces of Memory*, and it will be considered whether tensions have emerged as the museum has developed in ways that are separate from this original purpose.

- 2) That whilst the project was very much intended initially by Webber as a classical anthropological project – based on ethnographic fieldwork and heavily informed by scholarly bibliographic research, with the later addition of Schwarz’s photographs intended only to illustrate the ethnographic findings – by the time *Traces of Memory* opened as the permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum it had very much moved on from this: the focus had become the photographs.
- 3) Webber notes explicitly how originally when Schwarz and he began working together, Schwarz was very much working for him: Webber would identify the sites, and then send Schwarz off to photograph these. Elsewhere in the interview Webber describes how they would discuss the images Schwarz produced together, but it was Webber that analysed them, and decided in what ways they might be used to inform the research. For example, when Schwarz failed to photograph the image correctly (such as missing dates off from tombstones about which Webber wished to write) Webber would dispatch him back to repeat the photograph.³⁶ But once Schwarz had decided to establish the Galicia Jewish Museum and had enlisted Webber’s support in this, the relationship almost reversed, with Webber now working to Schwarz’s priorities and timescales to ensure that *Traces of Memory* would be ready for opening with the Galicia Jewish Museum. Webber notes, for example, how what was originally a ‘rather leisurely’ project, with the opening of the museum imminent

³⁶ Ibid., 00:06:31.

there became pressures over timing and a need to turn things around quickly for Schwarz in his preparations for the museum.³⁷

This leads to what will be a recurring theme throughout this thesis: that is, the relationship between Webber and Schwarz – the complexity of which was evidenced during my interview with Webber, where he states in initial response to Question 3 ('What was the division of labour like between you and Chris Schwarz, the photographer?')³⁸ that this was the question out of twenty in the interview on which he had the most notes, and the most to comment on. In fact, we discussed Question 3 for over 18 minutes out of a total interview time of just under two hours, and Webber returned regularly to it elsewhere in the interview, as it influenced much of what he wanted to say on the much broader subject of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum. Drawing out the key points from this:

- Webber notes how their working relationship was a new, and somewhat challenging experience for both he and Schwarz: 'I guess is I'd never before collaborated with a photographer and, therefore, it was a completely new experience for me. I think that he had never had a collaboration with an anthropologist or an academic anthropologist. And it was a new experience for him. It took a while for this relationship to kind of get into a routine.'³⁹
- He goes on to describe how this continued throughout their working relationship, as the two of them had very different approaches to the project, both in terms of their

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ The full list of questions is provided in Appendix 7. A transcript of the interview is available on request, but has not been included as part of the thesis due to the personal and/or confidential nature of some of the material it contains.

³⁹ KGPCI/04, interview part 2, 00:06:31.

interests and the implications of this, indicating that the burden of labour (at least as regards time) fell on Webber: 'As the collaboration developed I realised, quite rapidly, that he had a very different approach as a photographer. All he would need to do was get an address from me of a particular place he wanted and he would set off and take his pictures according to the weather and if the weather was okay then he would be finished with that place very quickly, maybe even in half a day. Whereas what I was interested in, of course, was the non-visual side of things. What was in people's heads and memories and I was interested in topography. The topography of Jewish life. Whether people lived in big places or small places. Which part of the village or market town they lived in etc. People's memories'.⁴⁰

- He also confirms that they worked very independently, again suggesting by mentioning Schwarz being 'in a hurry' that he was the one who put in the time and, here, the financial commitment: 'We never worked together. I was not full time on the project. Chris was not full time on the project. There was no point in us going place by place together ... Now and again we would coincide in Poland and coincide in a particular village. But usually didn't work. He was in a hurry. He was being paid a fee by the day whereas I was not being paid any fee at all. I may have had some expenses. So... we were never normally in the same place at the same time'.⁴¹
- As well as their different working habits, on several occasions Webber makes reference to their different interests, for example: 'He was interested in the visual importance of things and was not interested in certain kinds of things that were

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

important to me. So, for example, I'd be very interested in tombstones and plaques which, for him, were photographically very dull and he wasn't terribly interested in taking a lot of pictures of those things. Whereas for me they were very important to see how the past was being immortalised in different places, if you see what I mean'.⁴²

- Webber also emphasises the technical and logistical challenges of the partnership: 'Chris would take a photograph on day one. He might show them to me to months later, I would hang onto them and then they would be sent out to Hong Kong to be scanned and that would be three or four months later. So, in other words, I couldn't really study the picture for several months after Chris actually took them. So it was a complicated process to work together ... It was very complicated to do this work just because we were living in one country and the photographic documentation was in another. There was this long period in which for him to find the pictures. He of course couldn't get around by himself either, without having some sort of local Polish assistant to go with him. To translate for him and so on. And sometimes he couldn't understand my geographic notes on precisely where to find a particular thing. It was all quite slow and difficult'.⁴³

Despite these complexities, Webber and Schwarz had agreed a simple formulation for funding applications that described their partnership, which stated that they 'worked together village-by-village, town-by-town'. This formula later found its way into various

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

museum texts, including – after Schwarz’s death – in the Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide, a co-authored project between myself and Webber in 2009.⁴⁴

Schwarz himself also used the formulation, in the Introduction to his catalogue *Photographing Traces of Memory*, where he describes the contribution both he and Webber made to *Traces of Memory*:

The photographs in this exhibition were taken by Chris Schwarz, who is also the founder and director of the Galicia Jewish Museum. Captions to the photographs and text panels were written by Prof. Jonathan Webber, UNESCO Chair in Jewish and Interfaith Studies, University of Birmingham. The research on which the exhibition and catalogue have been based was done by Chris Schwarz and Jonathan Webber, working together as a team over a number of years, town by town, village by village.⁴⁵

Thus we see how, at least initially, Webber’s role in the museum was less prominent – during Schwarz’s directorship Webber was credited primarily for just providing captions and other texts for *Traces of Memory* with the research project being described as a joint effort. Notably Schwarz places his own name first: this could be incidental (as Schwarz was not known for his precision), or alphabetical – or it could be indicative of primacy.

In an attempt to readdress the imbalance over responsibility for the research, in 2009 during my directorship Webber proposed a new formula for describing the creation of the exhibition – Schwarz was to be credited as providing the photographs, and Webber the

⁴⁴ GJM2009/01.

⁴⁵ Chris Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 1st edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005, p. 185.

‘research and texts’. This then was adopted for the exhibition’s new credits board.⁴⁶ From the visitor perspective, Schwarz’s contribution at least was straightforward – as well as being the exhibition photographer, he was also the museum’s founder. Following his death, two texts were introduced to the museum on what was intended to be a permanent basis: Firstly, a new banner that welcomed visitors to the museum concluded with the lines ‘the museum was established here in 2004 by British photographer Chris Schwarz. Chris worked as the museum’s founding director until his premature death in 2007’,⁴⁷ and secondly, a memorial plaque to Schwarz was affixed to a wall in the cafe/bookshop area, which stated:

Galicia Jewish Museum was founded by Chris Schwarz (1948-2007). British photojournalist Chris Schwarz devoted the last years of his life to photographing the traces of the Jewish life still to be seen in Polish Galicia, and then creating this Museum. Through his creativity and openness to the world he brought people together and gave them a new understanding of history and of moral responsibility.⁴⁸

Webber’s role since Schwarz’s death has been increasingly prominent: The Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report even lists him as the museum’s co-founder – the first such document to do so.⁴⁹ He remains the museum’s chairman (for both the Polish Board of Directors and the UK Board of Trustees) and has a strong public association with the

⁴⁶ Credits, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/CR).

⁴⁷ The full text to the banner reads, ‘the Galicia Jewish Museum exists to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to celebrate the Jewish culture of Polish Galicia. The museum building was originally a mill, most likely Jewish owned. After the war, it became a metal work factory. Major structural renovations were undertaken in 2002-2003, before the museum was established here in 2004 by British photographer Chris Schwarz. Chris worked as the museum’s founding director until his premature death in 2007’ (ref: GJMsign/02).

⁴⁸ GJMsign/03.

⁴⁹ GJM2011/01, p. 41.

museum: for example, it was Webber – rather than the museum’s director – who was invited to open the *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition at Boston University in 2010, and at Pepperdine University, California in 2011.⁵⁰ Both he and I attended the US premiere showing of *Traces of Memory* at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York, also in 2010 – which would almost certainly have been attended by Schwarz alone had he still been alive – and a 2011 sabbatical for Webber at the University of Sydney also saw him giving public lectures at the University on *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum.⁵¹

I would suggest that there has been a progressive, somewhat discreet increase in Webber’s visibility at the museum. Given that I had worked so closely with Schwarz, Webber may well have been sensitive to any more direct move during my directorship, but my handover to Nowakowski in November 2010 closely coincided with Webber’s own relocation to Kraków to take up a new professorship at the Jagiellonian University. His geographical proximity to the museum has undoubtedly been helpful in securing his public position in relation to the museum, with his teaching at the university now in part based on the work of the museum.⁵² As already referenced, Webber’s 2009 publication, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, also allowed him the opportunity to publish his own narrative of the creation of *Traces of Memory*, the Galicia Jewish Museum, and his working relationship with Schwarz.

⁵⁰ The Galicia Jewish Museum website provides details of the *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition tour (www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/traces-of-memory-on-tour.html, last accessed 31.05.12).

⁵¹ See www.learning.mandelbaum.usyd.edu.au/events/past/ (last accessed 31.05.12).

⁵² For details of Webber’s role at the Jagiellonian University see www.ces.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/about-ces/faculty-and-staff/faculty/jonathan-webber (last accessed 31.05.12). For details of his teaching see www.ces.uj.edu.pl/documents/1910281/610b1ee0-acec-4475-83df-1bb751143ddd (last accessed 31.05.12). Webber also made reference to his teaching as related to *Traces of Memory* in the interview for this thesis (KGPCI/04, interview part 1, 00:02:58).

Thus given the passing of time following Schwarz's death, and Webber's own increased visibility as regards the museum, it should be asked: how can we continue to access Schwarz's voice? This is certainly an issue for the Galicia Jewish Museum and will be discussed in more detail in later chapters – but in terms of this thesis it is also both a methodological and ethical challenge. Whilst Schwarz was very much the public face of the museum during his lifetime, it was only in operation for three years before he died, and as such the material that quotes or references him in relation to the museum and *Traces of Memory* is limited. He was not particularly archivally minded – whether during the development of the *Traces of Memory* research project or once the museum had opened – and as such there has been no personal archive of Schwarz to access, beyond his photographs. Accordingly, as well as drawing on my own time working with him – which also indicates the timeliness of this thesis and my own ability to make this doctoral contribution, given that I still have memories that others would not – this thesis will also make use of those sources featuring Schwarz which are available:

- *Photographing Traces of Memory*, Schwarz's catalogue to accompany *Traces of Memory*, first published in 2005 and which includes original texts by Schwarz;⁵³
- An independent short film from 2005, *The Holocaust Tourist*, by British filmmaker Jes Benstock which features Schwarz;⁵⁴
- A BBC article about Jewish revival in Poland written within the first year of the museum's operation, which quotes Schwarz;⁵⁵

⁵³ Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, 1st and 2nd edition.

⁵⁴ *The Holocaust Tourist*, DVD, Jes Benstock and the National Centre for Jewish Film, Technobabble/Skyline GB, 2005.

⁵⁵ Adam Easton, 'Poles Rediscover Jewish Heritage', *BBC News*, 7 February 2005.

- An interview with Schwarz from 2007 for a new *Lonely Planet* guidebook to Kraków;⁵⁶
- A recording of Chris Schwarz speaking at a Galicia Jewish Museum fundraiser at the House of Lords in June 2007⁵⁷
- An article in the *New York Times* about Jewish revival in Poland which quotes Schwarz, and which was published in early July 2007 shortly before his death;⁵⁸
- Schwarz's obituary in the *New York Times*, published one month later,⁵⁹ an obituary in *The Guardian*, published in October 2007,⁶⁰ and several other obituaries published off the back of these.⁶¹

Writing about Schwarz – and to an extent Webber – for the purposes of this thesis is inevitably going to be limited, and the reconstruction of their partnership only a narrative account rather than an any more historiographical documentation: their motivations during the *Traces of Memory* project, thoughts about the Galicia Jewish Museum, and opinions about each other are to a large extent impossible to document accurately, although I certainly draw on my own experiences of working with both closely for a number of years. But for the purposes of this thesis, in addition to the sources outlined above what is also relevant are their biographies, as published by the Galicia Jewish Museum. The museum's Visitor Guide describes each of them as follows:

⁵⁶ Neal Bedford, *Poland (Lonely Planet Country Guides)*, 6th edition, London: Lonely Planet Publications, 2008, p. 164.

⁵⁷ Recording of Chris Schwarz speaking at a Galicia Jewish Museum fundraiser at the House of Lords in June 2007 (ref: GJM2007/03).

⁵⁸ Chris Smith, 'In Poland, a Jewish Revival Thrives – Minus the Jews', *New York Times*, 12 July 2007.

⁵⁹ Dennis Hevesi, 'Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies; Photographer who honored Polish Jews', *New York Times*, 8 August 2007.

⁶⁰ John Turner, 'Obituary: Chris Schwarz', *The Guardian*, 1 October 2007.

⁶¹ 'Chris Schwarz (1948-2007)', *Cracow Life* (available at [www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_\(1948-2007\)](http://www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_(1948-2007))), last accessed 23.04.2008); 'Chris Schwarz: Dedicated photojournalist who captured a range of subjects and founded the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków', *The Times*, 28 August 2007.

The late British photojournalist Chris Schwarz was the exhibition photographer for *Traces of Memory* and the founder of the Galicia Jewish Museum.

Born in 1948 in the UK to a Polish-Jewish father and an English Catholic mother, Chris spent most of his career working internationally as a photojournalist, travelling from Canada to Japan, Northern Ireland to Afghanistan. He worked for organisations including the International Committee on the Red Cross and the World Health Organisation, as well as numerous UK-based charities, and produced a number of exhibitions and books. His own work was typically focused on social issues, including homelessness, disability, and terminal illness.

In 1981 Chris first came to Poland to cover the Solidarity movement for, among others, the *Jewish Chronicle* in London. After Chris returned to Poland following the collapse of communism and became interested in the Poland's Jewish heritage, he also began to investigate his own interest in Judaism. Back in the UK, this interest developed further, and over the coming years Chris was invited onto the advisory board of the Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies and became Chairman of the UK Jewish Film Festival.

Chris opened the Galicia Jewish Museum in 2004 to provide a permanent home for his photographs of Polish Galicia. Until his death in 2007, he dedicated the last years of his life to photographing and preserving the traces of Jewish life still to be seen in Polish Galicia. Through his creativity

and openness to the world he brought people together and gave them a new understanding of history and of moral responsibility.

Prof. Jonathan Webber is the UNESCO Chair of Jewish and Interfaith Studies at the University of Birmingham in the UK. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Galicia Jewish Museum.

Jonathan Webber was born in London in 1948. He graduated from University College London with a degree in anthropology and linguistics, before earning a doctorate in social anthropology at Oxford. Prior to his professorship at the University of Birmingham, Prof. Webber taught for many years at the University of Oxford.

Prof. Webber has been carrying out research in Poland and lecturing in Polish universities since 1989, and has led a number of major research projects. His work to discover and document the traces of the Jewish past in Polish Galicia, intended for publication as *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia* (forthcoming, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization), began in 1990, and it was his search for a publication photographer that led him to Chris Schwarz. Following Chris' establishment of the museum in 2004, he invited Jonathan to be Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Prof. Webber is a board or advisory committee member to many different institutions, including the permanent exhibition on the Holocaust at the

Imperial War Museum in London; Aegis Trust, UK; the Auschwitz Jewish Centre, Oświęcim; and Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford; as well as being a delegate to the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust . He is also a founding member of the International Auschwitz Council. Prof. Webber has participated in numerous university and museum projects around the world, has extensive experience as a lecturer, and has authored or edited a large number of publications. In 1999, he was awarded the Gold Cross of Service by the President of the Republic of Poland for his contribution to the Polish-Jewish dialogue and Polish-Jewish relations.⁶²

So who are Schwarz and Webber in the context of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum? We are told that Schwarz was a British photojournalist who had worked in Poland since the early 1980s and that Webber is a ‘British professor’ (with no mention of his discipline) but no further detail is given about their background or how they came to the project, although these we have pieced this together from the other evidence provided above. But again significant in the context of this thesis is the fact that neither had any museum background or training. Certainly Schwarz was an accomplished photojournalist by the time the museum opened and Webber had an established academic career as a social anthropologist then at the University of Oxford, but that qualified neither in traditional terms to establish or run a museum. Thus the basis for opening the museum was the fact that Schwarz was innovative and a ‘doer’, and Webber had the academic grounding to provide the subject knowledge for the museum. Significantly, there was thus no theoretical

⁶² GJM2009/01, pp. 14-15. Note: the Visitor Guide was published in 2009 and has not been updated, so still lists Webber as working at the University of Birmingham, as he did until 2010 before moving to the Jagiellonian University.

museological approach to its establishment – what was opened was an organic, intuitive result of Schwarz’s creativity with scholarly input from Webber.

There is also little reference in Schwarz’s museum biography as to his own Jewish identity. In the case of Webber, a somewhat public figure, this is perhaps less of an issue, but for Schwarz his identity was more complex, which would often intrigue museum visitors both during and after his lifetime. His obituary in *The Jewish Chronicle* makes reference to something of this complexity:

Chris Schwarz was a successful commercial photographer who honed in increasingly on his Jewish heritage. His late father, Herbert, had been brought from Lvov at 18 to study medicine at Edinburgh in 1939 by his doctor father, who then returned to his family in southern Poland. His mother was not Jewish, and he described his keen interest in Jewish culture as post-denominational ... He kept in touch with his Jewish family [throughout his career], visiting his uncle who had settled in New York, for bar mitzvahs and weddings. His father emigrated to Canada, where he built up a successful medical practice and art collection. In 1994 he returned to Poland where he had covered the Solidarity movement in the ‘80s, to follow up his interest in Jewish culture and his family’s roots in Galicia.⁶³

Schwarz himself, when asked about his Jewish identity, would state: ‘I am Jewish enough for the camps, but not for the rabbis’,⁶⁴ meaning that whilst under Nazi German policy (and specifically the Reich Citizenship Law of 1935 and following decrees) he would have been

⁶³ ‘Chris Schwarz’, *The Jewish Chronicle*, 20 September 2007.

⁶⁴ Hevesi, ‘Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies’, *New York Times*.

considered Jewish, halakhically he was not. These complexities continued to play out even after Schwarz's death: although he had requested permission to be buried in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kraków, not being halakhically Jewish meant this could not be permitted, and in the days following his death there were long negotiations – of which I was a part – about where he would be buried. Eventually a compromise was reached, and Schwarz was buried in the municipal cemetery in Kraków, with a plaque placed on the wall of the Miodowa Street Jewish cemetery.⁶⁵

Where this becomes particularly relevant for this thesis is in thinking about the roles of both Webber and Schwarz as 'outsiders' or 'insiders'. In terms of the *Traces of Memory* research project and exhibition I would suggest they were both the ultimate insiders, although each to varying degrees depending on the stage of *Traces of Memory*. In the museum field, I believe they were both largely outsiders – neither having come from this discipline or ever worked within it previously – although Webber had researched and written on museums, and Schwarz certainly became part of the field through his time as museum director. Where Webber is a clear insider within Judaism and Schwarz, as noted above, has somewhat of a dual insider/outsider identity, in the case of Jewish Poland the situation is different again. Webber comments that '[Schwarz] didn't know anything about Jewish culture or... about Jewish Poland or, of course Hebrew. He didn't have any standing in this. He had a good track record as a photographer but he didn't have that as regards to the Jewish Poland project

⁶⁵ This plaque was in fact first placed in the Remah cemetery, the 'old' Jewish cemetery, at a prominent location visible to the large number of Jewish visitors and tourists who visit the Remah synagogue and cemetery complex. The plaque was later moved to the Miodowa Jewish cemetery and placed alongside a large number of other memorial plaques on the wishes of the Jewish Community of Kraków, who (although they had initially proposed the plaque's positioning at the Remah cemetery) become concerned that such a prominent plaque to Schwarz at the Remah cemetery might upset others whose family members did not have such a plaque.

that we were now doing':⁶⁶ which is what Webber brought to the partnership, given his own background and, by that point, time spent in Poland working on the *Traces of Memory* project.

Yet at the same time, Webber acknowledges that 'Chris also had perhaps slightly stronger ties with Poland than I did. I had a research interest in Poland or emerging research interest in Poland as it was ... But Chris had a Polish-Jewish father which I didn't have. He was in that sense closer to Poland and he'd already been there in the 1980s, as you know, photographing the Solidarity movement and so on. So he had some background in Poland, much more background than I had.'⁶⁷ Schwarz's relocation to Poland – a number of years before Webber's – would have further cemented his relationship with Poland, yet in terms of considering their roles as insiders and outsiders, it is also worth noting that Schwarz never applied for either residency or citizenship (and neither has Webber to date) and whilst Webber as a linguist by training speaks some Polish, Schwarz never in fact even mastered basic conversation. These complex identities have undoubtedly, I believe, influenced both Webber and Schwarz's relationship with *Traces of Memory* and indeed the Galicia Jewish Museum, and as such recognising their dual insider/outsider role will be significant going forward when considering the various phases of *Traces of Memory*.

⁶⁶ KGPCI/04, interview part 2, 00:01:48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 00:28:28.

3. The mission and purpose of the Galicia Jewish Museum

With the background to the *Traces of Memory* project, and its creators, thus set out, it is also necessary to look at the museum's mission and purpose. Whilst the following chapter will look at developments in the museum from its opening in 2004 until the end of 2011, it is important to note that the museum's mission has remained constant from its outset. The archive website to the museum (2004-2008) describes this as follows: 'The Galicia Jewish Museum exists to celebrate the Jewish culture of Galicia and to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, presenting Jewish history from a new perspective',⁶⁸ the only variation from this on the museum's current website is the clarification of 'Polish Galicia' [emphasis added]. There is a slight linguistic variation to this in Schwarz's *Photographing Traces of Memory* from 2005 where he writes 'The Galicia Jewish Museum exists to honour those killed in the Holocaust and to celebrate the Jewish culture of Galicia', but with the exception of this there has been a consistency to the expression of this mission from the museum's opening.

Any more substantial articulation of the museum's aims and objectives, however, does not really emerge until 2007, when the museum produced two documents that went on to form the basis for much future work in this area. First was the museum's first major funding application, to the Rothschild Foundation Europe, submitted in March 2007, where it states 'commemorating the victims of the Holocaust and celebrating the Jewish culture of Polish Galicia, the museum's objectives are to challenge the stereotypes and misconceptions typically associated with the Jewish past in Poland and to educate both Poles and Jews about

⁶⁸ Galicia Jewish Museum archive website, live 2004-2008 (ref: GJM2004/01).

their own histories, whilst encouraging them to think about the future.’⁶⁹ The museum’s first strategic plan (2007-2010), produced initially to support this application to the Rothschild Foundation, describes the museum’s goal as ‘to enrich the communities of the world in the understanding of the history and culture of the Jewish people of Galicia. In addition the museum offers a forum for inter-cultural education and dialogue’, and states its objectives as:

Commissioning and curating exhibitions showing the Jewish history and culture of Polish Galicia; Providing educational programmes relating to Jewish history and culture, including events such as lectures, concerts, film screenings and special events; Publishing material relating to Jewish culture and history in written and electronic format; Providing a forum for multi-cultural dialogue and understanding; and arranging for the dissemination of museum exhibitions and publications to wider audiences around the world.⁷⁰

Successful in being awarded a one-year grant from the Foundation,⁷¹ a year later in March 2008, the museum submitted a second major funding application for core support to the Foundation, which brought together these texts from the 2007 application along with extracts from the Strategic Plan. It introduced the formula ‘the museum creates a new iconography of the Jewish past in Poland’ and articulated for the first time the idea of the museum being unique, or innovative:

⁶⁹ Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe for core support, submitted March 2007 (ref: GJM2007/01).

⁷⁰ Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2007-2010 (ref: GJM2007/02).

⁷¹ Rothschild Foundation Europe 2007 grants 173/07 and 140/07 (ref: GJM2007/07 and 08).

The Galicia Jewish Museum presents the Jewish experience in Poland from a new perspective. This unique approach is characterised by two innovative features: firstly, the core exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, shows contemporary, rather than historical, photographs ... The second feature which is innovative is the synergy that occurs through bringing together the permanent exhibition with changing, challenging temporary exhibitions. These develop the themes of *Traces of Memory*, placed in juxtaposition within the same museum space. This gives a unique synergy and added value to all exhibitions, enabling the visitor to gain an enhanced perspective on the total subject of the museum.⁷²

It was these documents, produced in 2007 and 2008, which laid the basis for the way in which the museum still described its aims and activities by the end of 2011. By that time, on entering the Galicia Jewish Museum, visitors are greeted with that same mission: 'The Galicia Jewish Museum exists to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to celebrate the Jewish culture of Polish Galicia'.⁷³ The museum's website, Visitor Guide, Facebook page and Wikipedia site all begin in the same way.

When the new Museum website was launched in 2008, it took what had previously been the *Traces of Memory* exhibition by-line ('A contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland') and used this on the homepage to set the tone for the museum as a whole. Until this point, the only contemporary focus had been on the photographs in *Traces of Memory* (with the exhibition Introduction stating 'we are not showing old pre-war photographs; on the

⁷² Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe, submitted March 2008 (ref: GJM2008/01).

⁷³ GJMsign/02. The full text to the banner is provided in Introduction footnote 47, above.

contrary, what we are showing are contemporary photographs')⁷⁴but from this point on it began to frame the way the museum as a whole was presented. The museum building as a contemporary space also now became part of the public presentation of the museum, with the introduction of the following description in the 2008 Strategic Plan: 'Used as a mill before the war, today the renovated Museum building has a post-industrial, contemporary feel – utilising glass, metal and dark wood,'⁷⁵with the same description shortly afterwards also included on the website and in the Visitor Guide.

I would argue that this repeated reference to the contemporary is in fact multilayered in meaning: firstly, contemporary is used in a way which is interchangeable with modern, progressive or innovative: indeed, later institutional promotional materials have repeatedly described the museum as all of the above (for example, the museum's Strategic Plan 2009-2012 opens with the statement, 'the Galicia Jewish Museum is an innovative and unique institution located in Kraków, Poland').⁷⁶ Secondly, contemporary is used to describe Schwarz's photographs on display. Thirdly, it also refers to the significance of the present-day for the museum. As Webber writes, 'what we are showing are contemporary photographs – with the intention of showing what can be seen today'⁷⁷ – that is, the aim is for the present-day to be the primary focus of the exhibition. The various implications of these uses of contemporary will be discussed during the course of the thesis.

The museum's intention to challenge stereotypes has also become increasingly dominant in its materials over time. After stating the museum's mission, for example, the Visitor Guide

⁷⁴ Exhibition Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/EI).

⁷⁵ Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2008-2011 (ref: GJM2008/03).

⁷⁶ Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2009-2012 (ref: GJM2009/02).

⁷⁷ Jonathan Webber, 'Introduction', in Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, 1st edition, p. 17.

opens with 'our aim is to challenge the stereotypes and misconceptions typically associated with the Jewish past in Poland and to educate both Poles and Jews about their own histories, whilst encouraging them to think about the future'.⁷⁸ The significance of challenging stereotypes is also frequently repeated, for example, on the home page of the website, the front page of the Education department's printed promotional materials,⁷⁹ and in its printed promotional fundraising booklet.⁸⁰

Thus the aims of the museum are consistently set-out in its materials, as these have developed over time. Through a combined reading of these, by the end of 2011 we can conclude that the museum intends to:

- Be a museum about the Holocaust as well as about Jewish culture of Polish Galicia;
- Be a contemporary, innovative and unique institution;
- Challenge traditional stereotypes and misconceptions;
- Explore the significance of the past for understanding the present.

Before moving on to consider the methodology for this thesis, a final comment in this section is also required on the museum's governance. When Schwarz established the museum in 2004, he established it as a charity in Poland and the UK. In Poland he was to be the only member of the Board, and in the UK he invited Webber to be Chairman, along with two other trustees – Ian Montrose, a lawyer who had been instrumental in raising the finances Schwarz needed during the development of *Traces of Memory*⁸¹ and Jenny Harris, a longstanding friend of Schwarz who was then Head of Education at the National Theatre in

⁷⁸ GJM2009/01, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Żydowskie Muzeum Galicja oferta edukacyjna [Galicia Jewish Museum education offer] (ref: GJM2009/03)

⁸⁰ 'Support', Galicia Jewish Museum fundraising pamphlet (ref: GJM2009/04).

⁸¹ KGPCI/04, interview part 2, 00:02:52.

London. This remained the case until Schwarz died and I was appointed Museum Director: at that time, I also took over Schwarz's role as President of the Board of Directors in Poland, and two further members of the Polish Board were also appointed: Maciej Skocz, the landlord of the museum building and a close supporter of the museum, and Edyta Gawron, a local academic in the department of Jewish Studies at the Jagiellonian.⁸² Webber also joined the Polish Board, whilst staying as Chairman of the UK Board of Trustees, to provide a point of continuity between the two boards. In the UK, Jenny Harris stood down, and a new trustee joined: David Tilles, an investment banker who from 2006 had been a major donor of the museum through his charitable foundation, the Mirisch and Lebenheim Charitable Foundation. The only subsequent changes to this have been following my resignation as Director, when I moved from being a member of the Polish Board to the UK Board, for purely pragmatic purposes. My successor as director has not been invited to join either Board.⁸³

The significance of this is what it reveals about the museum's independence: that as a non-state, non-local authority institution in Poland, there has been an organic quality to the museum's development which is very much in keeping with its establishment by two non-museum professionals which, as noted above, Schwarz and Webber were. Neither were any of the Board members, nor – with the exception of myself – have any of the museum staff ever had professional museum training or experience prior to joining the Galicia Jewish

⁸² Gawron's work is in fact referenced on a number of occasions in this thesis, as she is one of the few contemporary historians of Jewish Kraków. In addition to her doctoral thesis which details the history of the post-war Kraków community up until 1985 (Edyta Gawron, *Spółeczność Żydowska w Krakowie po Holokauście (1945-1995)*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, forthcoming) and her work to provide a number of statistics of the Jewish community both pre- and post-war (Edyta Gawron, 'To co ocalone... Żydowski Kraków – Dawniej i obecnie', in *Alma Mater [Miesięcznik Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego]*, vol. 109, December 2008, pp. 24-28), she is also the author of a forthcoming study on the post-war migrations of the Kraków Jewish Community (Edyta Gawron, *Running Away from the Land of the Holocaust: Social Aspects of Post-Holocaust Migrations of Polish Jews (1945-1949)*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, forthcoming.)

⁸³ This most recent change in museum management and the role of the museum's current director is discussed in Chapter 4.

Museum: the museum's current director and two senior managers, for example, all joined the museum at entry level, with part-time student jobs (working in either the cafe or bookshop) and have worked their way up through the museum. Whilst this has never been a strategic or otherwise-articulated intention, I would argue that it is reflective of the nature of the museum in being a young, dynamic institution: it is more open to non-traditional employment backgrounds than may usually be required for a role in the museum field. It is worth noting here that my own museum background was likely incidental to my employment: at interview, I believe Schwarz was more interested in my academic Jewish Studies background and copywriting/grant writing experience than in the fact that I was at that time working at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim.

The 2011 annual report summarises the organisational structure of the museum:

The museum is operated by a Polish Foundation, Fundacja Galicia Jewish Heritage Institute, which was established by the museum's original director, Chris Schwarz. It was funded by the Galicia Jewish Heritage Foundation, a UK registered charity which is the parent entity through its control of the Supervisory board of the Polish Foundation.

The Galicia Jewish Heritage Foundation in the UK has four trustees, and at the start of 2008, a Board of Directors to the Fundacja Galicia Jewish Heritage Institute in Poland was also established, [now] comprising three members.

The day to day running of the museum is the responsibility of the museum Director, who oversees a team of approximately 22 full- and part-time staff (this number varies seasonally) as well as a number of interns. Many of the staff have been with the museum a number of years and have grown and developed with the museum, and we offer ongoing professional development opportunities.

Approximately half of the staff work in the museum's visitor facing Operations Department, with the remaining members of staff working in the Education Department, Projects and Publications, External Relations, Fundraising and Communications or Finances and Administration. A number of people also work on a contract or consultancy basis, including graphic designers, a translator, and academic and curatorial advisors.⁸⁴

Chapter 3 will look in more detail at the museum's staffing profile, in particular looking at what is 'Jewish' about the Galicia Jewish Museum.

4. Ethical considerations

Full consideration has been given to the ethical issues that arise as a result of research conducted for this thesis, which were fully discussed during the research process with my supervisor. I have also obtained ethical approval from the University of Birmingham through the Ethics Self-Assessment process (approval reference ERN_12-0898).

⁸⁴ GJM2011/01, p. 45.

This doctoral thesis has evolved significantly in recent years, as it started off as being conceptualised as a comparative study of Jewish exhibitions and museums in Kraków. For largely pragmatic reasons, there was a relatively late narrowing of focus to look solely at the institution where I had previously been the director, as this would resolve the issue of the limited amount of space available in a doctoral thesis; it would allow me to focus on an institution with which I could maintain links following my return to the UK in 2010; and it would distance my research from the obligation to keep-up with the ever-changing museum landscape in Kraków: for example, I had completed my fieldwork for a comparative study in 2009, only to find in 2010 the Schindler Factory Museum opened,⁸⁵ which if I had not included would have been a significant oversight in a study of Jewish exhibitions and museums in Kraków. But once I had made the decision to narrow the focus just to the *Traces of Memory* exhibition and the Galicia Jewish Museum, this was conditional on obtaining the necessary ethical approvals, which have all been granted.

The ethical issues that emerge in the refocused thesis relate primarily to the use of corporate and human data, and the necessity of gaining informed consent for their inclusion in this thesis, along with the use of data which is normally considered confidential and the exploitation of my own 'privileged knowledge', due to the fact the thesis reflects heavily on my own professional experience. The thesis uses a significant amount of corporate data, in this case entirely from the archives of the Galicia Jewish Museum, and to this end I have obtained full release from the Galicia Jewish Museum to use all the materials referenced in this thesis: the consent form is included in Appendix 5. The thesis also uses very limited data collected from humans: a single interview was conducted, with Webber, which was a semi-

⁸⁵ See www.mhk.pl/oddzialy/fabryka_schindler (last accessed 18.08.12).

structured interview conducted by Skype, using pre-sent questions. The interview was recorded and a transcript produced, both of which were provided to Webber on his request. The interview consent form is included in Appendix 6 and the interview questions in Appendix 7.

Beyond that, I can confirm that there has been no risk to myself, to the University of Birmingham or other named individuals (whether physical, reputational or otherwise) as a result of research carried out for this thesis. Issues of confidentiality, data protection and intellectual property rights were fully considered; and that none of the following were required in order to conduct this research – vulnerable groups, sensitive topics, access to respondents via ‘gatekeepers’, use of deception, psychological stress/anxiety, or intrusive interventions.

This thesis includes a number of photographs, including images taken by myself for the sole purpose of this thesis and as part of my fieldwork; promotional images provided by the museum; and photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition. I have full consent from the Galicia Jewish Museum – the copyright holders to the *Traces of Memory* photographs – to include these photographs in this thesis and for the thesis to be reproduced in print and electronic format, with the following credit:

All photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition are reproduced in this thesis with the kind permission of the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków.

Photographer: Chris Schwarz. Copyright: Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków.

There is one further photograph included from the Vishniac archive at the International Centre for Photography (ICP),⁸⁶ which is also included with permission for reproduction in print and electronic format for the purposes of this thesis.

5. Methodology

This thesis uses a case study methodology to analyse the single case study of the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition at the Galicia Jewish Museum, in relation to the museum's broader aims and objectives. It is located within an interdisciplinary framework at an intersection between museum and Jewish studies (and more specifically Jewish cultural studies and Polish-Jewish studies), but also draws on photographic theory and visual anthropology, selected as the most appropriate disciplines for analysing a recently-established Jewish museum with a photographic permanent collection.

Given the newness of the Galicia Jewish Museum and the lack of academic reflection on the museum to date, it has yet to find its home within a clearly identified single discipline. More broadly, the academic study of Jewish museums is very much an underdeveloped academic field, as is the emerging discipline of Jewish cultural studies, and as such the bibliographic literature for this thesis draws on a diverse range of sources. I do not seek to provide a comprehensive historiography of the museum: rather, the chronological approach utilised has been selected as it best facilitates an examination of the developments in *Traces of Memory* in relation to those of the museum as a whole. In this thesis, I demonstrate how the museum stands at the cutting edge of contemporary debates in both museum and Jewish

⁸⁶ See www.museum.icp.org/vishniac/ (last accessed 18.08.12).

studies, requiring the development of an appropriate methodological approach, creatively drawing on existing resources and approaches within the emerging fields of Jewish cultural studies, the study of Jewish museums, and of contemporary Polish-Jewish relations. This thesis can therefore also be said to make an original methodological contribution, as well as contributing to the contemporary debate over what makes a museum or cultural activity 'Jewish'.

The analysis is informed by extensive bibliographic research, although the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis means that there is no systematic literature review included here in the Introduction: rather, the relevant literature is drawn upon and considered at the relevant stages of the thesis. A full bibliography is provided at the end of the thesis.

The lack of single discipline positioning is particularly noticeable when considering the thesis' museum studies focus: whilst museum studies itself is a well-established field with an extensive literature, that the Galicia Jewish Museum is such a young, independent and organic institution, created by non-museum professionals, means that it may not always sit comfortably within theoretical, traditional museum frameworks. Significantly, however, there is a new and emerging trajectory within museum studies, that of 'new museum' or 'post museum' theory, which will be reflected on throughout the thesis. It will ask whether the museum does in fact seem to 'fit' within the structures and concepts suggested by this material, and where it does, whether this has been self-conscious or rather just coincidental. Whilst the concept of a 'new museology' has been applied, under various names, by many theorists in the field of museum studies in recent years, the concept itself is best articulated by British art historian Peter Vergo in his edited collection *The New Museology*. Through 'new museology' he attempts to situate museology as a theoretical discipline, looking at

museological purpose rather than methodology, and writes: ‘What then is a definition of a new museology? At the simplest level, I would define it as a state of widespread dissatisfaction with the ‘old’ museology, both within and outside the museum profession ... what is wrong with the ‘old’ museology is that it is too much about museum methods, and too little about the purposes of museums’.⁸⁷ Reflecting on Vergo’s work, historian Jerome de Groot from Manchester University has argued that the new museology has gone on to ask questions such as ‘*what* did the museum stand for? *Who* was it for?, *Why* did it do particular things? *What* is the *value* of a museum? Is the museum *necessary*?’⁸⁸ – all of which has resulted from changes in recent decades to the museum field, as:

Funding cutbacks meant that institutions had to radically change their fundraising practice; new museological and postcolonial theories meant that the politics and mechanics of display were hotly debated; the increased definition of the visitor as customer changed the power relationship, emphasising the visitor experience over the educative impetus. Add to these new paradigms, government rhetoric over access and citizenship, the concerns of an increasingly globalised tourist market, and the possibilities as well as the problems of new technologies’.⁸⁹

The impact of this new museology on *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum – whether consciously or otherwise – will be considered in the course of the thesis.

My own background is described below, but significant at this point is the contribution my own experience will be making to this analysis, as someone with a professional museum

⁸⁷ Peter Vergo (Ed.), ‘Introduction’ in *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989, pp. 1-6, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Political Culture*, London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009, p. 233.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

background and theoretical museum training – in contrast to both Schwarz and Webber. The thesis will also, where appropriate, employ cross references to other relevant institutional examples as points of comparison: whilst this thesis does not intend to take a comprehensive comparative approach, and rather is focused mainly on a theoretical reading of the Galicia Jewish Museum, where other case studies are used these are intended to help contextualise and theoretically illustrate aspects of the central case study in question.

Primary sources will also play an important role throughout this thesis, and again access to these and their analysis by someone who was very much involved in their creation and/or application is a further unique contribution that I bring to the subject at hand. Section 4, above, on ethical considerations sets out some of the issues around using this data, but it is also worth noting several other points about the use of these sources at this stage in this consideration of the thesis' methodology:

- Whilst Webber kept exceptionally extensive, detailed records during the *Traces of Memory* research stage, Schwarz very much did not. During my directorship on a number of occasions Webber expressed his frustration over Schwarz's poor record keeping and the implications that this created both during the research project stage and during the early years of the museum's operation.⁹⁰ The result is that – with the exception of the photographs themselves, which were left to the museum on Schwarz's death – this thesis can make very little use of any primary sources previously held by Schwarz.

⁹⁰ In addition to copious field notes – both in raw ethnographic form and written-up and a complex referencing system he created to index Schwarz's photographs – Webber also kept full records of his meetings and correspondence with Schwarz throughout the duration of the work together.

- The thesis does, however, benefit from being able to make use of primary documents held in the museum's archive: documents not normally available to the academic community, created under the respective directorships which I have collated for the purposes of this thesis (and again the ethical issues associated with which are discussed above). As an independent, young institution the museum does not, however, have a formal method of record keeping, so the referencing system utilised here was created by me for the purposes of this thesis.⁹¹ These documents are also not held as a cohesive collection open to the scholarly community or even for internal use, and I have had to piece them together for the purposes of this thesis.
- It is a number of these normally non-public documents – primarily fundraising and strategy documents – which best articulate the museum's aims and objectives at various phases of its operation and as such will be drawn upon throughout this thesis. These are then further reflected by more public documents and publications – for example, the museum's Visitor Guide and exhibition catalogues – which will be considered in order to look at the ways in which the museum publicly articulates its vision.

Case study research – the broad methodological approach framing the fieldwork – is a widely used qualitative research method which prioritises the findings of the researcher in

⁹¹ The referencing system I have created for this thesis gives a unique alphanumerical identification code to each Galicia Jewish Museum primary source used for this thesis, organised by category: the *Traces of Memory* exhibition texts; Galicia Jewish Museum signage; Galicia Jewish Museum temporary exhibitions; and Galicia Jewish Museum archival documentation. I have also created a referencing system for the *Traces of Memory* photographs and captions, given that different numbering systems were in use at different phases of the *Traces of Memory* research project and exhibition. The system comprises the following format x.x.x, where the first number refers to the exhibition phase (from 1-3), the second to the section of the exhibition (with 0 being the Introduction and 1 being section 1) and the third being the photograph and caption number in that section of the exhibition. This means that a photograph will have three different reference numbers depending on the phase of the exhibition being referred to at that time.

the field, as well as the interpretation the researcher subsequently applies to their observations. The leading case study theoretician Robert Stake sets out how case study research emphasises 'placing a researcher in the field to observe the working of the case, one who records objectively what is happening but simultaneously examines its meaning and redirects observation to refine or substantiate these meanings'.⁹² Such is the approach of this thesis: extensive fieldwork was undertaken at the Galicia Jewish Museum, followed by a period of examination, reflection, and questioning of the material collated. It is these results which then form the basis for the thesis' research conclusions, which in the case of this thesis are analysed in light of the theoretical material in question.

Case study research makes use of two primary approaches to the field: instrumental or intrinsic, which in turn dictates the selection of any case study. An instrumental approach to case study research uses the case study as a means (and likely one of several means) for understanding a broader research question or issue. It is not the case study itself that is of interest, but rather the findings from which that can be applied to gain insight into the matter under study. An intrinsic approach, on the other hand, uses the case study as an end in itself: it is the case study observations that are the aim of the research process, and because of this the case study will be pre-determined by that very point.

For this thesis, it is thus an intrinsic approach which will be adopted: the case study in question – the *Traces of Memory* exhibition at the Galicia Jewish Museum – is there to be observed and interpreted in its own right within the disciplinary framework outlined above, rather than for what it may reveal about other research subjects of interest. As Stake writes,

⁹² Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, London: Sage, 1995, pp. 8-9.

for the instrumental case study, 'we are interested in it, not because by studying it we learn about other case studies or about some general problem, but because we need to learn about that particular case'.⁹³

In case study research, the aim is to be as non-invasive as possible (in contrast to other qualitative research methods such as narrative research, which relies heavily on interviewing or surveying in its methodology), as 'we tout case study research as being non-interventive and emphatic. In other words, we try not to disturb the ordinary activity of the case, not to test, not even to interview, if we can get the information we want by discrete observation or examination of records'.⁹⁴ As such, this thesis makes use of only one interview, that with Webber, which was undertaken at a late date in the research process and largely to confirm material for this thesis, rather than intended to contribute any new understandings or insights.

In case study research, 'records' may take a number of forms: they may be documents, (archival) records, interviews, physical artefacts, detached observation findings (typically resulting from data collection or other quantitative research approaches), or participant observation.⁹⁵ Social scientist Bill Gillham, in *Case Study Research Methods*, distinguishes in detail between the latter two approaches: Detached observation, he argues, is a primarily quantitative approach: it is objective; with an emphasis on observed behaviour whilst also being formal and disciplined. It is highly structured around data collection, analytical and categorised. Participant observation, for Gillham, utilises primarily interpretative analyses: it is typically subjective, and more descriptive and informal in style: a highly appropriate

⁹³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

⁹⁵ Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, London and New York, NY: Continuum, 2000, p. 21.

approach for this thesis, given my own involvement in the museum. It also utilises a more flexible approach to data collection⁹⁶ and, for Gillham, the first step in conducting any case study research which makes use of participant observation – as does this thesis – must be for the participant observer to identify themselves: as I shall do below. Following along the same lines, participant observation is defined by ethnographer James Clifford as:

Shorthand for a continuous tacking between the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of events: on the one hand, grasping the sense of specific occurrences and gestures empathetically, on the other stepping back to situate these meanings in wider contexts. Particular events thus acquire deeper or more general significance, structural rules and so forth. Understood literally, participant observation is a paradoxical, misleading formula, but it may be taken seriously if reformulated in hermeneutic terms as a dialectic of experience and interpretation.⁹⁷

This is contrasted with the typical ethnographer – someone who enters the field for a pre-defined, limited period in observation, relying largely on the assistance of informants in order to understand the field, and then withdraws to write up field notes: such as Webber, during the *Traces of Memory* research project. Participant observers, however, work in ‘collaborative production’ with the field – again, an appropriate approach for someone such as myself undertaking research rooted in their own professional practice. For Clifford, collaborative production is a ‘discursive model of ethnographic practice [that] brings into

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 52.

⁹⁷ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 34. Clifford has written extensively on ethnography as methodology, including in relation to museums, which has informed this thesis on a number of levels. Relevant references are included in the Bibliography.

prominence the intersubjectivity of all speech, along with its immediate performative context ... Every use of *I* presupposes a *you*, and every instance of discourse is immediately linked to a specific, shared situation: no discursive meaning, then, without interlocution and context'.⁹⁸ In this way, of significance is not only the subjectivity of the researcher – or the participant observer – but also the subjectivity of the field under study.

Accordingly, in order to conduct case study research it is necessary to acknowledge my own positioning and bias. As a participant observer I was based, primarily for professional reasons, in Poland from September 2004 until November 2010. I had initially visited Poland, and specifically Kraków, Warsaw and Oświęcim, in 2002 for undergraduate fieldwork in Holocaust Studies, returning several times that year before undertaking a four month internship at the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim in 2003. I then returned to Poland after completing my Masters degree in Jewish Studies in 2004, to work for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim and the Auschwitz Jewish Centre. I moved to the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków in 2005, first as Projects and Development Coordinator and then later as Museum Coordinator (taking on the day-to-day running of the museum during the later stages of Schwarz's illness), before being appointed as Director in 2007. During my directorship I was a frequent speaker on the Galicia Jewish Museum at conferences and other events throughout Europe and North America, and published a number of articles as well as co-editing a collection of essays on contemporary Jewish Poland.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁹ All references are provided in the Bibliography, and are cited under my maiden name, Craddy.

Throughout this time, I also played an active role in various aspects of Jewish community, social and professional life in Kraków, despite myself not being Jewish or indeed Polish. All institutional examples in the thesis are known to me in a professional context as well as through fieldwork, and I lived from 2006 onwards in Kazimierz itself, thus being fully embedded in the wider field. My doctoral studies had also begun initially in late 2005, and continued after I left Poland to return to the UK in November 2010 to take up a position at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham, where I was responsible for the gallery's operations and finances. Although my personal circumstances meant that I left the Barber in summer 2011 – when I moved to the south of England, and decided instead to pursue a career in Higher Education administration, taking up the post of Head of Doctoral School Administration at the Institute of Education, University of London – this period at the Barber Institute further allowed me to develop my professional understanding and training within the museum field. As much of the writing-up of this thesis took place during my time at the Barber, this has inevitably contributed to my analysis and application of the theoretical museums literature on which this thesis draws.

Further, in January/February 2012 I undertook a final field visit to Kraków, in order to corroborate some of my early materials, meet again with the new director of the Galicia Jewish Museum, and take some final photographs for inclusion in this thesis.

For case study researcher Robert Yin, not only is it necessary for the case study researcher to be aware and set out their own potential biases, it is also necessary for them to acknowledge from the outset the problems that may then result. He suggests that the participant observer likely 'has less ability to work as an external observer and may, at times,

have to assume positions or advocacy roles contrary to the interests of good social science practice'.¹⁰⁰ Certainly, such an advocacy role in my own case requires recognition – as following my return to the UK in November 2010, I remained on the Board of Directors of the Polish foundation that operates the Galicia Jewish Museum, and in January 2012 moved to the UK Board of Trustees – but in stating this from the outset, there is the opportunity to try and mitigate (or at least acknowledge the impact of) such bias further on in the thesis.

Just as I looked earlier at whether Webber and Schwarz were outsiders, so I also should consider this for myself. Like Webber and Schwarz I am not Polish, although my language skills were such that I could function in a Polish-speaking professional context and I obtained permanent residency in 2008. I am also not Jewish, which sets me further outside the context than Webber and Schwarz with his complex Jewish identity. But what sets me even further outside, I would argue, is both my gender and age: I was 25 when I became Acting Director and was director from ages 26 to 28 – a female, under 30 museum director was very much not the norm in the context in which I worked. But in terms of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum I was something of an insider, at least as compared to my successor as director, Nowakowski. Whilst Webber and Schwarz may have been the 'ultimate' insiders in this context, I had a pre-history with Webber as he had been my undergraduate co-supervisor and then was my PhD supervisor by the time I took over the directorship, and Schwarz and I worked together very closely: he trusted me, and shared his thoughts and hopes for the museum with me before he died. By that time, Schwarz and Webber also had a sometimes strained relationship, and I would act as a bridge between the two of them. Nowakowski had none of this (although was working at the museum under

¹⁰⁰ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, London: Sage, 2009, pp. 112-113.

Schwarz's directorship) and further is a not a member of the Board of Directors where I was in fact the President of the Board of Directors: where I was responsible for both leading and implementing strategy, as a non-board member, the current director is largely responsible only for its implementation.

In order to convey the raw fieldwork results of this thesis, there also needs to be an additional step to prepare the material for presentation in a thesis or other research findings. Here, case study research makes use of 'thick description', a method propagated by an American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, to provide the qualitative researcher with the tools to interpret and record their findings in a way which can then be received and in turn responded to by a third party.

'Thick description' is thus used to interpret fieldwork with extensive descriptive elements. It describes the fine detail of observations as a means by which to reflect on findings. Geertz suggests:

The aim of anthropology is the enlargement of the universe of human discourse. That is not, of course, its only aim: instruction, amusement, practical counsel, moral advance, and the discovery of the natural order in human behaviour are others: nor is anthropology the only discipline which pursues it. But it is an aim to which a semiotic concept of culture is peculiarly well adapted. As interworked systems of construable signs (what, ignoring usages, I would call symbols), culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions, or processes

can be causally attributed; it is *a context, something within which they can be intelligibly – that is, thickly – described* [emphasis added].¹⁰¹

This use of thick description will, therefore, be utilised throughout the thesis, as an essential tool of case study research, in order to work towards Geertz's aim of 'drawing large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly without specifics'.¹⁰² In particular, this approach is utilised when applying the findings of the theoretical literature to an examination of specific examples from *Traces of Memory*.

Geertz also resists 'neat' ethnography, which will also be reflected in the interpretation of the fieldwork for this thesis. As would Geertz, I hold that the ethnographer should resist the temptation to apply a monolithic, logical narrative onto the fieldwork, as fieldwork 'is a multiplicity of complex, conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which [one] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render'.¹⁰³ Whilst the chronological ordering of this thesis allows for an appropriate ordering of fieldwork analysis, there has been no attempt to narrativise the fieldwork itself, and this thesis will actively seek to challenge the temptation to accept order and meaning to narrative where it may have been imposed.

Thus fieldwork results may be messy, and subject to rough handling, examination and grappling, with interpretation and reinterpretation an ongoing process. This is further enhanced by the fact that, in the case of case study research, thick description is also

¹⁰¹ Clifford Geertz, 'Towards an interpretive theory of culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973, pp 3-30, p. 13.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

brought together with experiential understanding and the acknowledgement of multiple realities: that is, the recognition that ‘people perceive things differently, not just through unsophistication but because meanings are determined partly by experience’.¹⁰⁴ Findings, therefore, are expected to be complex and with multiple layers of meaning, and likely reflect the multiple layers and complexities at the Galicia Jewish Museum and in *Traces of Memory*.

Once the fieldwork has been carried out – or on occasion concurrently to the fieldwork being carried out – the interpretation or analysis of the observations begins. For the intrinsic case study, the method to be used is one of direct interpretation (in contrast to the categorical aggregation of instrumental case study observations). Direct interpretation, according to Stake, enables the researcher ‘to tease out relationships, to probe issues’ in order to achieve the end goal of best understanding the case. The aggregation of categorical data may still play a role, but only to the end of understanding the case.

It has also been an intention of this thesis to give the ‘key players’ voice, and as such as well as thick description, the thesis will also make use of extensive quotations to provide this context. Full appendixes have been provided to develop this further context where necessary. As noted above, this becomes a particular challenge when attempting to access the deceased Schwarz’s voice as compared to Webber’s, which has led to the attempt to collate a body of material that reveals Schwarz’s voice whereas no such attempt has been necessary for Webber.

¹⁰⁴ Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, p. 43.

Case study research is also informed by the ethnographic present, a term which in this thesis is used to refer to that period of time when the fieldwork itself took place.¹⁰⁵ In this way, whilst there may be other elements that may have featured should the fieldwork have taken place at any other point in history, however near or distant, the fieldwork does not make any allowance for that and instead focuses on that which was observable during the actual period of fieldwork. In the case of this thesis, for example, it is interesting to note that, should the fieldwork have been carried out even a year earlier, the Isaac Synagogue would have also likely been referenced as a point of comparison.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, as noted above, should it have been still ongoing a year later than it was, then it would instead likely have included reference to the Schindler Factory Museum.¹⁰⁷ But given the period that the fieldwork observations were in fact carried out, the comparative examples included were those current to that particular period. On this basis, I would also suggest there is a positioning of my 'ethnographic self' required for this thesis: it was already noted above how my time at the Barber Institute also contributed to this thesis. Should I have remained at the Barber longer, however, or for example moved directly back from Poland to the Institute of Education, then likely the ways in which the fieldwork for this thesis was analysed during the writing-up may well have been very different. Professionally speaking, the current director Nowakowski is in a different ethnographic present than I was, and most notably his

¹⁰⁵ Anthropologist Roger Sanjek, in his article 'The Ethnographic Present', sets out four further definitions for this term: 1) the present state of ethnography; 2) 'the ethnographic present' as a mode of presenting ethnography; 3) 'the ethnographic present' as the ethnographer's presence during fieldwork; and 4) the ethnographic method as gift – 'the ethnographic present' (Roger Sanjek, 'The Ethnographic Present', *Man*, vol. 26, no. 4, December 1991, pp 609-628).

¹⁰⁶ Although this museum no longer exists, for details of the building and the museum during its operation see Eugeniusz Duda, *Żydowski Kraków. Przewodnik po zabytkach i miejscach pamięci*, Kraków: Vis-à-vis Etiuda, 2003.

¹⁰⁷ Schindler's Factory Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, www.mhk.pl/oddzialy/fabryka_schindlera.

appointment has marked a significant step in the museum's history in terms of now having its first Polish director.

6. Thesis structure

The thesis is a close, micro-level reading of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum which then has a substantial conclusion drawing together the threads of the thesis which also considers them in relation to the broader contexts of the Kazimierz Jewish quarter and the European Jewish Space.

As such, the thesis is structured in chronological order:

- Chapter 1: Creating Jewish museums and writing their histories: the context for *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum.
- Chapter 2: Phase 1 of *Traces of Memory* (2004-2006)
- Chapter 3: Phase 2 of *Traces of Memory* (2006-2009)
- Chapter 4: Phase 3 of *Traces of Memory* (2009-2011)
- Concluding chapter: A contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland?

The thesis concludes with a number of appendixes which provide fuller context for various aspects of the thesis, and which are listed in full in the thesis' table of contents.

7. Acknowledgements

I have been privileged to work under two superb, and very different, supervisors who have both provided me with academic and personal support well beyond the requirements of the role. For the first years of my doctoral study I worked under Prof. Jonathan Webber, then at the University of Birmingham and now at the Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków. Jonathan instilled in me a passion for academic enquiry and taught me how to read the complexities of present-day Jewish Poland, and I regret any places in this thesis where I have misunderstood or misrepresented his work on *Traces of Memory*. I have also benefited greatly from the intellect, insights and generous hospitality of his wife, and managing editor of the Littman Library for Jewish Civilization, Connie Webber. From October 2011 I worked under Dr. Isabel Wollaston at the University of Birmingham, who provided the discipline, direction and structure I urgently needed and without whom this thesis would very likely still be a considerable way from completion.

I would like to thank the staff at the Galicia Jewish Museum, for providing such a wonderful environment in which the fieldwork for this thesis could take place, and especially for the ongoing support I have received following my departure. In particular I would like to thank Jakub Nowakowski, my successor as museum director; Tomek Strug, Head of Curatorial Affairs; Krzysztof Czerkowski, Head of Operations; and Ishbel Szatrawska, Communications Manager. I would also like to mention here the museum trustees and board of directors, in particular David Tilles who, consistently and patiently, supported my development as museum director, giving me more time and guidance than I should have ever reasonably expected, which in turn became crucial for the development of this thesis. I was also much assisted by Bogdan Frymorgen, creative consultant to the Galicia Jewish Museum and one of

Chris Schwarz's closest friends, who helped me identify a number of sources referencing Schwarz that I might otherwise have missed.

My thinking and writing for this thesis has also been greatly assisted through the opportunity to present the work of the Galicia Jewish Museum at forums such as the Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies, the American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies, and the London Jewish Culture Centre on various occasions over the course of the thesis writing. Most recently, I have benefited immensely from the support of colleagues and from being part of such a dynamic, collegial research community at the Institute of Education, University of London, since taking up the post of Head of Doctoral School Administration. Long-suffering friends and family will well look forward to the conclusion of my time as a doctoral student, in particular my husband Michael Gerrard, who could not have foreseen that his first eighteen months of married life would be a constant negotiation between spending time with his wife and her next pressing PhD deadline.

For financial support of this thesis I would like to thank the Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, Paris and the Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford.

In conclusion, I would also like to acknowledge here Chris Schwarz: colleague, mentor and friend. Shortly before Chris died, staff from the museum decided to each select a favourite photograph from the *Photographing Traces of Memory* catalogue and write next to it a short dedication to Chris – the annotated publication was presented to him at the last meeting he ever had with his staff, in his home as he was then too weak to come to the museum. I selected the image of Tuchów, where there is a tombstone memorial to a recipient of the Righteous Among the Nations award (see p. 181) which both Chris and I would refer to on

our exhibition tours as a symbol of hope for the future. Next to the image in the catalogue I thanked Chris for 'trusting me, empowering me, teaching me, challenging me'. Working with Chris was not always an easy experience yet it was one of the most rewarding of my life. Without it my career would likely have taken a very different course, my time in Poland would have been a fundamentally different experience, and there certainly would not have been this thesis. He would have undoubtedly argued with me over many of the insights and interpretations I have attempted to offer in this thesis, but I hope it would also have given him great pleasure to see what he created in Kraków subject to doctoral research.

Chapter 1:

The context for *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum

Introduction

This chapter looks at the background and establishment of the Galicia Jewish Museum, and attempts to piece together a narrative history of this period. It considers the relationship between Webber and Schwarz during this time, which in turn establishes the context for an ongoing power dynamic between these two key players. The chapter concludes by looking specifically at the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition at the point of the museum's establishment, to determine what aspects of the exhibition are indeed 'permanent' and will thus be continuing threads throughout the chronological consideration of the exhibition that the following chapters will then undertake.

1. Jewish museums – a historical overview

Much work has been done to trace the 'birth of the museum', pioneered by Museum Studies scholar Tony Bennett in his landmark work of the same title, *The Birth of the Museum*, which traces the history of museums from the pre-modern to the present-day, as institutions of ideology, politics and power.¹ Thus the first step in considering the context for *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum should be a consideration of the naissance and

¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, London: Routledge, 1995. Bennett has also written a number of related articles, including 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, vol. 4, 1988, pp. 73-102, and 'Exhibition, Difference, and the Logic of Culture', in Ivan Karp and Corinne Kratz (Eds.), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007, pp. 46-69.

ensuing development of Jewish museums, beginning with the first public exhibition of exclusively Jewish (or 'Israelite') ceremonial art in 1878 at the Paris World Fair. Although in previous Paris fairs (held in 1855 and 1867) various Jewish organisations had been known to exhibit, as they had done since the opening of the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, this was the first time that there was a dedicated presentation of 'Judaism' for audiences to enjoy.

Thus on display at the 1878 Paris World Fair were 82 items from the private collection of Isaac Strauss, a Jew from Alsace who had moved to Paris in 1827.² It included manuscripts and ritual objects, which were put on display as '*objets d'art religieux hebraiques*'³ within the section of the fair entitled *les arts retrospectives* – clearly identifying the object not only with a biblical, historical perspective but also, significantly, as 'art'. For George Stenne, author of the exhibition catalogue, this was 'to prove the existence of an independent Jewish art within and beyond the framework of religious life and practice and to place it equally alongside with the arts of other nations and ethnic groups'.⁴

Cultural anthropologist, ethnographer and museum specialist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has written extensively on this early exhibition.⁵ Her work focuses on the fact that the

² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998, p. 81.

³ See the exhibition catalogue compiled by David Schornstein, *Collection de M. Strauss, Description des Objets religieux hebraiques, exposes dans les galleries du trocadero a l'exposition universelle de 1878*.

⁴ Cited in Tobias Metzler, 'Jewish History in the Showcase', *Museological Review*, vol. 12, 2007, pp. 101-111, p. 101.

⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's work will be drawn on extensively for this thesis. Not only is she one of the most celebrated ethnographers of both museums and contemporary Jewish culture (her work *Destination Culture* being a popular textbook work for both fields) her professional background is also of particular relevance: as well as being Professor of Performance Studies at New York University, she also leads the Core Exhibition Team for the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, due to open in Warsaw in 2013 as Poland's first national Jewish museum (www.jewishmuseum.org.pl, last accessed 18.08.12). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is also the co-curator of an exhibition of her father's artwork, *They Called me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland Before the Holocaust*, an acclaimed international travelling exhibition, the bilingual Polish-English reproduction version of which was shown by the Galicia Jewish Museum June 2009-January 2010 and is now travelling in the USA under the Galicia Jewish Museum's management

exhibition chose to display ritual objects as art, rather than displaying them for their typical usage – as ritual objects. She argues that ‘because objects were classified in relation to their generic ceremonial contexts, the synagogue and the home, and then grouped together in a series (all the Hanukkah lamps, all the spice boxes), Judaism, rather than Jews, became the main subject’.⁶ For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, this meant that that the focus was on the ‘universalistic terms of art’,⁷ rather the particularisms of Jews.

This representational distinction between the Jewish particular and the more broadly aesthetic has characterised the development of Jewish museums until the present day. Following the success of the Paris World Fairs and the growing participation of Jews and Jewish subjects in subsequent world fairs, in 1895 the first Jewish museum opened in Vienna, followed shortly afterwards by museums in Prague (1906), Frankfurt (1922), London (1932), and Berlin (1933). This spate of openings was due, according to scholar of Jewish art and museums, Richard Cohen, to ‘the ethnographic interest that surfaced in European society at the turn of the century... marked by an openness to the Jewish cultural world’,⁸

(www.en.galiciajewishmuseum.org/they-called-me-mayer-july.htm, last accessed 29.04.12). The exhibition is accompanied by a substantial illustrated publication with the same title (Mayer Kirshenblatt and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *They Called me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland Before the Holocaust*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007). For more on Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s work at the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, see an interview with Ruth Ellen Gruber – whose work will also be referenced frequently throughout this thesis – printed in *The Forward* in 2011 (Ruth Ellen Gruber, ‘The Woman Behind the Polish Jewry Museum’, *The Forward*, 3 August 2011, available at www.forward.com/articles/140908/the-woman-behind-the-polish-jewry-museum, last accessed 18.08.12). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s published work has comprehensively informed the development of this thesis, and as such is referenced in full in the Bibliography.

⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, p. 83.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸ Richard I. Cohen, ‘Self-Image Through Objects: Towards a Social History of Jewish Art Collecting and Jewish Museums’ in Jack Wertheimer (Ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York, NY and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992, pp. 203-242, p. 228.

and that the accompanying new interest in foreign cultures ‘found institutionalisation in “world exhibitions”, museums of religions, and ethnographic societies and museums’.⁹

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the Paris World Fair had set the precedent for the future organisation of Jewish exhibitions. The objects were, she suggests ‘arranged according to what became known as the “Jewish plan”, namely, by ritual setting – synagogue, home, and person (life cycle events)’.¹⁰ And certainly, when the first Jewish exhibition was held in the UK, almost a decade later, similar trends can be seen: although the exhibition was intended to show ‘a collection of records of Jewish history in England’¹¹ – making the focus of the exhibition more local – it was also to include ‘objects employed in Synagogue service and in religious ceremonies, as well as antiquities and other curiosities’.¹² The ‘Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition’ was held in the Royal Albert Hall in 1887, and comprised some 3000 objects, including a number that had been shown in Paris at the *Exposition Universelle* in 1876. The exhibition was divided into four main sections: Historic Relics and Records; Jewish Ecclesiastical Art; Antiquities; and Coins and Medals, each one illustrated by objects from the UK, Canada, India, Breslau and Vienna.¹³ The result was, according to exhibition commentator Tobias Metzler, a very distinct narrative aiming ‘for an integration of Anglo-Jewry into the discourse of Englishness by sketching a narrative of English-Jewish history as

⁹ Cohen, ‘Self-Image Through Objects’, p. 230.

¹⁰ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, p. 86.

¹¹ Open letter to the editor of *The Jewish Chronicle* from exhibition initiator Isadore Spielman, 23 April 1886 (cited in Metzler, ‘Jewish History in the Showcase’, p. 102).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Metzler, ‘Jewish History in the Showcase’, p. 104.

an integral part of the history of England and her continuous progress, portraying English Jews as loyal citizens and patriots'.¹⁴

The focus was largely similar by the time the London Jewish Museum – the first Jewish museum in the UK – opened its doors in 1932: not only was there a focus on objects, but the collection on display was one which spoke of a wealthy, affluent Jewish community. Anglo-Jewish historian Tony Kushner summarises, 'the museum mainly presented an elite collection of Judaica, especially ornate silverware. Although the museum came into existence late, the Jewish museum took an approach that was typical for places of its kind across Europe – Vienna, Danzig, Prague and Warsaw had opened before 1914'.¹⁵

Thus there are some clear motifs emerging from these early collections: not surprisingly due to museological trends more broadly in the field, they were all object-focused, but in the case of Jewish collections, ritual objects were displayed either as objects of art – to appeal to audiences in the same way as any decorative art collection might – or as a means of portraying a rich, assimilated Jewish community, whose world might seem familiar and non-threatening to non-Jewish audiences. Such narratives have led British museum scholar David Clark to conclude that 'initial museological representations of Jews focused on the "logic of equivalence"'. Such narratives stressed the manner in which Jews should be considered to be part of the nation, because in some ways they shared similar values with other groups that made up the nation'.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁵ Tony Kushner, 'Anglo-Jewish Museology and Heritage, 1887 to the Present', *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2009, pp. 11-25, p. 15.

¹⁶ David Clark, 'Jewish Museums: From Jewish Icons to Jewish Narratives', *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2003, pp. 4-17, p. 5. Clark's doctoral thesis is discussed in detail later in this chapter,

Thus we see again the tension between the particular and the general – the interest in Judaism not as a distinct religious group, but rather simply one culture among many others. Looking more broadly at Jewish exhibitions throughout the period 1870-1940, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asks:

Were Jews identifiable strictly by religion and therefore indistinguishable from other citizens but for their faith? Were they a race with immutable and inherited characteristics, inassimilable aliens, a threat to the racial purity of the national stock? Were they a nation within a nation, with their own civilisation and ancient homeland, living temporarily as citizens of the diaspora and divided in their national loyalties?¹⁷

In many ways, these questions are equally applicable to Jewish collections today. Certainly, there has been a consistency to the classification of objects in Jewish exhibitions, both from the 19th century and those which remain object-led today: the ‘Jewish plan’ referenced by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett as emerging from that first display in the *Exhibition Universelle* has remained the classification of preference for many Jewish museums. For Clark, such an

but given that he is one of the few commentators on Jewish museums in the European context it is worth noting that he is also the author of several other related articles and papers, including ‘Jewish Sites in Europe: Constructing Spatial Narratives and Collective Memory’ (paper presented at the Conference of the European Association of Jewish Studies, Toledo, July 1998); *Developing Jewish Museums in Europe*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1999; ‘Creating Jewish Spaces in European Cities: Amnesia and Collective Memory’, in Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Saenz-Badillos (Eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the 20th Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 274-281; ‘Managing Jewish Museums in a Multi-Faith Society: Notes from Italy’, *Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 93-113; ‘The Field as ‘Habitus’: Reflections on Inner and Outer Dialogue’, *Anthropology Matters*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2004, available at www.anthropologymatters.com/journal/2004-2/clark_2004_field.htm (last accessed 15.06.09); and ‘Sites of Memory or Aids to Multiculturalism? Conflicting Uses of Jewish Heritage Sites’, *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2007, available at www.socresonline.org.uk/12/2/clark.html (last accessed 15.06.09).

¹⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, p. 83.

approach 'helps to recontextualise such objects in terms of ritual function and Jewish observance, while still retaining the narrative of artistic achievement'.¹⁸

But what was the impetus for the creation of so many Jewish museums in that period? According to Clark, 'one of the main driving forces leading to the establishment of Jewish museums was the need to demonstrate that Jews made a valuable contribution to European history in all spheres of human endeavour, including the arts'.¹⁹ In this way, Jewish museums have emerged as much 'temples of the elite' as any other art gallery or object-based collection, as the objects selected for display have, at least historically, precisely been those that demonstrate this 'valuable contribution' at its best: the finest examples of Jewish decorative arts and ritual objects have been selected to demonstrate to audiences just how developed, refined or economically successful the community has been.

Within the context of Kraków, as of particular interest for this thesis, this is exemplified through the Old Synagogue Museum, or Stara Synagoga, which is located in Poland's oldest surviving synagogue, dating back to the start of the 15th century. A museum has been located, intermittently, in the Old Synagogue since the start of the 20th century (with renovations in 1904, 1913 and 1923 allowing for the display of Judaica in one of the synagogue's side rooms up until 1939), and then again after 1959, when it became a branch

¹⁸ David Clark, 'Jewish Museums in the Diaspora: Constructing Community and Nation' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, London Metropolitan University, May 2004), p. 82. The significance of taxonomies in non-Jewish traditional collections is equally important, although a detailed examination of the relevant bibliographic literature is beyond the scope of this thesis. See, however, Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 131 and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, p. 26, for general discussions of the significance of classifications in the development of museums, or Richard Handler, 'On Having A Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's Patrimoine', in George W. Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 192-217, pp. 192-193, for a consideration of the work of early museologist and ethnographer Franz Boas and his creation of taxonomic systems.

¹⁹ Clark, 'Jewish Museums', p. 4.

of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków (Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa), whilst still under the ownership of the Jewish Community of Kraków.²⁰ Still owned by the Jewish Community of Kraków, today the museum's mission is 'to preserve and pass to generations to come the memory and heritage of Kraków Jewry'.²¹

The synagogue interior – in particular the vestibule, sanctuary, and two women's galleries – was restored at the same time as the building's façade in the late 1950s, and today reflects a combination of the earlier renaissance and gothic architectural styles. The main remaining synagogue features of the bimah and aron ha'kodesh (the platform from which the Torah would have been read and the Holy Ark) still remain in the sanctuary, which also houses the city of Kraków's Judaica collection in a permanent exhibition entitled 'The History and Culture of Jews in Kraków' (along with the adjoining former women's galleries, when there are no temporary exhibitions showing).²² This exhibition is structured around the 'Jewish

²⁰ There are today fourteen branches of the Historical Museum, each reflecting an aspect of the city's history. In addition to the Old Synagogue, at the time of writing, the branches of the Historical Museum of Kraków include: the Krzysztofory Palace (the main headquarters of the museum, housed since 1965 in the 'Pod Krzysztofory' palace on Rynek Główny); Schindler's Factory Museum (housing the permanent exhibition 'Kraków Under the Occupation: 1939-1945' in the original factory belonging to Oskar Schindler, opened in 2010); The Pharmacy Under the Eagle Museum (the former Kraków ghetto pharmacy, previously an independent branch of the Museum, since 2006 it has functioned under the management of the Old Synagogue branch); Pomorska Street (opened in 1981 and housing the exhibition 'People of Kraków in Times of Terror 1939-1945-1956'); the Hippolit House (a historic house museum showcasing Burgher interiors, and a branch of the Museum since 2003); the Town Hall Tower (dating from 1316); the Barbican (the remaining part of the city's fortifications, dating from 1498); City Defence Walls (managed in conjunction with the Barbican); the Celestat (from the German 'Zielstätte', or 'Shooting Range', exhibiting the 'History of Kraków's Marksmen's Confraternity'); the History of Nowa Huta Quarter (opened 2005); the Zwierzyniec House (a second historic house museum, opened as part of the museum in 1993); the Cross House (housing the city's Theatre Museum, in operation since 1971); and the Market Square Underground Museum (the latest branch of the museum, opened 2010). See www.mhk.pl (last accessed 18.08.12).

²¹ More background information on the Old Synagogue can be found in publications by the museum's director (Eugeniusz Duda, *Żydowski Kraków. Przewodnik po zabytkach i miejscach pamięci*, Kraków: Vis-à-vis Etiuda, 2003, and *The Old Synagogue at Cracow's Kazimierz*, Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Kraków, 2005). Primary field visits to the Museum for the purpose of this thesis were undertaken on 8 and 25 October 2008.

²² At the time of field visits the temporary exhibition on display was *Jewish Artists in Kraków: 1879-1939*. Temporary exhibitions are housed in a separate space upstairs, in the women's galleries, in the main sanctuary alongside the permanent collection, or in a combination of these spaces.

plan', with exhibition cases filled with ritual objects dedicated to Sabbath; New Year and the Day of Atonement; Sukkoth; Hanukkah; Purim; Passover; and family and private life.

Returning to consider the picture more broadly, it is important to note that there have been shifts in the Jewish museum context that reflect those more widely in the museum field: although beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail, the redevelopment of the London Jewish Museum, which reopened in 2010 and will also be touched upon later in this thesis, is a case in point.²³ Because as Kushner notes, 'curators and educators working in Jewish museums in Europe today have also engaged with developments in museum culture at large, informed by oral and popular history movements, advances in media technology, feminist and multicultural agendas'.²⁴ There is, however, an unfortunate lack of theoretical literature that engages with the present state of the contemporary Jewish museum,²⁵ although it is worth referencing here three particular thinkers: R.R. Seldin, Clark, and Jeremy Feldman. All three find that present-day Jewish museums (be these redeveloped or completely new museums) start from the premise that there are challenges to the representation of Jews which now need to be tackled by museums – questions of identity, and history, particularly in a post-Holocaust, post-establishment of Israel world.

Firstly, R. R. Seldin who, in *The American Jewish Yearbook*, has attempted to survey Jewish museums across the USA: although this survey is now over twenty years out of date, it still

²³ See 'Jewish Museum London welcomes the world after a £10m transformation', press release 28.03.11, available at www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/?location_id=519&item=50 (last accessed 30.07.12) and Rickie Burman, 'Transforming the Jewish Museum: The Power of Narrative', in *Jewish Culture and History*, vol. 12, no. 1-2, 2010, pp. 345-356.

²⁴ Kushner, 'Anglo-Jewish Museology and Heritage', p. 12.

²⁵ There is, however, a growing literature on 'new' Jewish architecture, which houses these museums. Much of this is again case study based, referring to specific examples of Jewish museum buildings. See for example Chapter 1 footnote 69, on the architecture of the Jewish Museum Berlin.

provides a useful summary. Seldin notes, for example, the practise of focusing the museum around a permanent exhibition which follows clearly identifiable trends. He writes, ‘a significant trend in Jewish museums is the development of the permanent “core” exhibition, one that provides visitors with a basic orientation to Judaism and Jewish history, alongside the temporary changing exhibits on various topics. The new emphasis on such exhibits stems from the recognition that visitors to many Jewish museums may emerge from the experience as unenlightened about basic Jewish matters as when they entered. It may also reflect the makeup of today’s museum audience: fewer Jewishly knowledgeable Jews and more non-Jews.’²⁶

Seldin’s work is noteworthy in that he attempts to identify a reason for these shifts, not only describing what they are. As well as noting the shift in visitor demographics to now also encompass non-Jews, he also suggests that today’s Jewish museums have the potential to help Jewish visitors identify more closely with Jewish museums – the result of which is a more flexible, responsive museum with a more overt educational and/or outreach focus:

Clearly there are different impetuses at work: to ‘convert’ Jews – particularly the most distant – to their heritage; to educate non-Jews about Jews; to inspire the already committed; to preserve the past, but not for its own sake. The early Jewish museum was bent on preserving the Jewish material heritage. Today’s museum has added to this mission the task of preserving Jews, of bringing them face to face with multiple facets of Jewish life that will somehow arouse feelings of identification. Thus, while the

²⁶ R. R. Seldin, ‘American Jewish Museums: Trends and Issues’ *The American Jewish Year Book: 1991*, 1991, pp. 71-113, p. 100.

contemporary Jewish museum had not, at least officially, abandoned any of the traditional museum activities, there has been a definite shift in emphasis and a resulting fluidity and flexibility in the way it approaches its task.²⁷

In addition to Seldin's work, there are two doctoral theses of two – now established – scholars that have been written in the last ten years which both approach the study of contemporary Jewish museums through a case study approach: Clark, and Jeremy Feldman. Coincidentally,²⁸ they both focus on one particular case study: that is, the *Museo Ebraico* – the Jewish Museum – of Bologna, Italy. Both identify what they see as exemplifying the present day approach to the Jewish museum, as regards what should be the focus of the museum. Like Seldin, neither suggests that this is – or should be – an object-led approach. Instead, Feldman (in contrast to Seldin's USA focus) uses a number of newer Jewish museums in Europe as exemplifiers of three different approaches to what he sees as the central challenge for Jewish museums of representing Jews today. He writes: 'The first approach has emerged at the intersection of architecture and critical theory and is exemplified by the recently opened Jewish museum in Berlin'.²⁹ Berlin, Feldman suggests, focuses primarily on the problem of absence – it is a museum that contains emptiness as a response to contemporary challenges to representing Jews, and instead 'the logic of

²⁷ Seldin, 'American Jewish Museums', p. 88. Such a shift is of course not without its tensions. A case in point for many such museums is whether they should open on Saturdays, to accommodate non-observant and non-Jewish visitors.

²⁸ Clark has confirmed that although he and Feldman did meet in Bologna during fieldwork, it was coincidental that the two were working on the same case study during a similar time period. Prior to meeting accidentally in Bologna both were unaware of the other's work, with Clark registered for doctoral study at London Metropolitan University and Feldman at University of Virginia, USA (personal communication with David Clark, Institute of Polish Jewish Studies annual conference, 27 November 2009, ref: KGPCI/01).

²⁹ Jeremy D. Feldman, 'Museum Without a Collection: Jewish Culture in the New Italian Multiculturalism' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, May 2004), p. xvi.

presence and absence unfolds through an architectural hostility to the display of objects'.³⁰ Although again a more detailed analysis of the Berlin Jewish Museum is beyond the scope of this thesis, Feldman's suggestion that there is 'an architectural hostility to the display of objects' is worth noting, given that this 'hostility' in the museum's architecture has been well documented.³¹ But the museum's permanent exhibition is in many ways a very traditional object-led exhibition: whilst the museum building may appear a radical shift away from conventional museum design, on entering the permanent exhibition one is struck by how very traditional in many ways the exhibition is, and the contrast in which this stands to the rest of the museum. At the time of writing this thesis, the Jewish Museum Berlin is over a decade old, having opened in 2001,³² and as such it could be questioned whether indeed it is still a 'newer' Jewish museum, given that its approach still relies heavily on objects (albeit an emblematic and problematised usage of objects) meaning it is positioned towards the more traditional end of the museum spectrum.

The second approach that Feldman analyses is where there has been an '[unfolding] at the nexus of reflexive museum practice and virtual exhibition strategies, and is exemplified by the new Jewish museum of Vienna'.³³ That is, where virtualisation combines with the use of objects. For Feldman, this is 'a non-exhibition, so to speak, where the relics from a once flourishing Jewish community are viewed in the idiom of a backstage experience. In addition

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ For more on the architecture of the Berlin Jewish Museum see two publications from architect Daniel Libeskind: Daniel Libeskind with Bernhard Schneider, *Jewish Museum Berlin*, Munich, London and New York, NY: Prestel Verlag, 1999, and Daniel Libeskind *The Jewish Museum*, Berlin: Jaron Verlag GmbH, 2011. For more on the permanent exhibition, see *Highlights from the Jewish Museum Berlin*, Berlin: Jewish Museum Berlin, 2010. Although there is a significant body of literature on the Jewish Museum Berlin, this has for the most part focused on focus has been on its architecture, the museum as a representation of the Holocaust, and/or of German-Jewish identity before and after the Holocaust, rather than it as an example of a Jewish museum per se.

³² See www.jmberlin.de/main/EN/04-About-The-Museum/00-about-the-museum.php (last accessed 30.07.12).

³³ Feldman, 'Museum Without a Collection', p. xvii.

to the storage rooms, the Vienna museum includes an historic exhibition about Jews in Vienna revealed through twenty-one holographic images, allowing visitors to visualise Jewish history while avoiding the objectification of Jewish experience'. The permanent exhibition at the Jewish Museum Vienna opened in 2000 (with additions made in 2010).³⁴

The third and final approach, and the one which Feldman goes on to develop as it is exemplified by his central case study of the Bologna museum (which opened in 1999),³⁵ also uses the 'virtual' representation of Jews, but shifts in focus to consider how this can be done when there is no collection. He writes, 'in Bologna, by contrast, emphasis has never been on the logic of presence and absence or the holography of historic representation, but on the virtual display of the Jewish subject'.³⁶ Of the three approaches, this is the most extreme shift away from the object-led 'Jewish plan' exhibitions that have historically dominated Jewish museums.

The three approaches that Feldman identifies in his thesis are a useful summary of the representative approaches of newer Jewish museums: all exemplify the ways in which Jewish museums have developed in recent years, and the varying approaches that they have adopted in doing. And whilst these approaches diversify considerably, significantly they are all defined in terms of their relationship to objects: at the Jewish Museum Berlin, this is seen through the curatorial relationship between architecture and the museum's object-based collection on display as the permanent exhibition; in Vienna, this relationship combines the virtual with objects, meaning that despite the museum's technological capacities, they have still chosen to also retain the use of traditional objects for their permanent exhibition; and in

³⁴ See www.jmw.at/history (last accessed 30.07.12)

³⁵ See www.museobraicobo.it (last accessed 30.07.12)

³⁶ Feldman, 'Museum Without a Collection', p. xvii.

Bologna, although there are no objects on display and the museum had adopted an entirely virtual display, it does so in a self-conscious attempt to still display objects. As Feldman notes, ‘the central problem in Bologna was not the impossibility of representing Jewish culture through collections, but the anxiety of doing so in the absence of a collection’.³⁷

Had Feldman been writing slightly later – in fact, had his ethnographic present overlapped with mine – he may well have also included the approach of the Galicia Jewish Museum which, as this thesis will show, offers a fourth, very different approach to traditional exhibitions.

Clark’s study, however, focuses specifically on developments in Jewish museums since 1970 until the end of the twentieth century, although examines these in the broader context of challenges to minority museums in general, in the changing political climate since this time. He suggests that these challenges have emerged because, ‘firstly, cultural difference is now recognised and accepted within the wider context of the nation state, with regional and class differences being documented and celebrated. Secondly, the nation-state is also increasingly perceived as being pluralistic and multicultural, with a number of ethnic minority and immigrant groups being acknowledged as having a part to play in shaping a new multicultural society. Jews are seen as merely one of the many ethnic or religious minorities contributing to such a multicultural society.’³⁸As a result, Clark suggests, there are now four key issues regarding the museological representation of minority groups – including Jews – in the present-day. Firstly, there is what he terms ‘contestation’, that is, the objection to specific exhibitions (and, presumably, also to specific exhibits or objects).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Clark, ‘Jewish Museums’, p. 6.

Secondly is the challenge of incorporation – that is, the process of incorporating the voices of ‘others’ into exhibition narratives. Thirdly is the challenge of self-representation: that is, the co-opting of indigenous or minority groups in new or revised exhibitions; and finally, there is a new tendency towards performance – that is, the ‘putting of the community on show’, a concept which will be discussed more in chapter 3 in relation to the element of ‘performance’ at the Galicia Jewish Museum.³⁹

Although not articulated as such, the result of the challenges that all three authors identify, and the various approaches being adopted, are as noticeable a shift away from the traditional object-led museum as has been seen in non-Jewish museums. Equally, the result is the creation of spaces where objects may or may not still be on display, but where the focus shifts to narrative responses through a whole variety of approaches. What becomes central for the contemporary Jewish museum, therefore, is the subject, or the story – the narrative.

Such developments in Jewish museums have been accompanied by their institutionalisation, with the creation of professional bodies such as the Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM). Established in 1977, CAJM is the industry body for Jewish museums in North America. Having grown from seven institutional members to over 80 today, its modest early days were by no means a reflection of what the organisation was to become, which is perhaps reflective of the ‘mainstreaming’ of Jewish museums as described by Clark. A statement by Tom Freudenheim, then Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, at the 1990 CAJM annual conference illustrates this point:

³⁹ Clark, ‘Jewish Museums in the Diaspora’, p. 51.

[In the 1960s] there was no Jewish museum field, no cadre of American-trained professionals in Judaica, no grants from the National Endowments (which were created in the mid-1960s), no accreditation by the American Association of Museums – in short, no sense that Jewish museums could compete in the larger museum world, or even a sense that ethnic pride was a valid basis for operating a museum. By the end of the 1980s, all this had changed, and Jewish museums had become respected members of the museum world.⁴⁰

This ‘mainstreaming’ can also be seen, perhaps, in the establishment in 1988 of a European counterpart to CAJM, the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM), which today has forty institutional members across Europe.⁴¹ Thus with professional bodies around the world and countless institutions calling themselves ‘Jewish museums’, the sector today is undoubtedly a well-established one, and how this relates to the Galicia Jewish Museum case study of this thesis will be investigated in the following chapter. Yet what exactly this term ‘Jewish museum’ relates to is far from clear. Certainly, there are self-titled ‘Jewish museums’, and for the purposes of this thesis self-definition is an acceptable basis for classification. Then there are the CAJM and AEJM definitions as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.⁴² On this basis how, then, to understand the case study to be considered in this thesis – that is, the Galicia Jewish Museum? Although drawing on the American context, Seldin articulates the challenge:

⁴⁰ Quoted in Seldin, ‘American Jewish Museums’, p. 72.

⁴¹ Association of European Jewish Museums, www.aejm.org (last accessed 17.5.12). Information on date of establishment: personal communication with AEJM administrator, Titia Zoeter, 3 April 2011 (ref: KGPCI/03).

⁴² See pp. 10-11.

The basic concept of a Jewish museum as an institution devoted to the collection, preservation and presentation of art and objects associated with the Jewish people and heritage has been essentially unchanged since the first Jewish museums came into existence a century ago. However, this broad definition leaves considerable room for interpretation and different approaches. What qualifies something to be labelled 'Jewish', particularly in the realm of fine art? Should a Jewish museum be limited to showing Jewish art, however that is defined, or should it be universal in its approach? What aspects of Jewishness should the museum emphasise – the religious, the secular, ancient Israel, modern Israel, the Holocaust, or American Jewish life?⁴³

The relative lack of theoretical material on Jewish museums (despite such an apparently flourishing field) makes – for example – a broader consideration of what constitutes a Jewish museum somewhat problematic. Yet it is interesting to consider how other academic considerations about Jewish museums have approached the task, as a common approach appears to be case study based research – identified in the Introduction as the key methodological approach used in this thesis. Both Clark and Feldman also adopted this approach, as did a recent special edition of the Association of Jewish Studies *Perspectives* journal, published in 2010. The journal, entitled simply 'The Museum Issue', looked at examples as geographically diverse as Illinois and Cape Town, to try and piece together an overview of the current landscape of Jewish museums.⁴⁴In this way, a detailed analysis of

⁴³ Seldin, 'American Jewish Museums', p. 77-78.

⁴⁴ *AJS Perspectives: The Museum Issue*, Association for Jewish Studies, Spring 2010.

the narrative of the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition (and its relationship to the Galicia Jewish Museum more broadly) is certainly in the tradition of contemporary academic studies of Jewish museums. Through this course of this thesis I will attempt then to establish what type of Jewish museum the Galicia Jewish Museum is, with this chapter now then moving on to look more closely at the central tenets of the museum's narrativised history.

2. *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum: establishing a narrative history

In 2009, Webber and I worked together to summarise the history of the museum's establishment for a new Visitor Guide to be offered for sale to all museum visitors, both as an orientation to the museum and as a souvenir purchase. We agreed the following text:

The Galicia Jewish Museum was established in April 2004 by its founding director, Chris Schwarz, an award-winning British photojournalist based in the UK whilst working internationally. Chris first visited Poland in 1981 to cover the Solidarity movement as a press photographer, but returning to Poland again after the collapse of communism he became interested in the existence of relics of Jewish life in the countryside outside Kraków.

A fortunate meeting with the British anthropologist Jonathan Webber led to a joint project that was to become known as *Traces of Memory*. Prof. Webber, then teaching at the University of Oxford, now UNESCO Chair in Jewish and Interfaith Studies at the University of Birmingham, had been engaged in field research in Polish Galicia for a number of years. Working village by village, town by town, at times independently and on occasion

leading larger research teams, he worked to discover and document the traces of the Jewish past still visible in the Polish landscape.

His search for a project photographer led him to Chris who – after working alongside Jonathan for over 12 years and producing almost 1,000 photographs – decided to establish the Galicia Jewish Museum as a permanent home for his photographs. In late February 2004, Chris loaded his car with computers, printers, and cameras and drove across Europe to confront a biting Polish winter. With the help of local friends but with no infrastructure, staff, or Polish language skills, he set about transforming an empty former warehouse building in Kazimierz. Seven weeks later, the Galicia Jewish Museum was opened.⁴⁵

Around the same time, Webber also approved the text I had written for our new museum website, entitled ‘Our History’:

The Galicia Jewish Museum was established in April 2004, by its founding director, Chris Schwarz.

British photojournalist Chris Schwarz was for many years a well-known documentary photographer, based in the UK whilst working internationally. He first visited Poland in 1981 to cover the Solidarity movement as a press photographer, but returning to Poland again after the collapse of

⁴⁵ Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide, 2009 (ref: GJM2009/01), pp. 5-6.

communism he became interested in the existence of relics of Jewish life in the small towns and villages in the countryside outside Kraków.

British scholar, Prof. Jonathan Webber (at that time Fellow in Jewish Social Studies at Oxford University, now UNESCO Chair in Jewish and Interfaith Studies at the University of Birmingham) had been engaged in field research in Polish Galicia for a number of years. Working village-by-village, town-by-town, at times independently and on occasion leading larger research teams, he worked to document the traces of the Jewish past still visible in the Polish landscape. His research was intended for publication as *Traces of Memory: the Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia* (forthcoming, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization), and his search for a publication photographer led him to Chris.

It was this fortunate meeting that led to the joint project that was to become known as *Traces of Memory* and, eventually – after working alongside Jonathan for almost 10 years and producing almost 1000 photographs – Chris' decision to establish the Galicia Jewish Museum, as a permanent home for his photographs.

Thus in late February 2004, Chris loaded his car with computers, printers, and cameras and drove across Europe to confront a biting Polish winter. With no infrastructure, staff, or Polish language skills, he set about transforming an empty former warehouse building in Kazimierz, Kraków's old

Jewish quarter. He registered the museum as a charity both in Poland and in the UK, and invited Jonathan to be Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Seven weeks later, the Galicia Jewish Museum was opened.

Inside the museum, *Traces of Memory* had been set-up as a photographic exhibition, to form the museum's core collection. Over the next three years, Chris went on to develop an institution which – through its exciting range of exhibitions, dynamic cultural and education programme and, above all, by virtue of Chris' own commitment, charisma and energy – came to play an essential role in the revival of Jewish culture in Poland.

Whilst there is no single document that can be said to offer the definitive history of the museum's establishment, the key facts are similar in each of these texts that Webber approved:

- Schwarz was a British photographer drawn to Poland by, among other things, an interest in the Solidarity movement in the period immediately before and after the collapse of communism;
- Webber, a British social anthropologist, had also been working in Poland during this period and joined up with Schwarz to collaborate on a project that was to become known as *Traces of Memory*.
- Schwarz used the photographs taken for this project to form the permanent exhibition of the museum he later went on to establish, the Galicia Jewish Museum.

There is, however, one striking inconsistency being the texts: that is, the original purpose of Webber's research. In the website text, it is clear that this research was intended initially for publication, as part of a (still forthcoming) work entitled *Traces of Memory: the Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, to be published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. Schwarz was to be his 'publication photographer'. In the Visitor Guide text, Webber 'worked to discover and document' the traces of the Jewish past with no reference to their intended purpose, and Schwarz is his 'project photographer', a rather more generic term. In the museum's 2011 annual report this is taken one step further, with the co-founding of the museum itself also attributed to Webber: '2004: Establishment of the Galicia Jewish Museum. Founded by Chris Schwarz and Prof. Jonathan Webber'.⁴⁶

This has been a subtle progression and, significantly, each of these texts referenced here has been published – and therefore endorsed – by the Galicia Jewish Museum itself: it is therefore not surprising that the versions of history offered, although varied, are largely palatable to the museum's audiences, a number of whom would have known Schwarz personally and would at least know of Webber. How, then, does Webber describe the establishment of the museum in a publication that the museum has no ownership over – that is, in his (also) 2009 work, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*,⁴⁷ intended to be a companion publication to the *Traces of Memory* exhibition but one which could also be a stand-alone publication? This publication will be discussed in detail in chapter 4 to the thesis, but it is worth noting here that the volume was published by

⁴⁶ Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report (ref: GJM2011/01), p. 41.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009.

the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization – not by the Galicia Jewish Museum, although the museum was asked for final approval prior to it going to print, which I personally oversaw.

Thus in this rather more independent publication – and in fact the only one where the authorship is formally attributed to Webber – he describes his early relationship with Schwarz as follows:

A mutual interest in the Jewish heritage of Galicia led us to a collaboration which began in 1993 and continued to the early years of the present century. I shared with him all I knew, and I gave him a list of places I had found in my opinion that were worth photographing for the documentary record ... The ‘Galicia’ project, as we called it, gathered momentum: Chris searched for funding, I continued to look for fresh places for him to photograph and by about 2002 Chris had accumulated an archive of about one thousand images. It was a close partnership, and certainly Chris was the closest colleague I have ever had. Of course there were differences of opinion, but instead of ‘I think’ it slowly became ‘we think’.⁴⁸

In this single summary of the Webber/Schwarz working relationship that features in Webber’s publication, there are two points that are particularly striking: firstly, the discreet reference to the challenges in their working relationship (‘of course there were differences in opinion’), but secondly, the importance for Webber that readers know that it was him – and not Schwarz – who found the sites that featured in *Traces of Memory*. He mentions this twice, writing that he ‘gave him a list of places I had found in my opinion that were worth

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

photographing’ (indicating that these sites had already been identified by Webber long before Schwarz was part of this project), and going on to state that ‘I continued to look for fresh places for him to photograph’ (that is, once they started working together and whilst Schwarz may have been concerned with the practicalities of the project – securing funding etc – it was Webber who continued to be the locator of the sites that he would then ask Schwarz to photograph). The implication here is that Schwarz was ‘just’ the photographer: clearly a very skilled one in Webber’s opinion (he writes, ‘it was an enormous privilege to work with such a talented professional photographer, a man of great emotional depth. He knew how to open people’s eyes to new vistas’⁴⁹) but that as the photographer Schwarz should take no credit for any more in-depth or academic contribution to the *Traces of Memory* project.

Rediscovering Traces of Memory also includes one brief reference on the museum’s establishment:

[Chris] made the decision to spend the last years of his life in Kraków and to open a museum there, both in order to show the world a representative sample of his work and to further the educational mission in which he believed. And thus, in 2004, the Galicia Jewish Museum was opened, with *Traces of Memory* as its permanent exhibition.⁵⁰

This very succinct summary is the only mention in the entire 186-page publication to the establishment of the museum. It is significant that Webber takes no credit in any way for the establishment of the museum, yet the prominence he gives to the museum in the

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

publication is minimal: this is clearly a publication about the *Traces of Memory* project, not about 'Schwarz's' museum.

Given that Schwarz only lived to see the first three years of the museum's establishment – when the focus was very much on getting an independent start-up museum open and visitors through the doors – the number of promotional texts produced about the museum was limited, and as such there is little to contrast the 2009-2012 texts with from within Schwarz's lifetime, when he could have also contributed to a telling of the history of the museum's establishment. The exception to this is in the introduction to Schwarz's own exhibition catalogue, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary View of the Jewish Past in Poland*,⁵¹ published by museum in 2005 with a second edition in 2006. Here, he offers his perspective on the period up to the opening of the museum:

I arrived in Kraków on the February 28th 2004 [sic], my car loaded with computers and a giant Epson photographic printer – to confront a biting winter, a large empty though renovated former furniture factory, some borrowed money and a dream to open a Jewish museum. I had little Polish, no staff and no infrastructure. Seven weeks later the museum opened.

It was eighteen months since I had first thought of setting up the Galicia Jewish Museum, but nearly twelve years since I had first come to Kraków and the Jewish quarter of Kazimierz. When I first saw it in 1992, Kazimierz was rough, run down and considered dangerous. However, there has always been a special atmosphere in Kazimierz – one can feel its former Jewish

⁵¹ Chris Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 1st edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005; 2nd edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006.

identity – and this intrigued me. I was told that in some of the small towns and villages out in the countryside there were still some abandoned, ruined synagogues, which I felt compelled to document.

My determination to photograph the remains of Jewish culture in Poland led to a meeting with a British scholar, Prof. Jonathan Webber. This developed into a partnership that combined Jonathan’s academic rigour with my more intuitive creativity. Jonathan had already spent a lot of time out in the countryside and had collected a lot of material, which he gladly shared with me. I took the photographs and pictures for our joint project that is now called *Traces of Memory* while Jonathan undertook the arduous task of checking and rechecking the accuracy of his research.⁵²

This is a much more personal telling of work on the *Traces of Memory* project and the establishment of the museum. Whilst the broad picture is the same – Webber and Schwarz working together yet independently on a project that was to become *Traces of Memory* – the details of some of texts are absent, notably 1) the extent to which Schwarz’s photographs were dictated by Webber’s research, and 2) the suggestion that Webber had any involvement whatsoever in the creation of the museum, although the research project itself is referred to as a ‘our joint project’. Other than the reference that Webber ‘gladly shared’ his previous findings with Schwarz, there is also very little to shed any further light on the nature of the partnership between Webber and Schwarz.

⁵² Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, 1st edition, pp. 11-12.

On the other hand, it is also apparent that certain aspects of the narrative have become rhetoric, and appear through all the texts, regardless of their authorship. This is particularly the case around the actual opening of the museum – Schwarz driving from the UK to Poland and setting up the museum from scratch in a mere seven weeks features in almost all of the texts and makes for an engaging personal insight into the project. Similarly, Schwarz's commitment to the project is also a key theme in all the texts – perhaps not surprisingly in his own writings, but Webber's Introduction in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* also emphasises Schwarz's photographic talent and dedication, describing how his 'artistic insight, and his commitment, charisma, energy and moral involvement with the subject, made a profound impression on all who were privileged to know him'.⁵³ Although this of course pays tribute to Schwarz, from a somewhat more sceptical perspective, what this emphasis also achieves is to shift attention away from any more substantial contribution by Schwarz to the *Traces of Memory* project. In this way, Webber is positioned as the authoritative, academic 'voice' of *Traces of Memory*, and Schwarz becomes merely an artist who gave the exhibition a very subjective, 'artistic' contribution.

All texts stop short, however, of any more explicit criticism of the other, or any more personal an emphasis on the achievements of the projects, which is hardly surprising: Although Schwarz's catalogue was published by the museum itself and independently of Webber, clearly Schwarz would have been aware that Webber would have soon read the text, and failure to include a palatable telling of their partnership would have inevitably led to further difficulties. Likewise, although published after Schwarz's death, Webber would have been aware that friends and family of Schwarz – including those who were close to

⁵³ Webber, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, p. 4.

Schwarz during the research phase of *Traces of Memory* and who would have known Schwarz's thoughts on the partnership during that time – would be reading the texts he authored or approved.

Continuing on these lines, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) offers some significant coverage of the opening of the museum:

The Galicia Jewish Museum in Kazimierz, Kraków's Jewish district, opened with an exhibit by Chris Schwarz, a British photojournalist who has worked in Poland since the early 1980s. Schwarz collaborated with British professor Jonathan Webber, who provides text for Schwarz's photos, and a team of researchers on the project, which they said has been '10 years in the making' ... At the opening for the museum, which is located in an old furniture factory that has been transformed into a hip, new art space, Schwarz said people were 'universally knocked out' by his exhibit ... The museum's sponsors hope the museum will prompt a new generation of Poles, Jews and Polish Jews to learn about and grapple with this history. 'No one tries to understand what happened through contemporary photographs. This generation has to look at it and understand it for ourselves,' Schwarz said.⁵⁴

From this text, we see again that the emphasis at the opening of the museum was very much on the *Traces of Memory* exhibition – its referencing is interchangeable with that of the museum itself, and the Schwarz quotes used consistently refer back to the photographs as the means by which the museum itself should be understood: people are 'universally

⁵⁴ Carolyn Slutsky, 'At new Jewish Museum in Kraków, past seen via lens of Poland's present', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 10 May 2004.

knocked out' by *Traces of Memory*, rather than the museum, and the unique approach is characterised by Schwarz as being down to the photos – 'no one tries to understand what happened through contemporary photographs' – rather than by the museum more holistically. Most notably, the text also states that Webber 'provides texts for Schwarz's photographs', rather than Schwarz providing photographs for Webber's texts – although this could be down to the journalist's interpretation as much as Schwarz's telling of the situation. But in this way, we can see that the Galicia Jewish Museum opened as a vehicle for *Traces of Memory* and the narrative themes portrayed in the exhibition were intended to be the main themes – the 'mission' of the museum itself. This is confirmed by a further consideration of how Schwarz opened the museum: he didn't simply use an established museum with an available exhibition space to display *Traces of Memory*. Rather, he set-up his own museum for the purposes of showing the exhibition: it was intended as a permanent venture. With the exception of a bookshop and café, the entire space was filled with this single exhibition, and although in the JTA piece Schwarz goes on to state that the next step for the museum 'will be to develop educational programmes',⁵⁵ there is never any suggestion that the space might be used for any alternative exhibitions. This demonstrates again the interrelationship between the *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum – the latter was established for the primary purpose of disseminating the former. This is further echoed by Schwarz's introduction to his *Photographing Traces of Memory* catalogue, where he writes 'in opening the Galicia Jewish Museum I first wanted people to see the exhibition showing the physical remains of Jewish civilisation in the Polish landscape',⁵⁶ that is, *Traces of Memory*.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, 1st edition, p. 12.

How this interrelationship has worked in practice – through the museum’s various management phases and the three phases of *Traces of Memory* already identified – will be seen as each *Traces of Memory* phase is discussed in further detail in the following three chapters, but at this stage one point needs emphasising again: that the Galicia Jewish Museum was established as a vehicle for *Traces of Memory*.

Given the significance of photographs for the museum, images will be used throughout this thesis to illustrate various aspects of the discussion. As such, it may be helpful to see how the museum itself looks, according to the professional, promotional images of the museum:

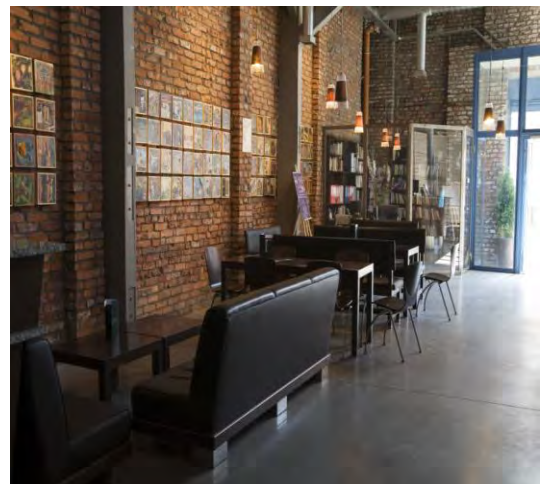
1.1 Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (reception area)



1.2 Photograph: Promotional image, museum interior (Traces of Memory exhibition)



1.3 and 1.4 Photographs: Promotional images, museum interior (bookshop and café area)



This preliminary look at the texts which describe the museum's establishment highlights a number of challenges, all of which will be pertinent going forward in this thesis:

- There are a very limited number of texts about the museum authored by, or quoting, Schwarz: how do we access Schwarz's voice today, and particularly for the purpose of this thesis?

- Those texts from Schwarz that do exist that discuss the *Traces of Memory* project or the Galicia Jewish Museum often do so to the exclusion of Webber: is it possible to piece together an account which includes both of their perspectives?
- Equally, with Schwarz no longer alive and Webber now very much a public figurehead of the museum, does Webber's voice inevitably come to dominate in any discussion of the museum?

3. *Traces of Memory* – a 'permanent' exhibition?

Before the thesis moves on, however, to consider each of the phases of the exhibition and the relationship these had to the broader developments of the museum, it is worth remembering that regardless of all developments, *Traces of Memory* has remained very much the permanent exhibition.

The Introduction established that although the Galicia Jewish Museum could be said to be in its third management stage – now having operated under three separate directors, in addition to the period of the research project which was led by Webber – the permanent exhibition in fact could be said to have existed through three separate phases, distinct from the museum's management phases: Phase 1 in April 2004-April 2006, phase 2 May 2006-June 2009, and phase 3, July 2009-February 2012⁵⁷ – the characteristics of which are summarised in the table below:

⁵⁷ Phase 3 was still ongoing at the point the fieldwork for this thesis was completed, i.e. February 2012. The Introduction to this thesis notes the significance of ethnographic time, which is particularly relevant in this case here.

1.5 Table: Summary of exhibition developments, April 2004-December 2011

Phase	Dates	Description
1	April 2004-April 2006	Original set-up of photographic exhibition, structured as agreed by Webber and Schwarz during the original <i>Traces of Memory</i> project, with Webber providing further guidance for how the photographs should be ordered for the new exhibition. The exhibition is thus structured around five sections (plus introduction), and comprises almost 150 of Schwarz's photographs, each with a caption of around 50-100 words, written by Webber. Webber also provides an introductory text to each section of the exhibition.
2	May 2006-June 2009	In May 2006 the number of photographs is reduced to 120, to allow for additional space to create a new temporary exhibition gallery in the museum. The photographs to be removed are selected by Schwarz in conjunction with Museum staff, Webber is not consulted. Photographs are removed on a largely equal basis from all sections of the exhibition, and the overall structure is not affected. Throughout these initial two stages until his death in July 2007, Schwarz makes a number of changes to Webber's original captions, although their general length and level of detail remains comparable. No other major changes are made to the exhibition in the first two years following Schwarz's death.
3	July 2009-February 2012	In June 2009, Webber publishes a new companion volume to the permanent exhibition, <i>Rediscovering Traces of Memory</i> . Based on the textual materials from the publication combined with broader research from the original <i>Traces of Memory</i> project, Webber also produces new, extended captions for all of the photographs in the exhibition. Each caption now contains 150-200 words, giving twice the detail of previously, with many captions also updated to reflect changes that have occurred since the museum first opened. Several photographs are exchanged or added to the exhibition, but for the most part remain as in stage 2, with the structure and introductory texts for each section also remaining unchanged.

Most museums and galleries have what they refer to as their permanent exhibition or permanent collection – a central exhibit which remains on indefinite display, and which typically defines (or is defined by) the stated purpose of the museum. For example, the permanent collection of the National Gallery, London ‘houses the national collection of Western European painting from the 13th to the 19th centuries’⁵⁸ (i.e. its permanent collection), and ‘the Gallery aims to study and care for the collection, while encouraging the widest possible access to the pictures’ (the institution’s mission).⁵⁹ In a Jewish context, the Jewish Museum in New York’s permanent collection ‘Culture and Continuity: The Jewish Journey’ aims to ‘tell the story of the Jewish people through more than 800 works of art chosen from the museum’s remarkably diverse holdings of paintings and sculpture; prints and drawings; installation art; decorative arts; antiquities; and media’.⁶⁰ This, according to the museum’s website is directly linked to the institution’s mission, as ‘in Culture and Continuity and in our temporary exhibitions, we continually seek to answer two important and intriguing questions: How have the Jewish people been able to thrive for thousands of years, often in difficult and even tragic circumstances? What constitutes the essence of Jewish identity?’⁶¹

But it is worth noting that the notion of a ‘permanent exhibition’ is somewhat misleading: even in the most seemingly static collection, changes are often made to the contents without any attention being drawn to this. For example, for conservation purposes many objects cannot be left on indefinite display, and so objects on display will be subtly rotated

⁵⁸ National Gallery London, www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us (last accessed 30.01.12).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Jewish Museum New York, www.thejewishmuseum.org/welcome-message (last accessed 30.01.12).

⁶¹ Ibid.

to allow for ‘rest periods’ away from exhibition lighting or to factor in time for routine conservation work to be carried out. Often when new curators enter an institution, they will be keen to bring their own voice to a collection – including to permanent collections – and so may change the choice of object on display, or the caption that accompanies it. Museums and galleries typically lend and borrow objects, removing or integrating these temporarily but seamlessly into their permanent exhibitions, again often with very little fanfare.⁶² In some cases, entire permanent collections are refreshed, renovated or redesigned on a periodic basis, often to coincide with a new building or other capital project.⁶³

In this way, very few exhibitions are indeed ‘permanent’ – rather, they are fluid entities that change to reflect the needs and priorities of the institution in which they are housed. The term, therefore, is somewhat misleading, and for the importance of the ethnographic present is again particularly significant here,⁶⁴ in order to note the relationship between the contents or narrative being considered, and the time in which fieldwork is taking place.

Thus at the Galicia Jewish Museum – despite its various phases, and despite (or possibly even because of) the death of the permanent exhibition’s photographer and the museum founder – *Traces of Memory* has remained the permanent exhibition since the museum opened in 2004. And whilst each chapter of this thesis investigates each of the exhibition

⁶² My knowledge of this practice comes from personal experience working in museums – not only at the Galicia Jewish Museum, but also the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (2004-5) and the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham (2010-11), where object loan, exchange and conservation was common practice. For a theoretical overview of object care and management, see David Dean, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 1996.

⁶³ Although beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail, the intended ‘life span’ of an exhibition is an interesting issue in exhibition management. Whilst there is very little museum theory to guide the decisions of designers, curators or museum managers, all are faced with the question of how long a permanent exhibition should be expected to last. Whilst ‘refreshes’ are common and even good practice, a complete exhibition redevelopment is a major project, and not one typically planned for during the planning phase for a new permanent exhibition.

⁶⁴ See Introduction, p. 56.

phases in detail, to attempt to draw out the narrative themes of *Traces of Memory* during each phase (along with the way in which these correspond more broadly to developments in the museum), what is also of significance at this stage is those elements that have remained 'permanent' throughout. An examination of these permanent elements will help reveal the distinctive aspects of the exhibition – the 'non-negotiables' – which will in turn enable us to identify which aspects of the exhibition narrative are those which should be considered as permanent, and the developments identified in the following chapters will need to be read in light of these.

3.1 'Permanent' aspects of the permanent exhibition

As this chapter will demonstrate, I believe that the following key elements have remained unchanged throughout the life of the exhibition, which in turn have revealed key, unchanged elements of the *Traces of Memory* narrative:

1. The exhibition title
2. The exhibition content
3. The exhibition introduction
4. The exhibition structure
5. The introductory section texts

3.1.1 The exhibition title

As noted in the Introduction, *Traces of Memory* was the title initially intended for the research project and publication.⁶⁵ When Schwarz announced his intention to open a museum and enlisted Webber's support, it was agreed that the permanent exhibition would also be titled as such, with the additional subheading '*A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*'.

If we return to the aims of the museum as established at the start of this chapter, then, we can see that this title both explicitly articulates the intention to be contemporary, as well as to use the present to understand the past – 'a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland' indicates the intention to use today's understanding to consider Polish-Jewish history. However, the decision to use the word 'Poland', rather than 'Galicia', or 'Polish Galicia', as it is typically defined elsewhere in the museum's literature and which one would expect from the name of the museum, is significant. It sets out an intention for the exhibition that has not as yet been indicated elsewhere, and as we go further in considering the narrative it will be important to see how, geographically, the exhibition is limited: is it an exhibition about Polish-Jewish history, Galician-Jewish history, or Polish Galician-Jewish history?

The three options are very distinct, and a focus on each could result in a potentially very different exhibition. The term 'Galicia' is explained in the Introduction to this thesis,⁶⁶ as one of the historical regions of Poland annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the partitions of 1772-1918. It is thus relevant to also consider the decision to name the

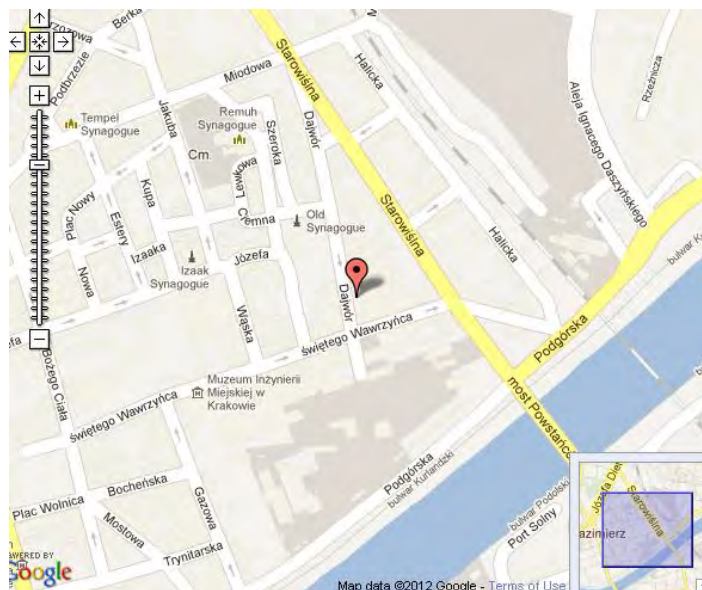
⁶⁵ See pp. 5-6.

⁶⁶ See p. 7.

museum after what would seem to be a subject specialist term. One might expect that a museum would be given an accessible, easy to understand name to appeal to the average tourist – after all, high visitor numbers are crucial to generating income for independent museums. It surely would have been much more appealing to the average tourist if it had been called the ‘Kraków Jewish Museum.’ Although the museum makes use of the term ‘Poland’ much more inside, as was noted above, one might well have expected the ‘hook’ – that is, the museum’s name – to have much more comprehensible and self-explanatory for the average visitor.

But perhaps the museum was not intended for the average tourist. Whilst it is impossible to know now who Schwarz intended the museum for, there are a number of indicators that suggest perhaps it was never intended for mass audience appeal – the museum’s name being one of these. A second such indicator is the location of the museum: Schwarz chose to establish it on ul. Dajwór, just off the main tourist trail, set back from where the large number of tourists gather on ul. Szeroka, or the route taken by most people to the former ghetto along ul Starowiślna, as the map below shows:

1.6 Map: Location of the Galicia Jewish Museum on ul. Dajwór, in relation to the tourist-heavy areas of ul. Szeroka and ul. Starowiślna.⁶⁷



Chapter 3 will look more at visitor demographics, but for now it is relevant to note that, in January 2012, the museum director circulated figures to the museum’s Board of Trustees and Directors following a market research campaign which showed how visitors found the museum. Almost eight years after its opening, during which time ul. Dajwór has considerably developed (most notably from the relocation of the cafe Bagelmama⁶⁸ to the street, a popular tourist and expat lunchtime haunt), only 20% – one in five – of the museum’s visitors discovered the museum simply by passing by it.⁶⁹ The statistics in the initial years of the museum, although unavailable now, would have been considerably less.

⁶⁷ Source: Galicia Jewish Museum website, ‘Contact us’, www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/contact.html (last accessed 08.04.12).

⁶⁸ Bagelmama, Kraków www.bagelmama.com (last accessed 08.04.12).

⁶⁹ Source: Director’s Report, Quarterly Joint Meeting of the Boards of Trustees (UK) and Directors of the Galicia Jewish Museum (Poland), 11.01.12 (ref: GJM2012/01). The total statistics of how (individual, not group) visitors came to the museum broke down as followed: 41.8% from printed guidebooks; 20.1% from passing-by the museum; 11.7% from a friend’s recommendation; 9.7% from free promotional leaflets; 8.2% from internet searching; 3.4% had visited the museum already; and 1% from the museum’s monthly programme, distributed across Kraków.

We also need to consider Webber's influence here – as a career academic, is he also a purist for whom the accuracy of detail matters more than creating an entity for mass appeal? Was the museum intended, then, for those who would know what Galicia refers to? Or was it in fact a poor marketing decision, regardless of whether Webber believes otherwise? Whilst it is not possible to come to a definitive conclusion, it raises an important question that will be returned to throughout this thesis – that is, whether there was a coherent plan meaning it was a conscious, thought-through decision, or whether it was situational or responsive: that is, a decision was taken simply because that seemed like the best thing at that time.

Returning to the title of the exhibition, however, there are further questions over the term 'Jewish past': when, and what does this refer to? Whilst the phraseology is convenient for an exhibition title, when we attempt to unpack its meaning we are left wondering to what exactly this refers. Is the visitor to the Galicia Jewish Museum to be presented with an exhibition that engages with the 1000 year history of Jews in Poland? Or, returning to the above point about the lack of clarity over the use of Poland viz. Galicia, perhaps the 700 year history of Jewish settlement in the lands that were to become known as Galicia under the Austro-Hungarians? Or alternatively for the 146 years of the region of Galicia's formal existence? Even without the question of dates, what this 'past' encompasses is also left open for the visitor: is this to be a comprehensive exhibition that attempts to engage with all aspects of Jewish history during a particular period – social, economic, religious, political? Will it tell the history of Jews during this period through the stories of famous individuals or families, or through archival collections of documents or photographs from a certain period, or perhaps one particular collection of Judaica reflective of a particular period or other historical tradition?

3.1.2 The exhibition's photographic content

But this is not an exhibition of Judaica. Indeed, there is not a single – original or replica – object on display. In this way, the exhibition exemplifies the idea that the contemporary museum is no longer overly concerned with the collection, preservation and conservation of objects, and that objects are no longer required in order to create meaning.

Both Schwarz and Webber were in agreement over the use of contemporary photographs as the basic content of the exhibition. In one of the few existing film footage shorts of Schwarz, he describes the exhibition in simple terms, summarising it as ‘a series of photographs of what still can be seen today of the physical remains of Jewish culture here in Poland’.⁷⁰ In Webber’s Introduction to *Traces of Memory*, he writes ‘this is not a historical exhibition in the conventional sense. We are not showing old pre-war photographs; on the contrary, what we are showing are contemporary photographs’.⁷¹

And throughout the three stages identified above, this is exactly what the exhibition has been primarily composed of: contemporary photographs.

These photographs are all colour images. With the exception of those taken digitally for section 5 (see section 3.1.4, below), all of the photographs were taken by Schwarz on a Leica film analogue camera, with those on display when the museum first opened printed by him personally using his own printing equipment, using the scans originally prepared by Littman for publication. In the exhibition, the photographs are mounted, unframed, on dye-bond metal, then suspended in brushed aluminium metal structures, in three size formats, both

⁷⁰ *The Holocaust Tourist*, DVD, Jes Benstock and the National Centre for Jewish Film, Technobabble/Skyline GB, 2005, min. 03.57-04.03.

⁷¹ Exhibition Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/EI).

portrait and landscape: 58 x 117 cm (large), 58 x 87 cm (medium), and 58 x 37 cm (small, section 5 only). The photographs are large-scale, vibrant in colour and without any framing or passe-partout to distract from the image, suspended as if in mid-air.

The metal structures in which the photographs are mounted are either free-standing, moveable structures located throughout the exhibition hall so as to separate the various sections of the exhibition, or they are suspended off the red-brick walls. The warmth of the red-bricks – although themselves a raw building material, and in keeping with the contemporary appearance of the building – contrasts with the starkness elsewhere of the materials used in the museum building: the glass reception area, or the exposed structural beams.

1.7 Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, Traces of Memory photographs on free-standing frames.



1.8 Photograph: *Fieldwork photograph, Traces of Memory photographs suspended in front of the museum's red brick walls.*



This contrast between warmth and austerity can be felt throughout the museum, and will be examined in more detail in chapter 4, when the museum as community space will be considered. Similarly, what has also remained constant as regards the photographs is their display in a large open-plan exhibition hall, with the images themselves the only thing to provide structure to the space. The result is an almost contemplative space, which allows the visitor to be drawn to whichever large-scale image most appeals.

All of this was designed by Schwarz himself – not Schwarz in conjunction with a museum designer or architect. As a photographer, and artist, Schwarz was well-equipped to produce an aesthetically pleasant environment, but this returns us again to the point that the museum was not created (or even co-created) by museum professionals – Schwarz set out to create what worked for him, what would show his images to best effect, and what he

believed intuitively would work for others, without any kind of professional training or even practical experience in the field.

The photographs have been accompanied throughout the various phases of the exhibition by captions, the lengths and detail of which have varied depending on the stage of the development (see table 1, above). These are in addition to a number of extended text panels which provide additional context and structure (see point 4, below). The languages employed in the exhibition have also remained consistent: all textual materials are provided in both Polish and English, with Polish consistently being positioned before English. According to Webber, the choice of languages was discussed extensively between Schwarz and him during the creation of the museum, with their decision to use Polish followed by English described as follows: 'We're in Poland – it's got to be in Polish; English as the generalised language for outsiders. So therefore Polish should come first and English afterwards. It gives it an authenticity being in Poland and we're speaking to local people, not just to foreigners.'⁷² But it is significant that there is noticeably no written Hebrew or Yiddish presence in the museum. Whereas other local museums may choose to make use in particular of Hebrew in order to promote itself as a 'Jewish inclusive' space (for example, the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum includes Hebrew as the third language, after Polish and English, on all its main interpretive signage) or Yiddish as the language of the Jews to whom the museum is dedicated (for example, the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim uses Yiddish as its third language after Polish and English on all its larger permanent exhibition texts), the Galicia Jewish Museum has made no such concession. Whilst internationally Jewish museums may not make use of Hebrew or Yiddish – the Jewish Museum in New York

⁷² Interview with Jonathan Webber, May 2012 (ref: KGPCI/04), interview part 3, 07:35:04.

and the Jewish Museum London both use just English, the Jewish Museum Berlin uses German and English – as the two local examples given above both show, in Poland where institutional ‘Jewishness’ may need additional emphasis the Galicia Jewish Museum stands out in its choice of languages.

This also provides a notable contrast within the museum itself: on the one hand it sets itself up as ‘Jewish space’ – there are mezuzot on the exterior doors, the cafe menu is ‘kosher style’ (that is, whilst it may not be fully kosher there is an absence of pork or shellfish), and its events programming would be appropriate in any Jewish community or Jewish cultural centre – yet on the other it is very much a neutral, secular space, and the choice of Polish and English as institutional languages speak more of pragmatism than any political agenda, as Webber himself notes as regards the lack of Hebrew in the museum:

Did we consider including Hebrew – yes, we did ... there was correspondence between Chris and me about having Hebrew banners; Hebrew language banners introducing each section. He was very keen on this and I was too. And we thought we would have biblical quotations to introduce each of the five sections, which would be in Hebrew, Polish and English. But nothing ever came of it. I think also, we didn’t want too much text and Chris wanted the exhibition to be dominated by his photographs and not by my texts. And there was no money for translations. Israelis and orthodox Jews were actually a small proportion of visitors so ... I think that’s where Hebrew got abandoned.⁷³

⁷³ Ibid.

Both the captions and extended text panels are printed using black text on a plain background, again all dye-bond mounted and displayed using the same hanging system as the photographs, as well as being sized in accordance with the photographs: the captions are either 17.5 x 117 cm (large), 17.5 x 87 cm (medium) or 17.5 x 37 cm (small), and the text boards are the size of a medium-size portrait photograph (58 x 87 cm). The captions contain narrative text only – there is no information about copyright or ownership of the images or text, and no place/date information.

3.1.3 Exhibition Introduction

‘Exhibition Structure’ (below, 3.1.4) will examine in more detail the textual elements of the exhibition that have been in place since its creation, but I would suggest that the exhibition Introduction requires specific consideration. The Introduction, written by Webber and still in its original form at the end of 2011, is positioned at the entrance to the exhibition, and sets out the expectations of what it is to follow:

Jewish civilisation developed in Poland over a period of more than 800 years until it was brutally destroyed during the Holocaust. The Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed by images of Auschwitz and the atrocities committed there. But if we are to fully understand the Jewish past here we need to place another set of images alongside these: the traces of memory that are to be found in the towns and villages where Jewish life once flourished.

This is not a historical exhibition in the conventional sense. We are not showing old pre-war photographs; on the contrary, what we are showing are contemporary photographs – with the intention of showing what can be seen today about the past. To put this exhibition together required a creative collaboration over a number of years between the British photographer Chris Schwarz and the British scholar Jonathan Webber. Working village by village and town by town, the material that we have assembled offers a completely new way of looking at the Jewish past in Poland that was left in ruins. The idea has been to try to piece together a picture of the relics of Jewish life and culture that can still be seen today, and to describe and interpret these traces in a manner that will be informative, accessible and thought-provoking.

We hope you agree that the photographs are stunning in both senses of the word. Taken at all seasons of the year, they will help you become acquainted with the landscape in which Jews lived, in all its variety, and specifically in its Polish setting. At the same time they are a moving tribute to the Jewish heritage in Poland and the richness of the culture. We also want to show how the violence with which it was destroyed by the Germans is being remembered and represented today. The intention of the captions is to put the images in context, clarify their meaning, and explain the ideas that the photographs express.

Galicia was a province of the Austro-Hungarian empire which came into being when Poland was partitioned between three great powers at the end of the 18th century and disappeared off the map of Europe. After the end of the First World War, Poland reappeared as an independent country, and this time it was Galicia that disappeared off the map as a distinct political entity; its territory was incorporated into the newly independent Polish Republic. After the upheavals of the Second World War, the boundaries were changed once again. The territory of the old Galicia was divided in half: what had once been eastern Galicia was given to Ukraine, and Poland kept only the western half. But the memory of Galicia remains very strong, both among local people and also among the descendents of Jews who were born there. The most important town of western Galicia was right here in Kraków, and this is why we have our exhibition here; and we are showing photographs only of Polish, not Ukrainian Galicia.

We have divided the exhibition into five sections, corresponding to different ways in which the subject can be approached: sadness in confronting the ruins; interest in the original culture; horror at the process of destruction; and recognition of the efforts to preserve the traces of memory. We end with a section showing some of the people who are involved, in different ways, with recreating the memory of the Galician Jewish past.

From an initial reading, the Introduction provides a helpful overview of (1) the history of Jews in Poland, (2) the Galicia region and (3) the purpose and structure of the exhibition. Looking more closely, however, we can also identify the following narrative themes:

- There is a duality of focus: Both the Holocaust and Poland's pre-Holocaust Jewish past are being considered as part of this exhibition: 'The Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed by images of Auschwitz and the atrocities committed there. But... we need to place another set of images alongside these: the traces of memory that are to be found in the towns and villages where Jewish life once flourished'. That 'the Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed' by the Holocaust suggests that there is also a belief that there is an imbalance between the memory of the two, which the exhibition will seek to readdress;
- There is a need to understand the past in the present-day context: 'what we are showing are contemporary photographs – with the intention of showing what can be seen today about the past'. The significance of using photographs will be examined in detail in Chapter 2, but what is of note here is that (1) it is photographs that are being shown, not objects, (2) these are contemporary – not archival – photographs, and (3), these are colour photographs, not black and white photographs. The purpose of showing the photographs is also significant: this is not intended to be a display of art, nor are the photographs intended to be appreciated purely for their aesthetic qualities (although the visitor is indeed also expected to appreciate them on that level too, 'we hope you agree that the photographs are stunning') – rather, they are being displayed with the intention of 'showing what can be seen today about the past'. The focus then is not on the past itself – this is not intended to be a historical or socio-

historical exhibition – but on what can be known about the past today: the intentions of the exhibition are very much framed by a present-day focus.

- The museum self-consciously employs a contemporary, innovative approach: ‘the material that we have assembled offers a completely new way of looking at the Jewish past in Poland that was left in ruins’. This suggests that there must be an alternative – an ‘old’ way of looking at the Jewish past in Poland. What this old way is, beyond it being an approach that prioritises an emphasis on the Holocaust, and the death camps in particular (‘The Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed by images of Auschwitz’) is not clear – is this the academic, purist approach of Webber coming through again? That is, is there an assumption that the average visitor will know the traditional narrative of the Jewish past in Poland, and if they do not, it is not the museum’s responsibility to explain it?
- The Jewish past in Poland can be explained today: acclaimed Holocaust writer, commentator and survivor Elie Wiesel has been a consistent proponent of the view that the Holocaust is ineffable, which has had considerably impact on international discussions on Holocaust memorialisation and representation.⁷⁴ But in contrast to other museums, Webber’s introduction states that the Holocaust – alongside the rest of Poland’s Jewish past – can in fact be explained, as an aim of the exhibition is ‘to describe and interpret these traces [of the Jewish past in Poland] in a manner that will be informative, accessible and thought-provoking’. Chapter 4 will analyse the textual

⁷⁴ In fact, Wiesel evoked this debate once again in his speech at the 2009 opening of the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Centre. See Kathy Routliffe, ‘Holocaust History Can’t Explain “Why?”: Wiesel’, *Sun Times Illinois*, 20 April 2009, available at www.suntimes.com/news/5161658-464/holocaust-history-cant-explain-why-wiesel.html (last accessed 01.08.12). See also Wiesel’s speech marking the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau (available at www.pbs.org/eliewiesel/life/auschwitz.html, last accessed 01.08.12) and his article ‘Talking and Writing and Keeping Silent’, in Franklin H. Littell and Hubert G. Locke (Eds.), *The German Church and the Holocaust*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990, pp. 269-277.

aspects of the exhibition in detail, but again at this stage it is worth highlighting two issues: (1) the intention is to make this interpretation 'accessible', which contrasts with the above point regarding Webber's purist approach and highlights a potential tension in the exhibition, and (2) with what authority is such explanation going to be given? Should we expect to see a plurality of voices and meanings in the exhibition, or is Webber (or Webber and Schwarz) going to explain these traces from their own perspective, and if so will these be disseminated to the visitor as their subjective perspective, or as 'fact'? We know that they have 'divided the exhibition into five sections, corresponding to different ways in which the subject can be approached', but are these the only five ways, or just five of the ways that Webber and Schwarz have identified?

This close reading of the exhibition raises, rather than answers, a significant number of questions, which will be returned to as this thesis progresses.

3.1.4 Exhibition Structure

This chapter has set out the background to the exhibition, and identified how Webber and Schwarz established the five section structure to *Traces of Memory* during the later stages of the research phase of the project. This structure remained entirely unchanged – and, I believe, entirely unchallenged – up until the end of 2011, and looks set to remain so going forward. For Webber, it is this structure which at least in part leads to what he believes to be the 'completely unique approach' of the Galicia Jewish Museum: he writes, 'what is unique and challenging about this permanent exhibition is that it tackles the subject thematically, in

five different sections, thereby enabling visitors to acknowledge that all five perspectives are required to understand the subject comprehensively, and that a single stereotype would be quite insufficient'.⁷⁵ In the Prologue to his companion volume to the exhibition, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, Webber explains the origin of this five part structure, stating that 'conceptually [this publication] reflects the five-part structure I envisaged for the larger, more detailed book we were working towards, *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, a structure that I further elaborated with Chris as we selected the pictures for the exhibition at the Galicia Jewish Museum',⁷⁶ thus identifying himself as the creator of this structure but acknowledging Schwarz's later role in developing it.

This five section approach, according to Webber, 'corresponds to the different ways in which the subject can be approached: sadness in confronting ruins, interest in the original culture, horror at the process of destruction, and recognition of the efforts to preserve the traces of memory'.⁷⁷ As such, it dictates the different tones and moods of the exhibition during its various phases, and when the exhibition contents is analysed in more detail in the following chapters, I will also seek to identify whether the exhibition's narrative is internally coherent and consistent, and the effect of the five section structure on this.

There is a significant related point to note here when considering the five section approach, and that is, that only section 5 (*People Making Memory Today*) features people: the first four sections, and thus the vast majority of the exhibition, are notably person-free. Thematically, section 4 and 5 are very similar – both looking at aspects of memorialisation and

⁷⁵ Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe for core support, submitted March 2007 (ref: GJM2007/01), text drafted by Jonathan Webber.

⁷⁶ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁷ TOM/EI.

commemoration in present-day Poland – but section 5 does so through the lens of those involved in this process. For Webber, the significance of section 5 is not simply that it features people where the rest of the exhibition does not, but the impact this has in creating a positive finish to the exhibition. He writes, ‘In strong contrast to the people-less photos of the rest of the exhibition, this final section consists of a few photographs of those people who are involved, in different ways, with memory making. As a dramatic and up-beat end to the exhibition, it offers hope for the future. To remember the past is to shape the future and give it some sense of direction’.⁷⁸ In this way, section 5 does indeed stand in contrast to the rest of the exhibition – not only through the personification of other aspects of the exhibition, but also in that it is a hopeful and optimistic conclusion for the exhibition: whereas the other four sections have acknowledged the complexities and even problems in present day Poland, the exhibition’s final section takes only a positive slant on the subject at hand.⁷⁹

3.1.5 The introductory section texts

In addition to the overall exhibition introduction (see section 3.1.3, above), each of the sections is introduced by its own extended text panel, also written by Webber in advance of the museum opening, and which to date remain unchanged. Appendix 1 provides these introductory texts in full, but for ease of reference here each can be summarised as follows:

⁷⁸ Section 5 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS5)

⁷⁹ There is also a physical difference to section 5, as the photographs are also significantly smaller than those in the rest of the exhibition (being 58 x 37 cm each, in portrait or landscape format). As they were taken more recently than the rest of the photographs, they were also not shot using Schwarz’s usual choice of analogue Leica, but rather in digital (exact camera unknown).

1.9 Table: Summary of exhibition sections, as taken from introductory texts⁸⁰

Section title	Summary of text board
<i>Jewish Life in Ruins</i>	<p>‘The first section focuses on ruins: it is, after all, the key reality of the Jewish past in Poland’.</p> <p>This section establishes a narrative of destruction of the physical aspects of the pre-war Jewish community, in particular cemeteries and synagogues. It also acknowledges the duality of stereotypes in present-day Poland: ‘These pictures reinforce the stereotype of destruction, but at the same time underline the fact that the stereotype is not just an image, but a reflection of reality’.</p>
<i>Jewish Culture as it Once Was</i>	<p>The second section adds a further dimension to the stereotypes, as ‘[this section] stands in contrast to what we have just seen in the first section. This is because from the relics that still exist in the villages and towns of Galicia today it is also possible to see many indications of the strength and splendour’. Again, the focus is primarily on synagogues and cemeteries, but in this section, the intention is to show that ‘Jewish literacy, art, learning, leadership, mystical and political thought: the traces of all this, and much more, are still to be seen in Polish Galicia today’.</p>
<i>Sites of Massacre and Destruction</i>	<p>The third section is about the Holocaust, but rather than focusing on its historical dimensions, ‘the emphasis [is] on what can be learnt in Poland today about the brutality of destruction’. Developing again the narrative of challenging stereotypes, it aims to ‘go beyond the conventional symbols’ and to show more than just Auschwitz (because ‘the pictorial record presented here illustrates how too much of an emphasis on Auschwitz is historically misleading’) and shows alongside these pictures from other killing sites. A yet further dimension is added through the consideration of memorialisation, as ‘through this range of monuments and commemorative inscriptions, we see the wide variety of ways in which the memory of the Holocaust is to be found in Poland, as well as new ways in which it is being transmitted’.</p>
<i>How the Past is Being Remembered</i>	<p>Moving on from the Holocaust-focus of the previous section, this section looks more broadly at ‘the processes that have affected the memory of Jewish civilisation in postwar Galicia’. It contrasts devastation and postwar</p>

⁸⁰ Source: Author’s own table. The full texts can be found in Appendix 1.

	neglect with signs of cultural continuity – again offering a multilayered approach to the subject at hand. It concludes by asking ‘What are the implications – for Poles, for Jews and for European society as a whole – of what it is that is remembered about a great culture destroyed in the Holocaust and what is being forgotten?’
<i>People Making Memory Today</i>	The final sections personalises the exhibition, as ‘In strong contrast to the people-less photos of the rest of the exhibition, this final section consists of a few photographs of people who are involved, in different ways, with making memory’. It shows both Jewish and non-Jewish (Polish and non-Polish) engagement, including the continued existence of a Jewish community, as ‘it is right and proper to acknowledge that it has found new sources of inspiration as well as being in continuity with the past. ‘In this way, we conclude on a note of hope and confidence in the future’.

In summary, I would suggest that the following narrative themes can be identified from the section introductory texts:

- The five different sections are intended to show a range of ways in which the subject can be approached; as this thesis progresses, whether these sections are complementary or contradictory will be a reoccurring thread.
- Two dominant narratives throughout all sections though are the existence of stereotypes – and both the truth in these and the ways in which they need to be challenged – and the multilayered approach the subject necessitates;
- An additional dimension not previously identified in this chapter is the subject of presence vs. absence: the contrast of Jewish continuity and preservation as compared to the loss and forgetting which is equally prevalent appears to be an important theme throughout the sections;

- The presence of the fifth section, which focuses on the human aspect of the subject, highlights the lack of human presence throughout the rest of the exhibition. With the exception of the final section, the anonymity of the synagogues and cemeteries – in all range of conditions – the exhibition focuses on is striking.
- I would suggest, however, that there is a notable lack of reference to antisemitism; Polish-Jewish relations; and Jewish (non-) assimilation in these texts – it will be necessary to ask in the following chapters whether any of these themes emerge as the exhibition has developed.

As we begin to examine the narrative in more detail shortly, we will investigate the ways in which a changing emphasis on the visual viz. textual elements of the exhibition has impacted the narrative. At this stage, however, given the continuous and consistent presence of extended text boards in the exhibition to introduce and establish each of the five sections, it is important to note the significance that written text plays in the display of ethnographic fieldwork, such as with *Traces of Memory*. Clifford writes, ‘no longer a marginal, or occulted dimension, writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter.’⁸¹

This is further compounded by the lack of objects in the exhibition: for Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, one of the most established contemporary British academics in the field of Museum Studies,⁸² where there is instead emphasis in an exhibition on the conceptual,

⁸¹ James Clifford, ‘Partial Truths’, in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 1-26, p. 2.

⁸² As with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Hooper-Greenhill’s work has made a comprehensive contribution to the development of this thesis, and as such her monographs are cited in full in the Bibliography.

there is a greater need to ensure that these concepts are placed with an 'intellectual framework' or, in other words, a narrative. She writes:

Encounters with objects are not the same as encounters with ideas. Ideas, concepts, words, are abstract and non-material. They demand verbal and linguistic skills in their understanding. Ideas need to be placed within intellectual frameworks and comprehension before they 'make sense'. Cognitive processes are necessary.⁸³

In this way, the text boards here – and the exhibition captions, as this thesis will show – have the potential to give meaning to the exhibition and structure to the ideas it seeks to convey. How much these ideas 'make sense', as Hooper-Greenhill writes, we shall discover as the narrative is further defined, tested and challenged below. What will be important, I believe, is to examine how much – in the absence of objects – photographic images are also able to contribute to this 'intellectual framework', which this thesis will examine in detail in chapter 2 now the constant elements of the exhibition have been established.

⁸³ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 112.

Chapter 2:

Phase 1 of *Traces of Memory* (2004-2006)

Introduction

On considering the role of master narratives in museums, Hooper-Greenhill sets out the following context:

The museum has been called emblematic of the modern period. One of the characteristics of the modern period has been the construction of master narratives, grand narratives, universal stories, that were intended to stand as valid outside the context of the site from which they were spoken. These master narratives were intended to enable mastery of the messy and complicated real world ... Master narratives are created by presenting a large-scale picture, by eliminating complicating and contradictory detail, by disguising difference, by hiding those elements that don't quite fit, and by emphasising those that do. Unity rather than difference is emphasised; gaps that emerge when the story doesn't quite work are filled somehow, and those things that would have shown a different interpretation of events are excluded ... These master narratives are therefore naturalised as universal, true, and inevitable.¹

¹ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 24.

This chapter, along with the following two, seeks to identify analyse how the Galicia Jewish Museum has constructed its 'master narrative' in each phase of the *Traces of Memory* exhibition, and in doing so, will ask what this master narrative is. It will seek to trace developments to this master narrative through each of these three stages, considering how it has evolved – and the relationship of this more broadly to developments within the museum during this same time period – considering whether it has succeeded in 'eliminating complicating and contradictory detail, by disguising difference, by hiding those elements that don't quite fit, and by emphasising those that do'² and, if so, what the outcomes of this are.

Beginning with phase 1 of the exhibition, which has already been established as the primarily 'photographic' stage, it will first consider the traditional approaches to narrative historically seen in museums, and consider the impact of *Traces of Memory* moving away from this. It will consider the relationship between this phase and the 'permanent' aspects of the exhibition established in Chapter 1, as well as the relationship between the exhibition and the museum more broadly during this time.

² Ibid.

1. The context: the traditional significance of objects in creating museum narratives

As noted in the previous chapter, historically, it has been object-based collections that were at the heart of museums, and through such collections museums created their master narratives and, accordingly, their meaning. Meaning which, for Hooper-Greenhill, enables 'mastery of the messy and complicated real world'. Following on from this quotation at the start of this chapter, Hooper-Greenhill continues:

Meaning in museums is constructed in relation to the collections which the museum holds. Questions arise about which objects have been collected and why, and what is known about them from which perspective. One critical element in the construction of meaning within museums is the presence or absence of particular objects; a second vital consideration is that of the frameworks of intelligibility into which collected objects are placed'.³

For Hooper-Greenhill, therefore, it is through the inclusion (or absence) of objects, and the means by which they are then interpreted in the collection, that creates a museum's master narrative. She continues: 'Groups of objects, brought together in one place to form a collection and then displayed, make visual statements. The beliefs, attitudes and values which underpin the processes of acquisition become embodied in the collections, as some objects are privileged and others left to one side. The public display of these collections makes a visual narrative'.⁴ Similarly, it should also be noted the processes of acquisition are not only influenced by curatorial 'beliefs, attitudes and values' in terms of the selection of objects which end up in a museum's collections, but also which objects are available in the

³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

first place: there is often an arbitrariness to which objects may have survived or been destroyed over time, and yet this randomness will then influence curatorial choice and, ultimately, exhibition narrative.

Consequently, it is objects that have traditionally been the seat of power in museums. As they create the museum's master narrative they, in the words of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'control the focus of the exhibition; they shape the themes and the concepts presented to the public, [they] are the vehicles through which the ideas of the curator are transmitted to the visitor'.⁵ Thus it is the objects, in the case of traditional collection-based museums, which act as a vehicle for a museum's authority: not through the existence of the object itself, but through its coming to be displayed in a museum's collection, as 'the authenticity of the artefact, then, does not vouchsafe its meaning. Rather, this derives from its nature and functioning, once placed in a museum, as a sign – or, more accurately, a sign vehicle or signifier'.⁶ In this way, once an object is placed in a museum, it takes on a meaning imbued by the curator and beyond what it was ever originally intended for – and it is this which then in turn is used to help create the museum's master narrative.

The result of this, therefore, is that – given the degree of authority that objects hold – entire subject areas can be excluded from exhibitions where no objects are available to illustrate certain points, as in 'object-driven exhibitions, the artifacts control the focus of the exhibition; they shape the themes and the concepts presented to the public, and are the vehicles through which the ideas of the curator are transmitted to the visitor. So, if objects are not available to support a particular theme or to raise an issue, that theme or issue is not

⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, p. 165.

⁶ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, London: Routledge, 1995, p. 147.

stressed in that presentation'.⁷To the other extreme, as Clark notes, the over-inclusion, or repetition, of certain objects adds emphasis to a master collection, since 'if one particular household object is so prolific, for example, that there are twenty on display in this one collection, then surely – the visitor is led to think – it must be emblematic of the culture from which it originates'.⁸

Yet despite the historical prevalence of object-based collections (and the master narratives they create), significant questions surround their use in this way: How, for example, do museum objects become imbued with such significance as to create such meaning? At what point do such objects become 'museum worthy'? What is it that makes a selection of household goods (in the case of historic house museums), scientific equipment (in the case of science or medicine museums) or tribal artefacts (in the case of world history museums) of significant worth to be included in a museum collection, or even to have an entire museum built around them? As art historian Michael Baxendall notes, 'because it has been offered for inspection, [the viewer] takes it that the object has been considered worthy of inspection, either for its cultural importance or for its beauty and the producer's skill.'⁹

⁷ Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, 'Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 159-175, p. 165. *Exhibiting Cultures* is part of a trilogy of collections co-edited by Karp, which combined have made a significant contribution to the development of this thesis (Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine [Eds.], *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991; Ivan Karp, Christine M. Kraemer, and Stephen D. Lavine [Eds.], *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1992; Ivan Karp and Corinne Kratz [Eds.], *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁸ David Clark, 'Jewish Museums in the Diaspora: Constructing Community and Nation' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, London Metropolitan University, May 2004), p. 18.

⁹ Michael Baxendall, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects' in Karp and Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures*, 1991, p. 34.

But is the fact that objects have been ‘offered for inspection’ – often simply by the curator in charge of a particular collection – enough to imbue museum collections with such authority? What would happen, for example, to the meaning of an object if it was simply moved from one collection to another, as is today often the case as objects are loaned from one museum to another for display in different temporary exhibitions? As Cohen notes, ‘various scholars of visual culture have reflected on the social significance of removing cultural artefacts from the private sphere to the public domain. Common to their thinking is that with the change of context the object takes on a wholly new dimension’.¹⁰ In this way, the meanings held by individual objects are malleable, flexible, and open to reinterpretation depending on the context in which they are displayed. If this is correct, what authority can an object hold if its meaning can be so wholly and so readily altered by the way in which it is displayed at any particular time? What do we understand about, for example the Elgin Marbles displayed at the British Museum rather than in their home country of Greece? And how does this impact on the museum’s narrative – how does the British Museum explain the inclusion of such objects as compared to if they were shown in their own home country? Does the narrative attempt to address issues of cultural appropriation, and how then does this in turn impact on issues of authority and meaning?

Certainly, this is not a new approach to understanding objects. Greenhill-Hooper, for example, has written that:

The significance [of objects] is open to interpretation. They may be viewed from a number of positions, which may be diverse in history and culture.

¹⁰ Richard I. Cohen, ‘Self-Image Through Objects: Towards a Social History of Jewish Art Collecting and Jewish Museums’ in Jack Wertheimer (Ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York, NY and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992, pp. 203-242, p. 205.

They may be drawn into a conversation through a number of different strategies, by a range of different individual subjects, who talk about them in ways that are meaningful to themselves as speakers. They may be understood through factual information, or may be invested with emotional significance. Although they all have life-histories, these may be well-known or, alternatively, unknown or forgotten. Objects are subject to multiple interpretations, some of which may be contradictory.¹¹

But what is significant, I believe, is that in accepting that objects are multifaceted in meaning, we must also accept that the traditional significance of the museum collection – as authoritative through the meaning its objects create – can no longer have ‘only one principal coherent paradigmatic position’.¹² It is, perhaps, such recognition within the broader museum field that has led to alternative approaches to museums being developed. Whilst there have been significant attempts within mainstream museum literature to provide methodologies and other interpretive frameworks for analysing the meanings created by collections,¹³ it is increasingly being suggested by museum theorists that there can be no single master narrative – and no single master narrator – responsible for creating meaning in museums. Rather, meaning becomes multifaceted, and narratives multilayered.

¹¹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, p. 3.

¹² Anthony Shelton, ‘Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science’, in Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (Eds.), *Cultural Encounters, Representing Otherness*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 155-193, p. 175.

¹³ For example, George W. Stocking suggests a seven dimension approach to the understanding of objects (the three dimensions of materiality, followed by time/history, power, ownership and aesthetic. See George W. Stocking [Ed.], *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 5-6), whereas R. Elliott focuses on three types of data available for interpreting objects (observable data, comparable data, and supplementary data). See R. Elliott, ‘Towards a Material History Methodology’, in Susan Pearce (Ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1994, pp. 109-124, p. 117. In the same volume, Susan Pearce herself suggests that object-based collections can best be understood by focusing on the four aspects of material, history, environment and significance (Susan Pearce, ‘Thinking about Things’, in Pearce [Ed.], *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, pp. 125-132p. 126).

2. The new narrativisation: Moving away from objects

As discussed above, the necessity of including objects at the heart of museums is not necessarily self-evident: if physical objects are no longer considered to be the only holders of power for a museum, and the means by which all viewers should understand the intention of the curator, then there must be alternative museological approaches available to present the subject at hand.

This is not to suggest that there has been, or indeed should be, a complete shift from the 'cabinet of curiosity' approach to the display of objects to one where objects no longer hold any value or interest to the present-day museum. Indeed, Hooper-Greenhill notes how in recent times objects have become increasingly used as a means of understanding the human aspect of narratives on display, as she writes 'during the classical age, a thing became an object through its visible features. Now material things present themselves in their relation to human beings ... Material things are now constituted as objects through organic, historic links, through stories, and through people'.¹⁴ Similarly, just as museums themselves developed in the ways outlined in the first chapter, developing alongside this even in the early years of museums was an increasingly thoughtful use of objects, as noted by art historian Elizabeth Williams: 'In the nineteenth-century museum, unlike its predecessor the eighteenth-century *cabinet de curiosite*, exhibits were expected to reflect some clear rationale: museums of natural history presented instructive exhibits; museums of art presented things of beauty'.¹⁵ At the same time, specifically ethnographic collections have developed from the extensive but somewhat chaotic collections of the early ethnographic

¹⁴ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 1992, p. 204.

¹⁵ Elizabeth A. Williams, 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: *Ars Americano* and the Primitivist Revolution' in Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others*, pp. 146-166, p. 147.

collections,¹⁶ for example, to increasingly take account of the intangible aspects of culture and heritage that cannot be displayed, for example displaying ethnographic accounts, photographs and films alongside cultural artefacts. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett summarises this curatorial challenge by asking, 'if we cannot carry away the intangible, ephemeral, immovable, and animate, what have we done instead? Typically, we have inscribed what we cannot carry away, whether in field notes, recordings, photography, films, or drawings. We have created ethnographic documents'.¹⁷ The juxtaposition of such documents alongside original objects is by no means a new approach to the ethnographic displays. Rather, what I am suggesting is that there is today yet one further option open to the increasing number of self-reflective museums attempting to move away from traditional approaches: that is, that the museum becomes a narrative space, where, 'objects, ideas, and people are met ... It is a narrative concerned with re-presenting the past, making present that which is not usually present'.¹⁸ In this space, objects may be present or may not be: they may be supplemented or even substituted entirely by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's 'ethnographic documents', works of art, or indeed any vehicle that enables the meaning to be thus conveyed.

The result is a shift from an object- to an ideas-focused space, and one which – I would believe – moves to become a narrative focused space: a museum where concepts and stories take precedent over objects, where objects can be handled, interacted with and responded to both physically and intellectually, and where these ideas become articulated

¹⁶ See William Ryan Chapman, 'Arranging Ethnology: A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others*, pp. 15-48.

¹⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, p. 30.

¹⁸ Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue', p. 173.

through a variety of forms, frameworks, and dimensions which may be visual, textual, or today even audio or audio-visual.

But a narrative-focused museum is by no means automatically free of the narrative challenges Hooper-Greenhill identified at the start of this section: there may still be the tendency to construct 'universal stories', ones which continue to engage the visitor by 'eliminating complicating and contradictory detail'. There is no guarantee that the narrative-focused museum will automatically become more self-reflective, more able to analyse history within the present-day reality of the museum. Hooper-Greenhill notes that there may well continue to be 'a difficulty in accommodating a plurality of histories', an 'impoverished understanding of the past [through] a lack of a historical specificity' and that 'concepts of change are in themselves difficult to articulate. If the aim is to show how things have remained the same, then how is change to be understood?'¹⁹ These questions remain as real for the narrative museum as they do for their object-dominated counterparts.

Yet a release from the traditional confines of the object-dominated collection may enable a museum to instead prioritise ideas, concepts and stories – ones which may well be complicated and contradictory, but which the museum is now freer to investigate without being limited by the availability of appropriate objects from their collection. Where objects do remain, they 'do not lose their importance or power when historical interpretation directs an exhibition, although they do lose their primacy. Rather than shaping the exhibition, their use is shaped by the themes of the exhibition'.²⁰ This point is further emphasised by Ivan Karp, who suggests that there is a 'museum effect' that museums

¹⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 8.

²⁰ Crew and Sims, 'Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue', pp. 159-175.

achieve which is distinct to their collections – an effect which is a result of a more comprehensive reading of the museum. He writes: ‘the museum effect is clearly a force that is independent of the objects themselves. The mode of installation, the subtle messages communicated through design, arrangement, and assemblage, can either aid or impede our appreciation and understanding of the visual, cultural, social, and political interest of the objects and stories exhibited in museums.’²¹What becomes important for the narrative museum, therefore, is the focus on the use of the aesthetic, historic and ethnographic to convey the meaning of the museum, which can ‘in different ways, re-contextualise exhibitions. What is important is not the necessary oppositions between any of these criteria but the relationship between visual presentation and narrative within exhibitions’.²²

This approach also recognises that the ‘museum effect’ that Karp refers to is as much a result of the individual visitor experience as the original intentions of the curator. Where a curator may seek to create order to individual exhibits, a particular route of visiting, or a prioritisation of the information on display, the individual visitor will behave in a museum how he or she so chooses, as ‘try as we might, the public continually thwarts our attempts to teach incrementally in an exhibition. They come when they want, and look at what they want while they are there’.²³I would suggest that those museums that appear non-traditional to visitors – that is, where there is no longer a visual dominance of objects, and those objects that may be on display are no longer presented as ‘cabinets of curiosity’ – free the visitor to engage on a more personal level with the museum: to permit a freedom of

²¹ Ivan Karp, ‘Culture and Representation’ in Karp and Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures*, pp. 11-22, pp. 13-14.

²² Anthony Shelton, ‘The Recontextualisation of Culture: in UK Museums’, *Anthropology Today*, vol. 8, no. 5, October 1992, pp. 11-16, p. 13.

²³ Elaine Heumann Gurian, ‘Noodling Around With Exhibition Opportunities’, in Karp and Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures*, pp. 176-190, p. 181.

visiting in whatever way they so choose, and so any attempt at ‘master narrative’ will inevitably be thwarted by the individual visitor engaging only with those aspects of the exhibition that so appeals to them. The narrative museum once again offers a ‘release’ from the traditional object-led museum, and it is in this way that not only do objects no longer take dominance in such an institution, but instead both the narratives and the visitor themselves begin to emerge as the places where museum meaning may now increasingly be a matter of negotiation.

3. Constructing the *Traces of Memory* narrative – Phase 1

3.1 A *Photographic focus*

As was noted earlier, initially when the Galicia Jewish Museum opened the number of photographs on display in *Traces of Memory* was at its largest – almost 150 in all – and the caption text at its shortest. But what also drew further attention to the images was the fact that there was very little text to accompany them: whilst the place name was given on most captions (although by no means all, and notably the place name used is the present-day Polish name, rather than the Yiddish name by which their Jewish residents would have called them, and by which descendants from these towns today can typically identify them) there was otherwise very little further substantive context provided. That which was provided was inconsistent both in length and content: the full texts are provided in Appendixes 2-4, but the table below shows a selection of the varying range of captions:

2.1 Table: Sample captions in use during phase 1 of the exhibition²⁴

Section	Photograph ²⁵	Caption
1	1.1.6	A Jewish tombstone used to pave the entrance to a private dwelling.
	1.1.11	A desolate, abandoned synagogue in the town of Cieszanów, near the Ukrainian border.
	1.1.14	Tarnów. A gaping hole where once there used to be a mezuzah, a narrow box containing texts from the Hebrew Bible; the Bible itself instructs Jews to place such texts on the doorposts of their home.
2	1.2.3	Special mausoleum with the tombstone of Reb Shloimele, the first Bobover rebbe. The Hasidic dynasty he founded in the small town of Bobowa is now a major movement in the Hasidic world with followers in many countries, principally in the United States.
	1.2.18	Jews lived side by side with Poles in old Galicia, even if they both preferred to keep their distance from each other.
	1.2.23	Grave of Marycy Gottlieb, a distinguished painter specialising in Jewish themes.
	1.2.27	Funeral chapel in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kraków, still in use.
3	1.3.7	Szczawnica. In this small resort town in southern Galicia close to the Slovak border, 39 Jews were led out into the middle of this field in August 1942 and murdered there.
	1.3.13	Bełżec. At this place was a horrific death camp, where the great majority of the Jews of Galicia were murdered during the Holocaust. About 600,000 Jews were gassed to death here and their bodies burnt; there were less than 10 survivors. Apart from small pieces of human bone just below the surface of the ground nothing at all is left of the camp: the SS carefully removed all traces of their crimes and planted trees on the spot. A new memorial is currently being planned here.

²⁴ Table: Author's own.

²⁵ See the Introduction footnote 96 to this thesis for an explanation of the numbering system used here.

	1.3.38	This was one of the gas chambers of Auschwitz.
4	1.4.3	Lamentation wall inside the old Jewish cemetery of Kraków, pieced together after the Holocaust out of smashed fragments of old tombstones.
	1.4.6	Small synagogue in the village of Niebylec, now used as the local public library. The restored paintings originally date from the 1930s.
	1.4.8	Pilzno. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, two Jews from here went to the trouble of finding the bodies of more than 20 people – men, women, and children – who had been in hiding in nearby villages but had been caught and shot by the Germans. They exhumed the bodies, reburied them in the Jewish cemetery of their small town, and then left the country.
5	1.5.10	Auschwitz-Birkenau. Israeli visitor in mourning.
	1.5.11	Kraków. The unveiling of a Jewish memorial plaque is always an important occasion in today's Poland and is often accompanied by formal speeches and a reception hosted by the local municipality in the presence of VIPs. This plaque, dedicated in 1998, is in memory of Sinaj Zygmunt Aleksandrowicz (1877-1946), a member of the Kraków city council who was president of an association which sponsored a trade school for Jewish orphans in the Kazimierz district.
	1.5.12	Kraków. Graffiti on the wall of main Jewish cemetery.

As can be seen from the above, the captions are for the most part simplistic, and inconsistent in length, focus and inclusion of historical data. Personal data is also inconsistent – for example, we know that Sinaj Zygmunt Aleksandrowicz lived from 1877-1946 (photograph 1.5.11) but we are not even told which century the Reb Shloimele lived in (photograph 1.2.3). The commentary is also unproblematicised: for example, what does 'Jews lived side by side with Poles in old Galicia, even if they both preferred to keep their

distance from each other' (photograph 1.2.18) mean? On what grounds is this subjective statement made? The result of such limited, unsophisticated use of the textual is that the emphasis is clearly on the visual, and the visitor is left to understand almost independently the meaning in the images. This certainly was the intention of the exhibition at this stage, as Webber (note, not Schwarz) writes: 'the Galicia Jewish Museum is a modern museum working with the *self-explanatory power of pictures* rather than historical relics' [emphasis added].²⁶

This is no unusual thing – whilst historically it was accepted that 'the meaning of a photograph – whether informational or aesthetic – inheres within the image itself',²⁷ even today with the rise of theoretical techniques for the analyses of the visual, Canadian academic Claudia Mitchell notes that 'close-reading strategies (drawn from literary studies, film studies and socio-semiotics) are particularly appropriate to working with visual images'²⁸ – in this way, using analytical approaches from more established fields to engage with the content of an image. It is these 'close-reading' strategies that I will seek to employ when seeking to draw out the narrative themes from *Traces of Memory*.

But although there is a strong tradition of photography and the creation of visual records as an anthropological discipline,²⁹ it is worth noting that there is very little theoretical material which has sought to problematise the use of photographs in museums. British

²⁶ Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe for core support, submitted March 2007 (ref: GJM2007/01), text drafted by Jonathan Webber.

²⁷ Marcus Banks, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, London: Sage, 2001, p. 117.

²⁸ Claudia Mitchell, *Doing Visual Research*, London: Sage, 2011.

²⁹ See Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy, 'Introduction: Rethinking Visual Anthropology', in Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy (Eds.), *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, New Haven, CT: Yale, 2007, pp. 1-35.

anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards, author of *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* summarises this challenge:

Museums of ethnography (and indeed social and cultural history) have used functional realist images as a 'window on the world', without problematicising either photographic agendas themselves, the way in which photography operates as an institutional practice within museums, or the nature of photography itself. Yet the nature of photographs threatens disruption of the museological discourse at many points. The fragmenting and heightening nature of the medium, the temporal and spatial ambiguities, the semiotic undecidability, and almost infinite recodability, destabilises images at the very moment when their meaning must be contained in response to the dominant demands of objects.³⁰

I would argue that the Galicia Jewish Museum is no exception to this, and that there is no critical engagement at any point in *Traces of Memory* or elsewhere in the museum with the choice of photography as the medium for recording the subject at hand. The visitor is presented with the photographs as 'factual' documentary evidence: they are not asked to consider what perhaps is not being shown, the broader environmental context, or the impact of the passing of time on the photographs. For example:

³⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, Museums*, London: Berg, 2001, p. 184.

2.2 Photograph: *From Traces of Memory, reference 1.1.7*



The caption to this photograph simply states ‘Abandoned Jewish cemetery near Zakopane in southern Poland’. Much more of course could be said about this image, but to consider it just in light of Edwards’ comments above, one is struck by how this image is very much dominated by the snow. There is no way of telling how deep it is, and as the visitor is shown just the very tops of a handful of tombstones that are still visible above the snow, one wonders exactly what would be revealed when the snow melts. Are there in fact many more tombstones – perhaps lying flat, as is often the case in former Jewish cemeteries in Poland? Is the area entirely overgrown, or in fact has someone taken the time to cut back the grass – again, an increasingly common occurrence for Jewish cemeteries in Poland, where local Poles take this responsibility on themselves. How closely does the cemetery resemble today what it did in 1945, or has there been much greater deterioration (or even desecration) in the years following the war? Whilst the image itself is striking and undoubtedly engaging, the visitor is simply shown the image as, what Edwards called, a ‘window on the world’ that

is present day Jewish Poland without being given the tools to engage on any other level with what they are being shown.

A similar approach could be adopted with this image:

2.3 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.24



The photograph shows a Polish memorial sign, pointing to a discreet monument in a field. There is no reference to the Holocaust and for the museum's non-Polish speaking visitors the sign itself would be meaningless. It is only the caption which tells the visitor what they are seeing, as it states: 'Mass murder of the Jews also took place in the open countryside, as signposted here by the national Polish memorial symbol near the small town of Pruchnik, where 67 local Jews were murdered during the German occupation'. This is helpful for the visitor – but we must still consider what else there is that the visitor might need to know. Looking in the direction the sign is pointing in the photograph we can assume that the

murdered Jews were killed in empty countryside – but turning around, one might see a road, a town, or houses. We are not able to know how they died, who these victims were, or when in the period 1939-1945 they were killed. Certainly, the inclusion of this image provides the visitors with a visual representation of an additional dimension of the Holocaust, but I would argue that visitors should also be able to keep asking *what they are not being shown* in the image, and as such, the possible alternative meanings of what they are being shown.

Judith Keilbach from the University of Utrecht has asked this question more broadly of Holocaust photographs. In her article 'Photographs, Symbolic Images and the Holocaust', she notes that 'although photographs may confirm a past presence, it is often not possible from their depiction to make out the incidents captured or the situation in which they were taken'³¹ because the context is missing: that is, we do not know what it is that we are not seeing. She goes on to highlight that all Holocaust photographs 'show only a miniscule fragment of an occurrence whose structure and scope cannot be simply visualised in photographs'³² – in other words, photographs cannot be enough by which to understand the Holocaust: too much is missing. I would argue that the photographs in *Traces of Memory* must likewise be viewed from this perspective – whilst they may show an alternative perspective on the Jewish past in Poland, this perspective can only ever be as wide as Schwarz's lens, and whilst this additional perspective can be welcomed, it should be remembered that it is also limited, and no set of photographs can truly be comprehensively representative of the subject at hand.

³¹ Judith Keilbach, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images and the Holocaust: On the (Im)possibility of Depicting Historical Truth', *History and Theory*, vol. 47, no. 2, May 2009, pp. 54-76, p. 56.

³² Keilbach, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images and the Holocaust', pp. 62-63.

3.2 Understanding the images

Despite the lack of critical theoretical material on the use of photographs in museums – Edwards’ work being one of the few examples highlighting this issue – there are many parallels that can be drawn between the use of objects and photographs in exhibitions: particularly regarding the way in which visitors respond to them. Marcus Banks, who has published extensively on visual theory, writes:

The properties of the images, and the interpretation of readers, are not fixed... the content of the images I refer to as its internal narrative – the story, if you will, that the image communicates. This is not necessarily the same as the narrative the image-maker wished to communicate, indeed it can often be markedly different. This is linked to, but analytically separable from, what I call the external narrative. By this I mean the social context that produced the image, and the social relations within which the image is embedded at any moment of viewing.³³

As well as acknowledging that visitors can respond to images in unintended ways, Banks also makes an important distinction between the internal and external narrative,³⁴ which is useful for this consideration of *Traces of Memory*: that is, the difference between what can be seen in the image (regardless of whether this was what the photographer intended when

³³ Banks, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, p. 11.

³⁴ This methodological approach to the study of photographs is by no means unique to Banks, although for the purposes of this thesis his work provides a useful framework. Visual anthropologist Gillian Rose, for example, proposes a similar methodology but one which separates out the two elements of Banks’ ‘external narrative’ – that is, the context of creator from the context of the viewer. She writes, ‘Interpretations of visual images broadly concur that there are three sites at which the meanings of an image are made: the site(s) of the production of an image, the site of the image itself, and the site(s) where it is seen by various audiences’ (Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 3rd edition, London: Sage, 2012, p. 19).

taking it) and the circumstances in which it was created – known only to the creator, and perhaps anyone featured in the photograph – and the circumstances in which it is viewed – known only to the viewer.

Considering, therefore, first the internal narrative of the *Traces of Memory* photographs, we could adopt the approach of Gillian Rose who, in her well-established and widely accepted work *Visual Methodologies*, begins, ‘when looking at an image for itself, a starting point could be its content. What does the image actually show?’³⁵ Although this sounds perhaps a simplistic starting point, Rose then takes this further by defining three elements to what she terms ‘compositional interpretation’. She asks:

- ‘How does compositional interpretation consider the technologies and the production of images;
- How does compositional interpretation approach the site of the image itself, concentrating on *content, colour, spatial organisation* (including *mise-en-scene*), *montage, light* and *expressive content*.
- And how can an analysis of compositional interpretation be used as a method for a critical visual methodology’³⁶

In this way, Rose’s ‘compositional interpretation’ reflects Banks’ ‘internal narrative’. And just as Banks places internal and external narratives side-by-side, for Rose, the importance of compositional interpretation should not be emphasised to the exclusion of the social practices used in creating the image, or in their reception. However, she writes ‘it seems important to me that there is no point in researching any aspect of the visual unless the

³⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

power of the visual is acknowledged'.³⁷In this way, the 'power of the visual' is for Schwarz's photographs whatever the visitor understands from the viewing the photographs in their own right – and the lack of captioning or other contextual materials becomes secondary.

Taking this photograph from *Traces of Memory*, for example, we can consider what the visitor's compositional interpretation might be:

2.4 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.4.7



In the image there is a ploughed field, and a group of trees. The visitor will bring their own context and circumstances to their understanding of the image – they will be aware that they are in a Jewish museum (so this is unlikely to be an image simply about farming, for example) and they may be aware that they have reached the fourth section of the exhibition, which is about memorialisation. They may well assume that the image is there to demonstrate a lack of memorialisation, given there is no obvious monument to see. If they have a personal Holocaust connection they may assume that this was a Holocaust site. But in fact, it is on reading the caption that the visitor learns that this is 'Stary Dzików [and] this

³⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

clump of trees is the site of a Jewish cemetery here... the local peasants remember that it is a Jewish cemetery and have left it as it is'. In this way, whilst the power of the visual is significant – as Rose suggests – it may also be deceptive.

In many ways, this is very similar image:

2.5 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.13



Here there is another empty field, on a bright day, and again with trees in the background. What the visitor may understand here is potentially very similar to that of the image above – and yet its reality is profoundly different. As the caption states, this is 'Bełżec ... where the great majority of the Jews of Galicia were murdered during the Holocaust'. This in itself may be surprising for the visitors: they know about Auschwitz and may well have visited there, and will have just seen a number of perhaps more recognisable Auschwitz photographs in the exhibition. Yet here they are learning that not only was Bełżec (not Auschwitz) where the majority of local Jews were killed, but that this empty field is what has remained, in stark contrast to the seemingly well-preserved site at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.

Clearly, then, even at this initial stage – looking to understand the compositional interpretation (or the internal narrative) of the images – there is a *multivocality* to the photographs: that is, there are multiple layers of meanings (and meaning in the plural) by which the images can be understood – visitors’ responses will differ in a whole spectrum of ways, from the subtle to the extreme, and where one visitor may come away from viewing an image with a clear understanding of how he or she perceive it, another visitor may themselves have a multiplicity of interpretations of a single photograph in the exhibition.

3.3 Contextualising the images

Yet despite the multivocality of photographs, Edwards notes how curators have sought – often unsuccessfully – to limit or define their meanings through the use of the external narrative: the context in which they are viewed. She writes, ‘uses of photographs in the museum are premised on an implicated belief that context is capable of controlling the polysemic unpredictability of the image. But political and cultural discourses subscribed to by different constituencies of museum visitor also define the appropriateness and affective limits of context, as a number of curators have found to their cost’.³⁸ Certainly, this could be said of the fixed, five section structure of *Traces of Memory* – the visitor sees, for example, two photographs of tombstones: one in the first section, *Jewish Life in Ruins* (photograph 1.1.3) and a remarkably similar one in the second section, *Jewish Culture as it Once Was* (1.2.14). The structure of the exhibition is intended to impart the necessary meanings: that is, that a photograph of tombstones in *Jewish Life in Ruins* attests to devastation – the

³⁸ Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 189.

cemetery in which it is located has been all but destroyed, the remaining tombstones have been removed, these ones damaged beyond repair – yet a similar photograph in *Jewish Culture as it Once Was* focuses on the intricate carved Hebrew lettering still visible on the tombstones, as an indicator of the artistic, creative skill of the pre-war Jewish community.

What would happen, though, if a photograph was moved from one section to another? If a photograph showing a destroyed synagogue was moved from section 1 to section 4, would a visitor then view it as a memorial? If an image of a restored tzaddik's grave was moved from section 4 to section 2, would it become an indicator of the splendour of a community long gone but of whom the physical traces survived, rather than a sign of cultural continuity through its preservation? In this way, the attempt to control the internal narrative through the external narrative appears futile, and the meaning within the photographs just as fluid and subjective as if there were no such external factors at play. The photographs below illustrate this point:

2.6 Photograph: *From Traces of Memory, reference 1.2.28*



This photograph is of the restored synagogue in the town of Łańcut, about two hours east of Kraków. In the exhibition, it is positioned in section 2, and captioned as ‘Today a museum, this sumptuously decorated 18th-century synagogue, meticulously restored in the small town of Łańcut, home to about 2,000 Jews before the Holocaust’. In section 2, the reason for the inclusion of the photograph therefore becomes its contrast to the ruins of section 1 – that is, where the Holocaust resulted in mass destruction, there are also those sites which have remained (albeit restored). Equally, however, this photograph could have been placed in section 4, perhaps even without a change of caption. In section 4, its emphasis could have been on the fact that today it is a museum, part of the attempt to memorialise the Polish-Jewish past.

This approach can even be adopted to photographs included or excluded from section 3, on the Holocaust:

2.7 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.3.18



2.8 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 1.4.15



These two photographs are somewhat alike – both are memorials to Jews murdered in the Holocaust, visually somewhat similar. Yet the first photograph is positioned in section 3 (captioned ‘Barwinek: A short distance from the border with Slovakia is a memorial to 500 old and sick Jews from Dukla and Rymanów who in August 1942 were brought to this place in the forest and murdered) and the second photograph in section 4 (captioned ‘Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Even as recently as 1995, exhumations are still taking place of bodies of Jews murdered in distant villages and brought to a Jewish cemetery for dignified reburial’). Both, however, are post-war memorials, and as such the first photograph could equally be placed in section 4 as an example of memorialisation. This could be alongside the second photograph, but equally that could have been placed in section 3 as an example of the way in which the Holocaust also took place in small towns and villages.

But, as Edwards notes, ‘photographs have ceased to be photographs “of” things, and become, rather, historically specific statements about them, with their own social biography – in other words, cultural objects in their own right’³⁹ – in this way, the ‘social biography’ of the photograph moving us on to considering its external narrative. What is particularly interesting in the ‘biography’ of the photographs in *Traces of Memory* is that they were created with the intention to be shown (albeit in a publication rather than a museum) – they are more than simply ethnographic documentation.⁴⁰ Schwarz took the photographs aware that at least the best of his work was intended by Webber for publication. How, then does this impact on the external narrative of the image? Rose in fact argues strongly against the inclusion of auteur theory for the understanding of photographs, as she writes,

Most of the recent work on visual matters is uninterested in the intentionality of an image’s maker. There are a number of reasons for this. First, as we have seen, there are those who argue that other modalities of an image’s production account for its effects. Secondly, there are those who argue that, since the image is always made and seen in relation to other images, this wider visual context is more significant for what the image means than what the artist thought they were doing... and thirdly, there are those who insist that the most important site at which the meaning of an

³⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁰ There is a valid question over whether the *Traces of Memory* project should be viewed as an ethnographic project, and the *Traces of Memory* exhibition as an ethnographic exhibition, as its photographs could equally be viewed as documentary photographs or even photojournalism, given Schwarz’s background. It is worth noting, however, that for the purpose of this thesis the acknowledged fluidity of these terms: ‘Visual sociology, documentary, photography, and photojournalism, then, are whatever they have come to mean, or been made to mean, in their daily use in worlds of photographic work. They are social constructs, pure and simple’ (Howard S. Becker, ‘Visual Sociology, Documentary, Photography and Photojournalism: It’s (Almost) All a Matter of Context’, in Jon Prossner (Ed.), *Image-Based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Falmer Press, 1998, pp. 84-96, p. 84).

image is made is not its author, or indeed its production or itself, but its audiences, who bring their own ways of seeing and other knowledges to bear on an image and in the process make their own meanings from it.⁴¹

In this way, Schwarz's intention (or indeed Webber's, as the one dictating the choice of photographs that were taken during the research project) in taking the photographs becomes secondary to the location in which they were finally selected for show in *Traces of Memory*. This again resonates with historical taxonomical selections and museological classifications in traditional object-based exhibitions. The history of this has been well documented, with many works focusing on the role the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford played in developing such techniques, resulting in the typographical and geographical classified collections common by the 1860s.⁴² But it should be asked, how useful are taxonomic classifications of collections, even in the most comprehensive of displays? With the classification of objects largely down to the preference of individual curators, there is certainly a case to suggest that there is an artificiality to taxonomic classifications: that classifications reveal more about the curator, and the collections available to them, than they do about the subject matter. As the above examples have shown, this is clearly also the case with *Traces of Memory*: the photographic positioning is as much down to Schwarz and Webber as it is to the content of the photographs themselves.

As early as 1887 challenges to traditional taxonomy were noted, when early museum theorist Franz Boas argued that the classification of objects for the purpose of museum

⁴¹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, pp. 26-27.

⁴² In addition to Tony Bennett's well-known overview of the subject (see Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, for more detailed information on the development museum displays through the 18th and 19th centuries), see two articles in Stocking's collection, *Objects and Others*: Chapman, 'Arranging Ethnology', pp. 15-48, and William, 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: *Ars Americano* and the Primitivist Revolution', pp. 146-166.

display, and the decontextualisation that accompanies this, would always be ‘fundamentally lacking’,⁴³ and that ‘any attempt to present ethnological data by a systematic classification of specimens will not only be artificial, but will be entirely misleading’.⁴⁴ Considering present-day collections, Hooper-Greenhill has suggested that museological taxonomy is ‘socially constructed rather than “true” or “rational”’.⁴⁵ In this way the inclusion and positioning of some objects, and the absence of others, leads to what she terms an ‘artefactual framework’ that is more revealing of the curator’s preferences, knowledge and ability than the subject matter itself. She asks: ‘are the exclusions, inclusions, and priorities that determine whether objects become part of collections, also creating systems of knowledge?’⁴⁶

In the case of *Traces of Memory*, I would argue that this is true not only in the selection of photographs and their positioning in the various sections of the exhibition, but also in the relationship of the five sections to each other, and the way in which the visitor travels through these sections. The open-plan layout of the museum means there is no linear, ‘dictated’ order of visiting to the sections, and whilst the five sections are spatially separate, there is nothing to stop the visitor moving between sections in a non-sequential order, switching back and forward mid-section, or even skipping sections entirely. Whilst Webber’s five section structure may be intended to create a ‘system of knowledge’ based on the five approaches to the Jewish past in Poland he has identified, I believe that in fact it is as much the visitor that has the power to create their *own* system of knowledge from *Traces of Memory*.

⁴³ Richard Handler, ‘On Having A Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec’s *Patrimoine*’, in Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others*, pp. 192-217, p. 192.

⁴⁴ Handler quotes Franz Boas in *Science* (1907, p. 928), in ‘On Having A Culture’ in Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others*, pp. 192-217, p. 192.

⁴⁵ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

3.4 External narratives and photographer intention – the use of colour in *Traces of Memory*

Yet I would still hold that in the case of *Traces of Memory*, rejecting the intention of the photographer is not entirely helpful in attempting to create a framework of understanding for the exhibition. Attempting to acknowledge Schwarz's intentions in photographing can undoubtedly impact on our understanding of the exhibition. One of the most notable instances of this, I would suggest, is in his decision to photograph in colour, rather than black and white.

By way of introduction to the consideration of the use of colour photography, it is worth noting that regarding exhibitions specifically of Jewish interest, the use of the photographic in general is hardly unexceptional – yet for the most part, these have been photographs in black and white. In the Polish-Jewish context, one of the most successful exhibitions in recent years has been the photographic exhibition 'And I still see their faces: Images of Polish Jews', curated by the Shalom Foundation in Warsaw. By the end of 2011, this exhibition – showing images of Polish-Jews from before and during the war – had been shown at 43 venues internationally, across Europe as well as in both North and South America, as well as being partially available online.⁴⁷ Similarly, the permanent exhibition of the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim is centred around the use of not only artefacts but also pre-war photographs⁴⁸, with photographs also featuring heavily in the collection of the

⁴⁷ See www.shalom.org.pl/eng/index.htm (last accessed 09.03.12). Available online at the Museum of Tolerance Multimedia Learning Centre (www.motlc.wiesenthal.com/site/pp.asp?c=jmKYJeNVJrF&b=478561, last accessed 18.08.12)

⁴⁸ See www.ajcf.pl/jewish-museum (last accessed 18.08.12).

Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Poland's oldest state Jewish museum,⁴⁹ as well as forming the basis for the permanent exhibition in the Sauna building at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.⁵⁰ Archival photographs showing Poland's Jewish past will also be on display at the museum of the History of Polish Jews when it opens in 2013, as even though the permanent exhibition will show the history of Poland's Jews 'in a manner that has never been shown before', without 'artefacts locked in dusty display cabinets', the new multimedia displays will be based on source materials, including a large number of photographs.⁵¹ Even present-day photographic essays on the subject matter have a tendency to using black and white photography: Stephen Smith, co-founder of the UK Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom) and today Executive Director of the USC Shoah Foundation for Visual History, has authored *Forgotten Places: The Holocaust and the Remnants of Destruction – A Photographic Essay*,⁵² a black and white photographic essay album of sites of former Jewish presence in Poland, similar in concept to the first section of *Traces of Memory*. Bogdan Frymorgen, creative consultant to the Galicia Jewish Museum and a close friend of Schwarz, has in 2012 released a black and white photographic collection of present-day Kazimierz,

⁴⁹ See www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁵⁰ See

www.en.auschwitz.org/z/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=52&Itemid=99999999&limit=1&limit_start=9 (last accessed 05.04.12). See also two related publications from the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, one on the central camp sauna where they are exhibited (Teresa Świebocka (Ed.), *The Architecture of Crime: The 'Central Camp Sauna' in Auschwitz II-Birkenau*, Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2001) and one on the photographs themselves (Kersten Brandt, Hanno Loewy and Krystyna Oleksy (Eds.), *Before They Perished: Photographs Found in Auschwitz*, Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2001).

⁵¹ See 'The Core Exhibition', Museum of the History of Polish Jews (www.jewishmuseum.org.pl/en/cms/exhibition/view/, last accessed 05.08.12).

⁵² Stephen Smith, *Forgotten Places: The Holocaust and the Remnants of Destruction – A Photographic Essay*, London: Quill Press, 2001.

Kazimierz bez słów ('Kazimierz without words')⁵³ with an exhibition of the same name shown at the Centre for Jewish Culture in Kazimierz.⁵⁴

Many of the images in collections such as these are more than vaguely reminiscent of the work of Roman Vishniac, eminent pre-war photographer of central and east European Jewish life⁵⁵ through their focus on abandoned street scenes or romanticised images of individuals and groups of people. See, for example the similarities between these two images of the same courtyard in Kazimierz:

2.9 Photograph: *From Traces of Memory*, reference 1.2.34



⁵³ Bogdan Frymorgen, *Kazimierz bez słów*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2012.

⁵⁴ See www.judaica.pl/index1.php?zmien_jezyk=EN&podstrona=pm&podmenu=arch&month=01&year=2012 (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁵⁵ See Roman Vishniac, *A Vanished World*, reprint edition, New York, NY: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1983, and *Children of a Vanished World*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

2.10 Photograph: Roman Vishniac, *Entrance to Kazimierz, the old ghetto of Kraków, ca. 1935-38* ©Mara Vishniac Kohn, courtesy of the International Centre for Photography, New York.



Vishniac's work has been well documented by a number of post-war commentators, including in recent years by Carol Zemel from York University, Toronto. According to Zemel, Vishniac's images 'give pictorial form to a society almost destroyed in the Holocaust. For Jews and non-Jews, they have become tokens of memory, emblems of a culture once thriving and now lost'.⁵⁶ Zemel goes on to describe their iconographic nature, as:

Their combination of portrait and documentary picturing heightens their status as social evidence and archive. At the same time, even as documentary images the pictures bear a stylistic signature. High-contrast

⁵⁶ Carol Zemel, 'Z'chor! Roman Vishniac's Photo-Eulogy of East European Jews' in Julia Epstein and Lori Hope Lefkowitz (Eds.), *Shaping Losses: Cultural Memory and the Holocaust*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001, pp. 75-86, p. 75.

lighting, dark spaces and illuminated details; dramatically framed compositions that offer special, privileged views of the past; and faces seen in stark, close-up intimacy all typify Roman Vishniac's photographic manner and seal the pictures' status as works of art.⁵⁷

We can note here similarly how Schwarz's photographs equally operate as both social evidence of the remains of Poland's Jewish past, along with being a documentary archive of this and as works of art.⁵⁸

There are further notable parallels between Vishniac and Schwarz personally, most significantly I believe in their dual insider/outsider roles. This split identity of Schwarz was well noted in the Introduction, but this also applies to Vishniac, as 'a middle class professional, fluent in Yiddish as well as the languages of Central and Eastern Europe and travelling incognito, Vishniac was both insider and outsider; part and yet not part of the world he photographed'.⁵⁹ The result of both of their works, I would argue, is the creation of what we could term 'memorial collections', which in the case of Vishniac Zemel describes as follows:

In some ways, [Vishniac's collection] *A Vanished World* functions like the *yisker bucher* (memorial books) produced after the war by Jewish survivors to commemorate their destroyed communities... Like the *yisker bucher* a photographic collection is a powerful agent of memory, allowing Jews to fulfil the commandment to remember the dead and the vicissitudes of the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ See section 3.5, below.

⁵⁹ Zemel, 'Z'chor!', p. 80.

past. For many, the feelings of nostalgia and fear, unease and curiosity, that these pictures may evoke resemble the ambivalent emotions of mourning, with its simultaneous yearning to annual and to accept a loss.⁶⁰

Thus just as viewing Vishniac's pre-war photographs through a post-Holocaust lens evokes a sense of commemorative ritual – with today's knowledge of what happened to those communities Vishniac photographed in the Holocaust influencing the way in which we view the photographs – so may also viewing Schwarz's photographs brought together in the *Traces of Memory* exhibition. But whereas Vishniac's 'stylistic signature' was 'high-contrast lighting, dark spaces and illuminated details; dramatically framed compositions', I would argue that Schwarz's stylistic signature is the use of colour – not remarkable for many photograph collections, but here in the case of Polish-Jewish notable in that it contrasts with Vishniac's well-known approach and more broadly with the collections noted at the start of this section.

Thus *Traces of Memory* with its full colour images means that the visitor to the Galicia Jewish Museum is not transported back to a time long past, or given the distance to the images on display that the use of black and white may permit: colour photographs being much more reflective of reality than black and white, which may create an artificial feeling of separation between the viewer and the image. Whilst it is impossible to establish now, it is certainly worth considering whether *Traces of Memory* as photographed in colour was deliberately and self-consciously breaking with the memorial convention of representing the Holocaust in black and white, and/or whether Schwarz rather selected colour as a tool in which to fix his

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

photographs in the present. Alternatively, it could well have been that Schwarz simply preferred working in colour, with no deeper motivation to its usage.

Whatever Schwarz's motivation, the result is that the photographs compel the visitor to consider their very tangible, present-day significance – through choosing to photograph in colour, Schwarz placed a responsibility on the visitor to understand that these are not traces of the Jewish past as they may have looked in the Polish landscape some 40, 50 or even 60 years ago – before the lifetime of many of the museum's visitors – but he wanted to pass on to visitors what the places look like today, and therefore, their significance for them as visitors today.

As with the examples above, this contrasts sharply with traditional approaches. Erica Lehrer – an established ethnographer of contemporary Jewish Poland – and her co-author, Lawrence Soliman, write, 'photographs of the "Vanished World" of East European Jewry have been preoccupied with absence. Black-and-white film, in particular, keeps the present at bay, allowing us to imagine what time has stopped in whole swaths of Europe. Pictures of abandoned cemeteries and collapsing synagogues are also accusations, maintaining the sense that local people don't care. But such images – while real – can also cloud our vision. Their limited framings blind us with complacent familiarity, drowning out questions precisely where questions are most needed'.⁶¹ But whilst the Jews of Poland may be absent in the vast majority of Schwarz's photographs (section 5 being the exception) what is shown through the colour images is very much present, today. Not only this, but the photographs are shot in what we could term 'contemporary colour' – they are naturalistic, shot without filters or

⁶¹ Erica Lehrer and Soliman Lawrence, 'Unquiet Places: A Second Look at Jewish Poland Today', www.yiddishbookcenter.org/pdf/pt/56/PT56_poland.pdf (last accessed 15.08.10).

the usage of unusual lenses, and no post-processing. The result is that the visitor feels like he or she is viewing the site exactly as Schwarz himself saw it: once again removing traditional boundaries between the viewer and the photographer, or the viewer and the reality they are attempting to access through the photograph.

There are, of course, other cases where colour has featured in Holocaust or post-Holocaust photography, which similarly illuminate many of these issues. For example, Ulrich Baer from New York University has written in detail on the Walter Genewein collection, several hundred colour photographs from the Łódź ghetto taken by Genewein as a Nazi official during the height of the ghetto's operation. Baer notes the impact on viewers of '[seeing] with your own eyes that the famous cloth stars stitched to ghetto residents' clothing truly were sunflower yellow... these perceptions are themselves as shocking as the realisation, prompted by the Nazi photographer's fair-weather habits, that the sky above Łódź was frequently neither black nor grey but incongruously, beautifully, blue'⁶² – much as the impact of seeing clear, blue skies above Auschwitz in Schwarz's post-Holocaust photographs.

Baer goes on to analyse the use of the Genewein photographs in Dariusz Jablonski's 1998 film, *Fotoamator* [literally 'Photo Amateur', but released internationally as *The Photographer*].⁶³ Whilst much could be said on the use of photography versus film (and indeed, Baer notes how 'the medium of film can sometimes suggest that a figure trapped in a still photograph is temporarily brought back to life and into the present ... By turning a collection of Nazi-created slides of the Lodz ghetto into a moving picture, Jablonski can search them for evidence of something other than ruination, victimhood, objectification and

⁶² Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence: the Photography of Trauma*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005, pp. 127-82, p. 151.

⁶³ *Fotoamator*, Dariusz Jablonski, Apple Film Productions, 1998.

death')⁶⁴ what is of interest for this thesis is how Jablonski contrasts the colour imagery of the Holocaust with black and white footage from contemporary Łódź. Baer notes how, 'the eerily deserted black-and-white scenes filmed in the present-day city bear witness to an absence that cannot be filled'.⁶⁵ I would suggest that this contrasting of the present-day (in black and white) with the past (in colour) brings the viewer closer to the events of the Holocaust, as with Schwarz's photographs the use of colour speaks personally to viewers in the same way that black and white distances them.⁶⁶

3.5 Photography after the 'saturation point' – using and misusing Holocaust photography

Although there has been a lack of discussion on post-Holocaust photography in the theoretical literature, much has been written, published and displayed about pre-Holocaust and Holocaust photography, as well as its link to atrocity photography. In *On Photography*⁶⁷ the acclaimed American socio-political commentator Susan Sontag describes what she calls the 'saturation point' of the viewing of atrocity photographs – that is, their prevalence in the public domain, and the inability of viewers to now engage with their true meaning. Writing in 1977, she argues that 'after thirty years [after the end of the Holocaust] a 'saturation point' may have been reached. In these last decades, "concerned" photography has done at

⁶⁴ Baer, *Spectral Evidence*, p. 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶⁶ Although beyond the scope of the thesis, much more could be said on the use of black and white vs. colour in film. Where *Fotoamator* uses colour for the past and black and white for the present, more famously *Nuit et Brouillard [Night and Fog]* intersperses archival Holocaust footage in black and white with present day commentary in colour (*Night and Fog*, Alain Resnais with Jean Cayrol, Argos Films, 1955). The impact of the use of black and white vs. colour could also be considered in a comparative analysis of two of the most major Holocaust films of recent decades: that is, *Schindler's List* – released in 1993, but shot in black and white – with *Shoah*, released eight years earlier in 1983 but which as documentary, rather than feature film, is shot in colour (*Shoah*, Claude Lanzmann, Historia/Les Films Aleph/Ministry of Culture, Republic of France, 1985).

⁶⁷ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, new edition, New York, NY: Picador, 2004.

least as much to deaden conscience as to arouse it'.⁶⁸ Responding to Sontag some twenty-five years later, Marianne Hirsch from Columbia University concurs, 'Now, after 50 years, [Holocaust photographs] have become all too familiar. The saturation point that "may have been reached" for Sontag twenty-five years ago has certainly been surpassed by now',⁶⁹ suggesting that the Holocaust 'is one of the visually best-documented events in the history of an era marked by a plenitude of visual documentation'.⁷⁰ Continuing on this theme, Barbie Zelizer from the University of Pennsylvania has written on not only the response to liberation photographs from the camps shown to the public in the USA and Europe, but also the response to graphic Holocaust imagery today. She writes, 'the visual memories of the Holocaust set in place fifty-odd years ago seem oddly unsatisfying. The mounds of corpses, gapping pits of bides, and figures angled like matchsticks across the camera's field of vision have paralysed many of us to the point of critical inattention'.⁷¹

These 'visual memories of the Holocaust' are the result of a prevalence of a relatively limited number of photographs from the Holocaust in circulation in the public sphere. Aware of this, and the issues that this thus poses, Hirsch asks, 'why, with so much imagery available from the time, has the visual landscape of the Holocaust and thus our opportunity for historical understanding been so radically delimited?'⁷²

Hirsch continues:

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁹ Marianne Hirsch, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', in Barbie Zelizer (Ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, London: Athlone, 2001, pp. 215-246, p. 216. For more from Hirsch on this subject, see Marianne Hirsch, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 14 no. 1, Spring 2001, pp. 5-37.

⁷⁰ Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', p. 217.

⁷¹ Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1983, p. 1.

⁷² Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', p. 8.

If these images, in their obsessive repetition, delimit our available archive of trauma, can they enable a responsible and ethical discourse in its aftermath? How can we read them? Do they act like clichés, empty signifiers that distance and protect us from the event? Or, on the contrary, does their repetition in itself retraumatise, making distant viewers into surrogate victims who, having seen the images so often, have adopted them into their own narratives and memories, and have thus become all the more vulnerable to their effects? If they cut and wound, do they enable memory, mourning, and working through? Or is their repetition an effect of melancholic replay, appropriative identification?⁷³

The rest of her article grapples with these issues, as she seeks to identify the impact of such repetition on the second generation after the Holocaust, locating this within what she terms, 'postmemory'. Her emphasis is not on *what* these repeated images of the Holocaust show, but *how* they do so, and the impact of this on postmemory. She argues that the repeated viewing of these images can produce in the second (and subsequent) generation viewers a trauma not dissimilar to the trauma experienced in the memories of survivors themselves. In this way, the repeated viewing of the same images in the same way will fail to result in any kind of healing for the second generation – which can only be achieved when these same photographs are 'redeployed, in new texts and new contexts, that they regain a capacity to enable a postmemorial working through'.⁷⁴

Thus there has been an emblematic, or iconographic, usage of images from what is likely the most visually documented event in history, and from this material we can begin to see an

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

emerging view in the literature about how atrocity, and indeed Holocaust, photographs should *not* be used – and the impact their prolific publication has had on public viewing and understanding of the events the images depict. Former University of Birmingham postgraduate student, Bryan Lewis, in considering the ethical implications of using Holocaust photographs, argues that ‘the publication of photographs from the Holocaust, whether as key documents or supporting illustrations, carries with it the obligation to use the photographs responsibly’.⁷⁵ To this end, he identifies the problems of using Holocaust photographs as documentary material, highlighting five issues that compromise their integrity: (1) The photographs were largely taken by Germans; (2) But beyond this, details about who the photographers were is largely unknown; (3) All photographs are open to interpretation, which is potentially even more problematic in the case of Holocaust photographs; (4) the purpose of many photographs (and potentially any captions) could well have been propaganda; and (5) similarly, photographs can be faked, or set-up, once again challenging the authenticity of the images.⁷⁶

Yet *Traces of Memory*, through its use of photographs *about* the Holocaust – rather than photographs *of* the Holocaust – is not faced with such challenges: its images are not iconographic of the Holocaust, they have none of the historiographical issues that Lewis identifies, and they are certainly not ‘atrocity’ photographs in the usual meaning of the word. Instead, with their focus on presence (rather than absence) and the present (through

⁷⁵ Bryan Lewis, ‘Documentation or Decoration? Uses and Misuses of Photographs in the Historiography of the Holocaust’ (unpublished MPhil (B) dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1999), p. 87.

⁷⁶ Bryan Lewis, ‘Documentation or Decoration? Uses and Misuses of Photographs in the Historiography of the Holocaust’ in John Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell (Eds.), *Remembering for the Future, 3: Memory*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 341-57, pp. 343-346. Many of the issues identified here by Lewis are likewise identified by Susan Sontag in the present-day context, as she writes about the creation and usage of photographs in contemporary war zones. See Susan Sontag, ‘Regarding the Torture of Others’, *New York Times*, 23 May 2004.

the use of colour) Schwarz's images are much more suggestive, and without significant textual accompaniment in phase 1 the visitor is left largely to themselves to understand both the internal and external narratives on display. In this way, *Traces of Memory* employs what Susan Crane from Columbia University terms 'choosing not to look':⁷⁷ In her essay of the same title, Crane investigates 'alternatives to unconditional public access to Holocaust atrocity photographs',⁷⁸ arguing that now Holocaust photography is no longer required as public documentary evidence in the same way as it was in the years immediately following the war, that Holocaust remembrance might be better served by reducing the commonality of Holocaust imagery. For Crane, 'the normalcy of understanding, facilitated through communication, as well as collective memory, is threatened by atrocity images'⁷⁹ and thus she suggests an alternative, choosing not to look, as a 'radical alternative [that] needs to be carefully articulated so that it remains an authentic choice, and not the last resort of the physically disgusted or the first resort of the wilfully ignorant'.⁸⁰ Crane goes on to articulate this alternative, holding that the emotional response to atrocity photographs have all but dominated collective memory and understanding of the Holocaust – rather than their viewing leading to political action or educational imperatives. Whilst Crane acknowledges the position that Holocaust photographs may be viewed to pay tribute to the victims, like Zelizer's 'critical inaction' she believes that over-familiarity with such images may result in 'compassion fatigue' for the viewers.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Susan A. Crane, 'Choosing Not to Look: Representation, Repatriation, and Holocaust Atrocity Photography', *History and Theory*, vol. 47, no. 3, October 2008, pp. 309-330.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

I would suggest that the Galicia Jewish Museum, and specifically *Traces of Memory*, enables visitors to make the choice 'not to look'. Whilst there may be the assumption that the visitor has likely seen the 'atrocities' at Auschwitz, and may too be experiencing 'compassion fatigue' from over-familiarity with Holocaust images, *Traces of Memory* takes a different approach to engaging visitors with visual representation. In fact, I would go one step further than Crane and argue that for some visitors the result is that Schwarz's photographs – as non-commonplace images of the Holocaust – actually become all the more shocking as a result, without the graphic detail that has now become all too familiar and without the distance permitted to the visitor through the use of black and white. Yet at the same time, for others, there is the possibility that the photographs are perhaps comforting – a form of choosing not to look and avoiding the horror: once again, the role of the viewer becomes central to the understanding of the photographs.

For Zelizer, 'the more horrific the image, the less detailed the image's anchoring needed to be'.⁸² But Schwarz's photographs, with their limited 'anchoring' (or captioning) in this phase of the exhibition, are by no means horrific: in fact, a number of them could be said to be visually very attractive, perhaps even beautiful – which in itself raises further questions of ethics, as regards the existence of beauty in Holocaust photography. Sontag has suggested that, in photography, 'there is probably no subject that cannot be beautified'.⁸³ But Schwarz's photographs move beyond this – with images from intricate, colourful Hebrew inscriptions to the rolling of the Polish countryside. Thus this is where the issue of 'ethics' and Holocaust photography most strongly converge at the Galicia Jewish Museum: through showing images

⁸² Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*, p. 139.

⁸³ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York, NY: Farrer Strauss and Giroux, 1978, p. 28.

(in particular in section 3 on the Holocaust, but throughout the exhibition) that are 'beautiful' – reminding us that amidst the horror of the Holocaust, there were bright, sunny days, and the rivers, hills, fields and forests where the killings took place were of themselves often sites of beauty.

Brett Kaplan has written extensively on Holocaust memorialisation, including specifically on the aestheticisation of Holocaust imagery. She suggests that, 'while it may be counter-intuitive to understand some Holocaust representation as beautiful, I argue that thinking about the role of aesthetic pleasure in complex and multivalent texts opens this traumatic historical event to deeper understanding. Indeed, the works I analyse insist that we continue to examine how the Holocaust resides in our thoughts; because they are beautiful, these works entice our reflection, our attention, our questioning'.⁸⁴ Thus in the case of *Traces of Memory*, if Kaplan is correct then the beauty of the Schwarz's photographs can engage the museum visitor on a very different level than that which is often otherwise possible through those more iconographic atrocity images discussed above. After identifying the traditional objections to the concept of beauty and the Holocaust,⁸⁵ Kaplan sets out her central thesis for her work: that is, 'the unwanted beauty of such depictions encourages us to see the complexity of the Shoah in ways that conventional works fail to achieve'.⁸⁶ I would argue, therefore, that through the non-conventional images of *Traces of Memory*, a non-

⁸⁴ Brett Kaplan, *Unwanted Beauty: Aesthetic Pleasure in Holocaust Representation*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007, pp. 1.16, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Kaplan summarises the objections as follows: (1) 'Because a kind of beauty was exploited by the Nazi regime, the very concept of beauty has been tainted by its association with fascism', (2) 'Because of the fear of reproducing the horror of the Holocaust and a profound scepticism of the culture industry, in 1949 Theodor Adorno famously claimed that it is barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz. Consequently, many Holocaust writers and artists have feared the ethical implications of rendering the Shoah in beautiful forms'; and (3) 'Because the Shoah has often been seen as historically unique, cultural theorists and survivors have clamoured for an equally unique aesthetic – one devoid of beauty – that avoids the representational strategies used to depict other historical crises' (Kaplan, *Unwanted Beauty*, pp. 2-3).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

conventional and perhaps more complex response to the Holocaust can be achieved by visitors to the museum.

This is certainly echoed by the work of Janet Wolff from Manchester University, who argues for the portrayal of allusive, rather than iconic or figurative, images of the Holocaust. She suggests that 'iconic, realistic work – that is, the work that presents a literal, illusionistic representation – performs a premature movement of closure, enticing the viewer to accept the belief that he or she has now seen the object (the event, the moment, the Holocaust itself)'.⁸⁷ Visitors to *Traces of Memory*, I would argue, are presented with what Wolff calls 'an art of "allusive realism" in Holocaust representation',⁸⁸ which offers a complexity which is 'both a response to the recognition of art to comprehend (in both senses) the Holocaust and, at the same time, an insistence on the dialogic participation of the viewer, whose active engagement is thereby guaranteed.'⁸⁹ Thus in *Traces of Memory* through aestheticisation there follows an engagement with the subject at hand that may well be beyond the reach of more traditional exhibitions.

4. Alternative ways of accessing the Phase 1 narrative

Yet throughout this, as already noted in this chapter, the visitor is left very much to themselves to understand phase 1 of the exhibition. It should be asked, therefore, whether there are any other materials available to the visitor in order to aid this understanding?

Accordingly, it is worth acknowledging the existence of other textual materials that could be

⁸⁷ Janet Wolff, 'The Iconic and the Allusive: The Case for Beauty in Post-Holocaust Art', in Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz (Eds.), *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003, pp. 157-74, p. 158.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

considered as articulating the exhibition narrative – that is, museum-published visitor materials.

There are a range of materials that correspond to each phase of the exhibition, which will be dealt with in the respective chapter, but in phase 1, all visitors had available to them was *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary View of the Jewish Past in Poland*, by Chris Schwarz.⁹⁰ Shortly after the museum opened, Schwarz released this publication as a catalogue to *Traces of Memory*, first published by the museum in 2005. Although the catalogue included Webber's section introductory texts, it included Schwarz's own captions written especially for the publication, include alongside some 70 of his photographs from the exhibition. Schwarz also included his own introduction, and this, in conjunction with his captions, provides one of the few insights into Schwarz's own view on his photographs.⁹¹ For example:

- He describes his ordering of the photographs: 'Kraków... I have placed this photograph at the beginning of the exhibition, and of this catalogue, as a way of

⁹⁰ Chris Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 1st edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005.

⁹¹ Chapter 1 to this thesis references Schwarz's description of the background to the *Traces of Memory* project and the creation of the museum, drawn in part from the Introduction to this publication. In addition, Schwarz's obituary in *The Times* noted his very personal relationship with his projects, not only *Traces of Memory* ('Schwarz identified with his projects completely. He lived with the Saskatchewan Indians and slept rough with the homeless. He was no detached observer, but was involved. The resulting images pulsed with life... Schwarz's Galicia Jewish Museum project was a personal commitment ... The museum was Schwarz's way of bringing that story to Poland, and to the world', 'Chris Schwarz: Dedicated photojournalist who captured a range of subjects and founded the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków', *The Times*, 28 August 2007) and his approach to work was documented in an *Open Democracy* article shortly after the museum opened ('Quite outside from his artistic talent, I found Chris sensitive, ambitious and extremely industrious. When asked, 'what next?', he listed a new exhibition, two or three book collaborations and international missions. 'That's enough for this year I think', he added. During our short tour, he mixed questions, thoughts experiments and humble moralisations in perfect proportion' Rafael Broch, 'Traces of memory, Chris Schwarz', *Open Democracy*, available at www.opendemocracy.net/arts/poland/4423.jsp (last accessed 27.07.12).

showing that the Nazis wanted not only to murder the Jews but also to destroy all aspects of Jewish culture and civilisation'.⁹²

- He refers to his own conflicting emotions to the ruins he photographs: 'Rymanów: There are now moves to restore this synagogue. I will be pleased if that happens. I am also glad that I photographed Rymanów synagogue as it remained, abandoned and empty of worshippers'.⁹³
- He describes some of the circumstances and ways in which he managed to obtain his photographs: 'Dąbrowa Tarnowska: It was only by climbing through a broken fence and scaling a wall of this boarded up synagogue that I discovered the remains of this prayer-room';⁹⁴ 'Czarny Dunajec: I found the cemetery as the sun was going down and took this picture';⁹⁵ 'Auschwitz-Birkenau... it was only by going to the lookout post of the former guardhouse that I was able to capture this panorama'.⁹⁶
- He discusses the impact his photography had on others: 'Kańczuga ... By the time I came back with the camera a few days later, our unexpected interest in the tombstones had prompted the farmer to move them back to the cemetery' (and significantly this also includes a rare reference to Webber, presumably, in the inclusion of 'we');⁹⁷ 'Wielkie Oczy: 'I was photographing the abandoned synagogue in

⁹² Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, 1st edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005, p. 20.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48. Note that this is the only catalogue caption that makes reference to working with Webber.

this small village when a farmer came to talk to me... I said there was only one thing to do [with the tombstones]: take them back to the Jewish cemetery'.⁹⁸

- He discusses the impact his photography had on himself: 'Rymanów... It was one of the first places I visited outside Kraków and it made a lasting impression on me ... I returned time and time again';⁹⁹ 'Auschwitz-Birkenau ... When I took this photograph in a temperature of -25°C I wondered how prisoners survived in these conditions. Then, of course, I realised that most of them did not';¹⁰⁰
- He explains his own reasons for photographing in colour: 'I deliberately chose to take all these pictures in colour: the events of the Holocaust also took place on bright sunny days, not just under dark, moody skies so beloved of art directors'.¹⁰¹
- He acknowledges the limitations of his photographs: 'Auschwitz-Birkenau ... No contemporary photograph of the remaining emptiness can capture the overcrowded, squalid and brutal life endured by the prisoners'.¹⁰²

Schwarz published a second edition of his catalogue in 2006, which just corrected a number of typographical errors in the first edition, and in the Introduction to both he writes, 'the book, *Traces of Memory*, will be published in Autumn 2006',¹⁰³ referring to the originally intended publication that the *Traces of Memory* project was first intended for. By March

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁰³ Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 2nd edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006, p. 12.

2012 this publication had not yet been released (although the publisher's website now gives the expected date as December 2013).¹⁰⁴

It should be noted though that there is an absence of literature on how such supplementary materials should be treated when considering an exhibition's narrative. I believe that as these materials are indeed 'supplementary' – not accessed by every visitor to the exhibition, or offered on free display to all interested – that they cannot be considered as forming an essential element of any exhibition narrative elements. However, it does reinforce the distinctions between the differing phases of the exhibition, as *Photographing Traces of Memory* – with its short captions – means the focus is very much on the images or, alternatively, allowing Schwarz's own voice to be heard. Similarly, they also potentially provide an important reinforcement (or otherwise) of the exhibition's master narrative. Such is the case with *Photographing Traces of Memory*, because as well as the new personal Schwarz insights, this publication also retains the 'permanent' elements established in Chapter 1, notably the exhibition's five section structure and introductory texts. How these permanent elements continue to exist as the museum begins to develop at a much more significant pace, from 2007 to 2009 during what I have termed 'phase 2', will be considered as we move now to the next chapter.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Webber and Chris Schwarz, *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, forthcoming December 2013. See www.littman.co.uk/cat/webber-traces.html (last accessed 17.08.12).

Chapter 3:

Phase 2 of *Traces of Memory* (2006-2009)

Introduction

The last chapter showed that by the end of phase 1, the Galicia Jewish Museum was clearly continuing to operate primarily as a vehicle for *Traces of Memory*. Whilst the permanent aspects of the exhibition identified in the Introduction remained very much permanent, the exhibition – and its supplementary catalogue – functioned above all as a photographic collection, and a means by which for Schwarz to share his own work.

This chapter will consider how these aspects continued to function as the museum moved into phase 2: that is, the period from 2007 to 2009, and a period of dramatic change and growth for the Galicia Jewish Museum. This period saw the introduction of temporary exhibitions alongside *Traces of Memory* as well as the establishment of formalised cultural and educational programming, the development of a number of key partnerships for the museum and, significantly, the museum's first change in director. By the end of this chapter I will seek to establish what impact, if any, these developments had on *Traces of Memory* as the central tenant of the Galicia Jewish Museum.

1. Into phase 2: Moving beyond *Traces of Memory*

1.1 A new exhibition for the Galicia Jewish Museum

During this period Chris Schwarz was not the only expat leading a Jewish organisation in Kraków. A contemporary and friend of Schwarz, Dennis Mislér, had moved from the USA around the same time as Schwarz, and started an organisation called the Polish/American/Jewish Alliance for Youth Action, or PAJA. PAJA was ‘a non-profit educational organisational organisation whose mission [was] to develop a generation of young people from Poland, America, Israel and elsewhere with an understanding of their common heritage and the tools they needed to work for a better future’.¹ The organisation worked out of Kraków, with Mislér making contact with young Poles in the city and offering them the opportunity to meet with visiting young Jews – primarily from the US and Israel – for a single meeting or on organised exchange programmes where Polish families could host Jewish visitors in their homes for several weeks at a time. A parallel activity for PAJA was also working closely with surviving recipients of the Righteous Among the Nations award in Kraków (‘the Righteous’)² and the surrounding area, encouraging young people affiliated with the organisation to provide practical support for the now elderly Righteous, and

¹ *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*, exhibition catalogue, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006, p. 63. As noted below Mislér died shortly after the exhibition was first opened and PAJA was then wound down, and as such today there is very little available on the organisation. Much else of what has been provided here about PAJA comes from my own memory of working with the organisation.

² For more about the Righteous Among the Nations award, see www.yadvashem.org/righteous (last accessed 07.07.12). At the time the exhibition was curated, there were 21,310 recipients of the Righteous Among the Nations award (‘the Righteous’), of which 5,941 were Poles – more than any other country (see *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*, exhibition catalogue, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006). As of 1 January 2012, this number stands at 6,399, of a total of 24,355 (see www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/statistics.asp, last accessed 07.07.12). Yad Vashem the Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority summarises a Righteous as ‘those who not only saved Jews [during the Holocaust] but risked their lives in doing so’. The Righteous title is awarded by an Israeli Supreme Court Justice according to rigorous criteria (www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/faq.asp, last accessed 07.07.12).

arranging opportunities for both Polish and visiting Jewish young people to hear the Righteous share their stories.

At the time one of Mislser's keenest young Polish volunteers was Karolina Komorowska-Legierska, then Head of Education at the Galicia Jewish Museum. Together, Mislser and Komorowska-Legierska came up with the idea of recording the stories of the local Righteous in exhibition format, and pitched the idea to Schwarz – who would then photograph the Righteous, so these could be displayed alongside their biographies. Schwarz was very taken with the idea as he was aware that this might be a useful angle for the museum to be involved in, in order raise its profile locally and to attract more Polish visitors through the doors – as well as challenging some of the stereotypes that many of the museum's visitors held about the actions of Poles during the Holocaust. This also, I believe, marked the first step in what was to become a significant counter-narrative for the museum: that is, the broader rehabilitation of the image of Poland.

Recognising the scope of the project, Mislser and Schwarz agreed that a third organisation also be invited to be involved, the Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim,³ which accepted and whose director, Tomasz Kuncewicz, later came up with the title for the exhibition: *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews [Polscy Bohaterowie: Ci, Którzy ratowali Żydów]*.⁴

Over the following months Mislser identified 21 local Righteous willing to be featured in the exhibition. Komorowska-Legierska interviewed them, prepared their biographies and conducted additional historical research for the exhibition, and Schwarz photographed

³ See www.ajcf.pl (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁴ The history of the exhibition as recorded here comes largely from my own recollections, as I had recently begun working for Schwarz (having moved from the Auschwitz Jewish Centre to take up the post) and was appointed project coordinator for exhibition.

them. Kuncewicz and I wrote an introduction to the exhibition, and arranged for leading Polish-Jewish intellectual Konstanty Gebert to contribute a foreword.⁵ The result was ‘the first stage in an ongoing educational project to pay tribute to the more than 20,000 individuals honoured as Righteous Among the Nations by the Yad Vashem Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority in Israel, paying special attention to the 6,000 Polish recipients’.⁶ The exhibition focused ‘on twenty-one such recipients who live in the Kraków region today [whose] faces and stories are given in honour of all of those, living and dead, who could not be included’.⁷

1.2 The creation of a new temporary exhibition space

As the exhibition featured his own photography Schwarz was, not surprisingly, keen for *Polish Heroes* to be displayed at the Galicia Jewish Museum. Yet the only way of doing so would be to reduce the size of *Traces of Memory*, which at that stage took all available floor space, excluding the cafe and bookshop. Unfortunately there are no detailed floor plans

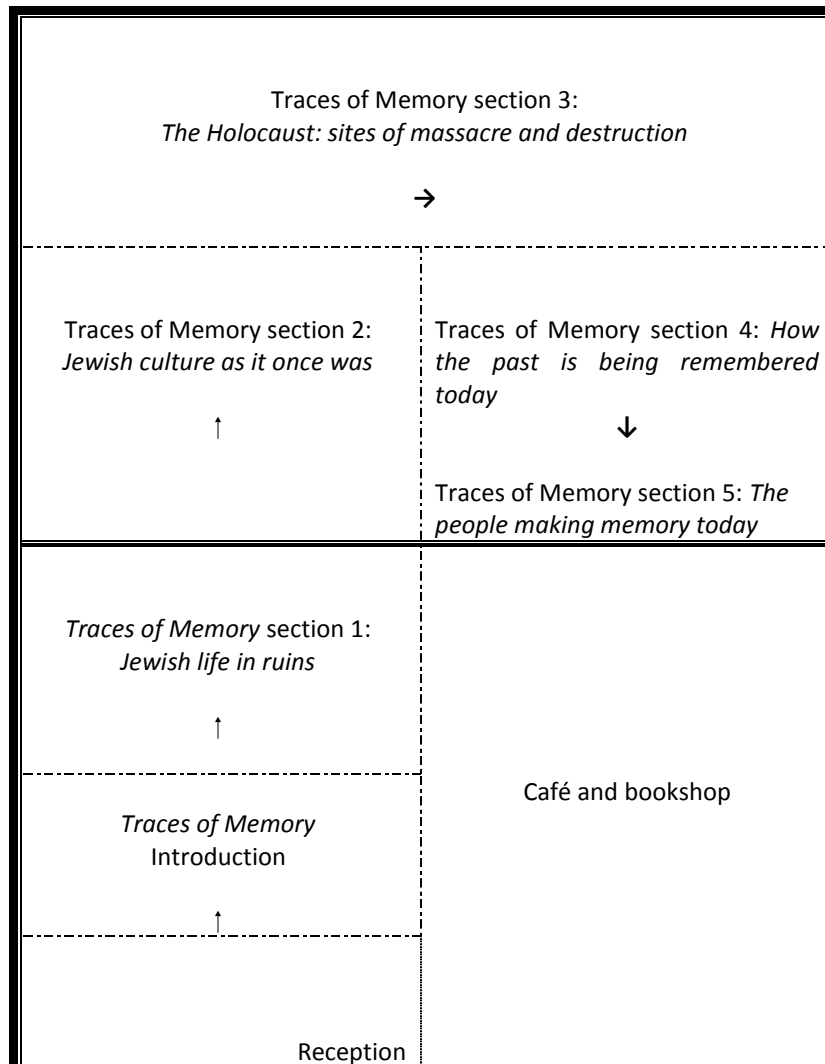
⁵ Konstanty Gebert is a leading Polish-Jewish intellectual and commentator on contemporary Polish-Jewish life. The back cover blurb to his latest book describes him as follows: ‘Konstanty Gebert is a well-known Polish journalist and writer, co-founder, in the 1970s, of the unofficial Jewish Flying University and, in the 90s, of the Polish Council of Christians and Jews. He began his journalistic career in the underground in the 80s under the pseudonym of David Warszawski [which] he still uses, he was an editor and columnist of an important clandestine publication. After the democratic transformation of 1989, he joined the new daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* as an international reporter and columnist, covering i.a. the wars in the Balkans, the Middle East, and human rights issues. He is the founder and first editor of *Midrasz*, the Polish Jewish intellectual monthly. Since 2005 he has been the representative of the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, a US Jewish philanthropy in Poland. His latest books in Polish include a set of commentaries on the Torah, a panorama of the European 20th century, and a history of the wars of Israel (Konstanty Gebert, *Living in the Land of Ashes*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2008). Gebert’s work has made a number of other helpful contributions to this thesis: ‘Jewish Identities in Poland: New, Old, and Imaginary’, in Jonathan Webber (Ed.), *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994 and ‘We’ve Got it Made’, in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 41-44.

⁶ Exhibition introduction, *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews, 2006-2007* (ref: Temp01/PH06). Text also reproduced in the exhibition catalogue of the same title (Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006).

⁷ Ibid.

available from that period, but the diagram below shows approximately to scale the museum's floor plan with the five areas of *Traces of Memory* in 2004, which had not changed by 2006:

3.1 Image: Floor plan of the Galicia Jewish Museum 2004-2006, showing all public areas of the museum.⁸



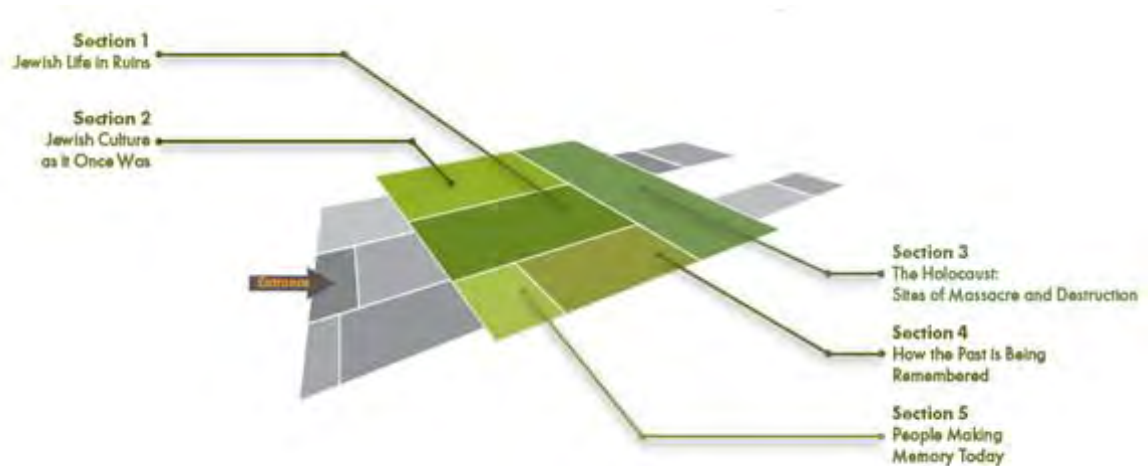
Significant changes were needed in order to be able to fit *Polish Heroes* into the space, and as such Schwarz agreed to a reduction in the number of photographs from 137 to 106, which would mean that the areas then dedicated to the Introduction and to Section 1 could be

⁸ Floor plan taken from Galicia Jewish Museum Outline for Guides (ref: GJM2004/02), p. 15.

reallocated to *Polish Heroes*, and all sections of *Traces of Memory* would then fit in the areas which had previously been dedicated to sections 3-5. This reduction meant that *Polish Heroes* was able to open successfully in May 2006.⁹

The new layout of *Traces of Memory*, as shown in the museum's Visitor Guide, is reproduced below with the grey areas being the public areas of the museum no longer dedicated to *Traces of Memory*:

3.2 Image: Floor plan of *Traces of Memory*, following its reduction to make room for *Polish Heroes*¹⁰

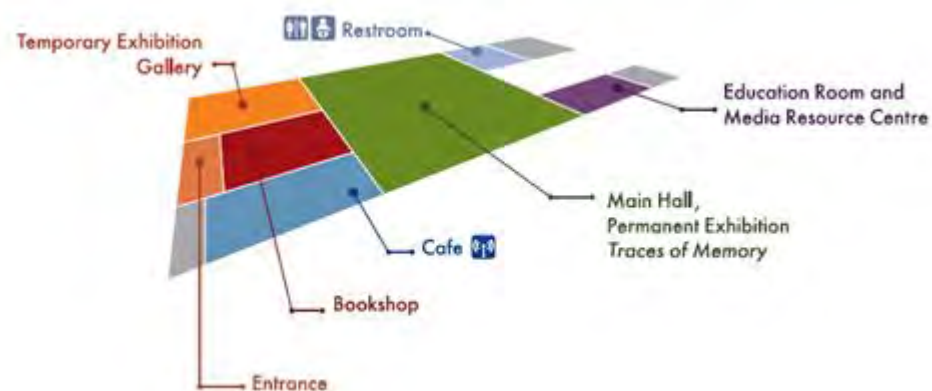


The result was the creation of the museum's first temporary exhibition space, shown in orange and in relation to the *Traces of Memory* exhibition space, in green:

⁹ 18 months after the exhibition opened, Mislér was hit by a tram in Kraków and died after six months in a coma, on 27 April 2008.

¹⁰ Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide, 2009 (ref: GJM2009/01), pp. 11-12.

3.3 Image: Galicia Jewish Museum floor plan showing the phase 2 Traces of Memory exhibition space and the new temporary exhibition gallery¹¹



The reduction of photographs – and their captions – was based purely on Schwarz’s personal preference: significantly, the five-part structure was retained entirely intact along with Webber’s introduction and section introductory texts, but Webber was not consulted on the planned reduction at all, and was thus not able to advise on which photographs ought to remain in place in order to best ensure the continued robustness of the *Traces of Memory* narrative he had originally proposed.¹² The full list of photographs that remained in this new phase of the exhibition, and their captions, can be found in Appendix 3.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹² I was at this time already at the museum, and worked with Schwarz and Komorowska-Legierska who together led on the reduction of the exhibition, during which time there was no consultation with Webber.

2. Phase 2 and cultural programming at the Galicia Jewish Museum

2.1 Temporary exhibitions and the Galicia Jewish Museum

In many ways, *Polish Heroes* marked a significant shift at the Galicia Jewish Museum: not only in that it led to the reduction of *Traces of Memory*, but because it also marked the start of the museum's broader cultural activity – which became, according to the museum, one of the most extensive Jewish cultural programmes in Poland by the end of 2009.¹³ In this way, I would argue that 'phase 2' was not only the physical reduction in size of *Traces of Memory*, but also the reduction in its status in the museum – as for the first time, Galicia Jewish Museum began to develop an identity beyond that of *Traces of Memory* and, perhaps, Schwarz.

Polish Heroes was to become the first of a continual programme of changing, temporary exhibitions – curated by the museum (either independently or in conjunction with other organisations, such as with *Polish Heroes*) or travelling exhibitions sourced from other institutions. It would have been easy to return *Traces of Memory* to its original size, and status, following the close of *Polish Heroes*, but its success in bringing new and higher numbers of visitors through the doors was clear, and Schwarz was easily convinced of the merit of retaining a temporary exhibition space. Furthermore, the success of *Polish Heroes* meant that additional spaces were found in the museum for showing temporary exhibitions: a large office space at the back of the museum was transformed in late 2006 to become an education room to house group meetings (for example, between school groups and the Righteous) as well as a media resource centre and space for educational exhibitions; and the

¹³ See Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2009-2012 (ref: GJM2009/02).

cafe/bookshop area with its exposed brick walls also became gallery space from 2007, primarily for showing art exhibitions.

Over the following three years, up to the end of what I am calling ‘phase 2’ of the exhibition, the museum showed 14 different temporary exhibitions (table 3.4, below) in the museum’s three different temporary exhibition spaces, whilst *Traces of Memory* remained in its ‘phase 2’ form.

3.4 Table: Temporary exhibitions at the Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006-9¹⁴

Year	Exhibition title	Source	Details
2006	<i>Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews</i>	Photographs by Chris Schwarz. Curated by Auschwitz Jewish Centre, Galicia Jewish Museum and the Polish-American-Jewish Alliance for Youth Action (PAJA).	‘A tribute to the more than 20,000 individuals honoured as Righteous Among the Nations by the Yad Vashem Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority in Israel, paying special attention to the over 6,000 Polish recipients. The exhibition focuses on twenty-one such recipients who all live in the Kraków region today. Their faces and stories are given in honour of all those, living and dead, who could not be included in one exhibition’.
2007	<i>Hitler’s List</i>	Images and captions by UK artist John Minnion, curated by Galicia Jewish Museum.	‘An illustrated guide to ‘degenerates’: Jews, bolshevists and other undesirable geniuses’.
2007	<i>Song of Songs: Paintings by Benet Haughton</i>	Paintings and curated by Scottish artist, Benet Haughton.	‘Paintings in celebratory large works inspired by the ancient Jewish and Christian text ‘The Song of Songs’. Haughton’s works connect the viewer with

¹⁴ Table: author’s own. Source: www.en.galiciajewishmuseum.org/exhibition-archive.html (last accessed 10.07.12). All cited texts are taken from this webpage. A full list of temporary exhibitions up to the end of 2011 can be found in the bibliography to this thesis.

			a world that is both beautiful and mythic, poignant and poetic. His women are fertile dynamic creatures. The male figures who partner them offer gifts and, we may imagine, words of love’.
2007 2008	<i>Letters to Sala: A Young Woman’s Life in the Nazi Labour Camps</i>	Travelling version of an exhibition from New York Public Library. Curated by New York curator Jill Vexler.	‘A compelling collection of rare Holocaust-era letters and photographs from the archives of the New York Public Library, all saved at great personal risk by Sala Garncarz during her imprisonment from 1940 until her liberation in 1945’ Shown in English-language format in 2007, English-Polish format in 2008.
2007 2009	<i>Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków</i>	Research and curated by the Galicia Jewish Museum.	‘A stimulating and poignant portrayal of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, both armed and non-armed, confronting head-on the cultural, religious, and moral dilemmas faced by the Jewish community between 1939 and 1945’. Shown first in 2007 and again in 2009.
2008	<i>March ’68 in the Kraków Press</i>	Research and curated by Galicia Jewish Museum.	‘Examines Kraków press coverage of the March 1968 “Anti-Zionist” campaign in Poland.’
2008	<i>Marta Gołąb: Jewish Papercuts</i>	Papercuts by local artist Marta Gołąb, curated in conjunction with the Galicia Jewish Museum.	‘A collection of exquisite Jewish papercuts by Kraków artist Marta Gołąb.’
2008	<i>Where the Past Meets the Future</i>	Paintings and curated by Boston artist Fay Grajower.	‘The installation comprises over 100 mixed media wooden "boxes", each standing alone as an individual painting of a story, place, object or stone of

			memory, and together forming a mosaic wall, showing a revived world steeped in its past and looking towards its future.'
2008	<i>Polin: A thousand years of Jewish history in Poland</i>	Travelling exhibition from the museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw.	'A multimedia presentation of a historical timeline spreading over one thousand years, based on the developing core exhibition of the museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw.'
2008-2009	<i>Jewish Theatre Posters from Pre-War Poland</i>	With reproduction images from the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, with research, text and curated by the Galicia Jewish Museum.	'An exhibition of rare poster prints from the collection of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.'
2009	<i>Swirling Sands: Tel Aviv of the 1930s through the lens of Ze'ev Aleksandrowicz</i>	Images from the collection of Ze'ev Aleksandrowicz, texts and curated by the Galicia Jewish Museum.	'Comprising a selection of Kraków-born photographer Ze'ev Aleksandrowicz's most revealing and diverse photographs of Tel Aviv at its formative moment, transforming from a quiet, provincial suburb of Jaffa to the unquestioned commercial and cultural capital of the new Israel. To mark the 100th anniversary of Tel Aviv.'
2009	<i>They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust</i>	Reproduction images from the original travelling exhibition of paintings by Mayer Kirshenblatt. Texts by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, exhibition co-curated by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and the Galicia Jewish Museum.	'Featuring the art of Mayer Kirshenblatt, which records Jewish life in a Polish town before the Second World War, in images and words, as seen through the eyes of an inquisitive boy. More than 50 full-size colour reproductions of paintings, accompanied by audio and film.'
2009	<i>Pictures of</i>	Polish-English version of	Exhibition of photographs taken

	<i>Resistance: The Wartime Photographs of Jewish Partisan Faye Schulman</i>	a travelling exhibition from the Jewish Partisan Foundation, San Francisco, curated by Jill Vexler.	during two and half years as a partisan serving in eastern Poland (now Belarus) during the Second World War by Faye Schulman, now living in Canada.
2009	<i>In the Beginning God Created the Heavens and the Earth: by Johannes Senf</i>	Paintings, texts and curated by German artist Johannes Senf.	'Artist Johannes Senf's work analyses and compares the signs used in abstract communication systems. Inspired by subjects as diverse as history, ethnology, religion, writing systems, and the natural sciences, his work investigates periods dating from prehistoric rock drawings up until modern-day electronic data processing. In this piece, Senf analyses one of the oldest alphabets in the world, the Hebrew alphabet.'

According to the museum website, exhibitions were chosen which 'complement the mission of the museum',¹⁵ and although there was some degree of eclecticism and even politics in the choice of exhibitions shown (for example, exhibitions selected because of personal friendship or pressure from sponsors) the majority do highlight aspects of the Jewish past in Poland that may not otherwise be known, which sits very comfortably with the aims of *Traces of Memory*. Just as *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews* was the first step in establishing counter-narratives for the museum that also corresponded with *Traces of Memory*, so I would argue these temporary exhibitions have demonstrated an ongoing commitment to marginal perspectives, despite the fact that this commitment has never been articulated as such by the museum – 'hidden histories', stories about women and children and, as with *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*, the rehabilitation of Poles.

¹⁵ www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/temporary-exhibitions-currently-showing.html (last accessed 17.07.12).

Letters to Sala, for example, told the story of one Jewish girl's experience in seven different slave labour camps – a very different experience to the more widely documented concentration and death camps. *They Called Me Mayer July* was a painted narrative of Jewish pre-war Poland, which painted this past in vibrant colours and in contrast to other narratives of a troubled, heavily antisemitic Poland of the interwar period; and *Pictures of Resistance* looked at a female, Jewish experience of being a partisan. There is also a parallel and in fact not articulated trend to the exhibitions – and that is the tendency of the museum to opt for photographic temporary exhibitions where possible: as seen in *Polish Heroes*, but also with those not featuring Schwarz's own photography, such as *Swirling Sands* and *Pictures of Resistance*, as well as in a number of post-2009 exhibitions.

Where the exhibitions typically differ to *Traces of Memory* (and in this case I would suggest that this is in fact is perhaps entirely coincidental – it was certainly never discussed in these terms during my directorship) is in their prevalence of telling individual stories: which stands in strong contrast to the anonymity of *Traces of Memory* – even section 5, as the only section of the exhibition featuring human faces, does not tell a single individual story, despite looking at the more human aspects of memorialisation. Yet the museum's temporary exhibitions have very noticeably been focused on individual stories: the 21 biographies of the Righteous in *Polish Heroes*, *Letters to Sala* as the personal story of Sala Garncarz, as was *Pictures of Resistance* the story of Faye Schulman and *They Called Me Mayer July* that of Mayer Kirshenblatt and the pre-Holocaust world that he personally experienced. But whilst this human element is a notably different approach to *Traces of Memory*, I would suggest what is significant is how these temporary exhibitions not only

complement the themes of the permanent exhibition, but could be seen as illustrating them through these personal narratives:

3.5 Photograph: *From Traces of Memory*, reference 2.4.7



Section 4 on memorialisation in *Traces of Memory* includes this photograph in reference to the Righteous Among the Nations, which is captioned ‘Tuchów. “To save a single life is to save a whole world” (Talmud). There is no physical trace in this small town to record that once there was a Jewish community here: no synagogue, no preserved Jewish cemetery; it is all gone. Except, that is, for an inscription by a Holocaust survivor, signed as “Basia”, on a tombstone in the Catholic cemetery: Basia here records her thanks to Maria Dzik for having rescued her and saved her life. Basia survived, and so also did at least one physical trace that Jews once lived in Tuchów.

This reference to the Righteous Among the Nations is then developed – and personified – by

Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews:

3.6 and 3.7 Photographs: From *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*, Paweł Roszkowski and Janina Rościszewska



These images are two of the 21 portraits of Righteous recipients in the exhibition, which are accompanied by extended biographies detailing their actions in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust. Whilst in *Traces of Memory*, all we learn about Basia is that her life was saved by Maria Dzik (and we are left asking who were Basia and Maria – friends, neighbours, strangers? How did Maria rescue Basia? Were they still in touch after the war?), in *Polish Heroes* we learn that before the war Paweł Roszkowski and his mother ‘had many friendly contacts with the local Jewish community’,¹⁶ which eventually led to them hiding four Jews

¹⁶ Temp01/PH06.

in a family home during the war. At the end of the biography, we read that ‘the Kon family was hidden by Paweł and his mother for four years. All of them survived the war’.¹⁷

Thus the success of hosting and curating temporary exhibitions may well then not only be in that new exhibitions attract new and repeat audiences (as is understood in museums internationally, hence the trend for showing temporary exhibitions) but that these exhibitions also offer an additional – and significantly, complementary – perspective on the Jewish past in Poland, beyond what *Traces of Memory* is able to do.

3.8 Photograph: From *Traces of Memory*, reference 2.3.9



Section 3 of *Traces of Memory* highlights through this single photograph the subject of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, in this case in Kraków itself. The caption to the

¹⁷ Ibid.

above photograph states, 'Jewish resistance: this plaque in the Kraków city centre records a successful operation conducted by the Jewish resistance movement that functioned in the city during the German occupation.'

3.9 and 3.10 Photographs: Promotional images, from *Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków*



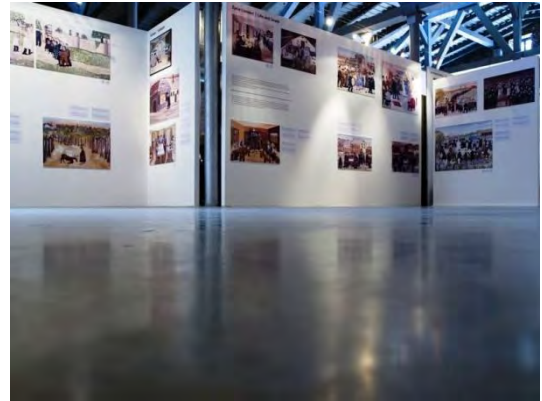
Beyond the single image from *Traces of Memory* shown above, there is no further discussion of Jewish resistance in the museum's permanent exhibition. But the subject was developed through a 2007 in-house curated temporary exhibition entitled *Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków*,¹⁸ which was shown again in the museum in 2009 and also taken up as a travelling exhibition by the Holocaust Education Trust Ireland to show at community venues across the country.¹⁹ As well as providing further detail to the 'successful operation' referenced in *Traces of Memory*, the exhibition attempted to deal holistically with the subject of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, looking at examples of both armed and non-armed resistance specifically again in Kraków. In addition to presenting this 'marginal history' of Jewish resistance, it also continued the work of the museum in personifying the

¹⁸ *Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków* (ref: Temp05/FD0709). See also *Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków*, exhibition catalogue, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2007.

¹⁹ See www.hetireland.org/index.php?page=Fighting-for-Dignity (last accessed 07.08.12).

Holocaust, in that it concluded with the story of Szymon and Gusta, a ‘Romeo and Juliet’ of Kraków Jewish underground,²⁰ as well as a ‘wall of faces’ of twenty of the fighters from the resistance organisation.

3.11 and 3.12 Photographs: Promotional photographs from *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust*.



More broadly, *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust* picks up many of the themes from sections 1 and 2 of *Traces of Memory*. As Mayer Kirshenblatt recalls his life in a Polish shtetl before the war, in vibrant colour and with eloquent, personal captions that help paint this picture, the visitor is given a personal view of a lost Jewish world that is then reflected on in *Traces of Memory*, whether this be in ruins (section 1), or from which just traces remain (section 2). For example, Mayer describes his home town of Apt (Yiddish, or Opatów in Polish) as follows:

Apt may not have been a major moment on the Polish map but it was an important town on the Jewish map. It was the home of many famous rabbis.

The synagogue, with its beautiful painted interior, was 500 years old. There

²⁰ The full story of Szymon and Gusta is told in Gusta’s diary, published as *Justyna’s Narrative* (Gusta Dawidson Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

were many small prayer houses for prayer for every kind of Jew in town, from Hasidim to Zionists.²¹

In this way, we see Mayer's recollections of what is also reflected in *Traces of Memory*: the significance of rabbis for even the smallest of communities; intricately decorated synagogues alongside simple prayer houses; a diverse Jewish community.

2.2 Cultural and educational programming at the museum, 2006-9

This same period also saw significant developments in the museum's cultural event programming. As early as 2005, the museum had begun holding concerts and other occasional cultural events, which by 2007 had developed into a regular monthly programme of events, advertised on the museum's website and circulated in printed format at venues across the city, three months' example of which is shown below:

3.13 Table: Cultural events at the Galicia Jewish Museum, September-November 2007²²

Month	Date	Event
September	06.09.2007	Concert: <i>Quartet Klezmer Trio</i>
	10.9.2007	Lecture: Gideon Greif, <i>The Auschwitz Album</i>
	11.9.2007	Film screening by Piotr Szalsza
	18.9.2007	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>
October	From 8.10.2007	Weekly Hebrew lessons
	9.10.2007	Play: <i>The Wardrobe</i>
	12.10.2007	Concert: <i>Quartet Klezmer Trio</i>
	18.10.2007	Book promotion: <i>Everything Because of Love</i>
	19.10.2007	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>
	26.10.2007	Concert: <i>Octava</i>
November	9.11.2007	Concert: <i>Quartet Klezmer Trio</i>

²¹ *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust* (ref: Temp12/MJ09).

²² Table: author's own. Source: Galicia Jewish Museum monthly event programmes, September-November 2007 (ref: GJM 2007/04, 05 and 06).

	13.11.2007	Concert: <i>Ula Makosz</i>
	23.11.2007	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>

The programming by late 2007 was, therefore, already very diverse – there were concerts, film screenings, theatre productions, lectures and book promotions – although there was a strong tendency towards concerts, and the number of events was limited at an average of around one event per week.

In summer of 2007 Schwarz had tragically died from prostate cancer, much earlier and in the end quicker than anyone had expected. From the start of that year he had begun to tire and was often in considerable pain, which had led to my appointment as ‘museum coordinator’ – in effect a deputy director role, to ensure the smooth running of the museum, not only when Schwarz was unable to be there but also to free him up to enjoy the more creative side of his position. We in fact talked very little about what might happen to the museum if Schwarz died, it being not surprisingly a highly sensitive subject to broach with him, and by the time that Schwarz did reach the point that at the very least he wanted his role in the *Traces of Memory* project and the early years of the museum documented, he and I managed less than 15 minutes of my recording him before he needed to rest. We never progressed with the project, as he died just days afterwards, on 15 July 2007.

In the end, Schwarz’s contribution to *Traces of Memory* and to the museum was documented extensively in the obituaries that followed his death, two in particular that were written by his friends and then picked up by a number of other sources: firstly, one in the *New York Times* (‘Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies; Photographer who honored Polish Jews’) and

then on in the *Guardian* ('Obituary: Chris Schwarz').²³ Significantly, the obituaries failed to mention that Schwarz's work at the Galicia Jewish Museum had been supported by Webber, although there was occasional reference to their early partnership during the research stage of *Traces of Memory*.²⁴

In terms of the museum, text was drafted by Webber initially as the dedication for the 20th volume of the *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* journal,²⁵ which then became used as the standard memorial text for Schwarz internally at the museum, including forming the basis for the memorial plaque mounted in the museum's café area.²⁶

On Schwarz's death I was immediately appointed Acting Director, a position which was made permanent at the start of 2008. Not surprisingly, many of the museum's supporters – and in particular donors – were concerned about whether there was a future for the museum post-Schwarz. For many, he personally and his photographs *were* the Galicia Jewish Museum. Temporary exhibitions and cultural events had only just begun to develop in the last year, and there was concern about whether there was an identity, let alone future, for the museum outside of Schwarz. Thus the museum management also put together a formulaic

²³ Dennis Hevesi, 'Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies; Photographer who honored Polish Jews', *New York Times*, 8 August 2007, and John Turner, 'Obituary: Chris Schwarz', *The Guardian*, 1 October 2007.

²⁴ See for example 'Chris Schwarz (1948-2007)', *Cracow Life* (available at [www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_\(1948-2007\)](http://www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_(1948-2007))), last accessed 23.04.2008), Hevesi, 'Chris Schwarz' and *The Boston Globe*, 12 August 2007; 'Chris Schwarz: Dedicated photojournalist who captured a range of subjects and founded the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków', *The Times*, 28 August 2007. The one exception to this is the obituary printed in *The Jewish Chronicle* ('Chris Schwarz', 20 September 2007), which notes that the exhibition was a 'display of 100 of Schwarz's best images, with Professor Webber's explanatory captions'. It may not be coincidental that *The Jewish Chronicle* – which would have been Webber's community newspaper – was the one obituary to specifically reference Webber's involvement.

²⁵ Gabriel N. Finder, Natalia Aleksiun, Antony Polonsky and Jan Schwarz (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Making Holocaust Memory*, vol. 20, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008.

²⁶ Founder plaque (ref: GJMsign/03). The full text for the plaque is given in Chapter 1, p. 22.

text that could be used in materials to donors and other stakeholders in an attempt to reassure them that the museum could, and would, continue:

At his death in July 2007, Chris Schwarz left a thriving institution and a powerful legacy that has continued to grow and prosper.

The Trustees and Museum Director have focused on careful succession planning. In particular Kate Craddy was initially appointed Museum Coordinator during the Founding Director, Chris Schwarz's illness, before fulfilling a role as Acting Director from the end of July 2007, to be formalised in her appointment as Museum Director in early 2008. In addition to the Board of Trustees, she is supported by a stable core staff team, many of whom are long-term employees of the museum and who have trained, grown and developed with the museum. The museum has reached critical mass and there is good depth of talent which means that the organisation is not overly reliant on any one individual.²⁷

Thus I was tasked with the continuation of the museum and, importantly for me, its further development. The direction to take was, I believe, largely clear even from the outset: *Traces of Memory* had been Schwarz's project – and to an extent Webber's – and whilst I was committed to its continuation in the museum, my own 'mark' could be better left by focusing on other activities, and hence the continued development of the museum's cultural and now also educational programming over the following two years.

²⁷ Annual report to the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2008 (ref: GJM2008/02), p. 4.

I would argue, therefore, that following Schwarz's death there was at times exponential development in the museum's activities that for the first time was not a result of him, Webber, or even *Traces of Memory*. Table 3.14, below, demonstrates this in further detail by listing the September-November programme events for 2009 as in contrast to those shown for 2007 in table 3.13, above:

3.14 Table: Cultural events at the Galicia Jewish Museum, September-November 2009²⁸

Month	Date	Event
September	1.9.2009	Film screening for 70 th anniversary of outbreak of WWII
	6.9.2009	Meeting with Kraków residents remembering WWII
	6.9.2009	Family Sunday
	6.9.2009	Play: <i>It Happened in September</i>
	8.9.2009	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>
	25.9.2009	Museum After Dark: Late night opening
	26.9.2009	Opera: <i>Amadigi</i>
	27.9.2009	Opera: <i>Amadigi</i>
	Every Thursday and Sunday	Concert: <i>Nazzar</i> klezmer
	Every Friday	Kabbalat Shabbat with Beit Kraków
October	2.10.2009	Workshops for children: Celebrate Sukkot
	4.10.2009	Family Sunday
	4.10.2009	Film screening: <i>Paint what you remember</i>
	9.10.2009	Israeli dance workshops
	13.10.2009	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>
	21.10.2009	Concert: <i>Boris Malkovsky Trio</i>
	23.10.2009	Krav Maga workshops
	30.10.2009	Museum After Dark: Late night opening
	Every Thursday and Sunday	Concert: <i>Nazzar</i> klezmer
	Every Friday	Kabbalat Shabbat with Beit Kraków
November	3.11.2009	Concert: <i>The Fifth Element</i>
	7.11.2009	Meeting with concentration camp survivor
	7.11.2009	Concert: <i>Gregorz Rogola trio</i>
	8.11.2009	Family Sunday
	9.11.2009	Film screening for 71 st anniversary of Kristallnacht
	9.11.2009	Lecture for 71 st anniversary of Kristallnacht
	11.11.2009	Concert: <i>Klezzmates</i>

²⁸ Table: author's own. Source: Galicia Jewish Museum monthly event programmes, September-November 2009 (ref: GJM 2009/07, 08 and 09).

	14.11.2009	Walking tour of Kraków
	20.11.2009	Children's art workshops: Shabbat traditions
	21.11.2009	Meeting with Righteous Among the Nations recipient
	27.11.2009	Museum After Dark: Late night opening
	28.11.2009	Lecture: <i>Women and Jewish Resistance</i>
	Every Saturday in November	Guided tours of temporary exhibitions
	Every Thursday and Sunday	Concert: <i>Nazzar</i> klezmer
	Every Friday	Kabbalat Shabbat with Beit Kraków

There are some very noticeable trends or developments in this programme summary: not only in the increase of number of events, but also in the type: there are the children/family and more Polish-targeted events that didn't exist two years previously (the monthly Family Sunday and Museum After Dark, to enable Kraków residents to visit the museum after work one evening a month) and the many more events run in conjunction with organisations (such as the opera held in conjunction with Kraków Opera House and events with other external partners), as a result of the work in developing these partnerships that had seemed crucial following Schwarz's death. In addition, there is also the Friday night Kabbalat Shabbat service led by Beit Kraków Progressive Jewish Community at the museum: although not a museum event per se but rather a private rental, it was nevertheless included in the museum's monthly programme.²⁹

Accordingly, I would argue that the three most significant steps during this period of development comprised the following:

²⁹ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the relationship between the Galicia Jewish Museum and Beit Kraków, along with the politics that have surrounded this, but it is worth noting that despite the lack of any formal relationship between the museum and Beit Kraków, there has been an inevitable merging of the two in terms of how they have become to be viewed externally.

1) *The introduction of a targeted education programme for Polish schools, with the intention of creating a more Polish-friendly institution, moving the museum more explicitly into its Polish context. By 2007, the museum was receiving over 20,000 visitors a year, but the vast majority of these were international visitors to Kraków. The creation of a Polish schools programme was intended to directly target this imbalance, and as such, '1 January 2008 marked the formal launch of the Galicia Jewish Museum's outreach to Polish schools, with a new dedicated education assistant employed to target local schools with a specially-designed education package, making use of the contacts that have been established over the last four years and new materials produced by the Education and Research Department.*³⁰ Combined with developments in the then-fledgling education programme for international schools, the result was that by 2009, 'the Galicia Jewish Museum's Education and Research Department operates one of the most extensive Jewish and Holocaust education programmes in Poland, and offers programmes for both Polish and international visitors, targeted for school, university, and adult groups. The museum's educational programmes work – above all – to provide a context for visits to Auschwitz, both through broader education about the Holocaust as well as about Jewish history and culture in Poland. Dedicated educators work with visiting groups throughout the planning and implementation of their visit to the museum, and programmes include exhibition tours; Question and Answer sessions; school lessons, workshops or lectures on Jewish and Holocaust-related subjects; meetings with

³⁰ Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2008-2011 (ref: GJM2008/03), p. 4.

Holocaust survivors or Righteous among the Nations Recipients; and dialogue meetings with local students'.³¹

- 2) *The introduction of children's and family friendly programming.* As a single-level institution and hence suitable for prams and pushchairs, the museum was recognised as 'family friendly' by a Kraków City Council-affiliated campaign in 2007, which provided the impetus for the exploration of more developed family friendly programming again in a bid to attract more local Poles to the museum. To an extent it was a tried and tested approach: the museum had offered free English lessons for local children since 2005, and an unexpected outcome of that had been that local parents would also visit the museum for the first time. After 2007, however, this was taken a stage further, with regular dedicated programming for children and families, with the declaration that 'Galicia Jewish Museum welcomes families with children of all ages. The museum has 'Family Friendly' status and operates a range of dedicated educational and cultural activities for families with young children, including Jewish dance workshops and concerts, as well as walking discovery tours of the local area'.³²
- The museum was one of the first in Kraków, if not the very first, to begin operating a regular Family Day each month, and family activities taking an increasing prominence. Regular programmes during school holidays and two weekends each month, for children from ages 6-12 began to be offered, alongside the English lessons, and shortly afterwards given the increasing number of family visitors the museum cafe was set-up as a Children's Corner, and baby-changing facilities, children's toys, and baby food/bottle-warming.

³¹ GJM2009/01, p. 29.

³² GJM2009/02, p. 5.

3) *Closer cooperation with other local Jewish and cultural organisations.* Undoubtedly, Schwarz in post as the museum's director as well as being the permanent exhibition's photographer gave the museum a status and level of interest that was no longer achievable in his absence. Whilst I was more confident than some of our supporters were that the museum had an identity without him – and that *Traces of Memory* still had a place in the museum – I was also concerned that we were too small and too isolated to be viable in the long-term. For me, this could be best counteracted by developing closer relationships with other Jewish and cultural organisations, both locally and internationally, where there could be opportunities longer-term for cross-programming, exhibition sharing or even staff exchange. The museum's 2009 strategic plan lists some of the key partnerships that had by this stage been developed:

3.15 Table: Key museum partnerships by end 2009³³

Local partners		International partners	
Adam Mickiewicz Institute, Warsaw	Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Oświęcim	American Association of Polish-Jewish Studies, USA	American Jewish Committee, USA
Beit Kraków Progressive Jewish Community, Kraków	Beit Warszawa Progressive Jewish Community, Warsaw	The Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom), UK	Aegis Trust, UK and Rwanda
Jewish Community of Kraków, Kraków	Jewish Culture Festival, Kraków	Illinois Holocaust Museum, USA	Imperial War Museum, UK
Forum for Dialogue Among Nations, Warsaw	Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw	Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, UK	Jewish Book Week, UK
Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw	National Museum in Kraków	Jewish Museum, New York, USA	Museum of Jewish Heritage, USA
Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków	Institute for National Memory, Warsaw	USC Shoah Foundation Institute, USA	UK Jewish Film Festival, UK
Auschwitz Jewish Centre, Oświęcim	Department of Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian, Kraków	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, USA	Yad Vashem, Israel

³³ Table: author's own. Source: Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2009-2012 (ref: GJM2009/02), pp. 7-8. See www.iam.pl; www.en.auschwitz.org; www.beit.org.pl; www.beitkrakow.pl; www.krakow.jewish.org.pl; www.jewishfestival.pl; www.dialog.org.pl; www.jewishinstitute.org.pl; www.jewishmuseum.org.pl; www.muzeum.krakow.pl; www.mhk.pl; www.ipn.gov.pl; www.ajcf.pl; www.judaistyka.uj.edu.pl; www.aapjs.org; www.ajc.org; www.holocaustcentre.net; www.aegistrust.org; www.ilholocaustmuseum.org; www.iwm.org.uk; www.polishjewishstudies.pl; www.jewishbookweek.com; www.thejewishmuseum.org; www.mjhnyc.org; www.college.usc.edu/vhi; www.ukjewishfilm.org; www.ushmm.org; www.yadvashem.org (all last accessed 18.08.12). A number of representatives from these partners have also contributed to the bibliographic literature for this thesis including Suzanne Bardgett, Imperial War Museum (see 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition Project', *Journal of Holocaust Education*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1998, pp. 28-37; 'Exhibiting Hatred', *History Today*, vol. 50, no. 6, 2000, pp. 18-20; 'The material culture of persecution: collecting for the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum' (unpublished manuscript); Eleonora Bergman, Jewish Historical Institute (see 'Mosaic', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 36-40); Janusz Makuch (see 'The Jewish Culture Festival: Between Two Worlds', in Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla [Eds.], *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009, pp. 43-53 and 'I Was Neither a Jew Nor a Catholic', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 59-63. See also Monika Gajewska, 'Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow: Interview with Janusz Makuch', *Warsaw Voice*, 5 July 2006) and Weronika Litwan, Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage ('Synagogues and Cemeteries: What is Being Done and What is Still to be Done?', in Kate Craddy, Mike Levy and Jakub Nowakowski [Eds.], *Poland: A Jewish Matter*, Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, 2011). For more on the National Museum in Kraków, see *First Steps: Towards a Collection of Western Contemporary Art*, Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 2008 and *Gallery of Decorative Art of the National Museum in Cracow: Guidebook*, Kraków: National Museum of Kraków, 1999.

Formal affiliation was similarly important for me to further help give the museum a status beyond Schwarz, and as such the museum shortly became a member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the Association of Holocaust Organisations (AHO) and the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEJM).³⁴

Combined, I would argue that these developments in terms of the growth in cultural activity and the focus on partnerships have continued to impact on *Traces of Memory*: not in any further reduction of its physical size at the Galicia Jewish Museum, which has remained constant after its reduction in 2007, but in a continued growth that has not included the permanent exhibition. In this way, the significance of *Traces of Memory* could be said to have diminished through this second phase – and given the relationship between Schwarz and *Traces of Memory* it is surely no coincidence that this phase also saw the museum's first change in management, following Schwarz's death. Yet despite this, there has remained a consistency in the aims and objectives of the museum, and an exhibitions, cultural and education programme which sits within these, that was in many way established initially by *Traces of Memory*. Thus even though the permanent exhibition itself may have diminished in status within the museum, its impact on the museum's ever-developing activities has remained strong.

3. The 'who' of the Galicia Jewish Museum

It was noted above that many of the new programming initiatives were intended to attract more Polish visitors to the museum, who in 2007 were still a marginal audience group. By 2009, however, these initiatives had helped result in significant growth among Polish

³⁴ See www.icom.museum, www.ahoinfo.org and www.aejm.org (all last accessed 17.05.12).

visitors: although the museum’s overall visitor numbers remained stable at around 20,000 per annum, where the international visitor numbers had dropped off as a result of the impact on the tourist market of the world economic crisis, Polish visitor numbers had steadily increased to comprise approximately a third of all museum visitors, and a half of education programme participants.³⁵

3.16 Image: Visitor demographics at the Galicia Jewish Museum, 2009

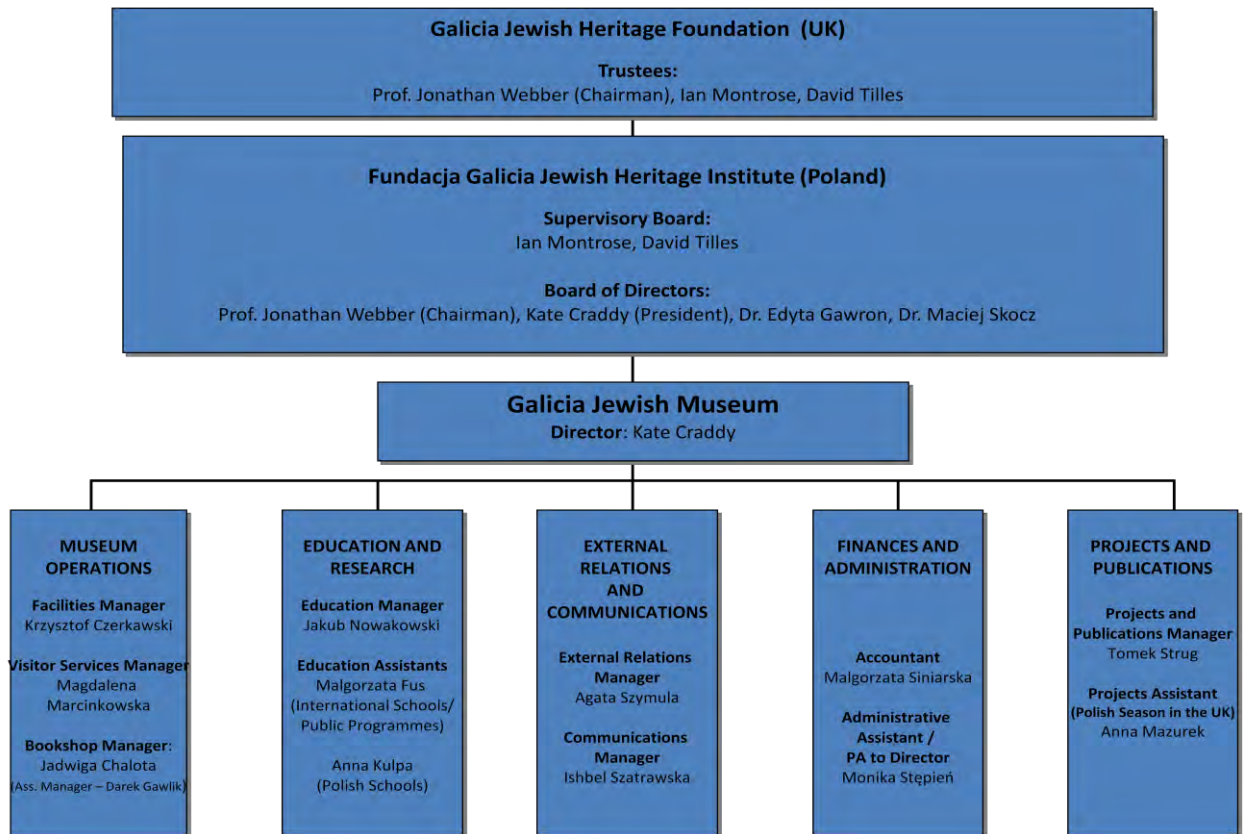


But at this stage in the museum’s history, the ‘who’ is perhaps more poignantly aimed at who was delivering all this programming. Whilst the museum may have had quite clear Jewish leadership during Schwarz’s lifetime – particularly when Webber’s involvement was also considered – this identity was lost almost entirely as soon as my (non-Jewish) directorship was announced. But the lack of a Jewish identity in terms of personnel had always run much deeper than this at the museum, which has continued to be the case throughout the museum’s three management periods. Whilst many of the developments I led at the museum were possible because of staffing changes I made following Schwarz’s death, one change that I didn’t make was in the pool from which I appointed people: I still advertised locally, and relied heavily on the Jewish Studies programme at the Jagiellonian

³⁵ Galicia Jewish Museum’s Director’s Report, Joint meeting of the museum’s Board of Directors (Poland) and Board of Trustees (UK), 3 December 2009 (GJM2009/10), p. 2. Note that whilst visitors from all over the world visit the museum, the education programme at this time only had visitors from a very select number of countries (see Image 3.16).

University, where students were almost exclusively non-Jewish Poles. By the end of 2009, the museum’s organisational structure looked as follows:

3.17 Image: Organisational chart, December 2009³⁶



Looking at the bottom two tiers of the organisational chart (that is, the museum’s staffing) there is only one Jewish member of staff, the Communications Manager. The other key staff – that is, all those named in the above chart – were either graduates of the Jewish Studies department (notably the Education Manager, who would later become the Director of the museum); had professional skills necessary for the post, although none had prior museum experience (the Bookshop Manager, External Relations Manager and the Accountant); or had been promoted up through the museum’s ranks (the Facilities Manager and the Projects

³⁶ GJM2009/02, p. 14.

and Publications Manager, both of whom began in the cafe/bookshop and would later become the museum's two senior managers – equivalent to deputy director roles).

Yet despite the lack of personal Jewish background in the museum staff, I would hold that there has always been a blurring of boundaries of traditional definitions of 'Jewish' and 'non-Jewish' at the Galicia Jewish Museum: the concluding chapter to this thesis will examine this in more detail, but at this stage it is worth considering whether this could be said to have been initiated by Schwarz himself as he too blurred these boundaries in his own identity. Whilst on the one hand the temporary exhibition programme has featured exhibitions with clear Jewish content, on the other hand the examples from the cultural programme (table 3.14, above) and the partners with whom the museum established relationships (table 3.15, above) have shown something of the diversity of the museum's activities and reach. How this played out in the museum has been described by a journalist from *Open Democracy*, who visited the museum and noted the easy relationship between the Jewish visitors and the non-Jewish staff: 'On the evening I visited, orthodox Jews gathered for prayer in the cafe area, sharing the space with readers relaxing with books and iPods. Nearby some employees were chatting, quite accustomed to the peaceful scene of contrasts. Poland might have seen its Jewish population of 3 million vanish, but those that return today find a generally curious generation, quite detached.'³⁷

³⁷ Rafael Broch, 'Traces of memory, Chris Schwarz', *Open Democracy*, available at www.opendemocracy.net/arts/poland_4423.jsp (last accessed 27.07.12).

4. Changes at the Galicia Jewish Museum and the impact on *Traces of Memory*

This chapter has highlighted a number of developments in exhibition, cultural and educational programming at the Galicia Jewish Museum during 2007 to 2009, initiated by Schwarz and then continued under my own directorship. Whilst these changes may have impacted significantly on museum visitor demographics – helping establish the museum more firmly as a local, Polish institution and thus increasing the percentage of Polish visitors – the day-to-day operation of the museum remained very much in the hands of those whom it always had done: with the exception of myself who had anyway worked under Schwarz, the museum’s staff continued to be overwhelmingly young (non-Jewish) Poles, drawn largely from the Jewish Studies programme at the Jagiellonian University and who typically worked their way up through the museum ranks, without any substantive training on the job that could constitute professional development in the museum context.

Phase 2 also saw the first major alteration to *Traces of Memory* since it had developed from being a research project intended for publication into an exhibition, when the decision was taken to reduce the exhibition in size to allow for the creation of a new temporary exhibition space. Significantly, this change took place whilst Schwarz was still alive and was working as the museum’s director. Given this reduction in size and the resulting change in programming for the museum, arguably at this point *Traces of Memory* lost something of its status as the single focal point for the Galicia Jewish Museum.

Yet I would highlight two important points in relation to this in conclusion to this chapter. Firstly, Schwarz’s decision to reduce *Traces of Memory* to create a temporary exhibition space was not done simply to create a new blank space for which appropriate exhibitions

could then be found. Rather, Schwarz already knew that the new space was intended (at least initially) to house *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews* – that is, another photographic exhibition featuring his own photography. Thus whilst perhaps the museum would no longer so overwhelmingly focus on *Traces of Memory*, it would still equally be about exhibiting Schwarz's own work.

Secondly, regardless of any reduction in size of *Traces of Memory* under Schwarz, or development of new cultural or educational activity during my own directorship, by the time phase 2 was implemented I would argue that the impact of the exhibition was such that the museum itself had become so heavily influenced by *Traces of Memory* that to an extent the impact of these changes was marginal. By the end of phase 2, for example, the exhibition by-line 'a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland' had been adopted more broadly by the museum as a whole. The programme of temporary exhibitions was heavily photographic, which would have been unlikely had *Traces of Memory* itself not been a photographic exhibition, and these exhibitions focused on presenting alternative narratives to Poland's Jewish past – just as *Traces of Memory*. In this way, whilst *Traces of Memory* may have physically reduced by the end of phase 2, I would argue that the impact of the exhibition – and perhaps indeed the impact of Schwarz himself – very much had not.

Chapter 4:

Phase 3 of *Traces of Memory* (2009-2011)

Introduction

By the end of 2008, as concluded in chapter 3 the Galicia Jewish Museum had become an established cultural and education centre alongside its exhibition functions. Whilst *Traces of Memory* had reduced in size, it still very much dominated the museum's narrative, as did Schwarz's legacy.

But in the first half of 2009 three inter-related developments occurred which all resulted in yet another repositioning of *Traces of Memory* in relation to the museum's broader aims and activities:

- 1) The *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition 'refresh' at the Galicia Jewish Museum, which focused in particular on the complete re-writing by Webber of all photograph captions.
- 2) The writing and publication of Webber's new companion volume to *Traces of Memory*, entitled *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, published by the Littman Library for Jewish Civilization;¹
- 3) The creation of a *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition.

¹ Jonathan Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009.

This chapter will consider each of these developments in turn, and examine the individual and collective impact they had on the Galicia Jewish Museum narrative. This final phase considered in this thesis also saw a change from one management period to another, as I left the museum in November 2010 to be replaced by the then-Education Manager at the museum, Nowakowski. Whilst I would suggest that these changes in management have not resulted in a significant impact on museum activities by the end of the period in question for this thesis,² what is noteworthy here is rather what remained by the end of 2011, despite the three phases of *Traces of Memory* and three directors during this period: the exhibition title; its photographic content; the exhibition introduction; the five part exhibition structure, and the introductory section texts.

1. Moving into phase 3 of *Traces of Memory*

In early 2009, Webber and I began to discuss plans for what became known as the '*Traces of Memory* refresh'. With the input of the museum's Head of Curatorial Affairs, Tomek Strug, we planned a programme of updates for the exhibition which, in real terms, primarily meant the updating of the exhibition's captions. Our target was to ensure that the refresh had been

² The Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report (ref: GJM2011/01) describes the museum's main activities for that year, which commenced shortly after I left the museum in November 2010. It lists the key achievements/activities of the year as being visitor numbers; number of days open; number of temporary exhibitions; number of travelling exhibitions; number of Polish-Israeli youth exchanges; number of participants in teacher seminars; number of media exposures; number of participants in the Crocus project (an educational project for local schools); number of workshops; number of concerts; number of children/family events; number of city tours; number of free English lessons for local children; number of film screenings; and number of theatre plays (GJM2011/01, pp. 2-3). Whilst the numbers of many of these had increased on previous years, all were pre-existing areas of activity prior to the museum's most recent management period.

completed by the time of the Kraków Jewish Culture Festival, held in late June each year and a key point in the museum's calendar.³

Until that point, the exhibition captions remained exactly as Schwarz had left them – as I summarised in chapter 2, were 'for the most part simplistic, and inconsistent in length, focus and inclusion of historical data'.⁴ Whilst I felt strongly that we needed to improve the information provided for visitors on each of the photographs given these inconsistencies, it was Webber that was the driving force behind the actual rewriting of the captions.

The result was that, in a remarkably short period of time, we had a complete set of new captions for *Traces of Memory*. We also took this opportunity to redesign the format in which the captions were displayed: In phase 1 and 2 of the exhibition, the text had been printed in black futura font on a mid-tone grey background – with futura and mid-tone grey being selected by Schwarz for the museum's brand font and colour respectively, futura in particular being selected as it was a sans serif font 'banned' by the Nazis following the closure of the Dessau Bauhaus school in 1933.⁵ At the refresh, however, we agreed to print the complete set of new captions using black calibra text on a white background, both selected as being easier to read for the visitor and in line with captioning styles adopted by many other modern museums.

The exhibition section introductory texts remained the same in content, but we reprinted these at the same time to match the new format of the captions, and we also introduced a handful of new photographs to the exhibition, selected by Webber and Strug, from the

³ See www.jewishfestival.pl (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁴ See p. 131

⁵ See Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, www.bauhaus-dessau.de (last accessed 08.04.12).

Traces of Memory archive, for purely logistical reasons in to fill spatial gaps in the exhibition that had been left when the exhibition was reduced in size at phase 2.

That Webber felt so strongly that the captions needed replacing is perhaps no surprise, given their limited nature as described earlier in the thesis, and the next section will investigate further the significance of textual contextualisation for exhibitions. But it is also worth asking why Webber chose this time to take forward this project. Certainly he had the support of museum management in doing so, but I also believe it was significant that it was now more than a year after Schwarz had died and the directorship had been passed to me. A suitable 'period of mourning' had elapsed, and as described in chapter 3 the museum had very much entered a new phase in its development. It was, perhaps, only then that Webber began to feel that his role in the museum was becoming more fully recognised, and as such he was more strongly positioned to re-assert his role in *Traces of Memory*. The introduction of new, extended captions that offered an extended textual perspective to the exhibition would allow him to 'speak' about the exhibition, from his own perspective, to every museum visitor.

1.1 Captioning object-led collections

Whatever his motivations for wanting new captions for the museum, Webber is far from alone in recognising the significance of captioning for museum exhibitions, and there is extensive theoretical material within the field of Museum Studies that considers the use of captioning and labels in museum, both historically and in more contemporary 'post-museums'.

For example, referring to the role of labels and captions in object-based exhibitions, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett coined the term 'textualising object/objectifying texts'⁶ to refer to the symbiotic relationship between the object on display and the accompanying interpretive material. Tracing the rise in use of textual exhibition materials in the 19th century museum, she notes that 'the written label in an exhibition was a surrogate for the words of an absent lecturer, with the added advantage that the exhibited objects... could be seen by a large public for a longer period of time'.⁷ For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett it is the contextualisation of collections of objects through captions and labels that creates meaning, as '[objects require] a context, or framework, for transforming apparently grotesque, rude, strange, and vulgar artefacts into object lessons. Having been saved from oblivion, the ethnographic fragment now needed to be rescued from trivialisation'.⁸ Such a contextual framework enables collections to take on new meaning (or perhaps indeed *meanings*) within the museum environment.

⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 30-34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett goes on to set out the ‘gold standard’ for such contextualisation through the use of interpretive materials, including – but not limited to – captions and labels. She suggests that meaning is created ‘by means of long labels, charts, diagrams, commentary delivered by earphones, explanatory audiovisual programs, docents conducting tours, booklets and catalogues, educational programmes, lectures and performances... In-context approaches to installation establish a theoretical frame of reference for the viewer, offer explanations, provide historical background, make comparisons, pose questions, and sometimes even extend to the circumstances of excavation, collection, and conservation of the objects on display.’⁹

Such an approach is common to museums internationally, including within the Jewish museum context, and here we can consider briefly three examples as points of comparison, all at different points in the spectrum in terms of their international status as Jewish museums and the recentness of their review of captioning and labelling.

Firstly, we can consider the captioning and labelling currently in use at the Jewish Museum in New York. Founded in 1904 and one of the world’s leading Jewish museums, it has undergone a dramatic redevelopment of itself and the way it presents its collections over the last 30 years, which has seen an ‘evolution of its collecting habits and priorities during this period – a curatorial vision marked by largesse and open-mindedness’,¹⁰ meaning that today its acquisitions policy is focused on three disciplinary areas: fine arts, Judaica, and

⁹ Ibid., pp. 21.

¹⁰ Maurice Berger and Joan Rosenbaum, *Masterworks of the Jewish Museum*, New York, New Haven, CT and London: The Jewish Museum and Yale University Press, 2004, p. 24. I was myself also a regular visitor to the Jewish Museum in New York throughout my directorship at the Galicia Jewish Museum, as I would visit New York on a frequent basis for work purposes. The museum also partnered with the Jewish Museum in 2009 on the exhibition project, *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust* (ref: Temp12/MJ09).

broadcast media.¹¹ Despite such a redevelopment, captions remain somewhat traditional in their approach, providing a short description of the object (including its ritual usage and any distinctive features of this particular example) along with (where known) the artist with their nationality and dates; the place and date of its creation (where known); its size; materials; and provenance.

A second example of a major Jewish museum which has recently gone a significant redevelopment – although on a much more focused basis than the Jewish Museum in New York, having been closed for almost two years to enable a full museum redevelopment – is the Jewish Museum London. When the museum reopened in 2010, on its 80th anniversary, its permanent collections had been restructured in four sections: the Welcome Gallery (‘See how British Jewish people live today’), Judaism: A Living Faith (‘A Collection of Rare and Beautiful Ceremonial Art Objects’), History: A British Story (‘An insight into British Jewish history from 1066 to today’), and the Holocaust Gallery (‘Told through the story of one British-born survivor of Auschwitz’).¹² Objects form the basis for each of the galleries and featured alongside extended textual elements, audio-visual materials, maps and other designed elements – very much along the lines of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s list of contextualising materials for exhibitions. The museum is now intended to be ‘both a showcase presenting Jewish history and culture to the wider community, and a prism through which the Jewish community can examine its own history’,¹³ and structures its content and associated programming around three conceptual themes: ‘identity and

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/permanent-exhibitions (last accessed 25.06.12).

¹³ Rickie Burman, ‘Transforming the Jewish Museum: The Power of Narrative’, in *Jewish Culture and History*, vol. 12, no. 1-2, 2010, pp. 345-356, p. 345.

diversity', 'migration and diasporas', and 'combating prejudice', all underpinned by the principle of what museum director Rickie Burman calls 'peopling the story', that is, 'viewing history through the prism of people'.¹⁴

Despite this rather innovative and multilayered approach, the individual objects in the redeveloped Jewish Museum London's permanent collection are, however, still captioned very traditionally: a simple one- or two-line description of the object which notes any distinctive features of the object (but with no information on its usual ritual usage), along with its place of origin and date, maker, and reference number – and where required information about the lender or grant number.¹⁵ Whilst the language used to describe the objects is largely accessible, it is interesting to note that ritual terms in Hebrew or Yiddish are not explained which – alongside the lack of description of what ritual objects might usually be used for – suggests that the collections are aimed at a 'Jewish-educated' audience.

At the other end of the spectrum is the Old Synagogue Museum in Kraków,¹⁶ which last underwent major renovations in 1959 and since then which has not seen any of the redevelopments or significant updating that the Jewish museums in New York or London have done.¹⁷ Its permanent collection appears to have been untouched for a number of

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 352.

¹⁵ A field visit to the Jewish Museum London for the purpose of this thesis was undertaken on 17.05.10. The details of the caption format was confirmed in a personal communication with the museum curator, Elizabeth Selby (ref: KGPCI/06). Again, the Galicia Jewish Museum enjoys a strong working relationship with the Jewish Museum London, particularly evidenced through the Jewish Museum London's involvement in Polska! Year (see pp. 239-241 for more on Polska! Year).

¹⁶ It is worth noting the geographical proximity of the Old Synagogue Museum to the Galicia Jewish Museum, as the two are less than 200 metres apart, and although no data exists on shared numbers, one can assume that a high number of visitors from the Galicia Jewish Museum also visit the Old Synagogue Museum.

¹⁷ More background information on the Old Synagogue can be found in publications by the museum's director (Eugeniusz Duda, *Żydowski Kraków. Przewodnik po zabytkach i miejscach pamięci*, Kraków: Vis-à-vis, Etiuda,

years, with a collection of Judaica structured around seven themes: Sabbath, New Year and Day of Atonement, Sukkoth, Hanukkah, Purim, Passover and Family and private life. The interpretive material provided for each object is minimal, with each object numbered to correspond to a caption listed on a card accompanying the exhibition case, with Polish and English on alternate sides of the card. The information provided comprises the name of the object and its material, followed by the place and date of its origin – there is nothing more developed or sophisticated about the information provided. But despite this much more traditional approach of the Old Synagogue Museum as compared to its New York and London counterparts, there are clearly strong similarities in the approach to captioning in all three.

To place these three examples into a broader museological context, it is worth noting that recent changes to captioning and labelling have been introduced in many museums that reflect broader developments in the field. For example, as museums have become more self-reflective, so too have their style of captioning. Bennett approaches examples of contemporary exhibition captions by asking ‘How do [captions] organise the visitor’s expectations and/or memory of his or her tour? What conceptions of the public and of its values are suggested by the language and imagery of such publications?’¹⁸ This is indicative of an increasing awareness of the significance of the museum audience in the way captions and labels are written and how they respond to the captions – rather than allowing their meaning to be dominated by a single curatorial voice. Whilst historically a caption may have been an authoritative curatorial statement, I would argue that today there is an increasing

2003, and *The Old Synagogue at Cracow’s Kazimierz*, Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Kraków, 2005).

¹⁸ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the museum*, London: Routledge, 1995, p. 131.

recognition of the response of the visitor, who may be as much responsible for creating the meaning of the object being captioned as the curator(s) themselves, much as how what Banks termed the internal and external narrative of the photograph was noted in Chapter 2.¹⁹

Thus the questions to be asked of any exhibition caption could include the following:

- Who is the intended audience group of the captions? Is it educated audiences in general, or those with subject-specific knowledge? Is it children and families as well as adults? What about school children and teachers?
- What choice of tense has been made for the captions? Is a caption for a historical object written only in the past tense, or is there a link to the present for its contemporary significance?
- Are personal pronouns used? Does the curator reveal him or herself through the use of 'I'? Are audiences brought into the caption through the referencing of 'you'? Is there curator/audience collaboration through the use of 'we' – an identification of the 'I' or 'us' of the museum curator(s) with the audience?
- How is language used? Are ethnographic objects originating from non-local communities given their original name on the captions? If so, is this translated/transliterated/explained? How will non-native speakers engage with the captions?

¹⁹ See p. 138.

- Is there a link to the local community, and/or a positioning within the local or regional context? If so, how does this then draw the audience in closer to the exhibition?

For Heumann Gurian, a contributor to one of Karp's edited volumes, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, these are all indicative of the potential captioning and labeling has to be inclusive or exclusive to its visitors. She notes that how, 'even for the writing of label copy there are techniques that can promote inclusion or exclusion. If the label writer believes that the audience is composed of receptive students, and the information he or she wants to pass on is genuinely good for them, then the label writer will assume the role of teacher transmitting information'.²⁰ Whilst it would have been challenging to analyse in detail Schwarz's original labels from phase 1 of the exhibition – given their minimal length, inconsistencies, and the fact that (as established in chapter 1) their inclusion was very much designed not to distract from the photographs themselves – by phase 3 of the exhibition I believe that *Traces of Memory* had developed to extent that it could now be analysed according to established museum theory, as this chapter will now move on to do.

1.2 New captions for Traces of Memory

The issues facing the captioning of photographs are largely no different than those for object-based collections, and contemporary museums and galleries housing photograph collections or temporary exhibitions have often (although by no means entirely) embraced

²⁰ Elaine Heumann Gurian, 'Noodling Around With Exhibition Opportunities', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 176-190, p. 186.

new, extended and more complex forms of captioning in the same way as have their object-led counterparts. For example, the World Press Photo competition – held annually and exhibited as a travelling exhibition at leading galleries internationally, including in London and Kraków²¹ – adopts this approach: the large scale images (typically numbering well over 100) are accompanied by detailed captions describing both what is shown in the photograph and the socio-historic context in which the events pictured occurred: that is, the photograph's internal and external narrative. Each of the one- to two-hundred word descriptive captions are accompanied by the photographer's name, country, agency (where applicable) and the competition prize awarded.

In this way, the new captions for the *Traces of Memory* refresh that created phase 3 of the exhibition are no different: Webber extended their length significantly as compared to those originally written by Schwarz. He adopted an approach which is much more consistent in terms of tone, content, and style. Spelling and typographical errors were eliminated, and the visitor is presented with far more context than had previously been available.

The full captions written by Webber and introduced in phase 3 can be found in Appendix 4. Through a close reading of them, we can see how the extended captions of phase 3 of *Traces of Memory* 'offer explanations, provide historical background, make comparisons, [and] pose questions'. For example, they 'offer explanation' of the religious significance of the mezuzah (ref: 3.1.2), tombstone art (ref: 3.2.1 and 3.2.26), and practices of death and mourning (ref:

²¹ In the UK the exhibition is held annually at the Royal Festival Hall, and in Kraków at Galeria Sztuki ('Art Gallery'). For more about the exhibition see www.worldpressphoto.org (last accessed 17.08.12). I visited the exhibition in Kraków in both 2006 and 2007, and in 2006 discussed the exhibition with Schwarz who had also been to see it and who commented that the photographs were notable for the events that they documented, rather than for the technical or artistic competence of the photographers (see *World Press Photo 06*, exhibition catalogue, London: Thames and Hudson, 2006 and *World Press Photo 07*, exhibition catalogue, London: Thames and Hudson, 2007).

3.2.6). They ‘provide historical background’ of the Jews in Poland (ref: 3.0.2) as well as to individual regional Jewish communities (ref: 3.3.1, 3.1.4, 3.1.6, 3.2.7, 3.2.16, 3.2.22 and 3.2.28) and individual killing sites during the Holocaust (ref: 3.3.1, 3.3.2, 3.3.3, 3.3.5, 3.3.6, 3.3.7, 3.3.8, 3.3.23 and 3.3.28). They ‘make comparisons’ about the ritual practices of Orthodox and progressive Jewish communities in Galicia (ref: 3.2.4) and the remembrance of Jewish soldiers by the Poles and the Jews (ref: 3.2.14), as well as about the different forms of mass killing that Jews were victim to in the Holocaust (ref: 3.3.2 and 3.3.6) and the various forms memorialisation has taken post-Holocaust (ref: 3.4.1 and 3.4.7). They also ‘pose questions’ about the Holocaust, including the potential for healing post-Holocaust (ref: 3.3.21) and about whether the Holocaust can be conceptualised as a shared Polish/Jewish tragedy (ref: 3.4.2).²²

What then are the implications of such changes in light of the internal and external narrative of the photographs? When the original captions were supplied by Schwarz, as the photographer, these captions reflected the photographs’ external narrative about the circumstances in which they were created: Schwarz could write his captions in the first person – reflecting on the images that he took. For example, of the courtyard photographed in Kazimierz originally by Roman Vishniac and later featured in *Schindler’s List*,²³ Schwarz wrote: ‘The photographer Dr. Roman Vishniac... photographed on the eve of the destruction. My pictures show what is left behind’.²⁴ Webber’s captions, however, by necessity focus primarily on the internal narrative of the photograph – making use of Rose’s ‘compositional

²² See Appendix 4 for full phase 3 captions of all photographs.

²³ See pp. 151-152.

²⁴ *Traces of Memory* photograph reference 2.2.14.

interpretation²⁵. Whilst he could have potentially combined these with his own insights into the creation of the photographs (albeit insights which could never truly comment on the exact circumstances in which the photograph was taken, but rather the broader research context) Webber's captions are notably lacking any of his own reflections on the *Traces of Memory* project.

For example, note the contrast in Webber's captioning as compared to Schwarz's for the photograph of the Kazimierz courtyard featured shot by both Vishniac and Schwarz (and shown in chapter 2)²⁶ and also featured in *Schindler's List*. For phase 1 and 2, Schwarz's full caption stated (with somewhat clumsy grammar):

Courtyard in Kraków, between Meiselsa and Józefa Street. This courtyard was used in the film *Schindler's List* for the scene of the clearing of the ghetto because it was 'more photogenic' than the real site of the ghetto established by the Germans in Podgórze, across the river. The photographer Dr. Roman Vishniac, who documented much of pre-war Jewish Galicia in the 1930s, including this courtyard was, partly the inspiration for my photographic *Traces of Memory* project. He photographed on the eve of the destruction. My pictures show what is left behind.²⁷

Contrast this with Webber's caption for the same photograph in phase 3, which focuses instead on the architectural features and social-cultural context of the image, rather than any personal reflection:

²⁵ See p. 138.

²⁶ See p. 152.

²⁷ *Traces of Memory* photograph reference 2.2.14.

A courtyard in the former Jewish quarter of Kazimierz (Kraków). Courtyards are a characteristic feature of urban architecture in Galicia, many with balustraded balconies giving access to the apartments on each floor. They create a strong sense of shared community living, and Jewish memoirs often refer, with some nostalgia, to social, romantic, and political activities that took place in these courtyard enclaves. This particular courtyard is one of the most famous single images of a picturesque urban courtyard: it has figured in drawings, paintings, and photographs many times in the last hundred years, including Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*.²⁸

Notably, Webber's much more anthropologically-focused caption makes no reference to Vishniac, which would seem a significant omission especially given that Webber has likened Schwarz to Vishniac (he writes, 'in many ways [Schwarz] was a latter-day Roman Vishniac, but a photographer who, unlike Vishniac, had to content himself with the last traces of a living Jewish world').²⁹ For me, this omission can serve no purpose other than to allow Webber to further distance his own captions from those of Schwarz, perhaps thought to be particularly necessary in the case of this caption given that in phase 1 and 2 it was notably one of the longest captions in the exhibition and in format alone is rather similar to the captions in phase 3.

More broadly, however, we see how Webber's approach to captioning brings the Galicia Jewish Museum in line with developments in captioning and labelling more widely in contemporary museums, including with photographic collections. These phase 3 captions

²⁸ Phase 3, photograph reference 950

²⁹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 6.

take the museum a significant way forward in reaching Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's 'gold standard' of contextualisation through interpretive materials, as do the museum's 'educational programmes, lectures and performances' discussed in Chapter 3. Yet even by phase 3 of the exhibition there were two notable points of departure from this standard: firstly, the lack of audio and audio-visual materials in the exhibition, and secondly the continued lack of reference to the circumstances in which the photographs were created – both of which need considering in more detail at this stage.

1.3 The lack of audio-visual materials in Traces of Memory

Writing well over a decade ago, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett was already convinced of the significance that audio and audio-visual materials could make to exhibition interpretation. Audio guides for individual visitors are a particularly established form of supplementary interpretation, but today the range of options for museums includes TV monitors showing contemporary or archival film footage (including pieces created specifically for particular exhibitions); computers with interactive databases for visitors to search for more information about a particular display; and even iPhone and iPad apps. *Traces of Memory*, however, has none of these – it relies solely on textual materials for the interpretation of the photographs.

But it is not the case that the museum is simply not able to make use of audio-visual resources: since 2009, a large number of the museum's major temporary exhibitions have included film footage – albeit somewhat basic, with a single monitor showing a short film on repeat. These include *They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in*

Poland Before the Holocaust (June 2009-January 2010), which showed *Paint What You Remember*, a documentary of the artist Mayer Kirshenblatt visiting his hometown of Apt (Opatów) and discussing his paintings;³⁰ *Fragments: International Style Architecture in Tel Aviv Photography* by Yigal Gawze (February-May 2010) featured a general film on Bauhaus architecture in Tel Aviv by Jewish media production company Leadel.NET;³¹ *A City Not Forgotten: Memories of Jewish Lwów and the Holocaust* (June 2010-March 2011) showed archival footage of Lwów from the *Jews of Poland: Five Cities* pre-war collection;³² and *Portraits of an Intellectual and Political Landscape* by Bernard Aptekar (April-October 2011) featured an interview with the artist Aptekar created especially for the exhibition. In addition, the museum also has its own Media Resource Centre, which ‘houses a growing archive of films on a range of Jewish and Holocaust related subjects’.³³ None of this, however, relates in any way to the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition. Further, by the end of 2011 there was also no formal digital archive of the *Traces of Memory* photographs accessible for either staff or visitors, and requests for photograph access – again, from both staff and visitors – were dealt with on an ad hoc basis by the exhibitions team.

Why this was the case is, I believe, partly pragmatic in that the museum has limited funding and the move to introducing audio-visual materials to *Traces of Memory* was simply never considered a priority. But why it was not considered a priority during any of the exhibition phases and why no funding was sought for this I think reflects very much the priorities of Schwarz and Webber that have been established already in this thesis: under Schwarz, the

³⁰ *Paint What You Remember*, Sławomir Grunberg, LogTV and the museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2009.

³¹ *Tel Aviv Architecture 1920s-1930s*, LeadelNET, 2010; See www.leadel.net (last accessed 16.08.12).

³² *The Jews of Poland: Five Cities – Białystock, Lvov, Kraków, Vilna, Warsaw*, Yitzhak and Shaul Goskind, Ergo Media, 1988.

³³ www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/media-resource-centre.html, last accessed 12.03.12.

photographs spoke for themselves – audio-visual materials or any other kind of enhancements were simply not needed. For Webber, as an academic, the additional textual material was all that was required to make the exhibition more meaningful to visitors.

In this way, we perhaps see a fundamental level of agreement between Schwarz and Webber – that both of them had a commitment to *Traces of Memory* in a surprisingly traditional form: whilst the two emphasised different aspects (the photographs or the textual) as important for visitor interpretation, both believed that this conventional approach to exhibitions was also sufficient for *Traces of Memory*. In this way, the museum is museologically very traditional, and we could ask whether in creating *Traces of Memory* both Webber and Schwarz have projected themselves onto the visitor: that is, Schwarz's personal preference when visiting an exhibition may well have been photographic exhibitions (and hence the focus primarily on the images in phase 1 and phase 2), whereas as Webber's would likely be on comprehensive textual materials (and hence the creation of the extended captions for the phase 3 refresh): neither would be likely to prioritise the use of audio-visual. As was noted in previously, there is at times a somewhat non-professional feel to the museum, which would also explain the lack of new museological technologies, along with (for example) Schwarz's very limited use of captioning and Webber's perhaps over-extended texts, as both reflect personal, rather professional, museological approaches.

1.4 The challenge of photographs and the ethnographic present

Admittedly, the introduction of more extensive captions in phase 3 of the exhibition has dealt at least in part with photographs which have become noticeably dated since Schwarz first took them and/or captioned them. Whilst Schwarz's captioning in fact made very little use of the photograph's internal narrative – the number of captions is very limited which discuss the reason he took certain photographs the way he did, or comments on his thoughts and emotions during the process – he was in fact uniquely positioned to caption photographs in this way, which he largely chose not to do.

As noted above, Webber on the other hand has his own insights to add to the captions and indeed does make these, albeit not in the first person. Yet what he also has the opportunity to do in the new captions is comment on the ways in which contexts or circumstances have changed since the photographs were originally taken – almost twenty years previously. For example:

- Photograph reference 3.3.15 shows an empty field, which was largely all that remained of the former Bežec death camp until a new monument and museum was opened there in 2004, the year the museum opened. In phase 3 of the exhibition, the caption includes the reference, 'An imposing new memorial was erected in 2004'.
- In phase 3, photograph reference 3.4.16, the gates to the Emalia factory previously owned by Oskar Schindler, concludes with the sentence, 'There is so much interest in the places where the film was made that this building has been turned into a museum'. Although a small museum was already situated in the factory when the captions were first written, by 2009 when phase 3 captions were in preparation it

was already known that a major new branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków was to open there. This final sentence pre-empts this new initiative which opened in 2010.³⁴

- Photograph reference 3.5.9 shows a conference on Holocaust Studies opening at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. As this is a section 5 photograph it was taken somewhat later than most others in the exhibition (and the phase 3 caption dates the conference as 1995), but the new caption notes that – in addition to the creation of a Jewish Studies department in the 1980s – in 2007 an Institute of Holocaust Studies also opened at the University.

Yet beyond a handful of references such as these, the photographs remain almost timeless in the exhibition. Certainly they are in colour which means they are not ‘archival’ photographs in the usual sense of the word, but what is their ‘ethnographic present’? The present in which they were taken, or they present in which they are viewed? In this way, the internal and external narratives of the photographs now increasingly diverge – but likely without the visitor being aware of this: that they are in colour and look ‘contemporary’ may well be misleading to the visitor, without any context provided to explain when a photograph was taken and how things have changed two decades later. To an extent, Webber’s detailed captions highlight this issue even more than Schwarz’s sparse ones did: clearly written by an academic, and seemingly after intensive research, visitors likely assume an authority to the captions that is in fact not entirely supported by the information provided.

³⁴ Schindler’s Factory Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. See www.mhk.pl/oddzialy/fabryka_schindlera (last accessed 18.08.12).

Thus the way in which many of the sites looked by 2009 (often as a result of restoration or, equally, further deterioration) is often not made clear, if it is referenced at all. In this way, none of the exhibition captions, in any phase of the exhibition, have included information about what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett described as ‘the circumstances of excavation, collection, and conservation of the objects on display’, which in this case could refer to the creation of the photographs, the process in which they were put together as a collection, and the conservation of the sites photographed. Although a few glimpses can be gleaned from the Introduction to the exhibition (‘To put this exhibition together required a creative collaboration over a number of years between the British photographer Chris Schwarz and the British scholar Jonathan Webber ... Working village by village and town by town ... Taken at all seasons of the year’)³⁵, nothing more substantial than this is provided for the visitor even in the phase 3 captions.

A visitor may well expect to see the date and place the photograph was taken on the caption, and perhaps a reference number and/or copyright information, the *Traces of Memory* phase 3 captions still provide none of this information. In particular, in the Kraków context such information is common, and is commonly provided in exhibition captions. Whilst it may not be surprising to see such information at the Old Synagogue or National Museum in Kraków where the original objects on display are part of the city or state Judaica collections, such information also features at the new Schindler’s Factory Museum which opened in summer 2010, with its *Kraków Under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945* permanent exhibition:³⁶ even the reproduction objects are labelled as being under the ownership of

³⁵ See full text of Introduction text in Appendix 1.

³⁶ See www.mhk.pl/oddzialy/fabryka_schindlera.

Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, of which Schindler's Factory is a branch.

Certainly, there are some technical difficulties in providing this information for the *Traces of Memory captions* – the different numbering systems in use was noted in chapter 1, but Schwarz also provided Webber with relatively limited information about the exact dates photographs were taken (and occasionally locations were also unidentified), and no more extensive records were ever found in his archive after he died³⁷. Webber also confirms his own lack of knowledge of when, where and how certain photographs were taken: 'Unfortunately Chris left behind no list... [with] details about the equipment or methods he used – his cameras, film, the length of exposure, or other technical data'.³⁸

But the result is that, without a date, the photographs have almost a timeless feel to them. For the visitor, unaware of any technical difficulties in providing date/place stamps on the captions, the impact is also that they are left wondering what priority – if any – Webber places on the historical location of the photograph. Instead, they are being expected to trust Webber in his captions that they really were taken in the places that he is describing. Sontag has noted the importance for the discerning visitor of the historical location and dating of photographs, as she writes 'to the militant, identity is everything. And all photographs wait to be explained or falsified by their captions'.³⁹In this respect, where Webber's captions fail

³⁷ Schwarz left his personal photographic archive to the museum on his death, I was involved in the handover of this, and can confirm its disorganised nature. The museum received numerous box files housing scans, slides and hard copy prints (only very few of which were numbered, and those that were numbered were often done so incorrectly), along with a large number of digital photographic files from Schwarz's computer – often problematic in that a photograph might appear in a file several times, unlabelled but with very minor colour adjustments, making it impossible to know which Schwarz had considered to be the 'correct' or original photograph.

³⁸ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 8.

³⁹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York, NY: Picador, 2004, p. 9.

to 'explain' Schwarz's photographs and to provide their historical identity, they instead have the potential to 'falsify' the photographs in allowing the visitor themselves to attach their own assumptions to the photographs as to when the photographs were taken.

2. A new publication for the Galicia Jewish Museum: *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*

The phase 3 captions were installed in time for the 2009 Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków. Very little attention was drawn to the new captions: in the museum's 2009 Festival programme, the only mention of the new captions was a single sentence, 'with all new captions for summer 2009', at the end of the description of the museum's permanent exhibition.⁴⁰ Instead, visitors were left to respond as they wished to: for new visitors to the museum of course, they may well have assumed that such extensive textual materials had always been standard for *Traces of Memory*.

What did help draw attention to the new captions was the launch of a new companion volume for *Traces of Memory*, written by Webber and entitled *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, which also had its formal Polish 'launch' during the 2009 Festival.⁴¹ The book was published by the Littman Library of Jewish

⁴⁰ The full text in the Festival programme reads: '*Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*. Permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum. Comprising photographs by the late photographer and Museum founder Chris Schwarz, with texts by Prof. Jonathan Webber (UNESCO Chair in Jewish and Interfaith Studies, University of Birmingham, UK). The exhibition pieces together the traces of the Jewish past still visible in the Polish landscape today. With all new captions for summer 2009!' (GJM2009/05). With the exception of the last sentence, this text appears in all monthly museum programmes from 2007 onwards.

⁴¹ The entry in the museum's programme for the Festival reads: '5 July 2009, 17:00, the official Polish launch of *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, the new companion book to the museum's permanent exhibition, *Traces of Memory*. By Jonathan Webber, with photographs by Chris Schwarz, and published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization and Indian University Press. Jonathan Webber will be interviewed by Littman Library Managing Editor, Connie Webber. In English, free entry' (Ibid.).

Civilization – also of course still due to publish the first work from the original *Traces of Memory* project – with Indiana University Press publishing it at the same time in the USA.

Following Schwarz's death in 2007, discussions had begun in the museum as to what would happen when existing stocks of the catalogue, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, ran out: a catalogue which, as noted earlier, was very much a personal Schwarz project. Ideally Webber's major publication for the original *Traces of Memory* could perhaps have taken its place, but it was under development – which Webber notes in the introduction to *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*: 'I owe a debt of gratitude to my long-standing publishers, who have waited very patiently for a much longer, more detailed book on the subject [of *Traces of Memory*]. That book is still in preparation'.⁴² Instead then, Webber offered a compromise publication: that is, he would write a 'new' catalogue to supplement the exhibition, with Schwarz's photographs and with his own, extended captions, which would also provide the additional context to the photographs he felt was lacking at that time. These could in turn offer the basis for new captions for the exhibition itself. Webber describes the publication as being intended to 'accompany the exhibition in the meantime'⁴³ – that is, until his major publication is completed.

Accordingly, in June 2009, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia* was published, four months after stocks of *Photographing Traces of Memory* ran out. The publication, termed the exhibition's 'companion volume' by the museum (to distinguish it from Schwarz's catalogue and the forthcoming major publication from Littman Library of Jewish Civilization) includes 73 photographs with captions averaging around 200 words each

⁴² Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

and a 'background note' to each photograph with further historical or anthropological data of several hundred more words, collated together with the other 'background notes' at the end of the publication. The 73 photographs vary in size from a half- to a full-page, with occasional photographs extending over two pages. The publication is in total 186 pages, meaning well over fifty percent of the publication is text-only.

There is something almost Talmudic about the result, both aesthetically and conceptually. In Webber's approach to captioning both in phase 3 of the exhibition and, in particular, here in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, the commentary (or the captioning) surrounds that which is being commented on – in this case the photograph, rather than the biblical text. The extensive commentary is justified in that it is seen as highlighting the focus point – the biblical text, or here Schwarz's photographs. In this way, Webber as scholar and the author of the captions becomes reminiscent of a Talmudic commentator.⁴⁴

Thus, with the texts in the publication significantly longer than the length of the phase 3 exhibition captions, perhaps it is now rather that Schwarz's photographs accompany Webber's texts, rather than the other way around. It is certainly noteworthy that *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* is not co-authored by Webber and Schwarz (as the original book is intended to be, according to the publisher's website)⁴⁵ but rather, it is by 'Jonathan Webber, with photographs by Chris Schwarz' [emphasis added].⁴⁶ Although the cover states that the publication is 'from the permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum,

⁴⁴ David Blumenthal has also identified a similar approach as being adopted by the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, and has termed the approach 'w-rite-ing' that is, 'a ritual of committing thoughts to paper', with 'a Jewish w-rite-ing... presented as a grouped textual field' (David Blumenthal, *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993, pp. 63).

⁴⁵ See www.littman.co.uk/cat/webber-traces.html (last accessed 17.08.12)

⁴⁶ See www.littman.co.uk/cat/webber-rediscoveringtraces.html (last accessed 16.08.12).

Kraków',⁴⁷ there is no direct reference to *Traces of Memory* on the cover or in the blurb to the publication. This is the same for the publication information provided on the publisher's website.⁴⁸ Both however, do state that the work is 'published on behalf of the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków'.⁴⁹

As has been well established so far in this thesis, in phases 1 and 2 of the exhibition the visual image dominated the narrative of the exhibition – as well as the visitor experience. But, it should be asked, what should be understood from this, and what are the implications of the increasing shift towards the textual in phase 3, as evidenced both by the new captions for the exhibition refresh and the publication of *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*? If we return to the thinking of Banks – whose work on visual anthropology I find one of the most convincing for its application to the contemporary photographic – we find that:

- Photographic images are event-specific representations (therefore photographic representations are not making generalised claims)
- Any meaning in an image is dependent upon the context in which it was produced
- The production of photographic images is a social event: involving communication and mutual understanding on the part of both the image-maker and image-subject.⁵⁰

How, then, to communicate this in the case of *Traces of Memory*? I would suggest that it is only in the implementation of phase 3 – whether intentionally or otherwise – that such communication to the visitor became possible.

⁴⁷ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, front cover.

⁴⁸ See www.litmann.co.uk/cat/webber-rediscoveringtraces.html (last accessed 16.08.12).

⁴⁹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, inside dustcover and www.litmann.co.uk/cat/webber-rediscoveringtraces.html.

⁵⁰ Victor Caldarola, quoted in Marcus Banks, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, London: Sage, 2001, p. 117.

Certainly it could be suggested that an increasing emphasis on the textual could be to detriment of the visual: why else would Schwarz have shied away from lengthy captions to accompany his photographs in phase 1 and 2 of the exhibition? The result, however, was that Webber is now able to introduce a degree of context to the exhibition not previously possible: both through the introduction of extended captions for the *Traces of Memory* refresh, but also in the publication of *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*. With the latter in particular – given the length of the texts and fact that Webber’s captions now visually fill more of the pages than the photographs, along with the stated authorship of the publication – there is also potentially an impact of this on the *Traces of Memory* narrative, as given the extended captions accompanying each of the photographs in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, Webber can introduce a new level of detail that would simply not be possible in an exhibition, given the limit on text length that any visitor could absorb. Thus by tracing the development of captions from phases 1-2 (including their inclusion in *Photographing Traces of Memory*) to phase 3 and then their further elaboration in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* we can see how the additional length allows Webber possibilities for adding detail, context and analysis that was previously impossible, and very arguably also not appropriate for a museum exhibition, based on their length alone. For example:

4.1 Photograph and table: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.1.5



Phase	Caption
Phases 1-2 (Ref: 1.1.1 and 2.1.1)	Ruined synagogue in the small town of Rymanów, a famous centre of Hasidism before the Holocaust.
<i>Photographing Traces of Memory</i> (pp. 56-57).	Rymanów This town was a centre of Hasidism. It was one of the first places I visited outside Kraków and it made a lasting impression on me. I was amazed that so long after the Second World War I could still see the haunting remains of destruction. I returned time and time again to this ruined synagogue trying to capture its devastated dignity.
Phase 3 (Ref: 3.1.5)	Melancholy ruins of an abandoned synagogue For sixty years after the end of the war, this melancholy ruin of the synagogue in Rymanów was all that remained of a particularly fine, sumptuously decorated synagogue built at the end of the eighteenth century. The small town of Rymanów is famous among hasidic Jews to this day because of the saintly R. Menahem Mendel, one of the earliest hasidic masters in Galicia, who lived here from about 1795 until his death in 1815. Shame that his synagogue was still in ruins finally spurred a descendant to undertake restoration work here, beginning in 2005.
<i>Rediscovering Traces of Memory</i> (pp. 30-31).	Melancholy ruins of an abandoned synagogue For sixty years after the end of the war, this melancholy ruin of

	<p>the synagogue in Rymanów was all that remained of a particularly fine, sumptuously decorated synagogue built at the end of the eighteenth century. On the right-hand wall is the picture of a lion, reminding worshippers that they should be as strong as lions in the duties of their faith. The small town of Rymanów is famous among hasidic Jews to this day because of the saintly R. Menahem Mendel, one of the earliest hasidic masters in Galicia, who lived here from about 1795 until his death in 1815; he is personally said to have been as strong as a lion in his devotion to prayer. Shame that his synagogue was still in ruins finally spurred a descendant to undertake restoration work here, beginning in 2005.</p>
--	--

This photograph of the ruins of the synagogue in Rymanów thus demonstrates how the captions have developed through each stage of the exhibition, and in the accompanying publication. In phase 1 and 2 the caption was limited in information, being just words in total – the photograph itself then was clearly the focus point. The caption in *Photographing Traces of Memory* is similar, but with the addition of a personal reflection from Schwarz on how the site impacted him. In phase 3 the caption is much more developed, with Webber providing historical-religious context, which is further developed in the *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* caption – although notably, the publication caption is identical to that of phase 3 with the exception of the addition of two sentences, demonstrating the concurrent development of the new captions for both section 3 and *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*.

4.2 Photograph and table: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.4.3



Phase	Caption
Phases 1-2 (Ref: 1.4.3 and 2.4.10)	Lamentation wall inside the old Jewish cemetery of Kraków, pieced together after the Holocaust out of smashed fragments of old tombstones.
<i>Photographing Traces of Memory</i> (pp. 146-7)	<p>Kraków, Kazimierz, Lamentation Wall Rema Synagogue</p> <p>This wall is made from the fragments of broken tombstones that were destroyed during the Second World War. I see the building of this lamentation wall as the drawing together of both the fractured Jewish culture and people's own fractured lives, a symbol of destruction but also an attempt at renewal. Thus, this one photograph sums up the spirit of the exhibition.</p>
Phase 3 (Ref: 3.4.3)	<p>Image of a shattered world: a memorial wall made of fragments of smashed Jewish tombstones</p> <p>After Poland was finally liberated from German tyranny in 1945, those few Jews who had managed to survive the Holocaust slowly began to piece their world back together and memorialise their dead. It was an impossible task. Their communities had been completely devastated; all they were left with were shattered</p>

	<p>fragments of a shattered world. In Kraków they used such fragments to build a memorial wall inside the old cemetery next to the Rema Synagogue. It symbolises their need to respond to the challenges of their broken world.</p>
<p><i>Rediscovering Traces of Memory</i> (pp. 92-93)</p>	<p>Image of a shattered world: a memorial wall made of fragments of smashed Jewish tombstones</p> <p>After Poland was finally liberated from German tyranny in 1945, those few Jews who had managed to survive the Holocaust slowly began to piece their world back together and memorialise their dead. It was an impossible task. Their communities had been completely devastated; all they were left with were shattered fragments of a shattered world.</p> <p>These fragments of smashed tombstones, put together into a memorial wall – a modern-day wall of lamentation – line the historic sixteenth-century cemetery adjacent to the Rema Synagogue in Kraków. It represents the utterly ruptured history of this great Jewish community. But in paying tribute to the past in this robust and aesthetically imaginative use of the relics, perhaps the wall also demonstrates the survivors’ powerful need to find the energy to deal with the challenges of the broken world in which they now found themselves.</p>

The developments of captions for this photograph follow the same pattern. The caption for phases 1-2 is limited in information to the extent that we are not even told the name of the Kraków cemetery pictured, or the adjacent synagogue, so that visitors to the museum might then go visit the site. This information is provided, however, in the caption in *Photographing Traces of Memory*, along with again Schwarz’s own reflection on what the site symbolises to him. In phase 3 the caption becomes much more extensive, with again Webber providing additional sociological context and his interpretation of the site (remarkably similar to that of Schwarz’s), which is echoed and extended further in the caption for *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*.

The above illustrates how the additional length of the *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* captions enables an engagement with certain aspects of the narrative in much more detail, investigating and commenting on subjects to a degree not previously possible – and, perhaps unfortunately, for reasons of exhibition pragmatism not available for the average museum visitor unless they purchase the publication. But it is also important to note how Webber also uses *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* to comment on some photographs in a completely new way. Certainly, there are a number in this new publication which have never featured in the exhibition at the museum, but here I refer rather to those photographs which have featured in each phase of the exhibition and are also included in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, but where in this publication they have been used to illustrate a different angle to the images. For example:

4.3 Photograph: From Traces of Memory, reference 3.2.9



In phases 1-2 of the exhibition, the caption to this image is once again short and direct – the visitor is simply told that this is the ‘main entrance to the abandoned synagogue in Wielkie Oczy, a small village in eastern Poland’ (ref: 1.2.2 and 2.2.8). But in phase 3, this is developed by Webber to build upon this information by also focusing on architecture of the synagogue being photographed. He writes:

The significance of the circular window. Entrance to the synagogue in the village of Wielkie Oczy. The circular window high above the entry door is a common architectural feature of synagogues in Galicia. Part of the purpose of a synagogue is to facilitate the worshippers’ search for God. But according

to Jewish mystical traditions, it is a two-way process: God is also in search of people. So a special hole, high in the wall, symbolically permits God to peer through, as if to catch sight of his worshippers yearning for him. The circular window, then, is not intended for people to look out; it is for God to look in.

Significantly, Webber also actively positions his publication as being very different to that of Schwarz's earlier catalogue, at the same time as explaining his own choice of photographs for *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*:

... *Photographing Traces of Memory*. Its intention, as the title implied, was to give Chris the opportunity to present his own photographs, and he wrote the captions from the perspective of the photographer... This book is somewhat different. With a view to enriching the content I have chosen a somewhat different sample of Chris' photographs.⁵¹

But what is the significance of this new publication? Chapter 2 of this thesis looked at how supplementary interpretive materials could be used in exhibitions, where I indicated that as 'these materials are indeed "supplementary" – not accessed by every visitor to the exhibition, or offered on free display to all interested – that then they cannot be considered as forming an essential element of any exhibition narrative elements'. Whilst there might potentially be an important reinforcement of the exhibition's master narrative, the increasing strength of Webber's voice and authority that is then brought with this is limited to those who purchase (and indeed read) the publication. However, does the *Rediscovering*

⁵¹ Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 4.

Traces of Memory publication result not just in a 'companion volume' to the exhibition, but rather a shift towards a new narrative, for those who do have access to it?

Certainly, of the consistent aspects of the exhibition through each of its three phases (that is, the exhibition title; its photographic content; the exhibition introduction; the five part exhibition structure, and the introductory section texts) only the five part structure has remained identical in the new publication. The title has shifted – albeit ever so slightly, and for reasons entirely understandable in order to distinguish it from the forthcoming major work to be published by the same publishers of the same title. What is interesting though is whether this shift in title is also indicative of the shifting of narrative. The exhibition introduction and the five section introductions have also now disappeared. Whilst the new ones are necessarily not that different – in that they are there to support the five part structure of the exhibition, which as noted has remained here – it is notable that for the first time in the exhibition's history those key texts no longer appear. I would also suggest that the photographic content shifts for the first time in *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*: certainly, the photographs are there, but this is no coffee table publication – photographs now only account for less than half of the physical size of the publication as compared to the amount of text, and as noted above – it is here that Webber's text begins to be illustrated by Schwarz's photographs, rather than Webber's captions illuminating Schwarz' photographs. Whilst a more in-depth analysis of *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* as a supplementary exhibition publication (with a consideration of how the details of the narrative manifest themselves – or otherwise – in this publication) is beyond the scope of thesis, what is thus most significant to note at this point is that an important constant to the narrative remains the five-part structure, whilst other key aspects of the narrative that have been constant

throughout *Traces of Memory* in exhibition format now begin to take a secondary role or even, in a few instances, disappear altogether.

3. The creation of a *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition

Two weeks after the Polish launch of *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* during the 2009 Festival of Jewish Culture in Kraków, the volume was launched in the UK at the London Jewish Culture Centre, in conjunction with the opening of the first travelling exhibition of *Traces of Memory*.

Schwarz had always hoped for a travelling exhibition of *Traces of Memory*, although never saw any substantial move towards this in his lifetime.⁵² But it was something that both Webber and I were aware of, and shared his interest in as a means of not only disseminating the *Traces of Memory* messages (and the photographs – as may well have been Schwarz’s own primary motivation) but also drawing attention more widely to the Galicia Jewish Museum in the international museum sphere and amongst Jewish communities further afield. At chapter 3 noted, by this stage the museum had a well-established international network of partnerships with other Jewish institutions and especially museums, but in terms of reaching their audiences, we were in agreement that there was no better way to do this than a travelling exhibition of *Traces of Memory*.

⁵² Prior to the opening of the museum Schwarz had presented his photographs publicly on a number of occasions, including at the Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom) in the UK. Following the opening of the museum international digital showings of the photographs, now directly linked to *Traces of Memory* as an exhibition, continued, with Schwarz travelling to Israel in 2005 and I to the USA in 2006. There were also extensive discussions about turning *Traces of Memory* into a travelling exhibition that I was involved in during Schwarz’s lifetime, most notably in conjunction with a major potential donor from Boston, but there were no concrete developments until after Schwarz’s death. In 2010, however, the second US showing of the *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition was in fact in Boston, sponsored by the donor Schwarz had earlier been in discussion with.

Thinking about this only began to become a reality though as a result of Polska! Year, which was a Polish government initiative in 2009-10 to 'bring together the communities of Poland and the UK closer by strengthening the cultural relationships and establishing new contacts between artistic institutions, artists and organisers of cultural events'.⁵³ The year of Polish cultural events in the UK was managed by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute (Instytut Adama Mickiewicza) – the Polish equivalent of the British Council, and a Polish 'state cultural institution whose task is to promote Polish culture around the world and actively participate in international cultural exchange'.⁵⁴ Polska! Year 'presented the most interesting achievements of Polish culture to the British public in the fields of visual arts, theatre, music, film and literature',⁵⁵ and was coordinated by Anita Prascal-Wiśniewska, employed for this purpose by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, and coincidentally, a close friend of Webber.

Aware of *Traces of Memory* through Webber, Prascal-Wiśniewska thus contacted the Galicia Jewish Museum and suggested it be brought to the UK in travelling exhibition format as part of the Jewish programming stream planned for Polska! Year. She asked the museum if we had ideas for venues, which she asked us to pursue, and outlined the financial arrangements that Polska! Year would be able to support. This initial contact between the museum and Prascal-Wiśniewska eventually resulted in the museum being contracted to manage all Jewish programming during Polska! Year – a hugely ambitious and profile-building project

⁵³ www.polskayear.pl (last accessed 01.10.11).

⁵⁴ www.iam.pl/about-us/about-the-institute.html (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁵⁵ Kate Craddy, Mike Levy and Jakub Nowakowski (Eds.), *Poland: A Jewish Matter*, Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, 2011, backcover.

for the museum,⁵⁶ but it was the bringing of *Traces of Memory* to the UK which, in many ways, was the most significant development for the museum.

Negotiations led to the London Jewish Culture Centre being agreed as the first venue for *Traces of Memory* being shown in the UK, opening 16 July 2009 and shown until the end of September 2009.⁵⁷ Subsequent venues for the UK tour under the auspices of Polska! Year were agreed as the Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom) (November-December 2009);⁵⁸ Limmud at Warwick University (December 2009);⁵⁹ and Manchester Jewish Museum (January-March 2010).⁶⁰ There were also various events held in the UK in connection with *Traces of Memory* during Polska! Year, mainly at exhibition host venues but also at the Imperial War Museum in January 2010 to mark Holocaust Memorial Day⁶¹ and during Jewish Book Week in the February.⁶² The enthusiasm for the UK tour also motivated us to begin discussions with the museum's American partners for a US tour to open immediately following the close of the UK tour, and, following a closing event at Manchester Jewish Museum, the exhibition was flown directly to the USA, where it opened at the museum of Jewish Heritage in New York also in March 2010,⁶³ before closing that August and moving to Hillel House at Boston University, Massachusetts (September-November 2010)⁶⁴ and then the Payson Library at

⁵⁶ For more on Jewish programming during Polska! Year, and the Galicia Jewish Museum's role during this, see www.en.galiciajewishmuseum.org/polska-year.html (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁵⁷ See www.ljcc.org.uk/events/777-exhibition-i-traces-of-memory-i-br-a-contemporary-look-at-the-jewish-past-in-poland.html (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁵⁸ See holocaustcentre.net/ (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁵⁹ See www.limmud.org (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁶⁰ See www.manchesterjewishmuseum.org (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁶¹ See www.iwm.org.uk; www.hmd.org.uk/events/find/london/9503traces-of-memory-in-search-of-polands-hidden-jewish-past (both last accessed 07.06.12).

⁶² See www.jewishbookweek.com/2010/memory-and-revival.php (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁶³ See www.mjhnyc.org/traces/ (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁶⁴ See www.bu.edu/hillel/gallery/TracesofMemory.html (last accessed 07.06.12).

Pepperdine University, Florida (February-April 2011).⁶⁵ No other showings had taken place by the end of 2011, although various locations were in negotiations in the USA, Israel and Europe.⁶⁶

The travelling exhibition for *Traces of Memory* was curated by Webber, myself and Strug as Head of Curatorial Affairs. We were aware of space limitations of exhibition spaces normally reserved in museums for travelling exhibitions and – wanting to keep the photographs at the same scale as which they were shown in the Galicia Jewish Museum – thus decided the exhibition would comprise 42 photographs. The selection of these 42 was made based on those that the museum’s guides used as the basis for their exhibition tours, because it was recognised that this combination could clearly form a coherent narrative. The textual elements to accompany the photographs would be exactly the same as those that appeared in the museum at that time: that is, they would comprise the main exhibition introduction, the five section introductions, and the phase 3 captions.⁶⁷ It should be noted that it is common practice in museums for host institutions to work with the curators of travelling exhibitions to agree a site-specific installation, and for *Traces of Memory* we specified in all contracts that we would be required to agree all installation plans. This was primarily in order to ensure the 5 section structure could remain, and that the order of photographs in each of the five sections would be as we agreed.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ See www.pepperdine.edu/pr/releases/2011/february/glazer-libraries-traces-of-memory-exhibition.htm (last accessed 07.06.12).

⁶⁶ Galicia Jewish Museum Director’s Report, Joint Quarterly Meeting of the Boards of Trustees (UK) and Directors of the Galicia Jewish Museum (Poland), meeting 11 January 2012 (ref: GJM2012/01).

⁶⁷ *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition specification (ref: GJM2009/06).

⁶⁸ *Traces of Memory* travelling exhibition installation guidelines (GJM2009/07).

As such, it was clear that even in the travelling exhibition the key constant elements of *Traces of Memory* would remain: the five section structure and the section introductory texts were all identical. In addition, there was also now a new non-negotiable by phase 3 of the exhibition: Webber's extended captions.

As with *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, a detailed analysis of the travelling exhibition (which I would also argue is somewhat 'supplementary' to the museum's permanent exhibition) is necessarily outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is certainly worth noting some of the issues that potentially arise out of the creation of a travelling exhibition in this manner. For example:

- In travelling format the exhibition now stands alone without the Galicia Jewish Museum to support those narrative aspects of the exhibition that are also present at the museum itself – its remarkable contemporary atmosphere, for example, which stands in sharp contrast to other local institutions that visitors may see in Kraków. Is this contemporary focus lost then, by showing the travelling exhibition (for example) in a more traditional Jewish museum – for example, Manchester Jewish Museum – or indeed even in a non-museum environment – for example Pepperdine University Library?
- How then does the narrative work not only away from the supportive confines of the museum, but also away from Kraków, Poland, and indeed Auschwitz? What is lost by a change in geographical context, and assuming that the majority of the visitors to the travelling exhibition in the USA and UK may well not have visited Kraków or Auschwitz? Are the images as meaningful (or perhaps even more so)? Should the

introductory texts or captions have been adjusted to allow for this geographical repositioning? Away from Poland, how does the exhibition work to challenge stereotypes? With the first section of the exhibition about ruins, this plays into the stereotype of a destroyed Jewish past in Poland – for audiences of the exhibition outside of Poland who have not themselves witnessed the ‘alternative’ Poland to this, does the exhibition then in fact reinforce this stereotype?

- How does a change in audience impact on an understanding of the exhibition, not only in the fact that they may not have visited Poland? Chapter 3 noted that a large number of the museum’s visitors are not Jewish – which would not necessarily be the case at Jewish museums in the USA or UK. Would a more ‘Jewish-educated’ audience relate to the exhibition in the same way? Similarly, a far smaller percentage of visitors in the USA and the UK would be Polish – again, what is gained (or lost) in a non-Polish viewing of the exhibition?

Sontag has noted that, ‘because each photograph is only a fragment, its moral and emotional weight depends on where it is inserted. A photograph changes according to the context in which it is seen’.⁶⁹ Thus I would suggest not only does the narrative of *Traces of Memory* change simply by not being shown in Poland, but also depending on the country or other specific context in which it is shown. For example, in the UK *Traces of Memory* was shown as part of Polska! Year, which had a strong, positive Polish narrative: any showings of the exhibition in the UK were therefore framed by this presentation of Poland, which likely impacted on audience responses to the exhibition. In the USA, however, the exhibition has

⁶⁹ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York, NY: Farrer Strauss and Giroux, 1978, pp. 105-106.

typically been shown in Jewish museums or Jewish cultural centres – without the positive framing of *Polska! Year*, but with the established views on Poland that visitors to these institutions may hold. Should the exhibition be shown in Israel at any point the framing would again be different – assuming that all visitors to the exhibition will likely be Jewish, the didacticism of the exhibition is likely altered. But in reflection on my own professional practice as a former museum director, I would suggest these are issues that at the time we might well have considered more carefully, rather than importing just a reduced model of the main permanent exhibition to the UK and USA.

4. A changing look at the Jewish past in Poland? The significance of the textual

This analysis of phase 3 of *Traces of Memory* has argued that there is a new relationship between the visual and the textual – one which Schwarz might have considered as detrimental to his photographs, but which I would hold is rather more beneficial for the visitor, as it allows a greater understanding of the *Traces of Memory* narrative.

Thus what still remains to be considered – as this chapter will now conclude by doing – is to ask what the more theoretical implications of this now more complex narrative is. I believe the most useful means of doing so is via the application of a key work on historical narrative, David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country*, which seeks to consider:

- 'How the past alike enriches and impoverishes us, and the reasons we embrace or shun it.

- How our recollections and our surroundings make us aware of the past, and how we respond to such knowledge.
- Why and how we change what has come down to us, to what end its vestiges, like our memories, are salvaged or contrived, and how these alterations affect our heritage and ourselves⁷⁰.

Lowenthal's work begins from the premise that there is significance in past. He writes, 'The past is everywhere. All around us lie features which, like ourselves and our thoughts, have more or less recognisable antecedents. Relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience. Each particular trace of the past ultimately perishes, but collectively they are immortal. Whether it is celebrated or rejected, attended to or ignored, the past is omnipresent'.⁷¹ In this way, we see a similar premise to that of *Traces of Memory*, where the 'omnipresent past' is the basis for the exhibition, and where Webber writes, 'the starting point [to *Traces of Memory*] is the acknowledgement that making sense of the relics, traces and memories depends on one's approach'.⁷² The photographic aspect of *Traces of Memory* adds a further dimension to this assertion – certainly, the traces featured in the exhibition may well be 'attended to or ignored', depending on their individual state of preservation, yet through being photographed they become immortalised: this thesis has shown how the exhibition is unable to deal with the fact that many of the sites featured in the exhibition no longer resemble what that they did when Schwarz first photographed them, and nor will Webber's captions for phase 3 remain current indefinitely. Yet in being photographed, they

⁷⁰ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. xix. See also David Lowenthal, 'Present Place: Landscape and Memory', in *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 1, January 1975, pp. 1-36, and David Lowenthal, 'Material Preservation and Its Alternatives', in *Perspecta*, vol. 25, 1989, pp. 67-77.

⁷¹ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. xv.

⁷² Webber, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*, p. 14.

have become immortal: synagogues and cemeteries may become restored or crumble into complete ruin, yet *Traces of Memory* has captured them, and commented on them, in a way which allows them to 'suffuse human experience' through presenting them in a public museum.

Lowenthal's work also challenges the assumption of authority in museums, as has likewise been considered in this chapter. The past, he asserts, cannot be verified – and instead 'memory, history and relics continually furbish our awareness of the past. But how can we be sure that they reflect what has happened. The past is gone; its parity with things now seen, recalled or read can never be proved. No statement about the past can be confirmed by examining the supposed facts'.⁷³ Yet in *Traces of Memory* visitors are asked to trust the statements that Webber uses to accompany the photographs – with the facts that he uses to support these – and to believe things about the Polish Jewish past that cannot now be 'seen, recalled or read'. In this way, through *Traces of Memory*, 'memory, history and relics' enable visitors to begin to put together an understanding of the past, although these memories of the past may not be their own but rather those created through visiting the museum or through their visit to Poland more broadly; history is what Webber has told them it is; and relics are those that Schwarz has photographed, which they are being asked to accept as true reflections of historical reality.

This thesis has noted how *Traces of Memory* attempts to make sense of the past through an understanding of the present. Whether it is successful in doing so will be reflected upon in the Conclusion to this thesis, but what is noteworthy here is that – for Lowenthal – this is a

⁷³ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 187.

very legitimate act, and one which visitors should indeed be encouraged to participate in. He notes that, 'most would-be time travellers seem to assume that understanding derives only from observation made at the time things happen, that we lack any real insight into events that have already happened. They overlook the value of retrospection, minimise the importance of hindsight, and travel back to see the past as though it were the present'.⁷⁴ In this way, where visitors may feel that *Traces of Memory* is not a traditional socio-historical exhibition, and that the historical background is lacking, they should instead be encouraged to use their contemporary contexts to make sense of what they are seeing – to what they understand personally when they see a ruined synagogue, a restored cemetery, a Holocaust memorial. For Lowenthal, our understanding of the past will always be limited, yet this should not prevent us from acknowledging the benefits of attempting to do so now. It is only by attempting to understand the past in the present, Lowenthal argues, that we may even begin to do so, as 'because it is over, the past can be ordered and domesticated, given a coherence foreign to the chaotic and shifting present. Completion also makes the past comprehensible; we see things more clearly when their consequences have emerged'.⁷⁵ The *Traces of Memory* narrative offers such coherence – it orders the past in a way which may make sense for visitors, and can draw out the consequences for the present only by ordering the past in a way which stands in stark contrast to 'the chaotic and shifting present' in which visitors find themselves.

Similarly, an important question for this thesis is whether the narrative of *Traces of Memory* oversimplifies the past: by attempting this coherence, does it impose a narrative that avoids

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

problematicisation of the past, and instead discourages any critical engagement with the complexity of the subjects being presented. Yet for Lowenthal, the imposition of such a narrative is not nearly so problematic, provided the visitor is encouraged in their 'awareness' of the past, not simply to accept a linear history from beginning to end. For Lowenthal, 'awareness of the past involves more than linear movement; social, cultural and myriad other circumstances are super-imposed on the narrative, together with histories of other people, other institutions, other ideas. Whilst historical narration is one-dimensional, the past is multiform, much more complex than any sequential story line'.⁷⁶ In this way, phase 3 of the exhibition – with its more detailed, complex captions – may 'super-impose' these additional dimensions that Lowenthal refers to. In addition, I would argue, the broader positioning of *Traces of Memory* within the Galicia Jewish Museum further aids this: the education and cultural programming, the temporary exhibitions and perhaps even the bookshop moves the visitor out of a linear narrative and into a much more multilayered, multidimensional environment. Whether this is also the case for those who buy *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* having never visited the museum, or visit the exhibition at a different institution to which it is travelling, is less evident though.

Much of Lowenthal's theory is rooted in a belief in the physical for understanding the past – which again speaks closely to the aims of *Traces of Memory*. For Lowenthal, 'physical residues of all events may yield potentially unlimited access to the past',⁷⁷ and in this way Schwarz's photographs may allow anyone to have this 'potentially unlimited access to the past' – not just those who visit the sites in person, or even Poland – given the travelling

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 223.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 236.

exhibition. But the significance of Webber's texts is also evident here, as 'no physical object or trace is an autonomous guide to bygone times; they light up the past only when we know they belong to it'.⁷⁸ It is thus captions, particularly in phase 3, that allow visitors to know how the images on display belong to the past. *Rediscovering Traces of Memory* also, arguably, places a reduced focus on the physical – that is, the sites in the photographs – with Webber's texts being illustrated by these sites rather than the photographs of the sites being the focus. But the reciprocal, iterative relationship between Schwarz's photographs and Webber's texts – as I have suggested begins to emerge most fully in phase 3 – has the potential to offer this duality of focus needed to understand the past in the present as proposed by Lowenthal.

Where *Traces of Memory* and, more broadly, the museum most notably diverge from Lowenthal's theory though is in an appreciation for the significance of nostalgia. For Lowenthal, nostalgia is for many the motivating factor in seeking historical understanding, and he writes, 'what meanings emerge from this swarm of nostalgic invocations? Many seem less concerned to find a past than to yearn for it, eager not so much to relive a fancied long-ago as to collect its relics and celebrate its virtues'.⁷⁹ Yet as chapter 3 argued, the Galicia Jewish Museum has very explicitly sought not to evoke nostalgia – and in adapting this approach stands in marked contrast to the rest of the Kazimierz Jewish quarter, as will be seen in the concluding chapter. The question, therefore, is despite its attempts to move away from nostalgic readings of the past, is this an aspect of the visitor experience which its beyond its control? Is the result in fact that visitors still leave the museum with a yearning

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 238.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

for the past that is a result of wistfulness or longing for a lost world, rather than the more complex, problematised understanding of the past that Webber has tried to offer?

But for the most part, Lowenthal's theory serves to illuminate the approach of *Traces of Memory*. The question, however, is how self-consciously or purposefully it has done so – either historically or more recently – and what has been merely coincidental. This thesis has argued that it is much more likely that its relationship with the theoretical museum literature is coincidental: often, the museum fits very comfortably with such literature, almost as though it had been created by museum practitioner-academics that have extensive theoretical training in new museum theory – yet as we know, this was certainly not the case for *Traces of Memory* or more broadly the Galicia Jewish Museum. This may well also be the case in terms of an application of Lowenthal's theory, too.

5. The Galicia Jewish Museum by the end of 2011

By the end of 2011 – some seven and a half years after the door first opened – there had been significant changes at the Galicia Jewish Museum, in terms of management, programming and institutional identity, and the primary composition of the permanent exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, as it developed from an overwhelmingly visual narrative to have a strongly textual emphasis.

Clifford describes the impact when such a shift occurs:

Once cultures are no longer prefigured visually – as objects, theatres, texts – it becomes possible to think of a cultural poetics that is an interplay of voices, of positioned utterances. In a discursive rather than

visual paradigm, the dominant metaphors for ethnography shift away from the observing eye and toward expressive speech (and gesture). The writer's 'voice' pervades and situates the analysis, and objective, distancing rhetoric is denounced.⁸⁰

Is this what Schwarz feared? That if the textual elements of the exhibition were developed the narrative would be no longer 'prefigured visually' and his images would no longer provide a 'visual paradigm' of the Jewish past in Poland? Instead Webber's voice in the captions would begin to pervade and ultimately dominate the narrative, in ways which would challenge an 'objective, distancing, rhetoric'? It would also mean that the photographs began to be interpreted, rather than being allowed to speak (largely) for themselves – or just with the hints provided in Schwarz's captions – and the contemplative museum space Schwarz created in opening of the museum may be reduced, with an increased focus on the didactic role of the exhibition.

I would discount such fears. Instead, I would argue that in phase 3 of the exhibition there begins to be a dynamic between the visual and the textual that allows both to become more meaningful. With the exhibition at its most 'textually-developed' state, I would suggest that in turn through the understanding of the external narrative – or the social biography – of the images that is now made possible, phase 3 offers the fullest meaning to the subject at hand, and as such provides the most complex yet comprehensive understanding of the *Traces of Memory* narrative. In this way, I hold sympathy with Lewis' position who, after analysing the

⁸⁰ James Clifford, 'Partial Truths', in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986, p. 12.

ethical implications of using Holocaust photographs,⁸¹ concludes that a framing, or decoding of Holocaust photographs is required: 'there are no valid reasons why photographs and texts cannot be used together to provide a combination more powerful and effective in their communication with the reader than either medium on its own'.⁸²This, I would argue, describes well the impact of *Traces of Memory* by the end of 2011.

⁸¹ See p. 159.

⁸² Bryan Lewis, 'Documentation or Decoration? Uses and Misuses of Photographs in the Historiography of the Holocaust' in John Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell (Eds.), *Remembering for the Future, 3: Memory*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 341-57, p. 355.

Concluding chapter:

A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland?

Introduction

Over the previous four chapters, this thesis has offered a micro-level consideration of *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum. This concluding chapter will seek to illuminate a number of the issues raised throughout the thesis by drawing together the various threads, considering them in their broader contexts.

In attempting to conclude whether the museum with its permanent exhibition is indeed ‘a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland’, it will ask this question from the following three perspectives:

1. The internal museum narrative
2. The local Kazimierz context
3. The European Jewish cultural context

It will also ask whether the methodology I identified in the Introduction was appropriate, and will return to consider the question of what this thesis has contributed to the field. In asking whether the Galicia Jewish Museum indeed offers a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland, it will acknowledge that the term ‘contemporary’ is multilayered in meaning – referring to something which is modern or present-day, new, or innovative – and will ask which of these interpretations, if any, defines the Galicia Jewish Museum.

1. A contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland? The internal museum narrative

When considering whether the internal museum narrative offers a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland, I would argue that the crucial aspect of this relates to Schwarz's photographs. As Webber wrote, 'what we are showing are contemporary photographs – with the intention of showing what can be seen today,'¹ thus the museum sets up *Traces of Memory* as a contemporary exhibition, which in turn – again, as the thesis has demonstrated – helped create this identity for the museum more broadly.

The key question then is, today, how 'contemporary' are Schwarz's photographs? Now taken over twenty years ago, and with no date information provided on the captions to suggest the visitor ought to be contextualising the photographs historically, have Schwarz's photographs become just as 'frozen in time' as Vishniac's pre-war photographs? What is contemporary about a collection created more than two decades ago? Perhaps the photographs – although not archival photographs in the usual sense of the word – have now become so?

Even within one year of the museum opening, a *Boston Globe* review of the museum noted how the sites in Schwarz's photographs were already changing. Jeff Jacoby, a Boston journalist who had visited the museum, wrote:

Hanging in the Galicia Jewish Museum, a Kraków gallery opened last year by British photojournalist Chris Schwarz, is a picture of a monument to the murdered Jews of Wieliczka ... The photograph shows the monument defaced with graffiti – in red paint, someone has scrawled 'Nazis OK' over

¹ See p. 35.

the list of the victims' names. Some months after shooting that picture, Schwarz returned to Wieliczka and saw that the graffiti had been removed. But there was a new desecration: where the memorial refers to 'Polish Jews', someone had scratched out the word 'Polish'.²

Whilst the purpose of this article was not so much about the significance of the changing photographs – but rather about the complexities of Polish-Jewish relations, with the changing graffiti – it highlights an important point: the photographs are only ever able to show what was there at the moment Schwarz captured them. With the exception of just a handful of phase 3 captions where Webber references the restoration of sites (as discussed in chapter 4), the museum is seemingly unwilling to engage with a changing external landscape to that which Schwarz photographed.

Significant here is then once again the external narrative of the collection, as the social biography of the photographs is one from post-1989, pre-2004 Poland – where communism had fallen, but long before the country had entered the EU and seen the dramatic developments which followed, including the country's improved economic status and the many renovation projects that have accompanied this.³ On the other hand though, in the twenty years since sites were photographed by Schwarz, many may have also fallen into further disrepair; other sites may have been taken over for other purposes and had physical changes imposed as a result of these; and people featured in section 5 will have altered physically perhaps beyond recognition. In this way, I would suggest that just as there has

² Jeff Jacoby, 'Polish antisemitism on the wane', *The Boston Globe*, 14 July 2005.

³ For more information on the renovation and restoration of Jewish sites in Poland, refer to the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish History, www.fodz.pl (last accessed 18.08.12).

been an ethnographic present to the research and writing of this thesis, so the photographs also have their own ethnographic present.

Beyond Webber's updating of captions in phase 3, the museum also does not have any policy of ongoing research into the sites featured in the *Traces of Memory* exhibition, so is not able to formally advise visitors of any changes – although informal advice may well be offered, from individual staff members' own knowledge. Even where Webber was able to make updates on restoration projects for phase 3 (including of the Rymanów synagogue, an iconic image in the exhibition which now resembles nothing like what Schwarz photographed)⁴ things have moved on further since then: for example, the imposing but devastated synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska features heavily in section 1 of the exhibition, but in 2012 renovations works were completed making it 'one of the most remarkable Jewish buildings'⁵ in the Małopolska region of Poland, to be used as a cultural meeting centre, re-opened to the public. Should this photograph now be retaken, and it placed instead in section 4 of the exhibition?

But how would this work in reality? Who would take this photograph of the restored Dąbrowa Tarnowska synagogue, or indeed the restored synagogue in Rymanów? To an extent the museum is trapped: even if the intention of the museum was ever to update these, how could this be done now Schwarz is no longer alive? Perhaps there are even ethical issues to consider – to what extent is the museum *in memoriam* to Schwarz, and how does this then impact on whether the photographs can be replaced or updated, or new

⁴ See p. 229.

⁵ See www.sztetl.org.pl/en/cms/news/2271,a-19th-century-synagogue-in-dabrowa-tarnowska-is-transformed-to-house-the-center-for-meetings-with-cultures/ (last accessed 09.03.12).

photographs integrated? These issues are barely acknowledged in the exhibition in any of its phases.

Yet the museum continues to refer to the images as contemporary, which appears to go largely unquestioned by museum visitors – perhaps because the photographs are in colour, which is deceptive in its ability to make us think of the present day, as far as photographs are concerned. In my interview with Webber for this thesis, we discussed whether he believed that the museum – and in particular the photographs – still offered a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland. His response confirmed the position of the museum: ‘these are images which are contemporary in the sense that they are in colour, that they address contemporary viewers, that they are addressed to their approaches and needs and so on, that they break stereotypes.’⁶ Although convinced that the photographs are still contemporary, Webber specifically referred to section 1 (*Jewish Life in Ruins*), acknowledging that it is ‘problematic, because many of these ruins have been restored’. He argued, however, that the ‘symbolic and metaphorical’ value of the images in that section was such that they should remain in the exhibition as originally photographed.⁷

Yet however powerful symbolic value might be, I would argue that at some – probably undefined – point the photographs may well cease to become contemporary, at the very least for the visitors. Instead, if they remain on display in the museum they will instead become the artefacts that the museum has intended so strongly to avoid showing, and the museum will become much closer to a traditional object-led exhibition that it might like to acknowledge.

⁶ Interview with Jonathan Webber, 27 May 2012 (ref: KGPCI/04), interview part 3, 00:12:55.

⁷ Ibid.

Sontag holds that all photographs are necessarily historical, but that in capturing real moments in time – in a way which could be considered ‘art’ – they take on a status beyond this. She writes, ‘photographs are, of course, artefacts. But their appeal is that they also seem, in a world littered with photographic relics, to have the status of found objects – unpremeditated slices of the world. Thus, they trade simultaneously on the prestige of art and the magic of the real.’⁸ In this way, perhaps as Schwarz’s collection stands *in memoriam* to his life’s work, this too will enhance the status of the images on display and they will continue to have relevance and meaning to the museum’s visitors: certainly, the images have changed purpose once in that they were intended for being shown in a publication, and ended up becoming the basis for the opening of a museum – such a change in status again due to the passing of time since they were taken and that their photographer is no longer alive may well not be impossible. I would argue, however, that this relevance will likely no longer be as offering a *contemporary* look at the past in Poland.

⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York, NY: Farrer Strauss and Giroux, 1978, p. 69.

2. A contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland? The museum and the local Kazimierz context

By 1939, prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, Kraków had a population of 250,000, some 65,000 of whom were Jewish, living primarily (but not exclusively) in the Kazimierz Jewish quarter.⁹ By the end of the war, less than 10% of these 65,000 Jews were still alive.¹⁰ As a result of the complex political situation in Poland under communism, by 1985 there were just 204 members of the organised Jewish community in Kraków (gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowskie w Krakowie),¹¹ which by 2009 – some twenty years after the fall of communism – had fallen to under 100.¹² Yet the period immediately after the fall of communism has been what Gawron has called *czas nadziei*, that is, the time of hope, for the Jewish community of Kraków. Not so much hope for the return to a normalised Jewish existence, but rather hope for the preservation of memory and tradition, which may otherwise have been entirely lost in the post-Holocaust world.¹³

⁹ For a comprehensive historiography of the pre-war Kraków Jewish community, see Sean Martin, *Jewish Life in Cracow, 1918-1939*, London: Vallentine-Mitchell, 2004.

¹⁰ Of the Kraków Jews still alive in 1945, the majority had survived the Holocaust by escaping to the east and surviving in Soviet-occupied areas. The second largest group of survivors were those saved by Oskar Schindler (see Jakub Nowakowski, *A Guide to Schindler's Kraków*, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2010). Others survived in hiding, on Aryan papers, or in concentration camps (See Edyta Gawron, 'To co ocalone... Żydowski Kraków – Dawniej i obecnie', in *Alma Mater [Miesięcznik Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego]*, vol. 109, December 2008, pp. 24-28, p. 25). For more on the fate of the Kraków Jewish community during the war, see Katarzyna Zimmerer, *Zamordowany Świat. Losy Żydów w Krakowie 1939-1945*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004.

¹¹ Gawron, 'To co ocalone...', p. 25.

¹² Membership as of the December 2009 Annual General Meeting of the *gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowskie w Krakowie* (Communication with Jonathan Ornstein, Director of the Jewish Community Centre in Kraków, 2 December 2009 [ref: KGPCI/02]). Official figures are not otherwise made publicly available. The Chief Rabbi of Poland, Michael Schudrich, has written in more general terms about the numbers of Jews both in Kraków and more widely in Poland – as well as the reasons for these figures. See 'Polish-Jewish Relations in Poland: Where Have We Come From and Where Are We Headed?' in Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska (Eds.), *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, pp. 137-140 and 'Giving Back to the Jewish People', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 25-30.

¹³ Edyta Gawron, *Społeczność Żydowska w Krakowie po Holokauście (1945-1995)*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, forthcoming, p. 168. Gawron identifies four periods in the existence of the post-war Kraków Jewish

Gawron's research stops in 1995, some 15 years ago. Since then, there has been no systematic sociological, demographic, or anthropological profiling undertaken of the Jewish community of Kraków although there have been significant developments for the community, which perpetuate Gawron's 'time of hope': Kraków now has two Orthodox rabbis, a mikveh, and kosher catering facilities (albeit limited). Chabad have sent emissaries to the city, and progressive Judaism has been re-established through Beit Kraków. But many of the developments that could be seen as working to preserve memory and tradition have come from forces external to the Jewish community and indeed sometimes to Judaism itself.

Having considered in detail the Galicia Jewish Museum and its permanent exhibition through the course of this thesis, the question at this stage as the thesis concludes is how the museum relates to this local context of Kazimierz, and if and how the museum exists as a 'contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland' within this context. Accordingly, I would argue that the following two aspects of this context should be examined in more detail to enable us to decide whether this is indeed the case: (1) the physical landscape of Kazimierz and (2) the identities of those who participate in this landscape.

community: (1) *Czas decyzji* ('The Time of Decision', 1945-1950) as members of the community decided whether to stay in Kraków or to leave, and made decisions about their religious and political affiliations, and the education of their children (p. 92); (2) *Czas asymyli* ('the time of assimilation', 1950-1968) the Jews who had returned to Kraków after the war became even more assimilated (despite large numbers already being so, according to Gawron) as a result of increasing difficulties inflicted on religious Jewish life by the Polish authorities (pp. 95-96); (3) *Czas próby* ('The Time of Trials'), so-called because of the many trials facing the remaining Jews in Poland, not only because of political and social conditions, but also because of the small size of the community after the 1968/69 emigrations and the death of many of the older community members (p. 142); and (4) *Czas nadziei* ('The time of hope', 1989-1995, p. 168).

2.1 The physical landscape of Kazimierz

The historical significance of Kazimierz is reflected in its present-day physicality, as the city largely escaped bombing during the war and Kazimierz now comprises one of Europe's most significant complexes of surviving pre-war Jewish buildings, as impressive as Venice or Prague. As well as an unknown number of former Jewish private homes and prayer houses,¹⁴ three former market squares (Szeroka Street, Plac Nowy and Plac Wolnica), two Jewish cemeteries (Remu Cemetery, in use until 1800 at 40 Szeroka Street, and the New Cemetery, at 55 Miodowa Street, in use from 1800 until the present day)¹⁵ there are at least 26 buildings still standing – in a complete range of states of repair and with varying degrees of distinguishable Jewish identifiers – in Kazimierz that before the war served Jewish community purposes:

5.1 Table: Current usage of pre-war Jewish community properties in Kazimierz.¹⁶

Type of Institution	Institution name	Current street address	Current usage
Major community institution	Jewish community headquarters	41 Krakowska Street	Partially used as Jewish community headquarters; others parts taken by private companies
	Mikvah	5 Szeroka Street	Klezmer Hois hotel and restaurant

¹⁴ As was common in Poland, prayer houses were established by individual families and organisations, in addition to the larger prayer houses and synagogues of the community. The following addresses have been identified as locations of pre-war prayer houses, and again are in varying states of repair: Agnieszka Street – number 5 (Michał Hirsch Cypres Association of Prayers and Charity); Augustiańska Street – number 22; Bocheńska Street – number 4 (She'erit B'nei Emunah); Brzozowa Street – number 6 (Solomon Deiches); Ciemna Street – number 17; Dietla Street – numbers 17 (Działoszyce Hasidim), 19, 36, 58, 64 (Damasz Family); Estery Street – numbers 4 (Gerer), 12 (Bobowa and Sanzer Hasidim), 18; Izaaka Street – number 5 (Chevrat Shir). Jakuba Street – number 21; Józefa Street – numbers 15 (Radomski Hasidim), 16, 22 (Ahavat Torah), 42 (Kove'a Itim Latorah); Krakowska Street – number 13; Meiselsa Street – number 18 (Chevrat Tehilim); Miodowa Street – number 15; Podbrzezie Street – number 6; Skąleczna Street – number 3; Starowiślna Street – number 37; Trynitaraska Street – number 18; Węglowa Street – number 3 (source: Jakub Nowakowski, *Jewish Kazimierz: Sites of Contemporary Jewish Interest (map)*, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum [2008]).

¹⁵ In addition, the site of the oldest Jewish cemetery still exists in the centre of Szeroka Street.

¹⁶ Table: author's own. Source: Nowakowski, *Jewish Kazimierz*.

	Ritual slaughter house (the 'Okrągłak')	Plac Nowy	Market hall
Synagogue	Rema Synagogue	40 Szeroka Street	Community synagogue
	Popper Synagogue	16 Szeroka Street	Art workshop
	Isaac Synagogue	18 Kupa Street	Under the administration of Chabad-Lubavitch Kraków
	B'nei Emunah Synagogue	17 Meiselsa Street	Centre for Jewish Culture
	Tempel Synagogue	1 Podbrzezie Street	Occasional community or cultural use as a synagogue ¹⁷
	High Synagogue	38 Józefa Street	Under the administration of Austeria publishing; exhibition space and bookshop.
	Kupa Synagogue	8 Warszawera Street	Partial use as guest house
School	Jan Śniadecki primary school number 16	17 Dietla Street	School
	Public Hebrew primary school and the Chaim Hilfstein Jewish co-educational secondary school	8 Podbrzezie Street	Residential building
	Beit Ya'akov school	10 Stanisława Street	Residential building
	Jewish vocational school	3 Podbrzezie Street	Academic institution
	Cheder Ivri people's school and the Tachkemoni secondary school	26 Miodowa Street	Residential building
	Klementyna Tańska public primary school No. 15	36 Miodowa Street	School
	Talmud Torah school	6 Estery Street;	Healthcare clinic
	'Ognisko Pracy' vocational school for girls	7 Wietora Street	Residential building
Other	Dormitory and vocational	6 Podbrzezie	Residential building

¹⁷ For more on the renovation of the Tempel synagogue see 'Getty Awards World Monuments Fund \$150,000 Challenge Grant for Tempel Synagogue Conservation', in *Jewish Heritage Report*, vol. 1, no. 3-4, New York, NY: World Monuments Fund, 1997 or 'Restoration of Kraków's Tempel Synagogue', World Monuments Fund, available at www.wmf.org/project/tempel-synagogue (last accessed 21.09.10).

educational, youth or student institution	school for Jewish orphans,	Street	
	Jewish dormitory	3 Przemyska Street	Music school dormitory
Sporting or cultural organisation	Jewish theatre	7 Bocheńska Street	Residential building
	Jewish sport and gymnastic association and Maccabi sport club	20 Koletok Street	Residential building
	Jewish gymnastics association	13 Wietora Street;	Residential building
Social, health or community care institution	Beit Lechem soup kitchen	31 Skawińska Street	Residential building
	Jewish hospital	8 Skawińska Street	State hospital
	Jewish old people's home	6 Chmielowskiego Street	State orphanage

Thus Kazimierz itself has become a site of memory: the physicality of the site has become the signifier of Kraków's Jewish past and all this encompasses.¹⁸ It is an example of what French historian Pierre Nora has termed *lieux mémoire* – places of memory, which for Nora are locations where 'memory crystallises and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical monument, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn – but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists.'¹⁹ In this way, it is the physical remains of Kazimierz that encapsulates the memory of Jewish Kraków.

¹⁸ Although beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate in detail, is important to note that Jewish settlement did in fact exist all over the city, and that during the Second World War Jews were forcibly resettlement from Kazimierz to a ghetto that was established by the Germans in a separate district, Podgórze. But despite these facts, it is Kazimierz – rather than any other area of the city – that is singularly associated with Kraków's Jewish heritage.

¹⁹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, vol. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24, p. 7.

This has been further emphasised by the tendency to renovate surviving sites in a style which is evocative of the pre-war era. In recognition of this, journalist and commentator on contemporary Jewish Europe Ruth Ellen Gruber notes that, ‘in many cases, the result is that “Jewish” has come to represent something bygone but fondly remembered; a lost world, with the overlay of lost possessions, lost comforts; low-lit and sepia toned, yet slightly exotic. These conventions – and by now they are conventions – play on nostalgia, but also on the imagination: these places are what people wish that the Jewish world had really been once upon a time’.²⁰

5.2 Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, view down ul. Szeroka



²⁰ Ruth Ellen Gruber, ‘Beyond Virtually Jewish: New Authenticities and Real Imaginary Spaces in Europe’, paper presented at UCLA, Los Angeles, October 2007, p. 7. Gruber is one of the most prolific journalists and commentators on matters of contemporary Polish-Jewish interest (and indeed European Jewish interest), and was a regular visitor to the Galicia Jewish Museum during my time there. All articles and papers on Polish-Jewish matters by Gruber are listed in the Bibliography.

5.3 and 5.4 Photographs: Fieldwork photographs, Jewish-style restaurants on ul. Szeroka



5.5 Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, the Old Synagogue Museum at the end of ul. Szeroka, with a large map of Kazimierz on the forecourt



5.6 Photograph: Fieldwork photograph, a preserved mezuzah indentation outside a Kazimierz guesthouse and restaurant



To try and make sense of what is happening in Kazimierz and elsewhere in Europe, Gruber has coined the term ‘virtually Jewish’, to describe the large numbers of non-Jews across Europe involved in organizing and participating in Jewish activities. In her earliest published writing on the subject, in the 2001 *Jewish Studies Yearbook*, Gruber defines this ‘virtual Judaism’:

[There is] a ‘universalisation’ of the Jewish phenomenon and its integration into mainstream European consciousness, this emergence of a ‘Judaising terrain’ and ‘Judaising milieu’ in all their widely varied, conscious and unconscious manifestations, a ‘filling’ of the Jewish space which encompasses the creation of a ‘virtual Jewishness’, a ‘virtual Jewish world’ by non-Jews – ‘virtual Jews’.²¹

This theory is expounded in detail in Gruber’s 2002 book, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*, where Gruber suggests that in the absence of local Jewish communities, non-Jews may ‘may take over cultural and other activities that would ordinarily be carried out by Jews. In other cases, they create their own realities that perpetuate an image of Jewish presence’.²² These two possibilities – the takeover of Jewish activity, or the creation of new realities of Judaism – are what Gruber believes constitutes ‘virtual Judaism’.

²¹ Ruth Ellen Gruber, ‘A Virtual Jewish World’, from *Jewish Studies Yearbook II*, Budapest: Central European University (2001), available online at www.web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pdf/02_gruber.pdf (last accessed 15.08.08).

²² Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*, Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA and London: University of California Press, 2002, p. 11.

Does this, then, result in what Gruber calls 'virtual Judaism' in Kazimierz? Using Kazimierz as one of her key case studies for *Virtually Jewish*, Gruber observes how the 'upfront "Jewish-style" tourist infrastructure of Kraków' contrasts sharply with 'fervently orthodox Jews, whose main purpose is prayer, and for the numerous Jewish groups and individuals whose overriding purpose in Poland is to consciously mourn the victims of the Holocaust'.²³ The result, Gruber suggests, is that 'rather than sanctify Kazimierz as a place of mourning and remembrance, it signifies it instead as a place that can be "enjoyed"'.²⁴

Accordingly, with its reconstructed pre-war style ambience, and 'Jewish-style' cafes, galleries and bookshops, Kazimierz has been termed by some visitors a 'Jewish Disneyland',²⁵ with one of the most damning public reports in recent years coming from novelist and journalist Linda Grant, published in *the New Statesman*. For Grant, 'the dishes on the menu, the waiters, the decor, the synagogues, the tour guides were a full Jewish Poland, complete, without any Jews. What we had entered was a theme park, a ride, like *Pirates of the Caribbean* at EuroDisney; Kazimierz had been reconstituted as an Experience'.²⁶

Yet I would argue that Grant is reacting against is a blurring of boundaries in Kazimierz. At EuroDisney, whilst the *Pirates of the Caribbean* ride may well represent the film and even a

²³ Ibid., p. 130.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ For example, see I. Weiss, 'Jewish Disneyland: the Appropriation and Dispossession of "Jewishness"', *Golem European-Jewish Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 6, 2002 (available at www.hagalil.com/golem/diaspora/disneyland-e.htm, last accessed 01.10.10) or Sandra Lustig, 'Alternatives to "Jewish Disneyland": Some approaches to Jewish history in European cities and towns', in Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla (Eds.), *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009, pp. 81-97. For a consideration of specifically Jewish visitors to this environment, see Jack Kugelmass, 'The Rites of the Tribe: American Jewish Tourism in Poland', in Ivan Karp, Christine M. Kraemer and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1992, pp. 382-427 or Jack Kugelmass and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska, 'If You Build It They Will Come': Recreating an Historic Jewish District in Post-Communist Kraków, in *City and Society*, 1998, pp. 315-53.

²⁶ Linda Grant, 'Manufacturing History', *New Statesman*, 14 August 2008.

pirate ship, at no point was the pirate ship in the ride ever used either by the film crew or indeed by actual pirates – and there is no suggestion to the visitor that it was. But in Kazimierz, whilst there are indeed synagogues devoid of Jews, these were at one time original Jewish buildings – built by Jews, for Jews. If one is entering a ‘theme park’ on visiting Kazimierz, it is a theme park built on historical foundations.

Within the theoretical literature, one particularly helpful framework for making sense of present-day Kazimierz has been developed by the Italian writer Umberto Eco, in his landmark work *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality*. Although focusing on the USA, Eco’s work is premised on the belief that there is an increasing blurring of boundaries between the real and the fake – what he terms the ‘hyperreal’. Particularly in terms of cultural entertainment, Eco argues ‘the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake’.²⁷ He suggests that there are now three approaches most typically adopted:

1. Fakes are created where required and are displayed alongside the real, with the distinction between the two not made clear for the audience. Eco’s example here is the museum of the City of New York, which ‘distinguishes genuine pieces from reconstructed pieces; but the distinction is indicated on explanatory panels beside the cases, while in the reconstruction, on the other hand, the original object and the wax figurine mingle in a continuum that the visitor is not invited to decipher’.²⁸ The reason for this, Eco suggests, is that ‘the designers want the visitor to feel an atmosphere and to plunge into the past without becoming a philologist or

²⁷ Umberto Eco, *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality*, London: Vintage Books, 1998, p. 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

archaeologist, and also because the reconstructed datum was already tainted by this original sin of “the levelling of pasts”, the fusion of copy and original’.²⁹

2. Fakes are displayed in order that the real no longer becomes necessary – whether this is because the fake is in better condition, more emblematic or more evocative than anything real that is available. Eco’s example here is the Palace of the Living Arts in Los Angeles, where the ‘philosophy is not, “We are giving you the reproduction so that you will want the original” but rather, “We are giving you the reproduction so you will no longer feel any need for the original”’.³⁰
3. Fakes are displayed (whether alone or alongside the real) simply because it is possible to do so – and it is the perfection of the fake then leads the viewer to desire the fake. Such is the practice of Disneyland, according to Eco, as ‘when rocks are involved, they are rock, and water is water, and a baobab a baobab. When there is a fake – hippopotamus, dinosaur, sea serpent – it is not so much because it wouldn’t be possible to have the real equivalent but because the public is meant to admire the perfection of the fake and its obedience to the programme. In this sense Disneyland not only produces illusion, but in confessing it – stimulates the desire’.³¹

Thus in Kazimierz we also see this blurring of the real and the fake: the original Jewish pre-war buildings which now house ‘Jewish-style’ cafes run by local Poles; the art galleries filled with paintings of Jewish images that have been painted by local non-Jewish artists; the Jewish cultural institutions which are staffed by non-Jewish students. The ‘fake’ is utilised because the real – post-Holocaust, post-communism – is no longer available, and just as at

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

³¹ Ibid., p. 44.

the City Museum of New York, there is very little to distinguish for the average visitor to Kazimierz where the boundaries of hyperreality lie.

I would argue, however, that this thesis has shown that this is where the Galicia Jewish Museum offers a remarkable contrast to the rest of Kazimierz – at least in terms of the physicality of the area. In being housed in a former Jewish building that has been renovated in a modern style as opposed to the pre-war Jewish style of the rest of the neighbourhood, it indeed offers a ‘contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland’, as compared to what we could call the ‘nostalgic look at the Jewish past in Poland’ offered elsewhere in Kazimierz.³²

Where elsewhere in the former Jewish district there is the blurring between the original and the recreated – the real and the fake – which leads to the creation of hyperrealities, at the Galicia Jewish Museum from the decision to use contemporary interior materials such as glass and stainless steel and the decision to show present-day photographs rather than historical objects;³³ to the modern cafe with a menu closer to what might be found in Starbucks than the other Jewish style cafes of the area³⁴ and even in the choice of corporate font for the museum,³⁵ all make it clear that this is not ‘original’ Kazimierz that is being shown, but then neither is it a fake – instead, it is a contemporary look at what once was.

How self-conscious the museum was of this in its establishment is unclear, and whilst visitors may not always understand *Traces of Memory* in the ways that Schwarz and Webber might

³² Chapter 1 also identified the significance of Jewish museum buildings such as in the case of the Berlin Jewish Museum. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to consider whether the increasing significance of museum buildings has developed just in the context of Jewish museums, or more broadly within the museum field. Certainly, the acclaim that recent museum buildings such as the Bilbao Guggenheim has received would suggest that trend for creating spatially significant museums is far wider than simply the examples considered in this thesis.

³³ There is perhaps the temptation to suggest that the photographs themselves could be viewed as ‘fakes’ yet I would be cautious here of doing so: photographs are necessarily representations of reality, and as such I would argue should not be viewed as straightforward ‘fakes’.

³⁴ Galicia Jewish Museum cafe menu (ref: GJM2010/02).

³⁵ See p. 204.

have hoped, I would argue that the physical set-up of the museum is such that there is no possibility of confusion or sense of hyperreality about what the museum itself is attempting to be.

Yet behind the doors of the museum there are certainly aspects of activity where we do see the hyperreal, such as Eco identified at the City Museum of New York, where ‘the visitor is not invited to decipher’ what they are seeing.³⁶ For example, the monthly printed programme of the museum, distributed across the city and also available on its website, lists its extensive Jewish cultural and educational programme – but in doing so invites the visitor to experience hyperreality. There is nothing to distinguish in the programme those aspects which might be considered real and those which might be considered fake. What of the Hebrew and Yiddish classes delivered by non-Jewish students from the Department of Jewish Studies at the university, or the Jewish dance classes delivered by a local Polish dance teacher? Whilst there is nothing to distinguish the real from the fake – or the actual from the virtual, to use Gruber’s terminology alongside that of Eco – there is likewise nothing to suggest the ‘authenticity’ of the Friday night kabbalat shabbat services held at the museum, conducted by a ‘real’ rabbi to a largely non-halakhically Jewish community. The result is a ‘hyperreal’ programme of activities. Less clear cut perhaps is the nature of the photographs in *Traces of Memory*: what makes Schwarz’s images ‘Jewish’? Is it the photographer, the viewer, the content, the location in which they were shot or the location in which they are shown? Or is it a combination of all of these factors? As this thesis has shown, there are elements of the ‘real’ and the ‘fake’ to each of these options as regards the Jewishness of

³⁶ Eco, *Faith in Fakes*, p. 9.

the images, and yet at the Galicia Jewish Museum they exist side-by-side in what could be termed a hyperreal Jewish exhibition in, perhaps, a hyperreal Jewish museum.

But I would conclude that these competing realities at the museum can begin to be resolved by considering the comprehensive approach of the museum, and how this differs from that elsewhere in Kazimierz. The tendency towards a 'Jewish style' approach elsewhere in Kazimierz has resulted in a generic 'Jewish style experience' that emerges from the blurring of boundaries between real and fake: visitors are offered a recreated experience designed to evoke a sense of pre-war Jewish Kraków – which can never be achieved – amongst often very authentic surroundings. In this way, I would hold that not only is the Galicia Jewish Museum offering a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland, but also a contemporary *experience* of the Jewish past in Poland: the museum building, *Traces of Memory*, the temporary exhibitions are all intended to engage visitors with the present day realities, rather than with a past that the rest of the Kazimierz attempts to connect with through nostalgic recreation. Even the location of the museum within Kazimierz emphasises this: located on ul. Dajwór³⁷ – set back, as noted earlier, from the main tourist routes of ul. Szeroka for those visiting Kazimierz and ul. Starowiślna for those walking down to the former ghetto – the museum is confirming its position as different within Jewish Kraków: offering an alternative, *contemporary* approach to understanding this past.

³⁷ See p. 98.

2.2 The identities of those who participate in Kazimierz

Yet as chapter 3 showed, where this begins to become complex is in considering the ‘who’ of Kazimierz – and in this sense the Galicia Jewish Museum is arguably no exception. Whereas the Introduction asked whether Schwarz, Webber and I were all insiders or outsiders (or indeed a combination of both) in relation to the museum and the *Traces of Memory* project, here we could also ask this question of those who work at the Galicia Jewish Museum today: where for the most part they may be increasingly outsiders to *Traces of Memory* with the passage of time, the staff are almost exclusively very much insiders to the Polish context – indeed, much more so than Schwarz, Webber and I ever could be – and, arguably, also to contemporary Jewish Poland, which exists as Gruber noted as a result of the non-Jews who now seek to fill the Jewish space.

The staff demographic is similar at institutions across Kazimierz, and the challenge of how this then plays out in Kazimierz today has been articulated by ethnographer of Jewish Poland Erica Lehrer:

The sense of ethnic boundaries – of memory, of representation, of identity – is a central challenge confronting those who participate in Kazimierz. Who owns the Jewish past, Jewish culture, the right to mourn Jewishness lost, to feel Jewish, to define Jewish, to ‘be’ Jewish? The constraints individuals impose on others through their

answers to these questions are a matter of daily concern in
Kazimierz.³⁸

This statement brings us back very much to what Gruber was arguing for in her concept of 'virtual Judaism': as she asks 'is there, indeed, an intrinsic 'Jewish space' or Jewish component in Europe that exists whether or not Jews are there to physically define it?'³⁹ She is questioning the legitimacy, or authenticity, of this space: where there are no (or few) Jews, and the creators and fillers of the Jewish space are non-Jews – can there be, or even should there be, 'Jewish' activity?

But in Kazimierz, as elsewhere now across Europe, how should we reconcile the apparent existence of a 'virtual Judaism' with the simultaneous existence of vibrant – albeit often small and/or re-emerging – Jewish community? If cultural activity is produced by a Jewish community, for example, yet enjoyed by a broad cross section of the local municipality or region, is it still 'Jewish'? If literature by Sholom Asch or I. Peretz is taught by a Jewish professor in university to non-Jewish students, and studied in translation in the vernacular, is this still 'Jewish'? And what about the reverse: if Jewish tourists, for example, enjoy an evening of klezmer music performed by non-Jewish artists, or a meal in 'Jewish-style', but

³⁸ Erica Lehrer, 'Bearing False Witness? "Vicarious" Jewish Identity and the Politics of Affinity', in Dorota Głowacka, and Joanna Zylińska (Eds.), *Imaginary Neighbours: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations After the Holocaust* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press (2008), pp. 84-109, p. 89. For more from Lehrer on Jewish Poland (and specifically Kraków) see 'The Only Jewish Bookshop in Poland', Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Centre, 2001, available at www.yiddishbookcenter.org/story.php?n=101%20%20%, (last accessed 15.08.08); 'Jewish? Heritage? In Poland? A Brief Manifesto and an Ethnographic Design Intervention into Jewish Tourism in Poland', Bridges Association, 2007, pp. 37-41, available at www.muse.jhu.edu/journals/bridges_a_jewish_feminists_journal/v012/12.2lehrer.pdf, (last accessed 15.08.08); 'Curating Jews: Reflections on the Practice of Heritage', in *AJS Perspectives: The Museum Issue*, Spring 2010, pp. 32-33; and 'Can there be a Conciliatory Heritage?', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4-5, July-September 2010, pp. 269-288.

³⁹ Gruber, *Virtually Jewish*, p. 23.

non-Jewish owned, restaurant, is it still 'Jewish'? If the Galicia Jewish Museum was created very much with Jewish input, but run today by non-Jews, is it still 'Jewish'?

Considering specifically those who take care of the Jewish heritage of Kazimierz, such as at the Galicia Jewish Museum, Lehrer offers a sympathetic reading of how these 'caretakers' also take on hybrid identities – much as Kazimierz itself has as site of hyperreality. She writes, 'proprietors of Jewish-themed establishments in Kazimierz tend to be Poles, who have a sense of being caretakers of Jewish heritage in the absence of a robust local Jewish community... [But] many of the "non-Jewish Poles" involved in Jewish cultural production in Kazimierz are not quite as "non-Jewish" as they seem at first glance. They fall between conventional categories of "Jew" and "Pole", either in their self-representation or as others identify them'.⁴⁰ Thus among the staff at the Galicia Jewish Museum – Poles who have come from non-Jewish, non-museum backgrounds – 'there are those who have 'have grown into their new roles as keepers of memory with a sense of profound obligation'⁴¹ and for whom their lack of 'Jewishness' is much more a boundary for those outside looking in on their activity, rather than they themselves.

Perhaps reflective of the speed of development of Jewish Kraków, and even Poland as a whole, writing again just six years after the publication of *Virtually Jewish*, Gruber has in fact suggested an alternative terminology, 'new authenticities': that is, 'things, places and experiences that in themselves are real, with all the trappings of reality, but that are quite different from the "realities" on which they are modelled or that they are attempting to

⁴⁰ Lehrer, 'Bearing False Witness?', p. 91.

⁴¹ Erica Lehrer and Soliman Lawrence, 'Unquiet Places: A Second Look at Jewish Poland Today', available online at www.yiddishbookcenter.org/pdf/pt/56/PT56_poland.pdf (last accessed 01.08.08).

evoke'⁴²– here acknowledging the blurring of boundaries in the same way as Eco does. As in considering the identities of those involved in Jewish Kraków today, including at the Galicia Jewish Museum, then in this case Eco's concept of hyperreality is indeed useful in understanding the boundaries between insider and outsider.

In this way, through a combined reading Gruber's 'new authenticities' with Eco's hyperrealities, I would argue that we begin to see something of how the Galicia Jewish Museum was operating by the end of 2011 – and that once again this is a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland, in that it offers a completely different approach to engaging with this past than what might otherwise be expected. But in this case I would argue that it also applies to the rest of Kazimierz – and perhaps indeed Jewish Poland as a whole – with whole institutions adopting this contemporary approach as non-Jewish Poles now create, manage, visit, and engage critically with this past in completely new ways. The approach – and its incongruity with what others have called a Jewish Disneyland – is summed up Gebert: 'There is commercialism, but that is just the foam on the surface. This is Poland rediscovering its Jewish soul'.⁴³

⁴² Gruber, 'Beyond Virtually Jewish', p. 5. See also Gruber, 'Beyond Virtually Jewish...', pp. 63-80.

⁴³ Konstanty Gebert quoted in Chris Smith, 'In Poland, a Jewish Revival Thrives – Minus the Jews', *New York Times*, 12 July 2007.

2.3 The Galicia Jewish Museum as heterotopia

Developing further this thinking about specifically the Galicia Jewish Museum, the writing of Michel Foucault – the theoretical starting point favoured by many Museum Studies specialists – also operates as a useful frame of reference. In his 1986 article ‘Of Other Spaces’, Foucault asserts that:

We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skin.⁴⁴

To this end, he traces the development of ‘space’ – as intersecting with, but distinct to, time – as a formative western experience. He suggests that in the medieval period, space was organised hierarchically, delineating the sacred and profane space, or cosmologically the supercelestial, the celestial and the terrestrial. Accordingly, ‘it was this complete hierarchy, this opposition, this intersection of places that constituted what could very roughly be called medieval space: the space of emplacement.’⁴⁵ In the current era, however, Foucault believes that the space of emplacement has become replaced by the space of extension, defined by the relations of proximity between the different elements of the space. Foucault labels these relations as ‘series, trees or grids’, which could – for the purpose of this thesis – be considered to be the various levels on which the Galicia Jewish Museum operates and engages with those who interact with it. The significance of such relational layers, he

⁴⁴ Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, pp. 22-27, p. 22.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

suggests, is that ‘we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another’.⁴⁶

For Foucault, ‘our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites’,⁴⁷ and with a brief comment on what he terms *internal space*, as such he goes on to describe the nature of contemporary *external space*, and the framework in which the relations operate. He notes that by examining these relational frameworks, it is possible to identify, describe and define the sites that create them. Of most interest to Foucault – and what is of particular interest for this study of the Galicia Jewish Museum – are sites whose relationships ‘suspect, neutralise, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect’.⁴⁸ I would argue that we see this on two distinct, although not necessarily competing, layers at the Galicia Jewish Museum: firstly, in its inversion of the relationship between the Jewish and the non-Jewish, and secondly, in its relationship to the rest of Kazimierz.

Foucault believes that such sites fall into two categories: utopias – fundamentally ‘unreal’ sites with no real place, which present a perfected (or alternatively upside down) society – or the distinct opposite, what he terms ‘heterotopias’, which may well be located within a physical reality but which as ‘counter-sites’ represent, invert, and contest the reality ‘they reflect and speak about’.⁴⁹

Considering the Galicia Jewish Museum as such a heterotopia, there is certainly resonance here with Gruber’s concept of new authenticities. Foucault’s suggestion of a ‘simultaneously

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 24.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

mythic and real contestation of the space'⁵⁰ which he terms heterotopology, echoes Gruber's suggestion of Kazimierz now creating its own actualities – which I believe is nowhere better illustrated than at the Galicia Jewish Museum. For Foucault, rather than being fixed entities, heterotopia can reflect developments and changes in society, because 'society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another'.⁵¹ Certainly, the developments in the Galicia Jewish Museum Kraków would seem to demonstrate such characteristics. Similarly, if the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place – and here, at the Galicia Jewish Museum – 'several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (the Jewish and the non-Jewish approach to cultural activity), then we begin to see a more nuanced understanding of what is possible in Kazimierz than simply Gruber's 'virtual Jewish world'. Instead, what we see at the Galicia Jewish Museum by the end of the period in question is a 'process [which in] "creating", rather than "re-creating", has in turn led to the formation of its *own* models, modes of behaviours, and even traditions. It deals in constructs, or re-constructs, and yes, often stereotypes: what is *meant* or *signified* by "Jewish" can be paramount, rather than living, breathing examples'.⁵²

Thus by the end of 2009 at the Galicia Jewish Museum with its multidimensional relationship with the Jewish – its strong Jewish foundations, its hybrid-identity staff, an educational and cultural programme focused on outreach to the local Polish community at the same time as

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 25.

⁵² Gruber, 'Beyond Virtually Jewish...', p. 69.

the role it plays for the local Jewish community – has become a living example of Eco’s hyperreality, Gruber’s new actualities and Foucault’s heterotopia.

3. A contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland? The museum within the European Jewish space

The previous section demonstrated how the museum offers a contemporary look at the Jewish past in Poland in terms of how it stands apart – or on occasion together – with the broader Jewish landscape in Kazimierz. This final section will take yet one further step back, to consider if and how it does so within the broader European Jewish context. Whilst the focus on the specifically Polish-Jewish past will obviously be of less significance in this Europe-wide consideration, what this final section will seek to do is establish whether within this broader context the museum is really doing something so notably different.

3.1 The significance of Jewish culture today

According to Richard Segal, executive director of the American National Foundation for Jewish Culture, ‘Being Jewish today means, most of all, the identification with Jewish culture. Jewish culture has replaced the synagogue, Israel and philanthropy as to become the major Jewish concern. This... is a major shift in Jewish identity’.⁵³

⁵³ Richard Segal, Executive Director, American National Foundation for Jewish Culture, from a speech given at a 1999 Institute for Jewish Policy Research seminar. Quoted in Jonathan Webber, ‘Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in Europe’, in Barry Kosmin, Andras Kovacs and Zvi Gitelman (Eds.), *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, Budapest and New York, NY: Central European University Press, 2003, pp. 317-340, p. 317.

This 'shift' is evident in the number of Jewish organisations and institutions formally associated with 'Jewish culture'. From a pan-Europe perspective these include the European Day for Jewish Culture and the European Association for Jewish Culture and, as a third example relevant for this thesis, in the UK, the London Jewish Culture Centre. A summary of these three is offered in the table below:

5.7 Table: Selected key Jewish cultural organisations in Europe

Organisation	Established	Details
European Day of Jewish Culture ⁵⁴	1999	Operated under the auspices of the European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture (AEPJ), an association founded by B'nai B'rith Europe and Red de Juderias de Espaa – Caminos de Sefarad. Held in early September each year, by 2011 events associated with the EDJC were held in 41 cities in 17 European countries, with over 150,000 participants. Events are typically held by Jewish cultural organisations with the aim of widening interest and awareness among non-Jews, with each year focused around a particular theme selected by the AEPJ: In 2011, the theme was 'EDJC 2.0: Facing the Future' – looking at the technical future of Jewish cultures – whilst previous themes have included Art and Judaism (2010), Jewish Cooking and Heritage (2005) and the Jewish Calendar and Celebrations in Art, Music and Food (2001).
European Association for Jewish Culture ⁵⁵	2001	Established to respond to the belief that Jewish cultural creativity can provide a key to the Jewish future. Jewish culture, it states in the Association's brochure, 'is a living heritage with immense creative potential', which 'plays an important role in representing Judaism to the wider world' ⁵⁶ . The EAJC is a subsidiary body of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and offers a number of grant programmes to individual artists and organisations in the fields of visual and

⁵⁴ See www.jewishheritage.org/jh (last accessed 05.10.11).

⁵⁵ See www.jewishcultureineurope.org (last accessed 18.08.12).

⁵⁶ Webber, 'Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in Europe', p. 318.

		performing arts.
London Centre for Jewish Culture ⁵⁷	1995	The UK's largest provider of Jewish adult education courses, on a range of subjects including Jewish history, literature, languages, the arts, and health and well-being, all interestingly grouped under the Centre's umbrella of 'Jewish culture'. The LJCC is located in Ivy House in North London (the former home of Prima Ballerina Anna Pavlova) and now welcomes over 1,500 people each week through their doors.

But what is this 'culture' which is being referred to here? If we are talking about music, art, literature – or any of the other typical 'cultural products' – is this Ashkenazi or Sephardi music, art and literature? Does it only include the traditional or are contemporary productions also included? If it refers to language, is this Hebrew, Yiddish or Ladino, and how does this include the many Jews for whom 'Jewish' languages no longer play any role? Is it food – and if so is this east European or Middle Eastern cuisine? – or perhaps it relates rather to those aspects of culture rooted in religion: learning, rites of passage or ritual observation?

Defining and identifying exactly what is Jewish culture – before we even begin to think about by whom it is created, and for whom – is far from straightforward. Perhaps in reflection of this, and as noted in the Introduction, academically the field of Jewish cultural studies is somewhat underdeveloped.⁵⁸ There are, however, two key thinkers within the field of

⁵⁷ See www.ljcc.org.uk (last accessed 05.10.11).

⁵⁸ When this doctoral research began, there was no single forum bringing together academics in Jewish cultural studies. This situation has recently changed with the publication of a new *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies*, published biannually from 2009 by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization and launched in conjunction with a major conference held in June 2009 in Wrocław, Poland. By the end of 2011, three editions of the journal had been published by the Littman Library (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization), all edited by Simon J. Bronner (*Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 1 – Jewishness: Expression, Identity and Representation*, 2009; *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 2 – Jews at Home: the Domestication of Identity*, 2010; and *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 3 – Revisioning Ritual: Jewish Traditions in Transition*, 2011).

European Jewish cultural studies that should be identified here for their contribution to the debate: Stanley Waterman and – significantly – Webber.⁵⁹

Both Waterman and Webber identify first and foremost the difficulty in defining Jewish culture.⁶⁰ Waterman, Professor Emeritus at the University of Haifa, suggests that ‘to refer to something blandly as “Jewish culture” is to accept notionally that there is something that could be acceptable to all Jews if only they compromised over their ideal of what it should be... The label “Jewish culture” encompasses many related subcultures, some of which claim to possess exclusivity on the ‘authentic’ form, but all of which are variants influenced by history and tradition, current circumstances and prevailing trends’.⁶¹ With such complexity in mind, he then sets out a series of questions for consideration:

- What is unique about Jewish culture?
- To what extent are the religious elements of Jewish cultures relevant to secular Jewish populations and to society in general?
- What role can non-religious elements play in a predominantly secular Jewish culture?
- Is secular Jewish culture a contradiction in terms?

⁵⁹ Webber is a key player in much of the European Jewish cultural activity, and as such will be referenced on several occasions in this section for his role in this context, rather than as a result of his relationship to the Galicia Jewish Museum. Whilst a link between Webber’s two roles has never been articulated, it can certainly be posited that Webber’s involvement in academic Jewish cultural studies influenced his work on *Traces of Memory* and at the Galicia Jewish Museum, and quite possibly vice versa too.

⁶⁰ Whilst this section is necessarily focused on the challenges of defining *Jewish* culture, it should be noted that the problem of definition is one shared more broadly by the field of cultural studies. Although beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail, for further reading on the different understandings of ‘culture’ see the work of Homi Bhabha (including *Nation and Narration*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1990 and *The Location of Culture*, 2nd edition, New York, NY: Routledge, 2004) and Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*, New York, NY: Grove, 1968).

⁶¹ Stanley Waterman, *Cultural Politics and European Jewry*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1999, p. 7.

- Is Jewish culture today (however it is defined) produced for internal (i.e. Jewish) consumption only, to enable continuity of the ethnic group, or is it produced as a commodity for consumers in society at large?⁶²

Intending largely to raise such issues rather than answer them, Waterman's questions are a useful starting point for considering the complexities – and possibilities – of Jewish culture. Certainly, we can acknowledge the existence of 'a Jewish culture' or 'Jewish cultures', yet this doesn't move us forward in understanding more about what we might mean when we use these terms: a challenge then picked up by Webber.

By way of Introduction, Webber too notes the difficulty in providing such a definition, writing:

What people see as 'their culture' is often, when viewed from the outside, a rather arbitrary selection. In recent times, the collapse of the synagogue and the yeshiva as the principal public domains of Jewish life is a good example. What came in their place, as we know, was the rise of Jewish sporting, recreational, philanthropic, political, and cultural associations and private societies, the principal Jewish *raison d'être* of which was the creation of a social framework for the exclusive recruitment of Jews rather than the pursuit of specifically Jewish aims or cultural goals (as traditionally defined). This has left Jewish culture, at least as seen at ground level in the anthropological sense, with a highly composite approach to Jewish self-definition. Today's voluntary Jews are

⁶² Ibid.

to a great extent self-made cultural *bricoleurs*, constructing their Jewishness, and indeed their attitudes to non-Jews, and non-Jewish culture, as they go.⁶³

Noting that even historically Diaspora Jewry do not have anything like a distinctive or unified Jewish culture (but rather one shaped by local contexts), Webber goes one step further than Waterman, and attempts to provide the first steps of a definition for contemporary Jewish culture, as he finds that:

It can be seen both as a new phenomenon – including the emergence into public space (particularly in Poland) of cultural expressions formerly either taboo or severely restricted to the home – and also as a revival. Far from being a minimalist, symbolic religiosity, it consists of a creative, multidimensional compound of highly diverse and hybrid elements. It is hard to quantify (as our project has shown) and the surface appearance are deceptive. There is clearly considerable emphasis on the exotic aspects of the Jewish tradition. Some Jewish culture is clearly motivated by a sense of hostility towards religion, though there is evidence that can be – and is – strongly represented also (albeit in new transformations according to the contemporary idiom). It may also be that the marketing of Jewish cultural products, much of which is undertaken by non-Jews

⁶³ Webber, 'Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in Europe', pp. 322-323.

without any particular vested interest in Jewish survival as such, is leading to false impressions.⁶⁴

An ambitious attempt to define what Webber himself believes to be far from an 'established discourse', of particular interest here is the question of the 'marketing' or the 'transmission' of Jewish culture. Waterman too draws attention to this issue, whilst considering the 'production' of Jewish culture he questions, 'how a culture has been produced and by whom, and what processes are involved in its reproduction and adaptation'⁶⁵. In this way, we see a strong resonance with the same questions asked about the Galicia Jewish Museum in the previous section, as we consider the insider/outsider roles of Schwarz, Webber and myself in the early phases of the museum as well as those of the museum's current staff.

Both Webber and Waterman are convinced that the role of non-Jews in the production, transmission and consumption of 'Jewish culture' is significant. If we return to those initial examples of Jewish culture – the European Day of Jewish Culture, the European Association of Jewish Culture and the London Jewish Cultural Centre – we also see clearly the role of non-Jews: The EDJC makes no attempt to limit events held under its auspices to those being run solely by Jews, and the active intention of the Day is to bring Jewish culture to non-Jews. The EAJC again makes very little distinction between Jews and non-Jews: its grants are open to all seeking to 'address the Jewish experience', through visual arts, performing arts, or new media.⁶⁶ At the LJCC, whilst only 2% of the 1,500 weekly users are thought to be non-

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 333-334.

⁶⁵ Waterman, *Cultural Politics and European Jewry*, p. 14.

⁶⁶ See www.jewishcultureineurope.org/Grant_Programmes.htm (Last accessed 05.10.11).

Jewish,⁶⁷ non-Jews are involved in delivering courses and workshops held at the Centre, including myself.

Whilst an attempt to grapple with the entirety of this subject would be the subject of an entirely separate thesis, issues of production and transmission relate very much to the analysis of the Galicia Jewish Museum, as was seen in the previous section. But before we can return to looking at the museum more closely, it is first necessary to consider how others have attempted to navigate the European Jewish landscape.

3.2 Navigating the Jewish Space

French historian Diana Pinto writes on behalf of the London-based Institute of Jewish Policy Research that ‘there is now a new cultural and social phenomenon: the creation of a “Jewish space” inside each European nation with a significant history of Jewish life’.⁶⁸ This statement is widely used today in debates on contemporary Jewish cultural studies and the European Jewish cultural context. Yet it raises many similar questions to those discussed above, in relation to Jewish culture. How should this Jewish space be understood? Who is creating this space, and who is filling it? Who are they filling it for, and with what is that space being filled with? Each of these questions could be open to endless debate, with a whole range of answers for every Jewish community or place where such a community once lived.

⁶⁷ Communication with Judy Trotter, Head of Programming at London Jewish Cultural Centre, 28 August 2012 (ref: KGPCI/07)

⁶⁸ Diana Pinto, *A New Jewish Identity for Post-1989 Europe*, JPR Policy Paper, no. 1, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, June 1996, p. 7.

Just as Gruber's thinking has progressed in recent years to encompass the new terminology of 'new actualities', so to an extent has Pinto's – and her well established concept of a 'European Jewish space' has remained subject to debate and response. In terms of her own thinking, she sees broader political and societal changes over the last decade as impacting on the potential for Jewish/non-Jewish positive interactivity. Recalling the 1990s, she writes, 'Europe's Jews and non-Jews could overcome these topographical contradictions because they were all engaged in a common effort of Jewish renewal through the search for roots, Holocaust commemoration, and cultural revival, to which could be added a revival in Jewish religious interest'.⁶⁹ She believes that during this period, the European Jewish space could bring together Jews and non-Jews in a spirit of open dialogue unmarred by political considerations',⁷⁰ which she argues is no longer the case writing in the 21st century.

Despite the new political challenges – centring around the mainstreaming of antisemitism and the Israel/Palestine political challenges – Pinto remains committed to the possibility of a Jewish space (and specifically a European Jewish space) where Jews and non-Jews can work together. She concludes, 'it is in Europe more than in Israel or in America (where Jews are sufficiently strong numerically to produce their own internal culture) that the dialectics of dialogue between Jews and non-Jews will probably produce their strongest effects. For it is in Europe that Jews as a numerically insignificant but culturally central minority must encounter historically laden 'others' on their turf'.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Diana Pinto, 'Jewish Spaces versus Jewish Places? On Jewish and Non-Jewish Interaction Today', in *Der Ort des Judentums in der Gegenwart 1989-2002*, Berlin: Bebra Verlag, 2004, pp. 15-25, p. 21.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

I believe this thesis has demonstrated how the Galicia Jewish Museum could be seen as almost the embodiment of such a European Jewish space, through its interaction between the Jewish and non-Jewish as has been well documented. But at the same time, it should be noted that not all agree with Pinto's theory – and of particular relevance here is an article published as a response to Pinto, in a 2006 publication entitled *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, edited by Ian Leveson and Sandra Lustig and which also included a paper by Pinto again articulating her own position on the European Jewish space.⁷² In their response to Pinto, Leveson and Lustig argue that Pinto's European Jewish space is an over-simplified concept: although they agree with the existence of such a space, they believe that it 'lies partly within civil society, partly within the cultural market',⁷³ and without addressing the challenges of this multidimensionality, Pinto's concept is inherently flawed. For Leveson and Lustig, where Jews and non-Jews do come together, they do so with very different preconceptions, and the non-Jewish preconceptions may be altogether damaging to the Jewish space.

Whilst I would argue for a more positive reading of the Jewish space, such as Pinto posits, and would suggest that the Galicia Jewish Museum continues to be a space in which Jews and non-Jews (and the Jewish with the non-Jewish) come together to produce the strong dialectic Pinto envisages within the European context, Levenson and Lustig do identify several points of significance for the Galicia Jewish Museum:

⁷² Diana Pinto, 'The Jewish Space in Europe', in Sandra Lustig and Ian Leveson (Eds.), *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, New York, NY and Oxford: Berghahn, 2006, pp. 179-186.

⁷³ Ian Leveson and Sandra Lustig, 'Caught Between Civil Society and the Cultural Market: Jewry and the Jewish Space in Europe. A Response to Diana Pinto', in Lustig and Leveson (Eds.), *Turning the Kaleidoscope*, pp. 187-204, pp. 200-1.

- Firstly, the impact that the Jewish space may have on broader Jewish developments. Levenson and Lustig write, ‘while Jewry and Judaism affect what happens in the Jewish Space, the Jewish Space may also affect developments in Jewry and Judaism’. This can be seen at the Galicia Jewish Museum through its offering of space to the Beit Kraków progressive Jewish community: without being able to hold Friday night services at the museum, the community may not have become so established so quickly.⁷⁴
- Secondly, the potential need to consider why those non-Jews who are involved have chosen to be so. Whilst the reasons for this may be many and varied, and are beyond the scope of the thesis to consider in detail, for Levenson and Lustig where it has the potential to become problematic is when those non-Jews involved are doing so because they are searching for a new identity for themselves. They identify three aspects of importance when considering those searching for their own meaning when engaging with Jewish activity: (1) their attitudes towards their own culture; (2) the factual historical relationships between the two cultures; and (3) their perceptions of, knowledge about, and attitude towards the new culture and the relationships between the two cultures.⁷⁵
- Thirdly, how is the museum to ensure that there is a continued ‘authentic’ Jewish content? For Levenson and Lustig, the result of not doing so is potentially highly damaging: ‘it is above all in places with few Jews that the non-Jewish influence on the Jewish Space may become predominant. Particularly in such a situation, Jewish

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 188.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 198.

cultural ownership of the Jewish Space is critical, lest non-Jewish perspectives and stereotypes become integrated (possibly unknowingly) into Jewish life'.⁷⁶

Whilst these may all be legitimate challenges for the museum and points for careful consideration going forward, Levenson and Lustig also acknowledge the positive potential of the European Jewish space:

The Jewish Space serves diverse functions, for both Jews and non-Jews. It is a new place for outreach to unaffiliated Jews and a setting where Jews unfamiliar with tradition and religion can explore at their own pace what might be or become of their own Jewishness, without having to make a commitment in advance to joining a particular synagogue or a particular movement within Judaism. It provides an arena for Jews to interact and communicate with each other – and also with non-Jews – about Jewish themes and issues. Jewish entertainment is performed in the Jewish Space; Jewish knowledge is imparted and obtained there. It is where the general public's interest in things Jewish is concentrated, and this helps to provide an audience large enough to make events feasible, even where the Jewish population is small.⁷⁷

It is here that we thus also see the significance of the Galicia Jewish Museum within the European Jewish space, as this thesis has shown it operates on all of these layers, for different audiences at different times. Yet in doing so, how unique is it within the broader European Jewish cultural context? Here, a 2002 report from the Institute for Jewish Policy

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 202.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 188.

Research may be helpful, entitled, 'Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today: A Pilot Project', which was a pilot attempt to 'map' contemporary European Jewish culture.⁷⁸

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research (the JPR, also publishers of the Waterman report referenced above and the 1996 Pinto report) was established in 1996, initially to undertake policy research to plan for the future of British Jewry, which now forms the basis for its work to 'work for an inclusive Europe, where difference is cherished, common values prevail and all can flourish'.⁷⁹ Its research aims to be innovative and pertinent to the contemporary European climate, at the same time as being rigorous and of a high scholarly standard.

'Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today: A Pilot Project' was led by Dina Berenstein and Rebecca Schischa, with Ruth Ellen Gruber and Jonathan Webber acting as consultants. The project grew out of an earlier report entitled 'Cultural Politics and European Jewry' and the ensuing discussion at a 1999 Paris seminar, 'Jewish Culture for the Twenty-First Century', which also stimulated the establishment of the European Association for Jewish Culture. The purpose of the project was to take the first steps in establishing a methodology for collecting, collating, classifying and presenting data on the Jewish cultural renaissance in Europe, by selecting an initial four countries on which to concentrate: Poland, Italy, Sweden and Belgium. These were selected as four diverse countries, each with small Jewish populations, but where it was felt that a revival in Jewish culture could be clearly documented.

⁷⁸ Rebecca Schischa and Dina Berenstein, 'Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today: A Pilot Project', research report no. 3, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2002.

⁷⁹ From the Institute for Jewish Policy Research website, www.jpr.org.uk (last accessed 15.08.09).

The fundamental premise of the JPR report is that there is ‘the pulse of a Jewish cultural revival in Europe’ as it ‘sets out to unravel its scope and substance’. In order to do so, it asks ‘what are the facts and figures to support this?’⁸⁰ The approach of the JPR in identifying these Jewish cultural products is more quantitative than the qualitative ethnographical framework to be utilised in this thesis. Instead, the JPR has selected from the eight categories (and sub categories) of cultural products identified by an EU task force in 2000, which aimed to assess the extent of cultural production across the European Union.⁸¹ Considering these in light of the pragmatic concerns of a focus on Jewish culture, the JPR identified of relevance six out of the eight categories as being of relevance, each of which can be defined by the cultural disciplines they encompass:

5.8 Table: The categories and disciplines constituting Jewish cultural productions

Arts Type	Discipline
Performing arts	Music, Theatre, dance, storytelling
Visual arts	Film, photography, fine art, exhibitions
Media	TV, radio, CD-Rom, CD
Publications	Fiction, non-fiction, periodical
Literary events	Book promotion, lecture
Educational events	Lecture, workshop, course, conference
Festivals	Music, book, film, multidisciplinary

In addition to the six EU categories of cultural products selected, the JPR report also establishes a seventh, ‘Festival’ category, which in the EU report features instead as a discipline of several different cultural products. European Jewish cultural activity is, however, often structured around Jewish festivals, and for this reason the JPR decided to add the additional category to their list.

⁸⁰ Schischa and Berenstein, ‘Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today’, p. 2.

⁸¹ The findings of the Task Force are available in an EU report entitled ‘Delineating the cultural and creative sector’, available at www.ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc885_en.pdf (last accessed 30.08.12).

Having identified the initial methodology, the JPR report then questioned ‘how to define the actual *Jewish* element of a cultural event or production’. Reminiscent of some of the questions asked by Waterman and Webber, the JPR report asks ‘is the definition of “Jewish culture” disrupted by a significant non-Jewish presence in its creation and consumption? Does a Jewish cultural event still qualify as such if it has not been created, organised or attended by Jews?’ In response the report suggests:

The definitional thrust of categorising Jewish culture should be thematic. The essence of any cultural product is what it conveys, or what it is *about*. The Jewishness of those who establish, organise, or fund an event, or of the venue at which it is presented, are of secondary importance. The common denominator for all the records in the inventory is the presence of a Jewish theme in the product.⁸²

Having established this broad finding, the report then provides summaries for each of the four case study countries. Considering Poland, the report concludes that, ‘the Jewish community of Poland is small. Nonetheless, Poland was the site of a remarkable level of Jewish cultural activity, proportionately some fifteen times higher per 1,000 Jewish inhabitants than Belgium, Italy and Sweden. This finding entirely confounds the hypothesis that countries with larger Jewish communities will have higher level of Jewish cultural activity’.⁸³ The immediate question that must be asked, therefore, is why? Should we assume that the few Jews of Poland are all producing cultural activity at a massive rate? Whilst this concluding chapter is investigating exactly such questions, it is also worth

⁸² Schischa and Berenstein, ‘Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today’, p. 10.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

considering the JPR's response: that there is 'a growing desire among people – both Polish non-Jews and Jews of Polish origin – to explore Polish-Jewish roots'.⁸⁴

In conclusion, the JPR report surmises that 'Poland, in particular, is rarely recognised for its increasing contribution to the Jewish cultural revival; instead, it is often associated with only the Holocaust and antisemitism. The findings presented here should put to rest such misconceptions. Jewish culture is alive and well – and growing – in Europe, in spite of the relatively small size of most European Jewish communities'.⁸⁵

The JPR paper thus provides an interesting point of reference for this thesis. But before its conclusions are considered in more detail in relation to *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum, there are several important points of departure that should be noted:

- 1) Firstly, my research for this thesis takes place almost a decade later than much of that carried out for the JPR report, which in Polish terms and in light of the rapid development taking place in the county is a significant period.

Whilst the JPR report is still the most comprehensive survey of its kind and is undoubtedly, an important starting point for this thesis, inevitably its findings may have become dated. At this point, therefore, it is worth remembering the significance of the 'ethnographic present', as noted in the methodology to this thesis provided in the Introduction.

- 2) Secondly, the JPR report contains several important omissions, itself listing 'architecture, cemeteries, *permanent museums*, restaurants, cafes, Jewish heritage

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 31.

tourism, and Jewish studies departments at universities' [emphasis added].⁸⁶As regards museums – of course of most interest for this thesis – the JPR report decided to exclude them unless 'permanent exhibits (re-)opened within the project's time frame, as they indicate new areas of cultural activity'⁸⁷.

- 3) And finally, much of the JPR analysis is focused on Warsaw, 'on the JPR's 'assumption (which proved correct) that a large proportion of Jewish culture [in Poland] *does*, in fact, take place there'.⁸⁸ This difference in focus may well be due in part to the lapse in time between the two projects (and again, see the comment on ethnographic present in point 1, above) because as this thesis has shown, clearly by the end of the first decade of the 21st century Kraków is at least *a* centre – if not *the* centre – of Jewish cultural activity in Poland.

But what can be seen from the report is that the European Jewish space is active, dynamic, and growing. Crucially, the JPR report's understanding of Jewish cultural activity is based on its Jewish content, rather than who was organising it or participating in it – from such a perspective the Jewish/non-Jewish dynamics of the Galicia Jewish Museum are of little importance, even irrelevant.

But whilst the earlier section of this thesis established that in many ways the museum is offering something very different than can be found elsewhere in the Kazimierz, in the broader Jewish cultural context of Poland the museum must be understood as just one small part of that 'remarkable level of Jewish cultural activity' in Poland identified in the JPR

⁸⁶ Webber, 'Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in Europe', p. 333.

⁸⁷ Schischa and Berenstein, 'Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today', p. 9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

report. Similarly, the JPR report highlighted the move in Poland away from the sole focus on the Holocaust, towards new heights of Jewish cultural activity. In this way, whilst this section considering the broader European context has not attempted to shed light on how in detail the Galicia Jewish Museum operates as compared to its counterparts, what the JPR report clearly demonstrates is that within Europe (and potentially even Poland, beyond Kazimierz) the Galicia Jewish Museum exists as just one of many cultural organisations operating within the Jewish space – for whom the Jewishness of its creators and recipients is of little importance, but where there is a marked move towards increased cultural activity as opposed to a singular focus on the Holocaust.

4. *Traces of Memory* and the Galicia Jewish Museum: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland?

On asking ‘what is today’s “museum”?’, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett responds:

‘a vault, in the tradition of the royal treasure room, the *Schatzkammer*; a cathedral of culture, where citizens enact civic rituals at shrines to art and civilization; a school dedicated to the creation of an informed citizenry, which serves organised school groups as well as adults embarked on a course of lifelong learning; a laboratory for creating new knowledge; a cultural centre for the keeping and transmission of patrimony; a forum for public debate, where controversial topics can be subjected to informed discussion; a tribunal on the bombing of Hiroshima, Freud’s theories, or Holocaust denial; a theatre, a memory place, a stage for the enactment of other times and places, a space of transport, fantasy and dreams; a party,

where great achievements and historical moments can be celebrated; an advocate for the preservation, conservation, repatriation, sovereignty, tolerance; a place to mourn; an artefact to be displayed in its own right, along with its history, operations, understandings, and practices; an attraction in a tourist economy, complete with cafes, shops, films, performances, and exhibitions.⁸⁹

This thesis has offered a detailed consideration of a single case study museum and its permanent exhibition, which through its explicit self-identification as a contemporary Jewish museum has positioned itself within the category of ‘new museums’. Through a chronological analysis of the Galicia Jewish Museum’s development – primarily through the evolution of the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition and the impact these changes had on the museum, and vice versa – it has shown how one Jewish museum can operate within a multilayered context of internal narrative space, surrounding geographical environment, and broader conceptual space.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s modern ‘museum’ is equally multilayered, and full of potential. Yet how does the Galicia Jewish Museum compare? If it is ‘a vault’, it is one which houses intellectual and aesthetic, rather than physical, riches – as Webber’s research and Schwarz’s photographs offers to varying degrees throughout the first years of the museum’s operation. By phase 2 its breadth of cultural programming could easily identify the institution as a ‘cathedral of culture’ (and indeed a ‘cultural centre for the keeping and transmission of patrimony’, given the international Jewish visitor demographic to the museum), with the

⁸⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 138-139.

educational programming that developed during this same period establishing the museum as 'a school dedicated to the creation of an informed citizenry'.

As a 'laboratory for the creation of new knowledge', then undoubtedly this is both intellectual and visual knowledge, as visitors are offered both Webber and Schwarz's contributions, and in fact – given the external narrative of Schwarz's photographs – I would suggest that the museum is a laboratory for the creation of new *knowledges*, depending on visitors' own contexts and the phase in which they have visited the museum.

In its attempt to challenge stereotypes and offer alternative narratives of Poland's Jewish past, it has become a 'forum for public debate, where controversial topics can be subjected to informed discussion', as well as a 'tribunal', in this case to engage with the complexities of the Polish-Jewish past.

The synergy of the permanent exhibition in the same space as temporary exhibitions, cultural and educational programming also creates, I believe, performative space – where the museum becomes a 'theatre' in which these subjects are both played out and responded to. This synergy also creates, I believe, an example – or 'an artefact' – in its own right of what Poland's Jewish heritage can be today. In its celebration of the key achievements of Poland's Jewish past and present, it becomes what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls 'a party', which exists side-by-side with the museum's role as 'a place to mourn'. Whilst it may not advocate formally for the preservation of Poland's Jewish heritage, its documentation (again, both textual and visual) of this heritage at least indirectly results in the museum taking this role upon itself. And finally, its location and positioning within Kazimierz secures the museum as

‘an attraction in a tourist economy’, with all the challenges that then accompanies such terminology.

Thus in the same way that the Galicia Jewish Museum embodies Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s multilayered definition of today’s museum, I believe this thesis has demonstrated how it also provides a working example of a museum responding (although perhaps not self-consciously so) to the concept of a ‘new museology’, as defined by Vergo in the Introduction to this thesis. With its focus on the *Traces of Memory* permanent exhibition – whether this be communicated to the visitor primarily through a medium of the visual or the textual, depending on the phase of the exhibition – and the comprehensive programming that has evolved around this, by tracing the chronological development of the museum this thesis has shown how it is the purpose, not the method, that matters at the Galicia Jewish Museum.⁹⁰

Thus positioning itself within the field of new museums in defining itself as a contemporary Jewish museum is a convincing one for the Galicia Jewish Museum. Within the specific local context of Kazimierz it also appears to a somewhat distinctive institution – set apart from its neighbours in its ability to offer a contemporary, rather than nostalgic, look at the Jewish past in Poland. Whilst other institutions have become at best an example of ‘hyperreality’ and at worst a ‘Jewish Disneyland’ (although perhaps one built on historical foundations), the Galicia Jewish Museum appears to stand apart, offering a markedly alternative experience of Jewish Kraków than the generic one offered elsewhere in Kazimierz. What it shares, however, with the rest of Kazimierz is the ‘who’: those people who create, manage

⁹⁰ See pp. 43-44.

and run such institutions and who are, I have argued, an embodiment of what Gruber terms 'new actualities'.

Yet we have also seen that internally, the museum has struggled with its self-defined contemporary narrative: whilst architecturally and culturally the Galicia Jewish Museum might stand noticeably apart from its neighbours in setting itself up as a contemporary institution, one is forced to ask difficult questions about the museum, in particular its permanent exhibition and its focus on contemporary photographs, and in many ways as this chapter has shown it has been found lacking. 'Hyperreal' qualities have also crept in behind closed doors, with a blurring of the authentic and the fake that is not altogether obvious for the visitor.

Within the European Jewish context the situation is equally complex – on the one hand, the Galicia Jewish Museum does appear to be doing something very different, and it is certainly distinctive in its attempt to document and exhibit the very specific subject matter on which it is focused: Poland's (or perhaps rather Polish Galicia's) Jewish past. In this way, we could see the museum as an embodiment of what a 'new museum' might be within the defined context of an east European, Jewish framework – at the intersection of the debates raised by Eco, Gruber and Pinto (and indeed her respondents). But at the same time, as this chapter has shown, the museum is part of a much broader movement within Europe that collectively creates a 'Jewish space', and as part of this now established yet continually growing movement it is difficult to define – at least without a more detailed mapping of this European Jewish space, which has been beyond the scope of this thesis – how exactly the Galicia Jewish Museum might be positioned distinctively within this, which would enable it

to also define itself as 'contemporary' (and therefore inherently 'different') within this much broader movement.

The Introduction to this thesis described in detail the methodology selected for the thesis, and emphasised the innovative, creative and interdisciplinary approach that has needed to be adopted in order to undertake such a detailed academic analysis of an institution that sits across – and to an extent beyond – a number of more established fields. Whilst I would suggest that this has been a largely successful approach for analysing the Galicia Jewish Museum (after all, I believe that the conclusions drawn here are fair, accurate and relevant to what I set out to do) it has undoubtedly had its limits. I could ask, for example, whether such an approach could also be applied to a broader study of Polish Jewish or European Jewish museums, or if I was to undertake a comparative study of the Galicia Jewish Museum with other institutions within either of these two contexts (for example, it could be particularly interesting to compare the Galicia Jewish Museum with the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, once it has opened, or the Galicia Jewish Museum as an example of a 'new' Jewish museum with a counterpart in the German context). But as the methodology has needed to draw on disciplines from outside Jewish Studies and Museum Studies – in this case photographic theory and visual anthropology – this could likely not be appropriately applied to a detailed study of a non-photographic Jewish museum, and as such the methodology becomes necessarily limited.

A further inherent limitation of the methodology, I believe, is its focus on the case study: as this thesis noted, there is a lack of theoretical material on the Jewish museum, with the bibliographic literature largely taking a case study approach. Whilst this thesis I believe has

made a substantive contribution to that literature as itself a case study approach of a Jewish museum not previously subject to academic study, it has as a result failed to move beyond this to provide the much-needed more theoretical contribution to the field.

But what this thesis set out to do was to make a unique contribution to knowledge in the fields of Museum Studies, Polish-Jewish relations and Jewish cultural studies – drawing on my own professional experiences and my access to a range of otherwise unused archival documents to enhance this contribution. The thesis has, I believe, risen to this challenge: it has offered a Jewish museum contribution as an example of a ‘new museum’ to the field of Jewish Studies, which as yet has not otherwise sought to incorporate Jewish museums into its consideration of the new museology. In looking at the role of the Galicia Jewish Museum in particular in the Kazimierz context, it has commented on the position of contemporary Polish-Jewish relations from the perspective of a cultural institution, and identified that at the trajectory of Eco’s hyperreality and Gruber’s new actualities we begin to find a useful tool for understanding the complexities of today’s Jewish Kraków. The thesis has also significantly contributed to the new, emerging discipline of Jewish cultural studies, both by offering an overview of the current position of Jewish cultural studies as well as by analysing a specific example of a Jewish museum in Poland in relation to this discipline.

Thus the methodology used for this thesis was fit for purpose – whilst it may struggle to be more broadly applied, or to help the bibliographic literature move beyond a case study approach – and the thesis has made unique contributions to knowledge in the fields in which it set out to. Directions for further study have been identified, in thinking about different comparative approaches as next steps, and the complexities of the museum’s identity as

'contemporary' well established. The thesis has, therefore, set out what it intended to, and in doing so has offered a detailed analysis of what is, I believe, a highly worthwhile example of a 'new museum' within the European Jewish museum context.

Appendix 1:

Traces of Memory Introductory Texts

Introduction

Jewish civilization developed in Poland over a period of more than 800 years until it was brutally destroyed during the Holocaust. The Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed by images of Auschwitz and the atrocities committed there. But if we are to fully understand the Jewish past here we need to place another set of images alongside these: the traces of memory that are to be found in the towns and villages where Jewish life once flourished.

This is not a historical exhibition in the conventional sense. We are not showing old pre-war photographs; on the contrary, what we are showing are contemporary photographs – with the intention of showing what can be seen today about the past. To put this exhibition together required a creative collaboration over a number of years between the British photographer Chris Schwarz and the British scholar Jonathan Webber. Working village by village and town by town, the material that we have assembled offers a completely new way of looking at the Jewish past in Poland that was left in ruins. The idea has been to try to piece together a picture of the relics of Jewish life and culture that can still be seen today, and to describe and interpret these traces in a manner that will be informative, accessible and thought-provoking.

We hope you agree that the photographs are stunning in both sense of the word. Taken at all seasons of the year, they will help you become acquainted with the landscape in which Jews lived, in all its variety, and specifically in its Polish setting. At the same time they are a moving tribute to the Jewish heritage in Poland and the richness of the culture. We also want to show how the violence with which it was destroyed by the Germans is being remembered and represented today. The intention of the captions is to put the images in context, clarify their meaning, and explain the ideas that the photographs express.

Galicia was a province of the Austro-Hungarian empire which came into being when Poland was partitioned between three great powers at the end of the 18th century and disappeared off the map of Europe. After the end of the First World War, Poland reappeared as an independent country, and this time it was Galicia that disappeared off the map as a distinct political entity; its territory was incorporated into the newly independent Polish Republic. After the upheavals of the Second World War, the boundaries were changed once again. The territory of the old Galicia was divided in half: what had once been eastern Galicia was given to Ukraine, and Poland kept only the western half. But the memory of Galicia remains very strong, both among local people and also among the descendents of Jews who were born there. The most important town of western Galicia was right here in Kraków, and this is why we have our exhibition here; and we are showing photographs only of Polish, not Ukrainian Galicia.

We have divided the exhibition into five sections, corresponding to different ways in which the subject can be approached: sadness in confronting the ruins; interest in the original culture; horror at the process of destruction; and recognition of the efforts to preserve the

traces of memory. We end with a section showing some of the people who are involved, in different ways, with recreating the memory of the Galician Jewish past.

Section 1, *Jewish Life in Ruins*

The first section focuses on ruins: it is, after all, the key reality of the Jewish past in Poland. Jewish life was left in ruins after the Holocaust. Poland, as seen through Jewish eyes, is largely a landscape of ruins.

There is a great variety to these ruins: synagogues open to the sky, synagogues with bushes growing out from the roof, synagogues propped up by scaffolding or with only the central pillars still standing. Such images offer expressive silent testimony to the society that was uprooted and destroyed, as do Hebrew-language wall-paintings that are now virtually illegible.

These were flourishing communities, in many localities with a history going back for centuries. These synagogues witnessed weddings and joyful processions; the cemeteries contained carefully carved tombstones. But now there is hardly anyone even to look after these places, which are left to rot. The worshippers are long since gone, taken away and murdered; and the physical remains of their culture lingers on, damaged beyond repair. There was no preparation for leaving all this for posterity. On the contrary, the clock just suddenly stopped. There is a sense of desolation that seems to survive in the very air itself. Now there is nothing but silence, the painful ruins of a tragic past. In village after village,

town after town, there are no Jewish communities here anymore. The banality of the ruins they left behind is painful to look at.

The ruins of cemeteries and tombstones present a similarly eloquent testimony. There are cemeteries with tombstones scattered on the ground or piled up as if by hurricane, cemeteries with only scattered tombstones remaining, cemeteries where nothing remains but the trees that have grown up where tombstones were before, cemeteries where even the trees have been broken. The gravestones that are left behind are like amputated stumps, bleeding wounds; they have been smashed to pieces and abandoned.

These pictures reinforce the stereotype of destruction, but at the same time underline the fact that the stereotype is not just an image, but a reflection of reality: these are real objects in real places that still exist. The destruction affected every town and village where Jews lived, and in most places the destruction was total.

Section 2, Jewish Culture as it Once Was

This second section, focusing on Jewish culture as it once was, stands in vivid contrast to what we have just seen in the first section. This is because from the relics that still exist in the villages and towns of Galicia today it is also possible to see many indications of the strength and splendour of Jewish culture.

Substantial, even monumental synagogues – in village settings as well as in the more major cities – are evidence that Jewish communities were indeed strongly rooted and well settled after more than eight centuries in their Polish environment. The art and architecture of the

Galician synagogues came to be highly influential by mystical ideas, which encouraged a richness of decorative features both inside and out. The synagogue art that flourished here is almost nowhere to be found in the United States, Israel, Britain and other countries where Jews of Polish origins now live, which is another reason why the surviving traces of the Jewish heritage still to be found here in Poland are particularly precious.

No less important are the tombstones. Many have ornate lettering, pictorial carving, and a highly developed literary style. The tombstones still standing in Galicia are evidence of a rich culture and a highly elaborate civilisation. Here one can find the graves of great rabbis, outstanding talmudical scholars, mystics, painters, Zionist leaders, Jewish socialists and communists. The graves of many of the founders of the pietist movement of Hasidism are to be found here today as well, alongside the simple memorials of poor village Jews. The tombstones reveal a whole society: scholars and artists, merchants and traders, and the plain ordinary people, all those who formed the thick fabric of Jewish life in Poland over many centuries. The older tombstone inscriptions are in Hebrew, and only in Hebrew; but as Jewish society integrated more deeply into its local environment one begins to find inscriptions in German and then in Polish, evidence of a changing history.

Section 3, The Holocaust: Sites of Massacre and Destruction

This third section focuses on what happened during the Holocaust. It represents yet another complete shift of the mood and tempo of the exhibition, with the emphasis on what can be learnt in Poland today about the brutality of the destruction. The powerful photographs in

this section aim to help visitors go beyond the conventional symbols and understand more about what happened, how it happened, and where it happened.

The photographs from Auschwitz are testimony to the huge force, scale, and mechanics of the destruction that took place there. Gazing at the winter scenes of bleak wooden barracks stretching in deep snow to a distant horizon, one cannot avoid thinking about what it was like to be there then; the summer pictures, in contrast, convey a sense of the terrible heat that was for many no less a torture. Most of the photographs were taken in Auschwitz-Birkenau, some of them in the remoter parts of this extremely large camp. The locations photographed in the main Auschwitz camp, with its brick-built barracks and museum exhibits, are perhaps better known but are no less forceful even if they are more familiar.

At the same time, the pictorial record presented here illustrates how too much of an emphasis on Auschwitz is historically misleading. We have pictures from about 15 other locations that were sites of mass murder during the Holocaust, although there are many, many more. Chief among the places shown here is the site of the death camp at Bełżec, where some 500,000 Jews were murdered, including entire communities of Jews from Galicia. But in fact mass murders of Jews took place throughout the territory of Galicia – in open countryside, in city centres, in cemeteries, on hilltops, beside rivers. The serenity of many of the images – the forested glades with mass graves marked by rusting railings, the open fields with simple concrete memorials – contrasts starkly with inscriptions that capture the fury of survivors' emotions.

Both Bełżec and Auschwitz are inside the old borders of Galicia, which is why they are included in this exhibition. The work of the museum at Auschwitz, established almost

immediately after the end of the war, is the prime example of the Holocaust is memorialized *in situ*. But Holocaust commemoration has also taken place in many other local places. There are monuments erected immediately after the war by Jews who survived the war and immediately set about commemorating the places where the atrocities happened. There are monuments erected more recently by survivors now living abroad or their descendents, whether by individuals remembering family members or organizations remembering whole communities. There are monuments erected by individual Catholic Poles and by civil authorities, after the war and more recently. Through this range of monuments and different styles of commemorative inscriptions, we see the wide variety of ways in which the memory of the Holocaust is found in Poland, as well as new ways in which it is being transmitted.

Section 4, *How the Past is Being Remembered*

This section of the exhibition moves on from the theme of the memorialization of the Holocaust to consider other processes that have affected the memory of the Jewish civilization in postwar Galicia.

A colossal amount of Jewish heritage has been irretrievably lost, ever since the end of the war, and there is evidence everywhere of organic decay and cultural abandonment. On the other hand, there is evidence of cultural continuity. Synagogues and cemeteries are still in use, the latter sometimes also being utilized by survivors to preserve the memory of family members who died in the Holocaust and have no known grave. There is also much evidence of regeneration and restoration in an effort to recapture the past that was lost and

take pride in it. Synagogues are being restored, a few for Jewish worship though mainly to house museums and libraries. Abandoned cemeteries are being reconsecrated by foreign Jews, and their walls and gates reconstructed; they are being cleaned, also by Polish youth groups nostalgic for the multicultural past of their country; and mausoleums are being constructed to protect the tombs of saintly rabbis that continue to serve as sites of pilgrimage. Museums are displaying whatever they have of Jewish interest; shoulds mount art exhibitions on Jewish themes. This work of reconstruction is slow and difficult. Many of those who devote themselves to it feel that they are reconnecting with a vital part of their past, or perhaps even that they are contributing to a process of healing and reconciliation as a way of coping with the consequences of the great catastrophe.

The purpose of this section is to illustrate the wide variety of different processes that have developed in the postwar period, though how they all coexist in reality raises a number of problems. Sometimes it seems that the past is not being remembered at all, such as when an abandoned synagogue has been turned into a furniture superstore; local residents may still know what the building was, but is it enough? There is no clear model here, nor is it easy to suggest what should be done globally with the vast debris that has been left behind after the genocide. What is to be done with all the smashed tombstones? One creative new solution, found in a number of places in Galicia, has been to build a lamentation wall that literally pieces together these fragments, so that the fragments themselves seem to lament the shattered world they now represent. Such projects may be understood in more than one sense: a Holocaust memorial garden made up of the last surviving tombstones of the local Jewish cemetery may serve both to commemorate the Holocaust and also as a tribute to the prewar Jewish past of the place.

On the other hand, signs of antisemitic feeling are also present and complicate the picture. What are the implications – for Poles, for Jews, and for European society as a whole – of what it is that is remembered about a great culture destroyed in the Holocaust and what is being forgotten?

Section 5, *People Making Memory Today*

In strong contrast to the people-less photos of the rest of the exhibition, this final section consists of a few photographs of those people who are involved, in different ways, with making memory. As a dramatic and upbeat end to the exhibition, it offers hope for the future. To remember the past is to shape the future and give it some sense of direction.

Making memory takes many forms. There is the March of the Living and other ceremonies on important anniversaries that attract large numbers of visitors to the Auschwitz museum; the Kraków Festival of Jewish Culture; and visits by heads of state and other VIPs to the places of memory. New commemorative plaques are being dedicated, there is Jewish studies at the university and a Jewish cultural centre in Kraków, and there are bookshops and publishing houses promoting books of Jewish interest, as well as 'Jewish-style' tourist facilities.

Another aspect, which has not been forgotten, are the activities of ongoing Jewish life. Put in contrast with the great traditions of pre-war Galicia, these activities are very modest, but then it needs to be said that Jewish life in almost every country that endured the German occupation is deeply scarred and traumatised, and in that sense cannot be anything other

than a pale shadow of its former self. But Jewish life does continue, here in southern Poland as elsewhere in central and eastern Europe; and it is right and proper to acknowledge that it has found new sources of inspiration, as well as being in continuity with the past. In that sense we conclude on a note of hope and confidence in the future.

Appendix 2:

Phase 1 *Traces of Memory* captions

(as of 4 April 2004, on display at the opening of Galicia Jewish Museum)

Please note: the numbering system used here is a bespoke system developed for this thesis, given that different referencing was used in the museum during each phase of the exhibition. More information on this bespoke numbering system can be found in the Introduction to the thesis (footnote 91, p. 46).

Introduction

1.0.1	<p>Kraków: site of the former concentration camp of Płaszów. The Płaszów concentration camp was built on the site of what before the war had been one of the main Jewish cemeteries of the city. This is the last remaining tombstone with a legible inscription; all the others were dug up and used to pave the area. The Holocaust reversed the usual meaning of a cemetery, a place where the dead can lie in peace: what the Germans so often did in a cemetery was to bring living people there in order to murder them. But the survival of this tombstone reminds us of what a normal cemetery is like, even amidst the silent horror of the past of this place.</p> <p>This is what this exhibition seeks to do: to show some of the surviving monuments of Jewish Galicia both as normal cultural artefacts and also as relics of a tragic</p>
-------	--

	<p>past. They often have both meanings at the same time</p>
1.0.2	<p>Biecz: main square. 'How lonely sits the city that was once so full of people' (Book of Lamentations). For a survivor of the Holocaust, present-day Poland offers a horrifying contrast with what was there before: the market squares so full of Yiddish-speaking Jews, the synagogues so full of worshippers. The occupier came, deported the young and the old, and murdered them ruthlessly. The handful of survivors slowly departed, unable to rebuild a new life amid the ghosts of their home towns. Today, Jewish culture and civilization is almost completely silent in these places, although there are traces of memory here and there, and small Jewish communities in a few towns.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">The main synagogue of Biecz was on this square, just left of the centre of the photo; it is now used as a public library. There is nothing inside to show that it was once the synagogue of this town</p>
1.0.3	<p>In tribute to the Jews of Galicia, a Jewish museum was established in the 1990s inside the former synagogue of Lesko, a small town in eastern Poland, although unfortunately the museum is no longer there. This is the panel which greeted the visitor on entering the building. It lists the hundreds of towns and villages in Galicia where there was once a Jewish community of more than 100 people. It is humbling to see the length of this list and to contemplate the vast scale of the destruction brought about during the Holocaust. This exhibition does not attempt to show more than 50 of these places, but it will do so from different perspectives – to show life as it was, and as it is now.</p>

1.0.4	<p>Kraków: plac Wolności. The story begins in medieval times. Although the first Jews to settle in Poland arrived at the end of the 11th century, and by the end of the 13th century were living in Kraków, the first important wave of Jewish immigration to Poland was in the 14th century during the reign of King Casimir the Great. The welcoming of the Jews in Poland by King Casimir is the subject of this bas-relief by the Jewish sculptor Henryk Hochman, which in 1907 was fixed to the wall of the old town hall of Kazimierz.</p> <p>During the German occupation, the bas-relief was taken down for safe-keeping and hidden; this image of the Jews being accepted in Poland disappeared from view for many years. But the Kraków city council restored the memory, and put the sculpture back up again in 1996. It was an important symbolic act, restoring in the public space a reference to more than 800 years of Polish Jewish history. Traces of memory such as this is what this exhibition is all about.</p>
-------	---

1.0.5-	And here the story, for the most part, came to an end. Consider the story of Rabbi
1.0. 8 ¹	<p>Shmuel Shmelke Kornitzer, the last Chief Rabbi of Kraków. In the autumn of 1940 Jews were being evicted from Kraków en masse, and Rabbi Kornitzer appealed to the Archbishop and other influential Polish Catholics to intervene with the German governor. The Gestapo's reaction was swift and harsh: Rabbi Kornitzer was arrested and taken to Auschwitz, which had started functioning as a concentration camp only in June that year. Some days later his wife, living at the family home at no. 10, ul. Orzeszkowej in Kazimierz, received a telegram from the camp's commandant that her husband had died. In those early days of the war the ashes would be sent in an urn to the home address; and when Rabbi Kornitzer's ashes arrived they were taken to the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street, where he was buried next to his father. A fruitless effort to help his people had resulted in his death.</p> <p>A copy of the telegram is on display in the permanent exhibition of the Auschwitz museum; the family's street address is clearly seen. Here you can also see the street door of Orzeszkowej 10, and a view of inside the same building. The entrance to one of the apartments clearly shows the trace of the <i>mezuzah</i>, a Jewish ritual object containing biblical texts that is placed on the doorposts of the home: such a trace is a clear indication that a Jewish family once lived there. The fourth picture here shows Rabbi Kornitzer's tombstone; the inscription briefly describes the whole story.</p> <p>Rabbi Kornitzer was from a particularly distinguished family. His father was Chief</p>

¹ Captions for four photographs intended to be displayed together.

	Rabbi of Kraków, as was his great-grandfather. His great-great-grandfather was the outstanding rabbinical leader, the Chatam Sofer of Pressburg (Bratislava). But with the death of Rabbi Shmuel Shmelke Kornitzer in 1940, there was no one now to follow him--the line here had come to an end.
--	---

Section 1, *Jewish Life in Ruins*

1.1.1	Ruined synagogue in the small town of Rymanów, a famous centre of Hasidism before the Holocaust.
1.1.2	Magnificent 19th-century synagogue, complete with fully decorated interior, standing in ruins in the centre of the small town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where about 2,500 Jews lived before the Holocaust.
1.1.3	Ruined tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Lesko.
1.1.4	Ruined tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Lesko.
1.1.5	A neglected house in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków.
1.1.6	A Jewish tombstone used to pave the entrance to a private dwelling.
1.1.7	Abandoned Jewish cemetery near Zakopane in southern Poland.
1.1.8	Abandoned Jewish cemetery in the small town of Czarny Dunajec in western Galicia, where about 350 Jews lived before the Holocaust.
1.1.9	Overgrown Jewish cemetery in Tarnów, one of the major cities of Galicia.
1.1.10	Abandoned Jewish cemetery in Lutowiska, a small remote town in eastern Poland.
1.1.11	A desolate, abandoned synagogue in the town of Cieszanów, near the Ukrainian

	border.
1.1.12	Ruins of the funeral chapel in the Jewish cemetery of Żywiec.
1.1.13	Abandoned synagogue in the centre of Kraków.
1.1.14	A gaping hole where once there used to be a <i>mezuzah</i> , a narrow box containing texts from the Hebrew Bible; the Bible itself instructs Jews to place such texts on the doorposts of their home.
1.1.15	Devastated interior of a sumptuously decorated synagogue in the small town of Rymanów, which before the Holocaust was a famous centre of Hasidism.
1.1.16	Part of a derelict synagogue in the Podgórze district of Kraków.
1.1.17	Derelict prayer-room inside an abandoned synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.
1.1.18	Kraków. The faintest traces of the Jewish past of this city, where 25% of the inhabitants before the Holocaust were Jewish, can occasionally be glimpsed in fading Yiddish inscriptions.

Section 2, Jewish Culture as it Once Was

1.2.1	The Remuh synagogue in Kraków, named after the most important scholar of the Ashkenazic Jewish world; it is still a functioning synagogue.
1.2.2	Wall plaque in the synagogue of Wielki Oczy in eastern Poland, commemorating the generosity of the person who paid to rebuild it after it had been destroyed during the First World War.
1.2.3	Special mausoleum with the tombstone of Reb Shloimele, the first Bobover rebbe.

	The Hasidic dynasty he founded in the small town of Bobowa is now a major movement in the Hasidic world with followers in many countries, principally in the United States.
1.2.4	Ulica Żydowska ('Jewish street') in the heart of the former Jewish neighbourhood in the centre of Tarnów, a city where 20,000 Jews lived before the Holocaust.
1.2.5	Synagogue of Isaac Jakubowicz ('Izaak') in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków. Today a museum devoted to the history of the Jews of Kraków, this magnificent 17th-century synagogue has been substantially restored after being devastated during the Holocaust.
1.2.6	Large and imposing synagogue building in the small village of Wielki Oczy, a small and remote village near the Ukrainian border.
1.2.7	Synagogue in the small town of Bobowa, home of one of the most active Hasidic communities of prewar Poland. The <i>aron hakodesh</i> centrepiece is probably the finest example of this kind of synagogue art still to be seen in Poland.
1.2.8	The faint trace of the sign of a Jewish hatmaker still survives on a street in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków.
1.2.9	Military cemetery to honour Jews who died on active service in Galicia during the First World War.
1.2.10	High up on the hill, this Jewish cemetery above the small town of Bobowa is frequently visited by Jewish pilgrims although there have been no burials here since the Holocaust.
1.2.11	Main entrance to the abandoned synagogue in Wielki Oczy, a small village in

	eastern Poland.
1.2.12	Entrance to the Jewish cemetery in Wadowice, a town in western Galicia.
1.2.13	Simple but well-built synagogue in a small village near the Ukrainian border.
1.2.14	Traditional Galician Jewish tombstone with painted inscription and decorative animal motifs.
1.2.15	Few Hebrew inscriptions still survive in the streets of Poland. In this building in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków, there used to be a small Jewish prayer-house, founded in 1810.
1.2.16	Magnificent early 18th-century synagogue in the small town of Lesko, home to about 2,500 Jews before the Holocaust.
1.2.17	Elaborately carved tombstones are one of the most important expressions of traditional Jewish popular art in Galicia.
1.2.18	Jews lived side by side with Poles in old Galicia, even if they both preferred to keep their distance from each other.
1.2.19	Grave of an outstanding 17th-century Jewish scholar and mystic, buried in the Remuh cemetery in Kraków.
1.2.20	The Scheinbach synagogue in Przemyśl, built in 1901, now a public library.
1.2.21	The grave of Rabbi Joel Sirkes, chief rabbi of Kraków in the 17th century, is still frequently visited by devout pilgrims.
1.2.22	Tempel Synagogue, Kraków. Fully restored to its prewar splendour and still in use, it originally served the city's Progressive Jewish community.
1.2.23	Grave of Maurycy Gottlieb, a distinguished painter specialising in Jewish themes.

1.2.24	Grave of Josef Maschler, head of the large Jewish community in Tarnów; part of his epitaph is in German, the official language of high culture in Austro-Hungarian Galicia.
1.2.25	A rare case of a surviving Hebrew inscription in a public place in Poland. In this building in a quiet side street in downtown Kraków, there used to be a trade school for Jewish orphans, founded in 1847.
1.2.26	Massive 17th-century synagogue building in Rzeszów, today used as an art gallery.
1.2.27	Funeral chapel in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kraków, still in use.
1.2.28	Today a museum, this sumptuously decorated 18th-century synagogue, meticulously restored, is in the small town of Łańcut, home to about 2,000 Jews before the Holocaust.
1.2.29	A Jewish prayer-room (<i>shtibl</i>), one of the last to survive in Galicia.
1.2.30	The last surviving synagogue in Oświęcim, today fully restored by the Auschwitz Jewish Centre Foundation.
1.2.31	Tomb of the Noam Elimelekh of Lezhensk (Lezajsk), the founder of Hasidism in Galicia, and visited by thousands of pilgrims on the anniversary of his death.
1.2.32	Tomb of the Divrei Chaim, Rabbi Chaim Halberstam of Nowy Sącz, whose descendants founded a number of Hasidic dynasties in Galicia that are still active today.
1.2.33	Tomb of the Divrei Chaim, Rabbi Chaim Halberstam of Nowy Sącz, whose descendants founded a number of Hasidic dynasties in Galicia that are still active today.

1.2.34	[No caption – ‘Schindler’s courtyard’ in Kazimierz]
1.2.35	Commemorative stone marking the victims of an antisemitic riot in Kraków in 1637, one of the many pogroms that from time to time marred Jewish life in Galicia.
1.2.36	Street in Kraków named after Józef Sare, a Jew who was vice-president of the city during the interwar period.

Section 3, *Sites of Massacre and Destruction*

1.3.1	Death camps such as Auschwitz or Bełżec were not the only places where Jews were murdered en masse during the Holocaust. Sometimes even very large groups of Jews would be taken by the Germans to nearby forests and shot. In this forest near Tarnów, several thousand Jews were murdered.
1.3.2	This street name in Tarnów marks where the very first prisoners in Auschwitz were deported from, in June 1940. They were a group of 728 people, all of them Poles, though five Jews were amongst them, including Dr Maksymilian Rosenbusz, the director of the Jewish high school in Tarnów.
1.3.3	Wieliczka. During the Holocaust, it often happened that Jews were brought to the local Jewish cemetery to be murdered.
1.3.4	Gorlice. Many of the Jews from this town were murdered locally: about 90 in the Jewish cemetery and about 700 in this forest some 4 kms from the city centre.
1.3.5	Main entry gate at Auschwitz. Today preserved as a museum, the Auschwitz

	concentration camp was built by the German occupation in the Second World War. About 1.5 million men, women, and children were systematically murdered there, mainly Jews from all across occupied Europe, but also ethnic Poles, Gypsies, and others.
1.3.6	Auschwitz-Birkenau. The camp was divided into sub-camps so that it was impossible to go even from one sub-camp to another, let alone to escape from Auschwitz altogether.
1.3.7	Szczawnica. In this small resort town in southern Galicia close to the Slovak border, 39 Jews were led out into the middle of this field in August 1942 and murdered there.
1.3.8	Auschwitz-Birkenau. People from all over Europe were deported to Auschwitz by train; they were forced to endure a horrific journey without even the most basic facilities, and many were dead on arrival.
1.3.9	A tragic display in the Auschwitz museum of a small collection of <i>taleisim</i> , rituals shawls worn by Jewish men during morning prayers: no religious Jewish male travels from home without one.
1.3.10	There were many lesser-known camps where Jews were imprisoned during the Holocaust. This one was at Zasław, near Lesko, where as many as 30,000 Jews from the surrounding towns and villages were brought. Many died there, though most were sent on to camps elsewhere, especially to the death camp at Bełżec.
1.3.11	The national Polish symbol of martyrdom indicates a place in the forest about 10 kms outside Nowy Zmigród where over 1,000 Jews from that town were brought

	to be murdered.
1.3.12	Both Jews and Poles were brought to this forest near Tarnów, where they were shot and buried in mass graves. The large official monument at the back records all the Polish citizens who were victims of Hitlerite terror; the simple monument in the foreground records the brutal murder, in June 1942, of 800 Jewish children.
1.3.13	Bełżec. At this place was a horrific death camp, where the great majority of the Jews of Galicia were murdered during the Holocaust. About 600,000 Jews were gassed to death here and their bodies burnt; there were less than 10 survivors. Apart from small pieces of human bone just below the surface of the ground nothing at all is left of the camp: the SS carefully removed all traces of their crimes and planted trees on the spot. A new memorial is currently being planned here.
1.3.14	Kraków. One of the last remaining fragments in Poland of a wall erected under German orders during the Second World War to imprison Jews inside a ghetto.
1.3.15	Two huge mass graves in the forest at Głogów Małopolski, each of them over 50 metres long, mark the murder of about 5,000 Jews from the Rzeszów district during the Second World War.
1.3.16	Auschwitz-Birkenau. A view of part of the women's camp. On the left is a communal latrine, in the centre a barrack where the prisoners were housed, on the right the kitchens.
1.3.17	Auschwitz-Birkenau. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered by gas in this building. The Germans tried to demolish it completely when they knew they were losing the war, so as to conceal the evidence of their crimes.

1.3.18	Barwinek. A short distance from the border with Slovakia is a memorial to 500 old and sick Jews from Dukla and Rymanów who in August 1942 were brought to this place in the forest and murdered.
1.3.19	Burning the bodies of the victims in Auschwitz-Birkenau. These three photographs were taken under very difficult circumstances by Jewish prisoners and smuggled out of the camp in order to tell the world. They are shown here mounted by the museum on display boards.
1.3.20	This monument in Tarnów lists 30 places, in Poland and abroad, where 45,000 inhabitants of the county (województwo) of Tarnów were killed during the Second World War. This long list, which includes a large number of concentration camps in Germany and occupied Poland, makes it graphically clear just how convoluted was the fate of those who suffered and died from just one single locality.
1.3.21	On 9 August 1942, 364 Jews living in the village of Rzepiennik Strzylewski were taken by German gendarmes to a nearby forest and murdered there.
1.3.22	This tablet records the appalling massacre of the local Jews that took place in the main square of Tarnów in June 1942, carried out by the Germans with the help of units of the Ukrainian police and the auxiliary Polish police.
1.3.23	The Auschwitz camp was evacuated by the SS as Soviet forces approached from the east. The prisoners who had somehow survived until then were forced to march westwards, towards central Germany. It was the middle of January, and many of them died from the cold or from exhaustion. Others were shot because they were unable to walk. This museum display board shows the route taken

	during this Death March.
1.3.24	Mass murder of the Jews also took place in the open countryside, as signposted here by the national Polish memorial symbol near the small town of Pruchnik, where 67 local Jews were murdered during the German occupation.
1.3.25	Jewish resistance: this plaque in the Kraków city centre records a successful operation conducted by the Jewish resistance movement that functioned in the city during the German occupation.
1.3.26	Gas Chamber and Crematorium no. 4 in Auschwitz-Birkenau was completely destroyed by Jewish prisoners during an uprising in October 1944. This heroic event helped bring about the German decision to stop all gassings in Auschwitz a few weeks later.
1.3.27	Auschwitz-Birkenau. This innocent-looking field contains the ashes of the victims of the gas chambers and crematoria. Grass has now grown over what is the largest cemetery the world has ever known.
1.3.28	Auschwitz-Birkenau. The camp was built on marshy land and remained full of ponds such as this; the ashes of the victims of the gas chambers and crematoria were unceremoniously dumped into them.
1.3.29	View of the river San, near the town of Sanok. The river formed part of the border between Germany and the USSR between 1939 and 1941; countless thousands of Jews escaped across this river and thereby survived the Holocaust.
1.3.30	Auschwitz-Birkenau. The bleakness of this evil place is matched by its ruinous state today. The chimneys seen here are all that is left of the primitive heating

	system supplied to the prisoners' barracks.
1.3.31	Auschwitz-Birkenau. The bleakness of this evil place is matched by its ruinous state today. The chimneys seen here are all that is left of the primitive heating system supplied to the prisoners' barracks.
1.3.32	Auschwitz-Birkenau. Most of the people who died in Auschwitz were murdered on arrival; those whom the SS considered capable of work were forced into this vast concentration camp, where they endured appalling hardships before dropping dead from exhaustion or disease. This view shows only a small part of the camp, but it does convey something of the size of the SS operation and the huge numbers of its victims.
1.3.33	Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jewish deportees from Hungary were photographed by the SS on arrival at the camp in 1944; the museum has mounted copies of these photographs for the benefit of visitors. The Jews of Hungary were the largest single group of Auschwitz victims; they were also the last national group to be systematically deported from their home country.
1.3.34	Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jewish deportees from Hungary were photographed by the SS on arrival at the camp in 1944; the museum has mounted copies of these photographs for the benefit of visitors. The Jews of Hungary were the largest single group of Auschwitz victims; they were also the last national group to be systematically deported from their home country.
1.3.35	Kraków. One of the last remaining fragments in Poland of a wall erected under German orders during the Second World War to imprison Jews inside a ghetto.

1.3.36	During the Death March that followed the evacuation of Auschwitz in January 1945, many of the prisoners who were unable to keep going were simply shot on the spot. In this Catholic cemetery of Brzeszcze there is a mass grave for 18 such people who were shot nearby. They were probably Jews, given the absence of a cross above their grave.
1.3.37	This was one of the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Section 4, *How the Past is Being Remembered*

1.4.1	Dębica. This large Jewish cemetery, which extends the full length of the open space beyond the trees, is today virtually without any tombstones at all, except for the random collection which has been piled up here at the front. Nevertheless, through the use of these simple concrete blocks and Stars of David, the attempt has been made to restate the identity of this place as a Jewish cemetery and to mark out its boundary.
1.4.2	The Old Synagogue, Kraków. Since 1958 it has been a Jewish museum, under the auspices of the Historical Museum of Kraków. The display of its collection of Judaica looks particularly effective in such a magnificent building, which is the oldest preserved synagogue in Poland and which before the Second World War was the official centre of Jewish religious life in the city.
1.4.3	Lamentation wall inside the old Jewish cemetery of Kraków, pieced together after the Holocaust out of smashed fragments of old tombstones.

1.4.4	Kałczuga. These tombstones, laid flat on the ground at the Jewish cemetery here, were brought back to the cemetery after they had been discovered in use as paving stones for a road nearby.
1.4.5	Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. The town has in effect erased the memory of its former Jewish citizens by permitting this substantial former synagogue to be used as a furniture warehouse with such intrusive advertising. It is impossible to generalise about what all places have done with the abandoned synagogues in their city centres, but this is hardly a model for a sympathetic approach to memorialising the Jewish heritage.
1.4.6	Small synagogue in the village of Niebylec, now used as the local public library. The restored paintings originally date from the 1930s.
1.4.7	Stary Dzików. This clump of trees is the site of the Jewish cemetery here. It is unmarked; there is no boundary fence, nor are there any tombstones. But the local peasants remember that it is a Jewish cemetery and have left it as it is.
1.4.8	Pilzno. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, two Jews from here went to the trouble of finding the bodies of more than 20 people--men, women, and children--who had been in hiding in nearby villages but had been caught and shot by the Germans. They exhumed the bodies, reburied them in the Jewish cemetery of their small town, and then left the country.
1.4.9	Radomyśl Wielki. A retired schoolteacher from this small town initiated the idea for this memorial garden in the old Jewish cemetery. The local municipality and local tradesmen also supported the project, as did local Jews now living in Israel

	and France. It functions both as a Holocaust memorial, marking the German massacre here of several hundred Jews in July 1942, and also as a tribute to the Jews of the town.
1.4.10	Kraków. What the plaque says is that in this building was the Hoiche Shil, the Tall Synagogue, built in the 16th century and destroyed in 1939 by the German occupation. It is important that the plaque is there, since the building is now privately owned and there is no public access to it.
1.4.11	Small collection of Judaica in a private home in a small town in eastern Poland. The owner of this house was the local Polish Catholic doctor, who had excellent relations with the Jewish community and regularly received gifts from them. There are a number of such informal collections throughout Galicia, including small displays in local schools and public libraries.
1.4.12	Tarnów. This is the original entry gate to what is now a small public park in the very centre of the city where a magnificent 17th-century synagogue once stood. The enclosure thus memorialises the Jewish past in a dignified manner.
1.4.13	Myślenice. Fragments of smashed tombstones found after the Holocaust in this devastated Jewish cemetery were fixed into the perimeter wall. It is a memorial to the past: both to the existence of the Jewish community of this town and also to the Holocaust, when it came to an end.
1.4.14	Lesko. At the initiative of a woman of Polish Jewish origin now living in Paris, scattered bones found at the site of the death camp in Bełżec were brought to the Jewish cemetery here for dignified reburial.

1.4.15	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Even as recently as 1995, exhumations are still taking place of bodies of Jews murdered in distant villages and brought to a Jewish cemetery for dignified reburial.
1.4.16	Zator: sign announcing the entry to the Jewish cemetery. It is a rather minimalist approach to the memorialisation of the Jewish past of this small town in western Galicia, where about 450 Jews lived before the Second World War. The synagogue has disappeared, and so this is the last public trace of the existence of a Jewish community here. Since this photograph was taken, Jews from New York have returned here to erect a proper fence.
1.4.17	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. A Polish Jewish family history: one family member murdered in Auschwitz in 1944; two family members murdered in Rabka in 1947, two years after the war was over; and one family member died (presumably of natural causes) in 1975.
1.4.18	Kraków. This tragic memorial stone in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street lists members of a single family who were murdered in Auschwitz, Bełżec, and elsewhere during the Holocaust. They otherwise have no grave at which their names can be remembered.
1.4.19	Ulanów. Antisemitic graffiti are to be found in many different contexts in Poland today, even as here, on the gates to a 300-year-old Jewish cemetery in a small provincial town. The cemetery had been renovated at the expense and initiative of the local municipality.
1.4.20	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Monument to a group of young

	people belonging to a Zionist movement known as Gordonia who were murdered near Nowy Targ after the end of the war.
1.4.21	Kraków. Commemorative plaque in Berek Joselewicz Street in the Kazimierz district, at the former home of the great Yiddish poet and songwriter Mordechaj Gebirtig. It was dedicated by the Festival of Jewish Culture in 1992, on the 50th anniversary of his death. Among his many compositions, Gebirtig is best known for a poem he wrote in October 1940, 'Farewell, my Kraków, Farewell.' It was written at the time that the Jews were being expelled from Kraków, before the decision was made, in March 1941, to set up a ghetto instead and force them to stay.
1.4.22	The original entry gate of the factory at no. 4 Lipowa Street in Kraków used by Oskar Schindler to employ about 1,200 Jews from the nearby ghetto, thereby enabling them to survive the Holocaust. This gate appears frequently in Steven Spielberg's film, <i>Schindler's List</i> .
1.4.23	This fine 18th-century synagogue in Strzyłów is now used as a public library. There is a plaque on the wall clearly indicating the history of the building.
1.4.24	Jarosław. This unusual map on the side of a house publicly memorialises the atrocities and the slave-labour camps of the local region.
1.4.25	Tuchów. 'To save a single life is to save a whole world' (Talmud). There is no physical trace in this small town to record that once there was a Jewish community here: no synagogue, no preserved Jewish cemetery; it is all gone. Except, that is, for an inscription by a Holocaust survivor, signed as 'Basia', on a

	tombstone in the Catholic cemetery: Basia here records her thanks to Maria Dzik for having rescued her and saved her life. Basia survived, and so also did at least this one physical trace that Jews ever once lived in Tuchów.
1.4.26	Kraków. Courtyard of a 17th-century synagogue being used as a café during the annual Festival of Jewish Culture.

Section 5, *People Making Memory Today*

1.5.1	Kraków. Entrance to the building of the Judaica Foundation, in the Kazimierz district of the city. This Centre for Jewish Culture has a wide variety of activities, including films, exhibitions, lectures and seminars, book launches, concerts.
1.5.2	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Preserving the memory: a participant in a workshop of the annual Festival of Jewish Culture takes a rubbing of an old Jewish tombstone.
1.5.3	Kraków: Szeroka Street in Kazimierz. Open-air concert during the Festival of Jewish Culture. The Festival has taken place each year since 1991, attracting thousands of visitors for a celebration of Jewish culture that lasts a full week; it traditionally ends with a large open-air concert in what was once the main street of Jewish Kazimierz.
1.5.4	Auschwitz. Procession by a group of young Israelis out through the main entry gate to the former concentration camp. They are part of a peaceful demonstration known as the March of the Living, a recently established annual

	<p>event which brings young Jewish people to Auschwitz from many different countries; they then go on to visit Israel.</p>
1.5.5	<p>Auschwitz. Visitor to the special exhibit about children inside the Auschwitz museum. Huge numbers of Jewish children under the age of 17, perhaps as many as 185,000, were murdered in Auschwitz. The mass murder of children is a highly significant feature of a genocide.</p>
1.5.6	<p>Kraków. Visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany to the former Jewish district of Kazimierz. Such visits by heads of state and other VIPs emphasise the importance of public acts of memory.</p>
1.5.7	<p>Kraków: inside the aula of Collegium Nowum of the Jagiellonian University during a conference in 1995 on Holocaust studies, chaired by the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. The university was the first in Poland to open a department of Jewish studies, in the 1980s, and since then has sponsored numerous scholarly publications in this field.</p>
1.5.8	<p>Kraków: inside a Jewish-style café-restaurant in Kazimierz. Musicians from the American group Brave Old World, who are regular performers at the annual Festival of Jewish Culture, together with the director of the Festival and other Festival personalities.</p>
1.5.9	<p>Kraków: in the courtyard of Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University. Open air-air concert by a group of choristers performing at the festival of Jewish Culture.</p>
1.5.10	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau. Israeli visitor in mourning.</p>

1.5.11	<p>Kraków. The unveiling of a Jewish memorial plaque is always an important occasion in today's Poland and is often accompanied by formal speeches and a reception hosted by the local municipality in the presence of VIPs. This plaque, dedicated in 1998, is in memory of Sinaj Zygmunt Aleksandrowicz (1877-1946), a member of the Kraków city council who was president of an association which sponsored a trade school for Jewish orphans in the Kazimierz district.</p>
1.5.12	<p>Kraków. Graffiti on the wall of the main Jewish cemetery.</p>

Appendix 3:

Phase 2 *Traces of Memory* captions

(as 5.2.2007, following the reduction of the exhibition to

allow for the creation of a temporary exhibition space)

Please note: the numbering system used here is a bespoke system developed for this thesis, given that different referencing was used in the museum during each phase of the exhibition. More information on this bespoke numbering system can be found in the Introduction to the thesis (footnote 91, p. 46).

Introduction

2.0.1	Kraków: site of the former concentration camp in Plaszów. The Plaszów concentration camp was built on the site of what before the war had been one of the main Jewish cemeteries of the city. This is the last remaining tombstone with a legible inscription; all the others were dug up and used to pave the area. The Holocaust reversed the usual meaning of cemetery, a place where dead can lie in peace: what the Germans so often did in a cemetery was to bring living people there in order to murder them. But the survival of this tombstone reminds us what a normal cemetery is like, even amidst the silent horror of the past of this place. This is what this exhibition seeks to do: to show some of the surviving
-------	--

	<p>monuments of Jewish Galicia both as normal cultural artefacts and also as relicts of a tragic past. They often have both meanings at the same time.</p>
2.0.2	<p>Kraków: plac Wolnica</p> <p>The story begins in medieval times. Although the first Jews to settle in Poland arrived at the end of the 11th century, and by the end of the 13th century were living in Kraków, the first important wave of Jewish immigration to Poland was in 14th century during the reign of King Casimir the Great. The welcoming of Jews in Poland by King Casimir the Great is the subject of this bas-relief by Jewish sculptor Henryk Hochman, which in 1907 was fixed to the wall of the old town hall of Kazimierz. During the German occupation, the bas-relief was taken down for safe-keeping and hidden; this image of Jews being accepted in Poland disappeared from view for many years. But the Kraków city council restored the memory, and put the sculpture back up again in 1996. It was an important symbolic act, restoring in public space a reference to more than 800 years of Polish Jewish history. Traces of memory such as this is what this exhibition is all about.</p>
2.0.3	<p>In tribute to Jews of Galicia, a Jewish museum was established in 1990s inside the former synagogue of Lesko, a small town in eastern Poland, although unfortunately the museum is no longer there. This is the panel which greeted the visitor on entering the building. It lists the hundreds of towns and villages in Galicia where there was once a Jewish community of more than 100 people. It is humbling to see the length of this list and to contemplate the vast scale of destruction brought about during Holocaust. This exhibition does not attempt to</p>

	show more than 50 of these places, but it will do so from different perspectives to show life as it was, and as it is now.
--	--

Section 1, *Jewish Life in Ruins*

2.1.1	Devastated interior of sumptuously decorated synagogue in the small town of Rymanów, which before the Holocaust was a famous centre of Hasidism.
2.1.2	Abandoned Jewish cemetery in the small town of Czarny Dunajec in western Galicia, where about 350 Jews lived before the Holocaust.
2.1.3	Tarnów. A gaping hole where once there used to be a mezuzah, a narrow box containing texts from the Hebrew Bible; the Bible itself instructs Jews to place such texts on the doorposts of their home.
2.1.4	A desolate, abandoned synagogue in the town of Cieszanów, near the Ukrainian border.
2.1.5	<i>No caption – exterior of Dąbrowa Tarnowska synagogue</i>
2.1.6	Ruined synagogue in the small town of Rymanów, a famous centre of Hasidism before the Holocaust.
2.1.7	<i>No caption – interior of Dąbrowa Tarnowska synagogue (Lion)</i>
2.1.8	Devastated interior of a sumptuously decorated synagogue in the small town of Rymanów which before the Holocaust was a famous centre of Hasidism.
2.1.9	Part of a derelict synagogue in the Podgórze district of Kraków.
2.1.10	Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The Hebrew inscription over the door of this derelict synagogue says: 'And happily I go in to the house of the Lord'. But now the

	entrance is barred and it is dangerous to enter because masonry and bricks can fall from the collapsing roof.
2.1.11	Abandoned synagogue in the centre of Kraków.
2.1.12	A Jewish tombstone used to pave the entrance to a private dwelling.
2.1.13	A neglected house in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków.

Section 2, *Jewish Culture as it Once Was*

2.2.1	Tempel Synagogue. Kraków. Fully restored to its prewar splendour and still in use it originally served the city's Progressive Jewish community
2.2.2	[No caption – unidentified tombstones]
2.2.3	[No caption – unidentified tombstones]
2.2.4	Today a museum, this sumptuously decorated 18th-century synagogue, meticulously restored, is in the small town of Łańcut, home to about 2,000 Jewish before the Holocaust.
2.2.5	Funeral chapel in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kraków, still in use.
2.2.6	Ulica Żydowska ('Jewish Street') in the heart of the former Jewish neighbourhood in the centre of Tarnów, a city where 20,000 Jews lived before the Holocaust.
2.2.7	Wall plaque in the synagogue of Wielkie Oczy in eastern Poland, commemorating the generosity of the person who paid to rebuild it after it had been destroyed during the First World War.
2.2.8	Main entrance to the abandoned synagogue in Wielkie Oczy, a small village in eastern Poland.

2.2.9	A rare case of a surviving Hebrew inscription in a public place in Poland. In this building in a quiet side street in downtown Kraków, there used to be a trade school for Jewish orphans, founded in 1847.
2.2.10	Grave of Maryrcy Gottlieb, a distinguished painter specialising in Jewish themes.
2.2.11	High up on the hill, this Jewish cemetery above the small town of Bobowa is frequently visited by Jewish pilgrims although there have been no burials here since the Holocaust.
2.2.12	Entrance to the Jewish cemetery in Wadowice, a town in western Galicia.
2.2.13	Military cemetery to honour Jews who died on active service in Galicia during the First World War.
2.2.14	Courtyard in Kraków, between Meiselsa and Józefa Street. This courtyard was used in the film <i>Schindler's List</i> for the scene of the clearing of the ghetto because it was 'more photogenic' than the real site of the ghetto established by the Germans in Podgórze, across the river. The photographer Dr. Roman Vishniac, who documented much of pre-war Jewish Galicia in the 1930s, including this courtyard was, partly the inspiration for my photographic <i>Traces of Memory</i> project. He photographed on the eve of the destruction. My pictures show what is left behind.
2.2.15	Large and imposing synagogue building in the small village of Wielkie Oczy, a small and remote village near the Ukrainian border.
2.2.16	Tomb of the Noam Elimelekh of Lezhensk (Leżajsk), the founder of Hasidism in Galicia, and visited by thousands of pilgrims on the anniversary of his death.

2.2.17	Few Hebrew inscriptions still survive in the streets of Poland. In this building in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków, there used to be a small Jewish prayer-house, founded in 1810.
2.2.18	Commemorative stone marking the victims of an antisemitic riot in Kraków in 1637, one of the many pogroms that from time to time marred Jewish life in Galicia.
2.2.19	Magnificent early 18th-century synagogue in the small town of Lesko, home to about 2,500 Jews before the Holocaust.
2.2.20	The grave of Rabbi Joel Sirkes, chief rabbi in Kraków in the 17th century is still frequently visited by devout pilgrims
2.2.21	The Scheinbach synagogue in Przemyśl, built in 1901, now a public library.
2.2.22	Grave of an outstanding 17th-century Jewish scholar and mystic, buried in the Remuh cemetery in Kraków.
2.2.23	The Remuh synagogue in Kraków, named after the most important scholar of the Ashkenazic Jewish world; it is still a functioning synagogue.
2.2.24	Jews lived side by side with Poles in old Galicia, even if they both preferred to keep their distance from each other.
2.2.25	Elaborately carved tombstones are one of the most important expressions of traditional Jewish popular art in Galicia.
2.2.26	Synagogue of Isaac Jakubowicz ('Izaak') in Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków. Today a museum devoted to the history of the Jews of Kraków, this magnificent 17th-century synagogue has been substantially restored after being

	devastated during the Holocaust.
2.2.27	Simple but well-built synagogue in a small village near the Ukrainian border.
2.2.28	Synagogue in the small of Bobowa, home of the most active Hasidic communities of prewar Poland. The aron hakodesh centrepiece is probably the finest example of this kind of synagogue art still to be seen in Poland.
2.2.29	A Jewish prayer-room (shtibl), one of the last to survive in Galicia.

Section 3, *Sites of Massacre and Destruction*

2.3.1	On August 1942, 364 Jews living in the village of Rzepiennik Strzyżewski were taken by German gendarmes to a nearby forest and murdered there.
2.3.2	There were many lesser – known camps where Jews were imprisoned during the Holocaust. This one was at Zaslav, near Lesko, where as many as 30.000 Jews from the surrounding towns and villages were brought. Many died there, though most were sent on to camps elsewhere, especially to the death camp Belżec.
2.3.3	Szczawnica. In this small resort town in southern Galicia close to the Slovak border, 39 Jews were led out into the middle of this field in August 1942 and murdered there.
2.3.4	Glogów Malopolski. One of two huge man graves in the forest at Glogów Malopolski, each of them over 50 metres long, mark the murder of about 5000 Jews from the Rzeszów district during the Second World War.
2.3.5	Gorlice. Many of tombs of saintly rabbis of Galicia have been carefully

	<p>maintained by their followers abroad, in the belief that they possess special sanctity. They are thus good places to pray and so are frequently visited by pious Hasidic pilgrims, who bring with them slips of paper on which are written the names of people for whom blessing are sought. During one such visit, a group of these pilgrims painted on the wall of tomb the name of a saintly rabbi outside Poland (the Klauseuburger rebbe) who was desperately ill at the time and for whom prayers were being recited.</p>
2.3.6	<p>Death camps such as Auschwitz or Bełżec were not the only places where the Jews were murdered during the Holocaust. Sometimes even very large groups of Jews would be taken by the Germans to nearby forests and shot. In this forest near Tarnów, several thousand Jews were murdered.</p>
2.3.7	<p>Barwinek. A short distance from the border with Slovakia is a memorial to 500 old and sick Jews from Dukla and Rymanów who in August 1942 were brought to this place in the forest and murdered.</p>
2.3.8	<p>Mass murder of the Jews also took place in the open countryside, as signposted here by the national Polish memorial symbol near the small town of Pruchnik, where 67 local Jews were murdered during the German occupation.</p>
2.3.9	<p>Kraków, Szpitalna Street. The plaque says that on Christmas Eve 1942 the Jewish Fighting Organisation together with the People's Guard attacked the Cyganeria cafe which was used by German soldiers. In fact the contemporary historians give the date on December 22nd 1942 and say that the Jewish fighters carried out the action on their own.</p>

2.3.10	Kraków. One of the last remaining fragments in Poland of a wall erected under German orders during the Second World War to imprison Jews inside a ghetto.
2.3.11	This street name in Tarnów marks where the very first prisoners in Auschwitz by train; were deported from, in June 1940. They were a group of 728 people, all of them Poles, though five Jews were amongst them, including Dr Maksymilian Rosenbusz, the director of the Jewish high school in Tarnów.
2.3.12	Auschwitz – Birkenau. People from all over Europe were deported to Auschwitz by train; they were forced to endure a horrific journey without even the most basic facilities, and many were dead on arrival.
2.3.13	Auschwitz – Birkenau. The camp was divided into sub-camps so that it was impossible to go even from one sub-camp to another, let alone to escape from Auschwitz altogether.
2.3.14	View of the river San near the town of Sanok. The river formed part of the border between Germany and the USSR between 1939 and 1941; countless thousands of Jews escaped across this river and thereby survived the Holocaust.
2.3.15	Bełżec. At this place was a horrific death camp, where the great majority of the Jews of Galicia were murdered during the Holocaust. About 600,000 Jews were gassed to death here and their bodies burnt; there were less than 10 survivors. Apart from small pieces of human bone just below the surface of the ground, nothing at all is left of the camp: the SS carefully removed all traces of their crimes and planted trees on the spot. A new memorial is currently being planned here.

2.3.16	Auschwitz – Birkenau. People from all over Europe were deported to Auschwitz by train; they were forced to endure a horrific journey without even the most basic facilities, and many were dead on arrival.
2.3.17	The Auschwitz camp was evacuated by the SS as Soviet forces approached from the east. The prisoners who had somehow survived until then were forced to march westwards, towards central Germany. It was the middle of January and many of them died from the cold or from exhaustion. Others were shot because they were unable to walk. This museum display board shows the route taken during this Death March.
2.3.18	Main entry gate at Auschwitz. Today preserved as a museum, the Auschwitz concentration camp was built by the German occupation in the Second World War. About 1,5 million men, women and children were systematically murdered there, mainly Jews from all across occupied Europe, but also ethnic Poles, Gypsies and others.
2.3.19	Auschwitz – Birkenau. These were the ‘living quarters’ for the prisoners in the labour camp; by adding in three-tier bunks, hundreds of people were crammed into barracks such as these, originally designed as military stables for 52 horses.
2.3.20	Auschwitz – Birkenau. The bleakness of this evil place is matched by its ruinous state today. The chimneys seen here are all that is left of the primitive heating system supplied to the prisoners' barrack.
2.3.21	During the Death March that followed the evacuation of Auschwitz in January 1945, many of the prisoners who were unable to keep going were simply shot on

	the spot. In this Catholic cemetery of Brzeszcze there is a mass grave for 18 such people who were shot nearby. They were probably Jews, given the absence of a cross above their grave.
2.3.22	<i>No caption – plaque In Tarnów to first transport of prisoners to Auschwitz</i>
2.3.23	Auschwitz – Birkenau. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered by gas in this building. The Germans tried to demolish it completely when they knew they were losing the war, so as to conceal the evidence of their crimes.
2.3.24	Auschwitz – Birkenau. The camp was built on marshy land and remained full of ponds as this; the ashes of the victims of the gas chambers and crematoria were unceremoniously dumped into them.
2.3.25	This was one of the gas chambers of Auschwitz.
2.3.26	A tragic display in the Auschwitz museum of a small collection of tallisim, ritual shawls worn by Jewish men during the morning prayers: no religious Jewish male travels from home without one.
2.3.27	Gas Chamber and Crematorium no. 4 in Auschwitz – Birkenau was completely destroyed by Jewish prisoners during uprising in October 1944. This heroic event helped bring about the German decision to stop all gassing in Auschwitz a few weeks later.

Section 4, *How the Past is Being Remembered*

2.4.1	The original entry gate of the factory at no. 4 Lipowa Street In Kraków used by Oskar Schindler to employ about 1,200 Jews from the nearby ghetto, thereby
-------	--

	enabling them to survive the Holocaust. This gate appears frequently in Steven Spielberg's film, Schindler's List.
2.4.2	Stary Dzików. This clump of trees is the site of the Jewish cemetery here. it is unmarked; there is no boundary fence, nor are there any tombstones. But the local peasants remember that it is a Jewish cemetery and home left it as it is.
2.4.3	Wieliczka. During the Holocaust, it often happened that Jews were brought to the local Jewish cemetery to be murdered.
2.4.4	Radomyśl Wielki. A retired schoolteacher from this small town initiated the idea for this memorial garden in the old Jewish cemetery. The local municipality and local tradesmen also supported the project, as did local Jews now living in Israel and France. It functions both as a Holocaust memorial, marking the German massacre here of several hundred Jews in July 1942, and also as a tribute to the Jews of the town.
2.4.5	<i>No caption – interior of Ohel.</i>
2.4.6	Pilzno. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, two Jews from here went to the trouble of finding the bodies of more than 20 people- men, women, and children - who had been in hiding in nearby village but had been caught and shot by the Germans. They exhumed the bodies, reburied them in the Jewish cemetery of their small town, before leaving the country.
2.4.7	Tuchów. 'To save a single life is to save a whole world' (Talmud). There is no physical trace in this small town to record that once there was a Jewish community here: no synagogue, no preserved Jewish cemetery; it is all gone.

	<p>Except, that is, for an inscription by a Holocaust survivor, signed as 'Basia', on a tombstone in the Catholic cemetery: Basia here records her thanks to Maria Dzik for having rescued her and save her life. Basia survived, and so also did at least this one physical trace that Jews ever lived in Tuchów.</p>
2.4.8	<p>Kraków. Courtyard of a 17th- century synagogue being used as a cafe' during the annual Festival of Jewish culture.</p>
2.4.9	<p>This monument in Tarnów lists 30 places, in Poland and abroad, where 45,000 inhabitants of the country (województwo) of Tarnów were killed during the Second World War. This long list, which includes a large number of concentration camps in Germany and occupied Poland, makes it graphically clear just how convoluted was the fate of those who suffered and died from just one single locality.</p>
2.4.10	<p>Lamentation wall inside the old Jewish cemetery of Kraków, pieced together after the Holocaust out of smashed fragments of old tombstones.</p>
2.4.11	<p>Small synagogue in the village of Niebylec, now used as the local public library. The restored paintings originally date from the 1930s.</p>
2.4.12	<p>Dębica. This large Jewish cemetery, which extends that full length of the open space beyond the trees, is today virtually without any tombstones at all, except for the random collection which has been piled up here at the front.</p> <p>Nevertheless, through the use of these simple concrete blocks and Stars of David, the attempt has been made to restate the identity of this place a Jewish cemetery and to mark out its boundary.</p>

2.4.12	<p>Kraków. Commemorative plaque in Berek Joselewicz Street in the Kazimierz district, at the former home of the great Yiddish poet and songwriter Mordechaj Gebirtig. It was dedicated by the Festival of Jewish culture in 1992, on the 50th anniversary of his death. Among his many compositions, Gebirtig is best known for a poem he wrote in October 1940, 'Farewell, my Kraków, Farewell'. It was written at the time that the Jews were being expelled from Kraków, before the decision was made, in March 1941, to set up a ghetto instead and force them to stay.</p>
2.4.13	<p>Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. The town has in effect erased the memory of its former Jewish citizens by permitting this substantial former synagogue to be used as a furniture ware house with such intrusive advertising. It is impossible to generalise about what for a sympathetic approach to memorialising the Jewish heritage.</p>
2.4.14	<p>Lesko. At the initiative of a women of Polish Jewish origin now living in Paris, scattered bones found at the site of the death camp in Bełżec were brought to the Jewish cemetery here for dignified reburial.</p>
2.4.15	<p>The Old Synagogue, Kraków. Since 1958 it has been a Jewish museum, under the auspices of the Historical Museum of Kraków. The display of its collection of Judaica looks particularly effective in such a magnificent building, which is the oldest preserved synagogue in Poland and which before the Second World War was the official centre of Jewish religious life in the city</p>
2.4.16	<p>Jarosław. This unusual map on the side of a house publicly memorialises the atrocities and the slave-labour camps of the local region</p>

2.4.17	<p>Small collection of Judaica in a private home in a small town in eastern Poland.</p> <p>The owner of his house was the local Polish Catholic doctor, who had excellent relations with the Jewish community and regularly received gifts from them.</p> <p>There are a number of such informal collections throughout Galicia, including small displays in local schools and public libraries.</p>
2.4.18	<i>No caption – sign on photograph reads, ‘Cmentarz Żydowski - uszanuj spokój tego miejsca’.</i>
2.4.19	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Even as recently as 1995, exhumations are still taking place of bodies Jews murdered in distant villages and brought to a Jewish cemetery for dignified reburial
2.4.20	Tarnów. This is the original entry gate to what is now a small public park in the very centre of the city where a magnificent 17th-century synagogue once stood. The enclosure thus memorialises the Jewish past in a dignified manner.
2.4.21	Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Monument to a group of young people belonging to a Zionist movement known as Gordonia who were murdered near Nowy Targ after the end of the war
2.4.22	[No caption – photograph of new Bełżec memorial]

Section 5, *People Making Memory Today*

2.5.1	Auschwitz - Birkenau. Israeli visitor in mourning.
2.5.2	Auschwitz. Procession by a group of young Israelis out through the main entry gate to the former concentration camp. They are part of a peaceful

	demonstration known as the March of the Living, a recently established annual event which brings young Jewish to Auschwitz from many different countries; then they go to visit Israel.
2.5.3	Kraków. Visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany to the former Jewish district Kazimierz. Such visit by heads of state and other VIPs emphasise the importance of public acts of memory.
2.5.4	Kraków. It is Holocaust Memorial Day and members of the small Jewish community of Kraków come to pray at the site of the former concentration camp of Plaszów.
2.5.5	Auschwitz. Visitor to the special exhibit about children inside the Auschwitz museum. Huge numbers of Jewish children under the age of 17, perhaps as many as 185,000 were murdered in Auschwitz. The mass murder of children is a highly significant feature of a genocide.
2.5.6	Kraków: in the courtyard of Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University. Open air concert by a group of choristers performing at the Festival of Jewish Culture.
2.5.7	Kraków. The unveiling of a Jewish memorial plaque is always an important occasion in today's Poland and is often accompanied by formal speeches and a reception hosted by the local municipality in the presence of VIPs. This plaque, dedicated in 1998, is in memory of Sinaj Zygmunt Aleksandrowicz (1877 - 1946), a member of the Kraków city council who was president of an association which sponsored a trade school for Jewish orphans in the Kazimierz district.
2.5.8	Kraków: inside the aula of Collegium Novum of the Jagiellonian University during

	<p>a conference in 1995 on Holocaust Studies, chaired by the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. The university was the first in Poland to open a department of Jewish studies, in the 1980s, and since then has sponsored numerous scholarly publications in this field.</p>
2.5.9	<p>Kraków: Szeroka Street in Kazimierz. Open air concert during the Festival of Jewish Culture. The Festival has taken place each year since 1991, attracting thousands of visitors for a celebration of Jewish culture that lasts a full week; it traditionally ends with a large open-air concert in what was once the main street of Jewish Kazimierz.</p>
2.5.10	<p>Kraków: Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street. Preserving the memory: a participant in a workshop of the annual Festival of Jewish Culture takes a rubbing of an old Jewish tombstone</p>
2.5.11	<p>Kraków. Graffiti on the wall of main Jewish cemetery.</p>
2.5.12	<p>Auschwitz - Birkenau. January 27th 2005. Former prisoners at the ceremony commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz. After years of relative silence, the world's leaders are now seen paying their respects to those murdered in the Holocaust.</p>

Appendix 4:

Phase 3 Traces of Memory captions

(on display as 16 August 2009, following

Jonathan Webber's rewriting of all captions)

Please note: the numbering system used here is a bespoke system developed for this thesis, given that different referencing was used in the museum during each phase of the exhibition. More information on this bespoke numbering system can be found in the Introduction to the thesis (footnote 91, p. 46).

Introduction

3.0.1	<p>A lone Jewish tombstone highlights the complexity of the surviving traces of memory</p> <p>For many Jews, this photo of the last tombstone in a former Jewish cemetery (Wola Duchacka in Kraków), where the Germans created a concentration camp (Płaszów), is perhaps a good visual representation of how they perceive Jewish Poland today – a featureless Holocaust graveyard, empty except for the occasional chance relic. But does this one surviving tombstone represent the last trace of a normal, pre-Holocaust Jewish world, or is it a symbol of the tragic events that engulfed it? There is no simple answer: it seems to mean both things at once.</p>
-------	---

3.0.2	<p>The long history of Jewish life in Poland</p> <p>This bas-relief was made in 1907 by the Jewish sculptor Henryk Hochman for the old town hall of Kazimierz, the main Jewish district of pre-war Kraków. It records how the Jews were formally welcomed to Poland in medieval times: they were encouraged to settle and given protection under the law as well as the right to self-government and freedom of religion. So Jews have lived in Poland for more than 800 years. By the sixteenth century Poland had become a major centre of Jewish life and rabbinic scholarship, a civilization that continued to diversify and develop with enormous vitality until the Holocaust.</p>
3.0.3	<p>The density of Jewish life in pre-war Galicia</p> <p>In the 1990s, a Jewish museum was established inside the former synagogue of Lesko, a small town in eastern Poland. This panel in memory of the destroyed Jewish communities of Galicia was in the entrance hall. It lists the hundreds of towns and villages in Galicia where there was once a Jewish community of more than 100 people. It is humbling to see the length of this list and to contemplate the vast scale of destruction brought about during the Holocaust. The museum itself was a private initiative and no longer exists either.</p>

Section 1, *Jewish Life in Ruins*

3.1.1	<p>A devastated Jewish cemetery</p> <p>Poland as seen through Jewish eyes is largely a landscape of ruins, one vast graveyard. The abandoned Jewish cemetery of the village of Czarny Dunajec—</p>
-------	---

	<p>where in 1921 there were about 350 Jews out of a total population of 2,400 – fits this image well. Until the war this small Jewish community was steadily growing in size, with a flourishing religious and cultural life; but during the Holocaust its history came to an abrupt end in tragedy, catastrophe, and ruin. All that the Jewish cemetery contains is just a handful of tombstones, all but one of them completely broken—only their severed stumps remain.</p>
3.1.2	<p>Not a mezuzah—just the trace of where a mezuzah once was</p> <p>Jews have the religious duty to fix a small parchment scroll of biblical texts known as a <i>mezuzah</i> on the doorframes of their homes. The trace of where a <i>mezuzah</i> once was can be clearly seen here, indicating that this was once a Jewish house. Such <i>mezuzah</i> traces can still be seen today at the entry to private homes in many towns in Galicia and occasionally even in small, remote villages. They are a poignant, public statement physically marking the absence of the Jews from their original homes, although even these traces disappear as doorframes are renovated.</p>
3.1.3	<p>The stature and visibility of the Jews in Polish Galicia—all now in ruins</p> <p>Ruins of the synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska: the front elevation. This imposing nineteenth-century structure, located on the main street of this small town and not more than a hundred yards from its main square, illustrates something of the stature, visibility, and proud identity of the Jews in Polish Galicia. The synagogue would have been a splendid sight in its heyday. That it is now in ruins is likewise a powerful public statement of the devastation inflicted on the Jews during the</p>

	Holocaust.
3.1.4	<p>Bricked-up synagogue: the presence of a world that is no longer present</p> <p>Ruins of the synagogue in Cieszanów. Now totally derelict, its windows largely bricked up, this late nineteenth-century building is situated one street away from the main square of this large village near the Ukrainian border. About 900 Jews – 40 per cent of the local population—lived here in 1921, largely in poverty because of the considerable damage inflicted on the region during the First World War. Today an atmosphere of ruin and desolation, bordering on squalor, surrounds this monument to the Jewish past here—the presence of a world that is no longer present.</p>
3.1.5	<p>Melancholy ruins of an abandoned synagogue</p> <p>For sixty years after the end of the war, this melancholy ruin of the synagogue in Rymanów was all that remained of a particularly fine, sumptuously decorated synagogue built at the end of the eighteenth century. The small town of Rymanów is famous among hasidic Jews to this day because of the saintly R. Menahem Mendel, one of the earliest hasidic masters in Galicia, who lived here from about 1795 until his death in 1815. Shame that his synagogue was still in ruins finally spurred a descendant to undertake restoration work here, beginning in 2005.</p>
3.1.6	<p>A funeral chapel in ruins</p> <p>In the Jewish cemetery of Żywiec. In this building the body of the deceased would be washed and prepared for burial, and the funeral liturgy recited. Żywiec was the</p>

	<p>only town in Galicia, and also in independent Poland before the war, which consistently refused to allow Jews to live there; instead the local Jews (numbering about 900 in 1938) lived in the neighbouring village of Zabłocie. Their community was considered to be one of the best organized in western Galicia, complete with Zionist associations, a sports club, and a cultural centre. All that disappeared in the Holocaust. This overgrown funeral chapel is now their final testament here.</p>
3.1.7	<p>The devastated sanctuary ironically still carries the prayer for renewal and return</p> <p>This synagogue of Rymanów was once an architectural gem, complete with wall paintings and arched niches containing Hebrew liturgical inscriptions and ethical teachings. The centrepiece of the building was the <i>bimah</i>, from where the Torah was read to the congregation. A vaulted tabernacle construction surrounded by four columns, it was a structure typical of Polish synagogues over several centuries. The devastated condition of this roofless building is witness to the destruction of a great civilization and thus deeply expressive of the Holocaust. Ironically, a prayer for renewal and return is still here on the walls.</p>
3.1.8	<p>The lion of Judah, derelict and headless</p> <p>At the entrance to the abandoned, ruined synagogue in the small town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska is this painting of a lion. Many synagogues in Galicia had a picture of a lion, representing the talmudic ideal that Jews should be as strong as lions in devoting themselves to the service of God. Here, in some extraordinarily expressive way, the head of the lion has gone, and the brickwork is showing</p>

	<p>through. The lion is dead. This derelict, crumbling painting can be taken as a symbol of the Holocaust, a silent testimony to the world that was destroyed.</p>
3.1.9	<p>The sad fate of abandoned synagogues</p> <p>Interior of the derelict synagogue in Węgierska Street, in the Podgórze district of Kraków. No trace whatever has remained inside the building to indicate that it was once a purpose-built synagogue; the only texts adorning the walls are graffiti.</p> <p>Today it has been turned into an art gallery. The fate of abandoned synagogues in Galicia has been a sad one: many were turned into warehouses or used for other quite inappropriate purposes, such as cinemas, fire stations, shops, and restaurants—although some were converted into use as libraries, city archives, and schools. Very few have memorial plaques indicating that they were built as synagogues.</p>
3.1.10	<p>An abandoned synagogue in central Kraków</p> <p>Tucked away in a courtyard in Grodzka Street, two hundred yards from the magnificent main square of Kraków, is this abandoned <i>beit midrash</i> (small private synagogue). It was established in 1913 by Mordechai Tigner, a wealthy furrier, for the benefit of Jews such as himself then living or working in the city centre. (Most of the Jews of Kraków lived in Kazimierz, a district about a mile away.) After the war the building was used for a while as a musical theatre, but now lies empty and deserted; it is not accessible to the public.</p>

3.1.11	<p>A faded synagogue inscription—a muffled voice from the past struggling to be heard</p> <p>This inscription, over the main entrance to the derelict synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, is a quotation from Psalm 122: ‘I was happy when they said to me, “Let us go to the house of the Lord.”’ This verse was often placed over the entrance to synagogues in Poland to encourage a sense of spiritual exultation. But today there is no opportunity for such exultation: the entrance is barricaded because of the danger of masonry and bricks falling from the collapsing roof. In such a context, the survival of this inscription is especially poignant.</p>
3.1.12	<p>A Jewish tombstone used as paving material</p> <p>On German orders during the war, tombstones were often removed from Jewish cemeteries for reuse as building materials. Local Poles would also help themselves to the stones, especially after the war, long after the Jews had been taken away. In the remote village of Wielkie Oczy, a local farmer showed the photographer a tombstone his father-in-law had taken from the Jewish cemetery to use as paving in front of the entry to his house. The farmer was uncomfortable about what had been done and wanted to return the stone to the cemetery. It is broken in two but otherwise almost intact, with a perfectly preserved Hebrew inscription.</p>
3.1.13	<p>Dilapidated housing where Jews used to live</p> <p>Still to be seen in Kraków is the visible evidence of the basic historical fact of the Holocaust—that the overwhelming majority of the Jews who lived there were deported to their deaths and never returned. In the decades after the Holocaust</p>

	<p>the houses where Jews had lived became decayed and decrepit. Here, in the district of Kazimierz (the main former centre of Jewish life in the city), some of those houses have now been restored, but the 'PGM' sign, as seen on this photo, indicates that the building is under administration, as its owner is unknown or untraceable.</p>
3.1.14	<p>Original tombstones lying in a heap</p> <p>The ruins of Jewish cemeteries offer profoundly expressive proof of the uprooting and destruction of the Jewish world in Poland. Here in Dębica the cemetery is totally devastated, and most of it is now an open space, but at one edge there is this jumbled heap of stones, piled up as if by a violent hurricane. It is used today as recreation space by local children from the neighbouring apartment buildings. At least the stones are in the cemetery where they belong; to restore them to the precise original graves where they once stood is not possible since that information is no longer available.</p>
3.1.15	<p>Cemeteries that have become totally overgrown through years of neglect</p> <p>A pitiful scene in the Jewish cemetery in Tarnów, one of the largest Jewish cemeteries in Polish Galicia. The cemetery is still largely intact, with a great number of legible inscriptions, although many of the memorial slabs on the tombstones have long since vanished. The creeping vegetation, here as in so many Jewish cemeteries in Poland, tells the story of abandonment, desolation, and ruin. Sometimes entire cemeteries are covered in brambles and dense thickets of trees and shrubs. Considerable efforts have been made to clean up the cemetery in</p>

	Tarnów, but it is a never-ending battle.
--	--

Section 2, *Jewish Culture as it Once Was*

3.2.1	<p>Painted symbols on a tombstone</p> <p>In the Jewish cemetery in Lesko. The use of colour on Jewish tombstones is known from ancient times and indeed was a well-established custom in Galicia – to enhance the lettering and also to highlight the ornamental symbolic motifs carved on the stone, especially mythical animals like those seen in prophetic visions. In recent years many tombstones have had their colours restored at the initiative of local enthusiasts, of local conservation departments, or of Jews visiting from abroad. The winged gryphons at the top of the stone are a symbol of sanctity, sometimes found in Galicia also in synagogue murals.</p>
3.2.3	<p>Jews in pre-war Polish universities</p> <p>Tombstones in the Miodowa Street cemetery in Kazimierz reveal how diversified Jewish society in Kraków had become by the end of the nineteenth century. There was a new class of intelligentsia – doctors, pharmacists, journalists, politicians, artists, and lawyers – all university educated; by the late 1890s as many as 20 per cent of the students at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków were Jewish. There were also a number of Jewish university professors, in a range of fields including medicine, papyrology, Greek and Roman law, philology, and biology. This is the tombstone of Maksymilian Rose, a university professor of medicine, and his wife</p>

	Stella, a psychiatrist.
3.2.4	<p>The Tempel (Progressive) Synagogue, Kraków</p> <p>Restored to its pre-war splendour and still in occasional use, this synagogue, founded in the 1860s, originally served the city's Progressive Jewish community. Consisting largely of university-educated professionals and wealthy people with assimilationist leanings, it was an important institution for those wanting to become better integrated into wider society. The Tempel's distinguished pre-war preacher, Rabbi Ozjasz Thon, was a member of the Polish parliament. His sermons were given not in Yiddish (the everyday language of traditional Polish Jews) but in Polish. However, disturbed by the rise of local antisemitism, many members questioned the ideal of assimilation and slowly turned to an interest in Zionism instead.</p>
3.2.5	<p>A beautifully decorated, meticulously restored eighteenth-century synagogue</p> <p>This astonishing restoration, undertaken by the local museum in the town of Łańcut, gives a good idea of the dense ornamental style of the synagogue art, with its strong use of colour, that was typical throughout Galicia before the Holocaust. The Torah was read to the congregation from the central <i>bimah</i>; its architectural dominance emphasizes the honour and elevated status accorded to the Torah. The <i>bimah</i> is profusely decorated with representations of biblical scenes, and all the way round the walls of the synagogue are arched niches filled with the texts of prayers, as well as paintings of animals and floral ornamentation.</p>

3.2.6	<p>Respect for the dead</p> <p>Monumental funeral chapel in the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kazimierz (Kraków), still in use. Based on the biblical idea that all human beings are created in the image of God, Jewish tradition insists that the dead be treated with holiness and respect and that a cemetery is an eternal resting-place which must always be maintained. The liturgy recited in the funeral chapel, especially the Kaddish prayer (in large letters on the right-hand wall), express praise of God and submission to his justice, following the statement of Job: 'The Lord has given, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.'</p>
3.2.7	<p>The Jewish Street in old Tarnów</p> <p>Street scene in the old centre of Tarnów, at the corner of ul. Żydowska (Jewish Street). Tarnów is one of the most important cities in Polish Galicia, and its Jewish history goes back to the sixteenth century. In 1939 Tarnów had a population of 56,000, of whom 25,000 (about 45 per cent) were Jewish, constituting the largest Jewish community in western Galicia after Kraków (where about 60,000 Jews lived in 1939). Most of Tarnów's Jews were poor, living in crowded back-alley apartments and wooden houses; but there were also very wealthy Jews, who constituted the intellectual, professional, and cultural elite of the city.</p>
3.2.8	<p>In memory of a major donor to a village synagogue</p> <p>The village synagogue of Wielkie Oczy, near the Ukrainian border, burnt down during the First World War. It was rebuilt thanks to the generosity of Eliyahu</p>

	<p>Gottfried, a Jew from the village who had emigrated to New York before the war and made his fortune there, but maintained his links with Wielkie Oczy. This plaque was erected in 1927 in the rebuilt synagogue as a ‘permanent memorial’ of thanks to Mr Gottfried and his wife Rachel. Fifteen years later all the Jews of Wielkie Oczy were deported by the Germans; the synagogue is empty, but the plaque is still there.</p>
3.2.9	<p>The significance of the circular window</p> <p>Entrance to the synagogue in the village of Wielkie Oczy. The circular window high above the entry door is a common architectural feature of synagogues in Galicia. Part of the purpose of a synagogue is to facilitate the worshippers’ search for God. But according to Jewish mystical traditions, it is a two-way process: God is also in search of people. So a special hole, high in the wall, symbolically permits God to peer through, as if to catch sight of his worshippers yearning for him. The circular window, then, is not intended for people to look out; it is for God to look in.</p>
3.2.10	<p>Hebrew inscription on former trade school for Jewish orphans</p> <p>Very few pre-war Hebrew or Yiddish public inscriptions have survived. This inscription in Bonerowska Street, a quiet Kraków side street some distance from the main Jewish district of Kazimierz, marks the building as an <i>internat</i> (boarding facility) of a trade school for Jewish orphans. The sponsoring organization, Beit Megadlei Yetomim, was founded in 1847 to provide orphans with shelter, clothing, food, and a practical education. It was one of three hundred registered Jewish organizations</p>

	<p>and philanthropic institutions in pre-war Kraków, evidence of the remarkable vitality of the Jewish community and indeed of the political freedom that Jews enjoyed in pre-war Poland.</p>
3.2.11	<p>Restored tombstone of important Jewish painter</p> <p>The Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kazimierz (Kraków), established in 1800 and still known locally as the ‘new’ cemetery, offers a panorama of the social history of the Jews of the city in the generations before the Holocaust, including clear signs of their cultural assimilation. Traditionally, tombstone inscriptions were only in Hebrew, but in this cemetery there are many epitaphs in German (the language of culture in Austro-Hungarian Galicia); by the 1930s many are in Polish. This is the tombstone of Maurycy Gottlieb, a painter who died in 1879 at the young age of 23 after a short but prolific and distinguished career.</p>
3.2.12	<p>Hilltop Jewish cemetery in Bobowa continues to attract hasidic pilgrims</p> <p>The existence of Jewish cemeteries in small villages and market towns testifies that Jews once lived in such places. Often, the cemetery is all that is left in the landscape as evidence of a local Jewish past, and some cemeteries are still in reasonable condition. This cemetery, perched high on the hill above the village of Bobowa, contains the <i>ohel</i> (mausoleum) of Rabbi Shlomo Halberstam (d. 1905), founder of the hasidic community known as ‘Bobov’ (the name of the village in Yiddish), and so attracts many visitors. The community, based now in New York, is still led by his descendants.</p>

3.2.13	<p>Global dimensions of Polish–Jewish relations</p> <p>This funeral chapel, at the entrance to the Jewish cemetery in the small town of Wadowice, is one of the last surviving Jewish funeral chapels in Polish Galicia. The town is famous the world over as the birthplace of Pope John Paul II, who died in 2005. His enormous, indeed revolutionary contribution to reconciliation between the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish people has often been attributed not only to his theological convictions but also to his close personal experience of Jews – and friendships with them – in his home town as a young man. In 1921, about twenty per cent of the population of Wadowice was Jewish.</p>
3.2.14	<p>Jewish military cemetery in Bochnia</p> <p>During the First World War, there were fierce battles in Galicia between Austro-Hungarian and Russian forces. Across the region there were about fifteen Jewish military cemeteries, constructed by the Austrian War Graves Commission, where small numbers of Jewish soldiers from both armies lie buried – usually in a special section of the local Jewish cemetery, as here in Bochnia. The Hebrew inscription refers to them as ‘Jewish soldiers’, while the Polish inscription calls them ‘Polish soldiers of the Mosaic faith’. Jewish identity in such military contexts was not straightforward. Some of these cemeteries were devastated during the Holocaust and so have not survived.</p>
3.2.15	<p>A traditional urban Jewish courtyard</p> <p>A courtyard in the former Jewish quarter of Kazimierz (Kraków). Courtyards are a</p>

	<p>characteristic feature of urban architecture in Galicia, many with balustraded balconies giving access to the apartments on each floor. They create a strong sense of shared community living, and Jewish memoirs often refer, with some nostalgia, to social, romantic, and political activities that took place in these courtyard enclaves. This particular courtyard is one of the most famous single images of a picturesque urban courtyard: it has figured in drawings, paintings, and photographs many times in the last hundred years, including Steven Spielberg’s film <i>Schindler’s List</i>.</p>
3.2.16	<p>A fine village synagogue</p> <p>This imposing synagogue building, worthy perhaps of a Jewish community of a medium-size town, is in fact in the small, remote village of Wielkie Oczy, near the Ukrainian border. About 500 Jews lived here in 1921, about one-third of the local population. Even such small places, almost entirely forgotten in the Jewish collective memory, had substantial synagogues like this, still to be seen to this day. Small communities like that of Wielkie Oczy would usually have had their own rabbi, their own cemetery, and by the 1930s also a full range of modern Jewish cultural activities, including local branches of Zionist organizations and their affiliated youth movements.</p>
3.2.17	<p>Reconnecting with spirituality: the <i>ohel</i> (mausoleum) of the founder of hasidism in Galicia</p> <p>Few places in Polish Galicia can give as clear a sense today of pre-war Jewish religious life as this restored <i>ohel</i> of Rabbi Elimelekh of Lezhensk (1717–87), the saintly figure who founded the religious revivalist movement of hasidism in Galicia.</p>

	<p>By day and night throughout the year, and especially on the anniversary of his death, this mausoleum, in the Jewish cemetery of the town of Leżajsk, is thronged with Orthodox Jewish pilgrims from around the world desiring to reconnect with the spirituality of old Galicia by visiting the graves of its religious masters.</p>
3.2.18	<p>Rare pre-war Hebrew inscription marking former place of Jewish prayer and study</p> <p>The inscription says that in this building (today a private house) there was a small private synagogue called ‘the religious association which fixes times for sacred study’. Traditional Judaism is not content with a casual interest in religious study but calls for time to be set aside on a regular basis for this purpose. This inscription is a treasure, marking the values of pre-war Jewish Kraków. Traditional religious Jewish life in Galicia centred more on such places than on the formal, purpose-built synagogues; there were more than eighty of them in Kraków alone before the war.</p>
3.2.19	<p>A history of antisemitic violence</p> <p>Over the centuries, everyday life in Poland was regularly punctuated by periods of mob violence against the Jews. The classical anti-Judaism of the Polish Catholic Church, combined with modern political and economic antisemitism, remain as dominant motifs of the present-day Jewish memory of the country. This tombstone, in the old Jewish cemetery of Kraków, is a grim reminder. In May 1637, during an anti-Jewish street riot in Kraków, Poles seized forty Jews and threatened to throw them into the river. Some of the Jews saved themselves by promising to convert to Christianity, but several were drowned. This plain slab marks where these Jews lie buried.</p>

3.2.20	<p>How awesome is this place. It is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.'</p> <p>This powerful statement is carved in stone in Hebrew underneath the Ten Commandments on the outside of the fine eighteenth-century synagogue in Lesko. It is from the book of Genesis, quoting the patriarch Jacob speaking of his dream of a ladder connecting heaven and earth. In the Jewish mystical tradition, the gate of heaven is the point through which divine blessings pass to earth, and a synagogue, as a 'house of God', is a storehouse for these blessings.</p>
3.2.21	<p>Grave of distinguished rabbinical scholar visited by pilgrims</p> <p>In the old cemetery next to the Rema Synagogue in Kazimierz (Kraków). There is an aura of antique authenticity about this tombstone, with its long, monolingual Hebrew inscription, a small collection of pebbles on the top (a traditional Jewish custom symbolizing respect for the grave site), and candles and slips of paper with petitionary requests left at the foot of the stone (a custom practised by pilgrims to the graves of saintly rabbis). It marks the grave of the great seventeenth-century rabbi and talmudic scholar Joel Sirkes, best known for his most important book, <i>Bayit Chadash</i> (often abbreviated to <i>Bach</i>).</p>
3.2.22	<p>A synagogue in a prosperous provincial city</p> <p>This substantial building, built in 1901, was one of the four main synagogues in the city of Przemyśl; it is now a public library. Przemyśl today is a remote Polish city ten miles from the Ukrainian border, but during the nineteenth century it was in the centre of Galicia and had a thriving Jewish community; in 1921 there were 18,000</p>

	<p>Jews there, 38 per cent of the population. Jewish magnates controlled the city's wholesale trade in many products and were pioneers in local industry. But there was much poverty also, and many Przemyśl Jews emigrated in the 1880s and 1890s, mainly to the USA.</p>
3.2.23	<p>Grave of outstanding Kraków mystic</p> <p>Among the graves of the many distinguished rabbinical scholars buried in the old cemetery next to the Rema Synagogue in Kazimierz (Kraków) is that of the seventeenth-century mystic Rabbi Natan Nata Spira, known as the Megaleh Amukot (revealer of the depths). Tombstone inscriptions in Galicia commonly include elevated language in praise of the deceased, but Rabbi Spira's inscription is especially noteworthy: on his tombstone it says that the prophet Elijah spoke to him face to face. On the tombstone of the Rema, it says that 'from [the Hebrew lawgiver] Moses to Moses [Rabbi Moses Isserles, the Rema], there was none like Moses'.</p>
3.2.24	<p>A famous sixteenth-century synagogue, the oldest in Poland still in regular use</p> <p>The Rema Synagogue, Kazimierz (Kraków). It is named after Rabbi Moses Isserles (known by the Hebrew acronym 'Rema' or, in the local Polish Jewish pronunciation, 'Remu'), who was the most outstanding rabbinical scholar of his time. His codification of the details of Jewish law are still considered the decisive definition of the entire corpus of Orthodox Jewish law and culture. It was largely because of him that Kraków became an exceptionally important centre of Jewish learning, and</p>

	<p>in the centuries after him there were a considerable number of distinguished rabbinical scholars who came to live here.</p>
3.2.25	<p>A trace of Polish–Jewish coexistence</p> <p>Jews and Poles, with their different religious and cultural traditions, historically formed separate communities. Jews spoke Yiddish at home, Poles Polish; neither side encouraged intermarriage, and there was little proselytizing. But they lived alongside each other, and quite often their cemeteries were physically next door to each other, as in this case in the town of Lubaczów. Jewish and Polish children formed friendships at primary school or in the playground, and the adults had everyday contacts in the street or in commercial contexts. This coexistence left behind many traces: Jewish clothing, food, and music were distinctive, but they were also influenced by local Polish styles.</p>
3.2.26	<p>The art of the traditional Jewish tombstone of Galicia</p> <p>These elaborately carved tombstones are in the Jewish cemetery of the town of Lubaczów. They are all from the early twentieth century and contain highly literary, poetic texts, in elegant Hebrew lettering, in praise of the moral virtues of the deceased, as well as images of animals, birds, flowers, fruit, ritual objects, objects from everyday life, and other decorative motifs. The art of the Jewish tombstone, with its use of text and symbolic imagery to convey religious values, is an important part of the Jewish cultural heritage of Galicia; it is no longer found in the Jewish</p>

	world.
3.2.27	<p>A grand urban synagogue</p> <p>The splendour of this seventeenth-century synagogue in Kazimierz (Kraków), named as the Izaaka after its founder Isaac Jakubowicz, is echoed in the biblical inscription painted high up on the eastern wall: ‘Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness; fear before him, all the earth.’ Visual beauty in a synagogue is understood to glorify God and provide an aesthetic source for a sense of awe that all people should have before God as their creator. A large synagogue like this was for the wealthy and well established; to have a seat here was a sign of social status.</p>
3.2.28	<p>A simple village synagogue</p> <p>This is a good example of a simple but well-built early twentieth-century synagogue still surviving in a small village, in this case the village of Medyka, near the Ukrainian border. It gives a fair impression of how even a very small rural Jewish community, which numbered just 132 people in 1921, was capable of putting up a synagogue of this kind. Jewish life in Galicia was thus not confined to the large cities. On the contrary, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were Jewish communities in literally hundreds of small places; even quite small hamlets were often home to a few Jewish families.</p>
3.2.29	<p>One of the last surviving private prayer-rooms in Polish Galicia</p> <p>This prayer-room, in the town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, was in regular use until its</p>

	<p>owner (Shmuel Roth) died in 1995, after which it was turned into a small memorial museum. On the eastern wall, facing Jerusalem, is a simple cupboard containing Torah scrolls, and above it are paintings showing the Ten Commandments flanked by lions – a very traditional type of prayer-room (<i>shtibl</i> in Yiddish) which would have been found in numerous places in pre-war Galicia. Today there is still a functioning <i>shtibl</i> in the city of Nowy Sącz and a reconstructed, more substantial <i>shtibl</i> in Oświęcim (Auschwitz), for use by visitors.</p>
3.2.30	<p>Guild hall of the Jewish artisans of Jarosław</p> <p>The imposing Yad Charutsim building in Jarosław, built in 1912 as a Jewish cultural centre, had its own theatre and was also the headquarters of the city’s Jewish artisans’ association. Before the war at least one-third of Polish Jews were artisans, specialising as capmakers, tailors, hatters, bronze-workers, goldsmiths, shoemakers, wig-makers, and butchers and bakers, although historically the Jews of Galicia also included clockmakers and watchmakers, tinsmiths, glaziers, and furriers. Yad Charutsim in Jarosław offered interest-free loans to its members – an important facility during the economic crisis of the 1930s. Today the building is used as a ballet school.</p>

Section 3, Sites of Massacre and Destruction

3.3.1	<p>Grave marking the mass murder of Jews in the open countryside</p> <p>The Holocaust was unprecedented, and it came like a thunderbolt. The thriving</p>
-------	--

	<p>Jewish life that existed before the war was savagely crushed and systematically destroyed. It was as if the clock suddenly stopped. The hunting down and mass murder of the Jews took place everywhere – in city centres, in cemeteries, in forests, on hilltops, beside rivers. It took place in charming open countryside, as evidenced by this small stone monument near the village of Pruchnik, in memory of sixty-seven local Jews who were shot to death by the Germans at this spot.</p>
3.3.2	<p>No village was too remote, no Jewish community too small, to be immune from the destruction</p> <p>The village of Szczawnica on the banks of the Dunajec river at the border with Slovakia, was (and still is) a spa. Of the small number of Jews who lived there, 9 were killed in April 1942 by the Germans, claiming that they were communists; a further 39 were led out into this field in July 1942 and shot to death. The remaining Jews were deported a month later to the nearby town of Nowy Targ, and from there most of them were sent to the death camp in Bełżec.</p>
3.3.3	<p>The fateful months of the summer of 1942</p> <p>Gorlice has three monuments commemorating mass shootings of Jews on 14 August 1942 – two in the Jewish cemetery, and this one in a nearby forest. During the summer of 1942 the Germans systematically destroyed Jewish life in Galicia; countless atrocities took place at that time. At the core of the Holocaust was a short, intense wave of mass murder in Poland: in mid-March 1942 some 75 or 80 per cent of all victims of the Holocaust were still alive, while 20 or 25 per cent had</p>

	<p>perished. A mere eleven months later, in mid-February 1943, the percentages were exactly the reverse.</p>
<p>3.3.4</p>	<p>Brutal conditions in the labour camps</p> <p>The Germans established a network of labour camps across Galicia, to which Jews were sent, usually for brief periods, before being deported once again to a large ghetto or to a death camp. The signpost marks the camp in Zasl�w, to which the entire Jewish population of the nearby town of Lesko was deported in September 1942; thousands of Jews from other towns and villages were brought there too. The conditions were horrific, and many Jews were murdered there. The signpost bears the symbol conventionally used in Poland to mark the location of atrocities committed during the war, particularly in the countryside.</p>
<p>3.3.5</p>	<p>Grave marking the mass murder of the entire Jewish community of one village</p> <p>On 10 August 1942 the three hundred Jews of the village of Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, about twenty-five miles south of Tarn�w, were taken by the Germans to a nearby forest and shot. This operation brought an entire Jewish community to an end in a single day. Their mass grave has become their monument. It bears the simple inscription ‘364’– in memory of the 364 men, women, and children who were murdered there. Among them were a few dozen Jews who had previously been deported to the village from nearby hamlets.</p>

3.3.6	<p>So many people were murdered here that an exact figure is not known</p> <p>The city of Rzeszów had an important Jewish community of 11,000 before the war. In 1941 the Germans established a ghetto, surrounded it with barbed wire, and brought in a further 11,000 Jews from nearby towns and villages. The Jews were then murdered in stages. Most were sent to the Bełżec death camp, but as many as 5,000 were killed locally, in a forest near Głogów Małopolski. The mass graves are large: the one here measures about 75 yards long and 4 yards wide, and the plaque gives an estimated figure of about 2,000 victims.</p>
3.3.7	<p>Mass grave in a forest for eight hundred Jewish children</p> <p>Near the village of Zbylitowska Góra, a few miles outside the city of Tarnów. About seven thousand Jews, mainly the very old and the very young, were brought here by the Germans and shot to death in this forest. Among them were eight hundred children from the Jewish orphanage in Tarnów, whose mass grave this is. We shall never know anything about those children: they inhabit the forgotten places of the Holocaust. Their memory is lost forever. The mass murder of children is the defining mark of a genocide.</p>
3.3.8	<p>Mass grave in a forest for five hundred elderly Jews</p> <p>In this forest near Barwinek, a few miles from the border with Slovakia, more than five hundred elderly Jews from the small towns of Dukla and Rymanów were murdered by the Germans on 13 August 1942. The mass shooting of Jews in forest locations near the towns and villages where they lived was a common occurrence in</p>

	<p>western Galicia during the Holocaust, although deportation to the main death camps – Belżec in the east of the region and Auschwitz in the west – claimed many more victims.</p>
3.3.9	<p>A plaque commemorating Jewish armed resistance against the Germans</p> <p>The extreme terror, horror, and physical brutality experienced by Jews while they were imprisoned in the ghettos limited their will to resist and the opportunities to do so. There was nevertheless a small Jewish fighting organization in Kraków that undertook sabotage and assassination operations. This plaque records an attack on a café popular with the SS in the centre of the city, well outside the ghetto walls, which took place on Christmas Eve 1942: seven German officers were killed. But the struggle was hopeless: the group’s members were caught by the Germans and executed.</p>
3.3.10	<p>An original piece of the wall built by the Germans to create a ghetto in Kraków</p> <p>The Jews of Kraków were forced out of their homes by the Germans, separated from their normal surroundings, and condemned to imprisonment behind walls specially built to confine them within a small area of the city in the district of Podgórze. There they stayed, in exceptionally cramped and unhygienic conditions – until the moment came when, with savagery and violence, they were taken away to their deaths. This is one of the last remaining fragments in Poland of a ghetto wall; for many, the arched tops of the wall resemble Jewish tombstones.</p>
3.3.11	<p>Tarnów’s Prisoners of Auschwitz Square</p>

	<p>The first transport of prisoners to Auschwitz, in June 1940, came from Tarnów. The night before they were deported, they were locked up in the city's large <i>mikveh</i> (Jewish ritual bath-house); after the war the small square adjacent to the building was renamed and a memorial erected there. The transport consisted of 728 Polish political prisoners – intellectuals, schoolteachers, priests, and those suspected of anti-Nazi activities, such as membership in the resistance – and among them were a handful of Jews, including the director of the Tarnów Jewish high school. Almost 200 of these Poles survived Auschwitz, though none of the Jews.</p>
3.3.12	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: the end of the railway line</p> <p>Jews were deported to Auschwitz usually by train. It was often a long and arduous journey, with little food and inadequate sanitary facilities. Generally whole families were deported together, but when they arrived they were immediately divided: the men were separated from the women and children, and then those sent to the labour camp (usually a small number) were separated from those deemed incapable of work, who were then sent straight to the gas chambers. This was the great majority, including all the old people and young children. Here, then, was a place of particular anguish and despair, where families were ripped apart.</p>
3.3.13	<p>Prisoner compound in Auschwitz-Birkenau</p> <p>From the beginning, Auschwitz was a prison for slave labourers; the industrialised mass murder of the Jews in gas chambers came later, beginning in 1942. No one survived the gas chambers; but able-bodied prisoners deemed fit to work could</p>

	<p>perhaps survive, and about 15 per cent of those who entered Auschwitz did indeed survive. The work they were ordered to do was not 'work' in the ordinary sense of the word. Because of the brutal conditions, particularly the incessant, chronic hunger, work did not secure life, as it does in an ordinary peacetime environment; rather it ruined life and was designed to destroy it.</p>
3.3.14	<p>The River San: a hazardous escape route to survival in the USSR</p> <p>View of the River San, near the small town of Lesko. The river formed part of the border between German-occupied Poland and Soviet-occupied Poland between 1939 and 1941. Prior to the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 the hills in the rear of the photo were therefore in Soviet territory and offered freedom from Nazism. Although it was extremely hazardous and many were killed, tens of thousands of Jews from southern Poland managed to get out of German-occupied Poland by escaping across this river, and a substantial number of them thereby survived the Holocaust.</p>
3.3.15	<p>Bełżec: the principal graveyard of the Jews of Galicia</p> <p>This innocent-looking field is the site of the death camp at Bełżec, where about 450,000 Jews were murdered by gas in 1942; there were fewer than ten survivors. Because hardly anyone came out alive to tell the story, and because the evidence of the crimes committed here was deliberately covered up so that no trace could be seen, Bełżec is still, even today, a place which is little known. But this is where a large part of very many Jewish communities in Galicia came to a final end. An imposing new memorial was erected in 2004.</p>

3.3.16	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: the vast expanse of the labour camp</p> <p>Prisoners who were set to work as slave labourers suffered and died in the most appalling conditions – overwork, starvation, sadistic beatings and other punishments, exhaustion after prolonged roll-calls in all weathers, torture, shocking sanitary conditions, being used for so-called medical experiments, or arbitrary execution. Following regular inspections, those considered to be too weak to work were sent to their death in the gas chambers. The unimaginably vast number of victims, the depths of the depravity of the perpetrators, the sheer scale of the operation – these things, and more, are what has made Auschwitz synonymous with the evil of the Holocaust.</p>
3.3.17	<p>Interior of a barrack in Auschwitz-Birkenau</p> <p>No one who was not present during those terrible times can say what Auschwitz was actually like. Even though so much of the physical fixtures has been left behind – watchtowers, barbed wire, and the ruins of the gas chambers – none of it can adequately convey the reality of the horrors enacted there daily. Barracks like this were the ‘living quarters’ for the prisoners in the labour camp: through the use of three-tier bunks, as many as eight hundred people – starving, exhausted, and battling with lice – were crammed into a building that was originally designed as military stables suitable for 52 horses.</p>
3.3.18	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: at the ruins of one of the gas chambers and crematoria</p> <p>As the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau devoured their murdered victims, their</p>

	<p>chimneys constantly belched forth flames and smoke. Can it be that the sun shone and was not ashamed?</p> <p>‘Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky’ (Elie Wiesel, <i>Night</i>).</p>
3.3.19	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: the ashes of the cremated victims would be unceremoniously dumped into ponds such as these</p> <p>Even in the stillness of Auschwitz today, one can sense the pace and fury of the genocide. Auschwitz was the largest of the German concentration camps and by far the single largest place of Jewish victimhood during the Holocaust. At least 960,000 Jews were murdered there, from almost every country in German-occupied Europe, from the north of Norway to the south of France and the Greek islands. Jews constituted 90 per cent of the victims, but about 75,000 ethnic Poles, 21,000 Roma (Gypsies), and 15,000 Soviet prisoners-of-war were also done to death there.</p>
3.3.20	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: traces of a gas chamber and crematorium destroyed in an armed prisoner uprising</p> <p>In October 1944 Jewish prisoners from the special units (Sonderkommando) forced to clean the gas chambers, burn the corpses in the crematoria, and dispose of the ashes staged a heroic uprising which totally destroyed one gas chamber and crematorium. Subsequent investigation by the camp’s authorities revealed that at the centre of the plot was a group of Jewish women working in a munitions factory</p>

	<p>who had steadily smuggled small quantities of gunpowder into the camp under their fingernails. They and the participating Sonderkommando were all executed.</p>
3.3.21	<p>The commanding, questioning voice of Auschwitz</p> <p>The bleak landscape of Auschwitz-Birkenau today, much of it in ruins, shocks us into asking endless questions. How could a supposedly civilized nation have undertaken genocide as official state policy? How could ordinary human beings have inflicted such destruction and appalling misery? Why did the outside world largely remain silent and apparently indifferent? How could God have allowed it all to happen? The surviving physical traces of Auschwitz answer none of these questions, but they remind us how the Holocaust has deeply scarred our world – not to mention that Jewish life in occupied Europe was left in ruins. Can the damage ever be repaired?</p>
3.3.22	<p>Entrance to the main Auschwitz camp</p> <p>The first prisoners arriving at Auschwitz were greeted with the following words by its commander: ‘You have not come to a sanatorium here but to a German concentration camp. The entrance is through the main gate with the inscription <i>Arbeit Macht Frei</i> [work makes you free]. There is only one exit: through the chimney of the crematorium. If there’s anybody who doesn't like that, he can walk into the [electrified] wire [fence of the camp] right away. If there are any Jews in the transport, they have no right to live longer than two weeks, priests for one month, and the rest for three months.’</p>

3.3.23	<p>Mass murder of the Jews in a city centre</p> <p>Tarnów. Most of the 25,000 Jews of this city were deported to the death camps, although many thousands were murdered locally – in the Jewish cemetery and in a nearby forest. The destruction of Jewish life in Tarnów began in June 1942 with a massacre by the Germans in the main square of the city, where the Jews had been ordered to assemble. Several hundred were killed through the continuous firing of machine guns. Babies were murdered in front of their parents, their heads smashed against the paving stones. The blood flowed through the neighbouring streets. The plaque records this appalling atrocity.</p>
3.3.24	<p>Display of Jewish prayer-shawls at the Auschwitz museum</p> <p>The museum at the site of Auschwitz, established in 1947, has on display some of the possessions of former prisoners discovered when the camp was liberated in 1945. This showcase of <i>taleisim</i>, prayer-shawls worn daily by Jewish men at morning prayers, makes a powerful statement. Amongst those who were murdered were many religious Jews, and when they were deported they would have made sure they brought their <i>taleisim</i> with them, for use at morning prayer. Now the last traces of their religious identity are left hanging in a showcase as museum artefacts, silent witnesses to the prayers of those who were murdered.</p>
3.3.25	<p>Interior of the gas chamber still standing in the main Auschwitz camp</p> <p>‘Mummy, when they kill us, will it hurt?’</p> <p>‘No, my dearest, it will not hurt. It will only take a minute.’</p>

	<p>It may have taken only a minute – but it is enough to keep us awake till the end of time.</p>
3.3.26	<p>Auschwitz museum: map of the Death Marches from Auschwitz, January 1945</p> <p>On 18 January 1945, as Soviet forces were approaching from the east, eventually to liberate Auschwitz on 27 January, the Germans evacuated the tens of thousands of prisoners then in the camp and forced them to walk westwards, in the direction of central Germany. There was huge loss of life, not only because of the lack of food and water and shelter against the bitter winter weather, but also because of the murderous behaviour of the guards – those who could not keep up were simply shot. It was a cruel end, just when liberation was in sight.</p>
3.3.27	<p>Prisoners murdered during the ‘death march’ from Auschwitz</p> <p>The Germans evacuated Auschwitz on 18 January 1945, forcing tens of thousands of prisoners to walk towards central Germany, away from the advancing Soviet army. Those who could not keep up were shot. In the Catholic cemetery of Brzeszcze, a few miles out of Auschwitz, is a mass grave for 18 prisoners shot nearby on that day. The tablet on their grave states that their names are unknown, although historians at the Auschwitz museum have identified at least two of them, both Jewish. They might all have been Jewish, given the absence of a cross on their grave.</p>
3.3.28	<p>Mass murder of the Jewish community of a small town</p> <p>On 19 August 1942 the Jews of the small town of Mszana Dolna were ordered to</p>

	<p>assemble and hand over their house keys and money. A few young people were taken away to a labour camp, while the rest – 881 people – were brought to this hilltop above the town, where mass graves had been dug in preparation for a massacre. They were all stripped naked and shot into the graves. The handful of local Jews who survived the war returned to the spot to erect a memorial to the dead.</p>
3.3.29	<p>Serious problems with hygiene in the Auschwitz-Birkenau labour camp</p> <p>Washroom and latrine facilities were grossly inadequate, given the vast numbers of prisoners and the prevalence of diarrhoea in the camp. Moreover access to the facilities was permitted only for a few minutes before and after work. Because of the pressure of demand at those times prisoner functionaries would have to direct the flow of people in the narrow building – beating and abusing the prisoners as they did so. The poor sanitary conditions meant that prisoners often went for months without being able to have a proper wash. One epidemic after another decimated them.</p>
3.3.30	<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau: ruins of the undressing room next to one of the gas chambers</p> <p>The role of Auschwitz as a death factory was considerably expanded in 1943 through the opening of four large gas chambers and crematoria in Birkenau, two miles away. They functioned for about eighteen months. As Soviet forces approached Auschwitz in autumn 1944, the Germans stopped the gassings and</p>

	<p>started to destroy the gas chambers in a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to conceal the evidence of the colossal genocide. This is why these buildings are in ruins – part of the reality of this appalling place of desolation and devastation, the largest graveyard in human history.</p>
--	--

Section 4, *How the Past is Being Remembered*

<p>3.4.1</p>	<p>Heritage tourism in a regenerated Jewish Kazimierz</p> <p>It is not always easy to interpret the urban landscape of post-Holocaust Kraków. This romantic setting for a café is in fact the courtyard of an empty seventeenth-century synagogue. The substantial growth in tourism to Kazimierz, whether in search of genuine Jewish heritage sites or in the footsteps of <i>Schindler’s List</i>, has spawned numerous fashionable Jewish-style cafés, hotels, restaurants, and boutiques. Some visitors feel uncomfortable with the commercialization. It fills the empty spaces where Jewish life once was and thereby conceals its absence.</p>
<p>3.4.2</p>	<p>The Second World War: a shared Polish and Jewish tragedy?</p> <p>This Second World War monument in Tarnów lists thirty places, in Poland and abroad, where 45,000 people from the city and county were killed in 1939–45. This long list from a single locality illustrates the scale of the horror and also the complexity of the wartime history. On this monument the Jewish fate has been merged with the Polish fate, in that there is only one listing, not two. In all, six million Polish citizens died in the war, ethnic Poles and Polish Jews in equal number—</p>

	roughly three million each—although few have a sense of shared tragedy.
3.4.3	<p>Image of a shattered world: a memorial wall made of fragments of smashed Jewish tombstones</p> <p>After Poland was finally liberated from German tyranny in 1945, those few Jews who had managed to survive the Holocaust slowly began to piece their world back together and memorialize their dead. It was an impossible task. Their communities had been completely devastated; all they were left with were shattered fragments of a shattered world. In Kraków they used such fragments to build a memorial wall inside the old cemetery next to the Rema Synagogue. It symbolizes their need to respond to the challenges of their broken world.</p>
3.4.4	<p>Reuse of former village synagogue as the local public library</p> <p>There was massive destruction of synagogues in Poland during the Holocaust, but some were requisitioned for use as warehouses or as stables. In that way the buildings often survived, although internally they would usually be converted beyond recognition, with no sign whatever of their former identity as a synagogue. This building, once the synagogue of the small village of Niebylec, is now used as the local public library, but the original painted decorations have been preserved and indeed restored.</p>
3.4.5	<p>Restoration work at Jewish cemeteries</p> <p>There have been numerous restoration initiatives, especially by <i>landsmanshaftn</i>, associations of Jewish émigrés from specific localities. Broken tombstones have been repaired, the mausoleums of revered rabbis have been rebuilt, tombstones</p>

	<p>taken away by the Germans during the war or by Poles after the war have been returned, vegetation has been cut back, and new fences – as here in Dębica – have been constructed. But the scale of the problem is vast: there are at least one thousand Jewish cemeteries in Poland. However much work has been done, there are still many hundreds of abandoned Jewish cemeteries yet to be restored and cared for.</p>
3.4.6	<p>Restoring the public memory of famous Jews</p> <p>Several plaques have been erected in Kraków in recent years. Among them is a fine bas-relief of the Yiddish poet and songwriter Mordechai Gebirtig (1877–1942), set into the wall of his former home in Berek Joselewicz Street in Kazimierz. A carpenter by profession and a socialist in outlook, Gebirtig wrote numerous pieces which became well known, including ‘Dos shtetl Brent’ (‘Our shtetl is on fire’): sung in the Kraków ghetto, it became an anthem of the Jewish resistance movement. His works are often performed today and are widely considered an important part of the Jewish heritage of the city.</p>
3.4.7	<p>Reconstruction of an <i>ohel</i> (mausoleum) of a saintly rabbi</p> <p>Gorlice. Orthodox Jews of Galician origin living abroad have returned to Poland to reconstruct the graves of the great rabbis in the belief that their sanctity and spiritual presence still pervade such places. Pilgrims seeking blessings for their families write their names on pieces of paper, placing them respectfully on the grave – but here they were scattered by the wind when the door to the mausoleum was opened. Painted on the wall is the name of a rabbi seriously ill at the time (the</p>

	<p>Klausenburger rebbe), a descendant of the rabbi buried here, to encourage pilgrims to pray for his recovery.</p>
<p>3.4.7</p>	<p>The erasure of memory</p> <p>This furniture store in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was once was the town’s main synagogue. The aggressive commercialism surrounding this building and the absence of a commemorative plaque indicating its identity as a former synagogue constitute nothing less than the erasure of memory. It is hard to generalize, however. Some surviving synagogue buildings are used for more sober purposes, such as libraries, art galleries, city archives, and schools, and some do have plaques. But others have been used for less appropriate purposes, such as cinemas, fire stations, shops, and restaurants. There is no nationwide policy on protecting the Jewish heritage.</p>
<p>3.4.8</p>	<p>Burial of bones found at the Bełżec death camp</p> <p>Before a new memorial was erected in 2004 at Bełżec, visitors would often notice small pieces of human bone lying scattered on the ground there. The situation prompted a Polish woman of Jewish descent living in Paris to collect the bones that she found and bring them for dignified burial in the Jewish cemetery of Lesko, a town where in 1995 she had opened a small museum in memory of the Jews of Galicia. Most of the Jews of Lesko, together with Jews from very many places throughout Galicia, were murdered in Bełżec.</p>

3.4.9	<p>Restored fifteenth-century synagogue, now a Jewish museum</p> <p>An important example of the Galician Jewish heritage is the Old Synagogue in Kraków, the oldest surviving synagogue building in Poland. It was largely in ruins at the end of the war, but in the 1950s it was fully restored and then turned into a Jewish museum as a branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. The museum has substantial holdings of Jewish textiles, Jewish ritual objects, paintings and lithographs on Jewish themes, Hebrew books, and Torah scrolls. In addition to its permanent displays, there are also frequent temporary exhibitions on different aspects of Jewish history and culture.</p>
3.4.10	<p>Public memorialisation of German atrocities during the war</p> <p>Jarosław. This unusual map on the side of a house in the city centre shows the locations of atrocities in the Jarosław region during the German occupation; it marks two slave-labour camps as having been specifically for Jews (in Sieniawa and Radymno). The map dates from the period prior to 1989 when Poland was under a communist regime. Jewish victimhood in the Holocaust was grossly understated at that time and usually mentioned only in the context of the colossal suffering of the Polish nation at the hands of the fascists.</p>
3.4.11	<p>The last traces of a vanished culture</p> <p>This small collection of Jewish ritual objects, in a private home in Rymanów, belonged to the local Polish Catholic doctor, who had excellent relations with the Jews of the town and regularly received gifts from them. Exhibitions of Judaica open to the public exist in many Polish towns today, usually in the local museum, school,</p>

	<p>or public library, but their collections are often rather modest. Much was destroyed or looted during the war, and anything of value was probably sold off. What remains now is carefully preserved and put on display for educational purposes.</p>
3.4.12	<p>Preserving the memory: the challenge to today's generation</p> <p>Many abandoned, overgrown Jewish cemeteries in the smaller towns and villages of Galicia have lain for the decades since the war without proper fencing or signposting. Sometimes the local authorities put up a simple sign, as here in Zator, stating that this is the site of a Jewish cemetery and thus ought to be treated with respect. Perhaps such a sign can also be understood as a challenge to today's generation – for since the photograph was taken foreign Jews with roots in Zator indeed returned to re-fence the cemetery and restore the remaining tombstones.</p>
3.4.13	<p>The endless, ongoing work of memorializing Holocaust victims in Poland</p> <p>Immediately after the war survivors began to erect monuments at the mass graves, wherever they knew of them. But sometimes, especially in cases where a relatively small number of Jews were murdered in a particular place in the countryside, relatives would exhume the corpses, bring them to a nearby Jewish cemetery for dignified reburial, and erect a commemorative tombstone. This grim work still continues nowadays. A tombstone in the new cemetery in Miodowa Street (Kraków) dated 1995 records the exhumation and reburial of eight Jews, all in their twenties.</p>
3.4.14	<p>A city centre park preserved for its Jewish heritage</p> <p>Tarnów. These original pre-war gates, complete with Stars of David, stand at the entry to a small park where the ruins of a seventeenth-century synagogue, burnt</p>

	<p>down by the Germans in 1939, have been carefully preserved. All that remains of the synagogue is the vaulted <i>bimah</i> from which the Torah was read – a striking fragment of what was once a magnificent synagogue. The city’s Jewish heritage sites are maintained by the local Polish museum, which organizes regular concerts of Jewish music in this park in order to honour the memory of the past.</p>
3.4.15	<p>Polish anti-Jewish violence after the war</p> <p>In the Jewish cemetery in Miodowa Street in Kraków is this monument to eighteen Jews murdered by Poles in two separate incidents in Nowy Targ in 1946. Members of the Zionist youth movement Gordonia, they were attempting to leave Poland in order to settle in the Land of Israel. Records are incomplete, but from September 1944 to September 1946 at least 327 Jews were murdered by Poles in 115 localities across the country. The violence ceased almost completely in the autumn of 1946, but by then most Holocaust survivors had concluded that they had no future in Poland.</p>
3.4.16	<p>Oskar Schindler’s factory and <i>Schindler’s List</i></p> <p>The original entry gates of the Emalia factory in Podgórze (Kraków). It was here that Oskar Schindler, a German industrialist, employed a large Jewish workforce from the nearby ghetto, thereby saving them from deportation to the concentration camps. In 1944 he succeeded in moving his factory, together with more than a thousand Jews, out of Poland altogether. The story of this remarkable rescue was immortalized in Steven Spielberg’s well-known film <i>Schindler’s List</i>, shot on location in Kraków in 1993. There is so much interest in the places where the film was made</p>

	that this building has been turned into a museum.
3.4.17	<p>Memory of Jewish cemetery preserved by local Poles</p> <p>Every now and again in the Galician countryside, a clump of trees in the middle of farmland a short distance from a village marks the site of the local Jewish cemetery – as for example here in Stary Dzików, a remote village about thirty miles north of the town of Jarosław. All the tombstones have disappeared from this unfenced - cemetery, but in the minds of the local villagers it is still the Jewish cemetery and they plough their fields around it, letting the site remain undisturbed.</p>
3.4.18	<p>A Holocaust monument in a Jewish cemetery</p> <p>There are very few public Holocaust monuments in city centres in southern Poland. However, substantial Holocaust monuments, like this one in the town of Wieliczka, are to be found in many Jewish cemeteries across Polish Galicia. The daubing of neo-Nazi or other antisemitic graffiti on such monuments occurs in Poland as in many other countries. But it is a particularly painful sight inside a Jewish cemetery in Poland, and reinforces the common Jewish stereotype of ‘the Poles’ who willingly assisted the Germans during the Holocaust.</p>
3.4.19	<p>A local Polish initiative to commemorate the Jews of a small town</p> <p>Inside the Jewish cemetery in Radomyśl Wielki is a small memorial garden, a project undertaken by a local Polish retired schoolteacher with the support of the town council and local tradesmen. Many of the Jews of the town were massacred by the Germans in the cemetery and buried there in a mass grave. A group of surviving tombstones have been restored and repositioned so as to create a simple</p>

	<p>monument that both commemorates the atrocity and memorializes the former presence of the Jews in the town.</p>
3.4.20	<p>Exhumation and reburial of Jews murdered in the countryside</p> <p>If Jews who had been in hiding in farms or forests were discovered by the Germans (or betrayed to them), they were often shot on the spot, having first been forced to dig their own grave. After the war, surviving relatives sometimes returned to exhume the corpses, give them formal burial in a Jewish cemetery, and erect a tombstone. In the Jewish cemetery in Pilzno is one such tombstone, in memory of twenty Jewish men, women, and children shot in different locations in 1943, and exhumed and reburied in November 1945.</p>
3.4.21	<p>‘To save a single life is to save a whole world’ (Talmud)</p> <p>In the small town of Tuchów (near Tarnów), there is no trace of the former Jewish community – no synagogue, no preserved Jewish cemetery; it is all gone. Except, that is, for an inscription by a Holocaust survivor, signed simply as ‘Basia – Israel’ on a tombstone in the Catholic cemetery. Basia here records her gratitude to Maria Dzik for having rescued her and saved her life. Basia survived, and so also did this one physical trace that Jews once lived in the town of Tuchów.</p>
3.4.22	<p>Monumental wall at the entry to the new monument at Bełżec</p> <p>The site of the death camp at Bełżec, which for decades had become completely overgrown and forgotten, with not a single original structure remaining, was finally marked in 2004 with a memorial which is perhaps one of the most emotionally powerful Holocaust monuments ever built. The site has been covered with large,</p>

	<p>irregular-shaped boulders marking the mass graves where the victims lie buried; and a surrounding walkway records the names of every town, city, and village from which Jews were deported to Belżec.</p>
3.4.23	<p>Anti-Nazi graffiti</p> <p>Graffiti relating to Jews or the Holocaust are frequently seen in Poland, even if other graffiti are much more common. Sometimes they are offensively antisemitic – for example, a Star of David hanging from a gallows. But there are anti-Nazi graffiti as well – for example, this image of a swastika being dumped into a trash-can. It was found on the wall of the Miodowa Street Jewish cemetery in Kraków and is reportedly the work of a local Polish Jewish student group. The trauma of the Second World War, for local Jews as well as for Poles, lingers in the public consciousness.</p>

Section 5, *People Making Memory Today*

3.5.1	<p>The ‘March of the Living’ in Auschwitz</p> <p>The ‘March of the Living’, an annual event since 1988, takes place on Yom Hashoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day, which in Israel and diaspora Jewish communities is observed in April). Several thousand Jewish high-school students from around the world, accompanied by Holocaust survivors, Holocaust educators, rabbis, and VIPs from Israel and the Jewish diaspora, march from the Auschwitz main camp to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Following remembrance ceremonies there, the participants continue on to Israel for its Independence Day celebrations a week later. The</p>
-------	--

	<p>intense emotional experience of encountering Auschwitz and present-day Israel in a single, structured trip is unquestionably powerful and life-changing for these young people.</p>
3.5.2	<p>A girl expresses her grief at the ruins of one of the gas chambers and crematoria in Auschwitz-Birkenau</p> <p>Prayers for the souls of those who were murdered during the Holocaust have become standard Jewish practice several times a year, as has an annual Holocaust remembrance ceremony. But making the personal visit to Auschwitz has greater immediacy. Such visits, now commonly undertaken in community groups as well as by individuals, give people an opportunity to mourn, to internalize the reality of the destruction and loss, and to reflect on the identity of the victims and their appalling suffering.</p>
3.5.3	<p>Tombstone rubbing during the Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków</p> <p>Thousands of young Poles participate in this annual week-long festival, the largest of its kind in Europe. The programme is exceptionally wide-ranging: concerts, lectures, book launches, special exhibitions, films, guided tours of Jewish Kraków and vicinity, and creative workshops. The latter often include the traditional Jewish art of papercutting, Hebrew calligraphy, and tombstone rubbing. Guided by Polish experts, these become more than fun artistic pastimes. Tombstone rubbing is literally a close-up, hands-on activity, enabling participants to become familiar with Jewish culture through the inscriptions and the symbolism of the decorative carvings.</p>

3.5.4	<p>The Chancellor of Germany visits Kazimierz, the former Jewish district of Kraków</p> <p>Many heads of state have come to Auschwitz to pay their respects in remembrance of the victims. Chancellor Helmut Kohl made an official visit in 1995 and then continued on to Kraków to pay homage to its Jewish past. The delegation is seen here outside the old cemetery next to the Rema Synagogue. Kohl's tenure as chancellor was marked by a determined effort to normalize relations with Poland, and from the 1980s there have been a number of German initiatives in Poland to promote Holocaust education and foster reconciliation.</p>
3.5.5	<p>Jews reciting memorial prayers at the site of the Płaszów concentration camp in Kraków</p> <p>Each year on the anniversary of the liquidation of the Kraków ghetto in March 1943, large numbers of survivors, as well as several hundred local Polish city residents, take part in a commemorative march from the site of the ghetto to the site of the Płaszów concentration camp, where local Jews recite memorial prayers. The Jewish community of Kraków today has about 150 registered members. Its president is Tadeusz Jakubowicz, seen here on the left of the photo; members of his family have led the community continuously since the war.</p>
3.5.6	<p>Visitor at the children's exhibit in the Auschwitz museum</p> <p>About 185,000 Jewish children were murdered in the former Nazi German death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Some of their photos have been recovered, as has some of their clothing, and a special room in the museum describes their fate. The Auschwitz site has been preserved as a museum since 1947, funded mainly by the</p>

	<p>Polish government; entry is free. Nowadays there are well over a million visitors a year from across the world, principally young people. The museum has put much effort into conservation: preserving the memory of what happened at Auschwitz is seen as a fundamental duty for our generation and the generations to come.</p>
3.5.7	<p>Open-air performance by Israeli choir at the Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków</p> <p>The festival, first held in 1988, became an annual event from 1994. Much of the emphasis is on music, an important part of the traditional Jewish culture of Poland that was lost in the Holocaust but still preserved among Jewish communities of Polish origin abroad, especially in Israel and North America. Local Polish audiences are fascinated and enchanted. It may be a fashionable, exotic form of entertainment, but behind the fascination is the awareness of a tragic past and the desire to celebrate Jewish culture and bring it back to life.</p>
3.5.8	<p>The unveiling of Jewish memorial plaques as important civic occasions</p> <p>Kraków. Unveiling Jewish memorial plaques, common nowadays throughout Poland, is usually an important civic occasion covered by the press and television. Formal speeches honouring the Jewish past are often followed by a reception hosted by the local municipality in the presence of Polish VIPs and distinguished Jewish guests, some of whom will have come specially from abroad. This plaque, dedicated in 1998, is in memory of Sinaj Zygmunt Aleksandrowicz (1877–1946), a member of Kraków city council before the war and president of an association which sponsored a trade school for Jewish orphans in the Kazimierz district.</p>

3.5.9	<p>Formal opening of an international conference on Holocaust studies at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków</p> <p>The grand setting of Collegium Novum for this Holocaust conference in 1995, and the opening speeches of the university’s rector and the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, indicate the recognition given to the subject after the end of communism. An institute of Jewish studies was opened at the Jagiellonian University in the 1980s and an institute of Holocaust studies in 2007. There are many students, and a substantial programme of research and publications in all aspects of Polish Jewish history and culture.</p>
3.5.10	<p>Open-air final concert of the Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków</p> <p>Held in the main street of Kazimierz, this event attracts a huge, exuberant crowd, singing, dancing, and clapping until well into the night. Most are not Jewish. Janusz Makuch, the organizer of the festival, himself not Jewish, is thus in the curious situation of directing a Jewish culture festival for other non-Jews in an area considered by many Jews as a Jewish ghost town. He says that this is his mission – to bring Jewish artists to perform in a country which is the world’s largest Jewish graveyard, as a way of both honouring the dead and demonstrating Jewish survival.</p>
3.5.11	<p>Live Jewish music in the restaurants of Kazimierz</p> <p>Concerts of Jewish music are regularly performed in the cafés and restaurants of Kazimierz, especially in those which advertise themselves as Jewish – for example, because of their décor or their menu. They may even have painted Hebrew or Yiddish lettering on their frontage so as to provide an air of authenticity. During the</p>

	<p>week of the annual Jewish Culture Festival some of the guest performers from abroad often run informal ‘jam sessions’, as in this scene inside the Ariel (now Alef) restaurant with the American group Brave Old World.</p>
3.5.12	<p>A group of Auschwitz survivors at the annual remembrance ceremony in Auschwitz-Birkenau</p> <p>Each year a remembrance ceremony is held in Auschwitz-Birkenau on 27 January, the anniversary of the camp’s liberation by Soviet forces in 1945. The ceremonies held on the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries (in 1995 and 2005) were major international, interfaith events, attended by large numbers of survivors, heads of state, religious leaders, and Nobel Peace Prize laureates. The group of survivors seen here, at the 2005 ceremony, are former Polish prisoners, wearing newly made copies of their old prisoner uniforms. Polish survivors of Auschwitz have played an extremely significant role in maintaining the memory of Auschwitz.</p>
3.5.13	<p>Souvenirs for the Jewish heritage tourists</p> <p>Wooden figurines of bearded male Jews in their traditional black costume, many of them musicians, have become a common sight in Kraków in the tourist souvenir stalls, where they are evidently a popular purchase. Although some Jewish visitors see them as post-Holocaust antisemitic caricatures, they have a long pre-war history as an integral part of Polish folk carving in wood, and indeed are on sale in the souvenir shops alongside carvings of traditionally dressed, similarly caricatured, overweight Polish peasants. The carvers and the shopkeepers see their figurines as nostalgic recollections of a vanished past.</p>

3.5.14	<p>Who are the visitors to Kazimierz?</p> <p>There are many kinds of customer at the Jewish-style cafés in Kazimierz. They include local people, Polish and foreign tourists and journalists, synagogue worshippers, Holocaust survivors, foreign Jewish pilgrims to the Jewish holy places and death camps, and Polish Jews visiting their places of origin, in search of their roots. Such people could all be customers at the same café though mentally in quite different worlds. Some may be on a complex emotional journey, heightened in its intensity by the bittersweet encounter with present-day Jewish Kraków; others may be there simply to relax and enjoy their leisure time.</p>
3.5.15	[No caption – exit sign to the town of Dobra]

Appendix 5:

Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków

Consent form

Form completed by:

Name	Jakub Nowakowski
Position	Museum Director

Thesis information:

Author	Kate Gerrard
Working title	'An Alternative Narrative of the Jewish Past in Poland? The <i>Traces of Memory</i> permanent exhibition and the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków (2004-2011)'
Submitted for award of	PhD
Department/University	Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, UK
Supervisor	Dr. Isabel Wollaston
Expected submission date	November 2012
Format	Print and electronic

Please indicate yes/no to the following:

1. I confirm that I have the necessary authority to agree the requests included in this form:

YES NO

2. I understand that any materials I agree to in this consent form may be included in the above-named thesis:

YES NO

3. I understand that following successful completion, the above-named doctoral thesis will be made publicly available in electronic format via the University of Birmingham library, as well as via EThOS, the UK's national thesis repository at the British Library (Electronic Thesis Online Service, www.ethos.bl.uk)

YES NO

4. I agree that the following internal Galicia Jewish Museum materials may be included in the above-named doctoral thesis:

a. Galicia Jewish Museum grant applications, prepared 2004-2010 (NB: no applications with outcomes pending as of 1.1.12 will be used):

YES NO

b. Galicia Jewish Museum strategic plans, prepared 2004-2010:

YES NO

c. Galicia Jewish Museum quarterly director's reports, prepared 2004-2012:

YES NO

5. I agree that photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition may be reproduced as required in the above-named thesis, subject to the referencing agreed in 6, below:

YES NO

6. I agree that photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition may be reproduced subject to the following referencing being included in the Introduction to the above-named thesis: 'All photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition are reproduced in this thesis with the kind permission of the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków. Photographer: Chris Schwarz. Copyright: Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków'.

YES NO

If no, please provide an alternative text to be used:

Signed: Jakub Nowakowski

Date: 16.3.12

Please scan with signature or enter electronic signature, and return by email to Kate Gerrard,



Appendix 6:

Interview: Prof. Jonathan Webber

Consent form

Thesis information:

Author	Kate Gerrard
Working title	'An Alternative Narrative of the Jewish Past in Poland? The <i>Traces of Memory</i> permanent exhibition and the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków (2004-2011)'
Submitted for award of	PhD
Department/University	Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, UK
Supervisor	Dr. Isabel Wollaston
Expected submission date	November 2012
Format	Print and electronic

Full name (with title), as you wish it be included in the thesis:

Please indicate yes/no to the following:

1. I agree to being interviewed by Skype on a time/date agreed separately by email, and using questions for the basis of the interview that will be provided at least one week in advance of the interview taking place:

YES NO

2. I agree to the Skype interview being audio recorded:

YES NO

3. I wish to have a copy of the audio recording:

YES NO

4. The interview may be transcribed either in whole or in part. I wish to have a copy of any transcribed materials once they become available:

YES NO

5. Extracts from the Skype interview may be included in the above-named thesis. I wish to see those sections of the thesis where the interview is referenced and/or quoted from, prior to the thesis being submitted:

YES NO

6. I understand that following successful completion, the above-named doctoral thesis will be made publicly available in electronic format via the University of Birmingham library, as well as via EThOS, the UK's national thesis repository at the British Library (Electronic Thesis Online Service, www.ethos.bl.uk)

YES NO

Signed: Jonathan Webber

Date: 16.3.12

Appendix 7:

Jonathan Webber Interview Questions

NB: Questions sent in advance of interview

The *Traces of Memory* research project

1. What was the inspiration for the *Traces of Memory* research project?
2. How did the project develop over time, compared to what you initially envisaged it to be?
3. What was the division of labour like between you and Chris Schwarz, the photographer?
4. Where did the title *Traces of Memory* come from?

Establishing the Museum

5. How did the research project lead to the establishment of the Galicia Jewish Museum?
6. The original project was not intended to result in an exhibition – what were some of the challenges creating an exhibition out of what had been intended instead to be a publication?
7. Where did the name ‘Galicia Jewish Museum’ come from?

The *Traces of Memory* structure

8. How did you come up with the structure for the exhibition? What role did both you and Chris play in creating the structure?
9. How do you understand the relationship between the five sections?
10. How successful do you think the five-section structure is for museum visitors – do they understand it?

The *Traces of Memory* exhibition: other issues

11. What relationship do you think *Traces of Memory* has with the rest of the museum – does it exist in isolation or does it impact more broadly on the museum’s activities?
12. Why were Polish and English chosen as the exhibition languages? Why is Polish positioned before English in the exhibition texts? Did you consider including Hebrew and/or Yiddish?
13. In 2009 you produced new captions for the exhibition. How have these been helpful for visitors in understanding the exhibition’s themes?

Galicia Jewish Museum: after 2012

14. Do you think the *Traces of Memory* exhibition should remain as the Galicia Jewish Museum’s permanent exhibition indefinitely? If so, exactly as it is now or could you imagine any changes that might be helpful?
15. The exhibition claims to offer ‘a contemporary view of the Jewish past in Poland’: do you think it is as contemporary today as when the museum first opened? Will it remain so indefinitely in the future?
16. What will happen in Chris’ absence should more photographs be needed? Do you think the museum would ever consider using another photographer’s work?
17. How else would you like to see the museum develop going forward?

Museum publications and marketing materials

18. What was the motivation for the 2009 publication, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory*? What will be the relationship between this volume and the main *Traces of Memory* publication, when that is published?
 19. Galicia Jewish Museum recently circulated an email newsletter on the occasion of its 8th anniversary, highlighting some of its achievements over the last 8 years – was this a text drafted by you?
20. Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

Bibliography

Primary sources

The referencing system used for the primary sources has been developed especially for this thesis, as a result of the lack of organized archive at the Galicia Jewish Museum.

Traces of Memory exhibition, Galicia Jewish Museum

Exhibition Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/EI)

Section 1 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS1)

Section 2 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS2)

Section 3 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS3)

Section 4 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS4)

Section 5 Introduction, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/IS5)

Credits, *Traces of Memory* (ref: TOM/CR)

Other Galicia Jewish Museum signage

Map of Galicia (ref: GJMsign/01)

Entrance banner (ref: GJMsign/02)

Founder plaque (ref: GJMsign/03)

Traces of Memory photographs

All photographs from the *Traces of Memory* exhibition are reproduced in this thesis with the kind permission of the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków. Photographer: Chris Schwarz. Copyright: Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków.

Galicia Jewish Museum temporary exhibitions

Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews, 2006-2007 (ref: Temp01/PH06)

Hitler's List, 2007 (ref: Temp02/HL07)

Song of Songs: Paintings by Benet Haughton, 2007 (ref: Temp03/SS07)

Letters to Sala: A Young Woman's Life in the Nazi Labour Camps, 2007 and 2008 (ref: Temp04/LS0708)

Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków, 2007 and 2009 (ref: Temp05/FD0709)

March '68 in the Kraków Press, 2008 (ref: Temp06/KP08)

Marta Gołqb: Jewish Papercuts, 2008 (ref: Temp07/MG08)

Where the Past Meets the Future, 2008 (ref: Temp08/WP08)

Polin: A thousand years of Jewish history in Poland, 2008 (ref: Temp09/PT08)

Jewish Theatre Posters from Pre-War Poland, 2008-2009 (ref: Temp10/JT08)

Swirling Sands: Tel Aviv of the 1930s through the lens of Ze'ev Aleksandrowicz, 2009 (ref: Temp11/SS09)

They Called Me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland before the Holocaust, 2009 (ref: Temp12/MJ09)

Pictures of Resistance: The Wartime Photographs of Jewish Partisan Faye Schulman, 2009 (ref: Temp13/PR09)

In the Beginning God Created the Heavens and the Earth: by Johannes Senf, 2009 (ref: Temp14/IB09)

Fragments: International Style Architecture in Tel Aviv – Photography by Yigal Gawze, 2010 (ref: Temp15/FA10)

The Colour of Yiddish, 2010 (ref: Temp16/CY10)

A City Not Forgotten: Memories of Jewish Lwów and the Holocaust, 2010-2011 (ref: Temp17/CN10)

Bletern: Images and Words, 2011 (ref: Temp16/IW11)

Portraits of an Intellectual and Political Landscape, 2011 (ref: Temp17/PL11)

Look Closer, 2011 (ref: Temp17/LC11)

Galicia Jewish Museum archive

Galicia Jewish Museum archive website, live 2004-2008 (ref: GJM2004/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum Outline for Guides (ref: GJM2004/02)

Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe for core support, submitted March 2007 (ref: GJM2007/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2007-2010 (ref: GJM2007/02)

Recording of Chris Schwarz speaking at a Galicia Jewish Museum fundraiser at the House of Lords in June 2007 (ref: GJM2007/03)

Galicia Jewish Museum monthly event programmes, September-November 2007 (ref: GJM 2007/04, 05 and 06)

Rothschild Foundation Europe grants 173/07 and 140/07 (ref: GJM 2007/07 and 08)

Application to Rothschild Foundation Europe, submitted March 2008 (ref: GJM2008/01)

Annual report to the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2008 (ref: GJM2008/02)

Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2008-2011 (ref: GJM2008/03)

Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide, 2009 (ref: GJM2009/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum Strategic Plan 2009-2012 (ref: GJM2009/02)

Żydowskie Muzeum Galicja oferta edukacyjna [Galicia Jewish Museum education offer] (ref: GJM2009/03)

'Support', Galicia Jewish Museum fundraising pamphlet (ref: GJM2009/04)

Galicia Jewish Museum Special Programme: Friday 26 June-Sunday 5 July 2009 [for the period of the 2009 Festival of Jewish Culture in Kraków] (ref: GJM2009/05)

Traces of Memory travelling exhibition specification (ref: GJM2009/06)

Traces of Memory travelling exhibition installation guidelines (GJM2009/07)

Galicia Jewish Museum monthly event programmes, September-November 2009 (ref: GJM 2009/07, 08 and 09)

Galicia Jewish Museum Director's Report, Joint meeting of the museum's Board of Directors (Poland) and Board of Trustees (UK), 3 December 2009 (GJM2009/10)

Mid-grant report to the Rothschild Foundation Europe, 2010 (GJM2010/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum cafe menu (ref: GJM2010/02)

Galicia Jewish Museum 2011 annual report (ref: GJM2011/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum Director's Report, Joint Quarterly Meeting of the Boards of Trustees (UK) and Directors of the Galicia Jewish Museum (Poland), meeting 11 January 2012 (ref: GJM2012/01)

Galicia Jewish Museum 8th anniversary e-newsletter, circulated 3 April 2012 (ref: GJM2012/02)

Other museums and exhibitions

Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim.

Auschwitz Jewish Centre in Oświęcim.

Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, Birmingham.

Barbican, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Bologna Jewish Museum, Bologna.

Celesta, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

City Defence Walls, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Cross House, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

The Emmanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw.

Hippolit House, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

History of Nowa Huta Quarter, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Jewish Artists in Kraków: 1879-1939, Old Synagogue Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków (temporary exhibition, June-December 2008).

The Jewish Museum Berlin, Berlin.

The Jewish Museum, London.

Jewish Museum New York, New York.

Jewish Museum Vienna, Vienna.

Kraków Under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945, Schindler's Factory Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków (permanent exhibition, opened July 2010).

Krzysztofory Palace, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Market Square Underground Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

National Gallery London, London.

National Museum in Kraków, Kraków.

Old Synagogue Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Pharmacy Under the Eagle Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Pomorska Street, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Town Hall Tower, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

World Press Photo (annual competition presented in travelling exhibition format), venues including Royal Festival Hall, London and Galeria Sztuki, Kraków.

Zwierzyniec House, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Kraków.

Personal correspondence and interviews

Communication with David Clark, author of PhD Dissertation 'Jewish Museums in the Diaspora: Constructing Community and Nation', 27 November 2009 (ref: KGPCI/01)

Communication with Jonathan Ornstein, Director of the Jewish Community Centre in Kraków, 2 December 2009 (ref: KGPCI/02)

Communication with Titia Zoeter, Administrator, Association of European Jewish Museums, 3 April 2011 (ref: KGPCI/03)

Interview with Jonathan Webber, 27 May 2012 (ref: KGPCI/04)

Communication with Jarek Mensfelt, spokesperson of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim, 1 August 2012 (ref: KGPCI/05)

Communication with Elizabeth Selby, curator at the Jewish Museum London, 20 August 2012 (ref: KGPCI/06)

Communication with Judy Trotter, Head of Programming at London Jewish Cultural Centre, 28 August 2012 (ref: KGPCI/07)

Secondary Sources

AJS Perspectives: The Museum Issue, Association for Jewish Studies, Spring 2010.

Ambrosiewicz-Jacobs, Jolanta (Ed.), *The Holocaust: Voices of Scholars*, Kraków: Centre for Holocaust Studies, Jagiellonian University and Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2009.

Baer, Ulrich, *Spectral Evidence: the Photography of Trauma*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005.

Banks, Marcus, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, London: Sage, 2001.

Banks, Marcus and Howard Morphy (Eds.), *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, New Haven, CT: Yale, 2007.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Genesis and Development of the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibition Project', *Journal of Holocaust Education*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1998, pp. 28-37.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'Exhibiting Hatred', *History Today*, vol. 50, no. 6, 2000, pp. 18-20.

Bardgett, Suzanne, 'The Material Culture of Persecution: Collecting for the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum' (unpublished manuscript).

Bartal, Israel and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies – Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians, 1772-1918*, vol. 12, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999.

Bartal, Israel and Antony Polonsky, 'Introduction: The Jews of Galicia under the Habsburgs', in Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies – Galicia:*

Jews, Poles and Ukrainians, 1772-1918, vol. 12, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999, pp. 3s-24.

Bartal, Israel, Antony Polonsky and Scott Ury (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews and their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750*, vol. 24, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011.

Baxendall, Michael, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects' in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 33-41.

Becker, Howard S., 'Visual Sociology, Documentary, Photography and Photojournalism: It's (Almost) All a Matter of Context', in Jon Prossner (Ed.), *Image-Based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Falmer Press, 1998, pp. 84-96.

Bedford, Neal, *Poland (Lonely Planet Country Guides)*, 6th edition, London: Lonely Planet Publications, 2008.

Bennett, Tony, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, vol. 4, 1988, pp. 73-102.

Bennett, Tony, *The Birth of the Museum*, London: Routledge, 1995.

Bennett, Tony, 'Exhibition, Difference, and the Logic of Culture', in Ivan Karp and Corinne Kratz (Eds.), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007, pp. 46-69.

Berger, John, 'Photography of Agony', in Liz Well (Ed.), *The Photography Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 288-290.

Berger, Maurice and Joan Rosenbaum, *Masterworks of the Jewish Museum*, New York, New Haven, CT and London: The Jewish Museum and Yale University Press, 2004.

Bergman, Eleonora, 'Mosaic', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 36-40.

Bhabha, Homi (Ed.), *Nation and Narration*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1990.

Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd edition, New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.

Błonski, Jan, 'The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto', in Antony Polonsky (Ed.), *Polin: Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies – Jews and the Emerging Polish State*, vol. 2, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1987, pp. 321-336.

Blumenthal, David, *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993.

Brandt, Kersten, Hanno Loewy and Krystyna Oleksy (Eds.), *Before They Perished: Photographs Found in Auschwitz*, Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2001.

Broch, Rafael, 'Traces of memory, Chris Schwarz', *Open Democracy*, last accessed 27 July 2012 <www.opendemocracy.net/arts/poland_4423.jsp>

Bronner, Simon J. (Ed.), *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 1 – Jewishness: Expression, Identity and Representation*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009.

Bronner, Simon J. (Ed.), *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 2 – Jews at Home: the Domestication of Identity*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010.

Bronner, Simon J. (Ed.), *Journal of Jewish Cultural Studies Volume 3 – Volume 3 –Revisioning Ritual: Jewish Traditions in Transition*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011.

Burman, Rickie, 'Transforming the Jewish Museum: The Power of Narrative', in *Jewish Culture and History*, vol. 12, no. 1-2, 2010, pp. 345-356.

Chapman, William Ryan, 'Arranging Ethnology: A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in George W. Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 15-48.

Cherry, Robert and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska (Eds.), *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

'Chris Schwarz (1948-2007)', *Cracow Life*, last accessed 24 April 2008 <[www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_\(1948-2007\)](http://www.cracow-life.com/news/news1324-Chris_Schwarz_(1948-2007))>

'Chris Schwarz: Dedicated photojournalist who captured a range of subjects and founded the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków', *The Times*, 28 August 2007.

'Chris Schwarz', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 20 September 2007.

Clark, David, 'Jewish Sites in Europe: Constructing Spatial Narratives and Collective Memory' (paper presented at the Conference of the European Association of Jewish Studies, Toledo, July 1998).

Clark, David, *Developing Jewish Museums in Europe*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1999.

Clark, David, 'Creating Jewish Spaces in European Cities: Amnesia and Collective Memory', in Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Saenz-Badillos (Eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the 20th Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 274-281.

Clark, David, 'Jewish Museums: From Jewish Icons to Jewish Narratives', *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2003, pp. 4-17.

Clark, David, 'Managing Jewish Museums in a Multi-Faith Society: Notes from Italy', *Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 93-113.

Clark, David, 'The Field as 'Habitus': Reflections on Inner and Outer Dialogue', *Anthropology Matters*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2004, last accessed June 2009, <www.anthropologymatters.com/journal/2004-2/clark_2004_field.htm>

Clark, David, 'Jewish Museums in the Diaspora: Constructing Community and Nation' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, London Metropolitan University, May 2004).

Clark, David, 'Sites of Memory or Aids to Multiculturalism? Conflicting Uses of Jewish Heritage Sites', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2007, last accessed June 2009, <www.socresonline.org.uk/12/2/clark.html>

Clifford, James, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Clifford, James, 'Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, pp. 212-254.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

Clifford, James, 'Partial Truths', in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 1-26.

Cohen, Richard I., 'Self-Image Through Objects: Towards a Social History of Jewish Art Collecting and Jewish Museums' in Jack Wertheimer (Ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York, NY and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992, pp. 203-242.

Craddy, Kate, 'Museum Means More: Community Outreach at the Galicia Jewish Museum', in Greg Chamberlain (Ed.), *The Radical Museum: Democracy, Dialogue and Debate*, London: MuseumID, 2011.

Craddy, Kate, 'Contextualising and Challenging Assumptions', in Olivia Guntarik (Ed.), *Narratives of Community and Hope: Museums and Ethnicity*, Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2010, pp. 97-107.

Craddy, Kate, 'Contextualizing Auschwitz: The Responsibility and Challenges of Jewish Museums in Poland' (conference proceedings, INTERCOM 2008), last accessed September 2009, <www.intercom.museum/conferences/2008/papers/kate_craddy.doc>

Craddy, Kate, Mike Levy and Jakub Nowakowski (Eds.), *Poland: A Jewish Matter*, Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, 2011.

Crane, Susan A., 'Choosing Not to Look: Representation, Repatriation, and Holocaust Atrocity Photography', *History and Theory*, vol. 47, no. 3, October 2008, pp. 309-330.

Crew, Spencer R., and James E. Sims, 'Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 159-175.

Dawidson Draenger, Gusta, *Justyna's Narrative*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

De Groot, Jerome, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Political Culture*, London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

Dean, David, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 1996.

'Delineating the cultural and creative sector', European Union report, last accessed 30 August 2012 <www.ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc885_en.pdf>

Duda, Eugeniusz, *Żydowski Kraków. Przewodnik po zabytkach i miejscach pamięci*, Kraków: Vis-à-vis Etiuda, 2003.

Duda, Eugeniusz, *The Old Synagogue at Cracow's Kazimierz*, Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Kraków, 2005.

Easton, Adam, 'Poles Rediscover Jewish Heritage', *BBC News*, 7 February 2005.

Eco, Umberto, *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality*, London: Vintage Books, 1998.

Edwards, Elizabeth, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, Museums*, London: Berg, 2001.

Elliot, R., 'Towards a Material History Methodology', in Susan Pearce (Ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1994, pp. 109-124.

Epstein, Julia and Lori Hope Lefkowitz (Eds.), *Shaping Losses: Cultural Memory and the Holocaust*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009.

Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York, NY: Grove, 1968.

Feldman, Jeremy D., 'Museum Without a Collection: Jewish Culture in the New Italian Multiculturalism' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, May 2004).

Fighting for Dignity: Jewish Resistance in Kraków, exhibition catalogue, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2007.

Finder, Gabriel N., Natalia Aleksion, Antony Polonsky and Jan Schwarz (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Making Holocaust Memory*, vol. 20, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008.

First Steps: Towards a Collection of Western Contemporary Art, Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 2008.

Finder, Gabriel N., Natalia Aleksion, Antony Polonsky and Jan Schwarz (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Making Holocaust Memory*, vol. 20, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008.

Foucault, Michel, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, pp. 22-27.

Frey, Bruno S. and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Current Debate: The Dematerialization of Culture and the De-Accessioning of Museum Collections', in *Museum International*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2002.

Frymorgen, Bogdan, *Kazimierz bez słów*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2012.

Gajewska, Monika, 'Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow: Interview with Janusz Makuch', *Warsaw Voice*, 5 July 2006.

Galas, Michał and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews in Kraków*, vol. 23, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011.

Gallery of Decorative Art of the National Museum in Cracow: Guidebook, Kraków: National Museum of Kraków, 1999.

Gawron, Edyta, 'To co ocalone... Żydowski Kraków – Dawniej i obecnie', in *Alma Mater (Miesięcznik Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego)*, vol. 109, December 2008, pp. 24-28.

Gawron, Edyta, *Społeczność Żydowska w Krakowie po Holokauście (1945-1995)*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, forthcoming.

Gawron, Edyta, *Running Away from the Land of the Holocaust: Social Aspects of Post-Holocaust Migrations of Polish Jews (1945-1949)*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, forthcoming.

Gebert, Konstanty, 'Jewish Identities in Poland: New, Old, and Imaginary', in Jonathan Webber (Ed.), *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994.

Gebert, Konstanty, *Living in the Land of Ashes*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2008.

Gebert, Konstanty, 'We've Got it Made', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 41-44.

Geertz, Clifford, 'Towards an interpretive theory of culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973, pp 3-30.

'Getty Awards World Monuments Fund \$150,000 Challenge Grant for Tempel Synagogue Conservation', in *Jewish Heritage Report*, vol. 1, no. 3-4, New York, NY: World Monuments Fund, 1997.

Gillham, Bill, *Case Study Research Methods*, London and New York, NY: Continuum, 2000.

Głowacka, Dorota and Joanna Zylińska (Eds.), *Imaginary Neighbours: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations After the Holocaust*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008,

Grant, Linda, 'Manufacturing History', *New Statesman*, 14 August 2008.

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, *Upon the Doorposts of Thy Hosts: Jewish Life in East-Central Europe, Yesterday and Today*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 1994.

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*, Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA and London: University of California Press, 2002.

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'In Kraków, a "Jewish Woodstock"', *International Herald Tribune*, July 1995, last accessed August 2008 <www.iht.com/articles/1995/07/19/pol.php>

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'A Virtual Jewish World', in *Jewish Studies Yearbook II*, Budapest: Central European University, 2001, last accessed August 2008 <www.web.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pdf/02_gruber.pdf>

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'The Dynamic Duo Behind Poland's Jewish Revival', in *The Forward*, June 2008, last accessed August 2008 <www.forward.com/articles/13658/>

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'Beyond Virtually Jewish: New Authenticities and Real Imaginary Spaces in Europe' (paper presented at UCLA, Los Angeles, October 2007), last accessed August 2008 <www.web.mac.com/ruthellengruber/iWeb/general%20site/Writing_files/Beyond%20Virtually%20Jewish.pdf>

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'Beyond Virtually Jewish... Balancing the Real, the Surreal and Real Imaginary Places', in Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla (Eds.), *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009, pp. 63-80.

Gruber, Ruth Ellen, 'The Woman Behind the Polish Jewry Museum', *The Forward*, 3 August 2011, last accessed May 2012 <www.forward.com/articles/140908/the-woman-behind-the-polish-jewry-museum/>

Hallam, Elizabeth, and Brian V. Street (Eds.), *Cultural Encounters, Representing Otherness*, London: Routledge, 2000.

Hallam, Elizabeth, and Brian V. Street, 'Introduction: Cultural Encounters – Representing "Otherness"', in Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (Eds.), *Cultural Encounters, Representing Otherness*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 1-10.

Handler, Richard, 'On Having A Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's *Patrimoine*', in George W. Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 192-217.

Heumann Gurian, Elaine, 'Noodling Around With Exhibition Opportunities', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 176-190.

Hevesi, Dennis, 'Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies; Photographer who honored Polish Jews', *New York Times*, 8 August 2007.

Hevesi, Dennis, 'Chris Schwarz, 59, Dies; Photographer who honored Polish Jews', *The Boston Globe*, 12 August 2007.

Highlights from the Jewish Museum Berlin, Berlin: Jewish Museum Berlin, 2010

Hirsch, Marianne, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', in Barbie Zelizer (Ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, London: Athlone, 2001, pp. 215-246.

- Hirsch, Marianne, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 14 no. 1, Spring 2001, pp. 5-37.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 1992.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen, *Museums and Gallery Education*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen, *Museums and their Visitors*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, London: Routledge, 2000.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance*, London: Routledge, 2007.
- Jacoby, Jeff, 'Polish antisemitism on the wane', *The Boston Globe*, 14 July 2005.
- Jewish Museum London welcomes the world after a £10m transformation', press release 28.03.11, last accessed 30.07.12 <www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/?location_id=519&item=50>
- Kaplan, Brett, *Unwanted Beauty: Aesthetic Pleasure in Holocaust Representation*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007, pp. 1.16.
- Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991.
- Karp, Ivan, 'Culture and Representation' in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1991, pp. 11-22.
- Karp, Ivan, Christine M. Kraemer, and Stephen D. Lavine (Eds.), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian University Press, 1992.
- Karp, Ivan and Corinne Kratz (Eds.), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Keilbach, Judith, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images and the Holocaust: On the (Im)possibility of Depicting Historical Truth', *History and Theory*, vol. 47, no. 2, May 2009, pp. 54-76.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Objects of Memory: Material Culture as Life Review, in Elliott Oring (Ed.), *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres*, Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1989, pp. 329-338.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1995, pp. 367-380.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'The Museum as Catalyst' (unpublished keynote address, Museums 2000: Confirmation or Challenge, ICOM Sweden, the Swedish Museum Association and the Swedish Travelling Exhibition/Riktuställningar in Vadstena, September 2000).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Imagining Europe: The Popular Arts of American Jewish Ethnography,' in Deborah Dash Moore and Ilan Troen (Eds.), *Divergent Centers: Shaping Jewish Culture in Israel and America*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 155-191.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'The Museum – A Refuge for Utopian Thought', in Jörn Rüsen, Michael Fehr and Annelie Ramsbrock (Eds.), *Die Unruhe der Kultur: Potentiale des Utopischen*, Weilerswist-Metternich: Velbrück Wissenschaft, 2004.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'From Ethnology to Heritage: The Role of the Museum' (unpublished keynote address, SEIF, Marseilles, April 2004).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production', in *Museum International*, vol. 56, 2004, pp. 52-65.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'The "New Jews": Reflecting on Emerging Cultural Practices' (unpublished paper given at 'Re-thinking Jewish Communities and Networks in an Age of Looser Connections', Wurzeiler School of Social Work, Yeshivah University and Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University, New York City, December 2005).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics', in Ivan Karp and Corinne Kratz (Eds.), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006, pp. 35-34.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'Creating the Museum of the History of Polish Jews', in *AJC Perspectives: The Museum Issue*, Spring 2010, pp. 5-8.

Kirshenblatt, Mayer and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *They Called me Mayer July: Painted Memories of a Jewish Childhood in Poland Before the Holocaust*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007.

Kosmin, Barry, Andras Kovacs and Zvi Gitelman (Eds.), *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2003.

Koźńska-Witt, Hanna, 'The Association of Progressive Jews in Kraków, 1864-1974' in Michał Galas and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews in Kraków*, vol. 23, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011, pp. 135-164.

Krajewski, Stanisław, *Reflections of a Polish Polish Jew*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2006.

Krajewski, Stanisław, 'Poland, like America', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 15-19.

Kugelmass, Jack, 'The Rites of the Tribe: American Jewish Tourism in Poland', in Ivan Karp, Christine M. Kraemer and Steven D. Lavine (Eds.), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1992, pp. 382-427.

Kugelmass, Jack, and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska, 'If You Build It They Will Come': Recreating an Historic Jewish District in Post-Communist Kraków, in *City and Society*, 1998, pp. 315-53.

Kushner, Tony, 'Anglo-Jewish Museology and Heritage, 1887 to the Present', *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2009, pp. 11-25.

Lehrer, Erica, 'The Only Jewish Bookshop in Poland', Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Centre, 2001, last accessed August 2008
<www.yiddishbookcenter.org/story.php?n=101%20%20%20>

Lehrer, Erica, 'Jewish? Heritage? In Poland? A Brief Manifesto and an Ethnographic Design Intervention into Jewish Tourism in Poland', Bridges Association, 2007, pp. 37-41, last accessed August 2008
<www.muse.jhu.edu/journals/bridges_a_jewish_feminists_journal/v012/12.2lehrer.pdf>

Lehrer, Erica, 'Bearing False Witness? "Vicarious" Jewish Identity and the Politics of Affinity', in Dorota Głowacka and Joanna Zylińska (Eds.), *Imaginary Neighbours: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations After the Holocaust*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008, pp. 84-109.

Lehrer, Erica, 'Curating Jews: Reflections on the Practice of Heritage', in *AJS Perspectives: The Museum Issue*, Spring 2010, pp. 32-33.

Lehrer, Erica, 'Can there be a Conciliatory Heritage?', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4-5, July-September 2010, pp. 269-288.

Lehrer, Erica and Soliman Lawrence, 'Unquiet Places: A Second Look at Jewish Poland Today', last accessed August 2008, <www.yiddishbookcenter.org/pdf/pt/56/PT56_poland.pdf>

Leveson, Ian and Sandra Lustig, 'Caught Between Civil Society and the Cultural Market: Jewry and the Jewish Space in Europe. A Response to Diana Pinto', in Sandra Lustig and Ian Leveson (Eds.), *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, New York, NY and Oxford: Berghahn, 2006, pp. 187-204.

Lewis, Bryan, 'Documentation or Decoration? Uses and Misuses of Photographs in the Historiography of the Holocaust' (unpublished MPhil (B) dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1999).

Lewis, Bryan, 'Documentation or Decoration? Uses and Misuses of Photographs in the Historiography of the Holocaust' in John Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell (Eds.), *Remembering for the Future, 3: Memory*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 341-57.

Libeskind, Daniel, with Bernhard Schneider, *Jewish Museum Berlin*, Munich, London and New York, NY: Prestel Verlag, 1999.

Libeskind, Daniel, *The Jewish Museum*, Berlin: Jaron Verlag GmbH, 2011.

Littell, Franklin H. and Hubert G. Locke (Eds.), *The German Church and the Holocaust*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990.

Litwin, Weronika, 'Synagogues and Cemeteries: What is Being Done and What is Still to be Done?', in Kate Craddy, Mike Levy and Jakub Nowakowski (Eds.), *Poland: A Jewish Matter*, Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Institute, 2011.

Lustig, Sandra and Ian Leveson (Eds.), *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, New York, NY and Oxford: Berghahn, 2006.

Lustig, Sandra, 'Alternatives to "Jewish Disneyland": Some approaches to Jewish history in European cities and towns', in Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla (Eds.), *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009, pp. 81-97.

Lowenthal, David, 'Present Place: Landscape and Memory', in *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 1, January 1975, pp. 1-36.

Lowenthal, David, 'Material Preservation and Its Alternatives', in *Perspecta*, vol. 25, 1989, pp. 67-77.

Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Makuch, Janusz, 'The Jewish Culture Festival: Between Two Worlds', in Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla (Eds.), *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic*

- Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009, pp. 43-53.
- Makuch, Janusz, 'I Was Neither a Jew Nor a Catholic', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 59-63.
- Martin, Sean, *Jewish Life in Cracow, 1918-1939*, London: Vallentine-Mitchell, 2004.
- Metzler, Tobias, 'Jewish History in the Showcase', *Museological Review*, vol. 12, 2007, pp. 101-111.
- Mitchell, Claudia, *Doing Visual Research*, London: Sage, 2011.
- Murzyn-Kupisz, Monika and Jacek Purchla (Eds.), *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 2009.
- Nora, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, vol. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24.
- Nowakowski, Jakub, *Jewish Kazimierz: Sites of Contemporary Jewish Interest (map)*, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2008.
- Nowakowski, Jakub, *A Guide to Schindler's Kraków*, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2010.
- Pearce, Susan (Ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Pearce, Susan, 'Thinking about Things', in Susan Pearce (Ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1994, pp. 125-132.
- Pinto, Diana, *A New Jewish Identity for Post-1989 Europe*, JPR Policy Paper, no. 1, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, June 1996.
- Pinto, Diana, 'Jewish Spaces versus Jewish Places? On Jewish and Non-Jewish Interaction Today', in Hanne Orstavik (Ed.), *Der Ort des Judentums in der Gegenwart 1989-2002*, Berlin: Bebra Verlag, 2004, pp. 15-25.
- Pinto, Diana, 'The Jewish Space in Europe', in Sandra Lustig and Ian Leveson (Eds.), *Turning the Kaleidoscope: Perspectives on European Jewry*, New York, NY and Oxford: Berghahn 2006, pp. 179-186.
- Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*, exhibition catalogue, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006.

Polonsky, Antony (Ed.), *Polin: Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies – Jews and the Emerging State*, vol. 2, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1987.

Polonsky, Antony (Ed.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – The Holocaust and its Aftermath*, vol. 13, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000.

Polonsky, Antony, *Polish-Jewish Relations since 1984: Reflections of a Participant*, Kraków and Budapest: Austeria, 2009.

Polonsky, Antony, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1: 1350-1881*, Oxford: the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009.

Polonsky, Antony, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 2: 1881 -1914*, Oxford: the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010.

Polonsky, Antony, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Volume 1: 1914-2008*, Oxford: the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012.

Prossner, Jon (Ed.), *Image-Based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, London: Falmer Press, 1998.

'Restoration of Kraków's Tempel Synagogue', World Monuments Fund, last accessed September 2010 <www.wmf.org/project/tempel-synagogue>

Routliffe, Kathy, 'Holocaust History Can't Explain "Why?": Wiesel', *Sun Times Illinois*, 20 April 2009, last accessed August 2012, <www.suntimes.com/news/5161658-464/holocaust-history-cant-explain-why-wiesel.html>.

Rose, Gillian, *Visual Methodologies*, 3rd edition, London: Sage, 2012.

Sanjek, Roger, 'The Ethnographic Present', *Man*, vol. 26, no. 4, December 1991, pp 609-628.

Schischa, Rebecca and Dina Berenstein, 'Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today: A Pilot Project', research report no. 3, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 2002.

SchorNSTein, David, *Collection de M. Strauss, Description des Objets religieux hebraïques, exposes dans les galeries du trocadero a l'exposition universelle de 1878*.

Schudrich, Michael, 'Polish-Jewish Relations in Poland: Where Have We Come From and Where Are We Headed?' in Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska (Eds.), *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, pp. 137-140.

Schudrich, Michael, 'Giving Back to the Jewish People', in *The Fall of the Wall and the Rebirth of Jewish Life in Poland: 1989-2009*, San Francisco, CA: Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, 2009, pp. 25-30.

Schwarz, Chris, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 1st edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005.

Schwarz, Chris, *Photographing Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*, 2nd edition, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006.

Seldin, R.R., 'American Jewish Museums: Trends and Issues' *The American Jewish Year Book: 1991*, 1991, pp. 71-113.

Shalev, Avner, "'I too Had a Face" – the Yad Vashem Museum', last accessed October 2010 <www.yad-vashem.org.il/about_yad/2001/2001_avner_shalev.html>

Shelton, Anthony, 'The Recontextualisation of Culture: in UK Museums', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 8, no. 5, October 1992, pp. 11-16.

Shelton, Anthony, 'Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science', in Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (Eds.), *Cultural Encounters, Representing Otherness*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 155-193.

Slutsky, Carolyn, 'At new Jewish Museum in Kraków, past seen via lens of Poland's present', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 10 May 2004.

Smith, Chris, 'In Poland, a Jewish Revival Thrives – Minus the Jews', *New York Times*, 12 July 2007.

Smith, Stephen, *Forgotten Places: The Holocaust and the Remnants of Destruction – A Photographic Essay*, London: Quill Press, 2001.

Sontag, Susan, *On Photography*, New York, NY: Farrer Strauss and Giroux, 1978.

Sontag, Susan, 'Photography Within the Humanities', in Liz Well (Ed.), *The Photography Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 59-66.

Sontag, Susan, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York, NY: Picador, 2004.

Sontag, 'Regarding the Torture of Others', *New York Times*, 23 May 2004.

Sroka, Łukasz Tomasz, 'Changes in the Jewish Community of Kraków in Autonomous Galicia' in Michał Galas and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews in Kraków*, vol. 23, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011, pp. 63-82.

Stake, Robert E., *The Art of Case Study Research*, London: Sage, 1995.

Steinlauf, Michael C., 'What Story to Tell? Shaping the Narrative of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews', in Gabriel N. Finder, Natalia Aleksiu, Antony Polonsky, and Jan Schwarz (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Making Holocaust Memory*, vol. 20, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008, pp. 318-323.

Steinlauf, Michael C., 'Notes on Galician Jews', in Michał Galas and Antony Polonsky (Eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – Jews in Kraków*, vol. 23, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011, pp. 421-436.

Stocking, George W. (Ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Świebocka, Teresa, 'The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum: From Commemoration to Education', in Antony Polonsky (Ed.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry – The Holocaust and its Aftermath*, vol. 13, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000, pp. 290-299.

Świebocka, Teresa (Ed.), *The Architecture of Crime: The 'Central Camp Sauna' in Auschwitz II-Birkenau*, Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2001.

'Top 10 Places for Culture', *Cracow Life*, last accessed 17 May 2012 see <www.cracow-life.com/poland/ten-best-places>

Trudel, Jean, 'Housing Museums in Historic Buildings: A Wise Solution for the Long Term?', *APT Bulletin*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1996, p. 37-42.

Turner, John, 'Obituary: Chris Schwarz', *The Guardian*, 1 October 2007.

Vergo, Peter (Ed.), *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

Vergo, Peter (Ed.), 'Introduction' in *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books, 1989, pp. 1-6.

Vishniac, Roman, *A Vanished World*, reprint edition, New York, NY: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1983.

Vishniac, Roman, *Children of a Vanished World*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

Waterman, Stanley, *Cultural Politics and European Jewry*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1999.

Webber, Jonathan, *The Future of Auschwitz: Some Personal Reflections*, Oxford: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1992.

Webber, Jonathan (Ed.), *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994.

Webber, Jonathan, 'Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in Europe', in Barry Kosmin, Andras Kovacs and Zvi Gitelman (Eds.), *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, Budapest and New York, NY: Central European University Press, 2003, pp. 317-340.

Webber, Jonathan, 'Introduction', in Chris Schwarz, *Photographing Traces of Memory*, Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2005.

Webber, Jonathan, *Rediscovering Traces of Memory: The Jewish Heritage of Polish Galicia*, Oxford: the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009.

Webber, Jonathan, 'Auschwitz: Whose History, Whose Memory?', in Jolanta Ambrosiewicz-Jacobs (Ed.), *The Holocaust: Voices of Scholars*, Kraków: Centre for Holocaust Studies, Jagiellonian University, and Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2009, pp. 135-147.

Webber, Jonathan and Chris Schwarz, *Traces of Memory: The Ruins of Jewish Civilization in Polish Galicia*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Oxford: the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, forthcoming December 2013.

Weiss, I., 'Jewish Disneyland: the Appropriation and Dispossession of "Jewishness"', *Golem European-Jewish Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 6, 2002, last accessed October 2010

<www.hagalil.com/golem/diaspora/disneyland-e.htm>

Wertheimer, Jack (Ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York, NY and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992.

Wiesel, Elie, 'Talking and Writing and Keeping Silent' in Franklin H. Littell and Hubert G. Locke (Eds.), *The German Church and the Holocaust*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990, pp. 269-277.

Williams, Elizabeth A., 'Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: *Ars Americano* and the Primitivist Revolution' in George W. Stocking (Ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, History of Anthropology, vol. 3, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, 146-166.

Wolff, Janet, 'The Iconic and the Allusive: The Case for Beauty in Post-Holocaust Art', in Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz (Eds.), *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003, pp. 157-74.

World Press Photo 06, exhibition catalogue, London: Thames and Hudson, 2006.

World Press Photo 07, exhibition catalogue, London: Thames and Hudson, 2007.

Yin, Robert K., *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, London: Sage, 2009.

Zelizer, Barbie, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1983.

Zelizer, Barbie (Ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, London: Athlone, 2001.

Zemel, Carol, 'Z'chor! Roman Vishniac's Photo-Eulogy of East European Jews' in Julia Epstein and Lori Hope Lefkowitz (Eds.), *Shaping Losses: Cultural Memory and the Holocaust*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Zimmerer, Katarzyna, *Zamordowany Świat. Losy Żydów w Krakowie 1939-1945*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004.

Film sources

Nuit et brouillard [Night and Fog], Alain Resnais with Jean Cayrol, Argos Films, 1955.

Shoah, Claude Lanzmann, Historia/Les Films Aleph/Ministry of Culture, Republic of France, 1985.

The Jews of Poland: Five Cities – Białystock, Lvov, Kraków, Vilna, Warsaw, Yitzhak and Shaul Goskind, Ergo Media, 1988

Schindler's List, Steven Spielberg, Universal, 1993.

Fotoamator, Dariusz Jablonski, Apple Film Productions, 1998.

The Holocaust Tourist, Jes Benstock and the National Centre for Jewish Film, Technobabble/Skyline GB, 2005.

Paint What You Remember, Sławomir Grunberg, LogTV and the Museum of the History of Polish sJews, 2009.

Tel Aviv Architecture 1920s-1930s, LeadelNET, 2010

Newspaper sources

The Boston Globe <www.boston.com>

The Forward <www.theforward.com>

The Guardian <www.guardian.co.uk>

The Jewish Chronicle <www.thejc.com>

The Jerusalem Post <www.jpost.com>

The Times <www.thetimes.co.uk>

Web sources

Adam Mickiewicz Institute <www.iam.pl>

Aegis Trust <www.aegitrust.org>

American Association of Polish-Jewish Studies <www.aapjs.org>

American Jewish Committee <www.ajc.org>

Association of European Jewish Museums <www.aejm.org>

Association of Holocaust Organisations <www.ahoinfo.org>

Association of Museum Directors in Kraków <www.maius.uj.edu.pl/ogloszenia/radamk/html>

Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum <www.en.auschwitz.org>

Auschwitz Jewish Centre, Oświęcim <www.ajcf.pl>

Bagelmama, Kraków <www.bagelmama.com>

Bauhaus Dessau Foundation <www.bauhaus-dessau.de>

BBC <www.bbc.co.uk>

Beit Kraków Progressive Jewish Community <www.beitkrakow.org.pl>

Beit Warszawa Progressive Jewish Community <www.beit.org.pl>

Bologna Jewish Museum <www.museobraicobo.it>

Boston University, Hillel House <www.bu.edu/hillel>

Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University <www.ces.uj.edu.pl>

Centre for Jewish Culture, Kraków <www.judaica.pl>

Collegium Maius, Jagiellonian University <www.maius.uj.edu.pl>

Council of American Jewish Museums <www.cajm.net>

Cracow Life <www.cracow-life.com>

European Association for Jewish Culture <www.jewishcultureineurope.org>

European Day for Jewish Culture <www.jewishheritage.org>

Forum for Dialogue Among Nations <www.dialog.org.pl>

Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland <www.fodz.pl>

Galicia Jewish Museum <www.galiciajewishmuseum.org>

Historical Museum of the City of Kraków <www.mhk.pl>

The Holocaust Centre (Beth Shalom) <www.holocaustcentre.net>

Holocaust Education Trust Ireland <www.hetireland.org>

Holocaust Memorial Day <www.hmd.org.uk>

Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Centre <www.ilholocaustmuseum.org>

Imperial War Museum <www.iwm.org.uk>

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

Institute of National Memory <www.ipn.gov.pl>

Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies <www.polishjewishstudies.pl>

International Centre for Photography <www.museum.icp.org>

International Council of Museums <www.icom.museum>

International Cultural Centre in Kraków <www.mhk.pl>

Jagiellonian University, Kraków <www.uj.edu.pl>

Jewish Book Week <www.jewishbookweek.com>

Jewish Community Centre in Kraków <www.jcc.pl>

Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków <www.jewishfestival.pl>

Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw <www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>

The Jewish Museum, Berlin <www.jmberlin.de>

Jewish Museum of the City of Frankfurt <www.juedischesmuseum.de>

The Jewish Museum, London <www.jewishmuseum.org.uk>

Jewish Museum Munich <www.juedisches-museum-muenchen.de>

Jewish Museum New York <www.thejewishmuseum.org>

Jewish Museum Vienna <www.jmw.at>

Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian University <www.judaistyka.uj.edu.pl>

Kraków Jewish Community <www.krakow.jewish.org.pl>

LeadeNET <www.leadel.net>

Limmud <www.limmud.org>

Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Oxford <www.littman.co.uk>

London Jewish Cultural Centre <www.ljcc.org.uk>

Manchester Jewish Museum <www.manchesterjewishmuseum.com>

Museum of the History of Polish Jews <www.jewishmuseum.org.pl>

Museum of Jewish Heritage <www.mjhnyc.org>

Museum of Tolerance Multimedia Learning Centre <www.motlc.wiesenthal.com>

National Gallery London <www.nationalgallery.org.uk>

National Museum in Kraków <www.muzeum.krakow.pl>

Night of Museums <www.noc-muzeow.pl>

Pepperdine University <www.pepperdine.edu>

Polish Online Legal Database <www.sap.sejm.gov.pl>

Polska! Year <www.polskayear.pl>

Public Broadcasting Service <www.pbs.org>

Shalom Foundation, Warsaw <www.shalom.org.pl>

Schindler's Factory Museum, Historical Museum of the City of Kraków
<www.mhk.pl/oddzialy/fabryka_schindlera>

UK Jewish Film Festival <www.jewishfilm.org>

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) <www.unesco.org>

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum <www.ushmm.org>

University of Sydney, Mandelbaum Trust <www.mandelbaum.usyd.edu>

USC Shoah Foundation Institute <www.college.usc.edu.vhi>

Virtual Shtetl Project <www.sztetl.org.pl>

World Jewish Relief <www.wjr.org.uk>

World Press Photo <www.worldpressphoto.org>

Yad Vashem Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority <www.yadvashem.org>