Jewish Quarters as Urban Tableaux[1]

Eszter Gantner

At the beginning of the 2000s investors became interested in district 8, one of the internal districts of Budapest. District 8 – the so-called Belső-Erzsébet város [Internal Erzsébet town] – is situated on the Pest side of Budapest, in the vicinity of the inner city centre developed in the 19th century. Some of the buildings in the district were built even at the beginning of the 19th century. The architectural picture and structure of the quarter remained barely changed until 1989. After the political changes the quarter had been 'discovered' by real estate investors, because of its central location in the city.
2004 a civil group named PROTEST[2] established organised demonstrations against uncontrolled sale, demolition and building. As a result of the radical steps of this civil organisation a dialogue started in the media, which contributed to the fact that this part of the district became known as the Jewish quarter and determined the set of images associated with this phrase. Since 2002 the quarter has been under UNESCO protection, which clearly legitimated the outstanding cultural heritage of the Jewish quarter. In 2006 the PROTEST group initiated at ICOMOS inspections to be performed to determine how much the quarter, which had been declared a world heritage site,[3] was endangered by demolitions and property development.[4]

1 The text is a supplemented version of a previous article, published in: *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 23,2 (2014), pp. 11–25.

2 An NGO in Budapest founded in 2006.

3 http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/world_report/2006-2007/pdf/H@R_2006-2007_20_National_Report_Hungary.pdf (accessed 13.12.2012).

4 Plans were also prepared concerning the architectural reconsideration and revival of the heritage without further demolitions: among these the award-winning district development plan prepared for the 2005 EUROPAN competition also laid great emphasis on the Jewish cultural heritage within the quarter. http://www.europan.at/A_Europan8/www.europan.at/E8/index1fe1.html?idcatside=74 (accessed 13.12.2013).

In the debate arising in connection with the protection and architectural redefinition of the Jewish quarter one of the most significant break lines was represented by the discussion around the definition of the concept of the 'Jewish quarter'. The diversity of the possible answers threw light upon the fact that the interpretation and – consequently – the future of the Jewish quarter is a part of a much more complex process involving many participants, a process which is not exclusively determined by the architectural value of the buildings situated in the quarter.

On examining the special literature and research dealing with the cultural and architectural reconstruction of Jewish quarters there seems to exist some kind of consensus about what the phrase 'Jewish quarter' covers. In texts advertising the tourist signs of certain cities and also in the narrative of debates on architectural and heritage protection issues this phrase appears again and again. Sometimes it occurs in a historical dimension, sometimes it is associated with a shtetl-image, or in other cases it means the same as ghetto. Still, on comparing the various uses and interpretations of the phrase, there is certainly one common point: the 'Jewish nature', the Jewishness of the Jewish quarter is determined by the Jewish population (that used to exist or is presently existing), which is apparently different in appearance. To give some examples:

> […] In many towns and villages, numerous buildings still survive in the old Jewish quarters or ghettos, where Jews either chose or were compelled to live in medieval times or later.[5]
>
> […] compulsory residential quarter for Jews. […] Jewish Quarter is […] a residential area that evolves spontaneously.[6]
>
> […] traditional Jewish merchant quarter […] this quarter becomes the traditional residential area […] of one of the largest Jewish communities […].[7]

The definitions cited as examples presume the existence of a homogenous group that can be clearly distinguished in respect of its customs, life-style and appearance and leaves a specific material (visible) impression on a given part of the city. But how can the phrase 'Jewish quarter' be interpreted, when the Jewish community, which is different in 'appearance' and presumably in respect of its practices too (meaning a strictly religious community), does not leave clearly materialising impressions on the cityscape, as, for example, in Antwerp or Williamsburg or even in the London quarter called Finchley?

5 Ruth Ellen Gruber: *Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to Eastern Europe*. Washington: National Geographic 2007, p. 9.

6 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 7. Jerusalem: Keter 1971, e. g. pp. 542–543.

7 http://www.ovasegyesulet.hu/ (accessed 13.01.2013).

Even the synagogues are hardly distinguishable, there are very few Hebrew words or signs in the streets, only the appearance of the residents (possibly) indicate that the quarter or certain streets are inhabited by a clearly identifiable group. What is the situation when although a large number of people declaring themselves Jews live in a certain area, this population is not distinguishable in any form, because they have a secular, cultural or other type of relation to their Jewishness that they maintain at a certain level, in certain practices. But these attitudes are not decipherable by outsiders in the urban space, and these maintained identities do not leave an impression on the given part of the city either. An example of this may be district 13 in Budapest called Újlipótváros or Berlin Charlottenburg[8], where the large secular Jewish population cannot be seen from the 'outside', only people within the group are aware of it, so the populated area becomes a type of 'Jewish area' only for them.

How can the phrase Jewish quarter be interpreted – and this may be one of the most common phenomena in the towns and cities of continental Europe (first of all in its post-socialist part) – when a significant Jewish community does not exist anymore, but its memory and architectural heritage, that is the 'material impression', has remained in the city? Or when the by-gone presence is only preserved in the memory of the city, but the buildings themselves do not exist anymore (e.g. the Scheunenviertel in Berlin)? In the context of the issues raised above the following basic question occurs: What makes the Jewish quarter still Jewish – or in other words: 'What makes a well-defined territory, predominantly inhabited by Jews, Jewish?'[9]

The questions are not new; there is a continuous interest in the revitalizing process of formal Jewish quarters. Since the early 2000s the ongoing 'disneyfication'[10] of these urban areas is a phenomenon reflected upon especially in the field of Jewish studies. Ruth Ellen Gruber has been continuously analysing the process of revitalisation from ethnological perspectives.[11] The

8 Alina Gromova: *Generation »koscher light«. Urbane Räume und Praxen junger russischsprachiger Juden in Berlin*. Bielefeld: Transcript 2013.

9 Julia Brauch / Anna Lipphardt / Alexandra Nocke: Exploring Jewish Space. An Approach. In: Iid. (eds): *Jewish Topographies*. New York: Ashgate 2008, pp. 2–23, here p. 18.

10 Iris Weiss: Jewish Disneyland: Die Aneignung und Enteignung des Jüdischen. In: *haGalil*, April 2001. http://www.hagalil.com/golem/diaspora/disneyland-d.htm (accessed 12.01.2014).

11 Ruth Ellen Gruber: Beyond Virtually Jewish… Balancing the Real, the Surreal and Real Imaginary Places. In: Monika Murzyn-Kupisz / Jacek Purchla (eds): *Reclaiming Memory. Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*. Krakow: International Culture Center 2009, pp. 63–81; Ead.: *Virtually Jewish. Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*. Los Angeles: University of California Press 2002.

publication *Reclaiming Memory*[12] reflects on the concrete practices, strategies and agents of the revitalisiation of Jewish quarters in the former socialist countries in manifold ways. In that context Ruth Ellen Gruber and Magdalena Waligorska emphasise the role of 'imaginary' and visibility in the process of revitalisation as well. But the reconstruction of these sites in relation and in the context of general processes like 'competition of the cities'[13] or *Erinnerungskultur*[14] is less discussed yet. Also the images themselves, used in the revitalisation or re-imaginering of the Jewishness of these sites, have rarely been researched.

In this context the paper concentrates first of all on the 'external' (i. e. non-Jewish) reading, on the images present in this reading which are called in this study 'urban tableaux', as they seem to play a dominant role in the contemporary interpretation and revitalisation of Jewish quarters.

Erinnerungskultur in the Urban Space

Erinnerungskultur

In the past few decades cultural studies, memory and memorialization have come to serve as key terms in investigating questions of knowledge and memory production, and have spurred a new interdisciplinary exchange between social science, cultural studies and neuroscience practitioners. In history, the forms, functions, as well as changes in approaches to collective memory have drawn particular attention.[15] The historian Hans-Günter Hockerts defined the term *Erinnerungskultur* as "a loose, umbrella term intended for the general public that encompasses the totality of the indefinite and academic use of history."[16] In contrast, the anthropologist Sharon Mac-

12 Murzyn-Kupisz / Purchla (eds): *Reclaiming Memory*.

13 Annika Mattisek: Städte als Gegenstände und Schauplätze hegemonialer Kämpfe. In: *Bildpunkt. Zeitschrift der IG Bildende Kunst*, Summer 2009. http://www.igbildendekunst.at/bildpunkt/2009/symbolischebarrikaden/mattissek.htm (accessed 12.01.2014).

14 In the frame of this article, the term *Erinnerungskultur* – translated as culture of remembrance – describes the assemblage of practices and strategies of various agents shaping the commemoration of the Holocaust and National Socialism in the urban public space.

15 Tillmann Robbe: *Historische Forschung und Geschichtsvermittlung. Erinnerungsorte in der deutschsprachigen Geschichtswissenschaft*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2009.

16 Hans Günter Hockerts: Zugänge zur Zeitgeschichte: Primärerfahrung, Erinnerungskultur, Geschichtswissenschaft. In: Konrad H. Jarausch / Martin Sabrow (eds): *Verletztes Gedächtnis. Erinnerungskultur und Zeitgeschichte im Konflikt*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2002, pp. 39–73, here p. 41: "einen lockeren Sammelbegriff für die Gesamtheit des nicht spezifisch wissenschaftlichen Gebrauchs der Geschichte für die Öffentlichkeit."

donald has described *Erinnerungskultur* as a space in which history manifests itself, both discursively and normatively, as "heritage"[17], or as the interaction between material traces of the past and symbolic practices of the present. Thus *Erinnerungskulturen* always reflect a process of public negotiation, struggling with conflicts present in bringing together individual experience and collective memory, and politically normative and socially desirable commemoration of popular narratives and critical presentations of history.[18]

The Holocaust and the assumption of responsibility for its memory by European countries constitute the lynchpin of Diana Pinto's notion of Jewish space.[19] In her article, she introduced the term 'Jewish space' that motivates this volume, as well as 'voluntarily Jewish', which describes the construction of identity free of external prescription. Pinto situates Jewish space in the context of the *Erinnerungspolitik*[20] European democracies engaged in during the 1980s, at which time Holocaust memorialization began to assume an institutional form through the establishment of Jewish museums, research institutes, and exhibits. Jewish space is a consequence of these memory practices and the product of the *Erinnerungspolitik*, which she explicates in announcing its arrival:

> 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. The first is the gradual integration of the Holocaust into each country's understanding of its national history and into twentieth-century history in general. And the second is the revival of 'positive Judaism'.[21]

Her work emerges from a phase of the *Erinnerungskultur* that dates to the early 1980s, and which has been referred to as the period of *Vergangenheitsbewahrung*,

17 Sharon Macdonald: *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond.* New York: Routledge 2009.

18 Robert Bohn / Christoph Cornelißen / Karl Christian Lammers (eds): *Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskulturen im Schatten des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Deutschland und Skandinavien seit 1945.* Essen: Klartext 2008.

19 Diana Pinto: The Third Pillar? Toward a European Jewish Identity. In: András Kovács (ed.): *Jewish Studies at the CEU: Yearbook I. (Public lectures 1996–1999).* Budapest: CEU 1996, pp. 177–199.

20 *Erinnerungspolitik* and *Erinnerungskultur* represent a complex of political, social and cultural – particularly, of course, historical – factors that relate to the memory and memorialization of the Holocaust. The former emphasizes their political dimensions and the latter focuses on their cultural ones.

21 Diana Pinto: *A New Jewish Identity for Post-1989 Europe.* London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 1996. http://www.jpr.org.uk/Reports/CS_Reports/PP_no_1_1996/index.htm (accessed 08.02.2014).

i. e. conservation of the past.[22] Aleida Assmann elaborates that this phase is identified by the reproduction of the means of remembering. In a paradoxical manner, the establishment of new and additional museums, memorials, dedicated archives and research institutes reinforce the institutionalization of memory, and through these exercises of political power and influence, normative understandings of the past. More recently, numerous individual projects and initiatives (for example, the *Stolperstein* project)[23] constitute a new development and represent an expansion of the established body of stakeholders in the field of memory and memorialization. These actors, from municipalities to independent artist and citizen groups, have influenced the form and trajectory of the *Erinnerungskultur* as well as the work of academic research and state-supported institutions.

Since the 1980s remembrance policy has also left visible, physical, built traces in the urban spaces. If no monument or museum was built, then the Jewish architectural heritage was upgraded or changed its function, as a result of which for example a deserted synagogue was converted into a research centre or museum.[24] By now the different forms of remembrance policy manifested in the urban space cannot be separated any more from the architectural heritage in European cities. Several different types of spaces are projected onto each other and onto the Jewish architectural heritage, including the constructed and built spaces of remembrance and the constructed Jewish cultural spaces. Presumed Jewish quarters, synagogues, ritual baths and cemeteries form the basis of this process.

The Urban Space

During the process of globalisation, cities and metropolises have come into the foreground all over the world. These metropolises, and large cities that regard themselves as such, define themselves as 'world cities'[25] and compete with each other in the fields of economy, culture and tourism. European cities similarly to their Asian or South American competitors are all

22 Aleida Assman: Wendepunkte der deutschen Erinnerungsgeschichte. In: Ute Frevert (ed.): *Geschichtsvergessenheit –Geschichtsversessenheit*. Stuttgart: DVA 1999, pp. 42–50, here p. 45.

23 http://www.stolpersteine.com/ (accessed 14.02.2013).

24 For example the Rashi House in Worms, Germany. http://www.worms.de/englisch/tourismus/sehenswuerdigkeiten/juedisches_worms.php?navid=23&fileSsi=/deutsch/tourismus/sehenswuerdigkeiten/juedisches_worms.php&navid=52; http://www.europan.at/A_Europan8/www.europan.at/E8/index1fe1.html?idcatside=74 (accessed 16.12.2013).

25 Ulf Hannerz: The Cultural Role of World Cities. In: Anthony F. Katsuyoshi (ed.): *Humanising the City? Social Contexts of Urban Life at the Turn of the Millenium*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 1993, pp. 67–84.

participants in this process. The way the individual cities present their ethnic and cultural diversity plays an outstanding role in the competition. This diversity and its efficient representation is a capital[26] (a part of symbolic economy), as it radiates an image of the city with the help of which it can gain concrete economic advantages, such as for example increasing tourism, attracting creative industries, promoting capital flow. As a condition of being successful in the competition the cities have realised 'self-culturalisation' in order to be able to define their individuality and specific features more favourably,[27] among other reasons. All this is manifested in renovating and reinterpreting city quarters, supporting events, creating an individual image and marketing cultural – first of all – architectural values. Cities consciously build up their presumed specific features and communicate them to the world, creating by this a city-brand, similarly to product marketing.[28] Such a city-brand profits both from creating museum quarters and from reconstructing ethnic quarters. This phenomenon and the fact that culture has become a resource, has been the subject of discourses in the field of social and cultural sciences for several decades. In accordance with this, in contemporary city research there are two analytic approaches dealing with the phenomenon outlined above: one of them defines the urban space as a stage, on which cultural diversity and social differences are not simply present but are represented again and again in the most different forms;[29] the other interpretation puts the discursive changing of cityscapes[30] in the centre, and this change is influenced by political, economic and city-planning factors. In both analytic approaches the concept of urbanity plays a central role in a certain sense of ethnical-cultural diversity,[31] and also as a representation strategy, as ethnic diversity is regarded

26 Sharon Zukin: *The Culture of the Cities*. New York: Blackwell 1996.

27 Andreas Reckwitz: Die Selbstkulturalisierung der Stadt. Zur Transformation moderner Urbanität in der „Creative City". In: *Mittelweg 36* 18,2 (2009), pp. 2–43; Gerhard Mahnken: Public Branding und Wissen: Zum Entstehungsprozess einer metropolitanen Raummarke am Fallbeispiel Berlin-Brandenburg. In: Ulf Matthiesen (ed.): *Zur Koevaluation von Raum und Wissen. Analysen und Plädoyers für eine wissensbasierte Stadtpolitik*. Wiesbaden: VS 2009, pp. 235–254.

28 Ingo Balderjahn: Markenführung für Städte und Regionen. In: Manfred Bruhn (ed.): *Handbuch Markenführung*, Bd. 3. Wiesbaden: Gabler 2004, pp. 2357–2374.

29 Wolfgang Kaschuba: Zwischen Niemandsland und Residenz: Die Neukodierung öffentlichen Raumes in Berlin. In: *SRL-Mitteilungen für Stadt-, Regional- und Landesplanung*, 3/2000, pp. 5–7.

30 Annika Mattisek: Städte als Gegenstände und Schauplätze hegemonialer Kämpfe. In: *Bildpunkt. Zeitschrift der IG Bildende Kunst*, Summer 2009. http://www.igbildendekunst.at/bildpunkt/2009/symbolischebarrikaden/mattissek.htm (accessed 13.01.2014).

31 Gisela Welz: *Inszenierungen kultureller Vielfalt*. Frankfurt am Main / New York / Berlin: Akademie 1996.

as a strategic factor, with the help of which a city can become more attractive for global tourism and capital flow.[32] This phenomenon can be described with the term 'ethnic representation'.[33] This term relates to a complex symbolic and political strategic repertoire, which contains forms of ethnic self-representation that can be used for political purposes. Subcultures and self-representations are becoming part of the cityscapes more emphatically, and at the same time they also reflect the new discursive context of the cities.[34] In this explicitly performative urban self-representation ethnic presence plays a dominant role, and the participants can easily be identified in this process: entrepreneurs, city politicians, artists and tourists, who, via their everyday cultural and symbolic practices, all contribute to the materialisation and symbolisation of ethnic-cultural diversity and in creating local features.[35]

The processes outlined above, specifically in connection with Jewish heritage and Jewish quarters, are manifested on the internet in the form of advertisements in which the city brand appears as an ethnic product: '*Jewish Budapest*' or '*Jewish Berlin*' or '*Jewish Prague*'. The buildings that have remained here and still bear visible and specific features, the visible forms of *Erinnerungspolitik* (e.g. memorial tablets) and the 'Jewish' images subsisting on different discourses all serve both historic-authentic and exotic-ethnic expectations in the urban environment. The labels such as: '*Jewish Berlin*', '*Jewish Budapest*', '*Jewish Paris*', etc. are *products* of the cities' symbolic topography and map, which again are the results of both the practice of remembering the Jewish community and Jewish life of the given city and the practice of facing the Holocaust.

'Jewish Quarters' as Urban Tableaux?

When browsing the web sites of Toledo[36] and Córdoba[37] the word 'Judería' appears among the first pieces of information. Both towns list their former Medieval Jewish quarter and synagogue – of the few synagogues that have remained in Spain – among their main sights. After 1490 these buildings were used as churches, and then in the last decade of the 20th century the original

32 Zukin: *The Culture of the Cities*.

33 Kaschuba: Zwischen Niemandsland und Residenz.

34 Annika Mattisek: *Die neoliberale Stadt. Diskursive Repräsentationen am Stadtmarketing deutscher Großstädte*. Bielefeld: Transcript 2008.

35 Ulf Hannerz: *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge 1996; Thomas Biskup / Marc Schallenberg (eds): *Selling Berlin – Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preußischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt*. Stuttgart: Steiner 2008.

36 http://www.toledosefarad.org/JUDERIA/lajuderia.php (accessed 20.12.2013).

37 http://www.andalucia.com/cities/cordoba/juderia.htm (accessed 20.12.2013).

synagogue parts were revealed and made into museums. There is no Jewish community in either of these towns, so the built Jewish heritage is completely managed by the municipalities of the two towns. At the same time when the medieval Jewish heritage was upgraded, the image appearing on the sites was created by branding and by the economic needs of the towns – attracting as many visitors as possible in the present case – and the services offered in association with the image.

Most of the European towns that have Jewish quarters do not have a significant Jewish community. In many towns the everyday experience of Jews and non-Jews living together has become eclipsed or is not present in any form other than historic records; groups of images – *tableaux* – containing remembrance-knowledge fractures and splinters have remained. The images themselves, on what in this case the imaginary of Jewishness draws, are *results* of, as the art historian Hans Belting puts it: "pure personal or collective symbolization".[38]

In this study the application of the concept *urban tableaux* helps to describe the process of *imagineering*[39] *Jewishness* in relation to architectural heritage. *Urban tableaux* are the assemblages of those *results* referring to Jews in the urban context that are used as a pool to create and re-create something called 'Jewish'. This is the end product of the process of imagineering and the *results* of the *tableaux* can be used ad libitum.[40]

In the case of Toledo and Cordoba the characteristics occur by mentioning the medieval 'glorious' past, the richness of medieval Jewish culture and outstanding Jewish personalities, who by now have become organic parts of the town image. There is no living community having its own reading and identities, so there is nothing to remark upon, and the Jewish past of these towns can be remodelled, interpreted or used without any possible 'control'. Cities with a larger Jewish community, such as Paris, Berlin, London or Budapest, are in a more complex situation. In most of them there are both architectural impressions and Jewish communities with plural identities, at the same time the Jewishness *imagineered* by the given city is also present, and it appears in the city branding too.[41]

38 Hans Belting: *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*. Munich: Beck 2001, p. 11.

39 Rolf Lindner: The Imaginary of the City. In: Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (ed.): *The Contemporary Study of Culture*. Wien: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Verkehr 2003, pp. 289–294.

40 A similar process is described in the concept of "urban Imagineering" by Alexa Färber in: Alexa Färber (ed.): *Hotel Berlin. Formen urbaner Mobilität und Verortung*. Berlin: Lit 2005.

41 http://www.budapest.com/city_guide/culture/jewish_budapest.en.html (accessed 20.01.2014).

Paris/Marais

Today the Marais in Paris – which also consists of myths constructed alongside historical facts and architectural impressions – is not the home of the Jewish community – which, we have to emphasise again, is plural in Paris too –, but the image and content of this urban space is determined first of all by the gay subculture. Still, the Jewish Paris commonplace concentrates on the Marais. Michel Laguerre[42], in his work analysing European Jewish quarters describes the Jewish quarter in Paris as a living quarter, identifying the quarter itself with the Jewish population living there, although the Marais does not have a significant Jewish population any more. First of all the Marais appears on the different websites as the display of an imagined Jewish existence, where especially the presence of the Jewish cuisine is conspicuous (falafel, kosher confectionery).[43] At the same time, among the average buildings of the 19th arrondissement a Jewish quarter develops through the specific use of space of religious Jewish life, invisibly to those who are unable to decipher the presence of these people. The synagogues cannot be seen. Nor can be other elements of the infrastructure, such as the mikveh or the Jewish school. Yet, Jewish religious life still takes place here. And then we have not mentioned the scenes of secular French Jewish life, or the urban spaces of the Sephardic Jews, which are not related to the Marais and are not regarded as a Jewish quarter by anyone.

Krakow/Kazimierz

> Jewish life in Krakow, nearly extinguished by the Nazis, was driven underground in the communist era. Kazimierz, where Schindler's List was filmed, was a neglected and underpopulated district under communism. In recent years it has been transformed into one of the hippest parts of the city. […] Jewishness has been adopted as a selling point, almost a badge of cool, in a way that is sometimes tasteless. Converted golf carts tout for tourist custom with awnings displaying the itinerary: "Auschwitz, Schindler's factory, Jewish quarter." […] There have been complaints over a "Jewish-themed" restaurant that displays a page of the Torah on its wall […].[44]

The above citation appeared in the *Guardian* two years ago and clearly describes the process of the construction of the quarter's 'Jewishness'. Kazimierz is

42 Michel Laguerre: *Global Neighbourhoods – Jewish Quarters in Paris, London, and Berlin*. New York: State University of New York Press 2008.

43 www.parislemarais.com (accessed 20.01.2014).

44 Jeevan Vasagar/Juilan Borger: A Jewish Renaissance in Poland. In: *The Guardian*, 07.04.2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/07/jewish-renaissance-poland (accessed 20.03.2013).

one of the mostly researched quarters, as the richness of academic publication shows.[45] If we analyse the programmes of the Jewish Culture Festival over several years, the following images appear: Klezmer, Galicia, Hasidism, Kabbala, Yiddish, Jewish Food and the quarter itself with the synagogue, the cemeteries and the ghetto. On the basis of the images the commonplace of a bygone 'desired' past takes shape: the vanished Eastern European Jewish culture. These are sellable images (*results*) that could be deciphered by everyone.

By now among the supporters and sponsors of the festivals there are the Polish ministry of Tourism and the Municipality of Krakow too, making it clear that the festival with its own imagined/constructed Jewish participants represents a *selling point* in the marketability of the city. The example of Krakow perfectly indicates the intertwining of the physical space, the constructed space retouched with ethnic/religious culture and remembrance policy, and the urban economic interests.

For years numerous European cities have been organising 'Jewish' themed festivals similar to the one in Krakow[46] on the basis of almost the same script. The majority of these festivals feed from and reflect on the past communicating specific knowledge and notions about the Jewry. On the one hand the festivals strengthen the images and expectations in the non-Jewish environment and, on the other hand, they reduce the present-day European Jewish existence and culture to these images, neglecting its variety and richness.

On the basis of our analyses to date[47] this tableaux is formed by the Holocaust, the Yiddishkeit and the commonplace of happy peacetime. In Europe today there is no Jewish cultural festival that does not include aspects of the Holocaust, the Hasidic Jewry or of melancholic yearning for the idealised coexistence of Jews and non-Jews at the turn of the century for the past 'happy peacetime'. Of these three, it is perhaps the Holocaust that demands the least explanation.[48] The 'happy peacetime' in the festival programmes may mean sightseeing, a theatre play or book presentation.

45 For example, Jurgita Šiaučūnaitė-Verbickienė / Larisa Lempertienė (eds): *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars 2007; Murczyn-Kupisz / Purchla (eds): *Reclaiming Memory*.

46 http://jewish-heritage-travel.blogspot.de/2012/03/jewish-culture-and-other-festivals-in.html (accessed 30.03.2015).

47 Eszter Gantner / Mátyás Kovács: Altering Alternatives: Mapping Jewish Subcultures in Budapest. In: Brauch / Lipphardt / Nocke (eds): *Jewish Topographies*, pp. 210–221.

48 Since 1990 the reflection on the Holocaust became part of the self-determination and public role-undertaking of all social groups and political forces that identify themselves as being democratic.

Therefore it is (not) surprising that the Krakow festival[49] uses the commonplace of Yiddishkeit. Yiddishkeit as a commonplace primarily means the (false) revival, the replaying of the memory and customs of the Eastern European Hasidic Jewry obliterated in the Second World War.

The majority of the festivals are organised and sponsored by the cities – for example, in Berlin the annual Jewish cultural festival was founded by the city leadership – and is generally headed by the appointed art director. Certainly further empirical research is needed on these *tableaux* and on their possible changes in the future. But for the moment, these homogenous images of Jewish quarters hide the heterogeneity of formal and present Jewish life and culture in these cities. As an exception the Budapest Negyed6/Negyed7 festival [50] could be mentioned, which was founded by a young Jewish NGO, Marom, in 2010. The festival consciously breaks away from the mentioned 'triangle' of images projected on the city's Jewish heritage. Although the Jewish cultural space created by Marom during the festival days deals with and is based on the architectural sites as well, but at the same time in an exchange with them. It also reflects on their pasts and present, on their various dwellers and inhabitants with diverse private histories. The festival also reinterprets various elements of the Jewish tradition in accordance with the contemporary, generational demands offering for a wider audience a view into a lively, vibrant and *existing* urban Jewish culture.[51]

Berlin / Spandauer Vorstadt / Scheunenviertel

In Berlin the designation *jüdisches Viertel* (Jewish quarter) even to this day relates to the area behind Alexanderplatz, where Jewish refugees arrived at the end of the First World War primarily from civil war-stricken Russia and the Ukraine, and from the eastern parts of the disintegrating Habsburg Empire.[52] The majority of them intended to stay in Berlin just for one or two months hoping for emigration, therefore choosing the cheap accommodation behind Alexanderplatz they moved to Scheunenviertel, which was fixed in the memory of the city as an Eastern European ghetto. After the Second World

49 More detailed analysis in Gruber: Beyond Virtually Jewish, pp. 63–68.

50 http://negyed6negyed7.com (accessed 10.01.2014).

51 In the case of Budapest a further research is needed with a special focus on the possible interaction between the growing antisemitic public political discourse and the fate of the Jewish tangible heritage.

52 Tobias Brinkmann : Topographien der Migration. Jüdische Durchwanderung in Berlin nach 1918. In: Dan Diner (ed.): *Synchrone Welten. Zeitenräume jüdischer Geschichte.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005, pp. 175–199.

War the majority of the buildings here were demolished, so today their presence can only be found in the literature. Irrespective of this, Scheunenviertel lives on in the consciousness of Berlin as a Jewish quarter: in this part of the city there are tours organised for tourists, literature readings are held, a culture industry has been established around the remaining buildings and one or two streets built on Jewish heritage: the restaurants bear Jewish-sounding names, a klezmer music centre and a Yiddish theatre have been established in the quarter. In this way, the Eastern European Yiddishkeit space, Scheunenviertel, standing in the focus of Berlin's constructed Jewish past (the entire architecture of which does not actually exist today as it was demolished after 1945) is recreating itself from the memories of Eastern European Jewish refugees and shtetl-dreams. Scheunenviertel appears on many tourism websites as Berlin's Jewish quarter;[53] moreover, the sociologist Michel Laguerre devoted a separate section to it.[54] In these cases the image of a former Jewish Quarter is 'materially' projected onto another city quarter containing Jewish tangible heritage: the Spandauer Vorstadt.

However, the interviews with the various stakeholders in Berlin paint a completely different picture of the city's Jewish quarter – showing the possibility of various forms of interpretation and the *elasticity* of the term 'Jewish quarter'.

The following excerpts are from qualitative interviews led during the spring of 2011 in Berlin with the following partners[55]: director of the Jewish Museum, owner of the company milk&honey tours, an employee of the Visit Berlin marketing agency and two journalists at the most important city event magazines: *TIP* and *Zitty*.

> Does Berlin have a Jewish quarter?
>
> Apart from the historical dimension I don't really see it that way. I myself live at Nordbahnhof, and the Spandauer Vorstadt [historic center] was a kind of Jewish quarter; [today] with the Beth Cafe and the Leo-Baeck-Haus, and you see a reflection of Jewish life there, that the police are always guarding the buildings. But I don't really consider that a Jewish quarter, but rather more of a 're-initiation', a re-institutionalisation, which I can't experience in my everyday life […]
>
> So I would say no […] I would make a differentiation. Tourists would think that there is. I of course know that there isn't one, or in the form in which it's depicted, perhaps it existed in the Middle Ages. There always was an area to which Jews were drawn, the

53 For example: http://www.touristeye.com/Scheunenviertel-Jewish-Quarter-Berlin-p-18181 (accessed 20.01.2013).

54 Laguerre: *Global Neighbourhoods*, pp. 37–61.

55 The interview partners asked to be quoted anonymously.

> Bayerische Viertel or some such. A Jewish quarter must have had cultural institutions, like a theater, and stores to supply it. The Spandauer Vorstadt [historic center] was once a beggars' quarter, and for that reason Jews were at that time also residents there. So naturally as a tourist you still find traces of Jewish life, but no longer on the scale that tourists would like. It's similar to what you find with regards to the Nazi period… But there aren't the real centers of power from the Nazi period, or a ghetto in the sense of a medieval quarter. The Jüdenhof [a residential complex dating to the Middle Ages] no longer exists in Berlin…
>
> Do you believe that there's a 'Jewish' element in Berlin's urban image, meaning that the city in some form uses what is 'Jewish' to appeal to tourists or to promote itself?
>
> Definitely. I do think that this historical dimension of Berlin, that it is indeed a line with which to reel in tourists. The other is the party aspect of the city. We once did a survey, why tourists come, and we learned that tourists, particularly international ones, were familiar with city's history, that is the fall of the Wall and Berlin of the 20s, also the Nazi period, meaning the historical Berlin. And Berlin markets itself as a 'historic' city, you need only to look at how well history exhibits here do […] And the fact is that Berlin was the launching point for the Nazi's reign of terror, which is repeatedly portrayed in Hollywood productions and has penetrated the furthest corner of the earth, which of course is important, so that people go and see the places themselves, where these horrors came from. That will then be incorporated into a tourist's itinerary. People go from Potsdamer Platz and the Holocaust Memorial to Checkpoint Charlie, and they have covered a good deal of historical sites. It shows people's need to really visit the places where things took place.

The process outlined above, specifically in connection with Jewish heritage and Jewish quarters, is manifested on the internet in the form of advertisements in which the city brand appears as an ethnic product: *Jewish Budapest* or *Jewish Berlin*. The buildings that have remained here and still bear visible and specific features, the visible forms of remembrance policy (e. g. memorial tablets) and the 'Jewish' images subsisting on different discourses all serve both historic-authentic and exotic-ethnic expectations in the urban environment. The Jewish quarters in Budapest and Berlin, as well as in Paris and in many other cities, have become a brand, a brand that now has a fixed set of 'images' of 'Jewishness'.

Interestingly enough, these urban *tableaux* seem to contain similar *images* although the current cities have different histories and traditions. These 'travelling images' include the nostalgic look on the destroyed Eastern European Jewish culture and the use of this culture as a kind of pool for 'Jewishness' is still characteristic. This phenomenon was described already during the 1990s,[56] but seemingly it became a fixed *tableau*, not disappearing with time. It appears

56 Gruber: *Virtually Jewish*; Murzyn-Kupisz / Purchla (eds): *Reclaiming Memory*; Šiaučūnaitė-Verbickienė / Lempertienė (eds): *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe*.

for example in the form of the small wooden figures of a traditionally looking Jew in the shop at the entrance of the Dohány synagogue in Budapest. The image of the 'shtetl', 'mixed' with the 'Holocaust', especially in Berlin and added with a certain 'quantity' of the melancholic, nostalgic cohabitation of Jews and non-Jews during idealized times of peace at the turn of the century are the essence of the 'fixed' homogenous images of Jewishness and Jewish quarters.

But the last interview quote refers also to something else, namely to that special role that the Holocaust plays in the construction of the Berlin Jewish space/quarter. Berlin is home to the country's largest Jewish community of some ten thousand people. This multi-identity, strongly post-Soviet community creates its own spaces in a city where the constructed Jewish space does not only include the non-existent ex-Jewish quarter (Scheunenviertel), but also the Jewish Museum and the Holocaust Memorial.

The Jewish quarter, Jewish Berlin has become a brand, which now has a fixed 'image' and constructed canon. Those personalities, those architectural and other memorials that belong to this canon were established over the course of the past decade. All this can be traced from the appearance of tourism, the catalogues, the thematic tours offered in the city. Present-day Jewish life in the city is not a part of this canon, which, apart from one or two momentary media inspections, is not influenced by the large number of the Israeli population (for the time being).[57] Naturally there are Israeli participants in the Jewish cultural festival (primarily music events),[58] but due to the political tensions linked to Israel and probably with consideration of the large Muslim minority, these seem to be somewhat hidden. At the same time present-day Jewish culture is becoming increasingly synonymous with Israel (which the festival reflects perfectly: the majority of the events look into the past, and the present, in other words present-day Jewish life and culture, is embodied by Israeli artists and productions).

Conclusions

This study – a snapshot – intended to analyze the role of the images, first of all the *tableaux* – assemblages of images – used in the revitalization of a Jewish tangible heritage – especially of Jewish quarters. These images seem to play an essential role in the contemporary interpretation and revitalization

57 http://www.dw.de/unkosher-jewish-night-takes-berlin-by-storm/a-15987608 (accessed 20.12.2012).

58 http://www.juedische-kulturtage.org/ (accessed 20.12.2012).

of the 'Jewishness' of the Jewish quarters. On the basis of the processes and examples outlined in the article it seems that the 'Jewish' nature and the ethno-cultural character of the Jewish architectural heritage remaining in European cities are primarily determined by the external economic, commemoration politics and city marketing actors. The space created in this way has been and is created in a well-coded way around the architectural heritage characteristic of the given culture. The once functional buildings (synagogue, mikveh, etc.), the knowledge relating to them, the fact that they played an important role in the life of a community, as well as the image set related to the community legitimise and ensure the authenticity of the ethno-cultural space constructed around them – Jewishness in the present case. This, however, leaves the existence/non-existence of the given community completely out of consideration, and 'arbitrarily' communicates a very homogenous picture of the given culture put together from discretionally selected elements, not reflecting its possible diversity and self-definition. Therefore, the practices of *Erinnerungskultur* manifested in the urban space and the 'images of Jewishness' constructed in the various discourses satisfy the demand for both the historic-authentic and for the exotic-ethic producing urban *tableaux*. All other possible interpretations, images, details become marginal as opposed to the governing marketable construction and in this way Jewish culture and heritage of the cities are simplified into just an exotic piece of history.