

Mapping Jewish culture in Europe today: a pilot project

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research** (JPR) is an independent think-tank that informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on social, political and cultural issues affecting Jewish life.

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Planning for Jewish communities
Jewish culture: arts, media and heritage
Israel: impact, society and identity
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Jewish culture: arts, media and heritage explores the role cultural encounters play in forming Jewish identity and representing Jews and Judaism to the wider world. It includes policy initiatives to promote and sustain Jewish culture.

Preface

Some time ago, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research published a report entitled *Cultural Politics and European Jewry* (Waterman 1999). That report formed the basis of discussion at a seminar in Paris in February 1999, entitled 'Jewish Culture for the Twenty-first Century', convened jointly by JPR and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. That meeting provided a stimulus for the creation of both the European Association for Jewish Culture in 2001 and the project presented here on 'mapping' the extent of the Jewish cultural renaissance in Europe.

To study the Jewish cultural revival across the whole of Europe would have been a massive undertaking. We decided to concentrate on just four diverse countries, each with a relatively small Jewish population. And, although the report presents quantitative data on the results of the exercise, the lessons learned in the process of conducting the research are as important as the findings themselves. The challenges thrown up in the course of developing this project, such as how to collect, collate, classify and present data on a 'cultural product', and on the typologies created, should make any future efforts at mapping the nature and extent of Jewish culture easier.

During the first year of this project, Dina Berenstein made the initial contacts with the correspondents, and under the supervision of the then Director of Research at JPR, Dr Jacqueline Goldberg, collected and classified the data and set up the database of Jewish cultural events in Italy, Poland, Sweden and Belgium. Dina also sketched out the first draft of the report. On Dina's departure in the latter part of 2001, Rebecca Schischa replaced her and it was she who authored the final report.

We are grateful to the four country correspondents who worked on the project: Laura Mincer in Italy, the late Włodzimierz Susid in Poland, Miriam Andersson in Sweden and Michèle Baczynsky in Belgium. We are also grateful to Julia Rapp and Mathilde Jakobsen who worked on the culture database.

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Stanley Waterman
Director of Research, JPR

1 Introduction

This project takes the pulse of a perceptible Jewish cultural revival in Europe and sets out to unravel its scope and substance. Though a 'Jewish renaissance' in Europe has become something of a catchphrase, what are the facts and figures to support it? This pilot project was born out of an awareness that very little has been done so far to document or map this very contemporary Jewish phenomenon.

There is little doubt that a Jewish cultural and artistic scene has flourished over the past decade in Europe. Klezmer music,¹ once thought to have died out with the *shtetl*, has experienced a highly successful revival. Jewish cultural festivals—many inaugurated during the 1990s—are establishing themselves as annual fixtures in towns and cities across Europe, and new Jewish films, plays and art exhibitions are showcased in film festivals, in theatres and in galleries and museums across the continent. This report aims to categorize and quantify the breadth of this phenomenon in four selected European countries—Poland, Sweden, Italy and Belgium—as a preliminary mapping exercise.

In introducing a project concerned with the mapping and classification of Jewish cultural products, it is important to define 'Jewish culture' more closely. The term 'culture' is a complex one that eludes a cohesive definition. The cultural critic Raymond Williams offers three general categories of use of the word 'culture':

- a general intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development;
- a general or specific indication of a particular way of life, whether of a period, people or group;
- the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity.²

1 The word 'klezmer', from the original Yiddish, is commonly used to denote professional Eastern European Jewish dance musicians or, more recently, musicians who identify themselves with that tradition. The term combines two Hebrew words: *kle*, meaning vessel or instrument, and *zemer*, meaning song. In recent years, 'klezmer music' has become the term used to describe the music *klezmerim* (the plural) perform. Hankus Netsky, 'An overview of klezmer music and its development in the US', *Judaism*, vol. 47, no. 1, 1998, 5–12. This winter 1998 issue of the quarterly journal *Judaism* contains eight interesting articles on the klezmer phenomenon; see, in particular, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's 'Sounds of sensibility', 49–77.

2 Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana 1976), 80.

It is this third definition that will be employed in the discussion of 'culture' in this report. In other words, we define 'culture' as the artistic or creative products of music, theatre, film, dance, visual art and, to a lesser extent, the media.

Defining 'Jewish culture' for the purposes of this project, in the light of this general definition, thus becomes more straightforward. Notionally, the term 'Jewish culture' incorporates religion, language, history and knowledge. It can also denote a form of Jewish consciousness or a general Jewish way of life.³ However, this paper does not set out to examine such broad concepts as trends in Jewish society or general Jewish intellectual development in contemporary Europe. Rather, it is the Jewish cultural *products* created in each of the four test countries—Poland, Sweden, Belgium and Italy—that will provide its focus.⁴

Much of contemporary Jewish culture in Europe is shaped by outside influences, by an engagement of non-Jewish writers, performers and musicians with Jewish cultural themes and often in response to the increasingly widespread interest of predominantly non-Jewish audiences. Ruth Ellen Gruber colourfully delineates this 'virtually Jewish' cultural phenomenon, this very contemporary non-Jewish fascination with Jewish culture, in her book *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*.⁵ She highlights a range of (sometimes conflicting) motivations behind the phenomenon, such as the process taking place in several European countries, primarily Germany, of *Vergangenheitsverarbeitung* ('working through the past'). This is the long process, taking place in European states, of psychologically revisiting and confronting the truth about their histories during the Nazi period and the decimation of local Jewish communities. As a

3 For a discussion of the issues involved in defining Jewish culture, see Jonathan Webber, 'Notes towards the definition of "Jewish culture" in contemporary Europe', paper delivered at the conference 'Jewish Identities in the Post-Communist Era', European Institute, Budapest, July 2001 (papers from this conference will be published in a forthcoming book).

4 The decisions reached as to what is signified by the *Jewish* nature of a cultural product will be discussed in detail in the methodological discussion in Chapter 2.

5 Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 2002).

gesture of atonement to the Jews in the light of the horrible truths that have emerged, and to enable a reconnection with their lost Jewish communities, Europeans have begun embracing all forms of both universalized and localized Jewish culture, history and memory in their respective countries.

Reclaiming Jewish culture is more than just uncovering a forgotten Jewish past. It is also perceived as a way of reclaiming a lost part of *national* identities. Across Europe, the national importance of the restoration of lost Jewish cultural life is increasingly acknowledged as people come to realize the significant influence that Jewish communities have exerted on European history, in both local and national spheres. Moreover, this importance has been given official European Union recognition: the 1987 resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recognized 'the very considerable and distinctive contribution that Jews and the tradition of Judaism have made to the historical development of Europe in the cultural and other fields'.⁶

The recent growth of Jewish culture parallels, and is an integral part of, a wider growth in the popularity of world cultures. This increased appreciation of minority cultures may well be stimulated by the emergence of multicultural societies in Europe. Ethnic minority cultures are no longer solely inward-orientated and now appeal to a wide external audience as well. In other words, the growth of general interest in ethnic culture is in no way restricted to the Jewish community alone; on the contrary, customs and cultures of all communities perceived as 'other' have become objects of fascination for people across Europe and the western world. For example, not only klezmer, but world music in general, has flourished during the last decade, as the upsurge in the popularity of Latin, rai or reggae music shows.

Local Jewish communities are often involved in many of the Jewish cultural initiatives that take place across Europe, but sometimes play no part at all.⁷ Indeed local Jewish communities may sometimes feel removed from the 'Jewish-style'

cultural events, restaurants and other venues mushrooming in old Jewish quarters in towns across Europe, as well as from the romanticized images of Jews and *shtetl* life presented in European museums. These phenomena provoke ongoing debates about the nature of 'authentic' Jewish culture and about the legitimacy of the non-Jewish artistic participation in the creation of new Jewish cultural products. At times kitschy and commercialized, these aspects of Jewish culture across contemporary Europe feed on overtly stereotypical, or otherwise mythologized, representations of 'the Jew'. As a result, local Jewish communities may keep their distance from such activities, questioning the authenticity of such representations of Jewish culture.

For Jewish participants, Jewish cultural events facilitate the expression and strengthening of Jewish identity and also provide a form of recreation. They provide a means of communicating—and creating— aspects of Jewish cultural, social and communal life as well as Jewish history. For Jews now living in other countries, whose parents or grandparents left Europe and then drifted away from Judaism, the emerging Jewish culture is becoming an important space in which they can seek out and revisit the Jewish traditions that their forebears abandoned or that were lost in the dissolution of Jewish communal life during and after the Holocaust. Furthermore, the general decline in religiosity in European Jewish communities is part of a more widespread decline in religious belief, and their integration, or assimilation, into the general population may be encouraging an interest in and need to explore cultural aspects of Jewish life as an 'authentic' alternative to religious practice. And official Jewish bodies are recognizing the importance of Jewish culture in shaping this 'new Jewishness' as the expression of a new Jewish identity: '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.'⁸

A strong sense of Jewish cultural identity exists among many Jews whose religious affiliation may be minimal or non-existent. The American sociologist Herbert J. Gans has called this phenomenon Jewish 'symbolic religiosity', a term that denotes a 'residual,

6 Ibid., 5.

7 Indeed, as Gruber observes, the sheer volume of Jewish cultural events in some European countries means that skewed perceptions about the numbers of Jews living there may exist; people think there are still huge Jewish communities in places where most Jews were annihilated in the Holocaust.

8 Richard Siegel, executive director of the American National Foundation for Jewish Culture, May 1999, cited in Webber.

minimalist Jewish observance on the one hand, and the quasi-mystical, mythological and essentialist view of Jewish peoplehood on the other'.⁹ The decline in the potency of the message of Zionism may also have led people to search for other forms of Jewish expression. The market or audience for Jewish cultural events may therefore be wider and greater than ever before in the Jewish, as well as the non-Jewish, world.

The revival of Jewish culture is not without complications. For example, over the centuries, Jewish culture has been dominated by the word, both in its written and oral forms. This dependence on the literary, whether expressed in Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino or any of the other Jewish languages, has proved challenging at a time when Jews are increasingly dispersed throughout nation-states that use different languages, and when Jews—at least those in the diaspora—are increasingly ignorant of traditional Jewish languages. As a consequence, alternatives to the spoken and written word have been sought, including music and painting, which both overcome linguistic boundaries, and film, which succeeds in fusing the verbal with the visual. The new artistic media thus incorporate modes of communication in which the emphasis on the word is less dominant.¹⁰

This pilot project, then, is essentially a feasibility study into the ways in which contemporary Jewish cultural production in Europe can be mapped and

recorded systematically. Such a comprehensive mapping exercise of the Jewish cultural landscape is unprecedented both in terms of content and methodology. At this stage, it is not intended to provide a complete picture of the whole of the European Jewish cultural world. This lies beyond the scope of its research parameters. The primary aim has been to construct and test a working methodology—a mapping model—for the collection, recording and classification of data on Jewish culture throughout Europe. This model was employed in the four selected, diverse test countries for a twelve-month period between May 2000 and April 2001. If successful in these four countries, it is envisaged that this pilot study will generate wider investigations into contemporary Jewish culture in Europe, and that the model will function as a prototype for future research.

With this pilot study, we also intend to raise awareness of the current state of play of the Jewish cultural sector in each of these countries. We aim to identify patterns and trends emerging in the thematic content and artistic form of Jewish cultural productions. We also identify types of audiences and participants, as well as organizations and individuals involved in the management and funding of Jewish cultural activities. These findings may then act as a catalyst for the further study of Jewish cultural activity and production across Europe, as well as for the establishment of new forms of funding for Jewish culture.

9 Herbert J. Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4, 1994, 577–92.

10 Richard Cohen describes how this development was already, to some extent, underway in the nineteenth century. He overturns the stereotype of Jews as people of the text,

unconcerned with the visual, and shows that the end of the nineteenth century heralded an era in which the study and collecting of Jewish art became a popular pursuit, and in which Jews entered into the art world as painters, collectors and dealers; Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 1998).

2 Mapping methodologies

Selection of the four test countries

Italy, Poland, Belgium and Sweden were the countries selected for this mapping exercise. A major factor in the decision to map the production of Jewish culture in these particular countries was that the Jewish community in each of them is relatively small in size, and consequently relatively easy to survey. The Jewish population of Italy stands at 29,600, Poland 3,500,¹¹ Belgium 31,700 and Sweden 15,000. Comparing these figures with those for the Jewish community in France (over 500,000) or the United Kingdom (just under 300,000) demonstrates why, for the purposes of a feasibility study, these four Jewish communities were preferred.¹²

These countries cover a wide geographical range, incorporating northern, southern, eastern and western Europe. They also represent a varied cross-section of European societies, with contrasting Jewish histories, traditions and national cultures. This diversity produces a useful sample for this study. Different languages are spoken in each of the four countries and they encompass areas in which 'indigenous' Jewish languages such as Yiddish, Ladino and Judaeo-Roman have had a strong presence. An additional, important aspect taken into account when selecting the countries was the differing Holocaust experiences of each national Jewish population. These experiences directly influence and inform the state of play of Jewish culture in the post-war era, and remain influential to this day.

Italy deserves special attention in this pilot study as Europe's oldest Jewish community, with an

uninterrupted Jewish presence for over two millennia. Indeed, the Italian Jewish community has become so deeply established in Italy that, over the centuries, it has developed a form of prayer and a tradition distinct from both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions. This unique tradition means that Italian Jews often describe themselves as 'Italkim', rather than either Sephardi or Ashkenazi. Italy still has many established Jewish communities spread across the country. During the Second World War, Italian Jews were initially excluded from public life, but this persecution did not lead to extermination until the Nazi occupation in 1943 when the authorities began hunting down and deporting Jews. In the eighteen months of German occupation, some 8,000 of the roughly 57,000 Italian Jews—a figure that included approximately 10,000 recent refugees to Italy who had fled from other parts of Europe before the war—were deported to Auschwitz, where the vast majority was murdered. In the post-war era, Italy has officially recognized this loss and, in more recent years, Jewish cultural events have gained huge popularity in mainstream Italian society.

For centuries, Poland was regarded as the epicentre of Jewish cultural life in Europe. It is estimated that, before 1939, the Jews in Poland constituted approximately 10 per cent of the total population. During the Holocaust, Poland suffered the greatest blow to its Jewish—as well as its non-Jewish—population. By 1945 an estimated 3 million Polish Jews had been killed. For a long time after the Second World War, when the country came under Communist control, Poland was regarded as a country in which the Jewish community had all but vanished. The situation for the remaining fragile Jewish community degenerated with the suppression of religion under Communism, culminating in 1968, when most Jews and others of Jewish origin elected to leave Poland in the face of a virulent anti-Jewish campaign conducted by the Communist government. However, in post-Communist Poland, and in the last decade in particular, Poland has experienced a remarkable revival of Jewish life and cultural activity, despite the fact that only a tiny Jewish community of no more than an estimated 3,500 remains. This development of Jewish cultural production in Poland—despite the small numbers—is what makes the Polish case unique.

11 Out of all the national Jewish population sizes, Poland's, in particular, is frequently disputed. Certainly, given the sizeable group who claim a connection to Jewish ancestry—if we were to take the widest possible definition of 'who is a Jew'—the figure would be higher than the population size cited here. However, for the purposes of consistency, we are relying on the same source for each national Jewish population throughout this report.

12 Population figures taken from Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun and Mark Tölts, 'Prospecting the Jewish future: population projections, 2000–2080', in David Singer and Lawrence Grossman (eds), *American Jewish Year Book 2000* (New York: American Jewish Committee 2000), based on research at the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The strong non-religious identity of Swedish Jewry and its decision to recreate itself as a national minority makes Sweden an interesting case study. The Swedish Jewish community is now officially recognized as a national minority with Yiddish as its minority language. Sweden remained neutral, and therefore unoccupied, throughout the Second World War. Consequently, the Swedish Jewish community suffered no losses and Sweden also became a safe haven for Danish and Norwegian Jews. In 1945 Sweden also granted asylum to many Jews freed from German concentration camps in the collapsing Third Reich.

Finally, Belgium was chosen because of its religiously and linguistically diverse Jewish community, linguistic diversity being a notable feature of Belgian society as a whole. Belgian Jewry suffered great losses during the Holocaust. The Nazis occupied Belgium in 1940 and as many as 26,000 Belgian Jews—half the Belgian Jewish population of the time—perished in concentration camps before the end of the war. In the post-war era, the Belgian Jewish community ranges from the large strictly Orthodox community in Antwerp, to the more secular Jewish community in Brussels, the latter being far more involved in Jewish cultural production.

Appendix 1 provides more detailed information about the four countries chosen and the four national Jewish communities.

Classification of cultural products

After early discussions about how to define the term 'culture', the overriding need to establish exactly how we would functionally define and categorize 'cultural products', as well as specifically 'Jewish' cultural products, remained.

Precedents

This question of classifying cultural production is not just an issue in the Jewish sphere but is an ongoing concern for federal bodies working in the field of culture across Europe. In a 2000 study entitled *Cultural Statistics in the EU*, aiming to assess the extent of cultural production across the European Union, the task force recognized the need for a formal structure for classifying cultural products. The stated aim of the study was to 'define a common core of activity fields unanimously considered to be cultural' by all member-states—and to create a harmonized system of classification once a consensus had been reached—in order to

replace the existing diversity of conflicting national definitions of culture and the national systems of recording cultural statistics to which each member-state adhered.¹³ A relatively reliable set of comparative statistics could then be compiled on the level of cultural production generated within each country. The eight categories of cultural products ultimately selected by the task force for classifying cultural production throughout the EU are shown in Table 1 overleaf.

Bearing in mind this existing classification, we then customized our own system. Pragmatic or, at times, subjective decisions made about the nature of the different cultural events or products that surfaced in the course of the year-long data collection period also played a significant role in the creation of this database and in dealing with anomalous entries.

While most cultural products did slot into the main categories devised, there were several anomalies that resisted classification. The very nature of a classification system is fraught with imperfections. There are always grey areas, products that do not conform to the system: products that do not fit neatly into any one category, and seem to belong simultaneously in several different categories. Decisions had to be taken about how to classify 'problematic' items, such as specific cultural events that were part of an ongoing series, or about what constitutes a 'cultural festival', given that the term 'festival' is used loosely and in many different cultural contexts. Moreover, what was to be done with the labelling and categorizing of festivals within a system of classification, when festivals generally extend across multiple categories within that system? And how should we deal, for example, with a lecture about music that also involves a live musical performance? Is this a performing arts event or an educational event? What about a book launch that takes place as part of a festival: should it be counted under the publications section or listed as a festival component, under a separate festivals section?

In the end, we decided to classify cultural productions according to seven main art types. Anomalies were treated on a case-by-case basis and we attempted to ensure that we dealt with them consistently. Festivals were to be counted as a

¹³ European Commission, *Cultural Statistics in the EU: Final Report of the LEG* (Luxembourg: Eurostat 2000), 24.

Table 1: EU classification of cultural products

Arts categories	Sub-categories
Cultural heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activities for the protection of monuments Museum activities Archaeological activities Other heritage-related activities Event organizing and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Educational activities
Archives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General and specialised archives activities Event organising and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Educational activities
Libraries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conservation and reading libraries Event organising and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Educational activities
Books and press	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creation of literary works (activities of authors) Drafting of articles for newspapers and periodicals (activities of journalists) Book production Newspaper and periodical production Activities of press agencies Activities of literary agents Organisation of book/reading festivals and fairs Events organising and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Trade/sales in books Trade/sales in press publications Educational activities
Visual arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Restoration Creation of visual works Production of visual works (publication of printed reproductions, production of casts) Exhibitions of visual works Organisation of festivals Event organising and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Trade/sales in visual works (art galleries) Trade/sales in reproductions and casts Educational activities
Architecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Architectural creation (activities of firms of architects) Educational activities
Performing arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creation of musical, choreographic, operatic, theatrical works Production of live entertainment Activities of orchestras, companies (dance, theatre, etc.) Services relating to the production of live entertainment (inc. artistic agents) Dissemination activities of concert halls, dance theatres, drama theatres, etc. Organisation of festivals (dance, music, theatre, etc.) Event organising and awareness-raising (inc. amateur training) Educational activities
Audio and audio-visual/multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creation of cinematographic works and audio-visual (non-cinema) works Creation of multimedia works Production of films for the cinema Production of films (non-cinema) Production of radio programmes Production of television programmes Production of sound and audio-visual recordings Production of multimedia works Film distribution Cinema management Organisation of festivals Radio broadcasting Television broadcasting Trade/sales in sound and audio-visual recordings Trade/sales in multimedia works Educational activities

Table 2: 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, film, book, multidisciplinary

separate category. The seven arts categories were then subdivided by discipline (e.g. the category of performing art includes the disciplines of music, theatre and dance), and the whole system was recorded in a comprehensive database that would allow for the optimum level of comparison and quantification of entries. Table 2 above shows the classification system that was established.

Exclusions

Our definition of 'cultural products' is not as wide as that of the European Union model. As a result, in comparison with that model, there are some differences as well as some intended omissions in the categories devised. We realized that if we were to take 'Jewish culture' in its broadest sense, it

could be an umbrella term for *all* types of Jewish-related activities, including, for example, sporting activities, Jewish learning programmes and religious activities. However, we have not adopted this all-encompassing definition of Jewish culture and are defining 'Jewish culture' in its *secular* form (i.e. Jewish arts and cultural activities as opposed to Jewish religious activities). In any case, it would certainly be an impossible task to cover *all* such manifestations of Jewish cultural life in this type of feasibility study. We have purposely limited data collection to events or products that are specifically cultural or artistic, as defined in Table 2. Any other cultural product was excluded from the research findings. The principal categories excluded are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Excluded categories

Excluded categories	Exceptions that were included in the data
Commemorations (including unveiling of plaques), e.g. Holocaust Memorial Day or Yom Ha'atzmaut (Israel Independence Day) celebrations	
Heritage tours, e.g. visits to cemeteries, synagogues or concentration camps	Heritage-oriented festivals
Architecture	
Sporting events	
Kosher/Jewish food events, cooking or restaurants or cafés	Cookery books (as publications); kosher/Jewish cookery workshops if part of a cultural festival
Language courses (Hebrew, Yiddish etc.) ¹⁴	
University activities/lectures on Jewish subjects or similar fields ¹⁵	
Permanent exhibitions or collections held by museums	Permanent exhibitions (re)opened within the project's time frame, as they indicate new areas of Jewish cultural activity

¹⁴ It is important to point out that, although language courses lie beyond the remit of this project, we are aware that the recent development, promotion and popularity of Yiddish (and indeed Ladino) are important indicators of the Jewish cultural revival in Europe. Other cultural events that promote these languages, such as Yiddish plays or recitals/performances of Yiddish song, are of course included in the study.

¹⁵ We decided that, although the increasing presence of Jewish studies courses and departments in universities across Europe is significant, tracking ongoing programmes of Jewish studies degree courses lay beyond the scope of the present study. However, if a Jewish cultural festival, or other one-off Jewish cultural events, ran in association with Jewish studies departments of local universities, they were included.

We should note however, that any specific concert, exhibition or other form of cultural production, as defined in Table 2, that took place in relation to any of these excluded categories, *was* included in the inventory. For example, although heritage tours to sites of Jewish interest were not recorded, specific exhibits or other events that related to these sites were collected.

Defining the *Jewish* nature of cultural products

As the project set out to map the production of Jewish culture in each of the four countries that constitute its focus, there were important issues to confront in the decision-making process concerning the question of how to define the actual *Jewish* element of a cultural event or production.

The Jewish/non-Jewish conundrum

While many Jewish events take place in exclusively Jewish venues or are created by Jewish artists and play to audiences that are mostly Jewish, the increasing non-Jewish interest and participation in the creation of Jewish cultural events and products were important to bear in mind in the process of formulating definitions. Furthermore, many events take place in mainstream venues, outside the formal structures of Jewish communities, and are attended by mainstream, non-Jewish audiences. Is the definition of 'Jewish' culture disrupted by this significant non-Jewish presence in its creation and consumption? Does a Jewish cultural event still qualify as such if it has not been created, organized or attended by Jews?

Conversely, the presence of Jewish artists, organizers and funders is not always a reliable gauge of the essential 'Jewishness' of an event or product. Jewish artists, organizers and funders are not *only* involved in events that have a distinctly Jewish theme. Likewise, fundraising events might be held for a Jewish cause without any perceptible Jewish thematic component or repertoire. Actors or other celebrities from mainstream society may constitute the line-up for such events. Similarly, a recognizably Jewish venue is no guarantee of a Jewish theme for a specific event. For that matter, a non-Jewish venue is not necessarily an appropriate marker of a product's *lack* of Jewishness. Jewish community centres or other Jewish institutions occasionally host performances devoted to themes that are not specifically Jewish, and mainstream venues are increasingly used for a variety of ethnic minority cultural events.

Defining Jewish cultural products solely as those created by Jewish artists therefore seemed limiting and somewhat imprecise. Defining exactly who is or is not a Jewish artist is also a complex issue. Moreover, however we chose to define Jewish artists, many may well deal with non-Jewish themes in addition to, or instead of, Jewish ones. Some might clearly identify themselves and their art as Jewish whereas others may prefer to avoid such 'ethnic categorization' of their work.

Furthermore, Jewish culture is a hybrid culture, assimilating local cultural traditions. Diaspora Jewish culture has always fed off its natural cultural surroundings and has gained from these diverse influences. Indeed, over the centuries there has been an ongoing non-Jewish influence on, and participation in, Jewish cultural production. The early klezmer musicians in Eastern Europe, for example, took their inspiration not only from Jewish musical traditions, but also from the music of Roma and other non-Jewish musical forms.

Bearing this in mind, we decided that the definitional thrust of categorizing 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, organize 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. As an additional bonus, mapping Jewish events that take place outside formal Jewish structures is also a useful tool for ascertaining the popularity of Jewish-related issues within the wider society.

However, this does not mean that Jewish cultural and artistic productions cannot be defined and described in several different ways. Labelling cultural products as 'Jewish' may just be one option among many, and does not necessarily fully characterize that product. Jewish art and culture are not necessarily *only* Jewish, and may express many universal values, such as experiences of exile and immigration, the search for identity, loss and spirituality. These are all experiences shared with other religious, ethnic or minority groups.

Culture v. Torah

Given the way we have chosen to define 'Jewish culture' and Jewish cultural products, this project is essentially an examination of ethnic or *secular*

Jewish culture.¹⁶ We did not intend to chart the revival of *religious* Jewish life in Europe. Therefore, we chose to exclude activities and events with a specifically religious purpose. These include religious services, study sessions or any other religious activities, e.g. Hanukkah celebrations, Purim parties, Talmud and Torah study, Sunday schools etc. While this type of activity paints a picture of Jewish communal or religious life, it does not lie within the project's parameters.

That is not to say, however, that the *thematic* content of Jewish cultural events or products may not make implicit or explicit allusions to Jewish religious practices, Torah concepts or Jewish mysticism or spirituality. Religious symbols and icons are often referred to, subverted or embodied in Jewish artistic or cultural productions. Likewise, organizers of Jewish cultural festivals may adopt Jewish religious festivals, e.g. Passover, or rituals as unifying festival themes, and lectures on Jewish rituals and spirituality often take place as part of Jewish cultural festivals or as stand-alones. Indeed, it would be impossible to imagine a form of Jewish culture existing or thriving that was devoid of any reference to Jewish religious traditions.

As Jews are becoming increasingly secularized, Jewish arts and culture seem to be gaining prominence in shaping contemporary Jewish identity and seem to offer a viable Jewish alternative to a traditional Orthodox lifestyle. As Jonathan Webber writes: 'It may be . . . sociologically speaking, that feelings of Jewish belongingness are less and less determined today by religious criteria.'¹⁷ Conversely, for strongly committed Orthodox Jews with an integrated Jewish religious framework in their lives, participation in Jewish cultural life—as defined here—may well be less important than it is for Jews who live outside such a religious framework. Moreover, we can argue that tensions necessarily exist between the strictly Orthodox notion of Torah observance as the *raison d'être* of Jewish existence and the conception of an

ethnic Jewish culture that exists independently of the Torah. As such, and because of the exclusion of events with specifically religious purposes, Orthodox Jews are therefore less obviously represented in this survey.

Other grey areas

Products that concern racism, xenophobia and extreme right-wing ideologies have not been included unless they also have a *specifically* Jewish element. Such productions deal with socio-political issues that are relevant to Jews but, in terms of the project definition, they do not in themselves constitute Jewish cultural productions.

Likewise, events and debates on the contemporary situation in Israel and the Middle East (including its historical background) are excluded. Most Jewish communities follow the developments in Israel and engage in Israel-related activities to some extent. However, these are not seen as cultural productions or as indicative of Jewish cultural life as such, but rather as an indication of a community's relationship to Israel.

Equally, although there is often an automatic association, in the public mind, of 'Israeli' with 'Jewish', productions of Israeli origin or by Israeli artists have not been automatically included, unless they fit our criteria for Jewish cultural products. Productions by Israeli artists or performers do not necessarily always have a Jewish theme. For example, a concert of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra with music by Beethoven and Brahms has not been included. On the other hand, performances by contemporary Israeli klezmer musicians *have* been included.

Initially, the project set out intending to include Jewish educational events only within the realm of arts and culture. However, there were differences in interpretation of this among the correspondents who were commissioned to collect the data in each of the four sample countries (see the section on 'Data collection methodology' below). The nature of 'Jewish cultural themes' seems to have been understood in a broader sense by the Polish correspondent, relating principally to Jewish tradition and historical themes. Therefore, many European educational events of a socio-historical-political nature (such as minority relations, local Jewish life or general Jewish history), rather than of a directly artistic or cultural nature (defined as relating

16 The term 'secular' must be treated with some degree of caution. First, as noted, Jewish culture is often infused with spiritual traditions. Furthermore, there are, and always have been, Orthodox Jewish artists and musicians who will not necessarily perceive the art or music they create as secular; indeed, they may perceive it as an expression of Jewish spirituality. The term 'secular' in this context is really used as a pragmatic term to describe Jewish cultural products that are distinct from religious/Orthodox Jewish practices.

17 Webber, 8.

to Jewish theatre, music, fine art etc.), were recorded for Poland. These activities were deemed important enough to include in the dataset but this consequently resulted in a somewhat uneven spread in the gathering of data for educational events since the Belgian, Italian and Swedish correspondents did not submit reports on non-arts or culture-based educational events. This disparity indicated differences in the level of understanding of the data collection guidelines that were created for the project.

Data collection methodology: an evaluation of mapping methods

As this project was exploratory in nature, its parameters and its focus evolved organically over the course of the research. For this reason, it is important to provide this account and to evaluate the methods used, as well as describing and analysing the actual cultural statistics gathered.¹⁸

The basis for the analysis is a comprehensive inventory or database. It comprises information on Jewish cultural events and productions gathered between 1 May 2000 and 30 April 2001. Correspondents were employed in each country, and information transmitted by these correspondents formed the primary source of data for the project. These individuals reported on Jewish cultural events in their respective countries on a regular basis. This data gathering was supplemented by in-house research at the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, using the Internet, national Jewish magazines and contacts with other institutions or individuals in the field. The inventory currently consists of over 450 individual events, and another 280 that were component parts of festivals.

Country-based correspondents

Each of the country-based correspondents was fluent in local languages. The recruitment of correspondents with extensive local knowledge and networks was the key to the success of the project because desk- and Internet-based research in London can only generate a very limited amount of data. The Swedish and Italian correspondents were both full-time workers in the cultural field; the Polish correspondent was a journalist writing for Jewish publications and the Belgian correspondent was an artist and performer. There were, in each of

the countries, additional informal correspondents who provided information on an *ad hoc* basis during the year-long period of data gathering.

Each correspondent received the same data submission forms for cultural products and events, to be completed on a monthly basis. A form was to be completed for each event in as much detail as possible.¹⁹ The information requested included the title of the cultural product or event, the geographical location, the arts type (e.g. performing art), discipline (e.g. storytelling), genre (e.g. documentary film), theme (e.g. Holocaust), the type of product (e.g. one-off event or festival component), language, artist(s), venue(s), organizer(s), funder(s), admission fee and audience. However, in practice, the amount of detail of the information submitted varied according to the individual approach of each correspondent. Furthermore, as there was only a single principal correspondent in each country, regardless of the size of the respective Jewish communities or the amount of cultural activity, an element of filtering necessarily took place. This was due to time constraints and the material resources available, as well as to differing understandings and interpretations of the content and composition of Jewish cultural production, or differing approaches to giving priority to the type of information reported.

The correspondents were all based in capital cities, as it was anticipated that these would be the locations of the greatest level of cultural activity. Consequently, events in the capital cities may be disproportionately represented in the study in comparison to events taking place elsewhere in each country.

Accessibility of comparable information

A combination of differences in the accessibility of information on cultural products in each country, together with the differing prioritization of information submitted, resulted in an uneven coverage of all media and publication categories. Articles in mainstream newspapers, as well as television and radio programmes on Jewish topics, were particularly poorly documented, largely due to their intermittent nature. Likewise, information gathered about Jewish cultural websites in each country was quite patchy.

¹⁸ It should be noted that it is not practically possible, within the remit of this project, to evaluate the cultural events in terms of their quality or success.

¹⁹ A sample of a completed data submission form is shown in Appendix 2.

As for Jewish publications, many data submissions were made in Poland, but very few or no records were submitted in the other three countries. While this is indicative of a prolific Jewish publishing industry in Poland, we cannot, of course, conclude that Jewish-themed publications are *not* published in the other countries—rather that these have not been recorded by the respective national correspondents. This kind of inequality skews the overall dataset.²⁰

The only media discipline that was reliably documented was Jewish radio, and this is because there were, at most, just two stations per country, and knowledge of them is widespread among those interested in Jewish culture. However, because data were not consistently available for any other Jewish media categories—or for Jewish publications in any country other than Poland—a decision was taken to exclude these two arts types from the overall data analysis so as to gain a more accurate comparative reading.

Another area in which difficulties were encountered in obtaining data was the Flanders region of Belgium. This was mainly due to the lack of communication and co-operation across linguistic borders in Belgium, a trend within the Belgian Jewish community that reflects Belgian society as a whole.

Organizers

There were challenges posed in identifying organizers and venues as events were often cited in

different ways in the publicity materials. Thus, for example, organizers might be listed in the programme at one event, whereas in other cases, the names of the organizers might appear only in advertisements. Sometimes the full name appeared, at other times only acronyms were used. Again, sometimes names appeared in local languages while, at other times, they were given only with an English spelling. This made it difficult to determine whether or not the same organizers were involved in different events, a task exacerbated by the multinational and multilingual nature of the project. It was also difficult to determine relationships between different organizations in different countries, and therefore whether or not to classify them together.

Language usage

Clearly, language is a key consideration in cross-cultural research of this nature, both for enabling direct communication with those involved in culture in each country, and for processing national mainstream and Jewish magazines, reviews and websites. In some instances, knowledge of national languages was essential in order to communicate with specific organizations or to read certain written materials. As the principal researcher on the project was fluent in most of the key languages (French, Polish and Swedish), this kind of research was carried out comfortably for three of the four test countries, but to a lesser degree in Italy. As a back-up, the four correspondents all had at least a good working knowledge of English, thus minimizing language barriers.

²⁰ This problem exemplifies the difficulties encountered in this pilot project in relying on correspondents for sufficient information on Jewish culture. Important information can be, and was, omitted. With regard to Italy specifically, Ruth Ellen

Gruber points out, in a personal communication, that many books of Jewish interest are published in Italy, and that, indeed, in the year 2000–1, when data was collected for this report, there was a Jewish book fair in Milan that was not reported.

3 The cultural landscape

Trends emerging in contemporary European Jewish culture in the four focus countries

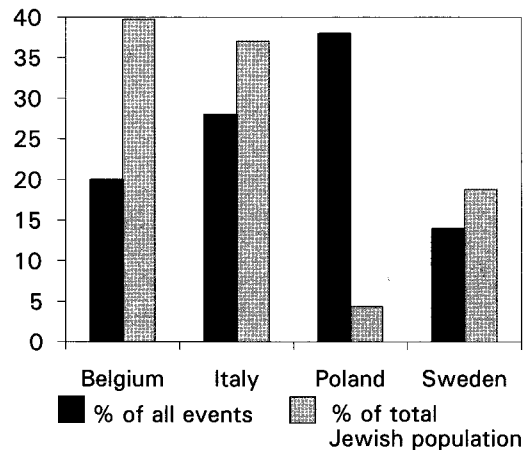
During the year-long period of tracking cultural production in the four focus countries, a total of around 450 separate cultural events was recorded. Because of their special nature, each of the 28 festivals documented—altogether comprising over 280 separate components—was recorded once within this total, and then analysed separately in greater depth.²¹

Media productions and publications amounted to just over a fifth of the aggregate. However, because events within this category were only comprehensively recorded in one country (see 'Data collection methodology' above), we decided to remove them from the quantitative comparative country analyses in order to avoid possible misrepresentation. Consequently, the quantitative element of the report is based on a total of around 360 cultural events and does not include this category.

The percentages shown in Figure 1 demonstrate that there is little correlation between the size of a national Jewish community and the level of cultural activity. Poland, with by far the smallest Jewish population (standing at just over 4 per cent of the total Jewish population of the four countries), was the site of far more Jewish cultural activity (37 per cent of all cultural products recorded) than the other three countries. This amounts to 38 events per 1,000 Jews in Poland, contrasting with the average rate of reported cultural activity in the other three countries of about 2–3 events per 1,000 Jews. This level of cultural activity in Poland is extraordinary and begs the question as to whether the target audience for such cultural products in Poland differs from the three other focus countries. This issue will be addressed later in this chapter.

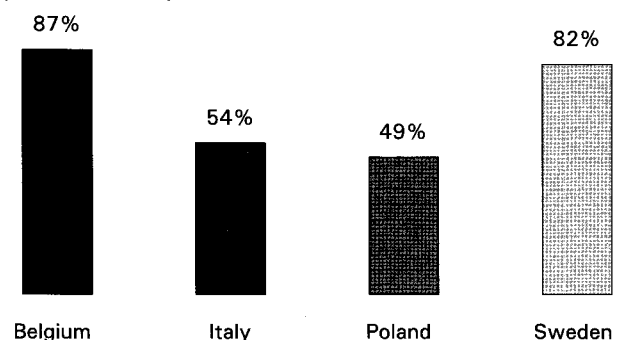
21 At the start of this analysis, it is important to point out that the trends observed in the Jewish cultural field in this chapter are based on the information gathered via the experimental data collection process described in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the conclusions are based on research in the four countries, and not on the whole of Europe. As a result, we are aware that there may be some omissions in the overall picture painted and, as such, conclusions drawn should be treated as general observations on the Jewish cultural field in Europe rather than as incontrovertible facts.

Figure 1: Breakdown by country of Jewish cultural events in relation to combined Jewish population of four focus countries²²



In each country, approximately half of the Jewish population lives in the capital city. It comes as no surprise, then, that a vast proportion of Jewish cultural events took place in the capitals. As Figure 2 indicates, over 80 per cent of Jewish cultural events in Belgium and Sweden took place in those cities, while, in Poland and Italy, the figure is lower, about 50 per cent. Poland and Italy traditionally have, or have had, Jewish communities spread throughout the country, whereas Belgian and Swedish Jewry have nearly always been concentrated in just a few major cities. The geographical dispersal of cultural events is therefore largely reflective of these respective national Jewish demographic histories.

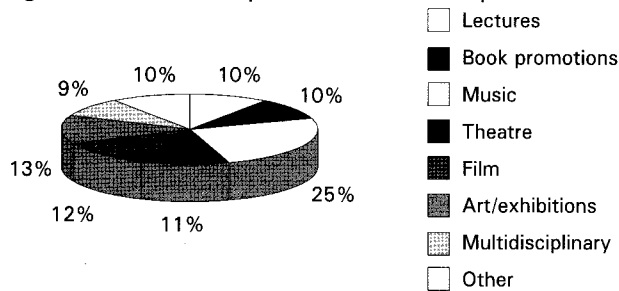
Figure 2: Percentage of Jewish cultural events taking place in the capital cities



22 Media productions and publications are not included in any of the figures in this chapter because of the decision to exclude this category from the main analysis.

Figure 3 shows the breakdown of Jewish cultural production across the four countries by arts type. What is immediately apparent is that while there was an even spread of most arts types, music stood out as by far the most popular form, accounting for a quarter of all Jewish cultural products. This phenomenon will be discussed later in this chapter.

Figure 3: Cultural disciplines in the four sample countries



Country analyses

Poland

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 levels of Jewish cultural activity.

In recent years, there has been a remarkable growth in Poland of the publication of books on Jewish-related issues, and this is reflected in the number of book promotions recorded. A vast majority of the publications reported in Poland—nearly 80 per cent—were of a documentary nature and primarily concern Polish-Jewish history and culture. They include books on antisemitism, Polish-Jewish relations, religion and the experiences of exile and immigration. Holocaust-related publications were undoubtedly the most prevalent, many taking the form of biographies or autobiographies. This trend is due to the recent emergence of a level of freedom of information impossible in Communist Poland, where topics of this kind were taboo. It also reflects a Poland that is re-examining its recent history and acknowledging the importance of eyewitness accounts, as well as demonstrating a willingness by both authors and publishers to record these, often damning, accounts.

Literature has always been an important element in the development of Polish national identity. During

the Communist period, literature also served as a vehicle for social criticism. The prominence of Jewish issues in recent publications demonstrates an awareness among Polish writers of the importance of the Polish-Jewish experience in forming contemporary Polish identity, and also marks a significant point of departure from the *Polak-Katolik* tradition, the belief that Catholicism is the defining feature of Polish identity.²³

Apart from Romania, Poland is the only European country with a functioning Yiddish theatre—the State Jewish Theatre in Warsaw—and a long-standing Yiddish theatrical tradition. Of the seven Yiddish theatres in Poland that existed during the inter-war years, only the Warsaw theatre now remains.²⁴ Nevertheless, Poland still hosts numerous Yiddish theatrical performances. It is interesting to note how those involved in running the Warsaw theatre perceive its role in contemporary Poland:

Ostensibly there is something incomprehensible in the fact that there exists a Jewish theater in Poland, that it functions and develops in a country where Jews represent a marginal percentage of the population. The plays are performed in Yiddish, the theater stages plays by Jewish classics who are little known to the public, it displays images originating almost from the world of the perished Atlantis. Yet despite everything it has numerous old as well as new spectators. How come? The answer is simple. The theater is a temple of national mementoes to the Jews who have remained in Poland, and to the Polish audience Jewish culture created in Poland, over almost a thousand years of mutual existence appears to be, to an increasing degree, part of the culture of the Polish nation.²⁵

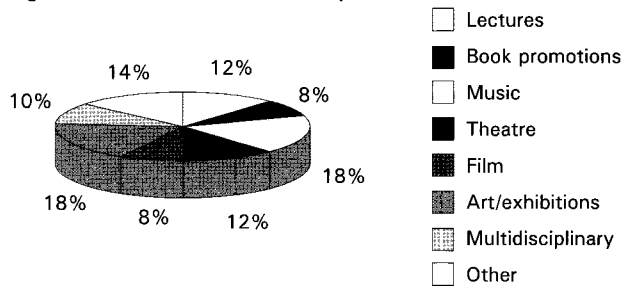
23 Marius Gudonis, 'Constructing Jewish identity in post-Communist Poland', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2001 (originally presented at the conference 'Jewish Identities in the Post-Communist Era', European Institute, Budapest, July 2001, under the title 'Squaring the circle: can a Jew be Polish and can a Pole be Jewish?'; papers from this conference will be published in a forthcoming book).

24 The State Jewish Theatre in Warsaw has had a controversial history, including a period when it was co-opted by the state under Communism and was preserved as a kind of showcase of Jewish folk culture, being often used to counter charges of antisemitism by the Communist authorities.

25 See www.teatr-zydowski.art.pl/english.htm (viewed August 2002).

This provides us with an interesting insight into the uniqueness of the Polish-Jewish relationship and helps us to understand the ongoing fascination with Jewish culture in Poland today in spite of there being such a small Jewish community still living there.

Figure 4: Jewish cultural disciplines in Poland



The large number of documentary exhibits is a more recent development in Poland. Documentary exhibits largely portrayed Jewish life in the past—including during the Holocaust period—or incorporated displays of Jewish religious or ritual objects. Exhibition titles such as ‘Crumbs of Memory’ and ‘We Are Here—Documenting the Presence of Jews in Poland’ speak for themselves. The history of Polish Jewry was also portrayed at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, where specific sections on the Holocaust and the Warsaw Ghetto formed a crucial part of the exhibition. The Jewish Historical Institute is itself a heritage site, as it is one of a very few Jewish buildings that survived the war, having been used by the Nazis for storage.

The Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum held an exhibition in the camp’s largest building, ‘the Sauna’. People transported to Auschwitz would go through the Nazi dehumanizing registration process in the Sauna. This involved being disinfected, the confiscation of all personal possessions and being tattooed with a prisoner number. The exhibit traced this process by allowing visitors to follow in the footsteps of the Auschwitz detainees. Family photographs brought by Jewish people arriving in Auschwitz covered the walls in the final section of the exhibition, showing a rich and diverse pre-war Jewish world. In addition to the quarter of a million Polish visitors, almost 250,000 people visit this museum every year from over 100 foreign countries.²⁶ Many other local

26 Figures taken from the Auschwitz-Birkenau official visitors’ website: www.auschwitz.org.pl/html/eng/zwiedzanie/index (viewed August 2002). In 2000, a new Auschwitz Jewish Centre also opened in Oswiecim, the town adjacent to the concentration camp.

museums across the country have also begun to host exhibitions about the vanished pre-war Jewish life in Poland, and some even have specific permanent Jewish collections.

Overall, this activity exemplifies the efforts being made in post-Communist Poland to inform the population about the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish relations, such information having been suppressed during the Communist era as part of the policy of ‘non-ethnic differentiation’. Nowadays, the Holocaust is debated in the public arena, and national school history textbooks have been rewritten to include it.

Antisemitism has played a distinctive part in the history of Poland and is crucial to an understanding of Polish-Jewish life. Consequently, ‘Polish-Jewish relations’ are treated in a unique way in Poland. While this project does not analyse this aspect to Jewish life in its survey of contemporary Jewish culture in Poland, the legacy of the Holocaust and antisemitism is omnipresent in the country’s cultural products.

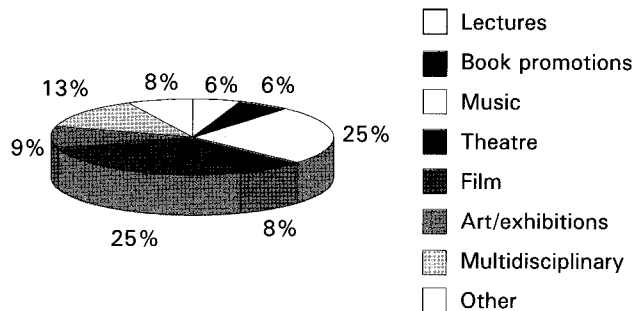
Sweden

The *Judiskt liv i Sverige* (Jewish life in Sweden) survey, carried out among members of Sweden’s two largest Jewish communities in Stockholm and Gothenburg, revealed an extensive community interest in Jewish cultural activities.²⁷ Nearly 60 per cent of respondents said that, for them, Jewish culture was very important in creating a sense of Jewishness, and half said that they would like to see greater resources made available for the creation of more Jewish cultural events in the future. Furthermore, 80 per cent believed that the future of Swedish Jewry could be ensured by consciously investing in Jewish cultural and social activities. That Swedish Jews perceived Jewish culture to be the key to the future of the community confirms its importance in sustaining and developing contemporary Jewish identities. It also demonstrates the potential for a wide audience for Jewish cultural events within the Swedish Jewish community.

In this context, it is interesting to examine the shape of the Jewish cultural landscape in Sweden. As Figure 5 shows, the production of Jewish culture

27 Lars Dencik and Karl Marosi, *Judiskt liv i Sverige* (Stockholm: Judiska Församlingen 2000).

Figure 5: Jewish cultural disciplines in Sweden



in Sweden was characterized by a broad interest in film. Two of its three Jewish festivals were film festivals, and nearly 30 per cent of the country's Jewish cultural events overall were film screenings. Indeed, according to the *Judiskt liv i Sverige* survey, 80 per cent of those questioned had seen a Jewish film in the previous twelve-month period. Only Jewish music was equal in popularity to Jewish films in Sweden. Other types of cultural activity made up a smaller proportion of total cultural production, and consequently had a lesser uptake. This may indicate a correlation between availability and attendance. On the other hand, the differing level of availability of various cultural activities may reflect consumer demand.

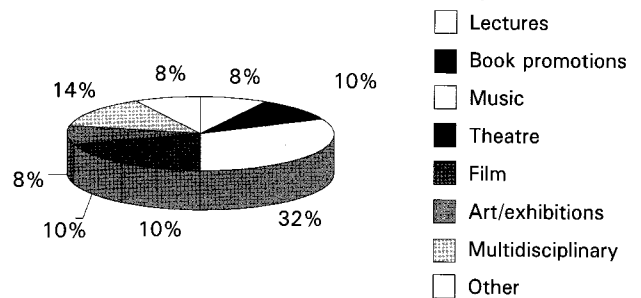
Exile, immigration and the Holocaust were recurring themes in Jewish films reported in Sweden. Interest in these themes may reflect the fact that the majority of Swedish Jews have foreign roots. Several films were specifically concerned with the Polish-Jewish experience, and some of these were actually Polish productions. This involvement with Polish-Jewish productions relates to the immigration of around 2,500 Jews from Poland to Sweden after the March 1968 antisemitic campaign.

Italy

The landscape of Jewish cultural production in Italy was characterized by the relatively even representation of many disciplines. Music stood out as the most popular Jewish cultural form, as it did in all the countries analysed. Particularly in Italy, klezmer and Yiddish music achieved widespread popularity among mainstream audiences. One particular Yiddish music performer, Moni Ovadia, whose performances often feature in this study, has become a cultural icon in Italy. Gruber describes Ovadia's impact in Italy: 'A veteran folk singer and stage performer who began devoting the bulk of his

work to Jewish, particularly Yiddish, themes in the late 1980s, Ovadia has been one of the chief catalysts in the vogue for Jewish culture that mushroomed in Italy in the 1990s.'²⁸ Interestingly, although a Sephardi Jew by origin (born in Bulgaria), and given that Italy's Jewish tradition is closer to the Sephardi tradition than the Ashkenazi, the Jewish culture Ovadia for the most part promotes is one steeped in clichés of the *shtetl* and Yiddish traditions. This 'brand' of Judaism is increasingly popular with mainstream Italian audiences.

Figure 6: Jewish cultural disciplines in Italy



Jewish cultural production in Italy was characterized by a particularly large number of Jewish cultural festivals. Averaging over one per month in the course of the twelve months in which data were recorded, these festivals illustrated the important interplay between Italian society and Jewish cultural life. This will be discussed in greater detail below in the section on festivals.

Belgium

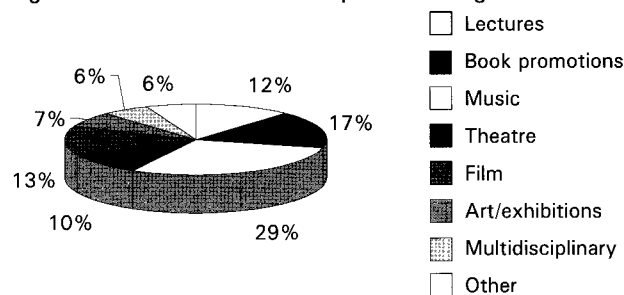
Nearly 90 per cent of Belgium's Jewish cultural production took place in Brussels (see Figure 2). The Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif (CCLJ, Secular Jewish Community Centre) in Brussels is amongst the most dynamic venues and co-ordinators on the Belgian-Jewish cultural scene. The CCLJ is committed to developing and promoting a non-religious brand of Judaism and hosted a variety of events, from book promotions and concerts to film screenings, photography exhibitions and festivals.

There was a perceptibly lower level of cultural activity registered in Antwerp, despite the fact that nearly 50 per cent of Belgian Jews live there. This may be because two-thirds of the Jewish

28 Gruber, 61.

community in Antwerp are strictly Orthodox and the activities reported within that community were mainly religious ones that lie beyond the parameters of this project. This would then account for the lower level of cultural production registered in Antwerp.

Figure 7: Jewish cultural disciplines in Belgium



Music

Music stood out as the most popular discipline across all four focus countries. Comprising 25 per cent of all cultural production, music commanded a presence on the Jewish cultural landscape unlike any other cultural form (each of which, in comparison, represented an average of between 5 and 10 per cent). The driving force of the whole Jewish cultural renaissance therefore seems to lie in an almost meteoric rise in the popularity of Jewish music, particularly klezmer music, across the continent, part of the general explosion of popularity of all forms of world music. The predominance of music over other cultural forms may also relate to its more instant accessibility.

Jewish musical production assumes many forms, including klezmer, Yiddish and Sephardi song, fusion and traditional, liturgy and opera. This wide scope was reflected in the musical performances recorded for this mapping survey, which include a concert of 'Liturgical Music from Italian Jewish Communities' that took place in the Jewish Cultural Centre in Rome, and a performance of the opera *Brundibár* (composed in 1938 by Hans Krasa, a Czech Jew, and performed in the Theresienstadt internment camp during the period 1943–4) in both Brussels and Rome.²⁹ In Sweden, the Klezmerföreningen (Klezmer Society) was established in the year 2000, and was the first of its kind in Sweden. The society's popular dance

²⁹ *Brundibár's* message concerns the struggle against injustice and discrimination, a message still pertinent to contemporary society. In Belgium, the opera has even been produced as part of an educational project in schools throughout the country.

workshops and concerts were held at mainstream Swedish community and cultural centres.

There was a far greater presence, in the Jewish music scene in each of the four countries, of the Ashkenazi music tradition than of Sephardi music. Considering the national Jewish heritages of each of the countries, which, apart from Italy, are predominantly Ashkenazi, this is unsurprising. Consequently, only in Italy was there a significant presence of Sephardi musical performances, often performed in Ladino or Judaeo-Roman. It is also interesting to note that the term 'Sephardi music' is commonly used for describing such music, while the parallel term 'Ashkenazi music' is only very rarely used for describing music originating in Eastern or Central Europe.

In contrast to the prominence of music, there were few performances of dance in the four countries. Although traditional Jewish wedding dances were performed, these were usually at private or religious events. Unlike Jewish music and song, there is a less prominent tradition of Jewish dance, and the best-known Jewish dance form today is Israeli dancing, which received a boost from the Zionist movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Though most Jewish communities organized Israeli dance classes or workshops, there were very few dance performances as such. This indicates that Israeli dancing is regarded primarily as a participatory activity rather than as a performance genre.

Thematic expression

The Holocaust emerged unequivocally as the most prominent theme in Jewish cultural productions in each of the four focus countries. It is quite clear that issues relating to the Holocaust are far from exhausted, and continue to command a strong presence in the creation of contemporary Jewish culture in Europe.

Ironically, the legacy of the Holocaust tragedy is closely connected to the contemporary European Jewish cultural renaissance. Non-Jews involved in Jewish culture cited a preoccupation with the absence of Jewish cultural life in Europe created by the Holocaust as a primary motivation for their interest and involvement in the contemporary revival of Jewish culture.

This thematic dominance also reflects the recognition that mainstream society now accords to

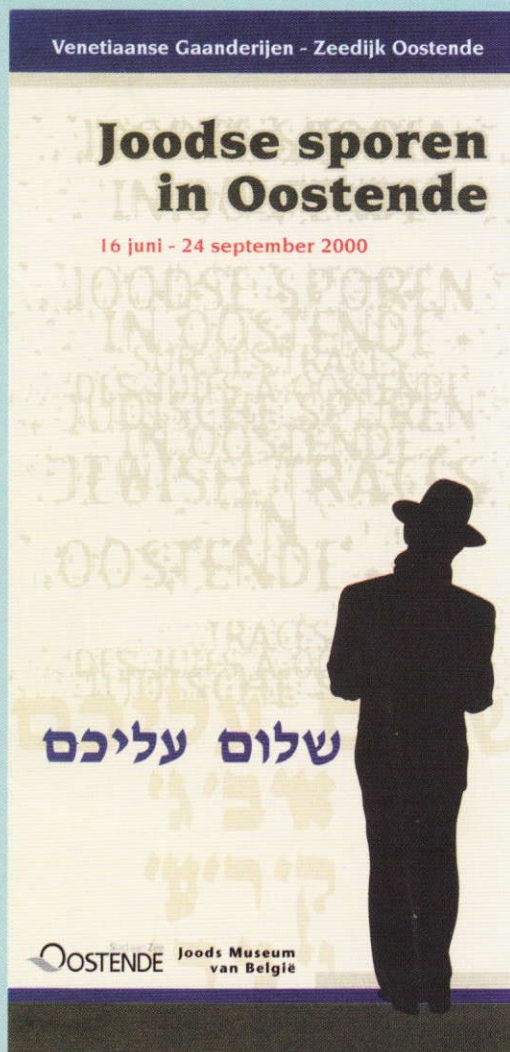
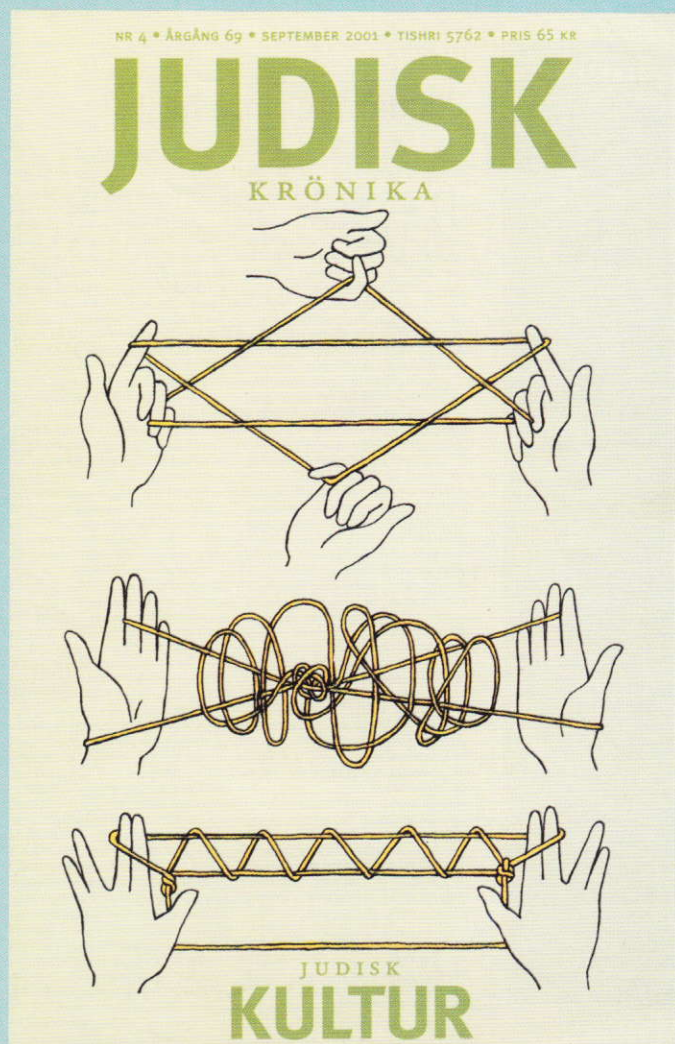


Top left: flyer for a performance of 'Mazal Tov: Dance, music and tales from the Jewish tradition', Reggio Emilia, Italy, February 2001 (reproduced with the permission of Terra di Danza)

Top right: front cover of *Judisk Krönika*, the bimonthly Swedish Jewish cultural magazine, showing a design by the artist Annie Winblad Jakubowski, September 2001 (reproduced with the permission of *Judisk Krönika*)

Right: flyer for the 'Jewish traces in Oostende' exhibition, Ostend, June–September 2000 (reproduced with the permission of the Jewish Museum of Belgium)

Bottom: flyer for a Judaeo-Roman production of *My Fair Lady*, Rome, June 2000 (reproduced with the permission of Il Pitigliani)



Con il Patrocinio del Comune di Roma

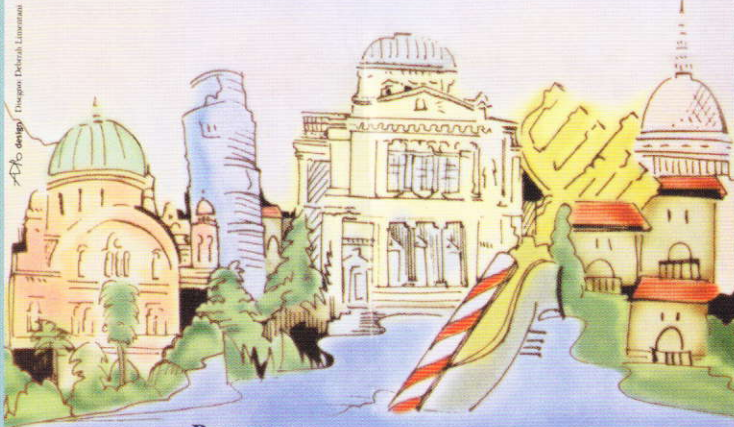
Il Pitigliani presenta

SHAVUOT 5760

"I VOLTI DELL'EBRAISMO ITALIANO"

Piazza in Piscinula, 4 giugno 2000

dalle 16,30 ...



Programma

(il programma e gli orari potranno subire delle variazioni)

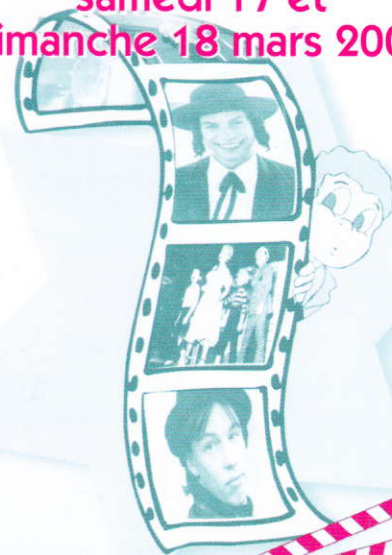
16,30 Saluti dal palco	19,00 "Ha-Yid-lishe Mame Group" È difficile essere ebrei, di Sholem Aleichem
17,00 La "Faccina del Teatro": le Compagnie del Pitigliani	19,30 Pitigliani in Musica
17,30 Samuel il Clown	20,00 È difficile essere ebrei, di Sholem Aleichem 2 tempo
18,00 Favole animate	21,00 Musica etnica ed internazionale con la Jew Box Band
18,30 I dialetti degli ebrei italiani	Presentano: Emanuele Di Porto, Victor Maglar e Stefano Regard
Aldo Zargani legge e racconta di Torino e di Verona	ospiti a sorpresa: Giocattoli per i più piccoli, Libri, Piatti caratteristici



Left: poster for the Shavuot 5760 Festival, Rome, June 2000 (reproduced with the permission of Il Pitigliani)

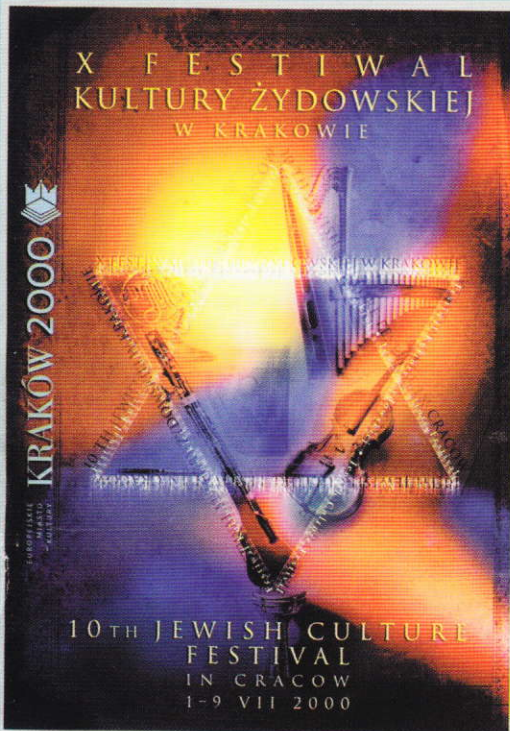
Aïme Festival de Culture YIDDISH

Vendredi 16
samedi 17 et
dimanche 18 mars 2001



en association avec
l'Institut de la Mémoire Audiovisuelle Juive (IMAJ),
la revue *Une Autre Chanson*,
le Yiddish Patrimoine de l'Europe (YPE),
et l'Espace Yitzhak Rabin

Above: flyer for the 4th Festival of Yiddish Culture, Brussels, March 2001 (reproduced with the permission of the Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif)



- KONCERTY MUZYKI SYNAGOGALNEJ, KLEZMERSKIEJ, JAZZOWEJ I LUDOWEJ
- KLASYKA FILMU JIDYSZ I NIEME KINO JIDYSZ
- WARSZTATY
- WYSTAWY MALARSTWA, RZEŻBY I FOTOGRAFII
- WYKŁADY
- PROMOCJE KSIĄŻEK
- WIELKI KONCERT FINAŁOWY NA ULICY SZEROKIEJ

Bilety:
Kraków 2000
Centrum Informacji Kulturalnej
ul. Św. Jana 5, 31-018 Kraków,
tel. (012) 421 77 87
fax: (012) 421 77 31

Informacje: Biuro Festiwalu Kultury Żydowskiej, ul. Św. Gertrudy 5, 31-107 Kraków,
tel. 012 431 15 35, 431 15 17, tel./fax: 012 429 25 73, e-mail: office@jewishfestival.art.pl, www.jewishfestival.art.pl

10 Festiwal Kultury Żydowskiej odbywa się w ramach
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Left: poster for the 10th Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow, July 2000 (reproduced with the permission of the Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow, photography by Andrzej Kramarz and design by Witold Siemaszkiewicz)

8:00

Stockholms Judiska Filmfestival

önskar alla välkomna

6-9 maj
Zita
Birger Jarlsgatan 37

biljettbokning fr.o.m. 2 maj
tel: 08 - 23 20 20

© Nemi Szapiro

Above: flyer for the Stockholm Jewish Film Festival, May 2000 (reproduced with the permission of the Stockholm Jewish Film Festival)

AGENCJA ARTYSTYCZNA ART & BUSINESS DIRECTION
FIRMALNA WYZNANIOWA ŻYDOWSKA WE WROCŁAWIU
OSRODEK KULTURY I SZTUKI WE WROCŁAWIU

KONCERT HAWDALOWY

SOBOTA, 24 LUTEGO 2001 R.
GODZ. 18.06
SYNAGOGA POD BIAŁYM BOCIANEM
UL. WŁODKOWICA 7

ANDRÉ OCHODŁO

&
THE ATELIER KLEZMER BAND

SHALOM

PIĘŚNI JIDISZ

BILETY: OSRODEK KULTURY I SZTUKI RYNEK-RATUSZ 24
25 ZŁ PRZEDSPRZEDAŻ, 35 ZŁ PRZED KONCERTEM

Right: poster for 'Shalom', a concert with André Ochodlo and the Atelier Klezmer Band, White Stork Synagogue, Wrocław, Poland, February 2001 (reproduced with the permission of the Jewish Community in Wrocław and the White Stork Synagogue Choir)

Fundacja Ronald S. Laudera
oraz Redakcja „Midrasz” zapraszają na:

III Dni Książki Żydowskiej

III Jewish Book Fair

Warszawa, ul. Twarda 6

Czwartek, 19 października 2000

godz. 20.00 występ petersburskiego kantora Barucha Finkelsteina, Synagoga Notykowski

Poniedziałek, 23 października 2000

godz. 14.00 oficjalne otwarcie III Dni Książki Żydowskiej oraz wystawy książki o kuchni żydowskiej

godz. 17.00 warsztaty kuchni żydowskiej

godz. 18.00 gość specjalny Henryk Grynbarg o swojej najnowszej książce *Memorbuch*

godz. 19.00 Żło – dyskusja o książkach J.T. Grossa *Sędziów*, D. Goldhagena *Gorliwi kaci Hilbera*, F. Tycha *Długi cieni zagłady*

Wtorek, 24 października 2000

godz. 17.00 warsztaty kaligrafii hebrajskiej prowadzi sofer Moshe Braun z Jeruzolimy

godz. 18.00 wykład ks. Romualda Wexlera-Waskineła oraz ks. Grzegorza Ignatowskiego pt. *Nowe myślenie w kościele katolickim o Żydach i judaizmie*

Środa, 25 października 2000

godz. 17.00 warsztaty wycinanki żydowskiej prowadzi Monika Krajewska

godz. 18.00 Anka Grupińska o swojej książce *Chygie po kole. Rozmowy z żołnierzami żelaza warszawskiego*

godz. 19.00 wykład Marii i Kazimierza Pichocińskich pt. *Ulica, dzielnica, miasto żydowskie. Żyła w przestrzeni miejskiej w ulwowej RP*

Czwartek, 26 października 2000

godz. 17.00 wykład rabina Saary Pecarica pt. *Dlaczego Żydzi są Narodem Księgą*

godz. 18.00 warsztaty kaligrafii hebrajskiej prowadzi sofer Moshe Braun z Jeruzolimy

godz. 19.00 Piotr Siwek prezentuje swą książkę *Zmierzchy i poranki*

godz. 21.00 występ wiedeńskiego kantora Samuela Barzolina i Chóru Synagogi Pod Białym Bocianem z Wrocławia, Synagoga Notykowski

Codziennie przy ul. Twardej 6, w godz. 14-20 czynne stoiska z książkami o tematyce żydowskiej w języku polskim i angielskim. Zapraszamy również do kawiarni z żydowskim menu.

Na wszystkie imprezy wstęp wolny.

The Ronald S. Luder Foundation

Organizatorzy: Midrasz KGB

Głównym sponsorem koncertu Samuela Barzolina są: AUSTRIAN AIRLINES

Koncert sponsoruje również: YAMAHA

Above: poster for the 3rd Jewish Book Fair, Warsaw, October 2000 (reproduced with the permission of Midrasz)

A ne rater sous aucun prétexte

31 mars, 1^{er} et 2 avril 2000

Sous le haut patronage de l'Ambassade d'Israël

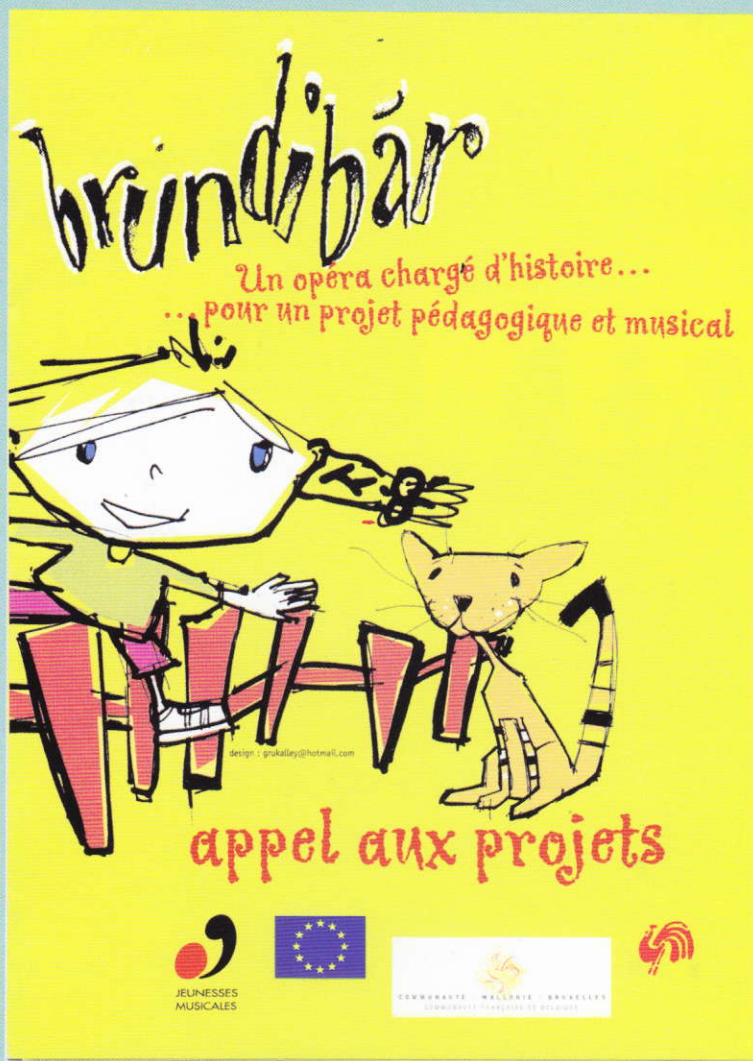
Organisé par le Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif en association avec l'Union des Étudiants Juifs de Belgique, l'Institut Sefarade Européen, l'Institut de la Mémoire Audiovisuelle Juive, Yiddish Patrioine de l'Europe et l'Espoir Yitzhak Rabin.

Présidents du festival :
Richard Ruben & Smain

ESPACE YITZHAK RABIN
52, RUE DE L'HÔTEL DES MONNAIES • 1060 BRUXELLES
INFORMATIONS & RESERVATIONS : 02/543 02 70 ou info@ccclj.be

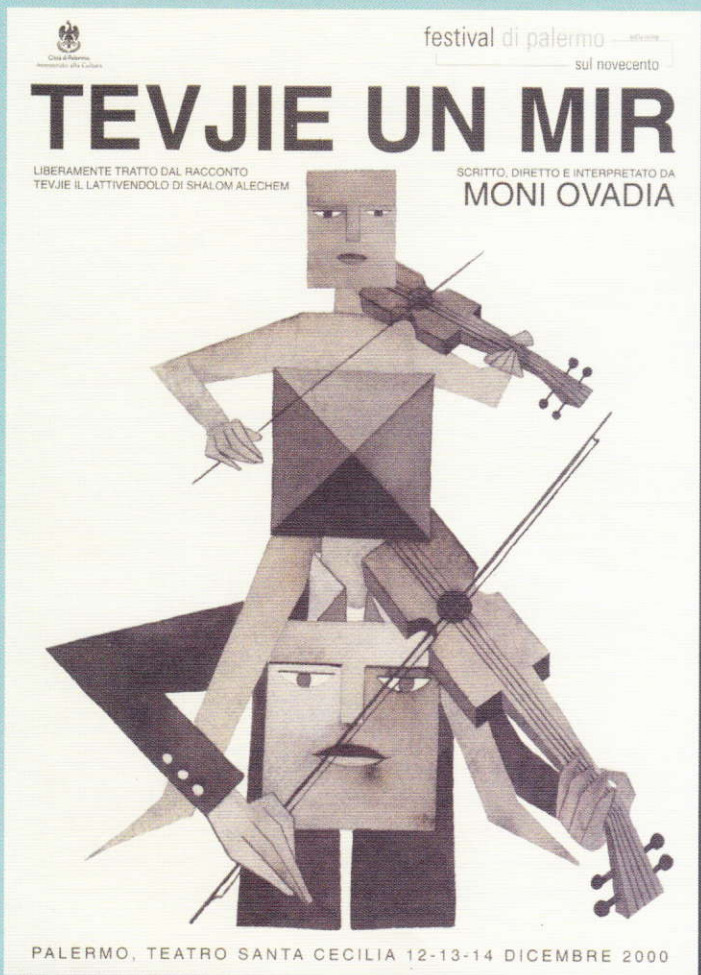
Right: poster for the 2nd Festival of Jewish Humour, Brussels, March-April 2000 (reproduced with the permission of the Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif)

Right: flyer for a performance of the children's opera *Brundibár*, by Hans Krasa, Brussels, October 2000 (reproduced with the permission of Jeunesses Musicales International, design: grukalley@hotmail.com)



Bottom left: flyer for a production of 'Tevjje and I', performed in Italian, Yiddish and Russian, by Moni Ovadia, Palermo, Italy, December 2000 (reproduced with the permission of Ignazio Trapani, Idearte)

Bottom right: flyer for the Friedl Dicker-Brandeis exhibition entitled 'From Bauhaus to Auschwitz', Stockholm, March-June 2001 (reproduced with the permission of the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm)



the universal historical relevance of the Jewish Holocaust. The Holocaust was often employed as a focus for education on issues of racism, intolerance and discrimination. Indeed, in January 2001, several European countries established an annual National Holocaust Day on 27 January, marking the day Auschwitz was liberated. On this day, many cultural events to commemorate the Holocaust were held in participating countries, including film screenings, exhibitions, lectures, ceremonies and concerts.

Closely linked to the Holocaust theme were those of contemporary antisemitism and racism, which also featured strongly in contemporary Jewish cultural productions. In fact, in Belgium, all of the theatrical performances recorded in this study dealt with these issues, often incorporating themes of intolerance, guilt complexes and identity formation. One play that was performed in Belgium, *Parle* (Talk), written by Niklas Radström, dramatizes a debate between a neo-Nazi and a Jewish doctor who escaped the Holocaust as a child, and deals with broad issues of historical truth and uncertainty.

Other frequently recurring themes explored were exile and emigration, religion, identity and Jewish history. Jewish life in specific localities and the lives of prominent Jewish individuals were also popular subjects.

In spite of an increase of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish relationships in contemporary Jewish society, this issue rarely emerged as a theme. One of the few productions recorded that does tackle this topic is Jonathan Metzger's play *Men i fremtiden då?* (But in the future, then?). This play explores the complications of a relationship between a Jewish man and a non-Jewish Swedish woman. Jewish/non-Jewish interaction was particularly pertinent to the Swedish Jewish community, in which over 50 per cent of the Jewish population are open to the idea of marrying a non-Jew and 60 per cent feel as comfortable in the company of non-Jews as Jews.³⁰

Although Israeli artists and performers often tour Europe, Israel was not particularly prominent as a theme in the events logged in this survey. Many fundraising events were held in support of Israel, and numerous lectures and debates took place concerning the contemporary situation in the

Middle East. However, as previously noted, these activities lie outside the scope of the project and are therefore not included in the final inventory. Israel as a theme is primarily represented in this survey in Israeli dance events, in the screening of Israeli films at film festivals—such as the one-off days entirely devoted to Israeli film recorded in Italy—and some Israeli book launches.³¹

Venues, organizers and funding of Jewish events

As discussed in Chapter 2, we have included in this inventory any organization or institution showcasing events with a subject matter of a Jewish nature, regardless of the 'Jewishness' of the organizers or venues. Distinctly Jewish venues, such as Jewish museums, theatres, community centres and synagogues regularly hosted Jewish cultural events, but they did not hold a monopoly on them. Mainstream theatres, museums and community centres frequently featured as venues as did the 'Jewish-style' restaurants or cafés run without any affiliation to local Jewish communities.

Some of the organizations or institutions that ran these events have few, if any, Jewish employees and some events were established entirely on the initiative of non-Jews. This is the case with the Jewish Culture Festival Society in Cracow, which organizes the large-scale Cracow Jewish Culture Festival. This annual festival was established by non-Jews and continues to be run primarily by non-Jews, with one of its key aims being to provide a forum for Polish-Jewish dialogue.³²

Jewish cultural events are taking place more frequently in mainstream venues such as hotels, outdoor squares, restaurants and even churches. One event recorded in Belgium, for example, was a

31 It should be noted that the Intifada began during the period of data collection for this report (in the autumn of 2000), but any impact it may be having currently on the development of Jewish culture in Europe (not least on security considerations at Jewish cultural events) was not really felt at that point. Given the ongoing confusion between 'Israel' and 'Jew', and the escalation of events in Israel, we should observe carefully the impact the Middle East crisis may have on Jewish culture in Europe in the future.

32 It is important to mention that the non-Jewish organizers of the Krakow Jewish Culture Festival go to great lengths to ensure that most of the artists performing at the festival are Jewish, and to include educational and religious components in the festival as well as entertainment (personal communication with Ruth Ellen Gruber, July 2002).

concert of music from the Sephardi Golden Age held in a church in Brussels. This trend reflects the increasingly wide appeal of Jewish artistic and cultural productions within wider society. This development was most noticeable in Sweden and Italy where Jewish cultural events are becoming part of the general arts scene, reflecting both an increasingly outward-looking focus of the respective Jewish communities and a growing public interest in Jewish culture.

The rise in general public interest in all things Jewish was evident in Poland and Belgium also, but Jewish cultural events there were still most commonly held at Jewish venues. In Poland, this suggests a growing desire among people—both Polish non-Jews and Jews of Polish origin—to explore Polish-Jewish roots. Synagogues (some no longer consecrated as such, but still in use as cultural centres or concert venues) were often used as venues for Jewish cultural events in Poland. The monthly concerts at the pod Białym Bocianem synagogue (the White Stork synagogue) in Wrocław, for example, featuring klezmer, cantorial or Yiddish music, were overwhelmingly popular with mixed non-Jewish and Jewish audiences. Moreover, somewhat ironically, not one member of the choir that performed in the synagogue was Jewish. There were also cultural venues that were overtly Jewish in terms of their programming, such as the Jewish Culture Centre in Cracow, but that were run by non-Jews. In Warsaw and Kazimierz, the former Jewish area of Cracow, recently opened Jewish-style restaurants and cafés also hosted performances. These Jewish-style venues are part of a growing tourism industry exploiting ‘all things Jewish’. Poland’s longstanding centres of Jewish activity, such as the State Jewish Theatre in Warsaw and the Jewish Historical Institute also accounted for much of Polish Jewish cultural production.

Similarly, in Belgium, many events took place within the framework of the Jewish community, primarily in the two active Jewish cultural centres in Brussels that focus on secular Jewish activities. Although Jewish culture is becoming popular amongst non-Jewish audiences in Belgium, there still remains a certain reticence to project Jewish culture into mainstream society.

In spite of a growing trend for Jewish cultural events to be held at non-Jewish venues, only about 15 per cent of all the events recorded were created as the result of a Jewish/non-Jewish collaboration. These collaborative events tended to be evenly distributed between Jewish and non-Jewish venues. However, Jewish institutions and individuals were still more likely to be the organizers of Jewish cultural events and were far more likely to use Jewish venues for their events. To some extent, this reflects the fact that Jewish institutions still see their task as serving the needs of their own members. It is the non-Jewish organizers that took the Jewish cultural events to non-Jewish, and often more mainstream, venues, perhaps reflecting a commercial imperative. Non-Jewish organizers, in turn, rarely presented events at Jewish venues. Table 4 shows the relation between the Jewishness of organizers and the Jewishness of the types of venues they used for all the events recorded in this survey.

Only Italy stood out in this respect: half of the events recorded for Italy that were organized by non-Jews were held at Jewish venues. Likewise, Jewish institutions also frequently used non-Jewish venues. A performance of *Erinnerung* (Remembrance), for example, a play about the Holocaust accompanied by traditional Jewish music, was organized by the Venice Jewish community at a local theatre, and *My Ngkacir Lady*, a Judaeo-Roman version of *My Fair Lady*, was organized by Il

Table 4: Types of venues used by organizers in all four countries

Venues	Organizers			
	Jewish (%)	Non-Jewish (%)	Jewish and non-Jewish (%)	Unknown (%)
Jewish	83	2	38	13
Non-Jewish	12	89	39	66
Jewish and non-Jewish	3	2	17	2
Unknown	2	7	6	19
Total	100	100	100	100

Pitigliani—the Jewish community centre in Rome—at a theatre in Rome. *My Ngkacir Lady* was such a success that it ran for a second season at the same theatre several months after its première. That the non-Jewish/Jewish demarcation line is less rigid in Italy than in the other three countries is possibly a result of the longstanding Jewish presence in the country and of the perception that many Italian Jews have of themselves as being as much an Italian as a Jewish community. Whether the boundaries between the Jewish and non-Jewish spheres are stronger in Belgium, Poland and Sweden deserves further investigation.

There seems to be a fairly even distribution between funding for Jewish culture from Jewish and non-Jewish sources. Such funding came predominantly from community centres, city councils, national ministries and business corporations such as banks, airlines, the press and other companies. Funding information was generally gathered through ‘common knowledge’ or anecdotal accounts, without much hard data to confirm the reports. For many events—up to half of the total—the source of the funding was unknown.

Table 5: Known funding sources

Funding sources	Events (%)
Jewish sources	28
Non-Jewish sources	38
Jewish and non-Jewish sources	34
Total	100

What are the motivations behind an individual or organizational decision to support a Jewish cultural event? Jewish funders may well be more likely to fund events on the basis of their perceived thematic or symbolic value, or an interest in promoting Jewish continuity, rather than on commercial grounds. It may well also be that, given their limited resources, Jewish funders are less inclined to stake a claim in those events for which the organizers have been successful in receiving mainstream funding or subsidies.

Market factors also influence those seeking funding for Jewish cultural projects. There is often a

commercial imperative for those involved in creating events to look beyond the Jewish community for funding. Indeed, none of the twenty-eight festivals recorded in this survey operated solely on the basis of Jewish funding, but relied, in addition, on mainstream funding sources such as government ministries and corporate sponsorship.

Festivals

Festivals offer consumers culture in a condensed format, concentrated in both time and space.³³ With programmes that continue from morning until late at night and that offer a wide variety of choices, audiences at Jewish cultural festivals are invited to immerse themselves in Jewish culture, at least for a few days, for the duration of the festival. Whether festivals showcase one specific cultural genre such as music, or whether they incorporate different artistic forms, in all instances they paint a diverse picture of European Jewish cultural life.³⁴ Rebeka Blajfer Weintraub, of the Stockholm Jewish film festival, explains that, through their selection of films for the festival programme, the organizers intended to convey the diversity and richness of Jewish life, as well to acquaint mainstream audiences with aspects of Jewish life less familiar to them.³⁵ In addition, the festival format means that events often receive wider publicity than one-off events and, as a result, may further boost interest in Jewish culture.

The twenty-eight Jewish festivals recorded in this pilot study comprised a total of over 280 individual components.³⁶ Remarkably, this corresponds to over two Jewish festivals per month. There were music festivals, film festivals and book fairs as well as festivals of a multi-disciplinary nature (encompassing a variety of activities including performances, exhibitions, film screenings, workshops and lectures). Figure 8 shows the breakdown of the different arts types in the individual festival components. Once again, film

33 Stanley Waterman, ‘Carnivals for elites: the cultural politics of arts festivals’, *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 22, 1988, 54–74.

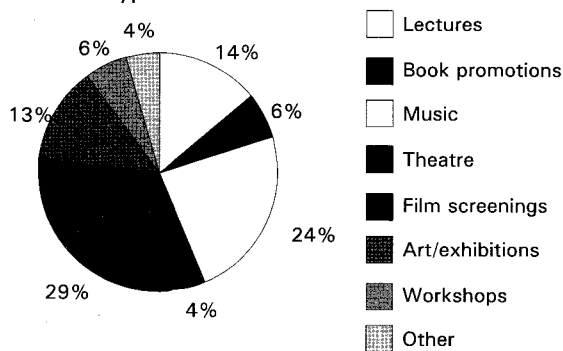
34 The term ‘festival’ is used widely and covers a range of events, from one-day street parties to a series, or a season, of concerts on a particular theme, to a residential gathering with round-the-clock sessions, workshops and lectures lasting a number of days. It is important to recognize the broad nature of the term ‘festival’ in this analysis of Jewish cultural festivals.

35 Cited in Michaela Agoston, ‘Befriande att man kan göra saker annorlunda’, *Judisk Krönika*, vol. 3, 2000, 30–1.

36 For a full listing of the festivals, see Appendix 3.

and music, with the widest public appeal of all the cultural forms, were the most prominent forms of Jewish culture in the Jewish festivals documented.

Figure 8: Arts types in Jewish cultural festival events



The Yiddish Culture Festival in Brussels, which ran for the fourth time in 2001, is one of the multidisciplinary Jewish festivals. The three-day programme included a viewing of the documentary film *The Casting (Le Casting)* by Emmanuel Finkiel,³⁷ storytelling based on works by Isaac Bashevis Singer, a Yiddish karaoke session and a debate on the future of the Yiddish language.

Poland's Jewish Culture Festival in Cracow, which ran for the tenth time in the summer of 2000—making it the longest established of Poland's Jewish festivals—stood out as the largest of all the European Jewish festivals. For one week, back-to-back Jewish cultural events took place in venues across Cracow, primarily in Kazimierz, the former Jewish area. Klezmer concerts, liturgical recitals, screenings of Yiddish film classics, lectures on Hasidic song, Hebrew calligraphy workshops and Israeli dancing were all part of the varied line-up. The finale was a free outdoor concert of Jewish music on Szeroka Street in the heart of Kazimierz, so popular that the crowds spilled out into adjoining streets. For Janusz Makuch, the festival director, the idea for the festival arose out of a deep fascination with the world of Jewish culture. He intended the festival to be a tribute by

37 *The Casting* follows the casting of Finkiel's two other films, *Voyages* (1999) and *Mme Jacques at the Crossroads* (1996). Yiddish mother-tongue speakers aged between 65 and 90 were needed for both these films, and *The Casting* is a personal account given by some of the nearly 400 people who participated in the castings. The film is thus an important piece of oral history as well as a tribute to the Yiddish-speaking generation.

contemporary artists to the traditions and culture of Kazimierz, and to be a celebration of Jewish life, which left such a strong imprint on Cracow's history. The festival's goals were (and still remain) also to identify the spaces in which Polish and Jewish culture meet and inform each other, as well as to challenge all forms of antisemitism and xenophobia.³⁸

Both Poland and Italy hosted a significant number of annual Jewish festivals. The seven Polish and thirteen Italian festivals logged over the data collection period amount to twenty-eight and forty-eight festival-days respectively. Italy's impressive Jewish festival production reflects a rich local Italian festival tradition, with many regions and locales in Italy running annual festivals to celebrate local culture. The Polish phenomenon, however, is part of the more general revival of Jewish culture in Poland. Over the last five years in particular, there has been an upsurge in new Jewish festivals in Poland. Polish cities that had substantial Jewish communities before the Second World War have begun to commemorate and celebrate this former Jewish presence by organizing special Jewish culture days. Often, the creation of one Jewish festival acts as inspiration for another. For example, the director of the Simcha—Meeting with Jewish Culture festival in Wrocław, Karolina Szykierska, explained that her own ideas and visions were stimulated and awakened by the Cracow festival. Her intention was to bring Jewish culture to Wrocław, and thereby to 'bring the two Polish cultures closer together'.³⁹ This is the vision that underlies many of Poland's Jewish festivals.

A total of eight Jewish festivals was recorded in Sweden and Belgium. Whereas most Polish and Italian Jewish festivals took place in towns with few or no Jewish inhabitants (only a minority took place in Warsaw or Rome), the festivals in Belgium and Sweden were mainly concentrated in Brussels and Stockholm or in other cities with sizeable Jewish communities, such as Antwerp and Gothenburg. This suggests that the focus of Swedish and Belgian festivals was the local Jewish population, in contrast to the Italian and Polish festivals, which attracted substantial non-Jewish or non-local Jewish audiences. This followed the

38 Personal communication with the Krakow Jewish Culture festival organizers, April 2001.

39 Personal communication with Karolina Szykierska, April 2001.

pattern of Jewish cultural events in general: in Poland and Italy they covered a wide geographical spread, whereas in Belgium and Sweden they were concentrated in a few specific cities.

An interesting example of the 'Jewish culture without Jews' phenomenon is the Tuscan town of Pitigliano, which has only a single Jewish inhabitant left from a flourishing pre-war Jewish community. In spite of this near-total absence of local Jews, the town hosts a popular Jewish film festival. The festival has been running since the late 1990s and forms part of a local initiative aiming to recreate aspects of local Jewish life. The festival's audience is composed of mainly local non-Jewish people or Jewish people from abroad.⁴⁰

Most of the Swedish and Belgian festivals charged an entrance fee whereas, in Poland and Italy, approximately half were free, with many others incorporating some free events into their programmes. Thus Jewish culture is accessible to a more diverse audience in Poland and Italy, and may also encourage more interest in those new to Jewish culture. Of course, it may also reflect the fact that there is more funding available in Poland and Italy to subsidize audience attendance at festivals.

The festivals were predominantly organized as co-operative ventures between Jewish and non-Jewish institutions. Only a quarter of all the festivals was put on by Jewish organizers alone. This differs from one-off cultural events that were generally run by either Jewish or non-Jewish organizers. Furthermore, a third of the festivals made use of both Jewish and non-Jewish venues in which to hold their associated events, with less than 20 per cent taking place solely at Jewish venues. The festival set-up thus seems to encourage far

greater interaction between the Jewish and non-Jewish cultural spheres. This may be because, *de facto*, its large-scale dimensions require a more co-operative effort.

The European Jewish Day of Culture was one large-scale annual one-day festival that took place as a result of a huge collaborative effort between Jewish organizations and local authorities across several European countries. In fact, after a couple of years of smaller-scale events, the first truly transnational festival took place on 3 September 2000 in sixteen European countries, including Belgium and Italy. Jewish sites including synagogues, cemeteries, ritual baths and ancient Jewish quarters were all opened to the public (in Italy, sites in more than forty towns and cities were open to the public). Jewish cultural events were also held in many places, including concerts, exhibitions, lectures and official ceremonies. The festival organizers estimate that, across the sixteen participating countries, about 120,000 visitors (more than 43,000 in Italy alone) attended the 2000 festival, the vast majority being non-Jews often living locally to festival venues.

Some Jewish festivals, or cultural events, took place under the umbrella of a mainstream festival framework. Likewise, Jewish performers such as klezmer bands appeared in world music festivals.⁴¹ The Swedish book fair *Bok och Bibliotek 2000* (Books and Library 2000), attended by up to 100,000 visitors over its four-day programme, had a Jewish section called 'Judisk Kulturkonferens' (Jewish Cultural Conference), organized for the fourth time in 2000 and lasting two days. Likewise, the 45th International Book Fair in Warsaw, attended by half a million people, also had a Jewish section, which specialized in Israeli writing.⁴²

40 The synagogue, cemetery and an oven for baking *matzot* have also recently been restored in Pitigliano. A new Jewish museum has also recently opened in the town.

41 Being reliant on the information that was collected by the country-based correspondents, as well as on the availability of publicity materials on the Internet, we should assume that not all Jewish components to mainstream festivals were necessarily logged in this survey.

42 Indeed, Israeli writing, primarily that by authors of Polish descent, is increasingly breaking into the Polish market. The rapport between these Polish-Israeli authors, who can address audiences in their mother tongue, and the general Polish population indicates a willingness to reconstruct relations and is an increasingly important form of reconciliation. Likewise, new Israeli writing is popular in Italy, where touring Israeli authors attract large audiences and high-profile media attention.

4 Conclusion: the way forward

This pilot project is the first to attempt to map the contemporary Jewish cultural landscape in Europe. Its aims were not only to provide an overview of contemporary Jewish cultural life in the four countries selected, but also to explore methodologies by which this field could be effectively categorized and developed. In concluding this study, it is important to evaluate these two major components in order to plan for any future reviews of Jewish culture in Europe.

Evaluation of methodologies and suggestions for future projects

A key objective of this pilot project was the development of a useful and usable classification system for Jewish cultural products. The system devised is intended to be transferable, to be employed both in future studies of Jewish culture in Europe as well as to be available universally as a resource or tool (for example as an online facility) for those involved, or interested, in Jewish culture.

Inevitably, there were issues that arose in creating a workable methodology. It is worth describing them here, and exploring the possibilities for improved or expanded studies of Jewish culture.

The original aim was to identify *all* Jewish cultural products that fit into the definitional framework that were produced or performed in the four countries selected throughout the designated twelve-month period. However, it became apparent that providing an entirely authoritative survey into so diffuse a field as cultural production was really not feasible. This was due to a number of factors:

- The study relied on access to information and the choices of the four country-based correspondents. The data supplied were necessarily subjective despite attempts to minimize this. Furthermore, the correspondents did not provide information that was completely systematic for each type of cultural event. Moreover, as we noted in the section on 'Data collection methodology', the correspondents may have had different ways of setting their priorities in the process of gathering data, as well as different understandings of what constitutes a cultural product. At times, this resulted in an uneven spread of the information gathered across the four focus countries. For further research of
- this nature, the definitional framework of 'Jewish cultural themes' would need to be made clearer in the guidelines for country correspondents, so as to achieve greater consistency of data.
- Correspondents were based only in the capital cities of each country. The decision to focus on the capitals was based on an assumption (which proved correct) that a large proportion of Jewish culture *does*, in fact, take place there. Furthermore, all the correspondents were involved in the cultural world and so had greater access to information on culture in general. However, this meant that information on Jewish culture in other parts of each country was not gathered systematically (especially taking into account the fact that organizers of Jewish events often advertise only in their local districts). If a similar research exercise were to be carried out in the future, particularly in countries with larger and more dispersed Jewish populations, it would be important to consider both the location and number of correspondents. Ideally, correspondents would be located in *all* the large cities in the countries in order to make the data-gathering exercise as comprehensive as possible. At the very least, contacts should be established with as many local Jewish communities as possible in each country so as to gain access to information on activities across a broad range of geographical regions and not just in the vicinity of the capitals.
- Specifically Jewish media productions or publications (e.g. television programmes or articles about Jewish topics in the mainstream press) proved particularly difficult to collect. This is possibly due to failings on the part of correspondents to follow the mainstream (and Jewish) press closely enough. Consequently, this information was not recorded very systematically. In the future, a different research strategy is needed for this field. At the very least, a more concerted effort would be required to collect information from publishers, from national and local radio and television stations as well as video and CD or CD-Rom distributors. Additionally, with the rapid growth in the number of websites, a decision would need to be taken as to the extent to which Jewish culture on the Internet should be logged.

An additional point to consider is the value of the actual classification system devised for this pilot project, and whether it could be a resource for those involved in Jewish culture across Europe and elsewhere.

In light of the impediments that were encountered in the attempt to paint an 'all-inclusive picture' of Jewish culture, it might be worth considering other ways to document effectively Jewish cultural developments. One approach would be to operate within an even tighter definitional framework for cultural products, whereby 'grey areas', such as educational events (lectures, conferences etc.), would not qualify as cultural productions.

An alternative strategy would be to eliminate certain categories altogether, such as the media category, from the data collection. The mapping would still include the remaining cultural fields but would preclude those categories that were least accessible and for which the investment of resources and time seemed less efficient.

Another important point to consider is that this study has focused specifically on Belgium, Italy, Sweden and Poland. It is not possible to acquire a broad, all-encompassing view of major trends in Jewish culture across Europe from the picture that this report presents. Such an overview would only be possible in a survey that examined those European countries with the largest Jewish communities, such as France, the United Kingdom, Russia or Germany.

Focusing on those specific cultural forms that are readily accessible would, in any case, be essential if this project was expanded to examine European countries with larger Jewish communities. For example, it may be more beneficial to look in greater detail at just the current Jewish music renaissance, following on from the finding in this report that music is the most common popular cultural form. Having said that, this might be too specialized a study, failing to paint a broad enough picture of Jewish culture as a whole.

As a broader strategy, a proposed follow-up project would investigate Jewish cultural festivals across the whole of Europe, leading to a study of greater depth and analysis. The festivals category, in particular, was easy to document because festivals are generally very well publicized and have a more

public profile. Furthermore, as festivals are the most common means of showcasing the cutting edge in cultural activity, a study of festivals could prove useful in attempting to come to grips with trends and patterns in Jewish culture across the whole continent. Such a project would require a greater degree of close contact work, involving closer links with Jewish festival organizers to learn about their agendas and their objectives, as well as a greater knowledge of the type of audiences who attend festivals and their motivations for doing so. Furthermore, we would expect to analyse in far greater detail the format of the festivals, the programme content and their impact on local areas, on participants and on audiences, both Jews and non-Jews.

Evaluation of trends in Jewish culture and policy implications

This report has been written in order to build up a picture of the revival of Jewish culture in selected European countries. We have identified emerging patterns and trends in the audiences, management, participants, funding and thematic content of the Jewish cultural products being produced in these four countries. While it should be stressed that the picture we provide is not complete, it is still important to point to the policy implications contained in the most noticeable of these trends.

Holocaust issues

Almost sixty years have passed since the Holocaust and the end of the Second World War. Nevertheless, this is undoubtedly still the most prevalent theme in Jewish cultural productions. Evidently the legacy of the Holocaust is still very much an active part of the collective psyche of Jewish, as well as non-Jewish, artists. Should this be a cause for concern for policymakers in the Jewish community? Is the world of Jewish culture really experiencing as creative a renewal as is often claimed if such a large proportion of Jewish cultural activity is based on the essentially negative perceptions of Jews that are bound up with the Holocaust and antisemitism?

Having said that, it is important to remember that, while the Holocaust is a frequent and recurring theme in contemporary Jewish culture, it is not always employed as an overwhelmingly *negative* symbol. Nowadays, the lessons of the Holocaust are often employed creatively in cultural products as a way of transmitting a positive message of tolerance

and universal responsibility and of challenging forms of oppression or racism. In other words, in contemporary, multicultural Europe, the Holocaust is still an important cultural symbol, and the establishment of a Europe-wide Holocaust Day demonstrates the importance with which it is invested.

The significance of promoting and supporting these contemporary responses to the Holocaust, as well as other forms of Jewish culture emerging in modern Europe, should not be understated. These expressions of Jewish culture are crucial to the regeneration of a dynamic new Jewish presence in twenty-first century Europe.

The non-Jewish presence in contemporary Jewish culture

The increased involvement of non-Jewish artists, performers, organizations and funders in all aspects of Jewish culture is apparent from the statistics, with over a quarter of all events organized by non-Jews and almost half of all events taking place in non-Jewish or mainstream venues. Many events are also funded from non-Jewish sources. This growing non-Jewish participation allows for the expansion of Jewish culture into the mainstream cultural sphere.⁴³

From the viewpoint of the producers of Jewish culture, this is beneficial as it increases the level of publicity and funding, and has thus become essential to the development and revival of Jewish culture across Europe. The growing Jewish presence in mainstream culture is also important as a way of increasing an awareness and understanding of Jewish culture, Jewish history and the Holocaust among Europeans. This is part of a trend towards a more general awareness and acceptance of minority cultures among European communities. As we noted earlier, a desire to understand Jewish history and to create something positive out of the legacy of the Holocaust is the impetus for many non-Jewish artists, performers and organizers to become involved in Jewish culture in the first place.

Furthermore, on a macrocosmic level, the importance of culture as a vehicle for enabling

43 In a future study, it would certainly be interesting to create a more detailed profile of typical audiences at Jewish cultural events across Europe, to see who these events attract, how big the non-Jewish presence is, why people are drawn to Jewish culture etc.

cross-cultural understanding and dialogue should also be stressed. Jewish culture exists as a hybrid form and is inextricably linked to its surroundings and to other ethnic cultural forms. The interconnectedness between Jewish culture and other cultural forms should be widely promoted and welcomed across a modern multicultural and unified Europe.

However, we should also note that the growing non-Jewish presence in Jewish culture is not universally celebrated. Some people involved in Jewish culture fear that a gulf will be formed (or is already being formed) between those Jewish cultural products that are created or organized by Jews, that take place mainly at Jewish venues and are supported by Jewish communities, and the 'virtual' Jewish cultural activity generated by non-Jewish organizers that take place at mainly non-Jewish venues. Ruth Ellen Gruber expresses these concerns:

Yet there is a growing sense of urgency among Jews that unless they themselves take positive action, the 'Jewish thing' may be hijacked, if not watered down . . . Jewish cultural products displacing Jewish culture . . . Without a living Jewish dimension, the virtual Jewish world may become a sterile desert —or a haunted Jewish never-never land.⁴⁴

In other words, there is a risk that the authenticity of Jewish culture will become lost in a world peopled by non-Jewish performers, organizers and audiences with their own agendas. However worthy these agendas may be, they may be fuelled by what are, at times, clichéd or mythologized perceptions of Jewish people and Jewishness. It is therefore important for Jewish communities and Jewish artists to continue to provide a strong presence in the revival of contemporary Jewish culture and for increased opportunities to be created for Jewish/non-Jewish collaboration in the regeneration of Jewish culture across Europe.

However, it should also be noted that Jewish artists or performers are just as capable of reproducing hackneyed or stereotyped images of 'the Jew', and can also be held responsible for any misrepresentation or perpetuation of clichés or stereotypes in the minds of spectators who have little first-hand

44 Gruber, 238.

knowledge of the Jewish experience. At the same time, non-Jewish performers or arts managers are, of course, capable of producing creative and original Jewish cultural products. Thus, the role of Jews in the 'safeguarding' of Jewish culture as its sphere of influence widens should be recognized but at the same time not exaggerated.

Funding issues

While information about funding was not always readily available, it is clear from this survey that those involved in Jewish culture must look to official bodies and statutory sources as well as to sources within the Jewish community for funding. The contribution that governments and other official organizations make is particularly significant in countries such as Poland with tiny Jewish communities, and consequently with limited national Jewish communal resources to support and sustain Jewish culture.

Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 3, nearly all Jewish cultural festivals rely on at least some external funding. The importance of the symbiotic relationship between the Jewish cultural world and mainstream funding sources should not be underplayed.

Support from official EU bodies can be relied on and indeed, to some extent, almost expected by those involved in Jewish cultural activity in Europe today. This is because 'the promotion of cultural diversity is a key policy of many European institutions'.⁴⁵ EU bodies have cultural development high up on their agendas. Furthermore, governments of countries such as Poland or Germany have established specific restitution or bridge-building foundations to support the revival of Jewish life in twenty-first century Europe. All these sources should be promoted actively among those seeking funding for the development of Jewish culture.

New Jewish grant-making bodies have also sprung up specializing in the funding of contemporary Jewish culture in Europe. The newly established European Association for Jewish Culture (EAJC), with offices in London and Paris, is one such grant-making body. It was set up in 2001 with, among several other aims, the specific objective of

supporting 'artistic creativity which addresses or reflects contemporary Jewish experience'.⁴⁶

Another source of funding for European Jewish communities lies in philanthropic contributions from countries such as the United States that have large Jewish communities and extensive communal resources. Taking into account that Jewish tourists from the United States and Israel attend Jewish cultural events and festivals across Europe, this source of funding should be further explored. With continued support from these communities, fledgling Jewish cultural initiatives across Europe will be able to establish and sustain themselves.

Israeli culture

Israeli culture and Israeli artists do not feature very prominently in this survey. While it is true that well-known Israeli musicians and authors often tour in Europe to great acclaim, it may also be the case that other Israeli artists do not have a high enough profile on the European cultural circuit. Poor marketing, publicity or networking may be contributing factors. With greater promotion, Israeli culture, with its range of cultural influences spanning European, Middle Eastern, North African and other cultural traditions, could achieve greater success in Europe. It is perhaps the role of Israeli embassies and other official organizations to promote Israeli performers and artists more effectively to European markets.

Concluding remarks

Our intention in this mapping project was to raise the level of awareness of the dynamic presence of Jewish culture in contemporary Europe. There is still a tendency among Jews living in large communities, such as in Israel or the United States, to see contemporary Jewish communal and cultural life in continental Europe as moribund or, at best, somehow irrelevant to the general development of world Jewry. Poland, in particular, is rarely recognized for its increasing contribution to the Jewish cultural revival; instead it is often associated only with 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.

⁴⁵ See www.jewishcultureineurope.org/why.htm (viewed August 2002).

⁴⁶ See www.jewishcultureineurope.org/aims.htm for more information (viewed July 2002).

Another objective of this study was to show the valuable role that Jewish culture plays for people across the spectrum of the Jewish community, as well as, increasingly, for a wide range of non-Jewish artists and participants. This significance should be emphasized in the context of contemporary Europe where Jewish communities are often vulnerable in

terms of their size and stature. We have tried to show the unique and symbolic role that Jewish culture plays in contemporary Europe, both within the Jewish communities themselves and in mainstream European society. As many resources as possible should be channelled into sustaining and developing the future of Jewish culture in Europe.

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Appendix 1



Four focus countries

	Poland	Italy	Sweden	Belgium
Total pop.	38,765,000	57,298,000	8,910,000	10,161,000
Jewish pop. (1/1/2000 est.)	3,500	29,600	15,000 (twice the pre-Second World War figure)	31,700
Jews per 1,000 population	0.1	0.5	1.7	3.1
EU status	Decision pending on application to become EU member state	EU founder member	EU member, joined 1995	EU founder member
Major recent historical events	In addition to the Jewish deaths, an estimated 3 million Poles were killed during the Second World War. After the war, Poland was under the control of the former Soviet Union and a Communist government. Only in 1989 was a democratic government established in Poland.	Italy was unified in 1861 but, to this day, there is a strong divide between the industrial North and the poorer agricultural South. After the disaster of Fascism and the Second World War, Italy abolished its monarchy and became a democratic republic in 1946.	Sweden had been part of a union with Norway until 1905, when Norway seceded. Recent Swedish history has been peaceful. Sweden was neutral in both the First and Second World Wars.	After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Belgium belonged to the Netherlands. In 1831 Belgium finally won its independence.
Regional features	Poland is made up of 6 main regions, subdivided into 17 administrative provinces.	There are 20 regions in Italy, each with its own artistic tradition, dialect and cuisine. There is a strong sense of regional identity.	Sweden is traditionally divided into three major regions, from south to north, Götaland, Svealand and Norrland, although they serve no administrative purpose.	There are 3 main regions, Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels, and there are some regional tensions. Flanders in the North often calls for secession from Wallonia in the South and the primary identity for many Belgians is Fleming or Walloon rather than Belgian.
Ethnicities	In the past, with periodically shifting borders, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Germans and other minorities lived in Poland. Although minority groups still remain, Poland has never been as ethnically homogeneous as it is today (97.6% Polish).	Small groups of German-, French- and Slovene-Italians in the North and Albanian- and Greek-Italians in the South. Also, a growing Muslim immigrant population in recent years.	Sweden ratified the European Council's Convention on National Minorities in December 1999, recognizing the importance of preserving the languages and cultures of national minorities. As well as the Jews, the Finns, Sami and Romanies have all gained such recognition in Sweden.	Minorities include immigrant communities from Italy, Morocco, Turkey, Algeria and Zaire.
Post-Holocaust Jewish demographic shifts	The Polish-Jewish community was further decimated by waves of forced emigration following the Second World War, brought on by antisemitic campaigns that peaked in 1946, 1956 and 1968. Over 200,000 Jews emigrated from Poland in that period.	An estimated 40% of Italian Jewry was lost as a result of Fascist persecution, subsequent deportations and post-war emigration; an indirect consequence was a drastic decline in birth and marriage rates. Recent immigrants include North African Jews in the 1960s.	Recent immigrants include Hungarian Jews in 1956, following the Soviet invasion of Hungary, Polish Jews in 1968-70 as a result of the antisemitic campaign, and Jews from the former Soviet Union in 1990-3.	After the Second World War, the Jewish population was composed of those who had remained in the country, had returned from exile, or were liberated from prisons and camps.

	Poland	Italy	Sweden	Belgium
Major Jewish centres today	Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw and Lodz	Rome, Milan, Turin, Florence and Livorno	Stockholm and Gothenburg	Mainly Brussels and Antwerp: smaller communities in Liège, Arlon, Ostende, Charleroi and Ghent
Languages	Mainly Polish, with some German-, Belarussian- and Romany-speaking minorities as well as others	Predominantly Italian, with German, French and Slovene-speaking areas	Swedish, with Sami and Finnish-speaking and other minorities	58% speak Flemish, 32% French and 10% German or other
First recorded Jewish life	It is not known exactly, but Jewish merchant and diplomat Ibrahim Ibn Jakub mentioned Cracow in his account of a voyage in the mid-900s. Many Polish kings granted Jews safety for their property and community in the 13th century.	Jews have lived in Italy without interruption from the days of the Maccabees until the present, a period of 21 centuries.	Several anti-Jewish edicts of 1685 indicate the illegal presence of Jews in certain periods. In the 1770s, an enlightened monarch granted permission to Jews to settle in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping with a measure of religious freedom.	Jews first appeared in the southern Netherlands during the early 13th century, although the exact date of their settlement there cannot be ascertained. They arrived from the east, most probably from the large Rhenish communities.
Historical development of Jewish populations	Many Jews came to Poland between the 12th and the 15th centuries, to escape persecution in Western and Central Europe.	1861, the year of Italian unification, was the year Italian Jews gained full civil and political rights.	The Jewish communities of Stockholm and Gothenburg were founded in the 18th century and were among the first cities in which Jews were granted permission to settle.	There was an influx of Jewish immigration from Eastern/Central Europe in the 19th century, with two distinct community groupings developing: Brussels was the focus of mainly French, secular influences, while in Antwerp, Eastern European and traditional Jewish influences were stronger.
Size of Jewish population before the Second World War	Before September 1939, Poland had a Jewish population of 3,351,000, representing at least 10% of the total population.	57,000	In 1933 there were approximately 7,000 Jews in Sweden.	When the German army invaded Belgium in May 1940, between 90,000–110,000 Jews lived in Belgium, including about 20,000 German Jewish refugees.
Sephardi/ Ashkenazi	Ashkenazi	'Italkim' (unique Italian Jewish tradition established over 2,000 years of Italian Jewish life); also Sephardi descendants of those who fled Spain after the expulsion in 1492.	Mainly Ashkenazi	Mainly Ashkenazi: out of 12 officially recognized Jewish communities, only 2 are Sephardi
Languages spoken within national Jewish communities	Yiddish flourished among Polish Jews, and was the mother tongue for many of them until the destruction of the community during the Second World War.	Mainly Italian. Some influence of Ladino after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Judeo-Italian (also known as Italkian) is only spoken by a fraction of Jews now, its main usage being in traditional Italian Passover songs.	Swedish	The French/Flemish linguistic divide is reflected in the Jewish community. Yiddish has been spoken in Antwerp since the 19th-century arrival of Eastern/Central European Jewish refugees. It is in active use today in Antwerp in the strictly Orthodox community.

Appendix 2

Example of a completed data submission form

Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today

DATA SUBMISSION FORM

for Sweden
country

1) Type of cultural product:
Category and sub-category:
Title: *EH Purimspel*
Topic: *Concert around Purim*
Language(s) of communication: *Swedish*

2) Director/conductor/editor etc.: *Miriam Andersson*
(please give contact-details, e.g. tel., e-mail, if available)

3) Performer(s)/author(s)/creator(s)/speaker(s) etc.:
(please state name of the group and individual performers & their role)
Please not enclosed program

4) Organisers/producers:
(please give contact-details)
Jewish Community in Stockholm

5) Location:
Region, city: *Stockholm*
Venue (include address): *great Synagogue*
Type of venue, e.g. public/private/community centre: *public*

Has it been presented elsewhere? (e.g. tours/travelling exhibitions),
if so where?

6) When
Date(s): *25th of March 2001*
New production or re-production/repeated: *New production*
Weekly/monthly/annual/biannual event:
Maybe annual

jpr

Mapping Jewish Culture in Europe Today

7) Audience:

Potential/expected audience (e.g. No. of places available): 900

Actual audience (e.g. No. of tickets sold or estimated numbers): 300

Demographics of the audience:

Children/youth/adult; male/female; religious/cultural background

Adult male and female. Mostly Jewish but also non-Jews.

8) Admission fee:

Price/free: 120 Skr

9) Dissemination

How/where has the cultural product/event been advertised?

Jewish press - community paper, Swedish Daily pres.

10) Internet

Is further information about this product/event available on the internet?

If so, please give the address of the website: NO

11) Funders:

(please give contact-details)

Jewish Community in Stockholm

12) The concept:

Why is the event/product being made? What is the idea behind it? What was the inspiration for the product/event?

To do something different with the story of Purim and to use the Synagogue as a concert hall.

13) Are there any reviews enclosed?

No, only very positive oral respons.

14) Additional specifications/comments:

Please enclose the relevant promotional materials and send to JPR:

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 London W1M 7DD, UK
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Appendix 3

Festival listings

Belgium

- Le Premier Festival de Musique Juive/The First Jewish Music Festival (February, Brussels)
- 4ème Festival de Culture Yiddish/4th Festival of Yiddish Culture (March, Brussels)
- Journée Européenne de la Culture Juive/European Day of Jewish Culture (September, Arlon, Brussels, Liege, Mechlen, Antwerp and Ostende)
- Festival Klezmer et Tsigane/Klezmer and Gypsy Festival (November, Brussels)
- Internationaal Joods Muziekfestival/International Festival of Jewish Music (November, Antwerp)

Italy

- Giorno della memoria/Day of Remembrance (January, nation-wide)
- Il teatro della memoria/Theatre of Remembrance (April, Campobasso)
- Shavuot-festival/Shavuot festival (June, Rome)
- Visto da vicino nessuno é normale: Davar/Up Close No One Looks Normal: Davar (June–July, Milan)
- Klezmer musica festival/Klezmer Music Festival (July, Ancona)
- Klezmer and Gypsy Music Festival (July, Turin and Pinerolo)
- New Klezmer Festival (July, Verona)
- Medfilm festival (July, Rome)
- Isola del cinema: il cinema contemporaneo di Israele/The Island of Cinema: Contemporary Israeli Cinema (July, Rome)
- Giornata europea della cultura ebraica/European Day of Jewish Culture (September, nation-wide)
- Nessiah (October, Pisa, Pontedra and Cascina)
- Pitigliano Film Festival (October, Pitigliano)
- Bruno Schulz—il profeta sommerso/Bruno Schulz—the prophet overcome (November–January, Trieste)

Poland

- IV Dzień Judaizmu/IV Day of Judaism (January, mainly Lodz but also elsewhere)
- Dni Izraela w Nowym Sączu/Israeli Days in Nowy Sącz (March, Nowy Sącz)
- 45 Miedzynarodowych Targow Ksiazki/45th International Book Fair (May, Warsaw)
- Simcha-Spotkania z Kultura Zydowska/Simcha: Meeting with Jewish Culture (May, Wrocław)
- V Dni Pamieci Zydow Tarnowskich/5th Commemoration for the Jews of Tarnow (June, Tarnow)
- Festival Kultury Zydowskiej/10th Festival of Jewish Culture (July, Krakow)
- III Dni Ksiazki Zydowskiej/3rd Jewish Book Fair (October, Warsaw)

Sweden

- Judiska filmfestivalen i Göteborg/The Jewish Film Festival in Gothenburg (May, Gothenburg)
- Stockholms Judiska Filmfestival/Stockholm's Jewish Film Festival (May, Stockholm)
- Bok och Bibliotek: Judisk Kulturkonferens/Book and Library: Jewish Cultural Conference (October, Gothenburg)

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