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Restoring the memory of the Jewish minority in a cityscape: a case study of Poznań

Abstract: The landscapes bear different memories which can be held, sustained, forgotten, or erased by local communities. As the local society is usually non-homogeneous, there are different memories, and the policy of memory depends on the politics and also on global social trends. Especially difficult is the situation of minorities, whose memory is dominated in the cityscape by the ruling majority. The author focuses on the analysis of Jewish memory carriers using the case study of Poznań in Poland. As a result, forty of them have been defined and analysed in a cityscape. There are many actors involved, and the process of restoring memory to the landscape has accelerated in the last 25 years, but it is still at its beginnings.

Key words: memoryscapes, memory carriers, minority, Jews, Poznań

Introduction

By its very nature, a landscape is imaginary as it can hold different meanings for different people. When a group ascribes meaning to a landscape, it becomes a memoryscape, supporting the group's collective identity (Tuan 2008, Kapralski 2015). Decisions about which memories to preserve and which to erase or silence are subject to politics and ideology (Kapralski 2015). Therefore, memoryscape is influenced by global, national, or regional trends, but it is still mostly produced locally. It becomes a mirror of a common vision of the past, which is determined by the identity we accept as a society (Lowenthal 2015).

However, as societies are not homogeneous, the visions of the past held by different groups within them, differ, sometimes coinciding and sometimes colliding. In such cases, landscapes become battlefields (Rybicka 2011). If certain group vanishes or its numbers decline, its memory is no longer sustained and expires, or is erased (Kula 2002, Terela 2020, Benjamin 2021). Such a memory can also be intentionally revived. The clashing forces in this process may be

represented by various stakeholders, including local administrations, residents, artists and minorities (Rybicka 2011, Duda-Seifert 2020).

Memory of landscape can be sustained by both material elements, or social practices; however, they fulfil the commemorative function only if they are recognised by members of the society (Pośluszny 2014). Nora (1989) called such elements memory sites (*lieux de mémoire*), but in this paper, the term “carriers of memory” (Kula 2002, Golka 2009, Szpociński 2014) is adopted. They are defined as items and actions that may stimulate memory of the past either unintentionally (memory triggers) or intentionally (memorials) (Kula 2002). When the latter ones are recognised by society, they start to function autonomously as “sites” or active carriers.

All of the above remarks apply to the situation of the Jewish minority, which left behind a huge void in Polish cityscapes because of the Holocaust and post-war emigration. The evolution of post-Jewish spaces in the last seventy years has been influenced by politics and social trends, including the decolonisation of minority memory within the memory boom (Kapralski 2015, Polynczuk-Alenius 2022). The approach adopted here is a case study of the city of Poznań in Poland. The author aims to define Jewish memory carriers in a cityscape, analyse their distribution, form and visibility and actors involved.

Methods and materials

The author uses the term “memory carriers” to refer to elements in a cultural landscape that may stimulate memories of the past. The focus is on memorials, which are defined as monuments, boards, or plaques placed with a commemorative intention. However, memory can also be intentionally ascribed to structures or sites through published materials or information boards. Therefore, restoring memory carriers indicates an intention to reinstate a specific memory within society by linking it to elements in a landscape. A specific procedure was adopted to determine which elements of Poznań’s cityscape could be designated as Jewish memory carriers. The following tasks were performed:

1. identifying memorials commemorating Jewish-related events and individuals,
2. identifying other intentional memory carriers defined as buildings and sites related to the Jewish minority in the past, which are mentioned by name and location in one of two main sources: “The Jewish Heritage Trail” brochure (Moszyński 2017) and “The Jews of Poznań” guide (Witkowski 2012). These were sponsored by the municipality, were available as paper publications in Poznań Information Centres in July 2025; however, the author introduced additional condition, meaning that first of all community-serving structures were selected, and private properties were only considered if mentioned by both sources (hereafter referred to as JHT and the Guide),
3. defining the actors involved and evaluating the form, visibility and distribution of memory carriers within the city.

The research area is the city of Poznań, within its administrative borders. One exception is the Martyrology Museum in Żabikowo, located in Luboń, which due to its importance for the city's memory, was included in the research (Fig. 2b).

This study is based on an analysis of secondary sources, including academic publications on the history of the Jews of Poznań and the diaries of former Jewish inhabitants of the city. The exact locations and visibility of the structures and sites were defined based on a comparative analysis of historical and contemporary maps (<http://igrek.amzp.pl>, <http://cyryl.poznan.pl>), observation in the field carried out in July 2019 and June and July 2025. Additionally, the interviews were held with Anna Ziółkowska, director of Martyrology Museum in Żabikowo and Alicja Kobus, chairperson of the Jewish Community in Poznań on 11th and 18th of July 2025, respectively.

The conditions for the presence of Jewish memory carriers in the cityscape of Poznań

Situated in Wielkopolska region, Poznań is one of the oldest and largest cities in Poland. A ducal residence and shortly the capital city of Poland in the medieval time, it developed into one of the country's most significant hubs for craft production and international trade, the centre of culture and science. After losing independence to Prussia in 1793, the region regained it in 1918. The Second World War caused 55% damage to the city. Today, Poznań is the Poland's fifth largest metropolis, with a population of over half a million. The city's history is closely associated with its Jewish residents, which will be described briefly below.

Jewish settlement in Poznań dates back to the early medieval period, with Jews having inhabited the left bank of the Warta river prior to its transformation into an organised urban settlement in 1253 (Piechotka, Piechotka 2004). The first synagogue and Jewish cemetery are believed to have existed within the city walls to the north-east of the market square. During the 15th century, the centre of the Jewish quarter moved north-west, and this area remained the only one available to Jewish residents until the beginning of the 19th century (Stęszewska-Leszczyńska 1992, Leszczyńska 1996).

From the 16th century onwards, Poznań grew to become the third largest Jewish urban settlement in Poland after Kazimierz and Lviv (Guldon, Wijaczka 1999). Following the region's incorporation into Prussia, the city's Jewish population increased to account for 23% of the population and reached 7,964 people in 1861, making it the second largest Jewish community in Prussia (Sztyma-Knasiecka 2006). Following the great fire of 1803, Jews were permitted to settle outside the Jewish quarter, including in the Stary Rynek area, where they came to own the majority of shops and houses (Dohnalowa 1999). Their growing position in commerce and trade was supported by their legal emancipation, favourable trading conditions, and cultural assimilation, leading to an improvement in their socio-economic status (Trzeciakowski 1992, Kemlein 2001). Consequently, most

Jews were Germanised and formed an integral part of the city council, influencing the city's landscape as investors and owners (Karolczak 2006a, b, 2009, Kronthal 2009). However, due to their support for the Germans during Poland's struggle for independence, most of them left Poznań after 1918 (Sztyma-Knasiecka 2006). Instead, the city attracted an influx of Polish-speaking Jews. Nevertheless, the Jewish population fell to around 2,000 accounting for less than 1% of the city's population during the interwar period, although slightly rising at the end of the 1930s (Table 1). During this time Poznań became a strong centre for nationalist and anti-Semitic movements (Dworecki 1999).

Tabela 1. Number and share of Jewish minority in Poznań population

Year	Total city population	Number of Jews	Share of Jews in the total population in%
1599	20 000	~1700	8,50%
1733	5000	1170	23,40%
1780	11 000	2555	23,20%
1816	23 854	4455	18,60%
1825	26 519	4934	18,60%
1831	30 786	5475	17,80%
1840	36 256	6748	18,60%
1852	44 039	7214	16,40%
1861	51 232	7964	15,50%
1871	56 374	7325	12,90%
1880	65 713	7063	10,70%
1890	69 627	6126	8,80%
1900	117 033	5988	5,10%
1910	156 696	5611	3,60%
1921	169 422	2088	1,20%
1931	246 470	1954	0,80%
1938	272 653	2800	1,00%
1946	247 077	343	0,000001%
2021	546 859	495	0,09%

Source: Elaborated by author based on: Dworecki (1999), Guldón and Wijaczka (1999), GUS (2021), Kemlein (2001), Sztyma-Knasiecka (2006), Wróbel (2014).

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, the Nazis deported Jews from Poznań to Ostrów Lubelski, from where they were sent to Bełżec extermination camp in November 1942 (Ziółkowska 2005). Between 1941 and 1943, the Nazis developed a major infrastructure project, which included 29 forced labour camps within the Poznań area. Around 11,000 Jews, transported from the ghettos of the Wartheland Province – an area of western Poland that was annexed to Germany – were forced to work on various projects, including the airport, the motorway, the railways, the parks, the Rusałka and Malta lakes. In 1943, those who survived were sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (Ziółkowska 2005). Out of an estimated 3,000 Jews in Poznań, only around 100 survived the war. Only a handful of Jewish residents returned to the city in

1945–46. The city's Jewish population was estimated to be between 224 and 343 during this period. Some of them, including the world-renowned sociologist Professor Zygmunt Bauman, had emigrated by the 1960s (Pakuła 1998, Witkowski 2012). All attempts to restore the Jewish Community of Poznań failed and its assets were seized by state institutions (Witkowski 2012).

Following the democratic shift in political and economic system, two Jewish communities were established in Poznań at the end of the 1990s. One was soon dissolved, while the other, founded in 1999 became an independent Jewish commune by 2018. Its chairperson is Alicja Bromberger-Kobus (<http://poznan.jewish.org.pl>).

The Jewish memory carriers in Poznań

Examining the JHT and the Guide, enabled the author to identify 40 intentional Jewish memory carriers in Poznań, comprising one exhibition, 15 memorials, 12 historic structures, and 15 sites of non-existent structures. Of these, 37 are located in open landscapes, while three, despite being indoors, were also incorporated due to their significance (Tables 2, 3 and 4). Additionally, five Jews-related toponyms were identified (Table 5). Their distribution in the city is shown on maps (Fig. 1, 2a and b).

Table 2. Selected existing Jewish-related structures according to the JHT and the Guide

No	Structure	Dates	Address	Register	JHT	Guide
1	The New Synagogue	1906	11a Wroniecka	Yes (2025)	Yes	Yes
2	The Jewish Comm. Headquarters	1897	10 Stawna	Yes (2008)	No	Yes
3	Latz Home for elderly and infirm	1909	15–18 Żydowska	No	Yes	Yes
4	Jewish Reading Hall	1912	32 Żydowska	Yes (1958)	No	Yes
5	The Berger Middle School	1865	11 Strzelecka	No	No	Yes
6	Gustav Kronthal's Fountain	1841	Marcinkowskiego	No	Yes	Yes
7	The Cosmos Lodge (first seat)	1894	9 Nowowiejskiego	No	No	Yes
8	The Cosmos Lodge (2nd seat)	1918	27 Marcinkowskiego	No	Yes	Yes
9	Friedrichshof Hotel	1905	8a Masztalarska	No	No	Yes
10	Hartwig&Kantorowicz Factory	1907	6 Grochowe Łąki	Yes (1985)	Yes	Yes
11	Petersdorf department store	1901	97/100 Stary Rynek	Yes (1934)	Yes	Yes
12	Church of the Holy Blood of Jesus	18th c.	34 Żydowska	Yes (1931)	Yes	Yes

Source: Comm. – Community; Dates – when it was built or used by Jewish organisations; Register of monuments (date of enlisting) (<https://poznan.wuoz.gov.pl/rejestr-zabytkow>).

The first category of Jewish memory carriers comprises historic structures. There are seven out of twelve (numbered 1 to 8 except 6 in Table 2), which were the most important to the community in the 19th century. The most notable of these is the New Synagogue, which was transformed into a swimming pool by the Nazis. The Jewish Community regained ownership of the building in 2002

Table 3. Selected non-existent Jewish-related buidings/sites according to the JHT and Guide

No	Structure	Dates/Cent.	Address (now)	Dem.	JHT	Guide	No on a map
1, 2	The Oldest Syn./Syn of the Comm. of Brothers	14th c.; 1857	9 Dominikańska	1945	Yes	Yes	13
3	Syn.of the Ass.of Charity Supporters	1884	8 Dominikańska	1945	Yes	Yes	14
4, 5, 6	Old Syn.; New Syn.; Nehemiah Syn.	15/16th, 16/17th c. 18th c.	15–18 Żydowska	1908 1928	Yes	Yes	15
7	The Old Cemetery	13–16th c.	Wolności Sq	1804	Yes	Yes	16
8	Cemetery	1804	26 Głogowska	1941	No	Yes	17
9	The new cemetery	1930s.	Engeströma	1940	No	Yes	18
10	Rohr Found. Hospital	1895	17/19 Wieniawskiego	1945	No	Yes	19
11	The Girls' Orphanage	1908	3 Noskowskiego	1945	No	Yes	20
12	Jewish Girls' Home	1904–1912	17 Ratajczaka	1945	No	Yes	21
13	Jewish Boys' Orphanage	1836	5 Stawna	1945	No	Yes	22
14	The Hirschlik Cafe	1920s	Wilhelmi Sq.	1945	No	Yes	23
15	Jolowicz Bookstore	1864	4 Stary Rynek	1945	Yes	Yes	24

Source: Ass. – Association, Comm. – Community, Dem. – demolished, Found. – Foundation, Syn. – synagogue

Table 4. Jewish-related memorials in Poznań (July 2025)

No	Kind of memorial	Address	Date	JHT	Guide	No on a map
1	Mass graves	Miłostowo Municipal Cemetery	1958 & 1990s	No	No	25
2	Off-site Lapidary		1993	No	Yes	26
3	Mus. Exhibition (indoor)	2 Niezłomnych, Luboń	2020	No	Yes	27
4	Memorial		1983	No	No	28
5	Off-site lapidary		2019	No	No	29
6	Memorial	51 Królowej Jadwigi	1983	Yes	Yes	30
7	Plaque on Syn.(removed)	Akiva Eger Sq.	First 1989	No	No	–
	Information board (MIS)		2017			31
8	Robert Remak Plaque	41–43, 23 Lutego	2003	No	Yes	32
9	On-site Lapidary	26a Głogowska	2008	Yes	Yes	33
10	Information plaque (MIS)		2021	Yes	Yes	34
11	My star Monument	18 Głogowska	2024		New	35
11	Statue of Golem	Marcinkowskiego Al.	2010	Yes	No	36
12	Information board	Rusałka Lake	2020		New	37
13	Information plaque (MIS)	14 Wolności Sq.	2021		New	38
14	Chamber of Akiva Eger (indoor)	26 Głogowska	2021		New	39
15	Memorial Plaque (indoor)	35 Leśnowolska	2024		New	40

Source: MIS – the Municipal Information System; Mus. – Museum of Martyrology in Żabikowo; New-established after the publishing of the Guide (2012) and JHT brochure (2017); Plaque on Syn. – removed in 2025 due to the renovation works planned.

Table 5. Jewish-related toponyms in Poznań (July 2025)

Symbol on a map	Toponyms	Date of designation
A	Żydowska (Jewish) Street	15th cent.
B	Bóżnicza (Synagogue) Street	1908
C	Skwer Rabina Akivy Egera (Sq. of Rabbi Akiva Eger)	2008
D	Skwer Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata (Square of the Righteous Among the Nations)	2014
E	Skwer Ireny Sendlerowej (Irena Sendler square)	2018

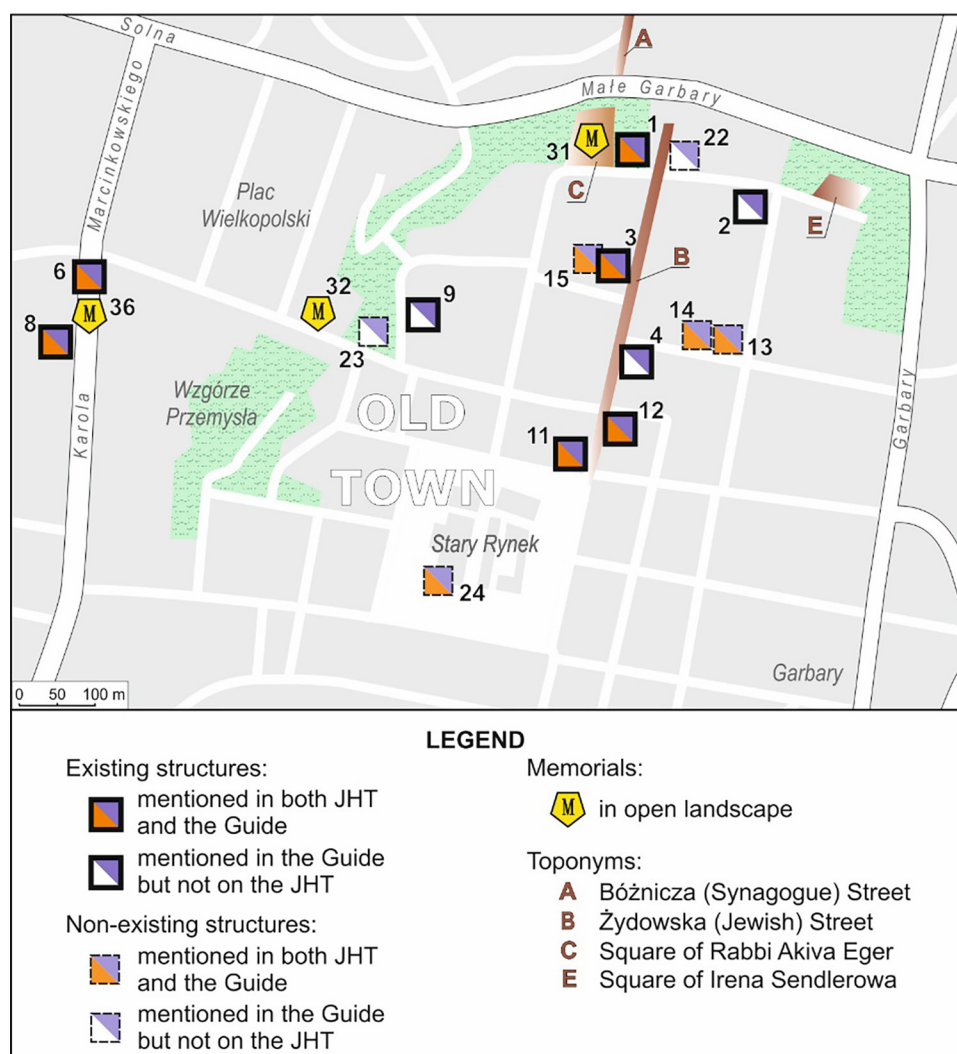


Fig. 1. Jewish memory carriers in the Old City of Poznań

Source: content of the map prepared by the author, made by Dorota Borowicz.

and intended to convert it into a Centre of Dialogue and Judaism, but was unable to raise sufficient funds. There were as well some artistic events involved (Kwiatkowski 2010, Roszak 2015), while the pool was closed in 2011 (Roszak 2015). In 2019, the Jewish community sold the building to an investor with plans to convert it for residential use, with space allocated for a small exhibition about Jews in Poznań. But, due to the pressure from Polish associations, the building was enrolled in the Register of Monuments in May 2025, and all work ceased. The second most important building near the New Synagogue is the former headquarters of the Jewish commune. It was returned to the Jewish community in 2003, once again becoming the headquarters' seat. The impressive red-brick building features a large Chanukiah on its balcony. It is now the centre of Jewish life in Poznań, as it also houses the Beth ha-Midrash. Alicja Kobus, the chairperson, plans to restore a room in this building to host an exhibition about the Jews in Poznań. However, another monumental existing building in the area, that is the former Latz Foundation House was sold to a private investor, renovated, and now bears no sign of its past. The three buildings described are presented on an information board placed in front of the New Synagogue. Surprisingly, only six out of twelve structures are registered as monuments (Table 2).

The second category of potential Jewish memory carriers comprises fifteen sites of non-existent structures that can still be commemorated in the cityscape (Table 3). At the beginning of the 20th century, the Jewish community replaced the group of former synagogues with the Latz Foundation house mentioned above. The second group of two synagogues on Dominikańska street, including the former location of the city's oldest synagogue was destroyed in 1945, and new residential buildings were constructed on the site after 2012. Again, both groups of former synagogues are described on the Information Board next to the synagogue.

The final category of memory carriers is memorials (Table 4). There are only fifteen, and they are unevenly distributed across the city. The process of their placement was spontaneous, and carried out by different actors. Five were created until the beginning of the 1990s, while ten were created after 2003. The first plaque commemorating the Jews of Poznań was placed on the New Synagogue in 1983 by the Nissenbaum Family Foundation. This was replaced in 1997 and 2004, but has recently been removed due to planned construction work. Another important site of commemoration is the former largest Jewish cemetery at Głogowska Street. The lapidary, together with the reconstruction of six matzevahs, including those of the famous Rabbi Akiva Eger, opened in 2008 (Kobus 2009). This was followed by the placement of a new "My Star" plaque on the adjacent gate in 2021. The site is visited by Jewish pilgrims from across the world. However, the most important memorial in terms of information it provides in the cityscape is the board installed in 2017 on Akiva Eger square in front of the New Synagogue. Two other small plaques commemorating Jewish cemeteries on Głogowska Street and Wolności Square were added in 2021 with the support of the e-lapidarium website provider. All three belong to the municipality's information system. Another important initiative is to commemorate the Nazi's forced labour

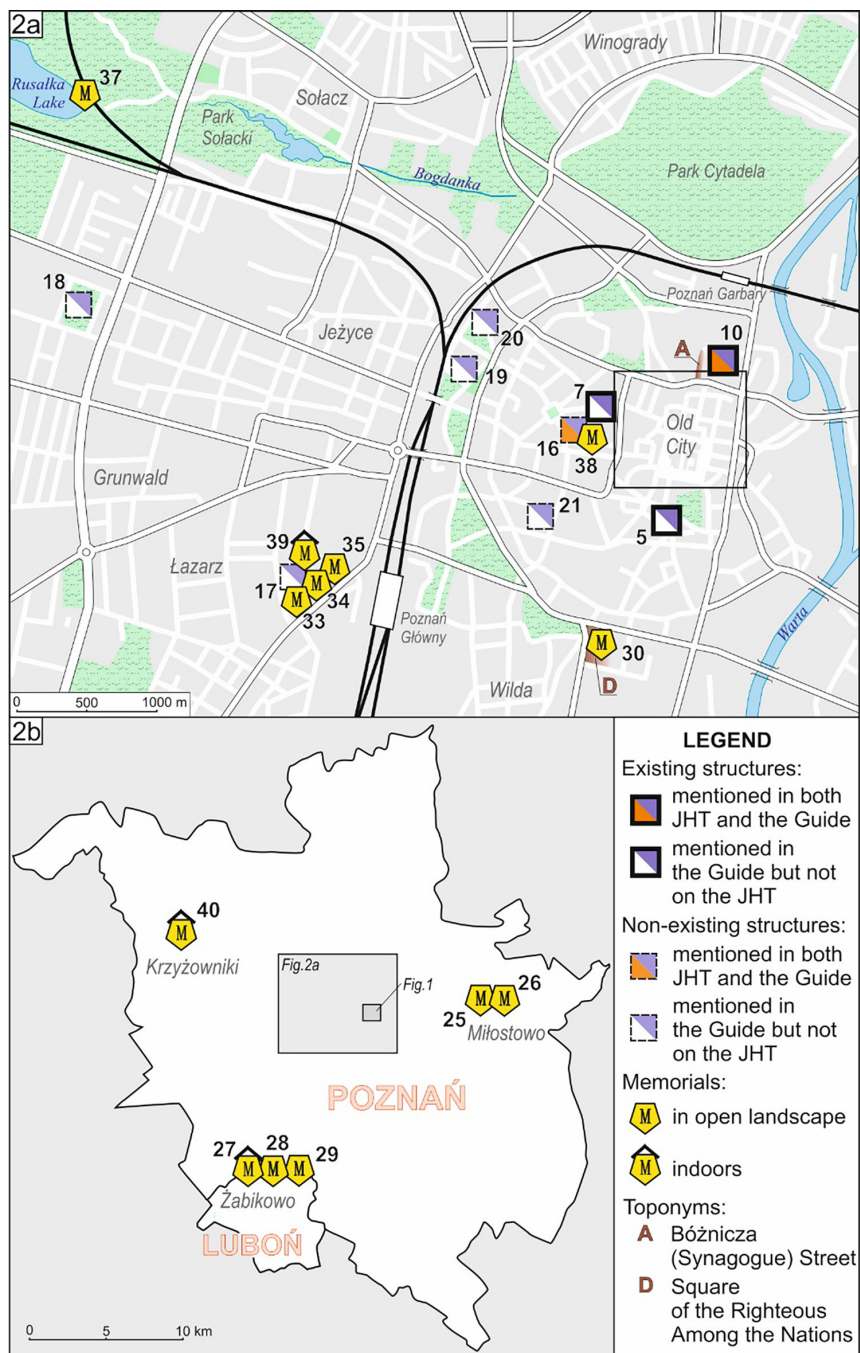


Fig. 2a. Jewish memory carriers in the mid-town of Poznań

Fig. 2b. Jewish memory carriers in the suburbs of Poznań and in Luboń

Source: content of the map prepared by the author, made by Dorota Borowicz.

camps for Jews. So far only three of camps have received memorials (Królowej Jadwigi, Luboń, Rusałka Lake) thanks to the efforts of the municipality, the Museum of Martyrology, and Polish associations respectively.

Due to the rarity of commemoration and the importance of the subject, three additional indoor memory sites were added to the analysis. The first is an exhibition about the forced labour camps located by the motorway, which was opened by the Museum in Żabikowo in 2020 (<https://zabikowo.eu>). The second is a memorial plaque commemorating one of the victims at the site of the former camp, which is now a school at Leśnowolska Street. The third is the Memory Chamber of Rabbi Akiva Eger which was opened by the Poznań University of Social Sciences on the site of his grave in the former cemetery on Głogowska Street.

However, the approach to restoring memory carriers varies considerably, with only 12 out of 24 historic structures and sites mentioned by both sources. There are opportunities to activate more Jewish memory carriers in the cityscape, including former Jewish houses on Stary Rynek (Old Market), the Art Nouveau house (where the renowned sociologist Zygmunt Bauman was born) and private villas to the west of the city centre., etc.

Although the major information board and two memorial plaques are parts of the Municipality Information System, only the first one is clearly visible in the middle of the square, the latter two are small and placed on the wall. In their case, it has been a good idea to offer QR code so the people can access an online explanation. However, most other buildings and sites are not commemorated in the cityscape.

The distribution of potential Jewish memory carriers in the city is uneven (Fig. 1 and 2). While a few major buildings are located within the compact area of the Old Town, the Głogowska Street cemetery, lies far from the centre. The Museum of Martyrology, the Rusałka Lake Board, the Królowej Jadwigi memorial and the Miłostowo cemetery are spread out in different directions from the city centre.

Discussion

The paper's findings are consistent with the results of other academics' works on the topic. The case of Poznań proves an acceleration in memory work over the last 25 years, which stays in line with similar case studies (Duda-Seifert 2020, Terela 2020, Frąszczak 2024) and supports the thesis of the decolonization of minority memory (Kaprański 2015, Polynczuk-Alenius 2022). However, we are still at the beginning of the process (Frąszczak 2024).

The categories of main stakeholders in memory work are similar to those in the whole region (Frąszczak 2024). Next to the local Jewish Commune, these are local Polish memory activists and associations involved (<http://miasteczko-poznan.pl/>, <https://chaim-zycie.pl/>, <https://e-lapidarium.pl/>). Former Jewish residents living abroad shared their memories (Pakuła 1998, 2018, Niziołek, Kosakowska 2014) which can be treated as sites of memory (Nora 1989).

The question to be answered is to what degree the Jewish memory carriers are recognised by the local community. According to Fabiszak and Brzezinska (2016), the knowledge of Jewish sites in Poznań is rather limited; some people only recognise: the New Synagogue, the Miłostowo lapidary, cemetery at Głogowska Street, and the Królowej Jadwigi memorial. Gonia's (2024) survey showed that the vast majority of residents in a sample (84%) recognise the New Synagogue, which proves that it has been transformed into an active memory carrier. The second most recognised site, is a cemetery at Głogowska Street (54%). Only a quarter of the sample identified the Jewish Community Headquarters' building. On the other side, former Nazi labour camps for Jews remain an almost unknown phenomenon, as only two locations from the ones commemorated were mentioned by respondents, that is the memorial at Królowej Jadwigi (3%) and Rusalka Lake. As we can see in the case of the former, even memorial standing in the cityscape can fail in restoring the memory if it is not reminded, e.g., by celebrations. The last interesting remark, as compared to Gonia's (2024) study, is that 5 per cent of respondents recognised a memorial of a different kind, such as the Golem statue, referring to the mythical work of Rabbi Jehuda Löw ben Becalel, who was born in Poznań (5%).

Conclusion

By the use of the case study of a large European city, we can make some concluding remarks about memoryscape and memory carriers in the cityscape in case of the minority.

First of all, the minority's diminished presence makes the work of restoring its memory to the cityscape almost impossible. The main obstacle here is a lack of financial resources to take care of the existing buildings. Moreover, if the community is small, it does not have the capability to organise events which would support the memory restitution.

Secondly, the complex history, which results in the exchange of the population, makes the memory work even harder to perform. If the majority of residents have a continuous presence in the city, and they try to sustain national unity through restoring their own collective memory carriers, then the landscape becomes the battlefield where this majority dominates. At the same time, the Jewish population in the city changed twice in its history, after the First and the Second World War. These changes make the restitution of minority memory harder due to a lack of continuity. This is a problem faced by most European cities after the Second World War and the Holocaust.

Thirdly, there are many conflicting groups and interests, including nationalist groups in the city who oppose the restoration the memory of the Jewish minority. For example, one site mentioned in both JHT and the guide is highly controversial. The Church of Holy Blood of Jesus was built in the former Jewish district in relation to the old myth of Jews desecrating the holy Eucharist, and it still holds paintings depicting this story on its ceiling. Researchers are discussing

how to approach evidence of antisemitic attitudes: should they be explained or rationalised, or left without additional interpretation. This is also the case with the inscription on the Królowej Jadwigi memorial, which Ziółkowska (2023) criticises for its inaccuracies and misstatements.

Therefore, even as we witness the memory boom and the democratization of the minority memory, the results of restoring the Jewish memory carriers into the cityscape in Poznań have proven to be very limited due to the above-mentioned obstacles. Many material memory triggers were erased due to the 1945 fighting; some were removed, ruined, others rebuilt or repurposed. Still, there is a growing interest and a few new memorials, which prognose a slight change in the attitude. However, the prospects for a more serious transformation are low, as there are many conflicting groups' memories, especially the one of the dominant majority.

The research was limited to only part of the locations of potential memory carriers, therefore it could be continued with indication of the further sites to be commemorated. The spatial analysis of Jewish memory carriers in the city can also be used to develop or improve the tourist product such as the trail, as it seems that both actual offers (the JHT and the Guide) have their limitations.

Conflict of interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest and assures that the work is the result of her own creation.

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Przywracanie pamięci o żydowskiej mniejszości w krajobrazie miejskim: studium przypadku Poznania

Zarys treści: W krajobrazie zapisana jest pamięć. Może ona być podtrzymywana, zapomniana, przywrócona lub wymazana przez społeczność lokalną. Ze względu na niejednorodność społeczności lokalnych, w krajobrazie zapisane są różne pamięci, a polityka pamięci zależy od ideologii i trendów społecznych. Szczególnie trudna jest sytuacja mniejszości, które często są zdominowane przez większość także w krajobrazie. Autorka skupia się na analizie nośników pamięci o żydowskiej mniejszości na przykładzie studium przypadku Poznania. W rezultacie wskazuje 40 takich elementów, w tym 37 w krajobrazie miasta. W ich uaktywnianiu bierze udział wielu interesariuszy, a proces ten przyspieszył w ciągu ostatnich 25 lat, jednakże jest to dopiero początek pracy nad przywracaniem pamięci o mniejszości żydowskiej w mieście.

Słowa kluczowe: krajobraz pamięci, nośniki pamięci, mniejszości, Żydzi, Poznań

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