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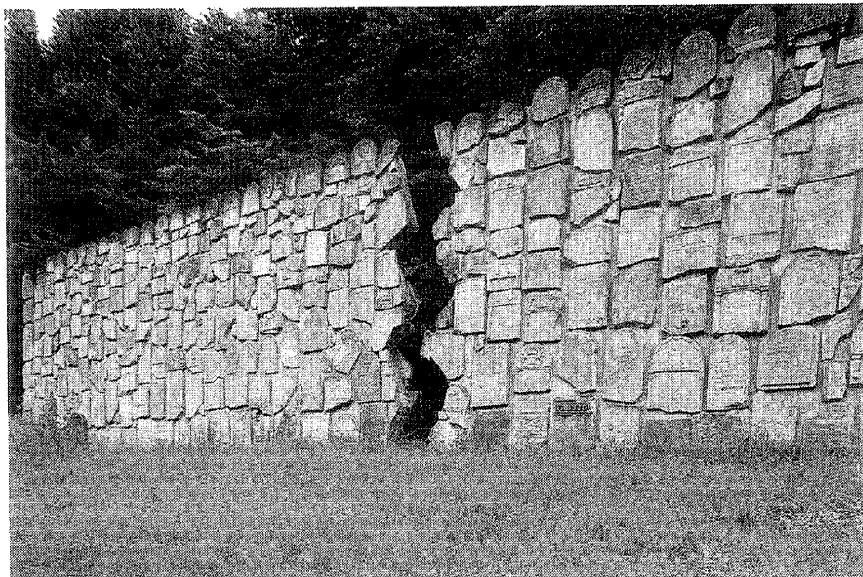
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SURVEY OF HISTORIC JEWISH MONUMENTS IN POLAND

by Samuel Gruber and Phyllis Myers



**A Report to the United States Commission
for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad**

Jewish Heritage Council World Monuments Fund

Completely Updated and Revised,
November 1995

This report was compiled for the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad by the World Monuments Fund. The authors and the World Monuments Fund are solely responsible for the information and opinions included in this report. The contents of this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commission or the United States government.

cover: The cemetery monument at Kazimierz Dolny, made of gravestones recovered from Gestapo headquarters (photo: Samuel Gruber).

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by Samuel Gruber and Phyllis Myers
Jewish Heritage Council, World Monuments Fund

Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski
Research Directors and Survey Coordinators, Poland

A Report to the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

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Chairman

Joel Barries
Executive Director

From the Jewish Heritage Council, World Monuments Fund

Hon. Ronald S. Lauder
Chairman

Samuel Gruber
Director

Revised Second Edition, 1995



Działoszyce. Only a shell survives of the imposing 19th-century neo-Classical synagogue.
(photo: S. Gruber 4/92)

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HOW TO USE THIS REPORT

This report provides an overview of the condition of Jewish cemeteries, synagogues and former synagogues located within the borders of present-day Poland. This information was collected over a period of four years in the site survey organized for this project and summarized here. The primary purpose of the report is to aid efforts to protect, conserve, and restore these sacred sites and monuments.

The report's appendices, however, are designed for a broader audience, particularly genealogists and travellers searching for information about the existence and condition of cemeteries in villages, towns and cities throughout Poland. Information about surviving synagogues and identifiable cemeteries is given in separate tables. Current use is indicated, and in the cases of cemeteries, an approximate number of surviving gravestones, and information about threats confronting the site. Travellers to cemeteries are advised to contact the U.S. Commission for more detailed information about each site and how to access the fuller database on the survey, including the names of local contact people. The type of information available can be surmised by reading the survey form which is included here as Appendix VI.

The complete database will be available for use at selected research centers. The database was installed at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. in October, 1993, and can be consulted there. For information on obtaining the survey database on computer disk, and about individual sites and restoration efforts discussed in this report, write to the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 1040, Washington, D.C., 20005.

No information about individual burials was gathered in this survey project. For more information about individual sites, readers are encouraged to contact local regional conservation officials, whose addresses are included in Appendix V. The authors suggest that copies of correspondence with Polish officials concerning Jewish sites be sent to the U.S. Commission. Likewise, additional information and photographs, as well as corrections, are always welcome.

A NOTE ON SPELLING

Current Polish place names are given for all locations, with the exception of Warszawa, where the authors have preferred the well-known English name, Warsaw. Polish diacritical marks are not used in the report, and when sites are listed alphabetically, they follow the order of the English alphabet. The Polish word for street, *ulica* (abbreviated Ul.), is used when giving addresses, especially in the tables.

Alternate language names for towns, including Yiddish names, are not given. To help identify the current names of any place of Jewish settlement, please consult the invaluable *Where Once We Walked: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* by Gary Mokotoff and Sallyann Amdur Sack (Avotaynu, Inc., Teaneck, NJ, 1991).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report provides current information concerning the condition of over a thousand Jewish sites - primarily cemeteries and synagogues - throughout Poland. These sites, which are important to the heritage of many American citizens, require documentation as a first step to their protection and preservation. Much of this material was gathered firsthand in a collaborative survey undertaken by a unique international partnership which involved both government and private groups, and Jews and non-Jews.

The survey that is the subject of this report focused exclusively on the material remains of Jewish settlement in present-day Poland. Despite Poland's substantial contributions to monument documentation and preservation, Jewish and other minority ethnic and religious groups have been neglected. These include German Protestant sites in western Poland and Russian Orthodox sites in eastern Poland, particularly in the region along the border with Belarus.

To prepare this survey, visits to Jewish sites throughout the country took place over a period of four years, beginning in the spring of 1991. The work was coordinated by Jan Jagielski and Eleonora Bergman of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Much of the success of this project is due to the energies of Mr. Jagielski and Ms. Bergman, who brought years of research, experience, and commitment to the task.

More than twenty individuals throughout Poland worked to locate hundreds of cemetery sites, many unvisited for years. This dedicated group of field researchers, among them a number of distinguished scholars of Jewish history and culture, includes Adam Bartosz, Dariusz Czwojdrak, Hanna Domanska, Eugeniusz Duda, Pawel Fijalkowski, Marek Florek, Henryk Grecki, Wojciech Henrykowski, Wiktor Knercer, Alojzy Kowalczyk, Krzysztof Myslinski, Adam Penkalla, Slawomir Pniewski, Marzena Stocka, Pawel Sygowski, Dariusz Walerjanski, Tomasz Wisniewski, Michal Witwicki, and Jan Pawel Woronczak. Also in Poland, Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka provided indispensable information on the history and architecture of synagogues.

Many others in the United States and abroad - including Jerry Bergman, Jack Goldfarb, Ruth E. Gruber, Julie Harboe, Rena Holstein, Barbara Kaplan, Carol Herselle Krinsky, Arnold Markowitz, Sallyanne Sack, Dafna Siegman, Edward Serotta, Abe Soloman, Mark Talisman, Miriam Weiner, and James Young - provided valuable information about specific sites.

The United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, the sponsor of this project, has been supportive throughout. We would particularly like to thank Commission Chairman Michael Lewan, former Commission Chairman Rabbi Arthur Schneier, Commissioner

Israel Rubin, Commissioner Rabbi Chaskel Besser, and Commissioner Rabbi Zvi Kestenbaum, who have given special support to this project. Commissioner Rabbi Asher J. Scharf, who has participated in several cemetery restoration efforts, shared his experiences with us. Joel Barries, Executive Director of the Commission, provided valuable suggestions and guidance, as did Donald de Haven, Deputy Executive Director. Special thanks are due to the Wilfred P. Cohen Foundation, Inc. which provided financial support for this work.

The World Monuments Fund contributed in many ways to this work. WMF Chairman Dr. Marilyn Perry, WMF Executive Director Bonnie Burnham, and Jewish Heritage Council Chairman Hon. Ronald S. Lauder have all enthusiastically provided financial and conceptual support. WMF staff members Rebecca Anderson, Daniel Burke, John Stubbs, and Fritzie Wood all provided assistance for the project. Special thanks to Michael Briggs who designed the computer program and Michal Friedlander, Susan Reisler, and Felicia Mayro who helped develop the computer program and entered data. Felicia Mayro and Diana Turnbow have been indispensable in analyzing and collating the information in the report, and helping with its production.

This report is co-authored by Samuel Gruber, who directed this project, and Phyllis Myers, who served as senior research consultant. Dr. Gruber is primarily responsible for the design of the survey instrument (questionnaire) and interpretation of the results, and wrote sections I through III utilizing texts provided throughout the survey by Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski. Phyllis Myers helped conceptualize the questionnaire and interpret the results, and authored Section IV, on historic preservation law. Ms. Bergman also contributed importantly to this section, which was reviewed by Jakub Wolski, Counselor of the Polish Embassy in Washington, D.C., and Susan Casey-Lefkowitz of the Environmental Law Institute. A grant from the Trust for Mutual Understanding to Ms. Myers for a project on historic preservation law in Central and Eastern Europe, sponsored by the Environmental Law Institute, funded a March 1995 research visit to Poland.

Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski compiled Appendix I, a list of all known extant synagogue buildings in Poland. Felicia Mayro and Diana Turnbow compiled Appendix II, a list of 1008 of the Polish cemeteries surveyed.

Samuel Gruber and Phyllis Myers

**PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION:
NEW INITIATIVES TO PROTECT JEWISH MONUMENTS IN POLAND**

Since the preparation and publication of the first survey report on the Jewish monuments of Poland in 1993, survey work of Jewish sites has continued. The tables in this report include information on almost two hundred additional Jewish cemeteries throughout Poland that have been visited since the first report was published. As briefly described below, there have been notable improvements of the situation of many cemeteries - and the work continues. Legal protection of Jewish sites, and the inclusion of Jewish sites in lists of recognized historic monuments, have also improved. Phyllis Myers discusses these developments in Chapter IV, which has been entirely updated and rewritten for this edition.

Several important synagogue buildings have been returned to Jewish communal organizations - notably in Krakow and Bobowa. In Wroclaw, final disposition of the synagogue is now being decided in the courts. Also in Krakow, the restoration of the Izaak Synagogue, one of the most important Jewish architectural monuments in the country, has been completed, and the Jewish Community and the World Monuments Fund have accelerated their restoration of the magnificent Tempel Synagogue, a project scheduled for completion in 1997. Final use for the Izaak synagogue has not been determined, and the Tempel Synagogue will remain a synagogue, with plans for it to serve visiting Jewish groups. In Bobowa, where in preliminary tests, large portions of original wall paintings are reported to have been discovered intact, the Bobowa Hasidim are planning to restore the synagogue as a memorial, and a place for prayer for visiting groups. In Debica, where the municipality owns the former synagogue which has been used in recent years as a store, plans have been made to put a new roof on the building. An American family in Dallas, Texas, originally from Debica, is hoping to sponsor a permanent exhibit on the Jews of Debica to be housed in the building.

Overall, however, the future of the vast majority of Jewish religious sites in Poland, especially cemeteries, remains uncertain. Following is a partial list of recent and current preservation efforts on behalf of Polish Jewish cemeteries which have come to our attention in the past year.

In 1993, the Polish state-sponsored Remembrance Foundation (*Fundacja Wiecznej Pamieci*) was established with an endowment of \$30,000. The aim of the Foundation is to provide financial assistance to citizens' initiatives to protect monuments of the Jewish culture. In 1993, interest on the Foundation's endowment supported conservation work executed at cemeteries in Bedzin, Bytom, Kozmin, and Warsaw, and in 1994 in Podwilk and Gorlice. Restoration of a single moderately sized cemetery site, however, can now easily reach \$30,000, the amount of the Foundation's entire endowment. If more work is to proceed, especially in the face of rising labor and material costs, and

the pressures of market economy development, much larger sums of money will have to become available in Poland, and from international sources.

The Remembrance Foundation has also taken the important initiative to place, in cooperation with voivodship (regional) conservators, memorial plaques on extant synagogue buildings. The granite plaques are 60 x 40 cm with full inscriptions in Polish and partial descriptions in Hebrew. To date, they have been installed on eleven synagogues which are in relatively good exterior condition: Bialystok, Krynki, Mielnik, Milejczyce, Orla, Siemiatycze and Tykocin (Bialystok region), Wrzeszcz and Starogard Gdanski (Gdansk region), and Fordon and Koronowo (Bydgoszcz region). Though a small step, this is an significant development, as previously only a few Jewish sites, such as Kazimierz Dolny and Pinczow, had been marked. The local populations are mostly unaware of the identity and history of Jewish sites. As the following notes make clear, most successful interventions remain private endeavors, often financed and carried out by Holocaust survivors or their descendants.

Konin Region

Among the most interesting developments is the initiative in the region of Konin where there are 20 cemetery sites that are, with one exception, without gravestones. Dr. Lucja Nowak, Director of the Regional Museum at Konin, convinced regional authorities to make, at their expense, plaques of bronze with the inscription in Polish: "Jewish Cemetery. Protected by law. Respect the place of eternal rest." The plaques were given to mayors of the towns who installed them on the cemetery sites. To date, these have been placed at 12 sites: Babiak, Golina, Grabow, Klodawa, Kolo, Pyzdry, Rusocice, Slesin, Tuliszkow, Turek, Uniejow, Wilczyn, and Zagorow.

In Turek, the gravestones rediscovered in the area were installed at the death camp of Chelmno, on the river Ner, where the Jews of Turek died, rather than at the Jewish cemetery of Turek, where the gravestones were likely to have been place originally. Only small pieces will be fixed into the new wall to be built surrounding the cemetery. In addition, there is a project sponsored by the *landsmanshaftn* of Turek to bring to Chelmno the gravestones which are being rediscovered in the other towns in the region. The plan has been accepted by the Polish Chief Rabbi Pinchas Menachem Joskowicz. While it can be argued whether this is the most desirable solution from a historic perspective, from a practical and emotional standpoint it is the preferred solution.

Bransk (Bialystok region)

German occupying forces frequently used Jewish gravestones to pave roads and paths. This was both to humiliate Jews and desecrate Jewish memory, and to facilitate movement of troops and vehicles. In recent years Mr. Zbigniew Romaniak, a local resident, has removed fragments of gravestones

destroyed during WWII from the pavements, and has returned them to the cemetery. To date, he has cleaned and fixed up over 100 gravestones or their fragments. It is hoped that more initiatives like this will be seen in other towns.

Brzozow (Krosno region)

In 1990, Drieza and Natan Weiss from Israel, established a monument on the site of the mass grave of the Jews murdered in August 1942. In 1994, with the help of the other survivors, the Weisses began to fence the cemetery area. The uncovered pieces of gravestones were incorporated into the monument in the form of a Decalogue.

Lowicz (Skierniewice region)

Nathalie Wolf, a resident of the USA and Israel, was born in Lowicz where her parents are buried in the local cemetery. Although listed as a national monument, the large cemetery with several hundred gravestones was in disrepair for lack of funds and complete disinterest on the part of the local authorities. Thanks to donations from Ms. Wolf, the fence was repaired, bushes cut back, and new trees planted. Pieces of gravestones incorporated into the monument to the Red Army (standing until 1990 at the market square) are now back in the cemetery. The project cost approximately \$25,000.

Lodz

During 1994, in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the annihilation of the Lodz ghetto, the following work has been accomplished:

--Thanks to the initiative of Jehuda Widawski from Israel and Mr. Buchman from Berlin, several thousand gravestones have been placed on the so-called Ghetto Field on the graves of the deceased residents of the ghetto.

--The pre-burial house built in 1898 by the Konstadt family was thoroughly restored by the Nissenbaum Family Foundation.

--Conservation has been completed on the monument to Israel K. Poznanski (1813-1900), industrialist and founder of the cemetery. The splendid mosaics by Salvarini have been restored. The work was financed by the regional conservator of monuments.

Mielec (Rzeszow region)

The remaining part of the old cemetery by Jadernego Street (partly built over after WWII by the post office building) was fenced through the generosity of Ms. Rachela Sussmann from the United States. A monument was erected with inscriptions in Polish and Hebrew. In August, 1994, the Regional Museum at Mielec retrieved the *matsevo*t from the San River, where they had been sunk during WWII. The retrieved pieces have been placed on the cemetery close to the monument. The local residents also anticipate some financial support from the Remembrance Foundation.

Poznan

In 1993, extant eighteenth-century gravestones, which had been moved to several locations, were finally and permanently relocated to the separate Jewish section of the communal cemetery in the Milostowo district. There are two post-war single graves there and the graves in which were buried remains transferred from various places in the town where the Jews had been shot and buried. Nearby there is a monument, in the form of a menorah, composed of over 100 granite stones.

Tomaszow Lubelski (Zamosc region)

In August 1993, after many efforts over the last few years, the Association of the Jews of Tomaszow in Israel succeeded in fencing the entire cemetery area and erecting the monument with the retrieved *matsevo*t fixed up around it. The cost of the work was approximately \$40,000. The local authorities supported the project. Three years before, the *ohel* was re-established on the grave the *tzaddik*.

Tyczyn (Rzeszow region)

The cemetery was fenced at the cost of \$20,000 thanks to Rabbi Mendel Reichberg, President of the American Society for the Preservation of Jewish Cemeteries and Historic Objects in Poland. As a public service, the town authorities cleared the area of bushes and overgrown trees.

Ustron (Bielsko-Biala region)

In the 1970s, before building a highway across the cemetery, human remains had been exhumed and buried at the adjacent municipal cemetery. The remaining part of the Jewish cemetery was used as a waste dumping site. In 1994, the town authorities, on request of Otto Windholz from Melbourne, Australia, extended the existing fence of the municipal cemetery to include this section, as the separate Jewish section and installed an informational plaque.

Warsaw

In 1993, the Foundation of the Jewish Cemetery (Gesia) was established in Warsaw, taking its name from the Gesia Street (now Anielewicz Street), after which the cemetery was commonly called before World War II. It is now known as "the cemetery on Okopowa," the name of the street along the cemetery's wall. The Foundation aims at extending the scope of work at the cemetery. The money collected has funded the restoration of the cemetery office and the pavement of the courtyard by the cemetery gate.

Wyszkow (Ostroleka region)

A restoration project is underway, sponsored by the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad. Approximately 500 gravestones or gravestone fragments have been recovered from nearby building foundations and pavements, and have been returned to the cemetery site, where they are to be included in a memorial monument. Private funds have been raised in the United States to fund the work, which is being directed by the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

Zabrze (Katowice region)

Some years ago, Dariusz Walerjanski established the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of the Jewish Cemetery at Zabrze. The members of the Committee have already partly cleared the site. A small amount of money was contributed by the municipality, other funds were collected on November 1st (Remembrance Day) and through private donations. The restoration includes: repairing the surrounding wall, repairing the majority of the gravestones, renovating the larger monuments that butt against the wall, and removing the overgrown foliage.

Zgierz (Lodz region)

In 1992, Jacob Milgrom of Canada succeeded in having the cemetery surrounded by a fence and erecting a commemorative monument. Until this time, there was no indication that the area was a cemetery: it was merely a hill devoid of gravestones.

Commendable efforts to correct the abuses of the past and honor the material remains of Jewish history in Poland are still the exception. Expansion in the number of such initiatives depends a great deal on international assistance. Persons who are interested in knowing more about what has been accomplished and what remains to be done, are encouraged to write or call the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad.

Samuel Gruber, Syracuse, New York

Phyllis Myers, Washington, D.C

Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski, Warsaw

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An estimated four out of five American Jews trace their ancestry to pre-World War II Poland, which included within its boundaries much of present day Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. Three and a half million Jews lived there before the outbreak of World War II - the greatest concentration of Jewish population in Europe. At the war's end, approximately 100,000 Jews remained, but the toll of privation, anti-Semitism, and death among the elderly reduced that number to about 10,000 within modern Polish boundaries.

Of the once vast number of cemeteries, synagogues, communal buildings and other significant sites associated with the distinctive cultural and spiritual center of Judaism in Poland - arguably the most important of its kind in Europe - only a small number today are recognizable for what they once were. The Nazi destruction of Jewish buildings and cemeteries with the goal of eradicating every trace of Jewish existence was followed by a half century of neglect of most of the places that managed to survive. Despite recent profound and welcome change in the valuation of these sites as significant to Polish-Jewish history, an enormous task lies ahead to halt and reverse deterioration, and to correct the effects of mindless and inappropriate change.

1. Cemeteries

The World Monuments Fund survey for the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad identified 1008 Jewish cemeteries within the territory of present day Poland. Of these, 855 had been visited and described by the survey team by the spring of 1995. Information on these 855 cemeteries was tabulated for this report. Partial information on an additional 143 cemeteries is included in Appendix III.

Of the 1008, 487 have at least one gravestone (Hebrew: *matzevah*) surviving: of these, 134 have between 20 and 100 gravestones; 83 have between 100 and 500 gravestones; 37 cemeteries, including those at Biala, Sieniawa, Przemysl (II), and Szydlowiec, have between 500 and 5,000 remaining gravestones. Seven cemeteries - in Bialystok, Krakow, Lodz, Warsaw (2), and Wroclaw (2) - have over 5,000 *in situ* gravestones.

For the 855 cemeteries, site researchers catalogued a variety of threats, from overgrown vegetation and erosion to vandalism, pollution, and nearby development. Serious risk of vandalism was found at 98 cemeteries, while 114 were considered at risk from pollution, and 235 from such existing or planned development as offices, schools, stadiums, bus stations, or warehouses. Only 190 cemeteries were totally enclosed by a wall or fence and 399 sites remain used only as Jewish cemeteries (although there are few if any new burials); 303 sites are used for agricultural (usually grazing) or

recreational purposes, 96 for industrial or commercial sites, and 72 for waste dumps. Approximately a dozen cemeteries are located in communities where more than ten people are identified as Jewish. Bereft of their rightful Jewish guardians in the community, deserted cemeteries suffered from considerable neglect and vandalism after the end of World War II and through the 1970s.

From the 1980s on, some restoration work began, much initiated by the private Citizens' Committee for the Preservation of Jewish Monuments, based in Warsaw, or by Holocaust survivors living abroad. By the end of the 1980s the pace of work had accelerated, but conditions at only a small number of cemeteries had been improved. The Citizens' Committee has been most active at the Okopowa Street Cemetery in Warsaw, where trees and bushes have been cut down in some sections and gravestones and larger funerary monuments restored. The most important one, of Ber Sonnenberg, however, was recently burnt by local teenagers. The overall effect of clearing in the cemetery is not very visible because the cemetery covers 33 hectares and includes about 200,000 gravestones and monuments. Without clearing, however, parts of the cemetery would be impassable. Outside Warsaw the group set upright about fifty gravestones dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries at the old cemetery in Lublin. Some of these have already been vandalized again. Restored gravestones in Wroclaw were vandalized in March 1992.

Jewish groups, private foundations, individuals living abroad, and local citizens have initiated some restoration work. In Opatow, about twenty monuments were retrieved from the river, where they had been thrown after the war, and set up on the unused part of the cemetery. In Pinczow fragments of old gravestones were used in post-war construction but have been recently rescued from ruined buildings and set into the wall surrounding an old synagogue, as has also been done at the old Jewish cemetery in Krakow. In Kozmin, school children re-erected about 150 gravestones and constructed an enclosure.

Clearing, fencing, and restoration work has been carried out at the cemeteries of Bilgoraj, Bransk, Buk, Chrzanow, Dabrowa Tarnowska, Dabrowa Bialostocka, Dzialoszyce, Hrubieszow, Kazimierza Wielka, Kielce, Kolbuszowa, Krosno, Laskarzew, Lomza, Lubaczow, Makow Mazowiecki, Nidzica, Oswiecim, Przasnysz, Sanok, Siedlece, Slubice, Sochaczew, Staszow, Tarnograd, Tarnow, Trzebinia, Tyszowce, Warsaw (Praga cemetery), Wisnicz, Zabrze, and elsewhere. Most of this work has been initiated or financed by private individuals or organizations, usually Jewish survivors from these towns who now live elsewhere.

The vast majority of Jewish cemeteries in Poland, which remain abandoned and neglected, without clearly marked boundaries or descriptive or commemorative markers, are subject to natural deterioration, theft, vandalism, and incompatible land development. Many have already been encroached upon for industrial, agricultural, residential, or recreational use.

A list at the end of this report summarizes the condition of each cemetery at the time it was surveyed and an assessment of threats as reported by site researchers for the survey.

It should be noted that nine death camp/concentration camp sites in Poland are marked by memorials and museums. These are Belzec, Chelmno, Krakow-Plaszow, Majdanek, Oswiecim-Brzezinka (German: Auschwitz-Birkenau), Rogoznica (German: Gross-Rosen), Sobibor, Sztutowo (German: Stutthof), and Treblinka II. By Polish law, all of these sites are historic monuments, as are all official Polish war cemeteries. Much work is now underway by Polish and international individuals, committees, agencies, organizations and institutions to preserve and interpret these sites. While these places of martyrdom are of great importance to Jewish and Polish history, this survey of Jewish sites has concentrated on the fate of places established and used by Jews before the Holocaust.

There are also, throughout Poland, scores of sites of deportations, executions, massacres and mass burials of Jews, only a few of which are marked and/or designated historic sites. The vast majority of Jewish cemeteries that were sites of executions and mass burials of Jews during World War II have not yet been given monument status by the Polish government.

2. Synagogues

Despite the enormous destruction brought about by World War I, the preservation of synagogues and other significant Jewish community buildings was relatively good in the period up to World War II. It is estimated that there were thousands of such buildings, including community synagogues, houses of study, synagogues of guilds and brotherhoods, *stiebls* of Hasidim, etc.

World War II and the post-war period radically changed this situation. Approximately 300 former synagogue buildings are extant within the territory of present-day Poland. Although these represent only a small fraction of what existed before the war, they remain an essential reminder of the once-large Jewish presence, the legacy of a thousand years of Jewish and Polish culture and history. During the war virtually all remaining wooden synagogues were burned down or destroyed. Only three very small and simple examples are known to survive: in Szumowo, Wisniowa, and Punszk. A larger number of synagogues survive in some form, if buildings that still exist outside modern Poland's boundaries - in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, which were formerly an integral part of area of Polish Jewish settlement - are added. Many of these structures outside of Poland still need to be identified, and almost all need to be documented and protected.

Of the synagogue buildings within modern Poland, only a few - in Warsaw, Krakow and Lodz - are still used for Jewish worship and owned by the Jewish Community. A small number have been restored as local museums, some with exhibits about Jewish history; these include synagogues in Krakow, Tykocin, Lancut, Leczna and Wlodawa. Some synagogues have also been converted into archives, libraries, and galleries. Only on occasion are significant identifying elements of the synagogues retained; such examples include the synagogues at Barczewo, Kolbuszowa, Leczna, Mosina, Nowy Sacz, Czudec, Inowlodz, Jaroslaw, Niebylec, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Przemysl, Stryzow, Sroda Wielkopolska, Tarnobrzeg, Ustrzyki Dolne, Rzeszow, and Zamosc.

Elsewhere, synagogues have been used as cultural centers or cultural clubs such as at Biecz, Chelm, Lubraniec, Modliborzyce, Praszka, Sejny, Siemiatycze, Sokolow Malopolski, Susz, Szadek, Szczepceszyn, and Szydlow (but now vacant). Another two dozen synagogues are used as cinemas. Few of these are publicly identified as former synagogues, and rarely is information provided on the history of the building or the vanished congregation.

More often, synagogue buildings serve utilitarian uses - most often as storehouses, but also as garages, barns, shops, etc. Despite a noticeable rise in the interest of young people in some aspects of Jewish history, today's post-war generation is generally ignorant of the original uses of these sites and, by extension, the historical presence of Jews, their contribution to local history, and their fate.

Throughout the country at least two dozen synagogue structures of exceptional architectural distinction remain as ruins, either abandoned or used as warehouses or workshops. They include Bierutow, Dukla, Dzialoszyce, Klimontow, Krasnik, Krzepice, Mstow, Nowy Korczyn, Orla, Pinczow, Przysucha, Radoszyce, Rymanow, Tarlow, Wodzislaw, and Wroclaw. Reconstruction plans by municipal and regional authorities have been developed for a few of these structures, but in almost every case there is no money available to carry out the work. In at least two cases, however - Chmielnik and Kepno - new roofs have recently been constructed for the synagogue buildings.

While all of these buildings should be protected and conserved, restoration may not always be the practical or appropriate solution. The stabilization and protection of historic ruins - as distinct from restoration - so prevalent in countries with remains of ancient buildings, is a little-used approach in Poland. The oldest Polish buildings were constructed of wood, and few survive. Stone buildings have either been rebuilt - restored or adapted - or remain ruins awaiting rebuilding. There are a few exceptions to this rule, but in only one case have the ruins of a synagogue been conserved and protected. In Tarnow, the four brick columns of the *bimah* of the synagogue still stand, covered by a protected canopy and set in a small public park. Other dramatic ruins, such as those at Rymanow and Dzialoszyce, continue to deteriorate.

3. Historic Preservation Law

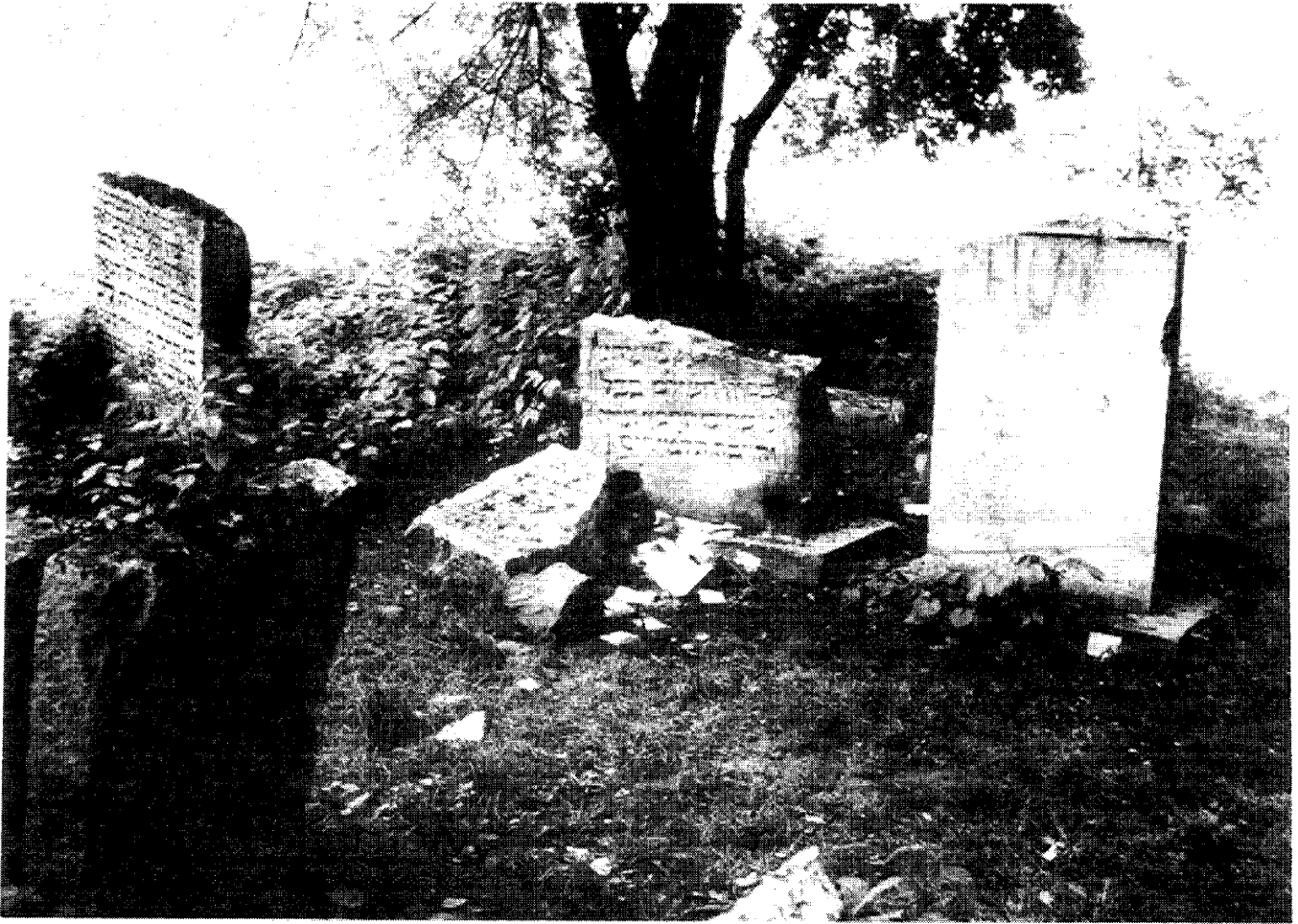
Until recently, Poland's comprehensive historic preservation law has not been equitably or consistently applied to landmarks of Jewish culture and history. This is the result of both traditional preservation values which emphasized nationalism and downgraded smaller buildings and vernacular neighborhoods of recent vintage, and Communist ideology's hostility to ethnic and religious differences.

Preservation of the decimated remains of the physical legacy of centuries of Jewish settlement depend on an expanded view of the country's multicultural and multi-religious history as well as the successful transformation of Poland's monuments and planning laws to respond to post-Communist changes in local authority, private property, the market-driven economy, and values.

Support for designating Jewish monuments is growing. In the more open atmosphere since the late 1980s, listings of synagogues and cemeteries, as well as restoration plans, have increased. While approximately a hundred synagogues and about 172 cemeteries are now registered monuments, listings continue to underrepresent the Jewish architectural/historic legacy and reflect *ad hoc* interest and advocacy rather than systematic documentation and a clearly articulated larger view of the national patrimony.

Moreover, although the system is more open to listing and nominations of Jewish monuments, the results on the ground are not yet that apparent, since public subsidies are scarce and investment strategies adapted to the market economy are still evolving. There are commendable exceptions of growing municipal support for synagogue restoration in Krakow and other communities which are focusing on their multi-dimensional historic character as a central element in revitalization and economic development.

Specific recommendations for improvement include expansion of the definition of national patrimony, training of voivodship conservators - the linchpin in Poland's monuments protection system, clearer linkages of monuments protection decisions to planning and development, nurturing of grassroots citizen and professional groups, and funding and incentives to guide sensitive reinvestment for authenticity in revitalization of historic centers.



Lublin. Vandalism occurred following the reerection of rediscovered gravestones at the Old Cemetery. (photo: S. Gruber 6/90)

II. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

1. Jewish Heritage in Poland before the Holocaust

Until the outbreak of the World War II, Poland was the largest center of Jewish culture and spiritual life in Europe. Of the four and a half million Jews who perished on Polish soil during the Holocaust, almost three million were Polish Jews. About 10,000 Jews live in present day Poland, primarily in Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, and Lublin.

Records of Jewish life in Poland are as old as the state itself; in the tenth century Jews first arrived in Poland as itinerant merchants, and the oldest records of permanent Jewish settlements date to the late eleventh century. During the Crusades, and during subsequent periods of insecurity and persecution in Western Europe, Jews migrated to Poland from Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and also from Spain and Portugal. In 1264 Boleslaus the Pious, Duke of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), granted Jews separate privileges called the Kalisz Statutes which became a legal basis of their existence in Poland. The privileges were extended by King Casimir the Great and then by subsequent Polish rulers. Thus, the Jewish population enjoyed the rights of religious autonomy. Jewish communities dealt independently with most issues of everyday life, including religious, social and economic concerns. In the sixteenth century a Jewish parliamentary body was established in Lublin which became a representative body for Polish and Lithuanian Jewry. Jews were taxed heavily, not allowed to serve in the military, and lived in specified areas of towns.

World renowned Talmudic academies flourished throughout Poland and rabbinical literature thrived. Secular knowledge, including medicine, mathematics, and astronomy were also pursued. The development of non-religious learning was championed by the Jewish Enlightenment Movement (*Haskalah*) which promoted emancipation and assimilation in Jewish cultural and social life but did not, however, reject all tradition or oppose religion.

Hasidism was initiated in the eastern part of the Commonwealth in the eighteenth century by Israel ben Eliezer (Baal Shem Tov), and quickly spread throughout Poland. This popular movement centered around the courts of charismatic rabbis (*tzaddikim*). It developed in part due to the insecurity which had prevailed since the devastating massacres carried out by Chmielnicki and his followers in 1648. Assimilative tendencies persisted throughout the nineteenth century, but by the end of the century Zionism had become another major force among non-religious Jews. Jewish political parties and a strong labor movement appeared and continued their activities during the inter-war period when numerous Jewish social and political organizations were active. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the development and highest achievements of Yiddish literature.

Even before the Holocaust, however, many scholars recognized that much of the material Jewish heritage of Poland was in danger of being lost. By the twentieth century scholars had become interested in the cemeteries, which are a source of information about Jewish history, culture, and art. In Wroclaw *matzevoth* were found from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. These are the oldest known Jewish gravestones in Poland. In Lublin, Szczebrzeszyn, and Krakow scholars studied stones from the sixteenth century.

In Lwow (now Lviv, Ukraine) Majer Balaban wrote in 1924 that "we still have time to save our relics but if we do not do it right now, if we do not start this job at once, everything our fathers were, for nine centuries will perish utterly." Balaban and others initiated efforts to record information, to photograph Jewish sites and to transcribe inscriptions from cemeteries. He could not foresee that in twenty years, the Nazi's "Final Solution" would extirpate the Jews living in Poland and the cemeteries would become the only material proof of their long inhabitation.

These scholars, and contemporary photographers such as Roman Vishniac, saw a world destined to change, if not disappear. Modernism, industrialism, and new religious and political movements were all affecting the traditional Jewish world. Already, before 1939, the world that many of the famous Yiddish writers were recording was already history.

The most exhaustive effort to record Jewish monuments was an inventory of synagogues begun in 1923 by the Institute of Polish Architecture of the Polytechnic of Warsaw under the direction of Szymon Zajczyk.¹ Zajczyk took thousands of photographs of Polish Judaica and synagogues, and prepared detailed descriptions. Architects from the Institute of Polish Architecture took hundreds of accurate measurements of synagogues, and copies were made of the polychrome decorations. The primary sponsors of the project were killed during the war and much of the material gathered was destroyed when the Germans burnt the Institute of Architecture in 1944. However, some material was saved, and this forms the basis of our information about Polish synagogues before the Holocaust. Since the 1950s Polish architects Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka have worked to identify, interpret, and present this material.²

¹ Szymon Zajczyk, *Boznice drewniane na terenie woj. bialostockiego* (Bialystok, 1929); *ibid.*, "Architektura barokowych boznic murowanych w Polsce," *Biuletyn Naukowy ZAP Pol. Warsz.*, 4 (Warsaw, 1933); and *ibid.*, "Boznica w Kepnie," *BHSiK*, VII:2 (Warsaw, 1939).

² Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Boznice Drewniane* (Warsaw, 1957). The English edition was published as *Wooden Synagogues* (Warsaw, 1959). See also, *ibid.*, "Polish Synagogues in the Nineteenth Century," in *Polin*, Vol. 2 (1987), 179-198 and *ibid.*, "Aron ha-kodesh w boznicach Polskich: Ewolucja formy miedzy XVI i poczatkem XIX wieku," in Paluch, Andrzej K., *The Jews in Poland*, Vol. 1. (Krakow, 1992). The Piechotkas are preparing further studies about Poland's masonry synagogues and the development of Jewish quarters in Polish towns

In an article written in 1933, Zajczyk was still able to write "the historical material of Poland in this field is, in comparison to the rest of Eastern and Central Europe, unusually rich and interesting. It has the important property of supplying us with a collection of the historically valuable structures without any interruption in time. From the late Middle Ages to the most recent times we can trace in Poland the development of types of synagogues."

Even in 1933, despite the enormous destruction and loss brought about by the First World War, the many synagogues and other Jewish communal buildings were relatively well preserved. In Warsaw alone, apart from the Great Synagogue at Tlomackie Street and the synagogues at Twarda Street (including the surviving Nozyk Synagogue) and at Praga, there were over four hundred prayer-rooms in private houses. Elsewhere the situation was similar. In small Oswiecim, Zajczyk reported there were over twenty. There would have been many more, since Zajczyk did not include all the houses of study, synagogues of guilds and brotherhoods, and *stiebls* of Hasidim, especially those built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which were not viewed as of great architectural interest.³

According to the historian David Dawidowicz, one of the first to attempt documentation of the artistic and architectural heritage destroyed during the Holocaust, "among the factors causing reverence for objective artistic values which helped preserve important artistic monuments, first and foremost were the religious, national and cultural freedom and the latitude permitted Polish Jewry in economic affairs up till about the middle of the seventeenth century. Polish Jewry did not suffer the pogroms and persecution to the same extent as Jewish communities in the West, where numerous communities were annihilated and their art destroyed. The veneration felt by the Jews for their ancient monuments was expressed in the outstanding care they took of their artistic possessions, restoring and embellishing them when nature and pogroms had taken their toll. It was also expressed in the development of their ancient tradition, the rich literature and folklore which had been woven around the monuments by numerous generations. All this provided a constructive factor of reverence which resulted in the preservation of many historical monuments."⁴

³ The authors would like to thank Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka for this information, which was included in their presentation "The Preservation of Synagogues in Poland," delivered at *The Future of Jewish Monuments* conference, New York, NY, November 17-19, 1990.

⁴ David Dawidowicz. *Synagogues in Poland and Their Destruction* (Mosad Harav Kook and Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, 1960), 6.

2. The Destruction of Jewish Heritage During World War II

Near the center of the small Polish town of Dzialoszyce, about halfway between Krakow and Kielce, one finds a magnificent ruin - all that remains of a large neo-classical synagogue that was the pride of the town's 7,000 Jews (70% of the population in 1939). The synagogue, designed by Felicjan Frankowski to replace an earlier wooden synagogue, was built in 1852 for a town that was the center of the leather and fur trade, and where brickworks and the clothing industry flourished. Prosperity ended when the Germans invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. First the town population swelled, as Jews from other towns were forcibly relocated there. Then, on September 2, 1942, all Jews were rounded up for deportation. Some fought back, and over 2,000 were quickly slaughtered and thrown into mass graves near the Jewish cemetery. Some 8,000 people were taken to the death camp at Belzec. An elderly villager worked for the rabbi when she was a girl. She recounted that "I will never forget what he told me. He said that when the birds go away from here, the Jews will go away, too. One year there was a hard winter; there were no birds. And after that the Jews were taken away."

The synagogue interior was gutted during this period. After the war, the site was abandoned, except for a time when it served as a warehouse. The roof, however, remained intact until 1984 when it finally collapsed due to years of neglect. Today, despite claims from local conservators that they would like to restore the building, it continues to deteriorate. The only new construction is a monument dedicated in 1990 at the cemetery site by one of the town's few Jewish survivors. The story of this synagogue, and its town, is common throughout Poland. The physical heritage of Polish Jewish culture is scattered and broken.

The Holocaust turned upside down the world which Balaban, Zajczyk, and others had studied. All the wooden synagogues were destroyed except some modest small-town synagogues which survived because their size and form did not differ from neighboring homes.⁵ The loss of masonry synagogues was also extensive. Even when the buildings survive, they are now ruins or have been rebuilt with their original form and function drastically changed. Many have been devastated, and almost all have lost their interior furniture and fittings.

The systematic destruction of physical traces of Jewish culture accompanied the virtual extinction of the Jewish communities. Historian Lucy Dawidowicz wrote that the Nazis "destroyed irreplaceable

⁵ Recently some wooden synagogues have rediscovered in Lithuania. See Center for Jewish Art, "Rediscovering our Heritage in Lithuania," *Newsletter*, Center for Jewish Art, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 9 (Spring 1994), 4-5. While these are synagogues made of wood, they do not contain the dramatic architectural and decorative elements of many of the well-known, but destroyed synagogues.

cultural treasures and historical documents as recklessly and ruthlessly as they murdered people." ⁶ Most of the documentary, religious, cultural, architectural, and artistic records of the Jewish people in these regions was destroyed and is now lost forever. Though many reasons have been given for the origins of World War II, the execution of the war was firmly rooted in the Nazi desire to eradicate Jewish life. As part of this policy, Jewish monuments and cultural sites were deliberately targeted.

In the fall and winter of 1939 the German army expelled tens of thousands of Jews from hundreds of small towns, forcing them to flee to a few larger cities, where ghettos were established. Upon entering a new town the Germans burned the synagogues. In Poland this destruction of synagogues was also often the occasion of mass murder. In acts that magnify the massacres of the Middle Ages in Germany and England, Jews were herded into synagogues which were then set afire. In Bialystok, this is how several thousand of the city's Jews and the Great Synagogue met their fate. A small plaque on the new building which occupies the site records the event. In a few other places, such as Bedzin, commemorative plaques have recently been erected.

3. The Fate of Jewish Heritage Under Communism

Only about 300,000 Polish Jews (10% of the prewar population) survived World War II. After the pogrom in Kielce in July 1946 (when Jews who had returned to their town were attacked by their neighbors, leaving 43 dead and 50 injured) and other acts of anti-semitism in Poland, by 1949 only 100,000 people remained, as many quickly emigrated. In Poland today about 10,000, mostly elderly, Jews remain.

Under Communism, Jewish heritage was virtually ignored. With the exception of a few much publicized efforts - such as the Yiddish Theater in Warsaw and the synagogue in Tykocin - Jewish culture, including art and architecture, were neglected. Many markers and memorials erected in the immediate post-war period were even removed during the anti-semitic purges of 1968. Very slowly, during the 1970s, attention was given to a few historic buildings. For the most part, however, it was only in the aftermath of the Solidarity movement in 1980 that serious efforts were made to identify, protect, and restore Jewish sites, and these were too few and poorly funded. In the 1990s, the new democratic Polish government appears to be taking a keen interest in the protection of Jewish sites. Economic problems, however, preclude the spending of significant funds.

⁶ Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1975).



Książ Wielki. Marker indicating Jewish cemetery. (photo: S. Gruber 4/92)

II. THE SURVEY PROJECT

1. Why Was it Undertaken

This report, the first in a series funded by the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad focusing on countries of Central and Eastern Europe, presents the results of a survey of Jewish sites in Poland. It includes information about 1008 cemeteries and 278 buildings that are or were synagogues.

The survey was undertaken by the Commission to encourage government and private strategies to protect and preserve the endangered historic and cultural legacy of the many Americans whose forbears are traced to this part of the world. The survey provides systematically collected and organized data, heretofore unavailable, about the location of these sites, their current condition, ownership, and other significant indicators.

The project is especially timely given the opportunities presented by the dissolution of Communist rule. These include revitalized leadership in the Jewish communities, rising interest in addressing Jewish issues and shared culture, pending revisions of landmark laws to reflect changing preservation philosophy and governmental administration, increased collaboration with professional experts and organizations abroad, and tourism.

The lessons learned from this project and the methods developed in this work, including the design of a computer database, can now be successfully applied to other countries, particularly the former Soviet Republics, to continue this important work. All of this information will serve as a permanent record of previously undocumented historic places and also provide the foundation for coherent preservation planning and decisive steps to ensure the protection and restoration of sites.

2. Scope and Methodology

a. Organization

The survey was organized in New York and conducted from Warsaw. It was coordinated by esteemed Polish scholars and employed field researchers from throughout Poland. A comprehensive questionnaire for cemeteries, prepared by the World Monuments Fund in consultation with the Commission and the Polish survey coordinators, asked over 75 questions about the history, location, topography, ownership, condition, care, use, and visitation of the cemetery sites and other significant indicators. Though the focus of the work was on collecting information on current site conditions, other information regarding history, appearance, and maintenance was assembled when possible. The results provide heretofore unavailable information about hundreds of individual sites and also important comparative material. The database also permits information to be statistically analyzed, and to isolate the most common and serious problems and the areas where these predominate. A special priority is placed on developing a comprehensive inventory of cemeteries and monuments whose abuse and desecration have especially tragic implications.

b. Computerization

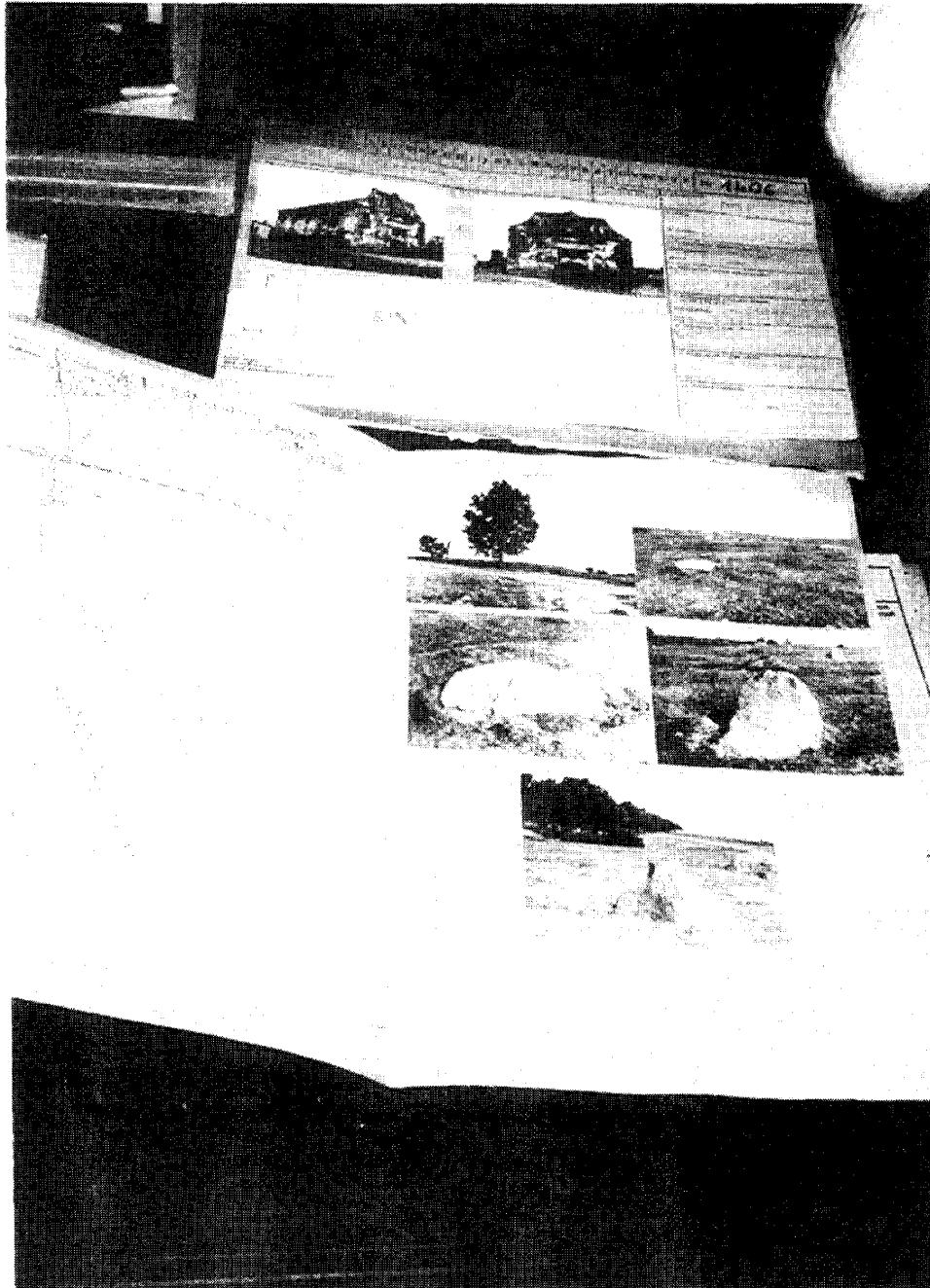
A computer database for this project was specially designed by Michael Briggs, modifying existing FoxPro software. The program can present information on specific sites on screen or as a printout, or translate the data to WordPerfect files. The database program can also search for information following the organization of the survey questionnaire. The goal of the design has been ease of information entry, flexibility in information retrieval, adaptability, and easy installation for personal computer use. A master database is now maintained at the office of the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad for data entry. It is important that the database be maintained and regularly updated; otherwise, much of its information will become obsolete in a few years.

c. Photography

Photography has been an ongoing part of the site visitation process. Several hundred sites have been photographed, but complete photographic documentation of buildings and cemeteries has not been a priority of the survey for budgetary limitations discussed in the initial project proposal. Country coordinators have made accessible their own collections of site photographs, many showing sites as they were before recent deterioration, neglect, or vandalism.

d. Conclusion

The organization of this survey has been a complicated and unpredictable enterprise. The identification of many more sites than anticipated has added to the importance of the effort, but also to its complexity. Continuing changes in governmental structure, particularly on the local level, have added to logistical problems. Because of the length of the cemetery survey questionnaire and the differing backgrounds, training, and cultural sensibilities of field researchers, review of each completed survey form and correct entry of the information into the database has taken longer than anticipated. Despite these challenges, however, the survey has been enormously successful in pulling together a vast amount of material, much of it previously unknown, within a relatively small budget.



Bialystok. Typical records compiled in the Bialystok *voivod* conservator's office. These sheets documents the synagogue and cemetery at Orla. (photo: S. Gruber 6/90)

III. SURVEY RESULTS

1. Survivors: Cemeteries

Cemeteries dot the landscape of Poland, though ravaged by war, vandals, scavengers, and time.

For Jews the care of cemeteries is an essential religious and social responsibility. The Talmudic saying "the Jewish gravestones are fairer than royal palaces" (Sanh. 96b; cf. Matt. 23:29) reflects the care that is expected to be given to Jewish graves and cemeteries. In normal circumstances, the protection and repair of cemeteries is willingly shared by the Jewish community.

Before the Holocaust, Jewish cemeteries belonged to individual Jewish communities. Even at the height of Jewish emigration to America, family members and *landsmanshaftn* stayed behind to insure care for the graves of the dead. Jewish religious law stipulates that cemeteries be carefully delimited, and walls and fences were erected to prevent the desecration of cemetery grounds and the defilement of the religious Jews, who could only come in contact with the dead under certain conditions. The Holocaust destroyed all normal circumstances.

In 1939, official Polish sources listed 1,415 Jewish communities with populations of more than a hundred Jews within the pre-war territory of Poland. Most if not all of these had one or more cemeteries. A large number were destroyed by the Germans, but traces of many survive. In 1979 the Warsaw-based Office for Religious Denominations (part of the Office of the Council of Ministers) compiled a list of 434 Jewish cemeteries in Poland. Of these, it was stated that only 22 were in relatively good condition, that 68 had been more than 50% destroyed during the war, 136 had been more than 90% destroyed, that 136 revealed only traces of the original burial grounds and 129 cemeteries were practically non-existent.

The World Monuments Fund survey for the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad has surveyed 1008 Jewish cemetery sites within the present-day borders of Poland. Without doubt there are more. This total includes large cemeteries with tens of thousands of graves (Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, and Wroclaw, for example), hundreds of smaller cemeteries with a few score to a thousand gravestones, and the majority of sites with no visible gravestones. About 400 cemeteries have gravestones, but only 140 have a significant number - that is, more than 100 monuments. Significantly, a large number of cemeteries have been built over for new purposes. Offices, schools, stadiums, bus stations, or warehouses have been built upon 130 cemeteries.

Hundreds of cemeteries, especially small burial plots, were either deliberately liquidated - bulldozed or built over - during World War II and the years since, and memory of their locations vanished with the communities that used to look after them.

a. Types of Jewish Cemeteries

The appearance of Jewish cemeteries in various parts of prewar Poland differed, depending on local tradition and circumstance. The customs of each region reflect the laws and traditions of Austria, Prussia and Russia, which from 1795 to 1918 divided and occupied Poland. Gravestones dating from before 1800 have been found at only about 60 cemeteries.

The majority of Jewish cemeteries, located in and near small towns, were surrounded by rough wooden fences or an earthen bank. Graves could usually be placed where people wanted, though separation of men, women and children was maintained. Graves were marked by *matzevot*, either of stone or wood. These could take many forms. Some were rough boulder-like stones, smoothed on only one face, with a simple inscription. Other gravestones were finely carved with elaborate symbolic representations, usually referring to the name, occupation or reputation of the deceased. These carved gravestones were often tall and narrow, with rounded tops. Long inscriptions filled most of the stone, and decorative reliefs were placed in the semi-circular top. Most inscriptions, which face east, were in Hebrew, and in the twentieth century sometimes in Yiddish, Polish, or German. Local stone were usually used for *matzevot*, and these were often not durable and crumbled quickly. Both gravestones and wooden markers were often painted in many colors.

In many Jewish cemeteries, eminent members of the community, especially esteemed rabbis and scholars, were given more prominent gravestones. This often took the form of an *ohel* (tent, in Hebrew), or covered enclosure, to protect the grave. The erection of *ohels* was particularly prevalent in Hasidic communities where revered *tzaddikim* were buried. These graves were, and often continue to be, the focus of annual pilgrimages by devout Jews.

In big towns and cities there was more variety in the way cemeteries were arranged and in the types of gravestones. Cities had larger and more diverse Jewish communities, including assimilated and Reform communities.

Large urban cemeteries such as those in Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, and Krakow have generally fared better than secluded cemeteries in rural areas. The size alone of some of the urban cemeteries (some of which have several hundred thousand graves) prevented total destruction. Though subject

to regular vandalism and abuse, these sites are still impressive for the number of gravestones and tomb monuments which survive.

Urban Jewish communities were more susceptible to Christian influence in art and architecture, and a number of the gravestones and mausolea from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the cemeteries in Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, and Krakow reflect contemporary artistic trends rather than traditional Jewish folk motifs. Urban cemeteries tended to include more lavish tombs, since in every urban community there were families and individuals of substantial wealth and power whose prestige is manifest in the cemetery designs they chose.

This was particularly true in Prussia, where Jews in the nineteenth century tried, just as their Protestant and Catholic neighbors did, to give their cemeteries an appropriately dignified appearance. At each cemetery, this called for a solid enclosure, a large mortuary and well marked sections with regular lanes planted with decorative trees and bushes. Gravestones were made of lasting materials including marble or granite. Their style was often very different from traditional *matzevot*, and mirrored secular tastes and styles. Because so many German Jews were influenced by the Jewish Reform movement, inscriptions were often in German as well as Hebrew. German inscriptions were often placed on the reverse side of the Hebrew inscription.

b. Care and Restoration of Jewish Cemeteries

After World War II, cemeteries that had been maintained by close-knit communities for generations were left to deteriorate. Already overturned and broken gravestones were left to suffer from the weather, to sink further into sand, and to be covered by vegetation. Immediately after the war returning survivors often erected memorials out of broken gravestones, such as at Lodz, Lukow, Myslenice, Siedlce, and Sandomierz. In the words of historian James Young, "by turning to the only materials available - broken bits of *matzevot* and mortar - survivors and community volunteers in Krakow and Warsaw did not restore the sites of remembrance so much as they created new ones, formalizing their destruction."⁷

In a few instances, local officials helped in this process, as at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) where, according to Rabbi Asher Scharf, gravestones that had been vandalized and removed, including many which had been used for paving stones, were gathered together and used to "make a sort of fence so that there should be no entrance by the horse and cattle onto the Cemetery. The *ohel* of my great-great-

⁷ James E. Young, "Broken Tablets and Jewish Memory in Poland," a paper delivered at *The Future of Jewish Monuments* conference, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York City, November, 1990.

grandfather was destroyed, but the iron fence around the grave was still intact." It was only years later, when Pope John Paul II visited Oswiecim that the perimeter wall of gravestones was dismantled and a new fence and gate was constructed. Generally, abandoned cemeteries, like so much property in Poland, became state property, though the circumstances of this transfer remain unclear. With few Jews left, and Jewish communities abroad pressed by other worries, few individuals expressed concern. The Jewish past was not considered important by Communist officials. In some places "anti-Semitism without Jews" became the implicit policy, so that even talk of protecting Jewish sites was politically suspect.

Today, a relatively small number of Jewish cemeteries in Poland are formally in the care of the Union of Jewish Communities (Zwiazek Gmin Zydowskich), but the small Polish Jewish Community has neither the manpower nor the funds to survey the cemeteries, let alone to preserve them. In 1974 the Religious Union of Mosaic Faith (the predecessor of the Union of Jewish Communities) owned 70 cemeteries, and by 1981 it owned only 47. Those that they own are not necessarily in good condition.

The long-standing neglect of cemeteries, as well as the disregard manifested by the dumping of garbage, the removal of sand, and the building of houses, all of which caused profanation of mortal remains, generated protests by Jews living abroad as information became more readily available. Protests helped stop overt desecration but have not yet led to significant protection and maintenance of cemeteries.

In the 1970s a social movement developed, mostly among the intelligentsia, which aimed to save Jewish monuments. Out of this growing interest and the more liberal climate which accompanied the growth of the Solidarity movement, the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Jewish Cemeteries and Cultural Monuments in Poland, whose members are both Jews and Christians, was founded in 1981. The Citizens' Committee cooperates with the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith. Members of the Citizens' Committee have carried out much of the survey work for the World Monuments Fund project.

In an important pronouncement in 1976, Poland's Department of Religion responded to the concerns of the Rabbinical Committee for Preservation of Jewish Cemeteries by informing the regional conservation offices in Poland that, according to the laws of the Jewish religion, the ground of Jewish cemeteries remains sacred land forever, and cannot serve another purpose.

A change in a law of January 31, 1959 concerning cemeteries and burying the dead was passed on June 14, 1991, and added the following regulations to paragraph 6, section b⁸:

2. If the cemetery area is or was previously the property of the Catholic Church or any other church or denominational association, the decision on use of the cemetery area for any other purpose [other than as a cemetery] requires the agreement of the appropriate authority of this church or denominational association.

3. The decision on the use of a cemetery area which was previously the denominational cemetery of the Catholic Church or any other church or denominational association, for any other purpose, is declared after consulting opinion of the appropriate authority of this church or denominational association concerning the marking and commemorating of the former cemetery area...

The following was added to section d:

In cases justified by particular public reasons the authority with jurisdiction over the cemetery location may apply to the Minister of the Land Development and Construction for release from the requirement of obtaining the agreement mentioned in point 2 [above].

While the first changes in the law demonstrate concern for retaining the physical and spiritual integrity of cemeteries, including but not specifically Jewish cemeteries, the last amendment allows local authorities the option of making changes after proper review. Since local governments are now elected, and pursue policies with more independence than in Communist years, it is important to monitor the effect of this change, and increase vigilance in local planning decisions.

The Citizens' Committee has fostered local efforts to protect and restore Jewish cemeteries. Although small efforts for the most part, they do demonstrate a sensitivity and willingness to help by many Christian Poles. Restoration projects carried out by the Citizens' Committee and other similar local groups, such as those involved in the Jewish cemeteries in Warsaw and Lublin, were planned in coordination with local conservation authorities.

The 1983 publication of *Time of Stones*, by Committee member Monika Krajewska, helped bring the condition of Polish Jewish cemeteries to greater international attention. For the first time a wide public saw the sad beauty of the remains of Jewish cemeteries, and was alerted to the dangers they face. Krajewska's photographic archive of Polish cemeteries, the largest known collection, can be

⁸ *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Nr. 64, 271, dnia 18 lipca 1991 (Warsaw).

consulted at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Givat Ram, Jerusalem.⁹

Polish government funds have been provided by the conservator of Warsaw and the Polish Lottery Monopoly. The Citizens' Committee raised about \$10,000 from private donors in Poland and abroad between 1981 and 1990, but this sum was sufficient to save only a small number of monuments. The work of the Citizens' Committee, now encouraged by the freer political climate in Poland, has sparked a number of cemetery preservation efforts by local groups.

Abandoned cemeteries in areas where there are no longer Jews are nominally cared for by the regional Conservators' office, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture. Some conservation offices, such as those of Warsaw, Krakow, Bialystok, Kielce, and Wroclaw have begun to document these cemeteries. In the Bialystok region, for example, the regional Conservator compiled information on 37 abandoned Jewish cemeteries, but this is only a fraction of what once existed. In the city of Bialystok itself, only one of six cemeteries remains, and this is partially destroyed.

Most regional Conservators' offices do not have the resources either to protect the cemeteries adequately, or to restore them. Several Polish conservation officials told survey staff that when they get money they do what they can, but this rarely exceeds monitoring current conditions. In the present economic crisis, many regional offices can barely manage to keep their offices open.

In addition to the example of Dzialoszyce, already mentioned, there has been in the last decade a vast increase in the number of direct interventions from abroad on behalf of particular cemeteries. This work is usually funded by individual Holocaust survivors and descendants of emigrants from the

⁹ Monika Krajewska, *Time of Stones* (Warsaw, 1983). A new edition of this work, entitled *A Tribe of Stones: Jewish Cemeteries in Poland* (Warsaw, Polish Scientific Publishers) was published in 1993. See also Monika Krajewska, "Symbolika nagrobkow zydowskich--obraz religii i tradycji," in *Religia i kultura zydowska: materialy z sesji judaistycznej*. Bernard Wodecki, Ed. (Pieniezno, 1986): 114-122; *ibid.*, "Cmentarze zydowskie w posce: nagrobki i epitafia," *Polska sztuka ludowa* XLIII (1989): 27-44; *ibid.*, "Symbolika Plaskorzezb na cmentarzach zydowskich w Polsce." *Polska sztuka ludowa* XLIII (1989): 45-59; and Monika Krajewska and Jan Jagielski, "Opracowanie dotyczace zabytkow cmentarzy zydowskich w Polsce," in *Religia i kultura zydowska: materialy z sesji judaistycznej*. Bernard Wodecki, Ed. (Pieniezno, 1986), 123-126.

Several other recent publications about Polish Jewish cemeteries - mostly small guide books or photographic essays - should be noted. They include: *Cisza co z nieba splywa: cmentarz zydowski w katowicach* (Katowice, 1994); Leszek Hondo, *Epitaphs and Symbolism of the Gravestones at the Jewish Cemetery in Tarnow*. (Tarnow, 1992); Leszek Hondo, Dariusz Rozmus, and Andrzej Witek, *Cmentarz zydowski w pilicy (Studia polono-judaica: series fontium, 2)*. (Krakow, 1995); Henryk Kroszczor, *Cmentarz zydowski w warszawie*. (Warsaw, 1983); and Bronislaw Podgarbi, *The Jewish Cemetery in Lodz* (Lodz, 1990).

town, including organized *landsmanshaftn* organizations in Israel and the United States. Recent work at Jewish cemeteries includes the erection of Holocaust memorials, the repairing or adding of walls and gates, the clearing of overgrowth, and the cleaning and reerecting of gravestones. There are now about 190 cemeteries (many of which have no visible stones) completely surrounded by walls or fences. This work, much of it recent, is just the beginning of what needs to be done.

The results of the survey indicate that some clearing, fencing, and restoration work has been carried out at about one seventh of the sites visited, including the cemeteries of Bielsko-Biala, Bilgoraj, Bransk, Chrzanow, Cieszyn, Dabrowa Tarnowska, Dzialoszyce, Gora Kalwaria, Kazimierza Wielka, Kolbuszowa, Laskarzew, Lomza, Lubaczow, Makow Mazowiecki, Nidzica, Przasnysz, Sanok, Siedlce, Sochaczew, Staszow, Tarnograd, Tarnow, Trzebinia, Tyszowce, Wisnicz, Wodzislaw, and Zabrze. Private foundations have sponsored the enclosure and clearing of cemeteries in Buk, Czestochowa, Kielce, Krosno, Lublin, Sanok, Slubice, and Warsaw (Praga).

Professional conservation work on endangered *matzevot* and large commemorative monuments has been undertaken in only a few cities - Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Radom, and Lodz. The most important historic and artistic work now under restoration is the monument to Ber Sonnenberg in the Okopowa Street cemetery in Warsaw.

Many circumstances are contributing to the surge in cemetery restoration work. First, while such action is still difficult, the new political openness of Poland makes it easier to initiate and carry out projects, and to find local enthusiasts and volunteers to help organize the work and to look after the cemetery when restoration is complete. Second, the greater ease of travel to and within Poland makes many of these cemeteries accessible for the first time. Third, the advancing age of Holocaust survivors is a factor. For many, proper care for the graves of their families and ancestors is a necessary religious, political, and psychological act before death. Finally, the increased interest in genealogy and pre-Communist Polish history (i.e., when Poland had a sizable Jewish population) adds to the numbers of people who support cemetery restoration.

Examples of recent restoration projects, some of which might serve as models for subsequent work include:

i. Voluntary Adoption of Cemeteries by Jewish Survivors Abroad

Dabrowa Bialostocka. This cemetery with stones dating to 1772 has been restored through the efforts of two elderly sisters, Rena Holstein and Lilly Gritz of Silver Spring, Maryland. After a visit in 1987, the sisters vowed to restore the cemetery where generations of their family are buried. Over a five-year period they raised approximately \$10,000. A Dabrowa

resident, who knew the sisters before 1939, organized and oversaw the work. The boundaries of the cemetery have been marked, the underbrush cleared, 80 stones reset, a new wall built around the cemetery, and a new wrought-iron gate erected. A memorial monument at the cemetery was dedicated in June 1995.

Hrubieszow. The cemetery, desecrated and neglected for years, was to be built over by apartment blocks when in 1983 a former resident of the town, Shalom Greenberg, visited from Israel and took the matter up with the town council. He began gathering fragments of gravestones from around town. Since then about 70 fragments have been located and returned to the cemetery. Several years later, Avram Scher, a former Jew from Hrubieszow now living in Munich, contributed funds for a fence around the cemetery and a monument to the former Jewish community. Stefan Knapp, a Polish emigré living in London, designed the monument. In July 1990 the fenced cemetery and monument were dedicated and a delegation of survivors from Hrubieszow visited their town for the occasion.¹⁰

Kety. The cemetery was cleared of vegetation, the walls were repaired and broken *matzevot* were used in a memorial wall, all at the urging of Holocaust survivor and Pennsylvania resident Henry Kanner, who first visited the cemetery in 1988. City officials and the local priest helped with the effort which was financed by Kanner, who also pays for a full-time caretaker. The project, completed in 1992, took one and half years to finish.

Lublin. The New Jewish Cemetery, which had been severely damaged in World War II and was subsequently divided and partially built over by Lenin Street in the 1960s, has a new entrance and is being restored. The cemetery is being maintained through funds from Sara and the Manfred Frenkel Foundation of Antwerp (Belgium).

Oswiecim. Efforts to retrieve stolen gravestones from this cemetery were undertaken immediately following World War II by the local authorities at the urging of returning survivors. A wall of gravestones was then erected around the cemetery lot. This was replaced by a new fence and gate in 1980s, and approximately 1000 gravestones were then piled up on the site. Beginning in 1986 efforts led by Rabbi Asher Scharf of Brooklyn, whose family lived in Oswiecim for generations, resulted in the reerection of gravestones and the rebuilding of a family *ohel*. Rabbi Scharf describes how difficult it was to undertake such work less than a decade ago: "I don't have to tell you that the whole thing was illegal. Everything belonged to the government. There was no private enterprise. You had to buy

¹⁰ The dedication ceremony is described by Charles Hoffman in *Grey Dawn*, Harper/Collins (NY, 1992), 305-14.

cement on the black market and also blocks, sand, roofing paper, etc. But where there is a will there is a way. It took me three years and \$20,000 - and four trips to Poland - and mission accomplished."

Warsaw (Praga cemetery). This cemetery, in the Praga section of Warsaw, was the first of many cemetery restoration projects undertaken by the Nissenbaum Family Foundation of Konstanz (Germany). The cemetery, which was established in 1780, was completely devastated during the war. The area has been cleaned and a new monumental pylon gate and memorial have been erected at the entrance to the site.

Staszow. In November 1992 a new Holocaust memorial was dedicated in Staszow, where 5,000 Jews were deported to their deaths in 1942. The cemetery has also been cleared and marked. This was a project taken on by the town under the sponsorship of Jack Goldfarb, a survivor from the town. The dedicatory ceremony, attended by almost four hundred people, was sponsored by the Staszow Cultural Society. A Jewish section was also inaugurated in the Staszow Town Museum.

ii. Restoration by Local Jewish Community

Zawiercie-Kromolow. In 1991-92, the Jewish Community of Katowice undertook the restoration of this historic cemetery, established c. 1750. The site, which covers 2.2 hectares, retains over half of its original gravestones (more than 500 *in situ*). The cemetery is owned by the Katowice Jewish Community which has paid for a caretaker and repair of the surrounding masonry wall.

iii. Efforts of Local Polish Groups

Grodzisk Mazowiecki. At Grodzisk Mazowiecki, not far from Warsaw, where the condition of the cemetery is typical of many in Poland, a Social Committee for Restoration and Reconstruction of the Jewish Cemetery was founded in 1990. In its own words, the Social Committee is "animated by motives of consolidation and preservation of cultural and spiritual heritage of Polish Jews, with sympathetic backing of both community and authorities..." The conservator of monuments for the Warsaw region carried out a preservation plan of the site, and the Committee built a fence around the site, which unfortunately was reduced from its original size. Much of the impetus for this work comes from the local Agricultural-Trade

Cooperative, which now occupies much of the original site of the cemetery. Only about one seventh of the original cemetery survives as unencumbered open space.

Kozmin. The Citizens' Committee helped handicapped school children to set up about 150 gravestones and construct an enclosure. Work was completed in 1992, and additional funds were received from the state-financed Remembrance Foundation.

Lublin. At the old cemetery in Lublin about 50 gravestones dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries - some of them unfortunately already broken - were reerected by the local Society for Care of Monuments of Jewish Culture in Lublin with assistance from the Citizens' Committee in Warsaw. These stones, however, are not set in their original locations, but are distributed along a path through the cemetery.

Mlawa. At Mlawa, Germans had forced Jews to shatter gravestones so that the pieces could be used to build the foundations and the square fence posts around a military area, called "New Berlin" which they created about fifteen kms. from the town. A local organization, the "Friends of the Region of Mlawa", developed plans for the erection of a memorial at the cemetery of Mlawa, which a sculptor from Torun designed. The fence piers, which were made of the mortared pieces of *matzevot*, were to be transported to the cemetery, and to stand as symbolic flames of an enormous menorah. Each pier is about two meters high, and 60 x 60 cm. square. The Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw contacted the Mlawa *landmanshaftn* in Israel and a model of the project was exhibited in Tel Aviv. No funds, however, were raised, and to date, only seven of ten remaining piers have been removed to the cemetery, and the monument project is in abeyance. Nonetheless, the transferral of the piers was the occasion for a commemoration - a many survivors from Israel returned for the occasion.

Opatow. About 20 *matzevot* have been retrieved from the river where they had been thrown after the war, and set up on the unoccupied part of the cemetery.

Warsaw. The World War II devastation in the main cemetery of Warsaw, at Okopowa Street, with over 200,000 graves representing two centuries of settlement, and subsequent neglect, have created a critical situation. It has been necessary to cut down overgrown trees and bushes in order to keep working on the preservation of monuments. The results, however, are not very visible, since the cemetery spans 33 hectares. The Citizen's Committee has restored about 150 historic *matzevot* dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century and a dozen or so monuments made of marble and iron, including the gravestones of Antoni Eisenbaum, Chaim Zelig Slonimski, and Rabbi Ber Meisels. In 1993 restoration was

begun on the artistically important monument to Ber Sonnenberg. The estimated cost for restoring this one tomb is \$35,000. Because it has been vandalized several times, some have advocated that the entire monument be removed to a museum and replaced by a replica. If this were to be done, the cost would, of course, considerably increase.

iv. Restoration by Town or Region

Kazimierz Dolny. One of the most effective "restorations" of a Jewish cemetery is in Kazimierz Dolny. In 1983, the broken gravestones removed from the Franciscan monastery which had been used as Gestapo headquarters could not be returned to their original places at the cemetery just outside of town. Townspeople commissioned architect Tadeusz Augustynek to design a memorial that would appropriately place the stones. They have been attached to form a giant memorial wall, 25 meters long and six meters high, on the site of the cemetery. The wall acts not only as a repository for the stones and a commemoration of all those buried in the cemetery, but also serves with dramatic impact as a surrogate headstone for all those Jews from the town (and from elsewhere who were murdered and received no burial at all). A jagged opening in the wall represents the broken lives and rent fabric of the Jewish community, and town of Kazimierz. Monika and Stanilaw Krajewski worked on the project with the architect, first excavating the broken gravestones and then cleaning and sorting them. Stones of men and women were separated, because that was the arrangement in the cemetery. Despite setbacks, the monument was completed in the autumn of 1984. Additional stones were reerected behind the monument, on the wooded cemetery grounds.

Krakow. The old cemetery of Krakow, situated behind the sixteenth-century Remu Synagogue, has been restored, essentially as a lapidarium, since the original locations of the several hundred retrieved stones is unknown. Since 1991, additional work has taken place. Sponsored by the voivodship of Krakow, broken stones are restored with new pieces added, and many stones are receiving metal "hats" to protect them better from the pervasive acid rain which is causing deterioration of the stone. The work has been partly carried out under the auspices of the Project Judaica Foundation (Washington, D.C.) in collaboration with the Jagiellonian University.

Unfortunately, the much larger new cemetery in Krakow, not far away, remains uncared for.

Pinczow. Fragments of old gravestones were rescued from ruined buildings and set into the wall surrounding the former synagogue. There are now buildings on the grounds of the old cemetery.

Tarnow. Led by Adam Bartosz, curator of the State Gypsy Museum in Tarnow, a group of residents has worked to repair the Jewish cemetery, in which several thousand stones, some dating to the seventeenth century, still survive. The surrounding wall and fence have been repaired at town expense, and much of the older section of the cemetery has been cleared of excess vegetation - revealing serious problems of stone erosion and decay. The gate of the cemetery was presented as a gift to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum by President Lech Walesa and a copy, a gift from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, has been installed in its place. About 30% of funds for the cemetery restoration work come from the town and approximately 70% of funds are private donations from abroad. Much basic clearing work still needs to be done in this large cemetery.

2. Survivors: Synagogues

Many buildings of Jewish origin (including synagogues, Jewish schools and community houses, pre-burial houses, and even whole Jewish quarters) have survived, if only as ruins. Some of these sites are of considerable artistic and historical importance. All, due to their accident of survival, have taken on special significance. They are an important link in the fragile chain of memory of the once great civilization of Jewish Eastern Europe.

With the exception of a few synagogue buildings in major cities, the surviving structures are today largely unknown to the wider public. Usually they remain only partially recorded and are often in extremely deteriorated condition. Former synagogues which survived the war have been converted to almost every kind of use - some as museums and archives, schools and concert halls, but also warehouses, factories, and barns. The current uses of synagogue buildings are listed in Appendix III. While Jewish law forbids only a few specific uses for former synagogues, tradition requires close attention to the care of these sites. Moreover, since most of these synagogues were abandoned not by choice but by force, their current use is an issue not only for Jewish survivors, but for the non-Jewish Polish community. While some former synagogues have been well maintained and serve dignified public needs, many others serve functions that are hardly appropriate. The issue of appropriate use of former religious buildings should be a part of all discussions concerning ownership and restitution of Jewish communal properties.

This report identifies 278 former synagogue buildings within the modern borders of Poland. The number of structures extant in areas once part of Poland - now in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine - is still to be determined, but it may double the total. Buildings which housed simple prayer rooms, often in storefronts, courtyard room or upstairs apartment, are not included in this survey, though doubtless scores, if not hundreds, of buildings which housed *stiebles* still exist.

Among the synagogue structures remaining are important examples of late medieval double-nave synagogues (as in Krakow), Renaissance hall synagogues, (as at Szydlow and Pinczow), *bimah*-support synagogues (Tykocin, Lancut, Przysucha, and Rymanow), eighteenth and nineteenth century neo-classical synagogues, and a few of the so-called "cathedral" synagogues of the late nineteenth century.

The Citizens' Committee for the Protection and Preservation of Jewish Monuments prepared a preliminary list of these buildings in 1989, and Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski have revised and updated the list as part of this survey (Appendix III). The more architecturally and historically distinctive buildings have been studied in some detail by architects, historians, and planners, particularly Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka of Warsaw.

Approximately 70 former synagogues have been described and photographed by voivodship conservators.

As early as 1960 David Dawidowicz wrote that "it is a sacred duty to rebuild synagogues of artistic and historical value for Jews left in those places, or to turn them into Jewish museums as memorials to the communities that once existed there and are no longer."¹¹ Over 30 years later only a few attempts have been made to fulfill Davidovitch's prescription. These efforts are summarized below.

i. Restoration for Religious Use

In the post-War period, only a small number of synagogues have been restored for religious use. These include:

Warsaw: Nozyk Synagogue. Warsaw's only surviving synagogue was founded in 1900. It was used during World War II by the Germans as a stable, and seriously damaged especially during and after the Warsaw uprising of 1944. Crudely refurbished after the war and fully

¹¹ David Dawidowicz, *op. cit.*, 7.

restored in 1977-83, it is now owned by the Jewish Community of Warsaw and is the only functioning synagogue in Poland's capital city.

Krakow: Remu Synagogue. Built in 1553, this is the second oldest synagogue in Krakow. It was thoroughly restored in 1933, and much changed at the time. During World War II the synagogue was looted and stripped of its furnishings. It was reconstructed in 1957 to a close approximation of its sixteenth-century form with some of its eighteenth-century Baroque interior decoration. The project was funded by the Joint Distribution Committee and the Krakow conservation authorities. Today, the Remu remains the property of the Jewish Community of Krakow and continues to be used as a functioning synagogue.

Lodz: Synagogue. The only surviving synagogue in Lodz, built c. 1900, was refurbished beginning in 1986, and is now used for services. Funds for the restoration were provided by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation of New York.

ii. Restoration as Jewish Museums or Memorials

In a handful of cases, careful restoration of synagogue buildings has preserved much of their original appearance, if not their life and use. The desire to restore these buildings faithfully, the interest in their history, and willingness to use the buildings to present different aspects of Jewish-Polish history are indicative of recent changes in Polish politics and society.

There are four notable examples of restored former synagogues:

Krakow. In 1958, the Old Synagogue in Krakow was opened as the Museum of the History and Culture of Jews of Krakow after the synagogue was given by the Jewish community to the city and restored. The space of the main hall houses an exhibition of Jewish ritual objects and Jewish art, but the primary exhibition is the synagogue itself with its original (rebuilt) masonry Ark and its elaborate wrought-iron *bimah* (a post-war recreation). In what was the women's gallery are still preserved a few fragments of painted wall decoration. Upstairs is a small exhibit on the history of Krakow's Jews, and there is also a room for temporary exhibitions. A marker commemorating the site of a Nazi execution of Polish patriots is in front of the synagogue.

Tykocin. The restoration of the Baroque synagogue at Tykocin, carried out in the late 1970s, is quite good. Omissions include the interior stair leading to the Ark and the use of a tile pavement where originally there was probably a wooden floor. The roof has been rebuilt and

the paintings on the walls, mostly the texts of Hebrew prayers, have been repainted. The total effect is quite brilliant. No attempt was made to reconstruct the elaborate ceiling decoration, but similar decoration restored on the *bimah* provides some indication of its former splendor.

Exhibition cases with Jewish ritual objects (including a Torah) are scattered throughout the main hall of the synagogue. However, relatively little explanation of the purpose or context of these objects is given. Visitors are given, on arrival, the choice of explanatory sheets in various languages telling the history of Jews in general, and also the history of the Jews of Tykocin and the synagogue. Across the street from the synagogue the former *bet ha-midrash* has been restored as a civic museum. There has also been recent discussion concerning rebuilding some of the small buildings - mostly market stalls - originally adjacent to the synagogue.

Lancut. The former synagogue of Lancut, built in 1761, has been restored and includes impressive polychrome wall paintings, and folk interpretation of biblical scenes, with additional Hebrew prayer texts and decorative patterns filling almost all the interior wall space. The restoration was completed in 1991. Professor Jonathan Webber of Oxford University was consulted on the reconstruction of the painted Hebrew texts.

Wlodawa. The main synagogue of Wlodawa, erected in 1764-74 and partially founded by the Czartoryski family, still survives. The late-Baroque brick building was devastated during World War II and used by the Germans as a military warehouse. Restoration began in 1970. In 1986 the restored building was turned over to the Museum of Leczynsko-Wlodawski Lake Region, and contains a permanent exhibit on Judaism. The new museum was inaugurated in June 1990.

The most remarkable feature of the synagogue is its enormous painted stucco *Aron-ha-Kodesh*, which replaced the original Ark destroyed in a fire of 1934. The new neo-Baroque Ark has been restored as part of the museum.

Two nearby Jewish buildings have also been incorporated into the museum. A smaller neo-classical synagogue which also survived in part the devastation of World War II is being restored. The interior of the nearby *bet ha-midrash*, built in 1928, is being reconfigured to serve the needs of the museum.

iii. Synagogues Used for Non-Jewish Cultural Purposes

Because of their size, configuration and prominent location, a number of former synagogues were transformed to other public uses after World War II. These include libraries, museums, art galleries, and concert halls. In most cases, only selected original building features were preserved or restored in these building adaptations. In a few instances, however, careful restoration work took place to preserve synagogue features. Following are some notable examples:

Sejny. The nineteenth-century neo-Baroque synagogue was restored (without furnishings) in 1987 and is now used as a cultural center.

Szydłow. The large block-like sixteenth-century synagogue with heavy buttresses on all sides was rebuilt as a library and cultural center in the 1960s. The reconstruction was not particularly faithful to the building's earlier appearance, but in addition to the impressive exterior, the sanctuary space has been preserved intact, and the built-in masonry Ark has been left in place. Conservators have discovered the polished brass reflectors used to increase candlelight in the building. These were hidden by Jews before deportation. Though restored, they are now held in the offices of the regional Polish conservation workshops (PKZ) in Kielce and have not been returned to the building. The sanctuary was, until recently, used for art exhibitions and other recreational activities. Before recent funding cuts, the women's gallery served as the local library. The building is now empty and requires roof repairs. Evidence of water penetration can be seen on the interior sanctuary walls.

Radzanów. The synagogue survived the war as a stable, and afterwards was used as a warehouse for fertilizers. In the early 1980s, the south wall of the building collapsed. With funding from the regional Conservator, the building was then restored based on historical research by Eleonora Bergman. The structure, which now houses a library, was reopened in 1987. The restoration is significant for the attention to historical detail and the active role and funding of the regional authorities. Today, it is one of the very few late nineteenth or early twentieth century synagogues where the internal arrangement is partially preserved.

Zamosc. The former synagogue in this beautiful, planned sixteenth-century town, has been rebuilt, and is now used as a public library. The exterior has been restored with a reconstruction of what the original roof parapet and exterior decoration may have looked like, following an early seventeenth-century engraving and the appearance of other local buildings. There is no exterior plaque or other indication of the building's original purpose, but a full explanation is provided inside.

iv. Synagogues Preserved as Ruins

The protection of historic ruins as ruins, which is so prevalent in countries with extensive remains of ancient buildings, has been little practiced in Poland. The oldest buildings were always of wood, and little survives. Those stone buildings which can still be seen either have been rebuilt - restored or adapted - or are ruins awaiting rebuilding. There are a few exceptions to this rule, particularly in the case of castles, such as that which overlooks the much restored town of Kazimierz Dolny. In only one case - Tarnow - have the ruins of a synagogue been conserved and protected. In Tarnow, the four columns of the former *bimah* of the synagogue still stand, covered by a protected canopy and set in a small public park.

v. New Preservation Initiatives

Krakow: Tempel Synagogue. This is the only intact nineteenth-century Polish synagogue. Krakow, a German command center during World War II, was spared the destruction that the German army inflicted elsewhere in Poland. The Tempel Synagogue, which was used as stables, was looted but not destroyed. The Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund is sponsoring the restoration of this structure, which will remain as a synagogue, but will also be used for concerts and other appropriate events.

vi. New Initiatives Needed for Preservation

Chmielnik. The synagogue of Chmielnik, devastated and now derelict, was built by 1633-34 and partially rebuilt in the eighteenth century (the shape of the windows, and of the stair to the gallery were changed), and again after a fire in 1849. In 1942 the synagogue was transformed into a warehouse by the Germans. The main hall was divided into two stories by the insertion of a wooden ceiling, and the integrity of the building was seriously damaged.

A survey of the building was carried out in 1960 with the intent of preserving the building. In 1960, 1970, and 1984 successive projects for the rebuilding of the structure and its adaptation into a house of culture for the local community were pursued. Rebuilding began in 1986 and a new steel roof was added. Work stopped in 1988 because of lack of funds.

Krakow: Kupa Synagogue. The Kupa synagogue in Kazimierz (the Jewish town adjacent to Krakow but now within city limits) was built in 1540, and rebuilt in 1647 and 1834. The synagogue was until recently a workshop of a craftsmen's cooperative. Rebuilding has changed the interior to such a degree that reconstruction of the original appearance is

impossible. Nevertheless, it is desirable to expose the wall paintings and the Ark, which still survive, and find appropriate uses for the building. Traces of the *bimah* have also been found. An architectural survey, commissioned by the Krakow Jewish community and carried out by the Polish Conservation Workshops (PKZ) of Krakow, was made in 1988. The building is now empty - the Jewish Community can neither collect commercial rent on the structure nor afford to restore it.

Nowy Korczyn. The late eighteenth-century synagogue consists of a rectangular main hall preceded by a porch, above which there is an open women's prayer room separated from the main hall only by a balustrade. The synagogue was heavily damaged in World War II, and converted into a warehouse. It has been abandoned for a long time. In recent years the painted ceiling has been removed to allow for the preservation of the paintings in restoration labs. In 1988 a detailed architectural survey was executed.

Orla. The masonry synagogue was probably built in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. It was rebuilt and enlarged in the eighteenth century, and again at the turn of the nineteenth century. The building was burned in 1928, and then devastated after World War II. In 1986, following the initiative of the community and the district conservator, efforts were begun to restore the building. Historical and architectural research was carried out, including the exposing of the foundations, the examination of the plaster, etc. The starting point for the restoration was the mid-nineteenth century state of the building. The synagogue is now covered with a new roof and partially plastered on the exterior. The destroyed annexes have been rebuilt and the vaults reinforced. Work is now suspended for lack of funds.

Pinczow. The seventeenth-century synagogue survives essentially intact as the oldest example of a synagogue where all the rooms - constituting a unified compact form - were built at the same time. It is also extremely important for the extensive fresco decoration that survives, albeit in a steadily deteriorating state. The Germans used the building as a warehouse, and it was substantially damaged. After the war the accumulated rubble was removed and the building was secured. Recently, the roof has been repaired, and windows installed. Rebuilding of the synagogue was begun in the 1980s, but the work has stopped because of lack of funds. Plans to adapt the synagogue as a museum of artistic stonework remain unrealized. The entire building and especially its valuable wall paintings continue to rapidly deteriorate.

Przysucha. The 1750 synagogue has not been considerably altered. It is a good eighteenth-century example of a nine-bay synagogue with *bimah*-support, characteristic of Polish

synagogues from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The synagogue served as a warehouse during World War II, and was heavily damaged. In 1963 restoration was begun and some work carried out to protect the building from further deterioration. In 1968-70 work was again undertaken. The shape of the roof was changed from the four-slope type into the broken two-tiered roof like the one it probably had in the eighteenth century. Work was then suspended and the interior of the synagogue remains a ruin.

Rymanow. The synagogue, usually considered to have been built in the late eighteenth century, is located prominently on the crest of a small hill. The central core of the synagogue is a rectangular hall with thick massive walls made of stone and brick. Wall paintings are still preserved on the interior. The building is an imposing ruin in desperate need of stabilization, and then repair.

Wodzislaw. The sixteenth-century synagogue was partially rebuilt in the seventeenth century, and probably also in the eighteenth. The walls were raised, and perhaps the design and construction of the roof and ceiling were changed. During and after World War II it was used as a storehouse. Recently it was abandoned, the roof collapsed in 1987, and the building continues to deteriorate. No plans for its preservation have been advanced.



Rymanow. The synagogue is abandoned, its wall paintings deteriorating.
(photo: S. Gruber 6/90)

IV. POLISH MONUMENTS PROTECTION LAW AND JEWISH SITES¹²

1. Introduction

This chapter examines Poland's longstanding legal system for protecting monuments and considers the implications for protecting the thousands of Jewish sites documented in this report. It discusses relevant sections of the monuments law, provides insights about the effectiveness of these provisions for Poland's extensive collection of monuments in general and for Jewish sites in particular, assesses the special challenges of monuments protection posed by Poland's new economy, and recommends ways to improve protection in this new era in Poland's history.¹³

It is intended both to help visitors who might wish to contact officials in a town (*miasto*) or region (*voivod*) who are legally responsible for protecting properties with significant historic values and to assist experts, officials, and others seeking ways to ensure a future existence for the decimated physical remnants of the centuries-long Jewish presence in Poland.

Poland has a strong tradition of leadership in preservation law and professional excellence. Its Law on the Protection of Cultural Property, enacted in 1962 and still the basis for monument protection in the country, has been called "one of the most comprehensive approaches to preservation" in Europe.¹⁴ Its Town and Country Planning Law, approved at about the same time, called for a priority to historic values and the involvement of conservation officials throughout the development process. The country's large cadre of conservation, planning, architectural, and design professionals has traditionally enjoyed a high degree of respect within Poland and the international community.

The extraordinary national commitment to preservation and painstaking craftsmanship was demonstrated dramatically in the rebuilding of the Baroque and Renaissance streets and squares of

¹² c Phyllis Myers, 1995. This chapter was authored by Phyllis Myers, Senior Research Consultant for the project and President of State Resource Strategies, Washington, D.C.

¹³ The author gratefully acknowledges the substantial contributions of Eleonora Bergman and Samuel Gruber to this chapter, and additional financial assistance by the Trust for Mutual Understanding for a March 1995 visit to Poland as part of a research project on historic preservation in Central and Eastern Europe sponsored by the Environmental Law Institute. In addition to the survey, this chapter draws on interviews with government officials and private experts conducted during this and earlier research visits to Poland by the author; reports on preservation law under Communism by Paul H. Gleye and Waldemar Szczerba, *Poland*, in *Historic Preservation in Other Countries*, Vol. III, edited by Robert E. Stipe (Washington, D.C.: US/ICOMOS, 1989); and "Monuments of Jewish Culture in the People's Republic of Poland," a paper by Bergman delivered at a conservators' conference organized in November 1994 by Prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski, Warsaw University of Technology Department of Architecture.

¹⁴ Gleye and Szczerba, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the historic cores of Warsaw and Gdansk following their brutal leveling by the faltering Nazi regime. A number of other historic town centers which were not razed also experienced quality restoration.

The fall of Communism revealed the shortcomings of Poland's legal system for protecting monuments and a selective view of the national patrimony, however. While there were many successes, there was also incalculable destruction of monuments, urban centers, and distinctive rural landscapes.¹⁵ Communist authorities sited the Nowa Huta steel mill downwind from Krakow, a decision that led to the showering of corrosive pollution on the architectural heritage of one of the world's great cities. Concrete residential blocks constructed in Polish villages and towns irrevocably damaged rural landscapes revered for centuries. Moreover, apart from a selective group of restorations and sporadic documentation, little attention was given to the country's multi-religious and multi-ethnic architectural and cultural heritage, a combined result of traditional preservation values and Communist ideology.

Post-Communist Poland has taken significant steps to establish a more accountable legal framework for preservation, foster more public involvement, and expand the definition of the national patrimony. Its preservation statute was amended in 1991 to respond to profound changes in governance and private ownership.¹⁶ There is, especially among young people, conservation professionals, and intellectuals, considerable interest in the physical remnants of the country's once large and influential Jewish population (and other ethnic and religious minorities) despite the relatively homogenous population today. Experts are documenting Jewish sites, with some limited assistance by government, and examples of improved care are seen throughout the country.

It is important to applaud and encourage these trends, while at the same time acknowledging their limited impact so far, and the complexity of remedial measures. The fate of the legacy of remaining sites associated with the historic Jewish population depends on further actions targeted to their protection, and more broadly on the successful transformation of its monuments protection system to an effective, accountable system responsive to multi-cultural values and the new context of increased local authority, private ownership, and a market-driven economy.

The special challenge of protecting Jewish sites is compounded by the annihilation of so many property owners and the difficulty of crafting an equitable transfer to communal and private ownership of properties which were acquired either illegally or in forced sales from persecuted Jewish owners. Formerly Jewish-owned historic properties are often neglected under the cloud of

¹⁵ Interview with Andrzej Tomaszewski, March 1995.

¹⁶ Law on the Protection of Cultural Property and on Museums (Warsaw: Historical Monuments Documentation Center), 1992.

title uncertainties or illegally built on without sufficient attention to preservation and planning values.

Several relevant legal developments under discussion at this writing should be noted. An advisory group within the Ministry of Culture is discussing amendments to the monuments protection law aimed at strengthening its effectiveness. The Polish Parliament is considering legislation, whose details have been agreed to by Polish officials and the Jewish religious community, on the transfer communally owned property, and also re-privatization and compensation. While draft legislation so far does not specifically call for assessments of historic values as properties are transferred and titles cleared, the process can provide an important impetus for monuments inventories and new listings and possibly, a source of financial assistance for renovation.

Meanwhile, at least one assumption widely held just a few years ago -- that there is nothing left to save -- has been shown to be patently false.

2. Background: The Framework of Polish Monument Protection Law

Poland's monuments protection law, enacted in 1962 and amended several times since, lays out the legal framework for monuments protection. While its basic provisions are commendable, the state was both property owner and enforcer. In practice this often meant both a lack of accountability and a climate which fostered citizen passivity in the face of the substantial gap between the law and what was happening on the ground.

The law provides standards for identifying and listing monuments and a system of legal authorities, administrative entities, provisions for reviews, and economic subsidies to safeguard the national patrimony. It specifies that no project to alter, renovate, reconstruct, preserve, rebuild, or excavate a monument can proceed without official permission. The effects of development on registered properties must be considered in all regional and local plans. Owners of historic monuments are eligible for subsidies towards renovation costs. The law provides for documentation and research when necessary to consider development proposals, and for stop orders, penalties, and confiscation for non-compliance. The statute takes a commendable comprehensive approach that encompasses movable and immovable objects, the natural and manmade environment, and larger urban and rural settings as well as individual buildings.

a. The Ministry of Culture and Arts

The Minister of Culture and Arts has overarching responsibility for monuments protection policies, including procedures for listing and delisting properties, and programs and budgets. The Conservator General, who reports directly to the Minister, is the highest ranking monuments protection official.

Within the Ministry, several divisions reporting to the Conservator General are responsible for monuments documentation and coordination of registers; policies for archaeological sites, historic parks, gardens, and cemeteries; formulation of policies, budgeting, and five-year plans; and monitoring compliance. Responsibility for compliance, a new function since 1991, is housed in the State Service for the Protection of Monuments. Many of its 700 employees work in the regions.

b. Voivodship Conservators of Monuments

Poland has a distinctive system of voivodship conservators of monuments. These conservators, appointed by the Minister of Culture, serve as guardians of the national patrimony in each of the country's 49 voivodships. Under the law, conservators determine what properties are listed, issue permits for restoration, review completed projects, and allocate state preservation assistance grants. Conservators' decisions may be appealed to the Minister of Culture, whose decision is final. Several dozen cities and towns with major historic resources, such as Warsaw, Krakow, Kazimierz Dolny, and Plock, employ their own conservators.

In a trend not yet adequately addressed in law, the post-Communist shift to independently elected local governments has modified, and arguably weakened, the voivodship conservators' role. As regional representatives of the state Ministry of Culture, they are now administratively separate from local officials responsible for planning and development. Their budgets for preservation assistance are small, since the Ministry of Culture has limited funds. While their legal authority over listed monuments is solid, their influence these days depends a good deal on their negotiating ability rather than access to state preservation assistance subsidies. Moreover, their role is advisory on changes to buildings which are significant components of the historic fabric of towns and cities, but are not listed individually. This is important in protection policies for historic Jewish sites, which are often modest and of recent vintage, and for distinctive neighborhoods where the sustainability of the architectural legacy depends on integrating decisions on listed buildings with planning decisions for a larger area.

c. Register Listing

Listing of a monument may be proposed by the voivodship conservator, the Minister of Culture, or the property owner. Each voivodship maintains a register of the monument listings situated in its territory, along with backup documentation. Listing does not require the owner's permission or a clear title.¹⁷ Voivodship conservators are the best source of up-to-date information about official listings in their respective areas, although the law provides for the collection of centralized information in the dozen or so larger regional documentation centers and Warsaw's Center for Documentation of Historic Monuments. Municipalities may also maintain their own registers of historic properties which are considered worthy of local protection in town plans.

d. Monuments of History

In 1991, a new category of recognition was added, known as "monuments of history." The Minister of Culture was given the authority to recommend sites of special significance to the country which will be accorded special protections and access to larger funding assistance. In 1994 the Parliament approved legal boundaries for monuments of history in fifteen cities and towns, including several which formerly had significant Jewish populations, such as sections of Krakow, Warsaw, Kazimierz Dolny, and Wroclaw. These boundaries are an example of the post-Communist demands for a transparent and legally accountable planning and preservation system. Although the historic significance of these areas has been recognized for a long time, the 1994 law for the first time maps official boundaries around the protected zones. Implementation of this law depends on the incorporation of these zones, with their combination of individually listed and contributory properties, into local plans developed with the advice and approval of the voivodship conservator.

e. Funding

Financing assistance for restoration is contemplated in the law, although severely constrained in practice, both under Communism and democracy, for different reasons. The Ministry of Culture has the authority to grant state funds amounting to 23 percent of project costs (and more, under certain circumstances). Voivodship conservators make recommendations on projects meriting assistance. A Church Fund, administered by the Board of Denominations in consultation with conservators,

¹⁷ Interview with Albert Soldani, Chief Legal Adviser, State Institute for the Protection of Monuments.

provides grants from a small budget for restoring religious buildings with recognized historic values; about 15 percent was granted to non-Catholic buildings in 1994.¹⁸

Voivodship conservators have also had access to voivod funds, although this varies considerably. In addition, since the fall of Communism, cities and towns have direct access to certain tax revenues and some are floating bonds for capital investments in infrastructure. Only limited funds have so far been available locally for historic preservation, depending on the vigor of the local economy, competing needs, and community interest in historic restoration.

Krakow has a unique state budget line, the National Fund for Krakow Monuments Restoration, established in 1978 in recognition of the city's status as a World Heritage Site. Since 1990 the fund has been managed by a committee of officials and private experts. The fund has assisted a number of secular and religious restorations, including in recent years several synagogues and adaptive re-use of a nineteenth-century *bet ha-midrash* (prayer house).¹⁹

Private foundations from abroad have provided some restoration funds for projects, and there has been some assistance from international organizations -- the Council of Europe and UNESCO, for example -- to protect Europe's common cultural heritage.²⁰

f. Cemeteries

Responsibility for protection of cemeteries rests with the Board for Conservation and Protection of Palaces, Gardens, and Cemeteries housed in the Ministry of Culture and Arts. The board's recommendations are based on assessments of historic, scientific, and aesthetic values, with the exception of war cemeteries, which are automatically granted monument status. Each minority religion, including Judaism, has a seat on this board, which also includes professional experts, voivodship conservators, and state preservation officials. Jan Jagielski, co-director of the survey for

¹⁸ Interview with Marek Pernal, Board of Denominations, March 1995. The Church Fund was established after the nationalization of properties owned by the Catholic Church.

¹⁹ Communication from Prof. Tadeusz Chrzanowski, president of the Citizen's Committee for Krakow Monuments Restoration, May 1995.

²⁰ Contributors include the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, which has funded memorial plaques on the site of Tarnow's almost completely destroyed synagogue and the World Monuments Fund, which is leading an effort, in partnership with the Krakow Jewish Community, the City of Krakow and the National Fund for Krakow Monuments Restoration to preserve the nineteenth-century Tempel Synagogue. The Council of Europe's Cultural Heritage program has recently completed an action plan for Kazimierz premised on that district's historic role as a center of religious co-existence.

this report and director of documentation for the Jewish Historical Institute, represents Jewish interests.

3. Jewish Sites and Polish Monuments Law

a. Register Listing of Jewish Sites

In 1964 the official monuments list, containing over 35,000 entries, listed 8 Jewish cemeteries and 72 synagogues.²¹ Today, according to the latest figures, about 172 Jewish cemeteries in Poland are recognized monuments, with the majority of listings dating from 1986 on.²² About a hundred synagogues are currently listed, with some thirty more on various city and town registers. The number of listings increased rapidly in the beginning of the decade, as professionals and advocates who had been working quietly to document and preserve what they could, began to operate more openly.

Until the end of the 1980's, the record of official attention to historic buildings and sites associated with prewar Jewish life was spasmodic. Credit for documentation of synagogues and other Jewish monuments belongs to small groups of Polish and Jewish conservators, art historians, and architects, dating back to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Outstanding among those working in the 1920s and 1930s were war and Holocaust victims Professor Oskar Sosnowski, director of the department of documentation of the Institute of Polish Architecture, and Szymon Zajczyk. After the devastation of the Nazi years, limited documentation under Communism of Jewish sites in smaller towns and villages emerged in the course of field surveys of rural landscapes by conservation professionals in the early 1960's and 1973. Interesting studies were completed for Zamosc, Wlodawa, Szydlow, and Tykocin with some official funding, and other work -- in Lesko, Torun, Kielce, and Lublin, for example -- was stimulated by intellectuals outside of government. The dedicated research of architects Maria and Kazmierz Piechotka, former members of the Institute staff, resulted in the publication of *Wooden Synagogues* in 1957, the definitive work on that sadly lost heritage. But overall, the record is clouded by acts of official omission and commission in the extensive losses to Jewish historic sites since World War II.

Despite the recent increase in register listing, it is generally agreed that listing is by no means complete (and in fact that the entire list of registered monuments in Poland inadequately represents

²¹ Bergman, "Monuments of Jewish Culture in the People's Republic of Poland," *op. cit.*

²² Information provided by Jan Jagielski.

current preservation values). The pace of listing has slowed somewhat in recent years, apparently as a result of the extensive paperwork involved and the lack of funds.

In a situation where listing has been spasmodic and uneven, the question arises, why have some Jewish sites been listed, and others not?

One reason is that some voivodships have been more active in monuments listing of Jewish sites than others. This pattern does not consistently reflect an historically larger Jewish population or more valuable architectural legacy. More likely, a critical difference exists among voivodship conservators in interpreting the law's intent with respect to listing of these sites. Although language in the law provides for flexibility in listing criteria, some hold to a narrower definition of architectural value.

Another reason, relevant to listing of cemetery sites, is that monuments policy provides that only those with gravestones can be considered for designation on the basis of artistic values. Otherwise, the nomination must be assessed for its historic values, a more difficult standard. Jewish religious leaders, preservationists, and others propose that all Jewish cemeteries -- with or without gravestones -- be designated as monuments both to respect religious law which prescribes the sanctity of those sites in perpetuity and the special circumstances of Jewish history in Poland. A comparison of listed and unlisted cemeteries shows that, in addition to the presence of gravestones, sites most likely to be listed are centuries old, associated with important Jewish historic figures, near larger cities and towns, and are visited by organized Jewish groups, pilgrimages, and individual visitors.

Knowledgeable observers caution against looking for a rational pattern in what is listed, and not listed, among Jewish historic sites. They say that monument designation, certainly in the past, resulted from happenstance more than preservation logic or a consistent national policy -- an interested voivodship conservator or local scholar, pressure from religious groups and visitors, and the like.²³

b. The Value of Monument Designation for Jewish Sites

Despite the gap between the exhortations in the law and reality on the ground, monuments listing provides many tangible and intangible benefits. Unlike environmental law, which was virtually developed *de novo* in the post-Communist era, Poland has a recognized and respected legal system with specific protections for sites and structures that are included under its purview. Listing is a threshold requirement for access to various public subsidies for restoration, and for intervention by

²³ Conversation with Eleonora Bergman, March 1993.

voivodship conservators. Moreover, listing is an honor, and an important statement about inclusion in the national patrimony. Listing can help provide assurances to investors and donors within the country and abroad of official support. It can help attract tourism. Listing also serves an educational role to elevate community awareness of a monument's value among local citizens and can help build critical local interest in preservation.

Under Communism, limited funding was directed, at times, for restoring some Jewish monuments. Over a dozen synagogues were restored with state and voivod funds during the 1970's and 1980's -- including the synagogues in Tykocin, Wlodawa, and Szczebrzeszyn, and the Nozyk synagogue, the sole remaining synagogue in Warsaw. Warsaw's conservator provided funds for Nozyk's restoration, and another restoration, in Dzierzoniow, was assisted by the Church Fund. Restoration of the precious synagogues in Orla and Pinczow, and the Izaak synagogue in Krakow, was begun in the 1980's. The turmoil of political transformation at the end of the decade, however, ended the small funding for these projects.

Today, ironically, Poland's preservation and planning system is more receptive to listing and restoration, but since state subsidies are extremely constrained, the results on the ground are not yet so different. There is much discussion of the need to craft a new financing system in keeping with the transformed economy -- with more emphasis on tax incentives and other financing methods to attract private investment and local funding and spark public private partnerships -- but this is still evolving.

The challenges go beyond crafting subsidies and incentives to devising sensitive, informed preservation solutions compatible with cities and towns experiencing an unaccustomed pace of change. This is especially important for the often modest buildings in the Jewish architectural and historic legacy. Encouraged by its monuments law, Poland has excelled in the use of historic buildings for offices, foundations, educational centers, and other uses which could be accommodated without substantial change in the interior, as well as the exterior. There has been surprisingly little experience with the adaptive re-use familiar in the United States which attempts to accommodate modern uses and balance preservation with development.

Two recent examples involving historic Jewish buildings illustrate the new development challenges and the critical role monuments listing can play in setting the legal context for negotiated solutions. One project in Jewish Kazimierz involved major alteration to the interior of a nineteenth-century prayer house in order to create a modern conference center and school. This is part of a larger hotel/restuarant complex. Another involved the ruins of the *yeshiva* (Jewish school) of Gora Kalwaria in Warsaw listed as a monument in 1993. Once adjacent to the now-destroyed Warsaw Yeshiva, it was recognized as an historic vestige representative of hundreds of such Jewish schools.

Now the ruins will be integrated into the new structure. While the architectural solutions in these two projects are not uniformly praised, they represent the kind of experimentation needed in an economy experiencing a different pace and type of development.

Cemeteries present a special case. Jewish religious officials have argued that cemeteries should be protected with automatic listing, much as is the case for Polish war cemeteries. Survey findings show that listing offers some protection from conversion of sites to commercial and industrial uses, although a number -- with documented artistic and historic values -- were found unfortunately to be at risk. Threats range from pollution to incompatible development and use. Listed sites with reported serious threats include the two Krakow cemeteries (pollution); Popowo Koscielne (vandalism and pollution); Jastrowie and Miroslawiec (erosion, vandalism, and security); Radomskie (erosion); Tomaszow Mazowiecki (overgrown vegetation); Tarnow (vandalism); Zabno (vandalism and security); Wasilkow II (nearby incompatible development and security); Dobrodzien (vandalism); Praszka (vandalism); and Gdansk-Chelm (nearby incompatible development, security, vandalism, and overgrown vegetation).

Some of these threats have since been ameliorated, largely through citizen initiatives and financial assistance from the United States, Israel, and private foundations. Seed money from the Polish government to establish the Remembrance Foundation has helped spark private, voivodship, and community involvement in protection.

Listing of cemeteries and other sites will be more effective in the future as the monuments review process is strengthened.

c. Historic Markers

At this writing, more historic plaques are beginning to appear on listed buildings and sites. This remains the exception rather than the rule, however. Even when plaques are affixed, few provide viewers with information that would help them understand more fully the legacy of the vibrant Jewish communities -- sometimes a third or even a majority of the local population -- which the listed building or cemetery has outlasted.

The voivodship conservator has legal authority to recommend that markers be installed on official monuments, but cannot affix them on private or municipally owned buildings or order them to be affixed. The Remembrance Foundation has sent specially designed markers to a number of mayors and conservators, and succeeded in having these placed on about thirty cemeteries and other sites.

4. Conclusion: Closing the Gap between Law and Reality

As this chapter makes clear, a sizable gap between the protections envisioned in Poland's comprehensive monuments protection law and reality continues to exist. This is true of Poland's large heritage of monuments and sites, and its substantial legacy of buildings and sites associated with the Jewish presence in Poland.

While this chapter has focused on ways to ensure greater protection to Jewish sites under Poland's monuments laws, it is evident that this goal will be enhanced by the success of efforts to strengthen and fund Poland's entire preservation system and integrating monument listing with sympathetic planning, development, and investment. One is linked to the other: efforts to landmark historic sites associated with centuries of Jewish settlement, and to ensure an appropriate place in the Polish national patrimony, will be most effective in a system of preservation targeted to authentic revitalization of older neighborhoods and historic centers. Protection of historic Jewish sites are part of this larger planning challenge.

Another over-arching need concerns agreement on the process to provide for the return of properties to responsible Jewish communities and private owners, and structuring a system of financing and incentives to help owners be responsible stewards of historic properties. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the complexities of this difficult issue, now being reviewed in Parliament, it is important to emphasize its connection to the future of the historic legacy discussed here. Clouded titles are a cause of continuing loss, and illegal, unplanned building. In town after town, there are neglected structures and plots where ownership is in dispute and reinvestment is hindered. The headquarters building of the Jewish Historical Institute and the Wroclaw Synagogue have restoration funds available, but work is held off until titles are cleared.

By the same token, transfer of properties will not automatically resolve problems of planning and reinvestment for the legacy of Jewish monuments, and indeed may raise new ones. It is essential that agreement include a process, linked to monuments and planning laws, to ensure that historic, cultural, and architectural values in privatized or transferred properties are appropriately assessed, and that designation in turn provide access incentives and subsidies, perhaps from a fund created as part of the compensation system.

Other needed steps include:

- Recognize diverse cultures fully in the national patrimony, so that listed sites represent an authentic picture of Polish history. The special category of "monuments of national history" should similarly incorporate multi-cultural values.

- Document more completely the full range of significant sites and properties associated with Jewish life. So far many categories beyond synagogues and cemeteries -- prayer houses, ritual baths, burial preparation buildings, Jewish schools and orphanages, hospitals, and communal offices -- have not been systematically surveyed. Current government estimates are said to be far too low.²⁴

- Accelerate register listing for Jewish sites. The register process is an accepted signal to officials and private owners alike to consult with the voivodship conservator throughout planning and development.

- Forge stronger linkages between monuments review and local planning, development, and investment. Given the evolution of independent local governments with planning powers and access to funds, clarification is needed about the respective roles of voivodship conservators and town planning authorities. Conservators need funds to add clout to their legal authority. At the same time, it is essential to raise local officials' awareness of conservation values and the importance of encouraging investment in historic urban centers. Their role is key.

- Strengthen the regulatory process and penalties without imposing unneeded bureaucracy and constraints to needed investment. If the system is to work in a private economy, there must be enough money for it to be accountable, responsive, and efficient.

- Given the incomplete state of documentation and landmarking of Jewish sites, Polish conservation officials should consider an interim legal arrangement to grant threatened but unlisted properties eligibility under certain circumstances for the reviews that would be triggered if they were already designated. Such provisions in the United States, which apply to development proposals that involve federal investment, have prevented losses due to incomplete surveys and delays in processing register listings.

- Recognize the importance of nonregulatory incentives and tax reform in a market economy. Reforms to encourage private investment and private donations -- through tax benefits, subsidies, and the like -- have been important spurs in the United States and Western Europe, and are needed in Poland.

- Develop guidelines to implement historic town and conservation zones, and continue efforts to negotiate preservation solutions which combine authenticity with more flexibility than in the past. Poland has been accustomed to extremes: either painstaking preservation or demolition by neglect.

²⁴ "Jewish Property," *Zycie Warszawy*, 18 May 1995.

The first major adaptive use project in Krakow was only recently completed. More efforts along these lines are essential to develop models and guidelines for redeveloping historic centers. Some places need to be set aside for no change and -- a new challenge for Polish preservation -- other places need to respond to change without compromising authenticity and historic values.

- Provide more specialized training on Jewish art, history, and conservation for monuments conservators. The Ministry of Culture and Academy of Sciences have, with small amounts of funds, provided needed educational opportunities to deepen Polish conservators' specialized knowledge of Jewish art and monuments. Several, for example, have been organized by the Jewish Historical Institute on cemeteries and stone conservation. More are needed. Other types of meetings -- for example, involving local officials and civic/citizen/professional groups for example, on linkages between urban revitalization and historic Jewish sites -- would be useful.
- Seek out collaborative opportunities, early on, in major urban and regional development/tourism schemes. Scarce funds for documentation, sensitive planning, and restoration of historic resources may become available from government and private sources when major reinvestment is planned. Early involvement of conservation professionals will help avoid threats to historic resources caused by inadequate planning and consultation.
- Develop and support programs and policies aimed at strengthening NGO partners of citizens and professionals, and their access to information and standing to raise issues and participate in project negotiations. The Citizens' Committee, professionals working on their own time, the Jewish Historical Institute, and citizen groups in Krakow, Warsaw, Kazimierz Dolny, and other places provide substantial examples of the catalytic role that private groups play in elevating public awareness of cultures and values which have been outside of the mainstream values and the gaps between law and reality. NGO's can play a critical supportive role in pulling together resources and players for constructive solutions. Their involvement as partners, as well as advocates and public educators, is essential in an era of limited public resources and increased pace of development.
- Grant recognition awards. Successful public and private initiatives and collaboration to protect the legacy of Jewish monuments -- large and small -- should be recognized in an awards program. These could include citations for community clean-up of cemeteries, creative uses of historic buildings, excellence in integrating restoration into the larger urban or countryside environmental, and developing revenue-generating projects. Such awards could also help transfer solutions and collaborative approaches.



Bialystok. The small synagogue on the old market square is a burnt-out ruin. There has been talk of turning the building into a museum. It is one of only three synagogues that survive in any form out of the sixty or more that existed before World War II.
(photo: S. Gruber 6/93)

APPENDIX I: SYNAGOGUES AND FORMER SYNAGOGUES IN POLAND

by Eleonora Bergman and Jan Jagielski

LOCATION ALPHABETICALLY BY REGION AND TOWN	LISTED ON MONUMENT REGISTER	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	CURRENT USE
BIALA PODLASKA			
Biala Podlaska (ul. Pocztowa 7)	yes		workshop
Biala Podlaska (ul. Lazienna 2)	yes		office
Parczew (ul. Piwonia 3)		19th c.	workshop
Parczew (ul. Piwonia 1)	yes	19th c.	cinema
BIALYSTOK			
Bialowieza		20th c.	
Bialystok		1936-7	art gallery
Bialystok (ul. Piekna)	708/88	19th c.	in restoration
Bialystok (ul. Branicka)	406/77	1920s	gymnasium
Krynki (ul. Garbarska 5)	709/88	1756	ruin (foundations only)
Krynki (ul. Pilsudskiego 5)	443/66	19th c.	cinema
Krynki (ul. Czysta 10)	221/66	19th c.	warehouse
Mielnik (Rynek/ul. Brzeska)	477/79	late 19th c.	warehouse
Milejczyce (ul. Borowika)	560/86	1927	ruin
Orla	30/53	17th c.	in restoration
Siemiatycze (ul. Zaszkolna 1)	137/58	1795	cultural center
Siemiatycze (ul. Palacowa 10)	763/92	1893	library
Tykocin (ul. Kozia)	81/57	1642	Jewish museum
Tykocin (ul. Kozia)	172/62	19th c.	museum

BIELSKO-BIALA			
Kalwaria Zebrzydowska		19th c.	store
Oswiecim		19th c.	
Oswiecim (ul. Koscielna)		19th c.	store
BYDGOSZCZ			
Fordon (ul. Stycznia 21)	261/1	18th c.	being renovated
Gniewkowo			
Inowroclaw			
Koronowo		1856	store
CHELM			
Chelm (ul. Kopernika 8)	116/22	1912	technical club
Wlodawa (ul. Czerwonego Krzyza 7)	20/169	1764	museum
Wlodawa (ul. Czerwonego Krzyza 7)	20/169	19th c.	museum
Wojslawice	131/37	1890	library
CIECHANOW			
Biezun		c. 1904	cinema
Dzialdowo		late 19th c.	cinema
Raciaz		19th c.	vocational school
Radzanow (ul. Mlawska)	yes	1907	library
CZESTOCHOWA			
Konieczpol		mid-19th c.	ruin
Krzepice (Kuzniczka village)	A/57	c. 1825	ruin
Praszka (ul. Pilsudskiego 27)	A/223	c. 1850	cultural center
Szczekociny		19th c.	warehouse

ELBLAG			
Kwidzyn (ul. Batalionow Chlopskich 55)	159/90		workshop
Susz (ul. Waska 3)	local listing	19th c.	cultural center
GDANSK			
Starogard Gdanski (ul. Rycerska 2)	948/85	1849	store
Wrzeszcz (ul. Partyzantow 73)	993/87	1927	music school
GORZOW WIELKOPOLSKI			
Dobiegniew		19th c.	warehouse
Kostrzyn		early 19th c.	apartments
Miedzyszec		1st half 19th c.	warehouse
Osno Lubuskie		19th c.	apartments
Pszczew		2nd half 19th c.	garage
Trzciel			fire station
JELENA GORA			
Boleslawiec		19th c.	gymnasium
Bolkow (ul. Kraszewskiego 8)	local listing	19th c.	apartments
Kamienna Gora			offices
Kowary (ul. Poprzeczna 5)	local listing		warehouse
Luban (ul. Grunwaldzka 11)	924/J		store
KALISZ			
Grabow		19th c. ?	cinema
Jaraczewo		end of 19th c.	cultural center
Jarocin			
Kepno (ul. Starotargowa)	680	1814	in restoration
Kozminek			

Odolanow		19th c.	apartments, shop
Ostrow Wielkopolski (ul. Raszowska 21)	5340	1857-60	in restoration
Pleszew		1830	warehouse
KATOWICE			
Bierun Stary			
Bytom			prayer house
Chrzanow (ul. 3 Maja 9)	yes		store
Gliwice (ul. Dolnych Walow)		19th c.	prayer house
Katowice (ul. Mlynska)			prayer house
Pilica			workshop
Pszczyna			cinema
Siemianowice			prayer house
Slawkow		early 20th c.	argricultural club
Trzebinia			workshop
Wodzislaw Slaski			cinema
Zawiercie			shop
KIELCE			
Busko (ul. Partyzantow 6)	861/75	1927	store
Checiny (ul. Długa 19)	276/67	1638	library
Chmielnik (ul. Wspolna)	119/66	1630	ruin, new roof
Dzialoszyce (ul. Krasickiego 2)	1039/88	1852	ruin
Kielce (ul. Warszawska 17)	1038/87	1902-14	state archive
Kielce		1921	warehouse
Koszyce			abandoned
Ksiaz Wielki		1846	ruin
Miechow		early 20th c.	cafe, office
Nowa Slupia		20th c.	workshop

Nowy Korczyn (ul. Zamkowa)	129/67	1855	ruin
Pinczow (ul. Klasztorna 8)	360/67	16th-17th c.	in restoration
Skarzysko-Kamienna (ul. Fabryczna)	1114/91	1935	in restoration
Szydłow (ul. Targowa)	476/67	before 1564	cultural center (now empty)
Wodzisław (ul. Arianska 1)	209/67	17th c.	ruin
KONIN			
Babiak		19th c.	apartments
Dabie (ul. Konopnickiej 4)	222/1555/74	1890	apartments
Grabów		late 19th c.	warehouse
Kleczew		2nd half 19th c.	cinema
Konin (ul. Mickiewicza 2)	96/246/68	1832, 1878	library
Konin (ul. Mickiewicza)	96/246/68	mid-19th c.	library
Konin		2nd half 19th c.	apartments
Pyzdry		1893	workshops
Słupca		2nd half 19th c.	offices
Sompolno		late 19th c.	library
Turek		mid-19th c.	cinema
Ziemięcin		2nd half 19th c.	apartments

KRAKOW			
Krakow (Stara)	A-34/73	1495	Jewish museum
Krakow (Remu)	A-33/73	1553	synagogue
Krakow (Tempel)	A-701/86	1862	synagogue
Krakow (Izaak)	A-32/73	1640-44	in restoration
Krakow (Kupa)	A-700/86	1647	warehouse
Krakow (Bociana)	A-305/66	1620	house of culture
Krakow (Wysoka)	A-91/73	1563	conservation workshops
Krakow (Koba Itij)		19th c.	butcher shop
Krakow (Deichesa)	A-838/90		office
Krakow (Bnei Emuna)			Jewish cultural center
Krakow (Figuera)			ruin
Krakow (ul. Szpitalna 24)	A-543/68		Rus. Orthodox church
Krakow (Podgorze)			abandoned
Krzeszowice (for women)		late 19th c.	fire station
Krzeszowice (for men)		late 19th c.	abandoned
Skawina		early 20th c.	offices
Slomniki		19th c.	workshops
Wieliczka (for men) (ul. Wiejska)	A-570/87	end 18th c.	warehouse
Wieliczka (for women) (ul. Wiejska)	A-570/87	end 18th c.	warehouse
Wieliczka (ul. Seraf 11)	A-571/87	c. 1911	workshops, apartments
Wisniowa		19th-20th c.	in restoration
KROSNO			
Biecz (Rynek 20)	A-186	mid-19th c.	press club
Dukla (ul. Cergowska)	A-187	1750	ruin
Lesko	A-142	17th c.	cultural center
Rymonow	A-273	17th c.	ruin
Sanok (Plac Zamkowy)	A-246	early 19th c.	archives

Ustrzyki Dolne		late 19th c.	library
LEGNICA			
Legnica (ul. Chojnowska 12)		2nd half 19th c.	prayer house
LESZNO			
Bojanowo (ul. Bojanowskiego 5)	1177 A/91	1859	club, apartments
Leszno (ul. Narutowicza 31)	1197 A/	1628	museum
Leszno (ul. Srednia 4)	1139 A/	18th c.	apartments
Piaski Wielkopolskie (ul. Warszawska 3)	1325 a/	19th c.	apartments
Pogorzela		19th c.	apartments
Rawicz (village Sarnowa)		19th c.	apartments
LODZ			
Glowno			restaurant
Lodz (ul. Rewolucji 1905, nr. 88)		1900	active synagogue
Lodz (ul. Zachodnia 78)			prayer house
Lodz (ul. Piotrkowska 114/116)	A-13	1897	in restoration
LOMZA			
Ciechanowiec (ul. Mostowa)	A-132	late 19th c.	in restoration
Cyzew-Osada (ul. Pivna)	A-207	late 19th c.	ruin
Grajewo		late 19th c.	cinema
Kolno (ul. Strazacka)	A-65	after mid-19th c.	abandoned
Rutki-Kossaki		late 19th c.	shop
Stawiski		18th c.	fire-station
Szumowo	A-314	1936	Catholic parish house

LUBLIN			
Bychawa (Rynek)	yes	1810	abandoned
Deblin		29th c.	warehouse
Kazimierz Dolny (ul. Lubelska 4)	yes	18th c.	cinema
Kraśnik (ul. Bozniczna 2)	yes	1637	in restoration
Kraśnik (ul. Bozniczna 2)	yes	17th c.	in restoration
Lublin (ul. Lubartowska 8)	452		prayer hall and museum
Lublin			Board of Polish Catholic Church
Leczna (ul. Bozniczna 17)	A/444/70	1648	Jewish museum
Urzedow			nursery school
NOWY SACZ			
Bobowa	A-531/80	1756	in restoration
Gorlice (ul. Piekarska 3)		c.1880	bakery
Grybow (ul. Kilinskiego)		19th-20th c.	abandoned
Nowy Sacz (ul. Boznicza 1)		1746/1910	art gallery
Nowy Sacz (ul. Jagiellonska 50)	local listing		apartments
Nowy Sacz			apartments
Stary Sacz		1905	workshops
OLSZTYN			
Barczewo (ul. Kosciuszki 7/9)	A-2034/87	mid-19th c.	museum of weaving
Dabrowna (ul. Grunwaldzka)	A-4150/91	19th c.	warehouse
Mragowo			Rus. Orthodox church
Orneta		19th c.	apartments

OPOLE			
Brzeg (ul. Długa 61)	yes	1799	apartments
Glogowek (ul. Szkolna)		2nd half 19th c.	shops, warehouse
Namyslow (ul. Dubois 19)	yes		gymnasium
Opole (ul. Szpitalna 1)	yes	1st half 19th c.	warehouse
Strzelce Opolskie		2nd half 19th c.	offices
OSTROLEKA			
Krasnosielec		early 20th c.	warehouse for fertilizers
Makow Mazowiecki (Zielony Rynek 5)	302/88	end 19th c.	apartments
PILA			
Ryczywol		20th c.	apartments
Wyrzysk (ul. Pocztowa 6)		19th c.	furniture warehouse
PIOTRKOW TRYBUNALSKI			
Inowlodz (ul. Tuwima)	273/77	1st half 19th c.	library
Opoczno		18th c.	cinema
Piotrkow Trybunalski (ul. Jerozolimska)	117/67	19th c.	library
Piotrkow Trybunalski (ul. Jerozolimska)	118/67	1781	library
Rozprza		1898	library, offices
Wolborz			apartments
PLOCK			
Czerwinsk		late 19th c.	cinema
Krosniewice			cinema
Plock (ul. Kwiatka 7)	103/513/62 W	1810	in restoration
Zychlin		1880	abandoned

POZNAN			
Buk (ul. Mury 7)	2146/A/88	1905	residence
Mosina (ul. Niezłomnych 1)	2075/A	19th c.	regional museum
Obrzycko (ul. Krupicka 5)	yes	19th c.	showroom
Pniewy (ul. Mickiewicza 14)	yes	early 20th c.	showroom
Poznan (ul. Wroniecka 17)	local listing	1912	swimming pool
Sierakow (ul. Sokola 4)	2229/A	19th c.	cinema
Sroda Wielkopolska			library
PRZEMYSL			
Cieszanów		1889	warehouse
Jarosław			office
Jarosław		1807-11	school
Jarosław		early 19th c.	library
Medyka		20th c.	abandoned
Przemysl		1910	library
Przemysl - Zasanie			to be restored as art gallery
Radymno		1918	shops
Stary Dzikow			ruin
Wielkie Oczy		19th c.	abandoned
RADOM			
Ciepielów (ul. Zrodłana)	144/A/82	late 19th c.	warehouse
Gniewoszow		19th cent	fire-station
Grojec			warehouse
Przysucha (Pl. S. Zeromskiego)	128/A/82	1730	abandoned
Szydłowiec		19th c.	workshop

RZESZOW			
Czudec (ul. Sloneczna)	yes	2nd half 19th c.	library
Kolbuszowa (ul. Piekarska 17)	yes	1825	museum
Lancut (Pl. Sobieskiego 17)	yes	1761	Jewish Museum
Niebylec	yes	19th c.	library
Rzeszow (ul. Boznicza 4)	yes	after 1617	archive
Rzeszow (ul. Jana III Sobieskiego 18)	yes	after 1686	art gallery
Sokolow Malopolski (ul. Lubelska 5)	yes	late 19th c.	cultural center
Strzyzow (ul. Przeclawczyka 6)	yes	late 18th c.	library
SIEDLCE			
Kosów Lacki		20th c.	flour-mill
Siedlce		19th c.	warehouse
Sokolow Podlaski			store
Sokolow Podlaski		mid-19th c.	office
SIERADZ			
Burzenin			abandoned
Lask			fire station
Osjakow			abandoned
Sieradz (ul. Wodna 7)	local listing	1819-24	workshop
Szadek		19th c.	ruin, to be restored
Warta			apartments
Warta			beer hall
Widawa			workshop
SKIERNIEWICE			
Biala Rawska		mid-19th c.	fire-station
Skierniewice (ul. Batorego 19)	797/91	mid-19th c.	joiner's shop

SUWALKI			
Krasnopol		2nd half 19th c.	warehouse
Punsk (ul. Mickiewicza 58)	808/90	19th-20th c.	shop, apartments
Sejny (ul. Pilsudskiego 41)	534/15/D/79	1860	cultural center, restored
Sejny (ul. Pilsudskiego 37)	yes	c. 1850	art gallery, offices
SZCZECIN			
Szczecin (ul. Niemcewicza 2)			prayer house
TARNOBRZEG			
Klimontow (Rynek)	107/A	1851	in restoration
Modliborzyce (ul. Zamkowa 1)	138/A	1760	cultural center
Nisko			cooperative
Opatow			cinema
Ozarow		late 19th c.	abandoned
Polaniec (ul. Mielecka 7)	319/A	18th c.	workshop
Sandomierz (ul. Basztowa)	6/A	1758	archive
Tarlow		1780	ruin
Tarnobrzeg		18th-19th c.	library

TARNOW			
Bochnia		1932	office
Bochnia		19th c.	restaurant
Brzesko		after 1904	library
Brzostek		late 19th c.	hotel
Dabrowa Tarnowska (ul. Berka Joselewicza)	A/324/89	1868	ruin
Debica		18th c.	small shops
Radlow (ul. Kosciuszki 4)	A/139/77	19th c.?	cinema
Tarnow (Plac Rybny)	579/34	c. 1630	protected ruin
Tarnow (ul. Goldhammera 1)		20th c.	prayer house
TORUN			
Radzyn Chelminski (ul. Podgrodzie 7)	606/90	19th c.	apartments
WALBRZYCH			
Dzierzoniow (ul. Krasickiego 28)	local listing	c. 1870	in restoration
Strzegom		14th c.	church since 1454
Swidnica (ul. Bohaterow Getta 22)			prayer house
Walbrzych (ul. Mickiewicza 18)			prayer house
Ziebice (ul. Waska 9)	1353/WI/91		warehouse
WARSAW			
Falenica (ul. Bambusowa 9)		20th c.	apartments
Gora Kalwaria (ul. Pijarska)		1903	shops, apartments
Gora Kalwaria (ul. Pijarska)		c. 1900	warehouse
Warsaw (ul. Twarda 6)	873	1892-1902	active synagogue

WLOCLOWEK			
Izbica Kujawska (ul. 21 Stycznia)		c. 1870	furniture shop
Lubraniec (ul. Brzeska 10)	53/447/A/60 & 81	early 19th c.?	cultural center
WROCLAW			
Bierutow		19th c.	gymnasium
Brzeg Dolny		before 1688	fire station
Jawor		1364	Catholic church since 1438
Olesnica		15th c.	Evangelical church since 16th c.
Wroclaw		1903	prayer house
Wroclaw (ul. Wlodkowica 7)	203	1829	ruin
ZAMOSC			
Jozefow Bilgorajski (Pl. Wolnosci 13)	A-119/437	18th c.	library
Laszczow (ul. Rycerska)	A-135/457	1782	ruin
Laszczow			cinema
Szczebrzeszyn (ul. Sadowa 3)	A-131/475	17th c.	cultural center
Tarnograd (Rynek)	A-55/211	1686	cultural center
Zamosc (ul. Zamenhofa)	A-55/211	1620	library
Zamosc - Osada (ul. Gminna 32)	A-85/306	1866-72	nursary school
ZIELONA GORA			
Wolsztyn (ul. Poznanska 17)		1896	cinema
Zbaszyn		1885-90	apartments
Zary		early 20th c.	prayer house

APPENDIX II: TOWNS SURVEY LISTED ALPHBETICALLY (WITH REGION)

Adamow (Siedlce)	Bobrowniki (Lublin)	Chojnice (Bydgoszcz)
Aleksandrow (Lodz)	Bobwa (Nowy Sacz)	Chojnow (Legnica)
Aleksandrow Kujawski (Wloclawek)	Bochnia (Tarnow)	Choroszcz (Bialystok)
Andrzejewo (Lomza)	Bocki (Bialystok)	Chorzele (Ostroleka)
Annopol (Tarnobrzeg)	Bodzanow (Plock)	Chorzow (Katowice)
Augustow (Suwalki)	Bodzentyn (Kielce)	Choszczno (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Bakalarzewo (Suwalki)	Bogoria (Tarnobrzeg)	Chrzanow (Katowice)
Baligrod (Krosno)	Boguslawie (Szczecin)	Ciechanow (Ciechanow)
Banie (Szczecin)	Bojanowo (Leszno)	Ciechanowiec (Lomza)
Baranow (Lublin)	Boleslawiec (Kalisz)	Ciechocinek (Wloclawek)
Baranow Sandomierski (Tarnobrzeg)	Boleszkowice (Gorzow Wielkopolski)	Ciepielow (Radom)
Barcin (Bydgoszcz)	Bolimow (Skierniewice)	Cieszanow (Przemysl)
Barczewo (Olsztyn)	Borek-Wlkp (Leszno)	Cieszowa (Czestochowa)
Barlinek (Gorzow Wielkopolski)	Bransk (Bialystok)	Cieszyn (Bielsko-Biala)
Bartoszyce (Olsztyn)	Brodnica (Torun)	Cisna (Krosno)
Barwice (Koszalin)	Brojce (Gorzow Wielkopolski)	Cycom (Chelm)
Bedkow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)	Brok (Ostroleka)	Czaplinek (Koszalin)
Bedzin (Katowice)	Brzeg (Opole)	Czarne (Slupsk)
Belchatow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)	Brzeg Dolny (Wroclaw)	Czarnkow (Pila)
Belzyce (Lublin)	Brzesc Kujawski (Wloclawek)	Czarny Dunajec (Nowy Sacz)
Berzniki (Suwalki)	Brzesko (Tarnow)	Czechowice-Dziedzice (Katowice)
Biala Rawska (Skierniewice)	Brzeziny (Skierniewice)	Czeladz (Katowice)
Biala Podlaska (Biala Podlaska)	Brzeznicza Nowa (Czestochowa)	Czempin (Poznan)
Biala (Opole)	Brzostek (Tarnow)	Czerniejewo (Poznan)
Bialobrzegi (Radom)	Brzozow (Krosno)	Czersk (Bydgoszcz)
Bialogard (Koszalin)	Budzyn (Pila)	Czerwinsk (Plock)
Bialy Bor (Koszalin)	Buk (Poznan)	Czestochowa (Czestochowa)
Bialystok (Bialystok)	Bukowsko (Krosno)	Czlopa (Pila)
Biecz (Krosno)	Burzenin (Sieradz)	Czluchow (Slupsk)
Bielsk Podlaski (Bialystok)	Busko-Zdroj (Kielce)	Czudec (Rzeszow)
Bierun Stary (Katowice)	Bychawa (Lublin)	Czyzew-Osada (Lomza)
Biezun (Ciechanow)	Byczyna (Opole)	Dabie (Konin)
Bierutow (Wroclaw)	Bydgoszcz (Bydgoszcz)	Dabrowa Bialostocka (Bialystok)
Bilgoraj (Zamosc)	Bytom (Katowice)	Dabrowa Gornicza (Katowice)
Bircza (Przemysl)	Cedynia (Szczecin)	Dabrowa Tarnowska (Tarnow)
Biskupice (Lublin)	Checiny (Kielce)	Dabrownno (Olsztyn)
Biskupiec (Olsztyn)	Chelm (Chelm)	Daleszyce (Kielce)
Bisztynek (Olsztyn)	Chelmno (Torun)	Debica (Tarnow)
Blaszki (Sieradz)	Chelmza (Torun)	Debno (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Blazow (Rzeszow)	Chmielnik (Kielce)	Debrzno Wies (Pila)
Bledow (Radom)	Chodecz (Wloclawek)	Debrzno (Slupsk)
Bledzew (Gorzow Wielkopolski)	Chodel (Lublin)	Dobiegnow (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Blonie (Warsaw)	Chodziej (Pila)	Dobra (Konin)
Bobolice (Koszalin)	Chojna (Szczecin)	Dobra Nowogardzka (Szczecin)
		Dobre Miasto (Olsztyn)

Dobrodzien (Czestochowa)
Dobrzany (Szczecin)
Dobrzyca (Kalisz)
Dobrzyn (Wloclawek)
Dolsk (Poznan)
Dorohusk (Chelm)
Drawno (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Drawsko Pomorskie (Koszalin)
Drezenko (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Drobin (Plock)
Drohiczyn (Bialystok)
Drzewica (Radom)
Dubiecko (Przemysl)
Dubienka (Chelm)
Dukla (Krosno)
Dynow (Przemysl)
Dzialdowo (Ciechanow)
Dzialoszyce (Kielce)
Dzialoszyn (Sieradz)
Dzierzgon (Elblag)
Dzierzoniow (Walbrzych)
Elblag (Elblag)
Elk (Suwalki)
Filipow (Suwalki)
Firlej (Lublin)
Frampol (Zamosc)
Frombork (Elblag)
Fryszak (Rzeszow)
Gabin (Plock)
Garwolin (Siedlce)
Gasawa (Bydgoszcz)
Gdansk-Chelm (Gdansk)
Gdansk-Wrzeszcz (Gdansk)
Gizycko (Suwalki)
Gliwice (Katowice)
Glogow (Legnica)
Glogow Malopolski (Rzeszow)
Glogowek (Opole)
Glowaczow (Radom)
Glowno (Lodz)
Glubczyce (Opole)
Glusk (Lublin)
Gniew (Gdansk)
Gniewoszow (Radom)
Gniezno (Poznan)
Gogolin (Opole)
Golancz (Pila)
Goldap (Suwalki)
Golina (Konin)
Golub-Dobrzyn (Torun)
Goniadz (Lomza)
Gora Sl. (Leszno)
Gora Kalwaria (Warsaw)
Goraj (Zamosc)
Gorlice (Nowy Sacz)
Gorowo Ilaweckie (Olsztyn)
Gorzkow (Zamosc)
Gorzno (Torun)
Gorzow Wielkopolski (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Gorzow Slaski (Czestochowa)
Gostyn (Leszno)
Gostynin (Plock)
Gowarczow (Radom)
Goworowo (Ostroleka)
Grabow (Kalisz)
Grabow (Konin)
Grabowiec (Zamosc)
Grajewo (Lomza)
Grodek (Bialystok)
Grodzisk Mazowiecki (Warsaw)
Grodzisk Wlkp (Poznan)
Grodzisko Dolne (Rzeszow)
Grójec (Radom)
Grudziadz (Torun)
Grybow-Stolkowa (Nowy Sacz)
Gryfice (Szczecin)
Gryfino (Szczecin)
Horodlo (Zamosc)
Hrubieszow (Zamosc)
Ilow (Plock)
Ilza (Radom)
Inowlodz (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Inowroclaw (Bydgoszcz)
Izbica (Zamosc)
Iwaniska (Tarnobrzeg)
Jablonka Kos. (Lomza)
Jadow (Siedlce)
Jalowka (Bialystok)
Janow Czestochowski (Czestochowa)
Janow Podlaski (Biala Podlaska)
Janow Sokolski (Bialystok)
Janow Lubelski (Tarnobrzeg)
Janowiec Wlkp. (Bydgoszcz)
Janowiec (Lublin)
Jaraczewo (Kalisz)
Jarocin (Kalisz)
Jaroslaw (Przemysl)
Jarzowo (Olsztyn)
Jasienica Roielna (Krosno)
Jasionowka (Bialystok)
Jasliska (Krosno)
Jaslo (Krosno)
Jastrowie (Pila)
Jawor (Legnica)
Jaworzno (Katowice)
Jedrzejew (Kielce)
Jedwabne (Lomza)
Jeleniewo (Suwalki)
Jeziorany (Olsztyn)
Jezow (Skierniewice)
Jlawa (Olsztyn)
Jodlowa (Tarnow)
Jordanow (Nowy Sacz)
Jozefow Bilgorajski (Zamosc)
Jozefow nad Wisla (Lublin)
Jozefin (Szczecin)
Jutrosin (Leszno)
Kalisz (Kalisz)
Kaluszyn (Siedlce)
Kamien Krajenski (Bydgoszcz)
Kamien Pomorski (Szczecin)
Kamiensk (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Kamionka (Lublin)
Kanczuga (Przemysl)
Karczew (Warsaw)
Kartuzy (Gdansk)
Katowice (Katowice)
Katy (Wroclaw)
Kazanow (Radom)
Kazimierz Dolny (Lublin)
Kcynia (Bydgoszcz)
Kepno (Kalisz)
Ketrzyn (Olsztyn)
Kielce (Kielce)
Kiernozia (Plock)
Kikol (Wloclawek)
Klecko (Poznan)
Kleczew (Konin)
Kleszczele (Bialystok)

Klimontow (Tarnobrzeg)
Kłobrzeg (Koszalin)
Kłobuck (Czestochowa)
Kłodawa (Konin)
Kłodzko (Walbrzych)
Kluczbork (Opole)
Klwow (Radom)
Knyszyn (Białystok)
Kobuszowa (Rzeszow)
Kobyła Góra (Kalisz)
Kobylin (Leszno)
Kock (Lublin)
Koden (Biała Podlaska)
Kolbiel (Siedlce)
Kolincz (Gdansk)
Kolno (Łomża)
Kolo (Konin)
Komarow (Zamosc)
Komarowka Podlaska (Biała Podlaska)
Koniecpol (Czestochowa)
Konin (Konin)
Konskie (Kielce)
Konskowola (Lublin)
Konstantynow (Biała Podlaska)
Konstantynow (Łódź)
Koprzywnica (Tarnobrzeg)
Korczyzna (Krosno)
Kornik (Poznan)
Koronowo (Bydgoszcz)
Korycin (Białystok)
Koscian (Leszno)
Koscierzyna (Gdansk)
Kosow Lacki (Siedlce)
Kostrzyn (Gorzów Wielkopolski)
Koszalin (Koszalin)
Koszyce (Kielce)
Kowal (Włocławek)
Kowalewo Pomorskie (Torun)
Kozienice (Radom)
Kozle (Opole)
Kozmin (Kalisz)
Krajenka (Pila)
Krakow (Krakow)
Krapkowice (Opole)
Krasiczyn (Przemysl)
Krasniczyn (Chełm)

Krasnik (Lublin)
Krasnik-Gory (Lublin)
Krasnobrod (Zamosc)
Krasnopol (Suwalki)
Krasnosielc (Ostroleka)
Krasystaw (Chełm)
Krobia (Leszno)
Kroszienko (Nowy Sacz)
Krosniewice (Plock)
Krosno (Krosno)
Krosno Odrzańskie (Zielona Góra)
Krotoszyn (Kalisz)
Krylow (Zamosc)
Krynica (Nowy Sacz)
Krynki (Białystok)
Krzepice (Czestochowa)
Krzyszow (Tarnobrzeg)
Krzywca (Przemysl)
Krzywin (Leszno)
Książ Wielki (Kielce)
Książ Wlkp (Poznan)
Kuczbork-Osada (Ciechanow)
Kurow (Lublin)
Kutno (Plock)
Kuznica (Białystok)
Kwidzyn (Elblag)
Labiszyn (Bydgoszcz)
Labowa (Nowy Sacz)
Ladek-Zdroj (Walbrzych)
Lagow (Kielce)
Lancut (Rzeszow)
Lapsze Nizne (Nowy Sacz)
Lasin (Torun)
Lask (Sieradz)
Laskarzew (Siedlce)
Laszczow (Zamosc)
Latowicz (Siedlce)
Leczna (Lublin)
Leczyca (Plock)
Legnica (Legnica)
Lelow (Czestochowa)
Lendyczek (Pila)
Lesko (Krosno)
Lesnica (Opole)
Leszno (Leszno)
Lewin Brzeski (Opole)
Lezajsk (Rzeszow)

Lidzbark Welski (Ciechanow)
Lidzbark Warminski (Olsztyn)
Limanowa (Nowy Sacz)
Lipno (Włocławek)
Lipsk (Suwalki)
Lipsko (Radom)
Lobzenica (Pila)
Lodz (Łódź)
Lomazy (Biała Podlaska)
Łomża (Łomża)
Lopuszno (Kielce)
Losice (Biała Podlaska)
Łowicz Mszczonow (Skierniewice)
Lubaczow (Przemysl)
Lubartow (Lublin)
Lubasz (Pila)
Lubawa (Olsztyn)
Lubien Kujawski (Włocławek)
Lubin Leg. (Legnica)
Lublin (Lublin)
Lubliniec (Czestochowa)
Lubraniec (Włocławek)
Lubsko (Zielona Góra)
Lubycza Krolewska (Zamosc)
Lukow (Siedlce)
Lutomiersk (Sieradz)
Lutowiska (Krosno)
Lututow (Sieradz)
Lwowek (Poznan)
Lysobyki (Jeziorzany)
Maciejowice (Siedlce)
Magnuszew (Radom)
Majdan Krolewski (Tarnobrzeg)
Makow Mazowiecki (Ostroleka)
Malogoszcz (Kielce)
Margonin (Pila)
Markuszow (Lublin)
Miasteczko Slaskie (Katowice)
Miasteczko Krajenskie (Pila)
Michalowo (Białystok)
Michow (Lublin)
Miechow (Kielce)
Miedzochod (Gorzów Wielkopolski)
Miedzyrzec Podlaski (Biała Podlaska)

Miedzyrzecz (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Miejsce (Opole)
Mielec (Rzeszow)
Mielnik (Bialystok)
Miososzow (Walbrzych)
Miescisko (Poznan)
Mikolajki (Suwalki)
Mikolow (Katowice)
Mikstat (Kalisz)
Milakowo (Olsztyn)
Milejczyce (Bialystok)
Milicz (Wroclaw)
Miloslaw (Poznan)
Minsk Mazowiecki (Siedlce)
Miroslawiec (Pila)
Mlawa (Ciechanow)
Moczydly (Raczki) (Suwalki)
Modliborzyce (Tarnobrzeg)
Mogielnica (Radom)
Mogilno (Bydgoszcz)
Mokobody (Siedlce)
Morag (Olsztyn)
Mordy (Siedlce)
Moryn (Szczecin)
Mosina (Poznan)
Mragowo (Olsztyn)
Mrocza (Bydgoszcz)
Mstow (Czestochowa)
Mszana Dolan (Nowy Sacz)
Murowana Goslina (Poznan)
Muszyna (Nowy Sacz)
Myslenice (Krakow)
Mysliborz (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Myslowice (Katowice)
Myszyniec (Ostroleka)
Nadarzyn (Warsaw)
Naklo (Bydgoszcz)
Namyslow (Opole)
Narew (Bialystok)
Narewka (Bialystok)
Narol (Przemysl)
Nasielsk (Ciechanow)
Niebylec (Rzeszow)
Niedzica (Olsztyn)
Niemirów (Bialystok)
Niepolomice (Krakow)

Nieszawa (Wloclawek)
Niewdzica (Nowy Sacz)
Nisko (Tarnobrzeg)
Nowa Slupia (Kielce)
Nowa Sol (Zielona Gora)
Nowe (Bydgoszcz)
Nowe Brzesko (Krakow)
Nowe Miasteczko (Zielona Gora)
Nowe Miasto (Ciechanow)
Nowe Miasto nad Pilica (Radom)
Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (Torun)
Nowogard (Szczecin)
Nowogrod (Lomza)
Nowotaniec (Krosno)
Nowy Dwor (Bialystok)
Nowy Dwor (Warsaw)
Nowy Korczyn (Kielce)
Nowy Sacz (Nowy Sacz)
Nowy Targ (Nowy Sacz)
Nowy Wisnicz (Tarnow)
Nowy Zmigrod (Krosno)
Nur (Lomza)
Nysa (Opole)
Oborniki Wlkp (Poznan)
Obrzycko (Poznan)
Odolanow (Kalisz)
Okuniew (Warsaw)
Olawa (Wroclaw)
Olecko (Suwalki)
Olesnica (Wroclaw)
Olesno (Czestochowa)
Oleszyce (Przemysl)
Olpy (Tarnow)
Olsztyn (Olsztyn)
Olsztynek (Olsztyn)
Opatow (Tarnobrzeg)
Opoczno (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Opole Lubelskie (Lublin)
Opole (Opole)
Orla (Bialystok)
Orneta (Elblag)
Osieczna (Leszno)
Osiek (Tarnobrzeg)
Osjakow (Sieradz)
Osno Lubuskie (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Ostroda (Olsztyn)

Ostroleka (Ostroleka)
Ostrow Lubelski (Lublin)
Ostrow Mazowiecka (Ostroleka)
Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski (Kielce)
Ostrzeszow (Kalisz)
Otwock (Warsaw)
Ozarow (Tarnobrzeg)
Ozorkow (Lodz)
Pabianice (Lodz)
Pacanow (Kielce)
Pajeczno (Czestochowa)
Pakosc (Bydgoszcz)
Parczew (Biala Podlaska)
Parysow (Siedlce)
Paslek (Elblag)
Pelczyce (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Piaseczno (Warsaw)
Piaski (Lublin)
Piaski Wielkopolskie (Leszno)
Piatek (Plock)
Pieniezno (Elblag)
Pila (Pila)
Pilica (Katowice)
Pilzno (Tarnow)
Pinczow (Kielce)
Piotrkow Trybunalski (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Pisz (Suwalki)
Piszczac (Biala Podlaska)
Piwniczna (Nowy Sacz)
Plawno (Czestochowa)
Pleszew (Kalisz)
Plock (Plock)
Plonsk (Ciechanow)
Ploty (Szczecin)
Pniewy (Poznan)
Pobiedziska (Poznan)
Poddebice (Sieradz)
Podwilk (Nowy Sacz)
Pokoj (Opole)
Polajew (Pila)
Polaniec (Tarnobrzeg)
Polanow (Koszalin)
Polczyn Zdroj (Koszalin)
Polichnowo (Wloclawek)
Popowo Koscielne (Ostroleka)
Poznan (Poznan)

Poznan-Milostowo (Poznan)
Prabuty (Elblag)
Praszka (Czestochowa)
Proszowice (Krakow)
Prudnik (Opole)
Prusice (Wroclaw)
Pruszkow (Warsaw)
Przasnysz (Ostroleka)
Przedborz (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Przedecz (Konin)
Przemysl (Przemysl)
Przerosl (Suwalki)
Przeworsk (Przemysl)
Przyrow (Czestochowa)
Przysucha (Radom)
Przytyk (Radom)
Psie Pole (Wroclaw)
Pszczew (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Pszczyna (Katowice)
Puck (Gdansk)
Pulawy (Lublin)
Pultusk (Ciechanow)
Punsk (Suwalki)
Pyskowice (Katowice)
Pyzdry (Konin)
Rabka (Nowy Sacz)
Raciaz (Ciechanow)
Raciborz (Katowice)
Radom (Radom)
Radomsko (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Radomysl nad Sanem (Tarnobrzeg)
Radomysl Wielki (Tarnow)
Radosc (Warsaw)
Radoszyce (Kielce)
Radzanow (Ciechanow)
Radzilow (Lomza)
Radzyn Podlaski (Biala Podlaska)
Radzyn Chelminski (Torun)
Radzyna (Leszno)
Rajgrad (Lomza)
Rakoniewice (Poznan)
Rakow (Kielce)
Ranizow (Rzeszow)
Rawa Mazowiecka (Skierniewice)
Rawicz (Leszno)
Recz (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Rejowiec (Chelm)

Resko (Szczecin)
Reszel (Olsztyn)
Rogozno (Pila)
Ropczyce (Rzeszow)
Rossosz (Biala Podlaska)
Rozan (Ostroleka)
Rozprza (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Rudnik nad Sanem (Tarnobrzeg)
Rusko (Koszalin)
Rybaki (Zielona Gora)
Rybnik (Katowice)
Rybotycze (Przemysl)
Rychwal (Konin)
Ryczywol (Radom)
Ryczywol (Pila)
Ryglice (Tarnow)
Ryki (Lublin)
Rymanow (Krosno)
Ryn (Suwalki)
Rynarzewo (Bydgoszcz)
Rypin (Wloclawek)
Rzepiennik Strzyzewski (Tarnow)
Rzepin (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Rzeszow (Rzeszow)
Sandomierz (Tarnobrzeg)
Sanok (Krosno)
Sarnowa (Leszno)
Sawin (Chelm)
Scinawa (Legnica)
Secemin (Czestochowa)
Sedziszow Malopolski (Rzeszow)
Sejny (Marynowo) (Suwalki)
Sepolno Krajenskie (Bydgoszcz)
Serock (Warsaw)
Seroczyn (Siedlce)
Sidra (Bialystok)
Siedlce (Siedlce)
Siedliszcze (Chelm)
Siemiatycze (Bialystok)
Sieniawa (Przemysl)
Sienno (Radom)
Sieradz (Sieradz)
Sierakow (Poznan)
Sierpc (Plock)
Siwkowice (Szczecin)
Skala (Krakow)
Skarszewy (Gdansk)

Skaryszew (Radom)
Skarzysko-Kamienna (Kielce)
Skepe (Wloclawek)
Skierniewice (Skierniewice)
Skoczow (Bielsko-Biala)
Skoki (Poznan)
Skulsk (Konin)
Skwierzyna (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Slawatycze (Biala Podlaska)
Slawkow-Krzykawka (Katowice)
Slesin (Konin)
Slomniki (Krakow)
Slonsk (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Slubice (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Slupca (Konin)
Smigiel (Leszno)
Sniadowo (Lomza)
Sobienie Yeziory (Siedlce)
Sobkow (Kielce)
Sobota (Skierniewice)
Sochaczew (Skierniewice)
Sochocin (Ciechanow)
Sokolka (Bialystok)
Sokolow Malopolski (Rzeszow)
Sokolow Podlaski (Siedlce)
Sokoły (Lomza)
Solec nad Wisla (Radom)
Sompolno (Konin)
Sopot (Gdansk)
Sosnicowice (Katowice)
Sosnowiec-Milowice (Katowice)
Sosnowiec-Modrzejow (Katowice)
Srem (Poznan)
Sroda Slaska (Wroclaw)
Sroda Wlkp (Poznan)
Stalowa Wola (Tarnobrzeg)
Stanislawow (Siedlce)
Starachowice (Kielce)
Stargard Szczecinski (Szczecin)
Starogard Gdanski (Gdansk)
Stawiski (Lomza)
Stary Targ (Gdansk)
Stary Dzikow (Przemysl)
Staszow (Tarnobrzeg)
Stawiszyn (Kalisz)
Sterdyn (Siedlce)
Stoczek Wegrowski (Siedlce)

Stoczek Lukowski (Siedlce)
Stopnica (Kielce)
Strykow (Lodz)
Strzegom (Walbrzych)
Strzegowo-Osada (Ciechanow)
Strzelce Krajeńskie (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Strzelce Opolskie (Opole)
Strzelin (Wroclaw)
Strzeszew (Poznan)
Strzyzow-Okopisko (Rzeszow)
Suchowola (Bialystok)
Sulecin (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Sulejow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Sulmierzyce (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Suprasl (Bialystok)
Suraz (Bialystok)
Suwalki (Suwalki)
Swarzedz (Poznan)
Swidnica (Walbrzych)
Swidwin (Koszalin)
Swiebodzice (Walbrzych)
Swierze (Chelm)
Swietojansko (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Sycow (Kalisz)
Szadek (Sieradz)
Szamocin (Pila)
Szamotuly (Poznan)
Szczawno Zdroj (Walbrzych)
Szczebrzeszyn (Zamosc)
Szczecin (Szczecin)
Szczecinek (Koszalin)
Szczekociny (Czestochowa)
Szczercow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Szczucin (Tarnow)
Szczuczyn (Lomza)
Szczytno (Olsztyn)
Szlichtyngowa (Leszno)
Szprotawa (Zielona Gora)
Szrensk (Ciechanow)
Sztum (Gdansk)
Szubin (Bydgoszcz)
Szydlowiec (Radom)
Szydlow (Kielce)
Tarczyn (Warsaw)
Tarlow (Tarnobrzeg)

Tarnobrzeg (Tarnobrzeg)
Tarnograd (Zamosc)
Tarnow (Tarnow)
Tarnowskie Gory (Katowice)
Tczew (Gdansk)
Terespole (Biala Podlaska)
Tomaszow Lubelski (Zamosc)
Tomaszow Mazowiecki (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Torun (Torun)
Torzyn (Zielona Gora)
Toszek (Katowice)
Trzcianka (Pila)
Trazciel (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Trzcianne (Lomza)
Trzcinsko Zdroj (Szczecin)
Trzebieatow (Szczecin)
Trzebinia (Katowice)
Trzebnica (Wroclaw)
Trzemeszno (Bydgoszcz)
Trzemeszno Lubuskie (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Tuchola (Bydgoszcz)
Tuchow (Tarnow)
Tuczno (Pila)
Tuliszkow (Konin)
Turek (Konin)
Twardogora (Wroclaw)
Twierdza-Glinik Dolny (Rzeszow)
Tyczyn (Rzeszow)
Tykocin (Bialystok)
Tyrawa Woloska (Krosno)
Tyszowce (Zamosc)
Uchanie (Zamosc)
Ujazd (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Ujazd (Opole)
Ujście (Pila)
Ulanow (Tarnobrzeg)
Uniejow (Konin)
Urzedow (Lublin)
Ustron (Bielsko-Biala)
Ustrzyki Dolne (Krosno)
Wabrzeźno (Torun)
Wachock (Kielce)
Wagrowiec (Pila)
Walbrzych (Walbrzych)
Walcz (Pila)

Warka (Radom)
Warsaw (Warsaw)
Warta (Sieradz)
Wartoslaw (Pila)
Wasilkow (Bialystok)
Wawolnica (Lublin)
Wegorzewo (Suwalki)
Wegorzyno (Szczecin)
Wegrow (Siedlce)
Wejherowo (Gdansk)
Widawa (Sieradz)
Wielen (Pila)
Wieliczka (Krakow)
Wielkie Oczy (Przemysl)
Wielopole Skrzyńskie (Rzeszow)
Wielowies (Katowice)
Wielun (Sieradz)
Wieruszow (Kalisz)
Wierzbica (Radom)
Wilczyn (Konin)
Winnica (Tarnobrzeg)
Winsko (Wroclaw)
Wiskitki (Skierniewice)
Wislica (Kielce)
Wisznice (Biala Podlaska)
Witkowo (Konin)
Witnica (Gorzow Wielkopolski)
Witunia (Bydgoszcz)
Wizajny (Suwalki)
Wizna (Lomza)
Wladyslawow (Konin)
Wloclawek (Wloclawek)
Wlodawa (Chelm)
Wloszczowa (Kielce)
Wodzislaw (Kielce)
Wodzislaw Slaski (Katowice)
Wohyn (Biala-Polaska)
Wojslawice (Chelm)
Wola Michowa (Krosno)
Wolanow (Radom)
Wolborz (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Wolbrom (Katowice)
Wolczyn (Opole)
Wolin (Szczecin)
Wolsztyn (Zielona Gora)
Wroclaw (Wroclaw)
Wronki (Pila)

Wrzesnia (Poznan)
Wschowa (Leszno)
Wydminy (Suwalki)
Wyrzysk (Pila)
Wysoka (Pila)
Wysokie Maz. (Lomza)
Wyszow (Ostroleka)
Wyszogrod (Plock)
Zabkowice (Walbrzych)
Zabludow (Bialystok)
Zabno (Tarnow)
Zabrze (Katowice)
Zagan (Zielona Gora)
Zagorow (Konin)
Zakliczyn (Tarnow)
Zaklikow (Tarnobrzeg)
Zakopane (Nowy Sacz)
Zalewo (Olsztyn)
Zambrow (Lomza)
Zamosc (Zamosc)
Zaniemysl (Poznan)
Zareby Koscielne (Lomza)
Zarki (Czestochowa)
Zarnow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Zary (Zielona Gora)
Zawichost (Tarnobrzeg)
Zawiercie (Katowice)
Zawiercie-Kromolow (Katowice)
Zdunska Wola (Sieradz)
Zelechow (Siedlce)
Zelow (Piotrkow Trybunalski)
Zgierz (Lodz)
Ziebice (Walbrzych)
Zielona Gora (Zielona Gora)
Zielun Osada (Ciechanow)
Zloczew (Sieradz)
Zlotow (Pila)
Zmigrod (Wroclaw)
Znin (Bydgoszcz)
Zolkiewka (Zamosc)
Zolynia (Rzeszow)
Zory (Katowice)
Zuromin (Ciechanow)
Zwierzyniec (Zamosc)
Zwolen (Radom)
Zychlin (Plock)
Zyrardow (Skierniewice)



Tarnow. Many stones, especially those cut from limestone, sandstone, slate and marble suffer from pollution or the weather. Carved surfaces erode and crumble, whole sheets of stone peel away. (photo: S. Gruber 6/93)

APPENDIX III: CEMETERIES AND SELECTED INFORMATION ON CURRENT CONDITION

KEY

abbreviation definition

LM = **IF SITE IS LISTED AS HISTORIC MONUMENT**

Y* = **yes***

RES = **IF ANY RESTORATION OR MAINTENANCE TO SITE**

Y = **yes**

W/F = **CONDITION OF WALL OR FENCE**

CMW/CW = **continuous masonry wall**

BMW/BW = **broken masonry wall**

CF = **continuous fence**

BF = **broken fence**

N = **no wall or fence**

W/F = **wall or fence**

STONES = **NUMBER OF GRAVESTONES VISIBLE**

N = **no stones visible**

1-20 = **1-20 stones visible**

21+ = **21-100 stones visible**

101+ = **101-500 stones visible**

501+ = **501-5000 stones visible**

5001+ = **more than 5001 stones visible**

* The information in this appendix on sites listed as historic monuments is taken from a list of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw compiled by Jan Jagielski and Eleonora Bergman dated January 1993.

USE = PRESENT USE OF THE SITE

JC/C = Jewish cemetery
 AG/A = agricultural use
 REC/RC/C = recreational use
 IOC/IC/I = industrial, commercial, or institutional use
 ST/S = storage
 WD/W = waste dumping
 RES/RS/R = residential
 OTH/O = other use indicated

THREATS TO PRESERVATION

VE = VEGETATION
 ER = WEATHER EROSION
 VA = VANDALISM
 PO = POLLUTION
 ND = NEARBY DEVELOPMENT
 FD = FUTURE DEVELOPMENT
 SE = SECURITY

1 = no threat
 2 = slight threat
 3 = moderate threat
 4 = serious threat
 5 = very serious threat

SD = DATE SURVEY WAS COMPLETED

SITE (BY REGION)	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	THREATS							SD
						SE	ER	PO	VE	VA	ND	FD	
Biala Podlaska Region													
Biala Podlaska		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	08/91
Janow Podlaski		Y	CF	N	JC	4	1		1	3	1	4	08/91
Koden		Y	BF	N	IC/JC	3	1		1		1		08/91
Komarowka Podlaska		Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Konstantynow		Y	N	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Lomazy		Y	N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Losice			N	N	REC	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	08/91
Miedzyrzec Podlaski	Y	Y	BMW	21+	JC	3	1	3	1	1	1	4	08/91
Parczew		Y	N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Piszczac		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Radzyn Podlaski (I)			N	1-20	JC	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	09/91
Radzyn Podlaski (II)			N	N	JC/IC	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	09/91
Rossosz			N	N	JC	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Slawatyce		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Terespol		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wisznice			CF	N	REC	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wohyn			N	1-20	JC	3	1	3	1	1	1	3	09/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Bialystok Region													
Bialystok (I)	Y	Y	BMW	5001+	JC/RC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	07/91
Bialystok (II)		Y	BMW	1-20	JC	1	2	3	1	4	1	2	07/91
Bialystok (III)				N	REC								09/91
Bielsk Podlaski			N	21+	WD/JC	3	3	2	3	5	4	4	10/91
Bocki (I)			BMW	1-20	ST/WD	2	3	4	5	3	5	5	08/91
Bocki (II)			N	1-20	AG	3	3	3	1	2	3	5	08/91
Bransk		Y	CF	101+	IC/JC	2	3	2	2	3	1	1	09/91
Choroszez (I)			N	N	IOC								09/91
Choroszez (II)	Y	Y	BF	101+	JC	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	08/91
Dabrowa Bialostocka (I)			N	21+	JC/AG	2	3	3	1	2	1	3	08/91
Dabrowa Bialostocka (II)			N	N									09/91
Drohiczyn			N	21+	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	08/91
Grodek			N	1-20	AG	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Jalowka (I)			N	N	IOC								09/91
Jalowka (II)			N	1-20	JC/AG	2	3	2	1	1	1	3	08/91
Janow Sokolski			N	101+	JC/AG	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	08/91
Jasionowka (I)			N	1-20	AG	2	2	2	1	3	2	5	09/91
Jasionowka (II)	Y	Y	BMW	101+	JC	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	09/91
Kleszczele			N	1-20	AG/WD	2	3	1	2	3	1	3	08/91
Knyszyn	Y	Y	N	501+	J/A/W	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	09/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Korycin			N	1-20	AG/WD	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	08/91
Krynki	Y	Y	BMW	501+	J/A/W	3	3	2	2	2	3	4	08/91
Kuznica			N	1-20	A/W/S	1	5	3	1	3	3	5	08/91
Michalowo			N	1-20	J/A/W	3	3	2	1	2	1	3	09/91
Mielnik			BMW	21+	JC/WD	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	11/91
Milejczyce			BF	1-20	A/W/S	1	2	2	2	4	3	3	09/91
Narew			N	21+	A/W/S	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	09/91
Narewka			BMW	21+	AG/ST	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	09/91
Niemirow			N	N	AG								09/91
Nowy Dwor			N	N	AG								09/91
Orla (I)													09/91
Orla (II)			N	21+	AG	1	3	2	3	2	1	3	09/91
Sidra			N		AG								09/91
Siemiatyce		Y	BMW	1-20	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Sokolka	Y		BMW	501+	A/J/C	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	09/91
Suchowola			N		AG								09/91
Suprasl			N	N									09/91
Suraz	Y		BMW	1-20	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Tykocin	Y		BMW	501+	A/J/S	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	09/91
Wasilkow (I)			N	N	REC								09/91
Wasilkow (II)	Y		N	1-20	WD/ST	3	2	3	2	5	4	4	09/91

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Zabludow (I)			N	N	IC													09/91	
Zabludow (II)			N	101+	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	09/91	
Bielsko-Biala Region																			
Biala				N	IOC														04/95
Bielsko-Biala	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	04/95
Cieszyn (I)	Y	Y	BF	501+	JC	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	02/94
Cieszyn (II)	Y	Y	BF	101+	JC	3	3	5	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	02/94
Oswiecim		Y	CMW	501+	JC	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	04/95
Skoczow	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	2	2	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	02/94
Ustron		Y	N	N	JC/OTH	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	02/94
Bydgoszcz Region																			
Barcin			N	N	AG	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10/92
Bydgoszcz (I)			N	N	AG	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10/92
Bydgoszcz (II)			N	N	REC	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10/92
Bydgoszcz (III)			N	N	REC	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10/92
Chojnice (I)			N	N	REC	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/92
Chojnice (II)			CMW	N	IC	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10/92
Czersk			N	N	IC	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	10/92
Gasawa			N	N	IC	1	2	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	10/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Inowroclaw			N	N	REC	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	10/92
Janowiec Wlkp.			N	N	REC	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	10/92
Kamien Krajenski			N	N	IC	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	10/92
Keynia			N	N	REC	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	10/92
Koronowo	Y		BMW	101+	JC	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	10/92
Labiszyn			N	N	OTH	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	10/92
Mogilno			N	N	RES	1	1	2	1	4	3	3	10/92
Mrocza			N	N	RES	1	1	2	1	4	4	3	10/92
Naklo			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	10/92
Nowe			N	N	AG	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	10/92
Pakosc			N	N	REC	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	10/92
Rynarzewo			N	N	AG	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	10/92
Sepolno Krajenskie			N	1-20	REC	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	10/92
Szubin		Y	N	1-20	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	10/92
Trzemeszno			N	1-20	OTH	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	10/92
Tuchola			N	N	IC	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	10/92
Witunia			N	N	AG	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	10/92
Zmin			N	N	AG	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	10/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Chelm Region²⁵													
Chelm		Y	CF	101+	JC/IC	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	04/95
Cycow			W/F	N									
Dorohusk				N									
Dubienka			W/F	N									
Krasniczyn			BF	1-20	REC	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	08/95
Krasnystaw			N	1-20	JC/RC	3	3	1	4	3	1	1	08/95
Rejowiec				N									
Sawin			N	1-20	REC	3	4	1	4	3	1	1	08/95
Siedliszcze			W/F	N									
Swierze			W/F	N									
Wlodawa (I)			N	N	JC	3	1	3	3	1	3	3	08/95
Wlodawa (II)		Y	CF	1-20	REC	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	08/95
Wlodawa (III)			N	N	IC/ST	1	3	2	3	1	3	3	08/95
Wojslawice (I)			BF	1-20	JC/OTH	2	2	1	4	2	1	1	08/95
Wojslawice (II)				N									
Ciechanow Region													
Biezun			N	N	JC	1	1	5	1	4	1	1	10/91

25 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Ciechanow (I)			N	N	IC	5		5	5	5	5	5	10/91
Ciechanow (II)		Y	N	21+	JC	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Dzialdowo			CF	21+	JC/RC	2	2	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Kuczbork-Osada		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	2	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Lidzbark Welski			N	1-20	JC	2	3	5	1	4	1	1	10/91
Mlawa (I)			N	1-20	JC	2	1	5	1	4	1	1	10/91
Mlawa (II)			N	1-20	JC	2	2	5	2	1	1	1	10/91
Nasielsk			N	N	JC/AG	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Nowe Miasto			N	1-20	AG/JC	2	3	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Plonsk		Y	N	N	IC/JC	1	1	5	1	5	1	3	10/91
Pultusk			CF	N	IC	1	1	5	1	5	1	5	10/91
Raciaz			N	1-20	JC/AG	3	2	5	1	1	1	2	10/91
Radzanow			N	N	AG/JC	1	1	5	1	4	1	1	10/91
Sohocin			N	1-20	JC	3	2	5		1	2	1	10/91
Strzegowo-Osada		Y	CF	1-20	JC	3	2	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Szrensk (I)			N	1-20	JC	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	10/91
Szrensk (II)			N	N	AG	4	1	5	1	1	1	5	10/91
Zielun Osada			N	N	AG	4	1	5	1	1	1	5	10/91
Zuromin			N	N	JC/WD	2	2	5	4	1	1	1	10/91

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Czestochowa Region														
Brzeznicza Nowa				1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	00/86
Cieszowa			N	101+	JC	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	11/91
Czestochowa	Y		BMW	501+	JC	1			3			1	1	11/91
Dobrodzien	Y		N	101+		3	2	4	2	1	1	1		
Gorzow Slaski			CF		WD	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	01/92
Janow Czestochowski	Y		CF	1-20		3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	11/91
Konieczpol			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Klobuck			N	1-20	AG	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	
Krzepice	Y		N	101+	JC		1		1	1	1	1		09/91
Lelow (I)			N	N	IC/ST		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Lelow (II)			N	N	AG		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Lublimiec			CF	21+	IC	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	01/92
Mstow			BF	21+	REC									11/91
Olesno	Y	Y		101+	JC									11/91
Pajeczno			N	N	AG									11/91
Piawno			N	1-20	WD	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	11/91
Praszka	Y		N	101+	JC	2	1	5	1	2	2	5	5	11/91
Przyrow			N	N	JC		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Secemin			CF	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Szczekociny			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Zarki	Y	Y	N	501+	JC	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	
Elblag Region													
Dzierzgon	Y		CMW	21+	JC	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	09/92
Elblag		Y	BMW	N	REC	1	1	1	1	3		1	09/92
Frombork				N	REC								09/92
Kwidzyn			BMW	N	REC	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	09/92
Orneta			BMW	21+	AG	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	09/92
Paslek	Y		CW/BW	101+	JC	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	09/92
Pieniezno			N	N	REC								09/92
Prabuty			N	N	RC/IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Gdansk Region													
Gdansk-Chelm	Y		N	101+	REC	4	3	5	3	5	5	4	07/91
Gdansk-Wrzeszcz			N	1-20	REC	4	4	4	3	1	1	4	08/91
Gniew			N	N		4	4	4	2	1	1	4	07/91
Kartuzy			N	N	WD								07/91
Kolincz			N	N	AG								07/91
Koscierzyna			N	N	IC	1	3	1	3	2	2	1	07/91
Puck			N	N	REC	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	07/91
Skarszewy	Y		N	21+	JC	5	5	3	1	1	1	4	07/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Sopot	Y	Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	07/91
Starogard Gdanski	Y		N	1-20	WD	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	07/91
Stary Targ			N	N	AG								09/92
Sztum			N	N	REC								09/92
Tczew (I)			N	N	REC								07/91
Tczew (II)			N	1-20	AG	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	07/91
Tczew (III)			N	N	IC/RC	2	2	2	4	4	1	1	07/91
Wejherowo			N	N	JC	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	07/91
Gorzow Wielkopolski Region													
Barlinek			N	1-20	REC	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	08/91
Bledzew			N	21+	JC	3	4	4	1	1	1	1	08/91
Boleszkowice			BMW	1-20	JC	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	08/91
Brojce			BMW	N	OTH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Choszczno			BMW	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Debno			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Dobiegiew			N	1-20	AG	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	08/91
Drawno			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Drezdenko		Y	BMW	N	REC	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	08/91
Gorzow Wielkopolski			BMW	21+	JC	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	08/91
Kostrzyn			CMW	1-20	ST	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Miedzichod			N	N	AG	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	08/91
Miedzyrzecz			CMW	N	WD	2	3	1	3	5	5	5	08/91
Mysliborz			CF	N	RES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Osno Lubuskie			BMW	1-20	JC	3	2	3	1	1	1	2	08/91
Pelczyce			N	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Pszczew			N	1-20	JC	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	08/91
Recz			CF	N	RES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Rzepin			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Skwierzyna			N	21+	JC	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Slonsk				N	IC	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	08/91
Slubice			BMW	N	JC	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	08/91
Strzelce Krajeńskie			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Sulcecin			BMW	1-20	JC	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	08/91
Swietojansko			BMW	1-20	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Trzecieli			N	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Trzemeszno Lubuskie		Y	BMW	21+	JC	3	2	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Witnica			BMW	1-20	JC	2	3	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Kalisz Region													
Boleslawiec			N	1-20	WD	4	1	3	1	1	1	5	10/91
Dobrzyca			N	N	WD	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Grabow			N	1-20	JC	4	1	3	1	1	1	3	10/91
Jaraczewo			N	N		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Jarocin			N	N	OTH	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Kalisz (I)		Y	CF	501+	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	10/91
Kalisz (II)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	5	2	1	10/91
Kepno			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	5	1		10/91
Kobyla Gora			N	21+	OTH	4	1	5	1	1	1	4	10/91
Kozmin		Y	CF	501+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Krotoszyn			N	N	S/W/O	4				4			10/91
Mikstat			N	N	OTH	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Odolanow			N	N	OTH	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	10/91
Ostrzeszow			CF	N	OTH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Pleszew			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Stawiszyn		Y	BMW	1-20	A/I/W	3	4	5	4	3	3	3	08/92
Sycow			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Wieruszow			N	101+	JC	2	1	4	1	1	1	3	10/91
Katowice Region													
Bedzin (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	03/92
Bedzin (II)		Y	N	101+	JC	3	4	3	3	3	1	4	03/92
Bedzin (III)			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	03/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Bierun Stary			BMW	101+	RC/WD	3	3	3	3	4	2	4	03/92
Bytom (I)		Y	CMW	501+	JC	3	2	3	3	2	1	2	11/91
Bytom (II)			N	N	RC/WD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Chorzow			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Chrzanow		Y	CMW	501+	JC	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	03/92
Czechowice-Dziedzice		Y	BF	21+	JC	2	2	4	2	4	1	3	12/91
Czeladz		Y	CF	501+	JC	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	05/92
Dabrowa Gornicza			N	21+	W/C/S	5	3	5	4	5	2	5	11/91
Gliwice (I)		Y	CMW	501+	J/W/S	4	3	3	3	4		3	12/91
Gliwice (II)		Y	BF/CW	501+	JC	3	2	2	3	2	1	2	10/91
Jaworzno		Y	CMW	21+	JC	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	05/92
Katowice		Y	CMW	501+	JC	3	3	3	3	2	1	3	11/91
Miasteczko Slaskie			N	21+	R/S/W/A	3	5	5	3	3	2	4	03/92
Mikolow		Y	CF	101+	JC	3	3	3	3	4	1	3	02/92
Mikolow			CMW	101+	C/S/W	3	3	5	3	4	2	5	05/92
Myslowice			BMW	21+	AG	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	03/92
Pillica (I)			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	04/92
Pillica (II)			BMW	501+	A/S/W	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	05/92
Pszczyna		Y	BW/BF	101+	JC/WD	3	3	3	3	2	2	4	05/92
Pyskowice		Y	N	101+	JC	2	2	3	3	2	1	3	04/92
Raciborz			BMW	1-20	JC/WD	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	04/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Rybnik			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	04/92
Slawkow-Krzykawka		Y	CW/BW	101+	JC	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	02/92
Sosnowiec			N	1-20	A/S/W	3	3	5	3	4	3	5	03/92
Sosnowiec-Milowice			N	1-20	A/S/W	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	05/92
Sosnowiec-Modrzejow		Y	N	21+	JC	3	2	3	3	2	1	3	01/92
Tarnowskie Gory		Y	CMW	101+	JC	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	03/92
Toszek		Y	CW/CF	21+	JC	3	4	3	3	3	1	2	01/92
Trzebinia		Y	CMW	101+	JC	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	03/92
Wielowies			N	101+	ST	4	4	4	3	3	1	4	04/92
Wodzislaw Slaski		Y	CW/CF	N	OTH								11/92
Wolbrom		Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	04/92
Zabrze		Y	CMW	101+	JC	4	3	3	2	2	1	3	11/91
Zawiercie		Y	CMW	101+	JC/IC	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	05/92
Zawiercie-Kromolow	Y	Y	BMW	501+	JC/WD	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	05/92
Zory		Y	CMW	101+	JC	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	03/92
Kielce Region													
Bodzentyn	Y		N	21+	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	08/91
Busko-Zdroj			N	1-20	J/S/I	4	4	3	4	4	2	4	08/91
Checiny	Y		N	101+	JC	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	08/91
Chmielnik (I)			N	N	IC	1	1	1	2	4	3	5	08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Chmielnik (II)			BMW	N	JC	3	3	2	1	3	2	3	08/91
Daleszyce			N	N	REC	3	3	2	3	3	1	3	08/91
Dzialoszyce			N	N	JC	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	08/91
Jedrzejew			N	1-20	JC	3	2	3	4	2	2	3	08/91
Kielce	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	2	2	2	3	3	1	3	08/91
Konskie			N	N	AG	3	3	2	4	4	2	3	08/91
Koszyce			N	N	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Ksiaz Wielki			N	21+	JC	3	3	4	2	2	2	3	08/91
Lagow			N	N	JC	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	08/91
Lopuszno			N	N	REC	2	3	1	1	1	3	3	08/91
Malogoszcz	Y		BMW	21+	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Miechow			N	N	JC	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	08/91
Nowa Slupia				N	JC	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	08/91
Nowy Korczyn (I)			N	N	ST/JC	2	3	4	4	5	5	3	08/91
Nowy Korczyn (II)			N	N	AG/JC	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	08/91
Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski	Y	Y	N	101+	JC/RC	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	08/91
Pacanow			N	N	IC	3	3	2	4	5	5	3	08/91
Pieczow (I)			N	N	RES	3	4	3	3	5	5	4	08/91
Pieczow (II)			N	N	ST/RS	3	4	3	3	5	5	4	08/91
Radoszyce			BMW	1-20	JC	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Rakow			BMW	N	JC/ST	2	2	3	3	5	5	3	08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Skarzysko-Kamienna		Y	CF	21+	JC		1	1	2	2	2	1	08/91
Sobkow	Y		BMW	21+	JC/AG	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Starachowice	Y		BMW	101+	JC	3	4	5	3	5	5	3	08/91
Stopnica (I)			N	N	IC/ST	1	4	4	2	5	5	4	08/91
Stopnica (II)			N	1-20	AG/JC	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	08/91
Szydłow			N	N	JC	2	4	3	2	5	5	5	08/91
Wachoczek	Y		BMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	08/91
Wislica			N	1-20	AG/RC	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	08/91
Włoszczowa			N	1-20	JC	2	2	3	1	3	3	3	08/91
Wodzisław			N	N	AG/JC	3	4	2	4	4	4	3	08/91
Konin Region													
Dabie			N	N	AG	1	3	1		1	1	3	09/92
Dobra			N	1-20	OTH	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	08/92
Golina		Y	CF	N	IC	2	2	1	3	4		4	08/92
Grabow		Y	N	1-20		3	3	3	1				11/92
Kleczew			CF	N	REC								11/92
Kłodawa		Y		N	AG	2	3		1			3	09/92
Kolo (I)				N	REC	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	08/92
Kolo (II)	Y	Y	CMW	N		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/92
Konin			N	N	REC	3	3	1	1		4		08/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Przedecz			N	N	REC	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	09/92
Pyzdry		Y	N	1-20	OTH		3					3	08/92
Rychwal			N	N	AG	5	5						09/92
Skulsk			N	N		3	1	1	3	1	1	1	09/92
Slesin		Y	BF	N	WD	4	3	4	4	4	4	1	09/92
Slupca			N		REC	2	3					3	09/92
Sompolno				N	RES								08/92
Tuliskow		Y	N	N	REC	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	11/92
Turek		Y	N	N	WD	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	10/92
Uniejow		Y		N	ST	1	2	1	2	4		4	08/92
Wielczyn		Y	N	N	AG	3	5	4	1			5	11/92
Witkowo				N	RES						5	5	11/92
Wladyslawow			BF	1-20	OTH	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	07/92
Zagorow		Y	BF	1-20	REC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	09/92
Koszalin Region													
Barwice			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	08/91
Bialogard			BMW	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Bialy Bor			N	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Bobolice			N	N	JC	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	08/91
Czaplinek			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	08/91

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Drawsko Pomorskie			BMW	1-20	JC	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Klobrzeg			N	N	JC/JC	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	08/91
Koszalin (I)			N	1-20	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Koszalin (II)			CF	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Polanow			N	N	JC	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Poleczyn Zdroj			N	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Rusko			N	1-20	JC	2	4	4	1	2	4	4	4	08/91
Swidwin	Y		BMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Szczecinek			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Krakow Region														
Krakow, ul. Szeroka	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	10/91
Krakow, ul. Miadowa	Y	Y	CW/CF	5001+	JC	3	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	09/92
Krakow, ul. Jerozolimska (I)			N	1-20	JC	4	1	1	3	4	3	3	3	08/95
Krakow, ul. Jerozolimska (II)			N	N	JC	4	1	1	3	4	3	3	3	08/95
Myslenice	Y	Y	CMW/CF	21+	JC	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	07/95
Niepolomice		Y	BMW	21+	JC	4	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	07/95
Nowe Brzesko			N	N	AG	4	1	3	4	4	1	1	1	07/95
Proszowice	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	07/95
Skala	Y	Y	CF	N	JC/AG	3	1	3	2	4	1	1	1	07/95
Slomniki	Y	Y	N	N	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	07/95

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Wieliczka	Y	Y	N	21+	JC	5	2	2	4	5	2	1	07/95
Krosno Region													
Baligrod			N	21+	JC	5	5	3	1	1	1	3	09/92
Biecz			CF	1-20	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Brzozow		Y	N	1-20	JC	5	5	2	2	1	1	3	09/92
Bukowsko			N	N	AG	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Cisna			N	N	AG								09/92
Dukla (I)			BMW	21+	JC	5	5	2	1	1	1	4	09/92
Dukla (II)	Y	Y	CMW	101+	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Jasienica Roitelna			N	N	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	09/92
Jasliska			N	N	AG								09/92
Jaslo		Y	CMW	21+	JC	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	09/92
Korczynna			CMW	101+	JC	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	11/92
Krosno			CF	21+	JC	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	09/92
Lesko	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	09/92
Lutowiska		Y	N	101+	AG	5	5	5	1	1	1	3	09/92
Nowotaniec			N	N	AG	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Nowy Zmigrod			N	101+	JC	5	5	4	1	1	1	4	09/92
Rymanow		Y	N	101+	JC	5	5	3	1	1	1	3	08/92
Sanok (I)			N	N	REC								09/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Sanok (II)		Y	CF	21+	JC	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	09/92
Tyrawa Wołoska		Y	N	1-20	AG	5	5	4	1	1	1	4	09/92
Ustrzyki Dolne		Y	N	21+	JC	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	09/92
Wola Michowa			N	1-20	JC	5	4	2	1	1	1	5	09/92
Legnica Region ²⁶													
Chojnow				N									
Glogow				N									
Jawor				40									
Legnica				1000									
Lubin Leg.				N									
Scinawa				100									
Leszno Region													
Bojanowo			N	N	AG	4	5		1	1	1	5	10/91
Borek-Wlkp			N	1-20	A/W/S	2	3	5	1	2	1	5	08/91
Gora Sl.			N	1-20	JC	4	3	4	1	1	1	4	11/91
Gostyn			CF	N	REC	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Jutrosin			N	N	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	11/91

26 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Kobylin			N	N	AG	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1/91
Koscian			N	N	RES	1	2	1	1	2	1	5	11/91
Krobia			N	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Krzywin			N	N	IC	2	3	1	3	5	1	5	11/91
Leszno			N	N	RS/ST	1	3	1	2	3	3	3	10/91
Osieczna			N	N	IC	1	3	1	1	3	1	5	11/91
Piaski Wielkopolskie			N	N	RS	1	3	1	1	3	1	5	11/91
Radzyna			N	N	WD/ST	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	11/91
Rawicz			N	N	JC	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	11/91
Sarnowa			N	N	WD	5	4	1	1	1	1	5	11/91
Smigiel			CMW	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Szlichtyngowa	Y	Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	2	1	1	3	08/91
Wschowa			N	N	A/W/S	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	11/91
Lodz Region													
Aleksandrow	Y	Y	CMW	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Glowno			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Konstantynow			BF	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Lodz	Y		N	N	RES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Lodz	Y	Y	CMW	5001+	JC	5	2	4	4	1	1		08/93
Ozorkow			BF	21+	JC	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	09/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Pabianice			CMW	101+	JC	3	1	3	1	1	1	3	09/91
Strykow			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Zgierz		Y	N	N	REC	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	09/91
Lomza Region²⁷													
Andrzejewo			W/F	N									
Ciechanowiec				N									
Ciechanowiec, ul. Uszynska				N									
Czyzew-Osada			W/F	N									
Goniadz			W/F	10									
Grajewo				N									
Jablonka Kos. (I)				N									
Jablonka Kos. (II)				N									
Jedwabne			W/F	N									
Kolno			W/F	N									
Lomza (I)			W/F	100									
Lomza (II)			W/F	300									
Nowogrod			W/F	N									
Nur			W/F	N									

27 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Radzilow			W/F	N									
Rajrod			W/F	N									
Sniadowo			W/F	N									
Sokoly				N									
Stawiski			W/F	20									
Szezuczyn			W/F	N									
Trzcianne			W/F	N									
Wizna			W/F	N									
Wysokie Mazowiecki			W/F	20									
Zambrow				200									
Zareby Koscielne				N									
Lublin Region													
Baranow			N	N	AG/RC	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	12/91
Belzyce (I)		Y	CMW	1-20	JC	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	12/93
Belzyce (II)			N	N	REC	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	12/93
Biskupice (I)	Y		N	1-20	AG	1	1	3	1	2	2	4	12/91
Biskupice (II)	Y		N	1-20	AG	1	1	3	1	1	1	4	12/91
Bobrowniki	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	04/94
Bychawa (I)			BW/BF	N	JC	3	2	1	5	5	3	2	12/91
Bychawa (II)			N	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	5	4	12/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Chodel			N	N	AG/WD	4	1	2	4	4	3	4	12/93
Glusk			N	N	WD/JC	4	1	1	1	1	1	3	12/91
Firlej			N	N	OTH	3	3	3	1	3	4	3	04/94
Janowiec			N	N	AG	3	3	1	1	4	4	4	12/91
Jozefow nad Wisla			N	1-20	WD	5	3	4	1	2		3	05/94
Kamionka			N	1-20	OTH	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	12/91
Kazimierz Dolny (I)			BMW	1-20	REC	4	4	2	4	5	5	2	12/93
Kazimierz Dolny (II)	Y	Y	N	501+	JC	3	2	2	3	3	1	1	12/93
Kock		Y	CF	21+	JC	4	1	4	1	1	1	2	12/91
Konskowola (I)			N	N	RES								12/91
Konskowola (II)		Y	N	1-20	WD	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	12/91
Krasnik (I)			N	N	REC	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	12/93
Krasnik (II)			BF	N	AG	3	4	3	2	1	1	1	12/93
Krasnik-Gory			BMW	1-20	JC	3	3	2	4	4	3	2	12/93
Kurow (I)			N	N	RES						5		12/91
Kurow (II)			N	N	A/W/C	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	12/91
Leczna		Y	N	N	JC	3	1	1	1	3		3	12/91
Lubartow (I)			CF	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	12/91
Lubartow (II)	Y	Y	CF	21+	WD	1	1	4	1	1	1	4	12/91
Lysobyki (Jeziorzany)			N	N	AG	2	3	1	1	2	3	2	04/94
Lublin, ul. Kalinowszczyzna (old cem.)	Y	Y	CMW	101+	JC/WD	4	2	5	4	2	2	5	05/94

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Lublin, ul. Walecznych (new cem.)		Y	CMW/CF	101+	JC	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	05/94
Lublin, (soldiers', now part of new cem.)		Y	CMW/CF	101+	JC	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	05/94
Lublin - Wieniawa			N	N	REC	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	05/94
Markuszow	Y		BMW	21+	WD/JC	3	1	4	1	1	1	4	12/91
Michow		Y	N	N	OTH	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	12/91
Opole Lubelskie			BF	N	WD/JC	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	12/91
Ostrow Lubelski			N	N	IC/ST	1	2	1	1	5	5	5	12/91
Piaski (I)			BF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	12/91
Piaski (II)		Y	N	1-20	WD/RC	4	1	4	1	4	1	3	12/91
Pulawy (I)			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	5	4	12/91
Pulawy (II)			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	12/91
Ryki			N	N	RES	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	12/93
Urzedow		Y	N	N	I/S/W	2	1	3	3	4	1	3	04/94
Wawolnica			N	1-20	JC	4	1	4	1	1	1	3	12/91
Nowy Sacz Region													
Bobowa	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Czarny Dunajec			BMW	1-20	JC	4	4	2	1	1	1	3	09/92
Gorlice	Y	Y	BMW	101+	JC	5	5	3	3	2	2	4	09/92
Grybow-Siolkowa			N	21+	JC	5	4	2	1	1	1	4	09/92
Jordanow			BMW	1-20	JC	5	3	2	1	1	1	3	09/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Krosienko		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Krynica		Y	CMW	21+	JC	3	3	2	1	2	1	3	09/92
Labowa		Y	CF	101+	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Lapsze Nizne			N	N	AG								09/92
Limanowa		Y	CF	21+	JC	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	09/92
Mszana Dolan	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Muszyna			N	21+	JC	5	5	3	1	1	1	4	09/92
Niewdzica		Y	CF	1-20	JC	5	4	2	1	1	1	3	09/92
Nowy Sacz	Y	Y	CMW	101+	JC	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	09/92
Nowy Targ		Y	CMW	21+	JC	3	3	3	3	2	1	2	09/92
Piwniczna		Y	CF	1-20	JC	3	3	2	1	1	1	3	09/92
Podwilk	Y	Y	N	21+	JC	5	5	2	1	1	1	4	09/92
Rabka		Y	CF	N	JC	4	2	2	1	1	1	3	09/92
Zakopane			N	N	AG	3	2		2	1	1	4	09/92
Olsztyn Region													
Barczewo		Y	N	N	JC	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	11/91
Bartoszyce			N	N	IC/RC								01/92
Biskupiec			N	N	JC	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	09/91
Biszynek			N	N	REC								01/91
Dabrowno			N	N	RES					5			10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Dobre Miasto		Y	N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	10/91
Gorowo Iławeckie	Y		N	1-20	JC	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	11/91
Jarzowo	Y		N	1-20	JC	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	09/91
Jeziorany			N	N	IC	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	09/91
Jława			N	N	IC/ST	1	2	2	2	2	4	4	09/91
Ketrzyn			N	N									11/91
Lidzbark Warmiński			N	1-20	JC	2	2		3	3	1	1	10/91
Lubawa (I)			N	N	REC								11/91
Lubawa (II)			N	N	REC								11/91
Miłakowo	Y	Y	N	1-20	JC	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	11/91
Morąg	Y		CMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	11/91
Mragowo			N	N	OTH	2	2	1	1	3	2	2	11/91
Niedzica (I)	Y		N	21+	JC	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	10/91
Niedzica (II)	Y		BMW	21+	JC	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	10/91
Olsztyn	Y	Y	N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Olsztynek		Y	N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	10/91
Ostroda	Y	Y	BMW	101+	JC	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	09/91
Reszel		Y	N	N	JC	2	1	2	1	4		2	10/91
Szczytno	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	09/91
Zaléwo	Y	Y	N	21+	JC	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	09/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Opole Region													
Biala	Y	Y	N	501+	JC	5	4	1	1	1	1	2	09/91
Brzeg	Y		CF	101+	JC	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	03/92
Byczyna	Y	Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	03/92
Glogowek	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	04/92
Głubczyce (I)			CMW	1-20	JC	2	2	4	2	1	1	2	04/92
Głubczyce (II)			BMW	N	REC	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	04/92
Gogolin	Y	Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	05/92
Kluczbork			BMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	05/92
Kozle			N	1-20	JC	3	2	4	2	1	1	2	04/92
Krapkowice	Y	Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	05/92
Lesnica		Y	CF	21+	JC	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	03/92
Lewin Brzeski			N	1-20	AG	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	03/92
Miejsc	Y		N	101+	JC	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	04/92
Namyslow			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	03/92
Nysa			N	N	WD	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	04/92
Opole	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	3	3	3	1	1	3	03/92
Pokoj	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	3	3	3	2	1	1	2	05/92
Prudnik	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	04/92
Strzelce Opolskie			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	05/92
Ujazd	Y	Y	N	21+	JC	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	05/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Wolczyn	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	3	2	3	2	2	1	3	03/92
Ostroleka Region													
Brok	Y		CF	21+	JC	2	2	1		1	1	1	08/91
Chorzele		Y	N	21+	JC	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Goworowo			N	1-20	AG	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	08/91
Krasnosielc			CF	N	IC/ST	1	1	1	2	5	1	5	08/91
Makow Mazowiecki (I)			CF/N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	08/91
Makow Mazowiecki (II)	Y		BF	101+	IC	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	08/91
Myszyniec			N	N	AG/JC	3	1	5	4	1	1	2	08/91
Ostroleka		Y	CF	21+	RES	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	08/91
Ostrow Mazowiecka (I)			N	1-20	AG	3	1	2		1	1	1	08/91
Ostrow Mazowiecka (II)			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	08/91
Popowo Koscielne	Y		N	1-20	JC	3	3	4	4	1	1	1	08/91
Przasnysz		Y	N	21+	IC/RC	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	08/91
Rozan (I)			CF	1-20	REC	1	3	1	1	5	5	5	08/91
Rozan (II)			N	N	AG	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	08/91
Wyszkow		Y	N	N	AG	1	1	1	4	4	1	2	08/91
Pila Region													
Budzyn			N	N	RES								08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Chodzież			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Czarnków (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Czarnków (II)			N	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	08/91
Człopa			N	21+	JC	3	2	4	1	1	1	4	08/91
Debrzno Wiesz	Y		N	1-20	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	08/91
Golanż			BMW	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Jastrowie	Y	Y	N	21+	JC	3	4	4	1	3	1	4	08/91
Krajenka			N	N	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Lendyczek			N	1-20	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Lobzenica			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Lubasz			N	1-20	JC	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	08/91
Margonin			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Miasteczko Krajeńskie			N	21+	JC	3	2	3	1	1	1	3	08/91
Mirosławiec	Y	Y	BMW	21+	JC	3	4	4	1	1	1	4	08/91
Piła (I)			CF	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1		1	08/91
Piła (II)		Y	N	21+	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Polajew			N	N	IC/JC	2	2	1	1	4	1	4	08/91
Rogozno			N	N	JC	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Ryczywół			N	1-20	AG	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	10/91
Szamocin			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Trzcianka			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Tuczno	Y		N	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	08/91
Ujście			N	N	RES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wągrowiec			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Walcz			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wartosław			N	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wielen			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wronki (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wronki (II)			N	N	WD/AG	1	1	5	1	5	5	1	08/91
Wyrzysk			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Wysoka			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Złotow			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Piotrkow Trybunalski Region													
Bedkow			BMW	N	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Belchatow (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Belchatow (II)			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Inowłodz			N	21+	JC	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	11/91
Kamiensk			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Opoczno (I)			CF	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Opoczno (II)			BMW	1-20		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12/91
Piotrkow Trybunalski	Y		CMW	501+	JC	3	2	2	3	1	1	2	10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Przedborz			N	101+	OTH								09/91
Radomsko	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Rozprza			N	1-20	AG	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	10/91
Sulmierzyce			N	N	WD	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	10/91
Sulejow				N	REC		1	1	1		1		
Szercow			N	1-20	IC		1	1	1	5	1		
Tomaszow Mazowiecki	Y		CMW	501+	JC	4	3	3	3	1	1	3	09/91
Ujazd			N	N		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Wolborz			N	N	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Zarnow			N	1-20	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Zelow			N	N	IC	3	5	1	1	1	5	1	11/91
Plock Region													
Bodzanow			BMW	N	JC	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	11/91
Czerwinski			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Drobin		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Gabin			N	1-20	JC	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	11/91
Gostynin			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Ilow			N	N	WD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Kierozia			N	N	JC	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	11/91
Krosniewice			N	N	JC	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	11/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Kutno			N	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Leczyca			N	N	RES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Piatek	Y		N	1-20	AG	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	11/91
Plock (I)	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	11/91
Plock (II)			N	N	RS/JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Sierpc	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC/AG	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	11/91
Wyszogrod (I)			N	N	IC/WD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Wyszogrod (II)	Y	Y	N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Zychlin	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11/91
Poznan Region													
Buk		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	08/91
Czempin				N								5	08/91
Czarniejewo			N	N	JC	5			1	1			08/91
Dolsk			N		JC			5	5	1	1	5	08/91
Gniezno (I)			CF	N	ST	1	5		5		1	5	08/91
Gniezno (II)			CMW	N	RC/RS							5	08/91
Gniezno (III)			N	N	AG	1	5	1	2	1	1	5	08/91
Grodzisk Wlkp				N	IC							5	08/91
Klecko			N	N	AG	5						5	08/91
Kornik			CF	N									08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Ksiaz Wlkp			N	N	OTH	5						5	08/91
Lwówek			N	N	IC							5	08/91
Miescisko			N	N	JC								08/91
Miloslaw			N	N		5						5	08/91
Mosina	Y		BMW	N	REC	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	08/91
Murowana Goszina			N	N	WD	5	5	5				5	08/91
Oborniki Wlkp			N	N	REC							5	08/91
Obrzycko			N	N	REC							5	08/91
Pniewy			N	N	AG	5			5			5	08/91
Pobiedziska			BMW	1-20	AG		5	5	5			5	08/91
Poznan			BF	N	IC							5	08/91
Poznan-Milostowo	Y		CMW	1-20	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Rakoniewice			N	N	AG	5						5	08/91
Sierakow			N	N	WD		5					5	08/91
Skoki			N	N	REC	5						5	08/91
Srem		Y	N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Sroda Wlkp			BMW	N	WD	5					5	5	08/91
Strzeszew			N	N	RES				5			5	08/91
Swarzedz			N	N	IC				5			5	08/91
Szamotuly			BMW	N	REC							5	08/91
Wrzesnia			N	N	IC							5	08/91

Zaniemysl			N	N	N	AG	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	08/91
Przemysl Region															
Bircza	Y			BW/BF	21+	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	09/91
Cieszanow		Y	CF		N	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	10/91
Dubiecko			N		1-20	AG	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	10/91
Dynow (I)		Y	CF		N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	12/91
Dynow (II)		Y	CF		1-20	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	01/92
Jaroslaw	Y		N		21+	JC	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	10/91
Kanczuga	Y		N		101+		3	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	11/91
Krasiczyn			N		1-20	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	11/91
Krzyweza			BF		1-20	JC	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	09/91
Lubaczow	Y	Y	CW/CF		501+	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	09/91
Narol			N		N		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	01/92
Oleszyce		Y	CF		501+	JC	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	3	09/91
Przemysl (I)			N		N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		12/91
Przemysl (II)	Y	Y	BMW		501+	JC	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	12/91
Przeworsk			N		N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		12/91
Rybotycze			N		101+	JC	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	10/91
Sieniawa	Y	Y	CF		501+	JC	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	09/91
Stary Dzikow			N		N		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		12/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Wielkie Oczy			N	1-20	JC	1	3	3	1	1	1	3	12/91
Radom Region													
Bialobrzegi			N	N	AG/RC	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	08/91
Bledow	Y		CF	N	JC/WD	3	2	1	2	2	4	1	08/91
Ciepielow			N	N	IC/ST	1	5	1	5	5	5	5	08/91
Drzewica			N	N	AG/IC	5	5		3	4	5	5	08/91
Glowaczow			BF	N	AG	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	08/91
Gniewoszow			N	N	AG	1	3	1	2	3	3	3	08/91
Gniewoszow (Granica)			N	N	WD	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	08/91
Gowarczow			N	N	AG	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	08/91
Grojec	Y		N	21+	AG/RC	2	3	1	2	3	3	1	08/91
Ilza	Y		N	N	JC	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	08/91
Kazanow			N	1-20	AG	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	08/91
Klwow			N	N	JC	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	08/91
Kozienice	Y		CMW	1-20	JC	2	3	3	3	1	1	2	08/91
Lipisko			N	N	REC	1	2	1	2	3	3	1	08/91
Magnuszew			N	N	JC	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	08/91
Mogielnica			N	1-20	REC	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	08/91
Nowe Miasto nad Pilica			N	N	WD/IC	4	4	5	4	5	5	4	08/91
Przysucha	Y		CMW	21+	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	08/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Przytyk	Y		N	1-20	AG/RC	3	3	5	1	4	3	3	08/91
Radom		Y	CMW	101+	JC	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	08/91
Ryczywol			N	N	AG	3	3	2	3	1	1	3	08/91
Stienno			N	N	JC	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	08/91
Skaryszew			N	N	AG	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	08/91
Solec nad Wisla			N	N	JC	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	08/91
Szydłowiec	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	3	4	1	3	2	3	08/91
Warka			N	N	JC	2	1	2	1	3	3	1	08/91
Wierzbica			BMW	N	JC	3	2	1	2	1	1	3	08/91
Wolanow			N	N	JC	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	08/91
Zwolen			N	N	REC	2	1	1	3	3	2	1	08/91
Rzeszow Region													
Błazow			BF/BW	21+	JC	3	2	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Czudec			N	N	AG	2	2	5	1	2	2	5	05/92
Frysztak (I)			N	21+	JC	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Frysztak (II)			N	21+	JC	5	1	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Glogow Malopolski (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	06/92
Glogow Malopolski (II)			N	N	REC	2	1	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Grodzisko Dolne			N	N	JC	5	1	5	1	2	2	5	06/92
Kobuszowa		Y	CF/CW	101+	JC	4	1	2	1	1	1	2	05/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Lancut (I)			N	1-20	JC	5	2	5	1	2	2	5	05/92
Lancut (II)		Y	CF	1-20	JC	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	05/92
Lezajsk		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	1	2	1	1	5	1	04/92
Mielec (I)			N	N	JC	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	06/92
Mielec (II)		Y	N	1-20	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	06/92
Niebylec			N	N	JC	1	1	5	1	5	5	5	06/92
Ranizow			N	1-20	JC	3	1	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Ropezyce		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	06/92
Rzeszow (I)			N	N	REC								04/92
Rzeszow (II)	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	04/92
Sedziszow Malopolski		Y	CF	1-20	JC	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	06/92
Sokolow Malopolski (I)	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	1	1	2	1	5	4	2	04/92
Sokolow Malopolski (II)			CMW	N	IC/ST	1	1	5	1	3	4	1	04/92
Stryzow-Okopisko (I)			CF	N	REC	2	2		1			2	05/92
Stryzow-Okopisko (II)			BF	N	REC	2	2	5	1	5	5	5	05/92
Stryzow-Okopisko (III)			N	1-20	JC	2	2	5	1	1	1	5	05/92
Twierdza-Glinik Dolny			BMW	21+	JC	5	1	5	1	1	1	5	06/92
Tyczyn		Y	BW/BF	1-20	JC	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	04/92
Wielopole Skrzynskie		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	06/92
Zolynia		Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	06/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Siedlce Region													
Adamow			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	07/92
Garwolin			N	1-20	JC	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	10/92
Jadow			BMW	1-20	REC	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	10/92
Kaluszyn (I)			N	N									10/92
Kaluszyn (II)			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/92
Kolbiel			N			2	2	1	2	1	1	1	12/92
Kosow Lacki (I)			N	N	ST								10/92
Kosow Lacki (II)			BMW	N	JC	1	2	1		1	1	1	10/92
Laskarzew		Y	CMW	1-20	JC	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	09/92
Latowicz			N	N	JC	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	12/92
Lukow (I)			N	N	IOC								11/92
Lukow (II)		Y	BF	21+	JC	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	11/92
Maciejowice		Y	N	N	JC	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	11/92
Minsk Mazowiecki (I)			N	N	OTH								10/92
Minsk Mazowiecki (II)		Y		101+	JC	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	10/92
Mokobody			N	N	REC	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	12/92
Mordy			BF	21+	JC	1	3	1		2	1	1	10/92
Parysow			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/92
Siedlce		Y	BMW	501+	JC	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	11/92
Seroczyn			BF	1-20	JC	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	08/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Sobienie Yeziory			N	1-20	JC	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	08/92
Sokolow Podlaski (I)			N	N	JC	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	11/92
Sokolow Podlaski (II)			N	N	OTH								11/92
Stanislawow			N	N	OTH	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	03/93
Sterdyn			N	N	JC	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	10/92
Stoczek Lukowski			CF	N	JC	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	12/92
Stoczek Wegowski		Y	CF	1-20	JC/JC	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	10/92
Wegrow		Y	CF	501+	JC/JC	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	10/92
Zelechow		Y	CF	101+	JC	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	10/92
Sieradz Region													
Blaszki (I)			N	N	AG	5	5	3	2	4	3	5	11/92
Blaszki (II)			CMW	N	IC								11/92
Burzenin			N	N	AG	3	2	2	2	1	2	4	1/92
Dzialoszyn			BMW	N	JC	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	11/92
Lutomiersk			N	N	JC/AG	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	11/92
Lututow			N	N	JC	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	11/92
Lask (I)			N	21+	AG/RC	5	3			4	3	3	11/92
Lask (II)			N	N	REC								11/92
Osjakow			N	1-20	JC	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	11/92
Poddebice			N	1-20	JC	3	4	3	4	5	5	4	11/92

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Sieradz		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	11/92
Szadek			N	21+		4	4	2	5	3	2	2	11/92
Warta (I)	Y	Y	BMW	101+	JC	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	11/92
Warta (II)	Y		N	N	RES								11/92
Widawa	Y		N	1-20	A/C/W	4	2	2	3	4	3	2	11/92
Wielun	Y		N	N	JC	1	2	2	4	2	3	2	11/92
Zdunska Wola			BMW	101+	JC	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	11/92
Zloczew			N	1-20	AG	4	1	4	1	3	2	4	11/92
Skiermiewice Region													
Biala Rawska			N	21+	JC	3	2	4	1	1	1	2	09/91
Bolimow			N	1-20	JC	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	06/91
Brzeziny			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	06/91
Jezow		Y	CF	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	06/91
Lowicz		Y	BMW	101+	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	06/91
Mszczonow		Y	BF	21+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Rawa Mazowiecka			N	1-20	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	07/91
Skiermiewice (I)			CF	1-20	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	07/91
Skiermiewice (II)			N	1-20	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	07/91
Sobota			N	N	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	07/91
Sochaczew		Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	07/91

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Wiskitiki			BMW	21+	JC	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	09/91
Zyrardow		Y	CF	101+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/91
Slupsk Region															
Czarne			BMW	N	RES										08/92
Czluchow			N	N	REC										08/92
Debrzno			N	N	RES									5	08/92
Suwalki Region															
Augustow (I)			CF	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Augustow (II)		Y	N	1-20	REC	4	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Bakalarzewo	Y		N	21+	AG	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Berzniki			N	N	AG	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Elk			N	N	JC	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	10/94
Filipow	Y		N	21+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Gizycko			N	N	REC										10/94
Goldap (I)		Y	CMW	21+	JC	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Goldap (II)			BMW	1-20	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Jeleniewo	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Krasnopol			N	1-20	JC		1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	10/94
Lipsk	Y		N	21+	JC	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Mikolajki	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	09/94
Moczydly (Raczki)	Y		CF	1-20	JC	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	09/94
Olecko		Y	N	N	REC								09/94
Pisz			N	1-20	JC	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	09/94
Przerosl	Y		BMW	21+	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Punsk	Y		BMW	1-20	JC	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Ryn			N	1-20	JC	4	2	2	1	2	1	1	09/94
Sejny (Marynowo)	Y		N	21+	JC	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	09/94
Suwalki	Y	Y	CMW	101+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/94
Wegorzewo			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	10/94
Wizajny			BMW	N	REC								09/94
Wydmyny			N	1-20	JC	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/94
Szczecin Region													
Banie	Y	Y	BMW	21+	JC	3	4	2	1	1	1	4	10/91
Boguslawie			N	1-20	ST/WD	3	4	2	2	1	1	4	10/91
Cedynia		Y	BMW	1-20	C/S/W	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	10/91
Chojna		Y	BMW	1-20	RC/ST	4	3	2	3	1	1	3	10/91
Dobra Nowogardzka			CF	N	REC	3	3	1		2	2	5	10/91
Dobrzany		Y	BMW	1-20	RC/IC	2	2	1	2	3		1	10/91
Gryfice			N	N	REC	3	4	3	2	5	4	4	10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Gryfino			N	N	C/W/S	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	10/91
Jozefin			BMW	21+	AG	4	3	4	3	1	1	1	10/91
Kamien Pomorski			N	N	RC/IC	2	2	3	2	4	4	2	10/91
Moryn		Y	N	N	C/W/S	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	10/91
Nowogard			N	1-20	REC	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	10/91
Ploty			N	N	RES	1	1	3	3	5	5	5	10/91
Resko			N	1-20	REC	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	10/91
Siwkowice			N	1-20	ST/WD	5	4	2	2	1	2	3	10/91
Stargard Szczecinski			N	N	REC	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	04/91
Szczecin (I)		Y	N	21+	JC	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	10/91
Szczecin (II)		Y	N	1-20	REC	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	10/91
Trzcinsko Zdroj			N	N	RES	2	3	5	3	5	5	5	10/91
Trzebiatow			N	1-20	REC	2	4	1	1	3	1	1	10/91
Wegorzyno			N	21+	R/S/W	4	3	4	3	5	5	5	10/91
Wolin			BMW	1-20	A/S/W	4	3	3	3	2	2	3	10/91
Tarnobrzeg Region													
Annopol (I)			N	N	RC/IC	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	10/91
Annopol (II)	Y		N	1-20	AG	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	10/91
Baranow Sandomierski		Y	N	N	REC	3	2	3	2	2	4	3	10/91
Bogoria		Y	N	N	IC	1	1	4	1	5	5	5	11/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Iwaniska			N	N	AG	4	3	4	2	1	1	4	11/91
Janow Lubelski (I)			N	N	IC								11/91
Janow Lubelski (II)			N	N	REC	3	2	2	2	3	4	2	11/91
Klimontow			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	10/91
Koprzywnica			N	1-20	AG/WD	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	11/91
Krzyszow	Y		N	21+	JC	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	10/91
Majdan Krolewski (I)	Y		BMW	1-20	WD	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	11/91
Majdan Krolewski (II)			N	N	IC/RC	2	3	3	5	5	3	4	11/91
Modliborzyce			N	N	AG	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	11/91
Nisko			N	N	W/I/C	2	2	3	4	2	4	3	11/91
Opatow		Y	BMW	21+	REC	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	11/91
Osiek			N	N	AG	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	11/91
Ozarow	Y	Y	BMW	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	10/91
Polaniec			N	N	AG	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	10/91
Radomysl nad Sanem			N	N	IC/RC	4	2	3	1	2	4	1	10/91
Rudnik nad Sanem (I)			N	N	W/I/C								10/91
Rudnik nad Sanem (II)			N	N	IC/ST	1	1	4	5	5	5	5	10/91
Sandomierz (I)	Y	Y	CF/CW	21+	JC/RC	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	10/91
Sandomierz (II)			N	N	IC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Stalowa Wola			N	N	IC								11/91
Staszow (I)			BMW	N	AG	2	2	3	3	3	4	2	11/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Staszow (II)			N	N	IC/RC								11/91
Tarlow		Y	N	N	REC	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	11/91
Tarnobrzeg (I)			N	N	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Tarnobrzeg (II)	Y	Y	CF	1-20	IC	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	10/91
Ulanow	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	10/91
Winnica			N	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Zaklikow			N		WD/AG	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	11/91
Zawichost		Y	CMW	1-20	JC	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	12/91
Tarnow Region													
Bochnia	Y	Y	CF	501+	JC	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	07/91
Brzesko (I)			CMW	N	IC								07/91
Brzesko (II)		Y	CMW	501+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	07/91
Brzostek			N	N	AG	2	1	2	1	1	1	4	07/91
Dabrowa Tarnowska		Y	CF	21+	JC	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	07/91
Debica		Y	BF	501+	REC	1	1	5	1	4	1	5	07/91
Jodlowa			N	21+	JC	4	4	3	1	1	1	5	07/91
Nowy Wisnicz	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	07/91
Olpiny			N	N	AG	2	1	2	1	1	1	4	07/91
Pilzno			N	1-20	AG	1	1	4	1	1	1	4	07/91
Radomysl Wielki	Y	Y	N	21+	AG	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	07/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Ryglice			N	101+	AG	3	2	3	1	1	1	4	07/91
Rzepiennik Strzyzewski			N	21+	JC	3	2		3	1	1	5	07/91
Szczucin			N	21+	JC	3	2	3	1	1	1	5	07/91
Tarnow	Y	Y	CMW	501+	JC	4	2	4	2	1	1	3	07/91
Tuchow			N	N	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	07/91
Zabno	Y		BMW	101+	AG	2	2	5	1	1	1	5	07/91
Zakliczyn		Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	07/91
Torun Region													
Brodnica			N	N	IOC								10/91
Chelmno			N	N	REC								10/91
Chelmza			N	N	REC								10/91
Golub-Dobrzyn (I)			CF	N	OTH								10/91
Golub-Dobrzyn (II)			N	N	REC								10/91
Gorzno			N	N	AG								10/91
Grudziadz (I)			N	N	AG								10/91
Grudziadz (II)			BF	N	OTH								10/91
Kowalewo Pomorskie			N	N	AG/IC								10/91
Lasin			N	N	REC								10/91
Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (I)			N	N	REC								10/91
Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (II)			N	N	REC								10/91

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Radzyn Chelminski			N	N	AG														10/91
Torun	Y	Y	BMW	N	REC	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10/91
Wabrzezno			N	N															10/91
Walbrzych Region																			
Dzierzoniow		Y	CMW	101+	JC	2	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	10/91
Klodzko			BW/CW	101+	JC/WD	3	2	4	1	3	1	4	3	1	4	3	1	4	10/91
Ladek-Zdroj																			10/91
Mieroszow (I)			BF	1-20	JC	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	3	2	10/91
Mieroszow (II)			N	1-20	JC	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	10/91
Strzegom			CMW	21+	JC	3	3	4	1	3	1	4	3	1	4	3	1	4	10/91
Swidnica			BF	21+	JC	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	10/91
Swiebodzice			CMW	21+	JC	3	2	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	2	1	10/91
Szczawno Zdroj			N	N	REC														08/92
Walbrzych (I)	Y	Y	BF	101+	JC	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	10/91
Walbrzych (II)			N	N															08/92
Zabkowice																			10/91
Ziebice			CW/BW	101+	JC	2	3	3	1	3	3	4	3	1	4	3	4	4	10/91

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Warsaw (Warszawa) Region²⁸													
Blonie			W/F	10									
Gora Kalwaria	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	1	1						03/91
Grodzisk Mazowiecki			W/F	80									
Karczew			W/F	100									
Nadarzyn				N									
Nowy Dwor			W/F	10									
Okuniew			W/F	50									
Otwock			W/F	200									
Piaseczno				15									
Pruszkow				200									
Radosc				3									
Serock				N									
Tarczyn				N									
Warsaw	Y	Y	CMW	5001+	JC	5	2	5	4	1	1		11/93
Warsaw-Praga				6000									
Zakroczym				N									

²⁸ Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Wlodelawek Region²⁹													
Aleksandrow Kujawski				N									
Brzesc Kujawski				N									
Chodecz			W/F	N									
Ciechocinek			W/F	N									
Dobrzyn			N	N	AG	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	09/95
Kowal			W/F	N									
Kikol			W/F	N									
Lipno			N	N	IOC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/95
Lubien Kujawski			W/F	N									
Lubramiec			W/F	N									
Nieszawa				N									
Polichnowo			W/F	N									
Rypin (I)			N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/95
Rypin (II)			N	1-20	JC/RC	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	09/95
Rypin (III)	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC/AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	09/95
Skepe			W/F	N									
Wlodelawek (I)				N									
Wlodelawek (II)				20									

²⁹ Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE LM RES W/F STONES USE VE ER VA PO ND FD SE SD

Wroclaw Region ³⁰												
Bierutów (I)			W/F	50								
Bierutów (II)			W/F	1								
Brzeg Dolny			W/F	N								
Katy				N								
Milicz				N								
Olawa			W/F	50								
Olesnica			W/F	N								
Prusice				N								
Psie Pole				N								
Sroda Slaska				N								
Strzelin (I)				N								
Strzelin (II)				N								
Trzebnica			W/F	N								
Twardogora			W/F	N								
Winko				35								
Wroclaw, ul. Gwarna				N								
Wroclaw, ul. Lotnicza			W/F	8000								

30 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Wroclaw, ul. Slezna				6000									
Zmigrod				N									
Zamosc Region³¹													
Bilgoraj (I)				N									
Bilgoraj (II)				50									
Frampol				50									
Goraj (I)	Y		CF	N	RES	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	09/95
Goraj (II)	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC/RC	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	09/95
Gorzkow			N	N	J/A/W	4	1	1	3	1	2	1	08/95
Grabowiec-Bronislawka			N	N	AG	4	1	1	4	4	1	1	08/95
Grabowiec			N	N	AG	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	08/95
Horodlo (I)			N	N	JC	4	1	1	3	2	1	1	08/95
Horodlo (II)			N	1-20	JC	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	08/95
Hrubieszow	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC	4	1	1	1	4	2	1	08/95
Izbica	Y	Y	N	1-20	JC/OTH	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	08/95
Jozefow Bilgorajski	Y		BF	101+	JC	5	1	1	5	3	1	1	09/95
Komarow	Y	Y	CF	21+	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/95
Krasnobrod		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	4	1	2	2	2	1	09/95

31 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Krylow		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	4	1	2	2	2	1	08/95
Laszczow			W/F	N									
Lubycza Krolewska				N									
Szczebrzeszyn	Y		BF	101+	JC	5	4	1	5	3	1	1	08/95
Tarnograd		Y	CMW/CF	101+	JC	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	09/95
Tomaszow Lubelski		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	09/95
Turobin		Y	N	1-20	JC	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	09/95
Tyszowce (I)	Y	Y	CF	1-20	JC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/95
Tyszowce (II)	Y		N	N	REC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	08/95
Uchanie		Y	BF	N	JC	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	08/95
Wysokie			W/F	N									
Zamosc (I)	Y	Y	CF	101+	JC	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	08/95
Zamosc (II)			N	N	REC	4	1	1	2	4	2	1	08/95
Zolkiewka			W/F	N									
Zwierzyniec		Y	N	1-20	JC	5	3	1	2	2	5	1	09/95
Zielona Gora Region³²													
Krosno Odrzanskie				N									
Lubsko			W/F	N									

32 Preliminary information for region based on survey-in-progress (October 1995).

SITE	LM	RES	W/F	STONES	USE	VE	ER	VA	PO	ND	FD	SE	SD
Nowa Sol				N									
Nowe Miasteczko				N									
Rybaki			W/F	N									
Szprotawa			W/F	3									
Torzyn			W/F	N									
Wolsztyn				N									
Zagan				N									
Zary (I)			W/F	14									
Zary (II)				50									
Zasieki			W/F	1									
Zielona Gora (I)			W/F	N									
Zielona Gora (II)				N									

APPENDIX IV: CEMETERIES WITH GRAVESTONES DATING FROM BEFORE 1800
by Jan Jagielski

TOWN	LOCATION	DATE	STONES	REGISTER OF MONUMENTS
Wroclaw	cemetery, ul. Slezna	1203-1345	5	+
Swidnica	Muzeum Kupiectwa	1362, 13. .	2	
Szczebrzeszyn	cemetery	16th century	30	+
Lublin	cemetery, ul. Sienna	1541-18th century	40	+
Lesko	cemetery, ul. Slowackiego	1548-18th century	300	+
Krakow	cemetery, ul. Szeroka	1553-18th century	800	+
Olkusz	cemetery, ul. Skawinska	1609-18th century	10	
Biala Prudnicka	cemetery, ul. Parkow	1622-18th century	300	+
Pieczow	wall by synagogue	1622-18th century	fragments	
Checiny	cemetery, Gora Zamkowa	1638-18th century	40	+
Cieszyn	cemetery, ul. Hazlask	1686-18th century	80	+
Siemiawa	cemetery	1686-18th century	50	+
Opatow	lapidarium at cemetery	1707-18th century	fragments	
Miedzyrzec Podlaski	cemetery wall, ul. Brzeska	1708-18th century	4	+
Przedborz	cemetery, ul. Ogrodowa	1708-18th century	10	
Leszno	town museum	17th/18th century	2	
Baligród	cemetery	1716,1731,1734	3	
Tomaszow Lubelski	cemetery	1724-18th century	3	
Lubaczow	cemetery, ul. Kosciuszki	1726-18th century	10	+

Mikolow	cemetery, Dzierzynskiego	1726-18th century	50		+
Kromolow	cemetery, ul. Piaskowa 29	1730-18th century	8		+
Tarnow	cemetery, ul. Sloneczna	1734-18th century	50		+
Tykocin	cemetery	1739-18th century	5		+
Nowy Zmigrod	cemetery	1742-18th century	10		
Krynki	cemetery	1750-18th century?	?		+
Mirowslawiec	cemetery, ul. Parkowa	1752-18th century	5		+
Szczecinek	town museum	1756	1		
Wielowies	cemetery	1762-18th century	20		
Debrzno	cemetery	1758,1776	2		+
Dobrodzien	cemetery, ul. Lubliniecka	1759-18th century	5		+
Jozefow Bilgor.	cemetery	1762-18th century	15		+
Krzepice	cemetery, nad Liswarta	1763-18th century	10		+
Oleszyce	cemetery	1767-18th century	20		
Miejscce	cemetery	1768	?		+
Milocice	cemetery	1769-18th century	5		
Przysucha	cemetery, ul. Wiejska	1771	1		+
Przytyk	cemetery	1771, 1787	2		+
Biskupice	cemetery	1772 ?, 1792	2		+
Mszczonow	cemetery, ul. Poniatowski	1772-18th century	5		
Czlopa	cemetery	1777-18th century	?		
Trzciel	cemetery	1779-18th century	5		

Cieszowa	cemetery	1780-18th century	?	
Poznan	Museum in Zabikowie	1780-18th century	5	
Wisnicz	cemetery	1786-18th century	?	+
Gdansk	cemetery, ul. Cmentarna	1786-18th century	?	+
Trzemeszno Lubuskie	cemetery	1786-18th century	?	
Rusocice	cemetery	1789	1	
Wegrow	lapidarium, ul. Wroblewski	1789-18th century	5	
Janow Czestochowski	cemetery, ul. Kosciuszki	1791-18th century	?	
Jeleniewo	cemetery	1788-18th century	5	
Biala Rawska	cemetery, ul. Polna	1791	1	
Suraz	cemetery, ul. Bialostocka	1792-18th century	?	
Piotrkow Trybunalski	cemetery, ul. Spacerowa	1794, 1795	2	
Lutowiska	cemetery	1796	1	
Wola Michowa	cemetery	1797	1	
Choroszcz	cemetery	1797-18th century	?	

APPENDIX V: LIST OF VOIVODSHIP (REGIONAL) CONSERVATION OFFICES

Voivodship	Regional Conservator	Address
1. Warszawa	Maria Brukalska	00-082 Warszawa, ul. Senatorska 14, tel. 26-57-52, 26-57-51
2. Białą Podlaska	Janusz Marański	21-500 Białą Podlaska, ul. Prosta 35, tel. (k. 880), 43-58-24
3. Białystok	Antoni Oleksicki	15-565 Białystok, ul. Dojlidy Fabryczne 23, tel. (885) 41-23-32
4. Bielsko-Białą	Karol Gruszczyk	43-300 Bielsko- Białą, ul. 1 Maja 8, tel. (830) 23-774
5. Bydgoszcz	Maciej Obremski	85-102 Bydgoszcz, ul. Jezuicka 2, tel. (852) 22-44-17, 22-49-98
6. Chełm	Zygmunt Gardziński	22-100 Chełm, ul. Lubelska 63, tel. (882) 55-972
7. Ciechanów	Krzysztof Kaliściak	06-400 Ciechanów, ul. Mickiewicza 4, tel. (823) 49-52
8. Częstochowa	Aleksander Broda	42-200 Częstochowa, ul. Mirowska 8, tel. (833) 65-16-38
9. Elbląg	Maria Lubocka-Hoffmann	82-300 Elbląg, ul. Wojska Polskiego 1, tel. (850) 24-553
10. Gdańsk	Marcin Gawlicki	80-881 Gdańsk, ul. Kotwiczników 20, tel. (0-58) 31-62-67, 31-62-68
11. Gorzów Wlkp.	Władysław Chrostowski	66-413 Gorzów Wlkp., ul. Jagiellończyka 8, tel. (860) 23-612
12. Jelenia Góra	Wojciech Kapałczyński	58-500 Jelenia Góra, ul. 1 Maja 23, tel. (875) 26-865
13. Kalisz	Lech Narębski	62-800 Kalisz, ul. Franciszkańska 3/5, tel. (862) 76-421
14. Katowice	Jacek Owczarek	40-042 Katowice, ul. Wita Stwosza 31, tel. (832) 51-86-07
15. Kielce	Anna Piasecka	25-955 Kielce, Al. IX Wieków Kielc 3, tel. (0-41) 45-634, 21-886, 21-414
16. Konin	Andrzej Nowak	Posada, 62-530 Kazimierz Biskupi, woj. konińskie, tel. (863) 975 w. 21-29-36
17. Koszalin	Andrzej Fijałkowski	75-602 Koszalin, ul. Zwycięstwa 125, tel. (894) 26-147 w. 210, 27-038
18. Kraków	Andrzej Gaczoł	31-004 Kraków, pl. Wszystkich Świętych 3/4, tel. (0-12) 22-06-41, 16-14-17, 22-59-77
19. Krosno	Alojzy Cabała	38-400 Krosno, ul. Pawła z Krosna 4, tel. (898) 20-306, 22-401
20. Legnica	Zdzisław Kurzeja	59-220 Legnica, ul. Zamkowa 2, tel. (876) 21-761, 29-516
21. Leszno	Aleksander Starzyński	64-100 Leszno, pl. Komeńskiego 6, tel. (865) 20-22-83, 20-63-83
22. Lublin	Halina Landecka	20-080 Lublin, ul. Archidiakańska 4, tel. (0-81) 29-035
23. Łomża	Wiesława Szymańska	18-400 Łomża, ul. Nowogrodzka 157, tel. (886) 34-08
24. Łódź	Bronisław Podgarbi	90-361 Łódź, ul. Piotrkowska 252/254, tel. (0-42) 36-37-67, 36-37-69
25. Nowy Sącz	Zygmunt Lewczuk	33-300 Nowy Sącz, ul. Kilińskiego 68, tel. (0-18) 23-838
26. Olsztyn	Jacek Wysocki	10-076 Olsztyn, ul. Podwale 1, tel. (889) 27-21-36
27. Opole	Janusz Prusiewicz	45-082 Opole, ul. Piastowska 14, tel. (877) 24-104, 24-342, 24-433
28. Ostrołęka	Ewa Kawalek	07-400 Ostrołęka, ul. Piłsudskiego 38, tel. (888) 66-829
29. Piła	Roman Chwaliszewski	64-920 Piła, ul. Tczewska 1, tel. (867) 22-388 w. 237
30. Piotrków Tryb.	Zygmunt Błaszczuk	97-300 Piotrków Tryb., ul. Farna 8 tel. (841) 47-62-79
31. Płock	Dorota Zaremba p.o.	09-400 Płock, ul. Wieczorka 8, tel. (824) 627-671, 627-558, 627-834
32. Poznań	Maria Strzałko	61-834 Poznań, ul. Gołębia 2, tel. (0-61) 52-80-02 do 04
33. Przemyśl	Paweł Kozioł	37-700 Przemyśl, ul. Waygarta 8, tel. (810) 59-44, 61-78
34. Radom	Ryszard Kański	26-600 Radom, ul. Moniuszki 5a, tel. (848) 21-316
35. Rzeszów	Zbigniew Jucha	35-064 Rzeszów, ul. Mickiewicza 7, tel. (0-17) 39-461, 39-462
36. Siedlce	Stanisław Fiedorczyk	08-110 Siedlce, ul. Zbrojna 3, tel. (825) 39-458
37. Sieradz	Elżbieta Bąbka	98-200 Sieradz, ul. Kościuszki 3, tel. (849) 38-15
38. Skierniewice	Marian Rożej	96-100 Skierniewice, ul. Trzcinańska 21/23, tel. (826) 39-76
39. Słupsk	Zdzisław Daczkowski	76-200 Słupsk, ul. Jaracza 6, tel. (859) 26-434
40. Suwałki	Stanisław Tumidajewicz	16-400 Suwałki, ul. Kościuszki 7, tel. (887) 37-41
41. Szczecin	Ewa Stanecka	70-536 Szczecin, ul. Kuśnierska 20, tel. (0-91) 33-70-82, 33-70-66, 33-70-98
42. Tarnobrzeg	Dominik Komada	39-400 Tarnobrzeg, ul. Piłsudskiego 40, tel. (815) 22-81-61
43. Tarnów	Olgiard Wójcik	33-100 Tarnów, ul. Konarskiego 15, tel. (0-14) 21-28-27
44. Toruń	Miroslawa Romaniszyn	87-100 Toruń, ul. Łazienna 8, tel. (856) 26-692, 10-692, 10-644
45. Wałbrzych	Andrzej Kubik	58-300 Wałbrzych, ul. Zamkowa 1, tel. (874) 26-418, 26-660
46. Włocławek	Elżbieta Celińska	87-800 Włocławek, ul. Łęgska 42, tel. (854) 32-98-33, 32-29-78, 32-34-92
47. Wrocław	Wawrzyniec Koczyński	50-156 Wrocław, ul. Bemardińska 5, tel. (0-71) 44-38-92, 36-501, 44-14-49
48. Zamość	Tadeusz Rajski	22-400 Zamość, ul. Staszica 29, tel. (884) 59-71
49. Zielona Góra	Ewa Lukas-Janowska	65-063 Zielona Góra, ul. Kopernika 1, tel. (868) 37-45

APPENDIX VI: SURVEY INSTRUMENT FOR JEWISH CEMETERIES IN POLAND

prepared by Samuel Gruber, Director, Jewish Heritage Council

The following survey questionnaire is divided into 12 sections.

I. The Town: Present Circumstances

Information needed to place the data in a contemporary context, and to help organize the collected material.

II. Contact People

Information needed to update information, to help monitor sites, and to use if site should be revisited, or should the possibility of restoration arise.

III. History

Information needed to place site and data in a historical context, and also have available to help arouse interest in protecting and preserving the site.

IV. Location, Markers, Access, Security

Information needed to assess current situation and possibly security needs of site.

V. Tombstones and Memorial Markers

Information needed to assess condition of cemetery, and historic and artistic value of remaining tombstones.

VI. Current Use of Cemetery Site

Information needed to assess condition of cemetery and restoration needs, prior to preservation planning.

VII. Appearance and Condition of Cemetery

Information needed to assess condition of cemetery and restoration needs, prior to preservation planning.

VIII. Care and Restoration of the Cemetery

Information needed to assess condition of cemetery and restoration needs, prior to preservation planning.

IX. Structures

Information needed to assess condition of cemetery and restoration needs, prior to preservation planning.

X. Recommendations

An assessment of the most immediate dangers to the cemetery.

XI. Survey Background

Information concerning the completion of the survey needed should more work be required, if data needs to be checked, and if further questions need to be answered.

XII. Basis for completing the survey

Information concerning the completion of the survey needed to evaluate how complete and up-to-date is the survey data.

Note:

Please answer as many of the questions as possible. It is understood that not every question is applicable to each site. If a question is not applicable please answer n/a.

Please feel free to provide additional information about the site, its history and its condition if this information is available.

Thank you.

I. The Town: Present Circumstances

1. Present name of town or village in which cemetery is located, or town/village nearest to cemetery
2. Address of cemetery or location vis a vis above named town or village
3. Alternate/former names of town or village
 - Yiddish:
 - German:
 - Hungarian:
 - Polish:
 - English:
 - other:
4. Province or region
5. Longitude and Latitude
6. Distance from larger towns or centers (specify)
7. Present total town population
 - a. under 1,000
 - b. 1,000 - 5,000
 - c. 5,000 - 25,000
 - d. 25,000 - 100,000
 - e. over 100,000
8. Present Jewish population
 - a. none
 - b. under 10
 - c. 10 - 100
 - d. 100 - 1,000
 - e. 1,000 - 10,000
 - f. over 10,000

II. Contact People

(give as complete information as possible, with names, titles, addresses and telephones numbers)

9. Names of town officials (mayor, administrator, etc.) and offices (municipal office, records office, etc.) with addresses and telephone numbers

10. Names of local government, conservation, and religious authorities or offices responsible for site

11. Names of regional political, preservation, religious authorities or offices responsible for site

12. Names of local or regional individuals, institutions or organizations interested in site even if they are not responsible for it.

13. If the Jewish cemetery is locked, who has key? (give address and telephone #)

14. If the Jewish cemetery has a caretaker, give name and address

15. List other individuals, offices, institutions or organizations who may have information about the cemetery.

III. History

16. Date of earliest known Jewish community in town

17. Jewish population as of last census before World War II (give date, if known)

18. Noteworthy historical events involving or affecting the Jewish community

19. Noteworthy individuals who lived in this Jewish community

20. Date Jewish cemetery was established

21. Tzadakkim and other noteworthy Jews buried in cemetery

22. Date of last known Jewish burial in cemetery

23. Type of Jewish community which used this cemetery
- a. Orthodox (If Hasidic list branch)
 - b. Orthodox (Sephardic)
 - c. Conservative
 - d. Progressive/Reform
 - e. Neolog
 - f. other (specify)
24. Did communities from other towns and villages use this cemetery? If so, which communities?
25. Approximate distance of cemetery from congregations which used it
26. Is the cemetery listed and/or protected as a local, regional or national landmark or monument?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- If yes, give details.

IV. Location, Markers, Access, Security

27. The cemetery location is
- a. urban
 - b. suburban
 - c. rural (agricultural)
 - d. rural (woods/forest)
 - e. between fields and woods
 - f. other _____
28. The cemetery is located
- a. on flat land
 - b. on a hillside
 - c. at the crown of a hill
 - d. by water
 - e. other _____
29. The cemetery is
- a. isolated
 - b. part of a municipal cemetery
 - c. separate, but near other cemeteries
 - d. other _____

30. The cemetery is marked by
- a sign or plaque in local language (specify language: _____)
 - a sign or plaque in Yiddish
 - a sign or plaque in Hebrew
 - inscriptions in Hebrew on gate or wall
 - inscriptions on pre-burial house
 - no sign, but Jewish symbols on gate or wall (Star of David, Menorah, etc.)
 - no sign or marker
 - inscriptions in other languages (specify _____)

30a. If you answered question 30 by checking a,b,c, does the marker mention

- Jews
- the Holocaust
- the Jewish Community
- famous individuals buried in cemetery
- other (specify: _____)

31. The cemetery is reached by
- turning directly off a public road
 - turning directly off a private road
 - crossing other public property (specify: _____)
 - crossing private property
 - other (specify: _____)

32. Access to the cemetery is
- open to all
 - open with permission
 - entirely closed
 - other _____

33. The cemetery is surrounded by
- a continuous masonry wall
 - a broken masonry wall
 - a continuous fence
 - a broken fence
 - no wall or fence
 - a hedge or row of trees or bushes
 - other _____

34. The cemetery has
- a gate that locks
 - a gate that does not lock
 - no gate

VI. Appearance and Condition of Cemetery

35. Approximate size of cemetery before World War II in hectares

36. Present size of cemetery in hectares

37. Approximate number of gravestones in cemetery, regardless of condition or position
- no stones visible
 - 1 to 20
 - 20 to 100
 - 100 - 500
 - 500 - 5000
 - more than 5000
38. Approximate number of gravestones in original locations, regardless of condition
- none
 - 1 to 20
 - 20 to 100
 - 100 - 500
 - 500 - 5000
 - more than 5000
39. Approximate number of stones in cemetery, but not in original locations
- none
 - 1 to 20
 - 20 to 100
 - 100 - 500
 - 500 - 5000
 - more than 5000
40. Approximate percentage of surviving stones toppled or broken, whether or not in original locations
- none
 - less than 25%
 - 25% - 50%
 - 50% - 75%
 - more than 75%
41. Is the location of stones that have been removed from the cemetery from the cemetery known?
- yes
 - no
 - not known
- 41a. If the answer to 41 is (a), how many stones are
- in another cemetery (location: _____)
 - in a museum or conservation laboratory (location: _____)
 - incorporated into roads or structures (location: _____)
 - in private collections (location: _____)
 - elsewhere (location: _____)

42. Vegetation overgrowth in the cemetery is
- a. not a problem
 - b. a seasonal problem, preventing access
 - c. a constant problem, disturbing graves
 - d. a constant problem, disturbing stones
 - e. a constant problem, damaging stones
43. Water drainage at the cemetery is
- a. good all year round (not a problem)
 - b. a seasonal problem
 - c. a constant problem

VI. Tombstones and Memorial Markers

(note: check as many answers as are appropriate)

44. Is the cemetery divided into special sections
- a. yes
 - b. no
 - c. unable to determine
 - d. impossible to determine
- 44a. If the answer to 44 is yes, which sections?
- a. men
 - b. women
 - c. unmarried men
 - d. unmarried women
 - e. rabbis
 - f. Cohanim
 - g. children
 - h. women who died during childbirth
 - i. suicides
 - j. refugees
 - k. other: _____
45. What is the oldest known gravestone in the cemetery?
46. Tombstones in the cemetery are datable from
- a. before 1500
 - b. 16th century
 - c. 17th century
 - d. 18th century
 - e. 19th century
 - f. 20th century

47. Tombstones and memorial markers are made of
- a. marble
 - b. granite
 - c. limestone
 - d. sandstone
 - e. slate
 - f. iron
 - g. other _____
48. The cemetery contains tombstones that are
- a. rough stones or boulders
 - b. flat shaped stones
 - c. finely smoothed and inscribed stones
 - d. flat stones with carved relief decoration
 - e. double tombstones
 - f. sculpted monuments
 - g. multi-stone monuments
 - h. horizontally set stones with Sephardic inscriptions
 - i. obelisks
 - j. other _____
 - k. none of the above
49. The cemetery has tombstones
- a. with traces of painting on their surfaces
 - b. with iron decorations or lettering
 - c. with bronze decorations or lettering
 - d. with other metallic elements
 - e. portraits on stones
 - f. metal fences around graves
 - g. none of the above
50. Inscriptions on tombstones are in
- a. Hebrew
 - b. Yiddish
 - c. Polish
 - d. German
 - e. Czech
 - f. Slovak
 - g. Russian
 - h. Hungarian
 - i. other (specify _____)
51. The cemetery contains special memorial monuments to
- a. Holocaust victims
 - b. pogrom victims
 - c. epidemic victims
 - d. Jewish soldiers
 - e. other _____

52. The cemetery contains
- a. marked mass graves
 - b. unmarked mass graves
 - c. no known mass graves

VII. Current Use of Cemetery Site

(note: check as many answers as appropriate)

53. The present owner of the cemetery property is
- a. the local Jewish community
 - b. the national Jewish community
 - c. the municipality
 - d. a regional or national governmental agency
 - e. private individual (s)
 - f. unknown
54. The cemetery property is now used for
- a. Jewish cemetery use only
 - b. agricultural use (crops or animal grazing)
 - c. recreational use (park, playground, sports field)
 - d. industrial or commercial use
 - e. storage
 - f. waste dumping
 - g. residential
 - h. other _____
55. Properties adjacent to cemetery are
- a. recreational
 - b. commercial or industrial
 - c. agricultural
 - d. residential
 - e. other: _____
56. Compared to 1939, the cemetery boundaries enclose
- a. the same area
 - b. a larger area
 - c. a smaller area
 - d. not known

If answer is a, b or d, skip to question 57.

- 56a. If the boundaries are smaller, they have been reduced as a result of
- a. new roads or highways
 - b. housing development
 - c. commercial or industrial development
 - d. agriculture
 - e. other _____

57. The cemetery is visited

- a. frequently
- b. occasionally
- c. rarely

58. The cemetery is visited by

- a. organized Jewish group tours or pilgrimage groups
- b. organized individual tours
- c. private visitors (Jewish or non-Jewish)
- d. local residents
- e. other _____

VIII. Care and Restoration of the Cemetery

59. The cemetery is known to have been vandalized (stones overturned, broken or stolen; graffiti painted on walls or stones, etc.; graves desecrated)

- a. never
- b. prior to World War II
- c. during World War II
- d. never in last ten years (1981-1991)
- e. occasionally, between 1981 and 1991
- f. frequently, between 1981 and 1991
- g. between 1945 and 1981

60. What care has been taken of the cemetery?

- a. re-erection of stones
- b. patching of broken stones
- c. cleaning of stones
- d. clearing of vegetation
- e. fixing of wall
- f. fixing of gate
- g. no maintenance
- h. other _____

If answer to #60 is (g), skip to question #63

61. If restoration has been carried out, who was responsible for the work?

- a. local non-Jewish residents
- b. other individuals or groups of non-Jewish origin
- c. local/municipal authorities
- d. regional/national authorities
- e. Jewish individuals within country
- f. Jewish individuals abroad
- g. Jewish groups within country
- h. Jewish groups abroad
- i. other (specify: _____)

62. If restoration work was carried out, when was it done?

specify: _____

62a. If restoration work was carried out, has there since been vandalism?

- a. yes
- b. no

63. How is the cemetery cared for now?

- a. not at all
- b. occasional clearing or cleaning by individuals
- c. occasional clearing or cleaning by authorities
- d. regular caretaker
- e. other _____

64. If there is a caretaker, how is he paid?

- a. not paid
- b. paid by the Jewish Congregation of _____
- c. paid by a local contribution
- d. paid regularly by Jewish survivors (specify: _____)
- e. paid by contributions from visitors
- f. paid by the government
- g. other _____
- h. n/a (no caretaker)

IX. Structures

65. Within the limits of the cemetery

- a. there are no structures
- b. there is a pre-burial house
- c. there is an *ohel*
- d. there is more than one *ohel*
- e. there is a well
- f. there are other structures (specify: _____)

66. If there is a pre-burial house, it has

- a. a *tahara* (table)
- b. a catafalque
- c. wall inscriptions
- d. a chimney
- e. other distinctive features (specify: _____)

X. Recommendations

Please rate the problems facing this cemetery, using the following code:

- 1 = no threat
- 2 = slight threat
- 3 = moderate threat
- 4 = serious threat
- 5 = very serious threat

67. Security (uncontrolled access)	1	2	3	4	5
68. Weather erosion	1	2	3	4	5
69. Pollution	1	2	3	4	5
70. Vegetation	1	2	3	4	5
71. Vandalism (destruction or defacement of stones and graves)	1	2	3	4	5
72. Incompatible nearby development (existing)	1	2	3	4	5
73. Incompatible development (planned or proposed)	1	2	3	4	5

When possible, provide specific information on threats rated 4 (serious) or 5 (very serious)

XI. Survey Background

74. Name, address and telephone numbers of person or persons completing this survey

75. Date this questionnaire was completed

XII. Basis for completing the survey

76. What documentation was used to complete this survey?

77. Does other documentation exist?

- 77.a yes
- no
- not known

- 77.b If yes, why wasn't it used?
 it is too old
 it is too general
 it is not accessible
 it is not reliable
 other _____

78. Was the site visited for this survey?

- yes
 no

78.a If yes, give the date(s) of the visit

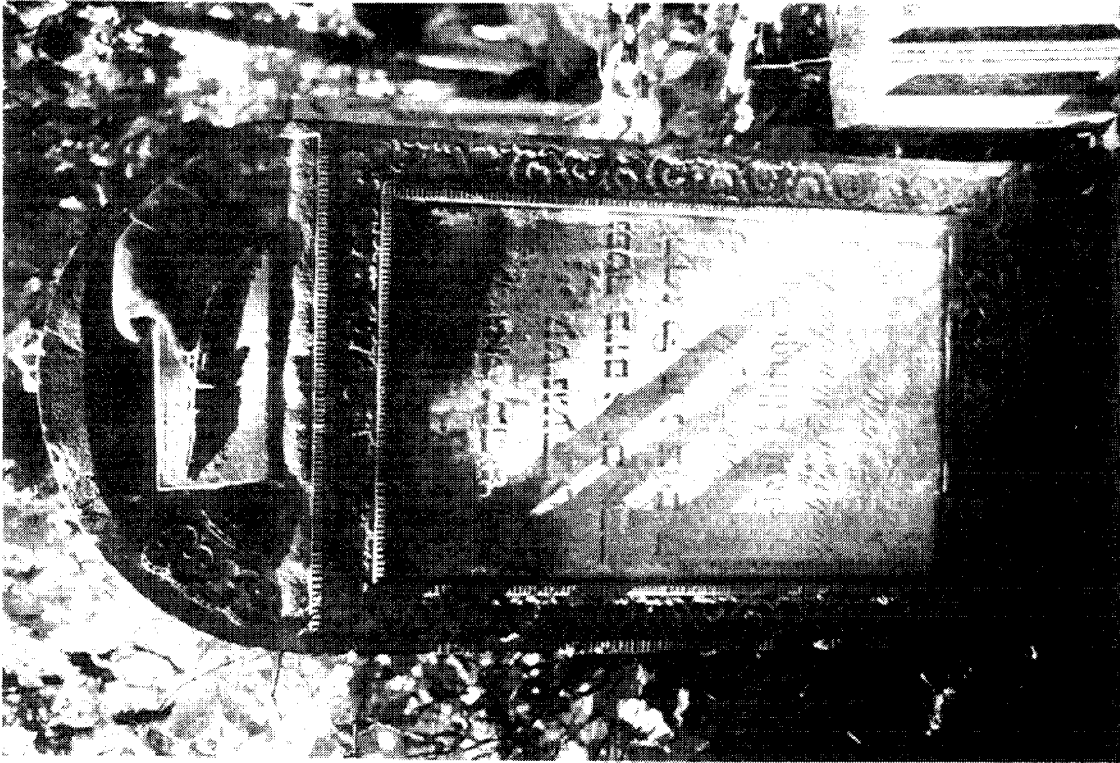
78.b Who visited the site? (name and address)

79. Were interviews conducted for this survey?

- yes
 no

79.a If yes, give name(s) of person(s) interviewed, date(s) of interview and place(s) of interview

Additional Comments:



Warsaw. Typical gravestones in the Okopowa Street cemetery. The one on the right was reerected by the Citizens Committee for the Protection of Jewish Monuments. (photo: Susan Reisler 8/92)



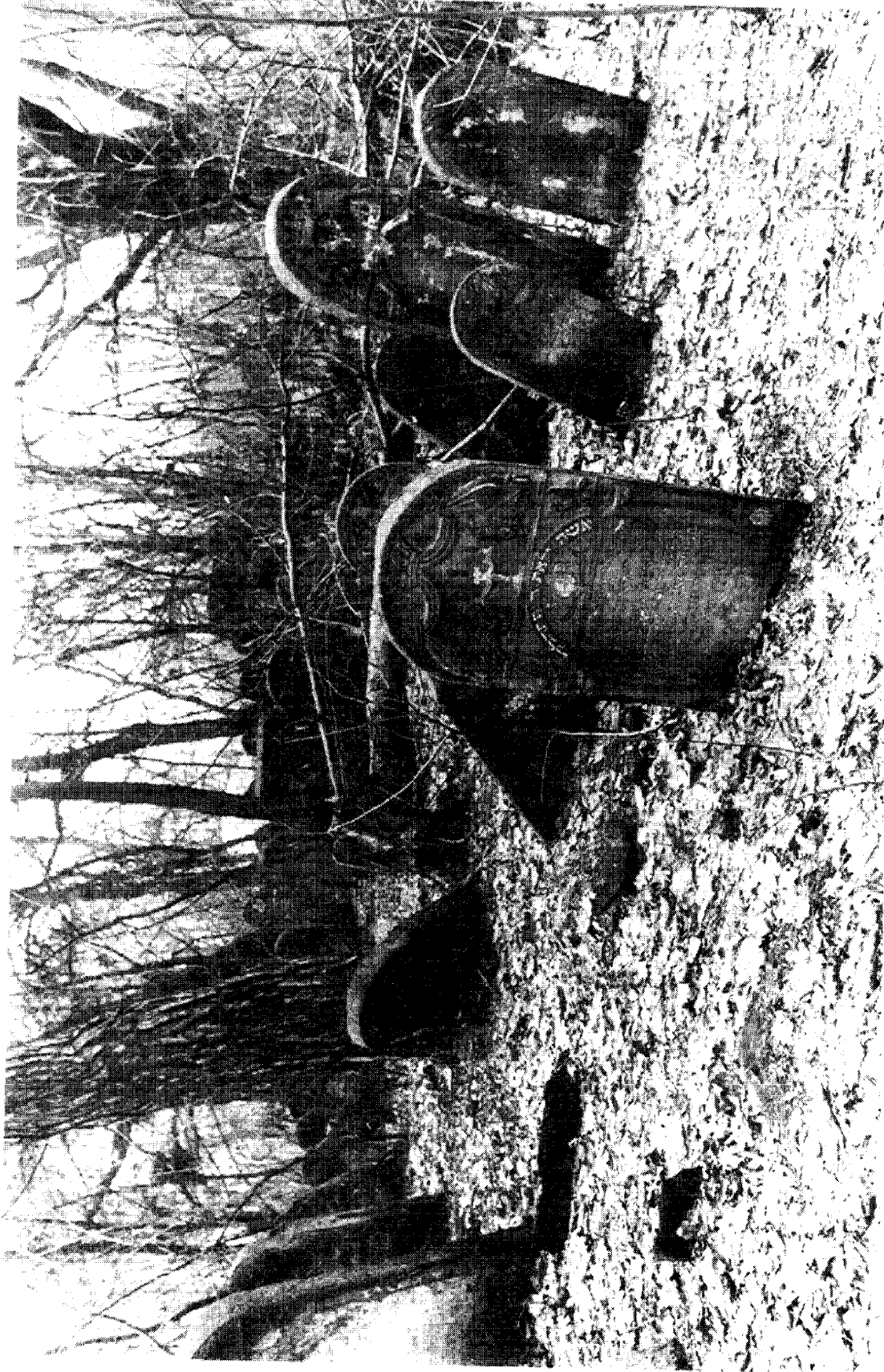
Warsaw. Young trees fill most of the 33 acres of the Okopowa Street cemetery in Warsaw. Ground vegetation has been cleared in this part of the cemetery. (photo S. Gruber 4/92)



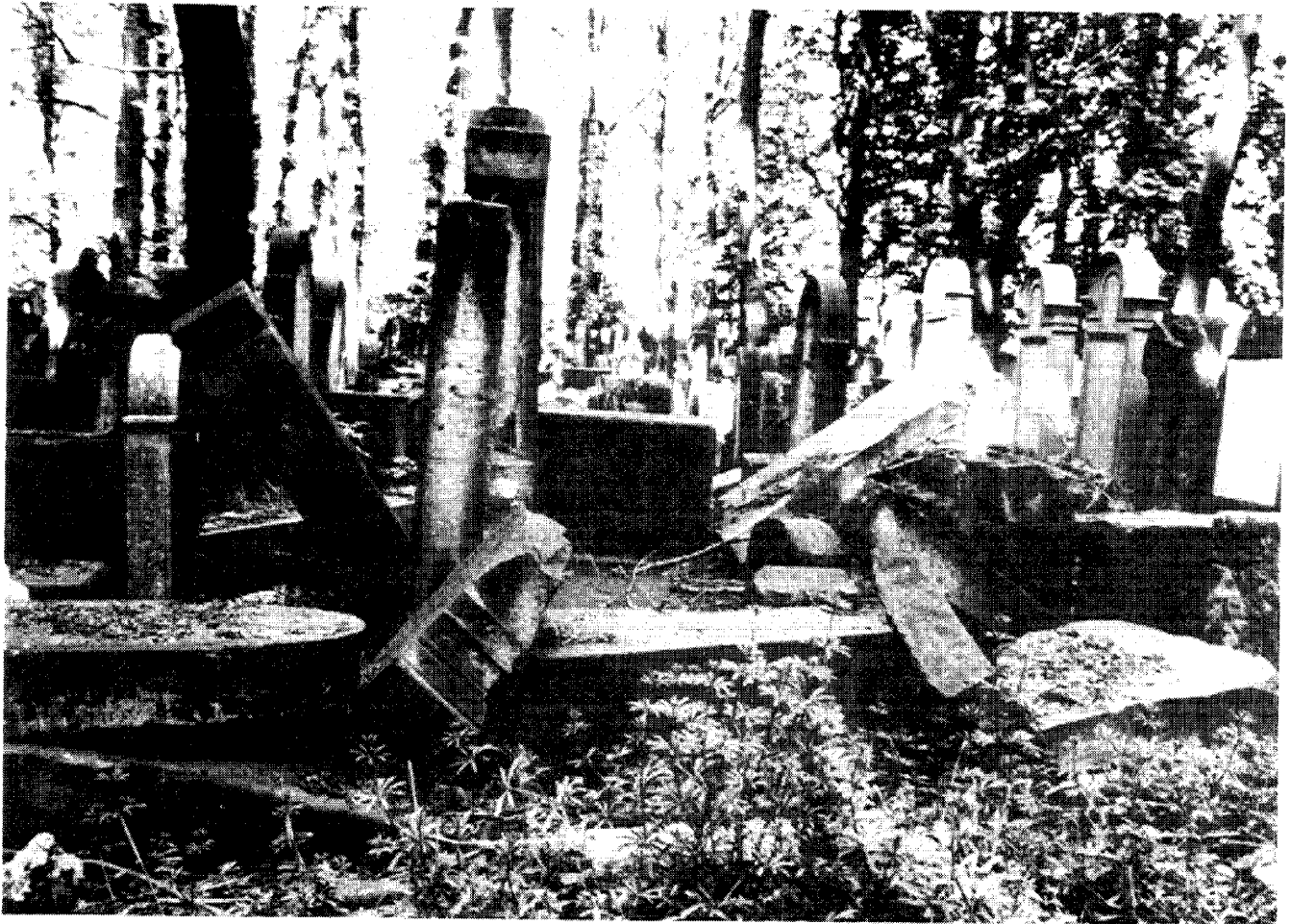
Sydtowiec. Cemetery. (photo: Ruth E. Gruber 3/91)



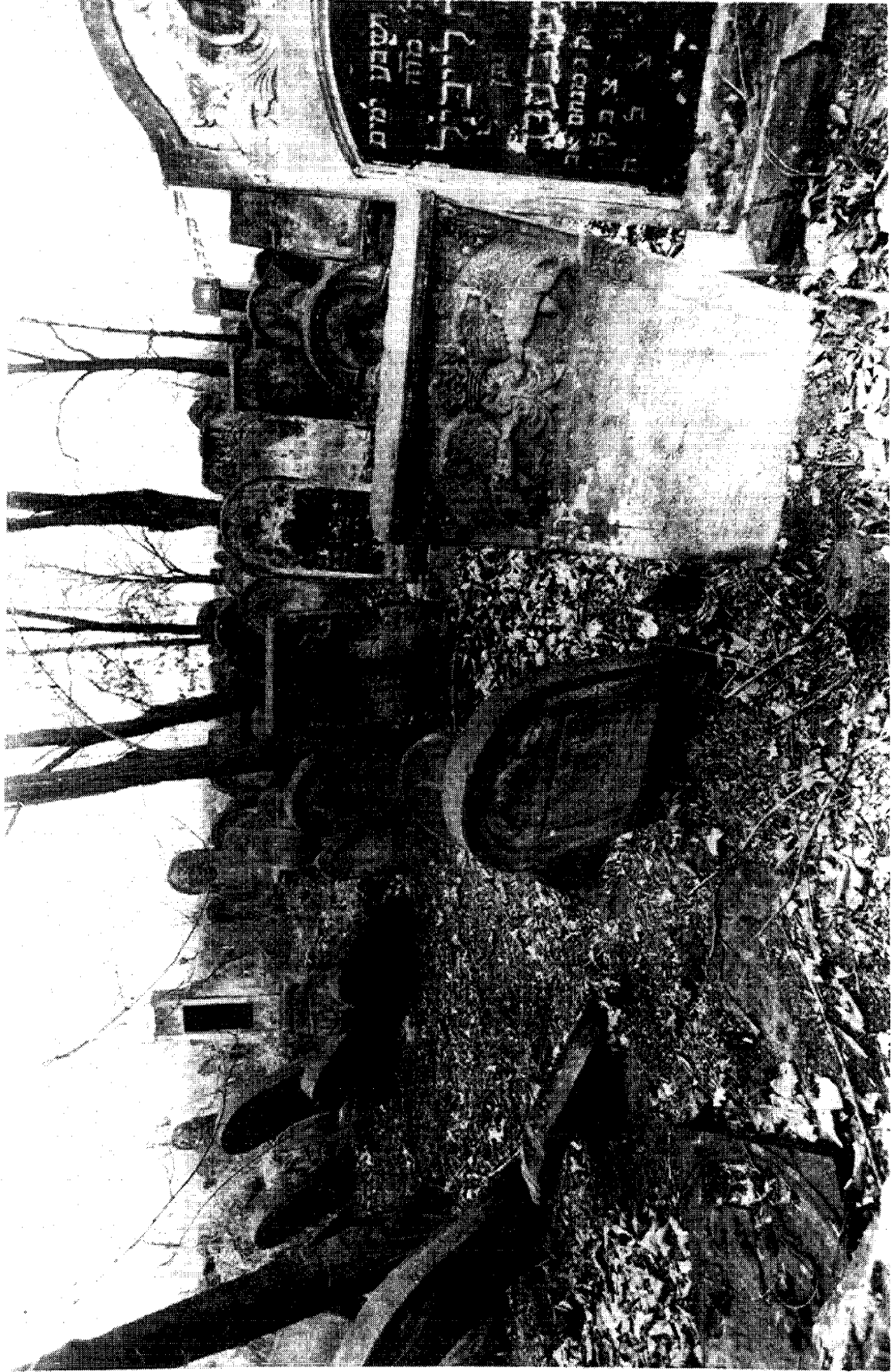
Karczew. In the cemetery piles of broken gravestones lie in sand dunes. The shifting sands reveal different stones on different days. The site has no wall or fence and is threatened by nearby development. (photo: S. Gruber 6/93)



Piotrkow Tribunalski. Cemetery. (photo: Ruth E. Gruber 3/91)



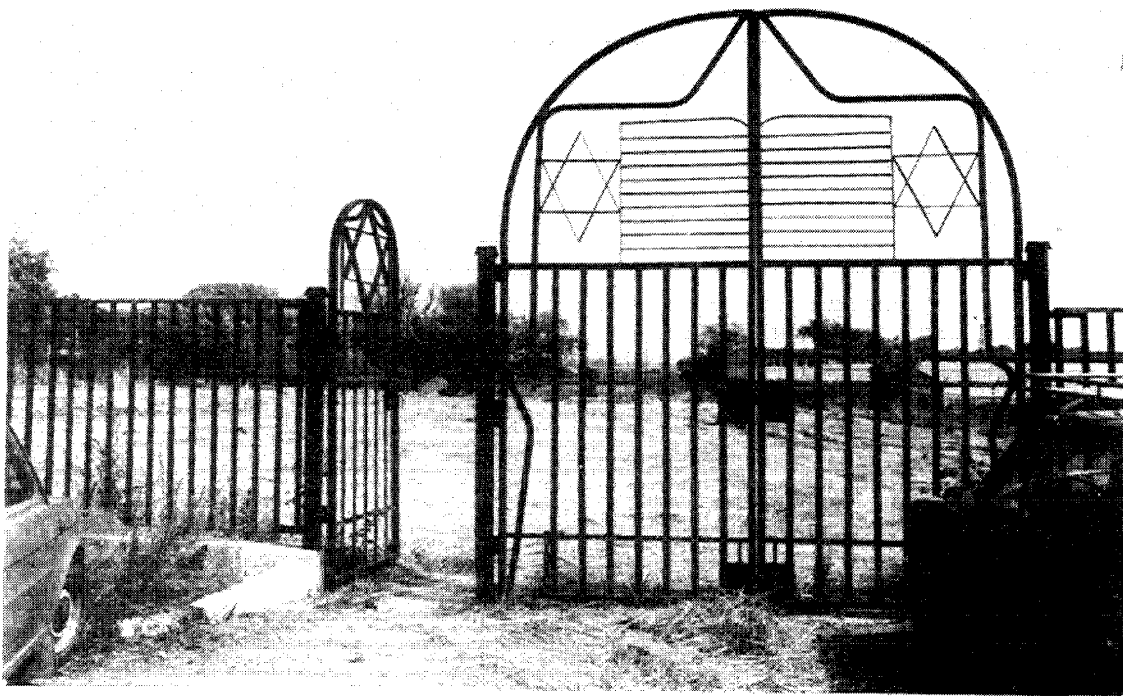
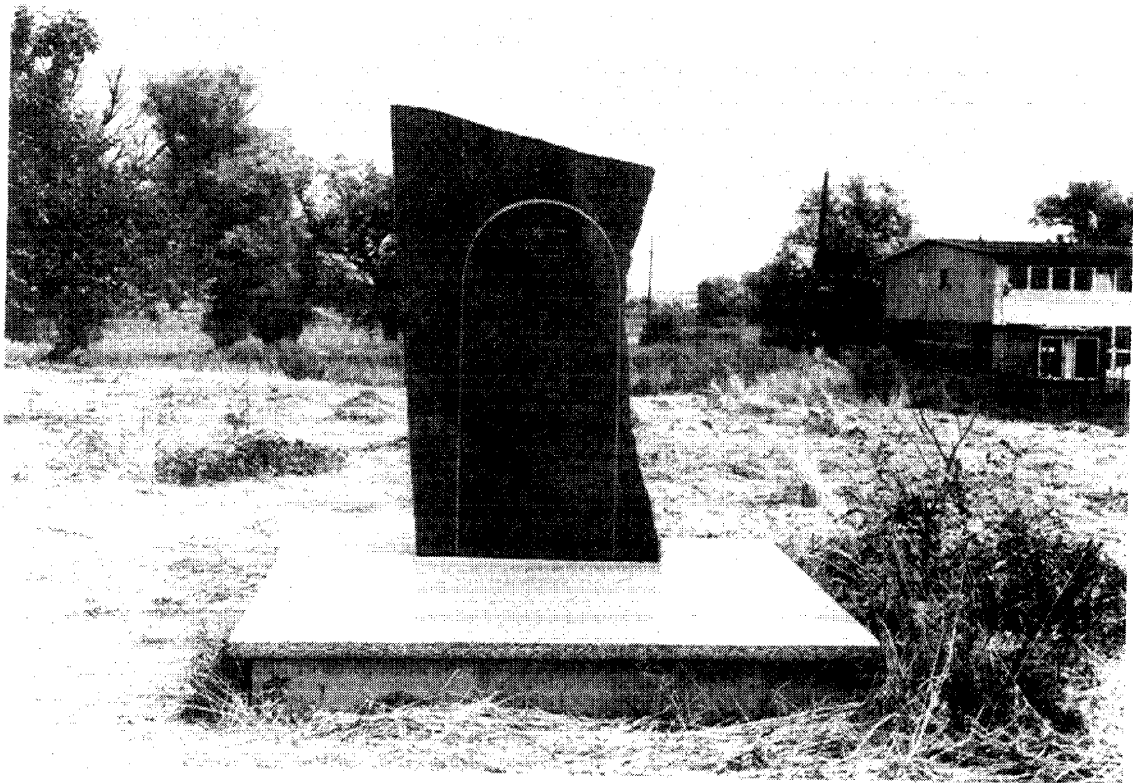
Krakow. The Miadowa Street cemetery suffers from excess vegetation and fallen stones.



Radomsko. Cemetery. (photo: Ruth E. Gruber 3/91)



Kryuki. A large portion of the rural cemetery still survives, surrounded by farmland. (photo: S. Gruber 6/90)



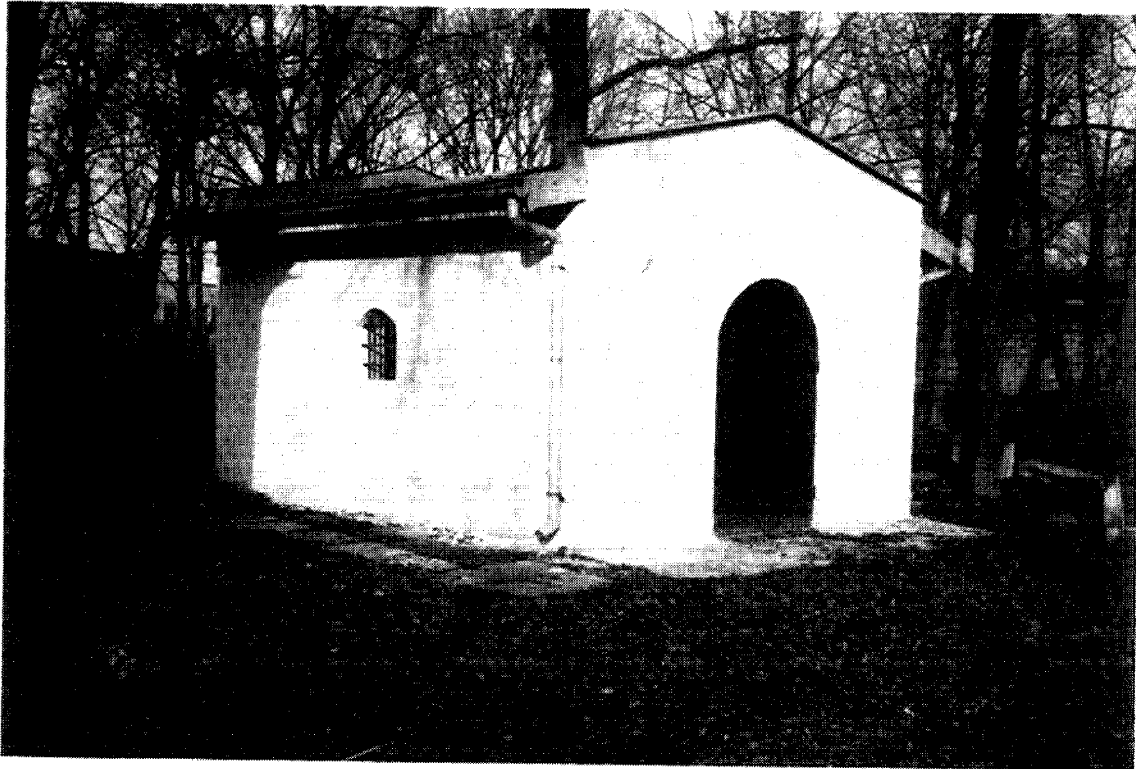
Hrubieszow. New Holocaust memorial, gate and fence. (photos: Susan Reisler 8/92)



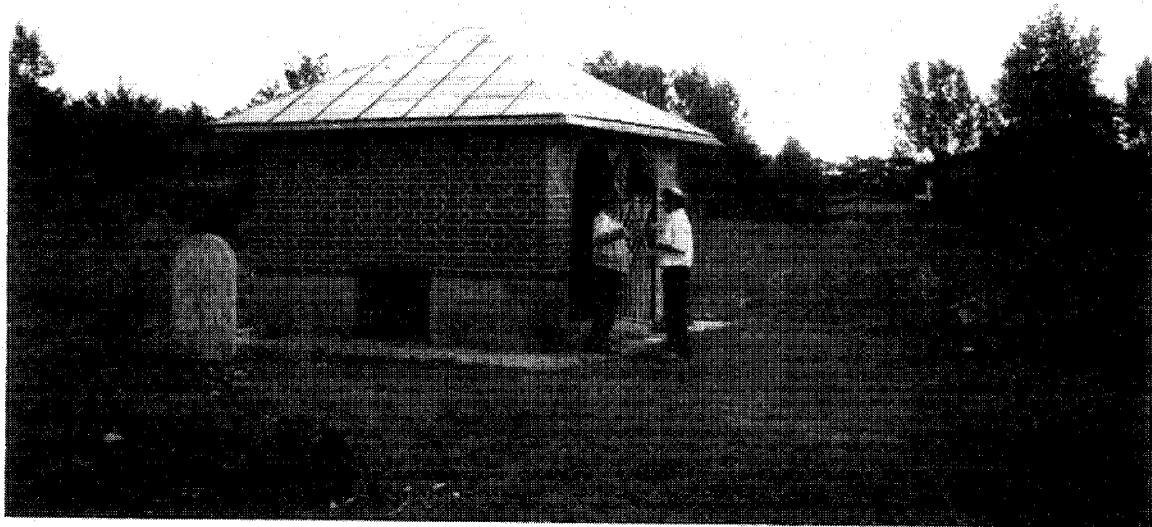
Staszow. Holocaust monument erected on the site of the Jewish cemetery to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the deportation of the town's Jewish population. (photo: Jack Goldfarb 11/92)



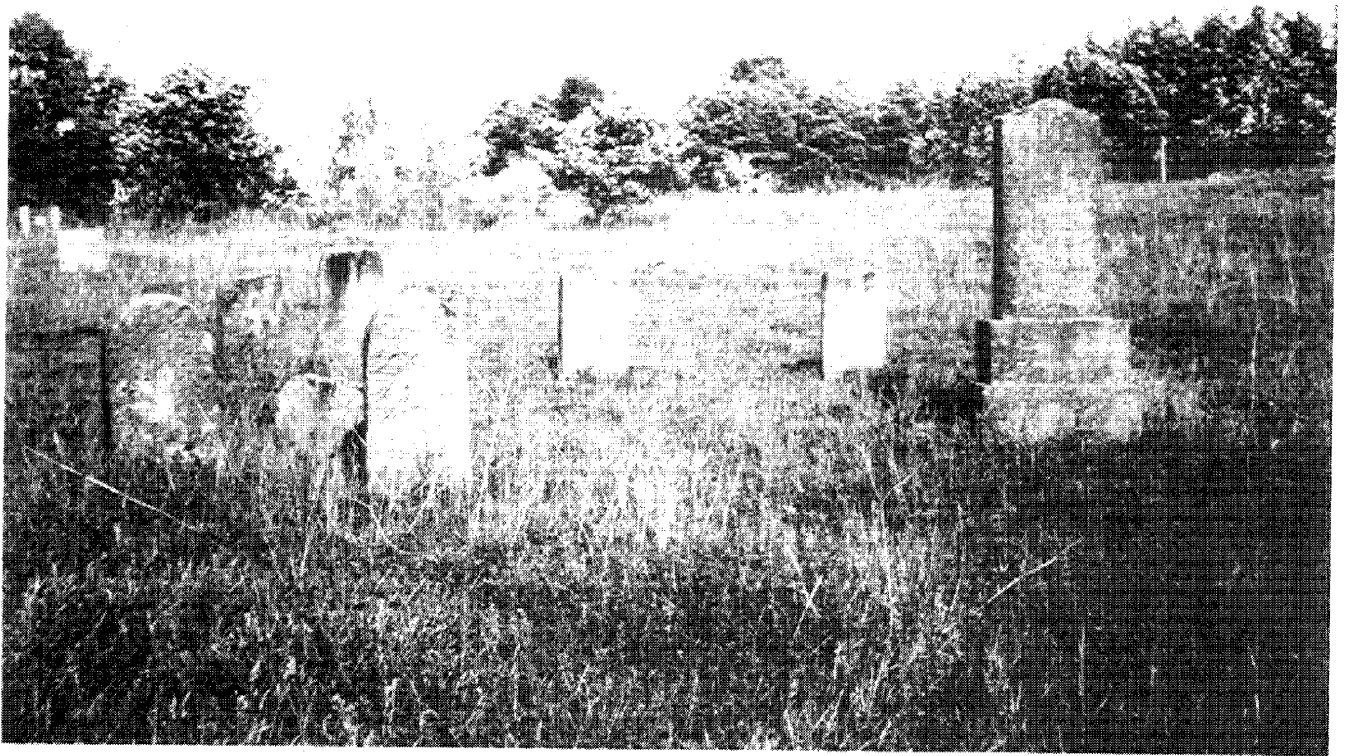
Oswiecim. Some of the over 1000 gravestones reerected at the cemetery site.
(photo: Assher Scharf)



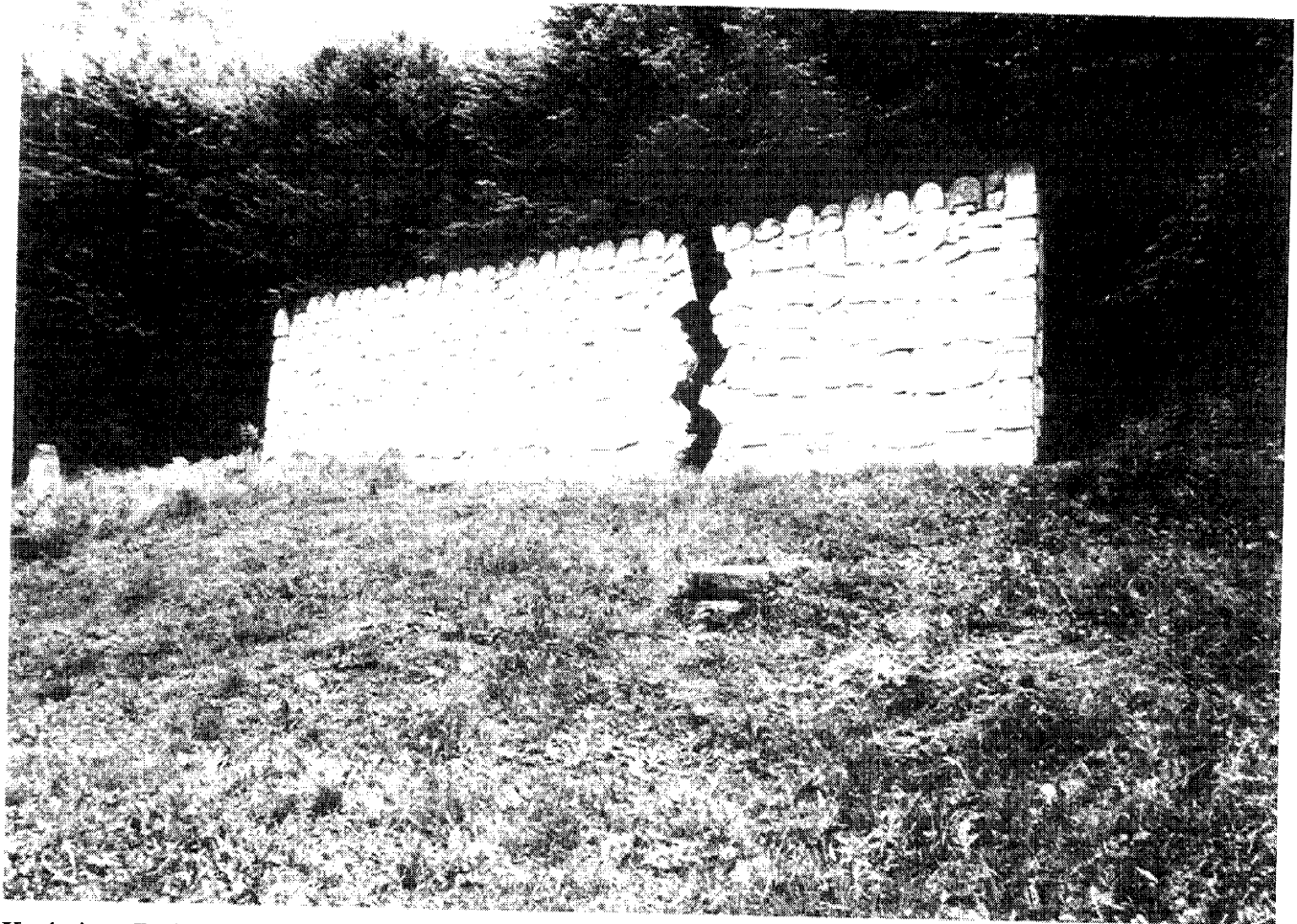
Oswiecim. New *ohel* built on an old foundation at the cemetery. The structure covers the graves of three generations of the Scharf family.
(photo: Asher Scharf 1988)



Gora Kalwaria. Cemetery. *Ohel* recently constructed over the graves of *tzaddikim*
(photo Dafne Siegman 1992)



Gora Kalwaria. Cemetery. Gravestones have been reerected, and new wall and gate have built. (photo: S. Gruber 6/93)



Kazimierz Dolny. A monument was constructed on the site of the Jewish cemetery using gravestones recovered from the paving of the former Gestapo headquarters. (photo: S. Gruber 6/90)

A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS

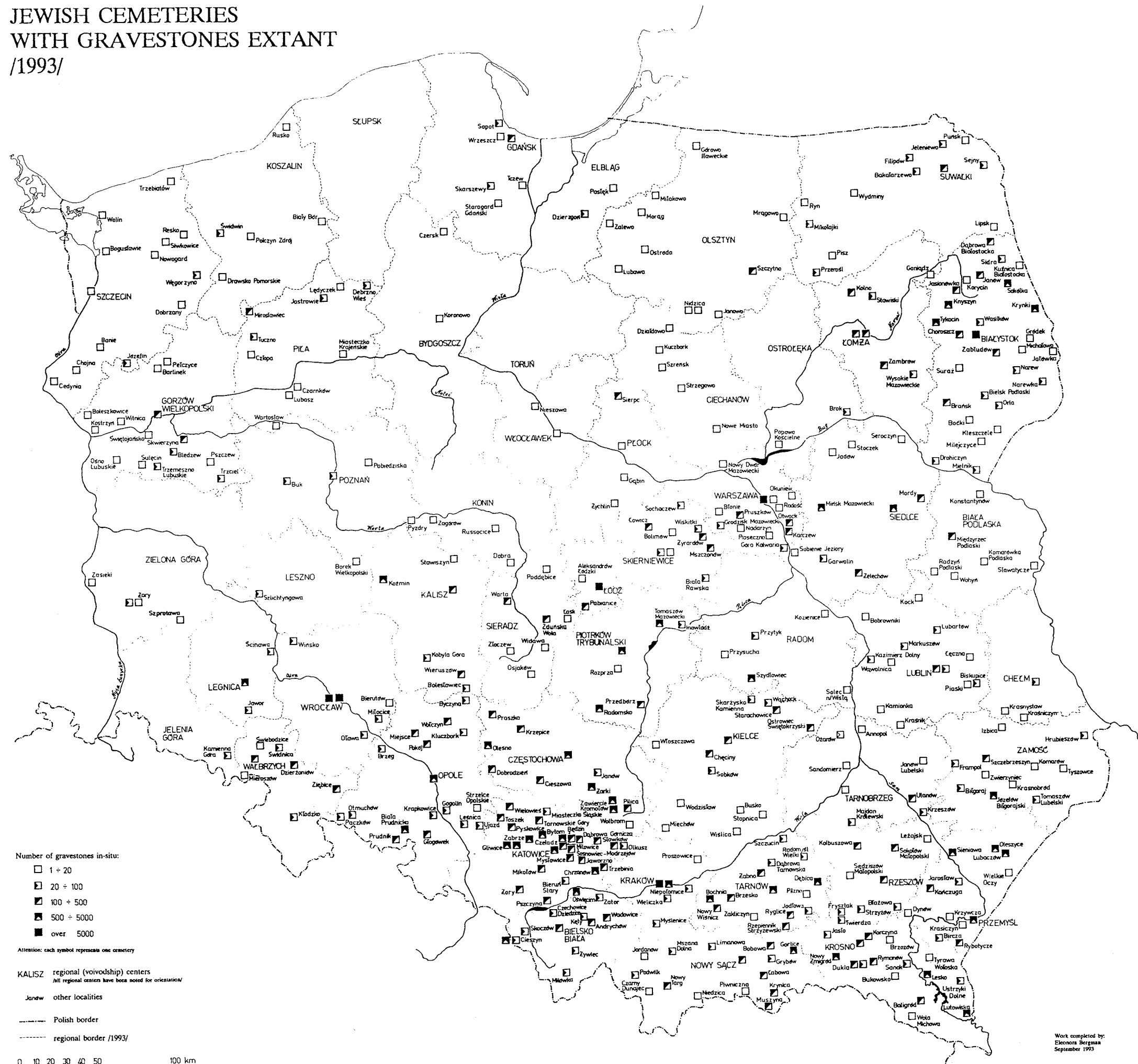
Eleonora Bergman has been researching and publishing on the architecture of synagogues in Poland for over 15 years. While working in the state-owned Workshops for Conservation of Monuments, she has authored and co-authored numerous articles on urban history and historical documentation. Ms. Bergman is currently working with Jan Jagielski at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw on a catalogue of the extant synagogues in Poland.

Samuel Gruber served as Director of the Jewish Heritage Council of WMF from 1989 to 1995. He is currently Project Consultant for the World Monuments Fund, Research Director of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, and Executive Director of the Jewish Heritage Research Center, a private research and consulting firm. He is Adjunct Professor of Fine Arts at Syracuse University, a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, and co-author with Phyllis Myers of *A Survey of Historic Jewish Sites in the Czech Republic* (1995).

Jan Jagielski has been traveling throughout Poland collecting records of Jewish monuments for over 30 years. In 1981, he became a founding member of the Citizens' Committee for Protection of Jewish Monuments. Since 1991, Mr. Jagielski has headed the Department for Documentation of Monuments at the Jewish Historical Institute, the department which he established together with Eleonora Bergman.

Phyllis Myers, President of State Resource Strategies in Washington, D.C., serves as Senior Research Consultant for the World Monuments Fund project on Jewish monuments in Central and Eastern Europe. Ms. Myers, a preservation planner and policy consultant for major environmental organizations, has authored numerous publications and articles on land conservation, historic preservation, and conservation finance. She is a founding member of the Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund and also serves on the boards of the National Coalition for Heritage Areas and the Committee of 100 on the Federal City.

JEWISH CEMETERIES WITH GRAVESTONES EXTANT /1993/



Work completed by:
 Eleonora Bergsma
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