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Cover Page Footnote

I thank the organisers of workshop 'State, Church and Power: Religion and Politics in the Black Sea Region', particularly Prof. Cathy Wanner, for providing an opportunity to present and discuss the results of this research in September 2019 (Lviv, Ukrainian Catholic University). I am also grateful to two anonymous reviewers of this text, whose insightful comments have helped me develop it further.

Representation of ‘Fractured Memory Regime’ in the Context of Hasidic Pilgrimages to Uman

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The main goal of this paper is to analyse how ‘memory regime’ (Kubik & Bernhard) could be researched on a local level, using the example of attitudes to Jewish history and Hasidic pilgrimages in Uman, Ukraine. What types of ‘mnemonic actors’ (Kubik & Bernhard) prevail in Uman? Which statements about the contemporary Hasidic pilgrimages are supported by local inhabitants, and how do they reflect positions of the locals in the local memory field? This paper discusses some results of a quantitative survey on local cultural heritage conducted in the frame of the international EU-funded project ‘ReHerit’ in Uman in late 2018. Its results show integration of diverse and sometimes contradictory opinions in memory regime at the local level with the prevalence of ‘mnemonic warriors’ in the ‘fractured and contested memory regime’. The paper suggests that the Hasidic pilgrimage in the town shapes and reinforces existing narratives. At the same time, it offers a look at the emergence of ‘mnemonic pluralists’ and some prerequisites for ‘pillarized’ memory regime at a local level.

Key Words: Hasidic pilgrimages, Ukraine, Uman, ‘memory regime’, ‘fractured memory regime’

Introduction.

Scholars speak of the growing importance of cultural memory in contemporary society, this is also reflected in memory studies as a separate field of scholarly debate. One can find such vivid characteristics of this trend as ‘memory fever’ (Huysen, 2003:27), or even ‘epidemic of memory’ (Napiórkowski, 2018:16). Memory does not exist *per se*, it exists in certain political and cultural contexts, or within a ‘memory regime’ (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014). A ‘memory regime’ is a system of remembering ‘a specific issue, event, or process at a given moment or period’ (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014:16). ‘Memory regime’ serves as the means of legitimation of political power, and the question of balance between the past and the present is much about the level of political control in the public sphere.

In this article, pilgrimages are seen as a form of religious tourism, linked with a symbolic return of cultural memory holders. This return is saturated with religious meanings and cultural codes of ‘imagined past’, nostalgia for the lost world. Some scholars speak about the blurred boundaries between pilgrimage and other forms of religious tourism and a multitude of options hidden under the umbrella of ‘pilgrimage’ (Griffin & Raj, 2017). Jewish pilgrimages

are often perceived as those connected with the Western Wall, which is seen in the lists of main pilgrimage sites in the world (Griffin & Raj, 2017), or with the memory of the Holocaust (Collins-Kreiner, 2015), however, there are numerous examples of the growing prevalence of Hasidic pilgrimages. Uman in Central Ukraine represents a town with a typical ‘rupture of Jewish history’ during the Holocaust and a place which is the destination for the most popular Hasidic pilgrimage in Europe¹. Map 1 illustrates the location of Uman and its place among other important Hasidic centres of Eastern and Central Europe.

The topic of the Hasidic pilgrimages is connected both with cultural memory and contemporary society, and this paper is taken as an illustrative example of how ‘memory regime’ could be analysed at a local level.

1 The Hasidic pilgrimages mean pilgrimages connected with certain groups of the Hasidim, or members of the groups inside Judaism often labeled nowadays as ‘Ultra-Orthodox’ or ‘Haredi’. Hasidism appeared in the XVIII century on the territory of contemporary Ukraine (at that time – Polish Kingdom). More than 30 thousand visitors come to Uman every autumn before Rosh HaShanah (Jewish New Year) to pray at the ohel (place of the burial) of Rebbe Nachman from Bratslav, according to his testament. The population of Uman equals 85 thousand people (2018).

Map 1: Major Hasidic Centres, 1740–1815 (Based on a map prepared for the exhibition 'Time of the Hasidism.' by Elżbieta Długosz, The Historical Museum of Kraków - Old Synagogue)



Source: YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Hasidism>

Objectives

This article aims to answer the following questions:

Which kind of 'memory regime' is reflected at a local level in Ukraine, regarding attitudes to Jewish history and the Hasidic pilgrimages in Uman?

What types of 'mnemonic actors' (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014) prevail in Uman?

Which statements about the contemporary Hasidic pilgrimages are supported by local inhabitants, and how do they reflect the position of the locals in relation to the local memory field?

Literature Review

There are several major factors of growing interest regarding collective memory as a subject: the appearance of generations of those who did not have a personal connection with World War II and/or memory of the Holocaust; processes of decolonisation in many parts of the world (in case of Uman – collapse of the USSR), which needed new approaches to understand local histories; drastic changes of mass media technologies and ways to store information; internal processes in scholarly communities connected to the rethinking of history, related to possible social progress or return (Eiril, 2018:15-18). At the same time, life in the so-called

'era of memory' (Nora, 2001) requires attention to the forms of memory, not to the memory itself. There are important differences between '*milieux de memoire*', or environments of memory, and '*lieux de memoire*', or sites of memory (Nora, 2001). While the former characterise direct connections with the important past (first of all, World War II and its consequences for the contemporary world), the latter belongs to 'artificial', 'learned' memory, narratives connected with the politics of memory, not with its immediate experience.

Although much of Ukrainian history is contested and politicised (Shevel, 2016:22), there are several figures commonly accepted in Ukraine – for instance, literature and culture connected names such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, and Mykhailo Hrushevskiy (Shevel, 2016:22). These figures, together with a political leader of the past Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (who is seen as a controversial figure, for instance, in Polish historiography) were legitimised during the Soviet times as non-controversial, and we observe this trend until nowadays (Shevel with references to Portnov, in Shevel, 2016:22; Yekelchuk, 2012:414-417). The most complicated and divisive object of Ukrainian politics of memory belongs to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) (Shevel, 2016:24). They acted before, during,

Photograph 1: Rabbi Nachman Tomb, Uman



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rabbi_Nahman_Tomb_\(Uman,_Ukraine\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rabbi_Nahman_Tomb_(Uman,_Ukraine).JPG)

and after World War II in the territory of contemporary Ukraine; however, these organisations are usually seen in connection and associated with World War II atrocities.

Jan Kubik and Michael Bernhardt suggest four ideal types of ‘mnemonic actors’, or those who create, keep and distribute the politics of memory: ‘mnemonic warriors’, ‘mnemonic pluralists’, ‘mnemonic abnegators’, and ‘mnemonic prospectives’ (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014:11). ‘Mnemonic warriors’ believe that there is only one possible version of history, which is correct and opposite to all other, incorrect forms. ‘Mnemonic pluralists’, on the contrary, tend to think about various perspectives of the same event, period, or personality. ‘Mnemonic abnegators’ claim their distance from memory politics and absence of interest in any discussions about memory in the society. ‘Mnemonic prospectives’ announce their orientation to the future, because they think they ‘have solved the riddle of history and thus have the key to a better future’ (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014:14). As the authors note, the last type of mnemonic actor is hard to find in Eastern Europe.

‘Memory regime’ depends on an interaction between different mnemonic actors and the presence of a certain type of actor in a major political arena. A decisive role here belongs to ‘mnemonic warriors’ and ‘mnemonic pluralists’. ‘Mnemonic warriors’ create a

so-called ‘fractured and contested memory regime’, and ‘mnemonic pluralists’ form a ‘pillarized regime’ – in the latter, actors may have different interpretations of the past, but these differences are treated as equally possible. It is interesting that, according to the authors of this theory, the presence of even one ‘mnemonic warrior’ in the political elite can change the ‘memory regime’ of the country (Kubik & Bernhard, 2014:17). Oxana Shevel applied these concepts to the Ukrainian case, stating however that the ambivalence of grassroots opinions about collective memory is a positive factor for social developments (Shevel, 2016:23).

No one political elite group have presented their visions or committed deeds corresponding to a ‘pillarized memory’, no ‘political pluralists’ are present in the arena (Shevel, 2016:35), even in 2019, after the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Taking into account the so-called trifold division in Ukraine

the extreme West and East of the country holding for the most part opposite opinions, while the numerically large and strategically important center of the country remained ambivalent on many issues, including historical memory and the Soviet past (Shevel, 2016:35).

‘Mnemonic warriors’ only worsen the situation. Other authors suggest that in recent years two parallel tendencies co-existed in Ukraine: strong anti-Soviet, ‘anticolonial’

Photograph 2: Pilgrimage to Rabbi Nachman Tomb, Uman



<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ouman3.JPG>

discourses (interpreted as a 'fractured' memory regime) and a hybrid discourse called 'postcolonial' (Törnquist-Plewa & Yurchuk, 2017) which could be interpreted as a chance for a 'pillarized' memory regime. The fact that the Jewish community of Ukraine officially supported Euromaidan protests in 2013-2014 has become a turning point for rethinking the concept of a political nation (Zhurzhenko, 2014:262) and possible progressive developments.

Thus, a look at a local level of cultural memory enables us to evaluate the situation 'from below', and its compatibility with 'memory regimes' and 'mnemonic actors'. Social factors that affect collective memory are connected to the heuristic of availability (Tverski & Kahneman, 1973:208); it implies that we remember what we see, hear, encounter, and vice versa (see also Lewicka, 2012:558). Hasidic pilgrimages, in this vein, become an important connection of the present to the past, in the eyes of both the pilgrims and the local population in Uman. For more on this, see Sabine Marschall (2016), who elaborates on the role of tourism in the production of cultural memory.

The Jewish pilgrimages may become a link to the past of the place for many locals, too, as the story of the Hasidic pilgrimage in Uman remained silenced in most non-Jewish sources throughout the Soviet times. The 'iron

curtain' and the appearance of any foreigner in a town of relatively small size (50-80 thousand people in different Soviet periods) enhanced the risks of being identified and arrested. This has not only reinforced an image of the pilgrimage to Uman as a dangerous yet worthy experience for the Hasidim, but added new heroes, symbolising the fight for the right to pray at the tsaddik's grave, in the vernacular memory of the Hasidim. The sustainability of Hasidic memory was supported by mostly religious sources, including the stories of Rebbe Nachman and personal accounts of different rabbis².

Visiting places connected to the Jewish past has become a mean for re-evaluating national belonging and religious identity among the visitors, although places are not necessarily religious: I would mention visiting Kazimierz, the Jewish district in Kraków, the Old Jewish Quarter in Prague; the former Warsaw ghetto or extermination camps such as Auschwitz. The latter are often labelled 'black tourism', or 'dark tourism' in a way that destinations are connected with mass murder (Collins-Kreiner, 2015; Skinner, 2016). Actually, 'dark tourism' is not only connected to Jewish sites; for instance, there is interesting research on forming memory about

² There are several well-known accounts on the topic, for instance, an account of Rabbi Gedaliah Fleer who is supposed to be the first American who managed to sneak to Uman during the 'iron curtain' times in the early 1960s and published a book *Against All Odds* about his experience.

Hiroshima through tourism (Schäfer, 2015) or broader research on various sites (Lennon & Foley, 2000), but in the European context it has strong associations with extermination camps and memory about the Holocaust.

Hasidic pilgrimages are connected to visits to certain spiritual leaders, or *tsaddikim*. In the case of Eastern Europe, as mentioned earlier, these visits also have extra meanings and connotations with the Jewish past. Contemporary pilgrims are mostly undertaken by travellers who are from the second or third generation after the Holocaust or linked to a pre-war Jewish life. They are the holders of ‘postmemory’ (Hirsch & Miller, 2011) about their ancestors and spiritual leaders in Eastern Europe. However, the distinctiveness of the Hasidic pilgrimages is that their centre belongs to the personality of *tsaddik*, and the place near the *tsaddik* is supposed to be the holiest location for these pilgrims.

It is important that the followers of Rebbe Nachman, or a group of Bratslav Hasidim (often pronounced as Breslov or Breslav by the Hasidim, according to the name of the town Bratslav where Rebbe Nachman was born), was the only group without a living *tsaddik* after the death of Rebbe Nachman in Uman in 1810. This has created a peculiar relationship between the site of actual pilgrimage which is a burial place (see Photograph 1) instead of a living *tsaddik*’s court. Most importantly, the founder of the Bratslav Hasidism has become its last leader – the only son of Rebbe Nachman died, and his most dedicated disciple Nathan Sternharz (known also as Rabbi Natan, or Noson) spent his life disseminating Rebbe Nachman’s teaching instead of self-promotion. The popularity of the Bratslav Hasidism (sometimes ironically called ‘dead Hasidism’) is partially explained by the absence of a living leader and more open opportunities to attach to the movement. Rebbe Nachman is known as the one who promised:

When my days are over and I leave this world, I will still intercede for anyone who comes to my grave, says Ten (particular – A.M.) Psalms and gives a penny to charity. No matter how great his sins, I will do everything in my power, spanning the length and breadth of creation, to save him and cleanse him (The essential Rabbi Nachman, 2006:487).

This promise is often interpreted as an invitation even for people with complicated biographies and life circumstances, and it differentiates Uman’s pilgrimages from many other pilgrimage destinations.

Methodology

To answer the questions raised in this paper, ‘memory regime’ on a local level is operationalised as an interest in local history and perception of the Jewish history of a town as an example of ‘other history’, impacted by contemporary Hasidic pilgrimages. Research results are based on a survey conducted by the Centre for Urban History of East Central Europe and Ukrainian Centre for Public Opinion ‘Socioinform’ as part of the project ‘ReHerit’³.

Standardised interviews were conducted ‘face to face’ with 800 Uman respondents, representing the town inhabitants by age (18+) and gender from 1-17 December 2018. Interviews were undertaken in various districts of Uman, including the district connected with Hasidic pilgrimages, and they were made either in households or in a yard near respondents’ houses. The questionnaire consisted of 57 questions formulated for a larger research project on perception of local history and heritage by Uman inhabitants and aimed at the development of local heritage infrastructure. The general logic of the questionnaire followed the funnel technique - from general to more specific questions; shifting between open, semi-open, and closed questions; ending with socio-demographic data (The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal, 2018). Parts of the questionnaire relevant to this article can be found in Appendix 1 (translated from Ukrainian by the author).

Findings

It is important to note that around half of the respondents (47%) claimed that they were born in a different place. This speaks of a complicated definition of ‘a local’ and intensive migration from Uman typically, to larger towns, and to Uman from neighbouring villages and smaller towns. Nevertheless, the majority of informants (78%) declared their interest in local history (46% - a really big interest). Such an answer could signify that interest in local history belongs to socially approved topics which people demonstrate their willingness to talk about. In

3 ReHERIT — the EU-funded project aimed at rethinking, activating, and developing cultural heritage potential in Uman, Lviv, and other towns in Ukraine (2018-2021).

Project goals: 1) Work with local cultural heritage for economic, touristic, cultural, and educational development of the mentioned towns. 2) Improvement of communication between power bodies, civic organisations, and initiatives that work with local cultural heritage.

terms of mnemonic actors, this indicator shows that the majority do not belong to mnemonic abnegators; in other words, cultural memory matters.

The survey demonstrated two main individual factors of interest in local history: age (the older person is, the more interested she/he is in local history) and education (higher education leads to higher interest) (The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal, 2018). Such findings correspond to similar findings in Poland and Ukraine, specifically that cultural capital (measured as education and size of a home library) is connected to an interest in the past (Lewicka, 2012). Age could be connected not only to the general interest and reflection of a person about the past, but also to the fact that older people are more likely to be born in Uman or spend most of their lives there.

Known in written sources from the beginning of the XVII century as Humań, this town had a significant Jewish population. For instance, a census of 1920 indicated that 57.1% of the Uman population were Jews, 29.7% were Ukrainians, 8.1% were Russians, and 3.1% were Poles (Kuzniets 2005:135). According to the last national census of 2001 in Ukraine, 92.7% of the population were Ukrainians, and the share of Jews was only 0.23% (Natsionalnyi sklad mist, 2001).

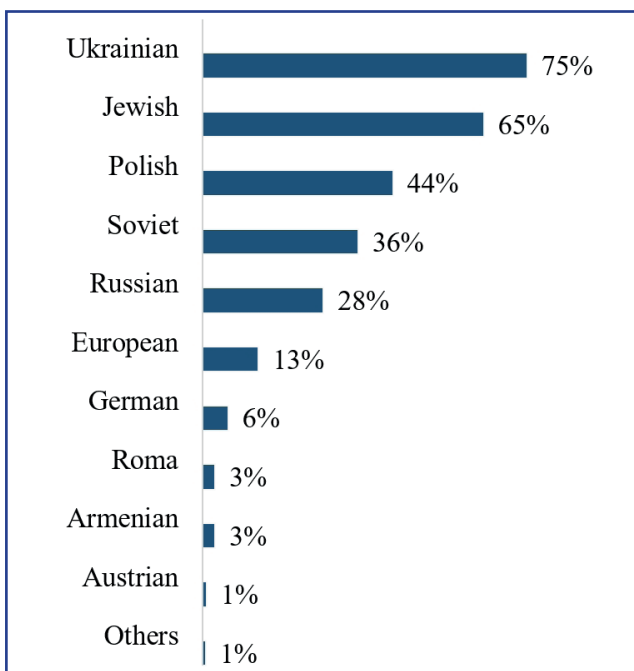
Information provided in Figure 1 illustrates that the majority of locals (75%) speak the cultural influence

of Ukrainians on the town’s development, while, at the same time, a significant share (65%) of locals mention the influence of Jewish culture (a respondent could select several options). This may suggest signs of a significant ‘mnemonic pluralist’ presence among the inhabitants in Uman.

However, the significance of Jewish influence was not reinforced in a general framework for further discussion – of significant events and personalities in the town’s history. 55% of respondents declined to provide any answers to an open question about positive or negative events in the history of a town. This suggests the lack of an immediate answer to the question and, most probably, about difficulties in finding significant events. The survey got 509 mentions of positive events (see Figure 2) and 590 mentions of negative events (see Figure 3) in the history of Uman, which illustrates a slightly more visible inclination towards the negative among those who answered.

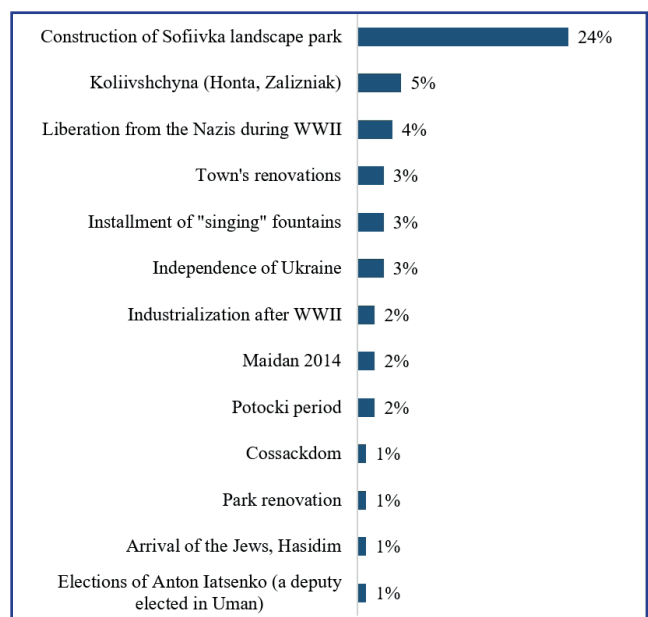
Speaking about the positive events, can notice an impressive difference between the construction of Sofiivka park and other events (the question was open, and the list was generated by the informants with no stimuli). It means that people tend to treat the park as the most attractive sight in Uman, not taking into account the context or means of its creation. A Polish magnate

Figure 1: Cultures that Influenced Uman, N = 800



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018)

Figure 2: Events in Uman’s history that positively influenced its development, N = 800



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018).

Photograph 3: Plan of Sofiyvka Park

This late eighteenth century Arboretum is visited by about 500,000 people per year



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sofiyivka_Park

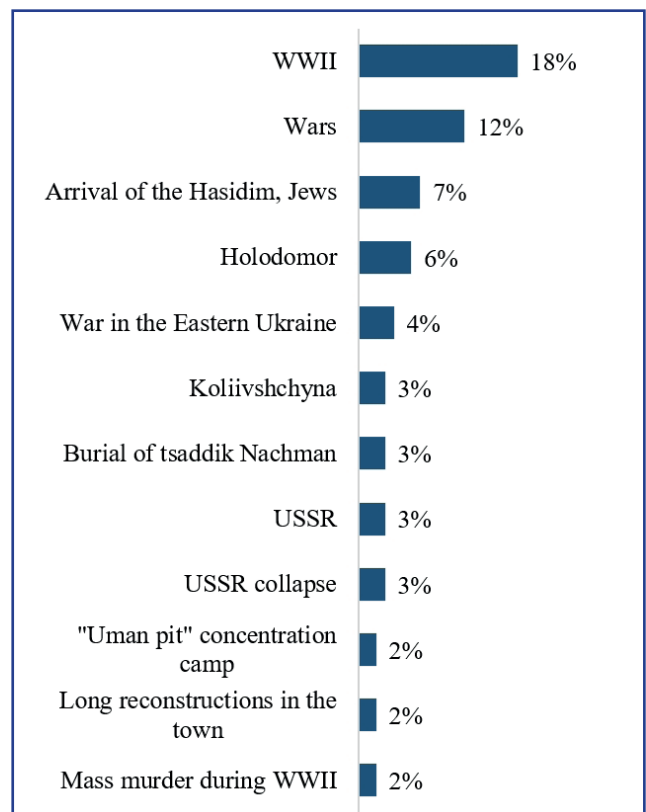
Potocki who favoured Russian imperial authorities after the partitions of Poland created the park on demand of his wife Sofia, using peasants as a working force. 2% of respondents named the ‘Potocki period’ as an important one for the town’s prosperity (Uman belonged to the Polish Kingdom until 1793, and the park was established in 1796). Another interesting event is the arrival of the Jews / Hasidim (in the analysis these are put together, because respondents tended to use both names, they associated the Jews in history with the Hasidim today) – this was chosen by 1% of respondents. At the same time, a negative evaluation is suggested for the arrival of the Hasidic pilgrims as it is identified as a negative event by 7% of respondents (Figure 3).

At the same time, it is worth noting in Figure 2 the existence of two other events characterised as positive and comparable by the number of their supporters – Koliivshchyna and the liberation of Uman from the Nazis at the end of World War II. This seems a paradox, but it could be interpreted accordingly. The narrative of World War II prevails in contemporary mass media and political

discourses about the past until nowadays, and the day of liberation of Uman from the Nazis, March 10, 1944, is celebrated at the municipal level. At the same time, this event is hard to name as a unique one that makes Uman special.

In this context, the inhabitants of the town refer to the ‘Koliivshchyna’ events to emphasise uniqueness of Uman. The ‘Koliivshchyna’ uprising was a rebellion of Ukrainian insurgents (called ‘haidamaky’) in 1768 against Polish oppression; this rebellion is associated with mass killings of Poles and Jews (who helped the Poles) in many towns of Ukraine. Uman is known as an important location of the Koliivshchyna uprising and is site of the ‘Uman Massacre’ (‘Umanska riznya’). The real number of its victims is still a point for scholarly debates. According to Bratslav hagiography, Rebbe Nachman came to Uman in 1810 because of his will to be buried near the victims of that massacre. However, as one could find in the Figure, the inhabitants of Uman evaluate this atrocity as a positive event. An explanation of this requires a different interpretation of Koliivshchyna - in terms of liberation and fight for freedom, which

Figure 3: Events in Uman’s history that negatively influenced its development, N = 800



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018)

corresponds to a romanticised patriotic version of Ukrainian historiography. Another important note is that the Koliivshchyna events belong to local historical memory and could be seen by the town inhabitants as something local and significant, with no specific details. It deserves mention that 3% of the respondents also mentioned Koliivshchyna events as negative (see Figure 3). In terms of mnemonic actors, there are signs of ‘mnemonic pluralists’ in Uman, however, their share is not very impressive.

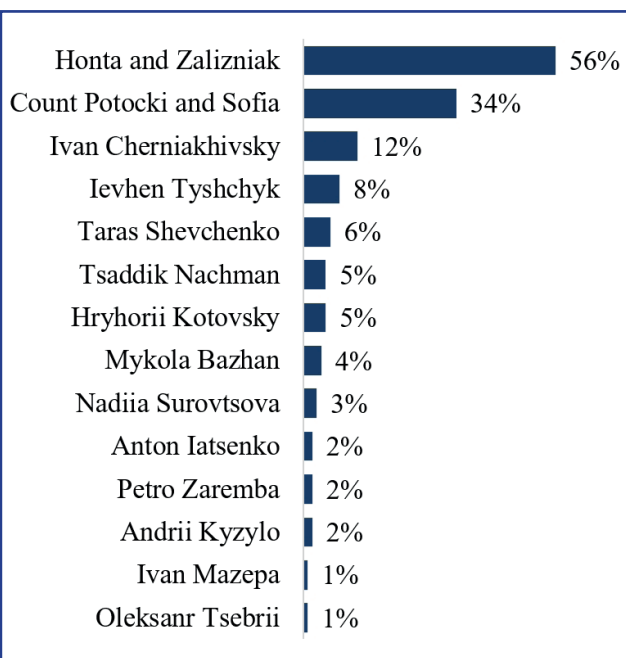
A closer look at the list of negative events in local history reveals that the main role is played by wars of various times and scale. As mentioned earlier, one can also see the arrival of the Hasidic pilgrims (labeled as the Hasidim, the Jews) on this list, and the burial of tsaddik Nachman (this could also be interpreted as a proxy for these arrivals). Respondents connect historical and contemporary events, both on local and national levels, at the same time referring to what is important to them in the present time. It deserves noting that the Hasidic pilgrimage in Uman is an important and complicated topic among the local population. Both Figures show the existence of a number of polar evaluations of the same events (for instance, both the USSR period and the USSR decline are evaluated negatively in Uman by 3% of the respondents, respectively).

A list of significant personalities in the history of Uman (also derived from answers to an open question) illustrates some of the tendencies already mentioned – romanticising Koliivshchyna as a liberation movement and Count Potocki, the already mentioned founder of Sofivka park in Uman (see Figure 4). Ivan Honta and Maxym Zalizniak, the headliners of the local list of significance, were the leaders of Koliivshchyna events in Uman. In late 2015, a monument to these two personalities was erected in Uman, provoking discussions in international mass media about the concept of a hero and the negative connotations of these personalities in Polish and Jewish collective memory.

Ivan Cherniakhivsky and Ievhen Tyshchyyk were personalities connected with World War II – the latter led a tank group while liberating Uman in March 1944, while the former was one of the highest ranked officers on the front line. Taras Shevchenko was a Ukrainian poet, writer, artist, public and political figure - a typically popular figure with no specific connection to Uman, but a commonly accepted symbolic hero (Shevel, 2016:22).

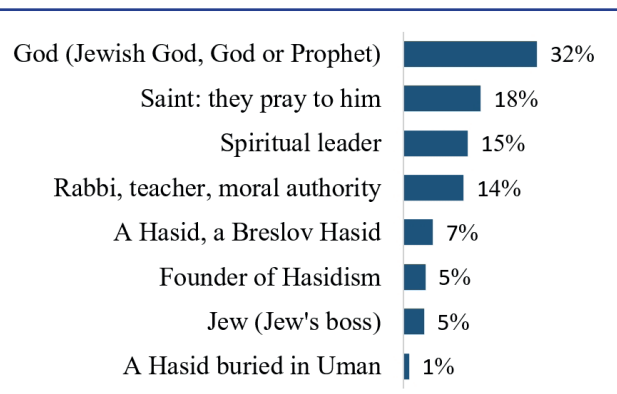
One can see that 5% of Uman inhabitants recognise tsaddik Nachman as an important personality in Uman’s history. Interestingly, Nachman and Potocki are the only non-Ukrainians in this list. As in previous Figures, we can see a mixture of historical personalities and contemporary agents (for instance, the mayor of Uman at the time of the survey was Oleksandr Tsebrii, the people’s deputy was Anton Iatsenko, and Andrii Kyzlylo was a young military man who died in the war in Donbas). All this speaks of a coherent Ukrainian national-oriented narrative with a declarative inclusion of Jewish culture into the list of cultures that influenced the development of Uman.

Figure 4: Important personalities in the history of Uman, N = 800



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018)

Figure 5: Knowing who Nachman was, N = 800



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018)

When it comes to details, dissatisfaction with the Hasidic pilgrimage is the only visible mention of Jewish history in Uman. At the same time, we see that 5% of Uman locals consider tsaddik Nachman as an important part of local history.

Focusing particularly on Nachman, 82% of informants claimed they knew who he was (see Figure 5). Unexpectedly, the most popular answer was connected to naming him ‘the Jewish God’ (32%). This could be interpreted as an understanding related to the importance of the grave of Rebbe Nachman with such impressive numbers of pilgrims visiting the town and a wish to conceptualise this importance in their own words (for instance, ‘saint to whom they pray’ was the second most popular answer). Such answers could embarrass the pilgrims, because they pray to God, using tsaddik’s powers to enhance their prayers. At the same time, it is possible to suggest that the locals understand that Rebbe Nachman is connected with the Jews and the Hasidim, which means this personality is really ‘known’ to them. This is important in terms of general knowledge about ‘other’ and creates a precondition for understanding.

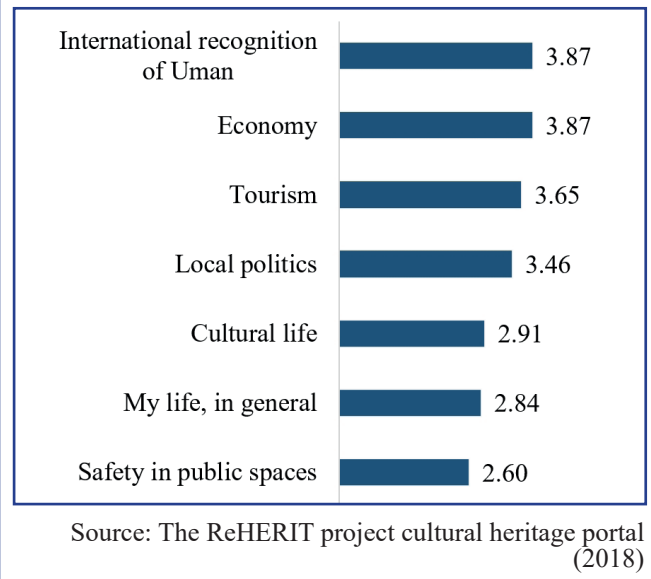
As the Hasidic pilgrimage is a sensitive topic in Uman, and a lot of speculations about the town’s prosperity due to the Hasidim appears in international mass media, an indirect question was asked to test the engagement of locals into the reception of the Hasidic guests:

Have you or people from your close circle (family, close friends) ever been involved in the reception of the pilgrims – as landlords, drivers, service workers, etc.?’

55% of respondents answered that they or their people close to them have never been involved in the pilgrims’ reception. This means that conversely, around 45% of the Uman population have been involved in the reception of pilgrims, either once (7%), sometimes (25%) or regularly (10%) (The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal, 2018).

To evaluate the opinion of local inhabitants about the Hasidic pilgrims, two questions were offered: a general evaluation of its influence upon daily life, and agreement or disagreement with a certain stereotypical statement about a pilgrim. These statements were the result of preliminary fieldwork with local experts on cultural heritage in Uman and via informal group meetings with civic activists in the frame of the mentioned project ‘ReHERIT’ (The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal, 2018).

Figure 6: Mean opinions on influences of the Hasidic pilgrimage (1 – ‘extremely negative’, 5 – ‘totally positive’) N = 800.



As one can see, opinions on influences of the Hasidic pilgrimages vary and are connected with various domains, namely international recognition of Uman, economy, tourism and local politics, culture, individual life, and safety (Figure 6). The survey shows that the highest values are given to the influence of the pilgrimage upon the international recognition of Uman and the economy of the town, while the lowest values – are its impact on personal safety and influence on the person’s life. One of the possible explanations for this lies in the fundamental attribution error – in this case, people tend to exaggerate the negative influences of external factors on their individual life and the positive influences of external factors on something general.

This trend is even more visible in analysing stereotypes about the Hasidim, where the provided answers demonstrate an equal balance of negative and positive statements (Figure 7). The most supported statements concern cultural and social spheres (chaos, entertainment, disrespect). Negative feelings regarding both material and symbolic impacts may be related to the interpretation of Mary Douglas (1966) who suggests that what we do not understand is typically labelled as ‘dirty’ - perhaps this lack of understanding has resulted in negative views of the Hasidic pilgrimage in the eyes of the Uman inhabitants. Mass media discourses connected with the influx of pilgrims and the ensuing chaos may have added a lot to the views of respondents (Marchenko, 2018), however one should not disregard impressions from personal encounters between local inhabitants and

Figure 7: Mean agreement with statements about the pilgrims
(on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 – totally disagree, 5 – totally agree) N = 800.



Source: The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal (2018)

pilgrims. At the same time, informants tend to agree about two positive statements related to the economy – about the town's budget and individual work offers. The least supported statements refer to the lack of respect to the Ukrainian laws on the part of the pilgrims and the individual prosperity of Ukrainians connected to the Hasidim. Once again, this shows a tendency to alienate pilgrimage as a general phenomenon from its impacts on a person (especially those connected to individual prosperity).

This possible alienation is more visible in the example of an adapted Bogardus scale of level of acceptance of various groups of people in society. This scale is based on assumptions such as:

'I am ready to let others be'

- 0) members of my family,
- 1) friends,
- 2) colleagues,
- 3) neighbours,
- 4) inhabitants of my country,
- 5) visitors of my country,
- 6) they should not be allowed to enter my country.

Thus, the smaller the mean number that is assigned to a certain group, the more this group is accepted. According to this scale, the Hasidim belong to the most unaccepted groups in Uman (similar to Roma and LGBT groups which are traditional outliers in the Ukrainian national surveys) – they are seen only as visitors to Ukraine. According to this question, Jews are accepted as neighbours (mean

3.1), while Poles are seen as colleagues (mean 1.8) (The ReHERIT project cultural heritage portal, 2018).

Such results shape the understanding of the Hasidic pilgrims as the 'model' groups of significant 'other' in Uman: visible, significant, and problematic. They do not fit any established version of local memory, however, Uman locals include the personality of Rebbe Nachman into their cognitive map of locally important people. At the same time, respondents tend to associate contemporary Hasidic pilgrims with Jews in general. In this vein, the Uman pilgrimage belongs to the unique cases of the pilgrimage, where a historically minor group (Bratslav Hasidim) have become the most visible and defining group of the Uman Jewry in the XXI century. It is important to remember that this survey showed the existence of polar attitudes to the pilgrimage, but in general, stereotypes about the pilgrims in Uman are mostly negative and could perhaps reinforce the position of a 'mnemonic warrior'.

Conclusions

The research results show integration of diverse and sometimes contradictory opinions about local memories; in other words, they unveil how a 'fractured, contested' memory regime is created from the grassroots. Results demonstrate the prevalence of 'mnemonic warriors' in the 'fractured and contested memory regime' – representing a (romanticised) narrative oriented to the national liberation of the Ukrainians throughout history on the

local level. At the same time, there is the possible presence of ‘mnemonic pluralists’ (around 5%) – namely, those who selected Nachman as a part of Uman’s history. The number of possible ‘mnemonic abnegators’ may reach up to 20% among those who declare they are not interested in local history. In general, however, Uman inhabitants have a strong feeling of identification with Ukrainian history, and they evaluate the impact of Ukrainian history as the decisive factor in the development of the town.

Cultural memory about non-Ukrainians in Uman remains in the outskirts. More than half of the inhabitants mentioned a significant impact of Jewish history upon the town, but this impact is hardly seen when it comes to the list of significant events or personalities in Uman’s history. Events and personalities connected with the Koliivshchyna uprising are interpreted through the lens of national liberation and the historical fight for freedom. Likely, this urge for heroes connected with struggle is strongly impacted by contemporary events, namely the hybrid aggression of Russia in Ukraine and the war in Donbas since 2014.

Hasidic pilgrimages belong to the most visible and known aspect of the Jewish past in Uman. Research results show a visible trend towards a negative opinion by Uman locals about the pilgrims, especially on the scale of social distance. At the same time, one could observe strong diversity of attitudes toward the Hasidic pilgrims along personal / collective and economic / cultural axes. Uman respondents strongly disagree that pilgrimage has any positive influences on their lives; at the same time, they understand its importance for the

town’s international reputation and possible collective profits from it. Connection to the Hasidic pilgrimage by the informants is linked to the concepts of ‘dirt’ and ‘disrespect’ and is more intensive than connections of the pilgrimage to new forms of neo-colonialism (taking land, making economic profits, etc). A demonstrative alienation from the pilgrimage could be regarded as a local indicator of the ‘fractured memory regime’.

This research offers that ‘memory regime’ could be studied on a local level, when it comes to important and possibly contradictory topics. It may become a starting point for comparative studies of Hasidic pilgrimage perceptions in Ukraine, as well as in Poland, Romania, Belarus, and Hungary, and it could add to future studies of local memories beyond the topic of pilgrimage. It remains a question for the future whether a memory regime at a local level is better understood when dealing with complicated topics, or would any important topic serve the same purpose.

At the same time, this research could be stimulation for other research of attitudes to pilgrimage, especially in places where pilgrims do not represent the dominant culture. The questions offered here could be used in similar surveys. Moreover, as the survey was conducted in late 2018, it would be insightful to conduct a comparative survey in Uman after the Covid-19 pandemic is over, assuming that pandemic has made its impact on the topics connected with purity and dirt, social distance, and closeness.

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Appendix : Extracts from ReHERIT project Questionnaire which are used in this paper

1. How long have you lived in Uman?

1. I was born and I live here all my life
2. More than 10 years
3. 5-10 years
4. 1-5 years
5. Less than a year
99. N/A

2. Please tell us if... were born in Uman?		Yes	No	D/K
1.	Parents, or one of the parents	1	0	99
2.	A grandmother and/or a grandparent, on one side	1	0	99
3.	A grandmother and/or a grandparent, on both sides	1	0	99
4.	(Some of) great grandparents	1	0	99

3. To what extent is the history of Uman interesting to you? Please evaluate on a 5-point scale, where 1 – not interesting at all, 5 – extremely interesting.

1	2	3	4	5
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4. Which cultures have influenced the development of Uman throughout its history? (Number of choices is unlimited)

- 1) Austrian
- 2) Georgian
- 3) Jewish
- 4) European
- 5) German
- 6) Polish
- 7) Soviet
- 8) Roma
- 9) Russian
- 10) Ukrainian
- 11) Other (Your variant) _____
- 99)DK

12. What do you think, which events in history had the most significant positive influence on the town? _____

13. What do you think, which events in history had the most significant negative influence on the town? _____

14. Could you name important personalities connected to Uman's history? Please provide 1-3 names _____

20. We are interested in how the inhabitants of Uman evaluate the influence of the Hasidic pilgrimage on various spheres of life in Uman. Please indicate what do you think about this influence on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means extremely negative influence, 5 – totally positive influence

	1	2	3	4	5	No influen	DK
1. On the town's economy	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
2. On the development of tourism in Uman	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
3. On cultural life in Uman	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
4. On international recognition of Uman	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
5. On the local politics in Uman	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
6. On the safety of life in Uman	1	2	3	4	5	0	99
7. On my life, in general	1	2	3	4	5	0	99

21. Do you know who was tsaddik Nachman?

1. Yes (please specify) _____
2. No

24. Do you or people from your close circle (family, close friends) have ever been involved in the reception of the pilgrims – as landlords, drivers, service workers, etc.?

- 1) Yes, regularly
- 2) Yes, from time to time
- 3) Only once
- 4) Never