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Tel Aviv University

FIN MINKÁCS TO 'JUDAPEST'

JEWS AND THEIR SYNAGOGUES IN 19TH CENTURY HUNGARY

LECTURE

Central European University
BUDAPEST

December 2005

MAIN TOPICS

1. Architecture and the Jewish heritage — the split between ideas and form: the impossibility of creating a ‘Jewish style;’
2. The hybrid nature of Synagogue architecture: space in the Jewish tradition and language borrowed from the gentile buildings;
3. Synagogues and churches: stylistic periods, architectural language and space conception of synagogues;
4. Compositional typology of 19th century synagogues;
5. Synagogues in their architectural-urban context;
6. The significance of 19th century synagogues for architectural history.

1. ARCHITECTURE AND THE JEWISH HERITAGE

MANIFESTATION OF THE DIVINE IN VISIBLE MATERIAL

'...if the world preoccupies us, that is because it is insufficiently de-sacralised'.

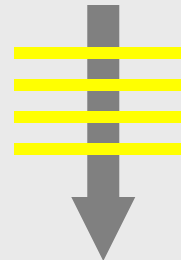
Emmanuel Lèvinas



**THE VISUAL;
TANGIBLE
MATERIAL**

In some Christian denominations the divine is allowed to manifest in visible material – a precondition for visual arts. If Christ is God's incarnation, further incarnations are possible in a piece of art - an icon – is the bearer of the sacred.

Arts are backed by the links between *modus essendi* and *modus operandi*. Architecture, as a relatively abstract art also enjoys the status of other visual arts: the church is God's house, its structural perfection exemplifies God's perfection.

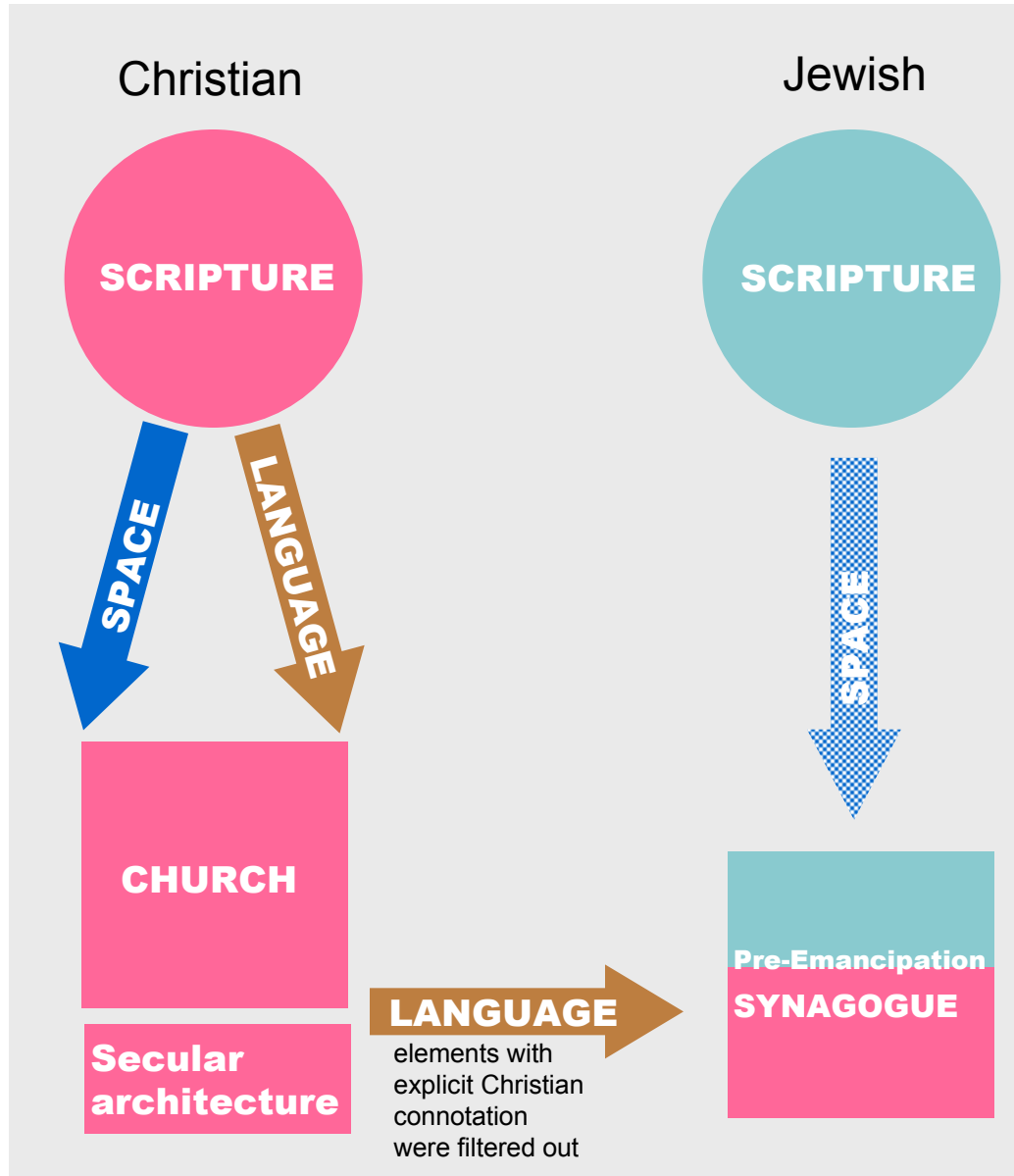


**THE VISUAL;
TANGIBLE
MATERIAL**

Although in Judaism there is no total image ban, the divine is not allowed to show up in pieces of art. The צלם with its double meaning – picture and idol – underlines the caution towards visual representation. To convey the notion of matter as non-sentient, non-responsive to human desire and undifferentiated, Biblical heritage uses the Hebrew term חול This has 'sand' as its literal meaning, thereby conveying the notion of neutral expanse, in the sense of denying any distinction to any part of matter. Thus, material is left alone, detached from any meaning.

THE CHURCH VERSUS PRE-EMANCIPATION SYNAGOGUE

St. John's vision of the *Cardo* in the Heavenly Jerusalem defined the layout of the Western church until Reformation: longitudinal space following the *via sacra*, architectural language elements like the colonnade, the basilical windows, etc. gave a concise program.



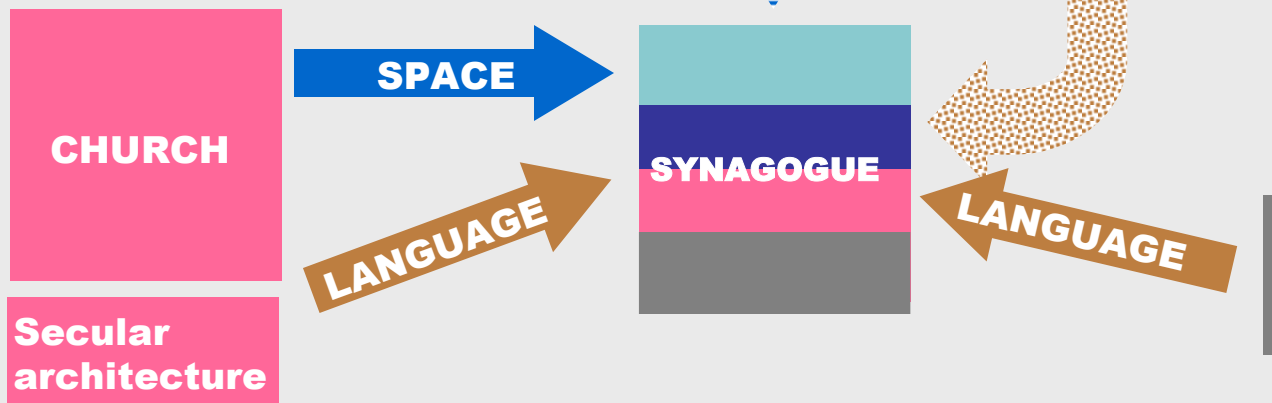
The input from the Scripture was not enough – too many architectural elements were left open – to form a coherent synagogue architecture. Thus synagogues followed the space conception, the bi-focal interior, eastern orientation, elevated Ark and Bimah, entrance via two doors and the separation of women and man dictated by Judaism, but the architectural language was largely taken from the gentile architecture of the region.

This made ashkenazi synagogue architecture hybrid. Architectural language elements with explicit Christian connotation were refused – in the case of unavoidable structural solutions they were masked.

POST-EMANCIPATION SYNAGOGUE AS A MIX OF CHURCH AND SECULAR ARCHITECTURE, 19TH CENTURY “HIGH TECH”, EXOTIC ARCHITECTURE

Due to the reform movement the Jewish heritage's influence on synagogues has been minimised and concerns some spatial elements and the still existent image ban.

The influence of church architecture now extends to space as well, while the architectural language becomes even more complex comprising 19th century metal architecture (railway stations, exhibition halls), different types of exotic architecture – Egyptian, Moorish, Byzantine, Indian Mogul, Turkish, etc.



Gentile theoreticians of art and Jewish thinkers had been working on finding links between Islam and Judaism, which would justify the use of Moorish style suitable because of architectural and political reasons in the 19th century. This movement aimed at establishing a synagogue style in line with other historic styles. Due to the lack of links between Judaism and the visual, however, it never came into being.

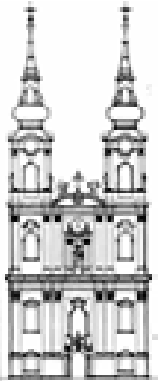
2. THE HYBRID NATURE OF SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE:

- SPACE FOLLOWED THE JEWISH TRADITION IN SOME WAYS
- LANGUAGE WAS BORROWED FROM THE GENTILE BUILDINGS

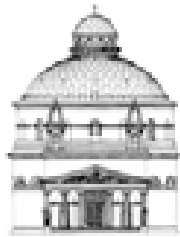
19th CENTURY STYLISTIC PERIODS IN SYNAGOGUE AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

cca 1750

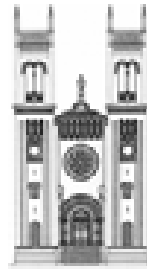
Szt. Anna,
Buda



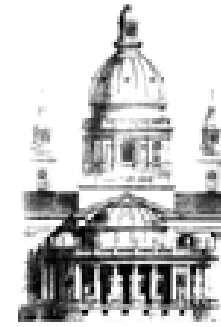
1828



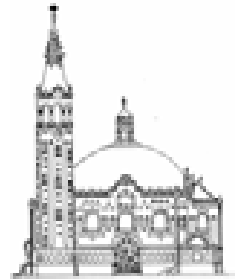
1845



1876



1907



BAROQUE

NEO-CLASS.

ROMANTIC

ECLECTIC

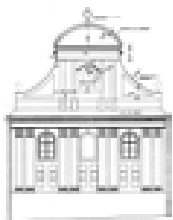
**ART
NOUVEAU**

BAROQUE

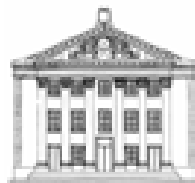
NEO-CLASS.

ROMANTIC

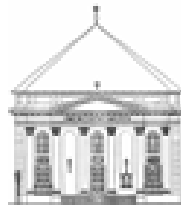
ECLECTIC



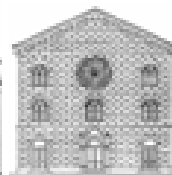
1795
Mád



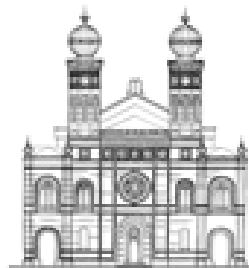
1820
Óbuda



1845
Baja



1846
Pápa



1854
Pest



1870
Győr



1880
Szombathely



1906
Újvidék

Baroque time synagogues in Austria-Hungary look restrained, like neo-Classical ones and the border line between them is even less apparent than in church architecture. Both Baroque and neo-Classical synagogues avoided conspicuous appearance using the language of the neighbouring gentile buildings. After the revolution of 1848 synagogues started to celebrate Jewish advance in the gentile society by the use of domes, towers and a specific architectural language.

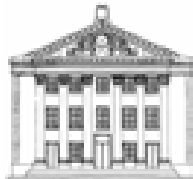
SYNAGOGUE 'STYLE' AND FLOOR-PLAN

1848

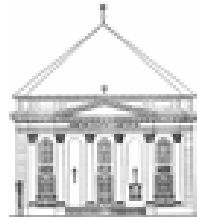
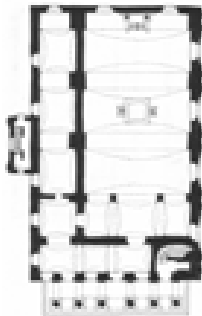
1868



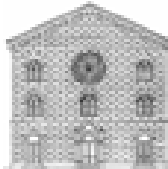
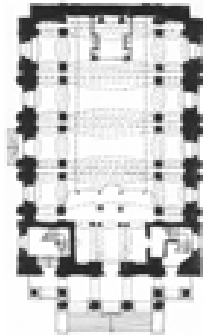
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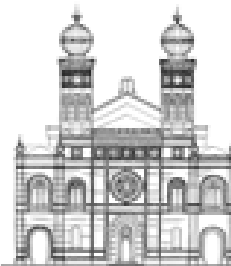
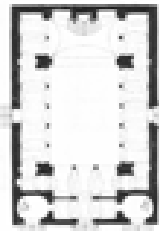
1820
Óbuda



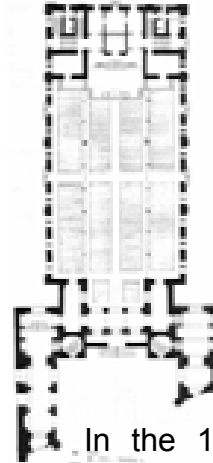
1845
Baja



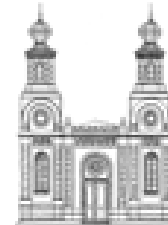
1846
Pápa



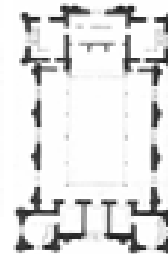
1854
Pest



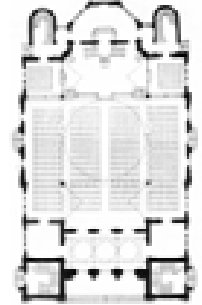
1870
Győr



1880
Szombathely



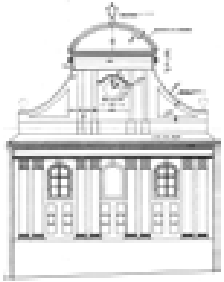
1906
Újvidék



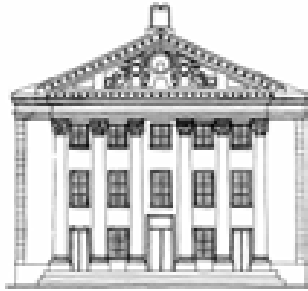
1848 is a watershed in the external appearance: the synagogues strive for a distinct look. The dramatic changes in the interior occurred much earlier – the reform was almost invisible, and the split between orthodox and neologue came only in 1868. Until 1848 the slightly elongated floor-plan was kept, later the more elongated and the central plan represented the two options, although until late 19th century the central arrangement was relatively rare.

In the 19th century the unity of internal content and external appearance vanishes and the synagogue became a statement for the gentiles, particularly after 1848. The stylistic garment and the internal arrangement did not match each other any more. The Jewish congress in 1868 finally reinforced the victory of the reform movement. Later orthodox synagogues started to compete with the reformist ones.

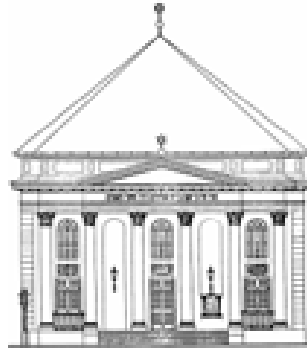
SPATIAL FOCUS AND STRUCTURE



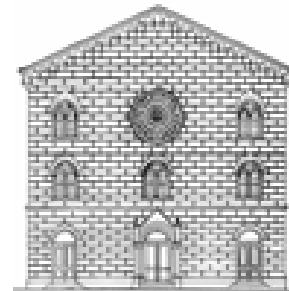
1795
Mád



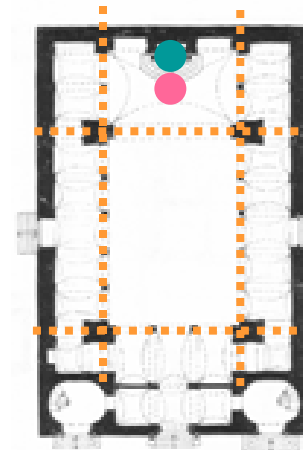
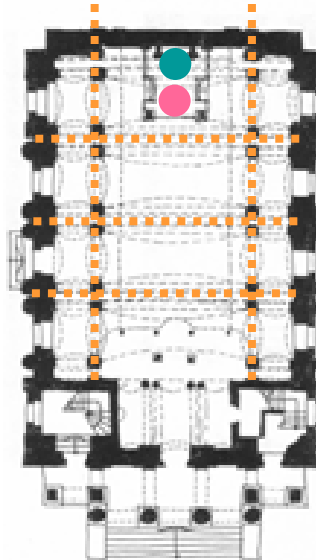
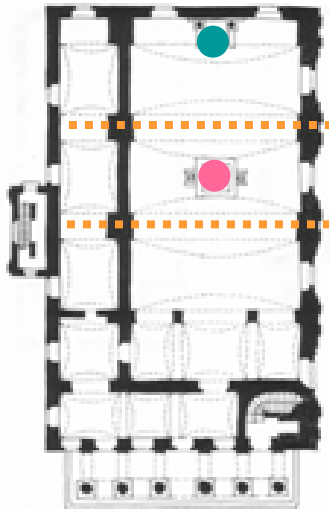
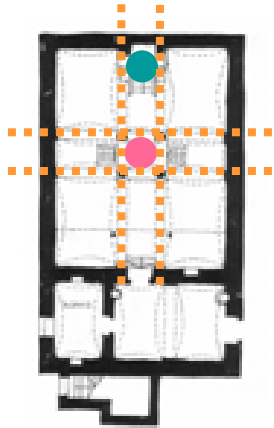
1820
Óbuda



1845
Baja



1846
Pápa



● The Ark

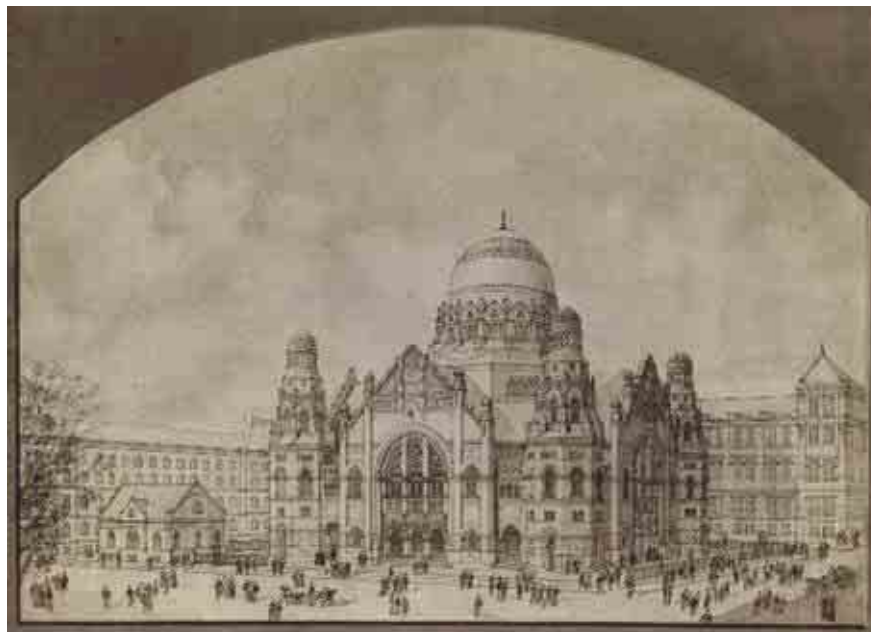
● The bimah

----- The axes of the arches in the interior

In the nine-bay synagogue the bearing structure frames the location of the two spatial foci, the bimah and the Ark. These were set free by the structure in many neo-Classical synagogues, and finally before 1848 they joined together in the representative Mizrah. Gradually the massive brick masonry was replaced by metal structure, which opened up further the interior space and enhanced the freedom of architects to create the exteriors more freely in the spirit of 19th century formal pluralism.

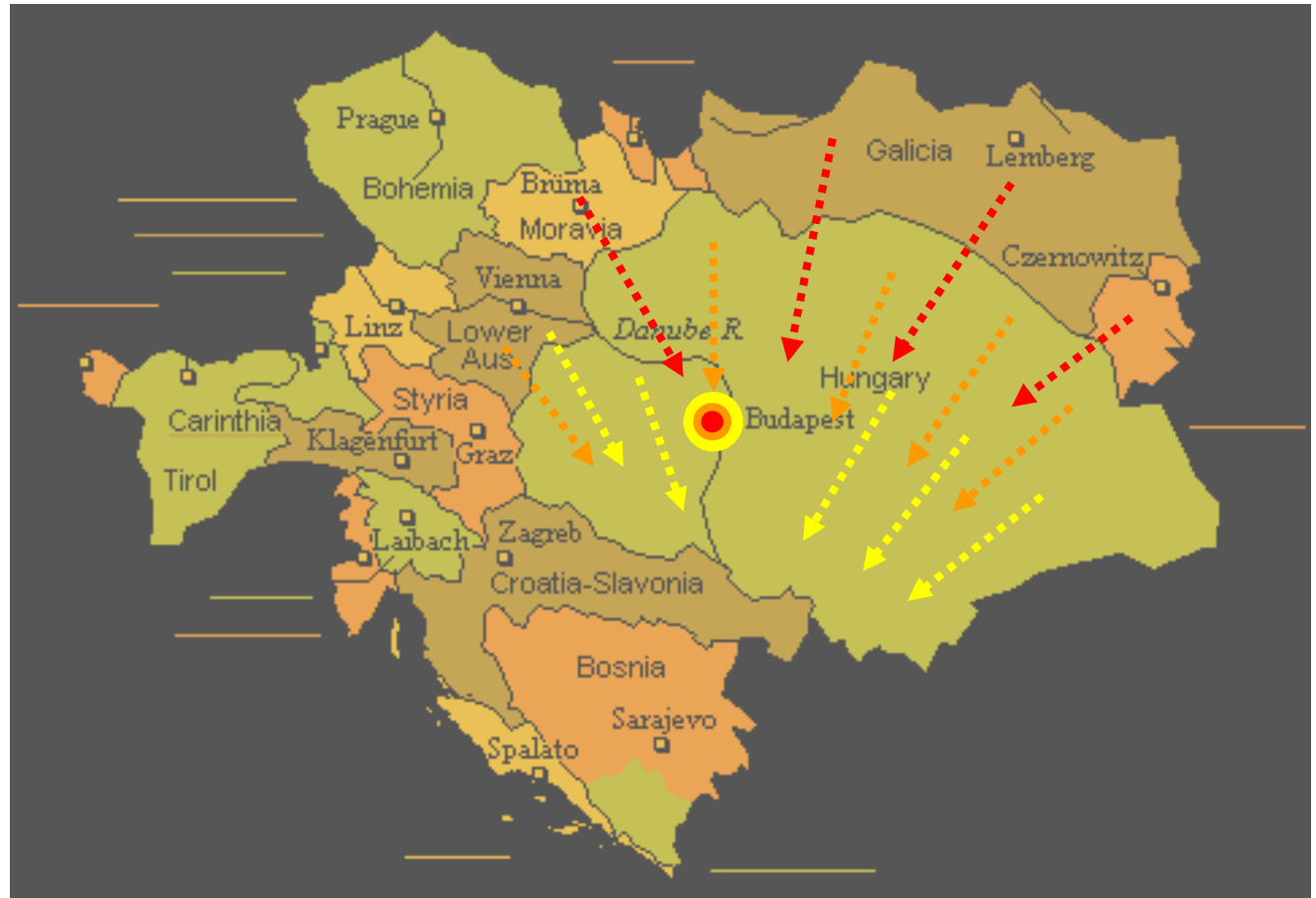


FIN MINKÁCS TO JUDAPEST



HISTORIC HUNGARY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HABSBURG EMPIRE – IMMIGRATION PATTERN

- Geographical distribution: the north and north-east orthodox belt;
- The gradual transition to reform communities – from the north-east to the south, from the village to the towns;
- Budapest: the complex island.



CRITERIA FOR TYPOLOGIES

- Size (number of seats)
- Interior space – proportions, articulation, limitation, foci (number and placement),
- Architectural language (decoration) of the interior
- Bearing structure and building materials in general
- Architectural language (decoration) of the exterior
- Exterior mass composition – the urban aspect
- Synagogue vis-a-vis the urban or rural context

3. FORMAL TYPOLOGY OF SYNAGOGUES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

1. THE VILLAGER'S HOUSE TYPE SYNAGOGUES



The synagogue in Pusztakovács



The synagogue in Szabadszállási



The villager's house type synagogues are simple one storey buildings with pitched roof, barely distinguishable from the surrounding peasants' houses in villages and the outskirts of small towns. They usually show some minor Jewish details/symbols – oculi on the gable with a six-pointed star, etc.



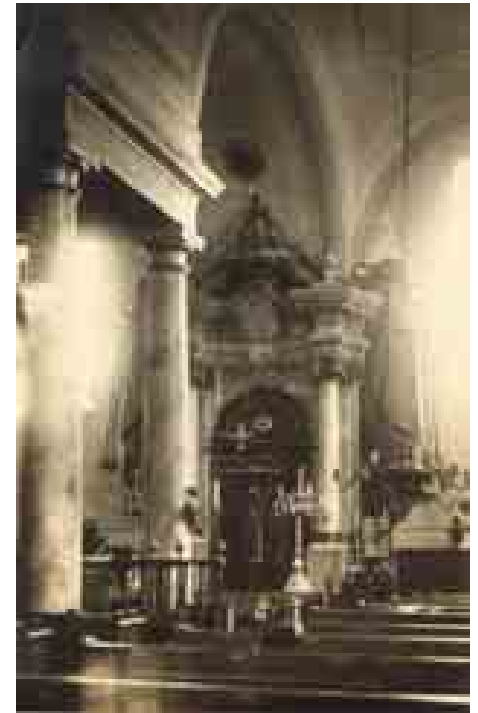


2. THE BURGHER'S HOUSE TYPE SYNAGOGUES



The synagogue in Albertirsa, 1808

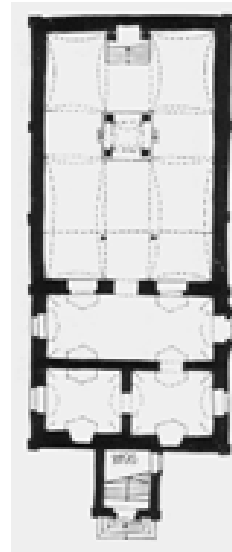
The burgher's house type synagogues in a ghetto, a village centre, or small town have no distinctively 'synagogue-like' appearance, but well codified interior arrangement visible from the outside: two floors on the western side of the building and a double story high single space on the eastern half with the windows which characteristically reflect the main space and the gallery as well as the *cheder* below.



The synagogue in Bonyhád



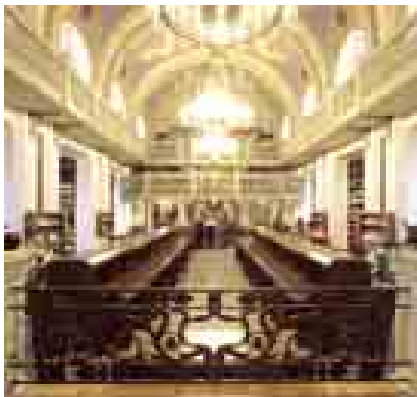
The synagogue in Zsámbék





3. THE PROTESTANT-CHURCH-TYPE SYNAGOGUES

The Lutheran Church in Pest



The synagogue in Baja, 1845



The Protestant-church-type characterises major synagogues of early emancipation – *Zopf* or neo-Classical style in larger villages and towns (Apostag, Baja, Óbuda) with an emphasized portico and central projections, usually with a slightly elongated floor plan, with central or eastern Bimah (sometimes the Bimah was later moved from the centre to the east).



The synagogue in Liptószenmiklós, 1846

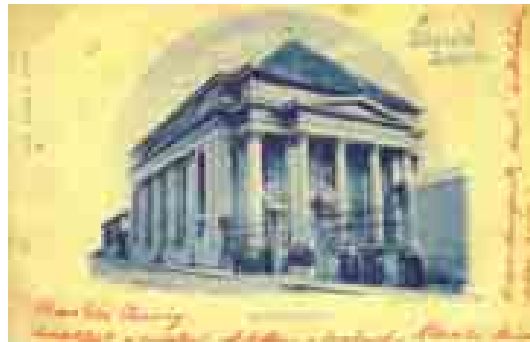
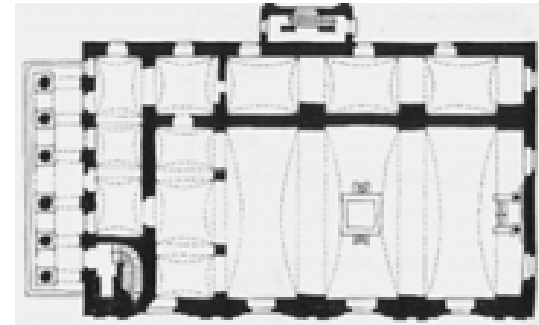
3. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH TYPE



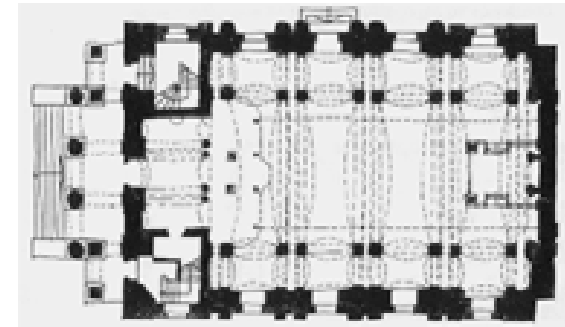
Synagogue in
Hunfakva



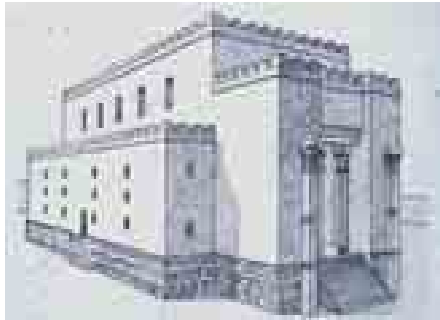
The synagogue in
Óbuda, 1820



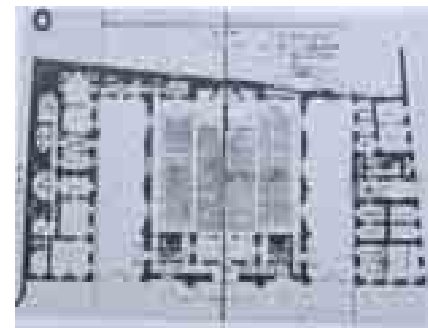
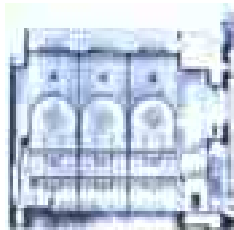
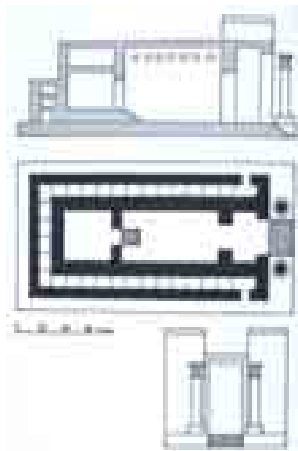
Synagogue in Baja, 1845



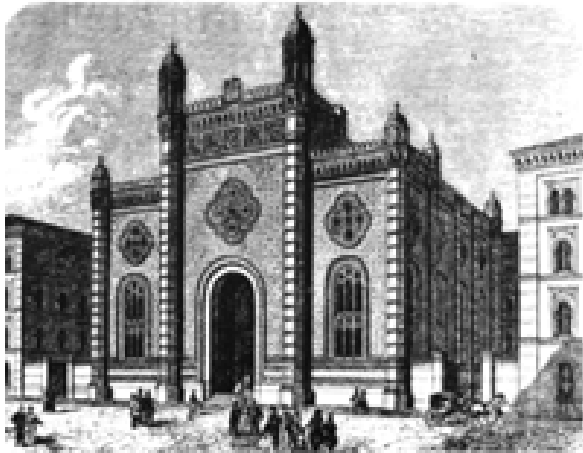
4. REFERENCES TO SOLOMON'S TEMPLE



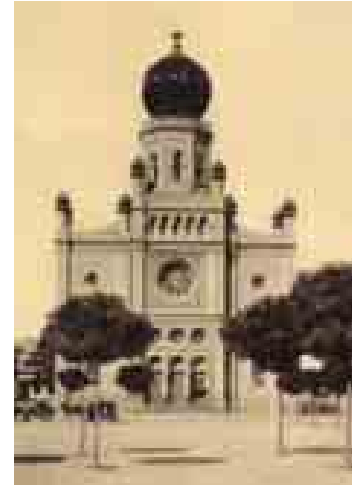
Replicas of the Temple in Jerusalem are unimous products of *haskala* and gaining civil rights. It has usually a low roof and expressed crenellation frequently coupled with Moorish style in small or large towns or cities. Instead of the crenellation over the central projection there could be a lunette or tympanum too.



VARIATIONS ON THE TEMPLE'S THEME



**The synagogue
in Vienna
Tempelgasse**



**The synagogue
in Kecskemét**



**The synagogue
in Pécs**



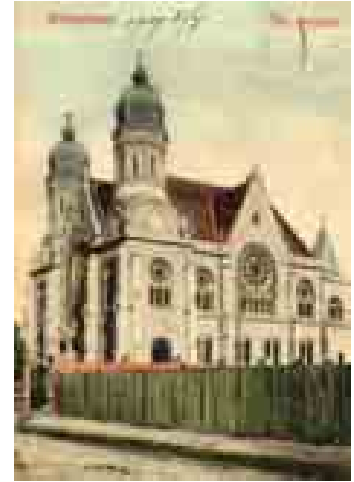
**The synagogue
in Brassó**

5. CATHOLIC CHURCH/CATHEDRAL-TYPE

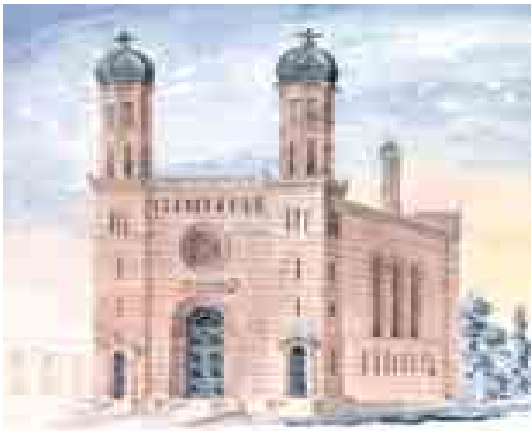
Catholic church/cathedral-type (*Zweiturmtyp*) with two dominant towers and an interior with manifest longitudinal thrust is to be found in towns and cities. This type spread from Budapest Dohány Temple to the remotest villages of the empire. The architectural language of the interior is usually Moorish, the exterior is also Moorish but with some *Rundbogenstil* elements – in rare cases neo-Renaissance.



The synagogue in Szombathely, 1880



A zalaegerszegi zsinagóga, 1904



A. Regel, Entwurf für eine Synagoge, 1841



L. Förster: The Dohány Temple 1854



VARIATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TYPE



The synagogue in Szombathely

**The synagogue in
Zalaegerszeg**



The synagogue in Újpest

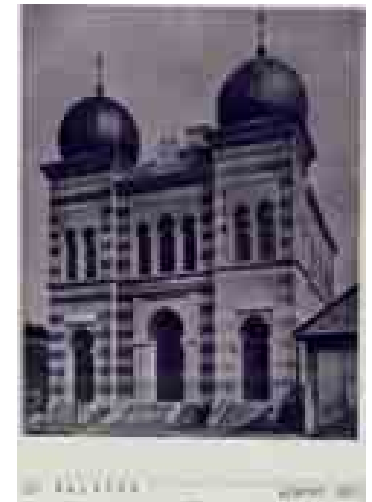


The synagogue in Osijek

Catholic church/cathedral type with two dominant towers changes its proportions in the case of smaller synagogues, but the basic layout remains the same. This type has little variations in different locations – free standing or in the street-line it remains practically the same.



The synagogue in Monor



The synagogue in Malacka

MORESQUE CATHEDRAL: THE DOHÁNY TEMPLE IN BUDAPEST

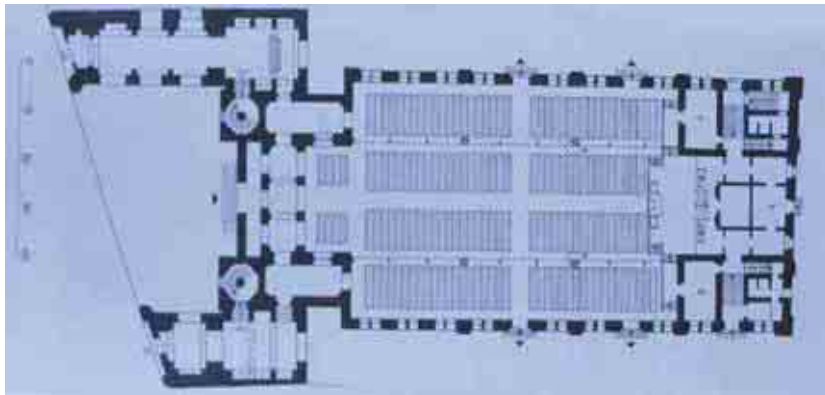


ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם

The interior is Moresque insofar it hides the real structure – the large arches are obviously not structural, because they are very thin. On the other hand it is traditional Western as it refers to a previous western structure – Romanesque arches – and not something non architectural, a merely geometrical ornament or Muslim inscription, for instance.

At the same time, it expresses the most important message of reform Jews – progress, i.e. technical progress, using advanced materials and structures: wrought iron, gypsum, glass, etc. All period reviews of the building stressed the modernity of materials, the high tech status of the *Judemtempel* versus the conservative, past evoking architecture of Christian denominations.

The floor plan follows Christian patterns – longitudinal arrangement that highlights the changes of sermon, that is shifted from the individualist learning-praying to the *unisono*, theatrical liturgy.





The 'Dohány Temple' in Pest, architect Ludwig Förster and Frigyes Feszl (interior decoration and the Ark), 1852-57

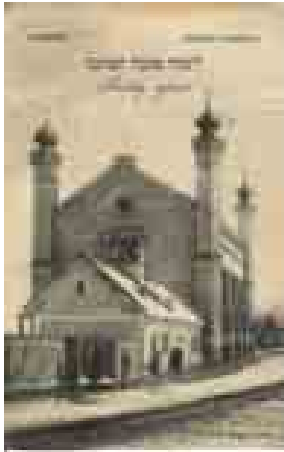


The main façade is slightly recessed behind a fence that forms an irregular courtyard. The tall towers lend a cathedral-like appearance. The upper most elements are the crowns, then the clocks and the tablets of the Law are a bit concealed behind the battlement. Former distinguishing motifs of synagogues, like the menorah – reference to to the statehood of Israel – are carefully omitted.





6. THE FACTORY HALL TYPE SYNAGOGUES



The synagogue in Losonc

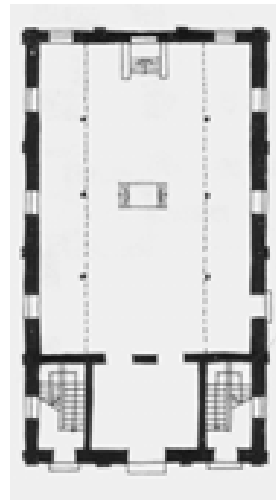


The synagogue in Bácsalmás

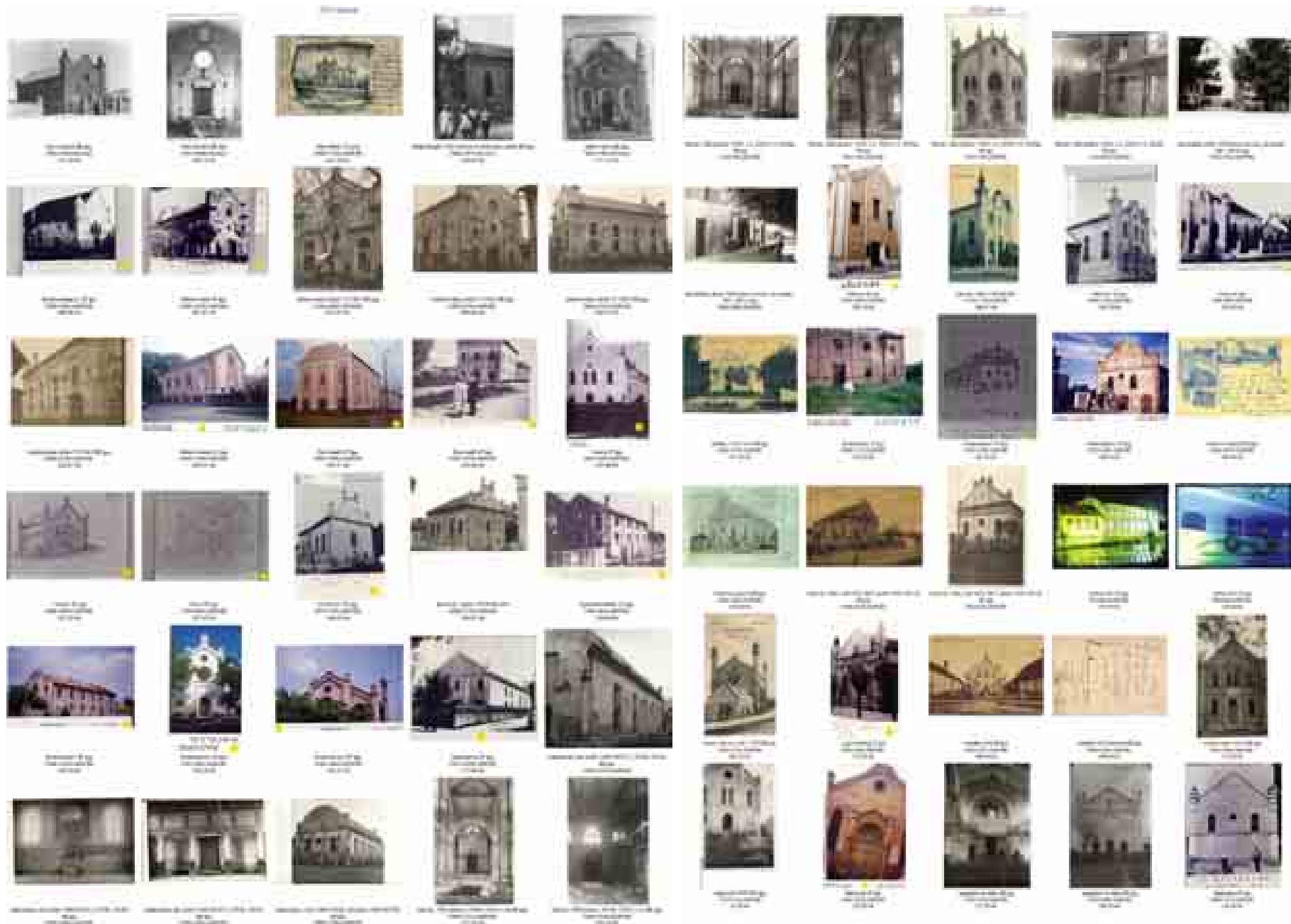
The factory hall type synagogues display a closed and simple composition with an elongated plan, two floors high usually with minarets/turrets, located in smaller towns and major villages for smaller congregations, or sometimes major towns where Jews were not well established (Kassa, neologue synagogue). Its language is simple, rendered façade with some decoration in façade brick around the windows and outlines of the building with more or less Moorish elements. In formal terms this type sometimes comes close to a Catholic chapel, but with some distinguishing marks.



The synagogue in Rimaszombat

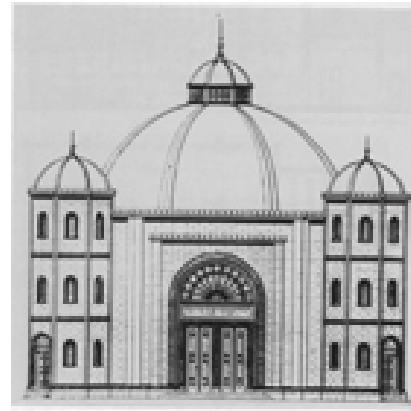
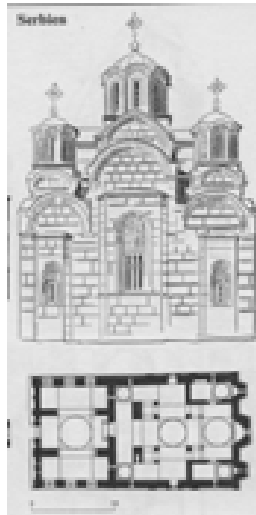


The new synagogue in Bonyhád, 1924

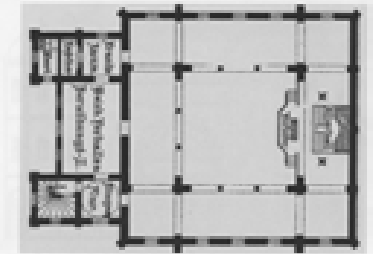
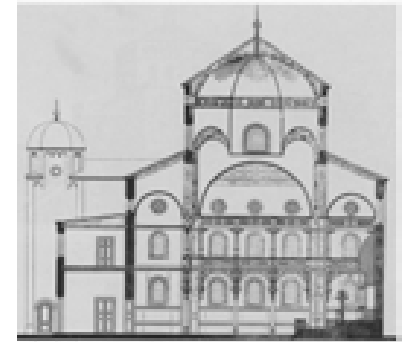


7. CENTRAL BYZANTINE COMPOSITION

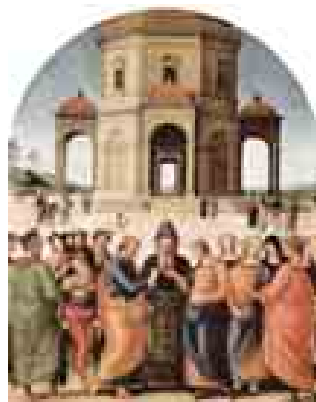
This type is related to the idea of orientalism – Byzantium is oriental in a Central European setting. Stylistically this type is usually related more to Byzantine architecture, but sometimes it has Renaissance features or even Moorish style. Very often these features are mixed together.



E. Kopp, Synagogue project, 1837



G. Semper, The Dresden Synagogue, 1838-40

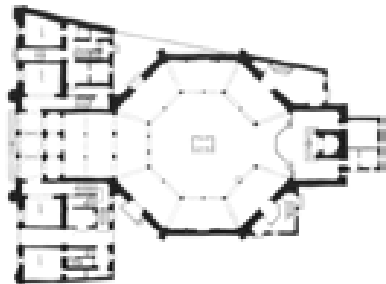
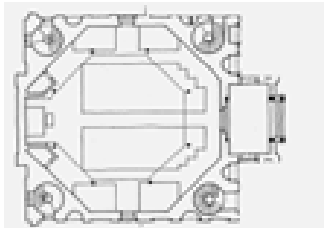


E Römer, Synagogue project, 1848

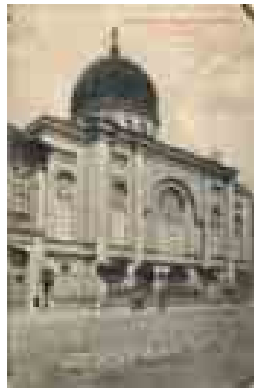




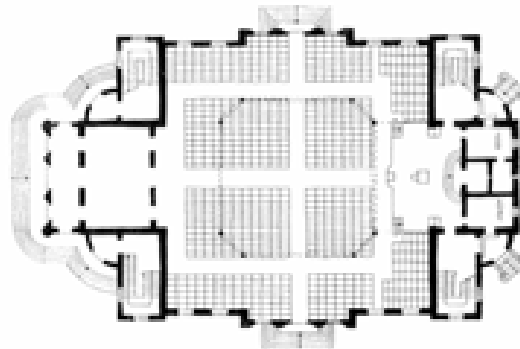
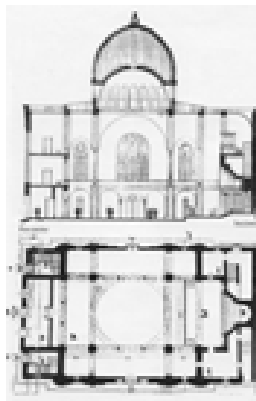
A győri zsinagóga terve, 1868



O. Wagner,
Rumbach
Synagogue, 1872



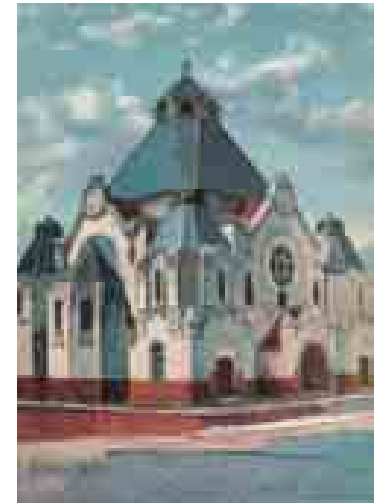
Dávid
Busch, Zion
Temple,
Nagyvárad,
1878,



The synagogue in Szeged, 1901



The central byzantine type overarches many stylistic periods from the Romantic *Rundbogenstil* up to proto-modernism.





The Orthodox synagogue in Marosvásárhely, 1893

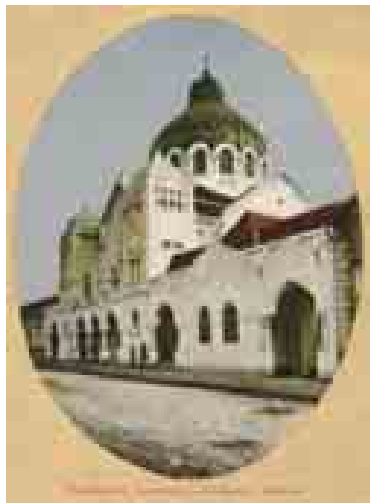


The synagogue in Temesvár-Gyárvaros



The synagogue in Újvidék, 1906

Central Byzantine composition has its simplified versions – central dome with two minor domes (sometimes without minor domes, although their traces exist in the floor plans housing the staircases for the gallery – Cegléd-type). In some cases the central dome moves nearer to the street to impress the by-passers



The synagogue in Pancsova, 1912

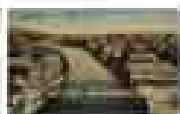
The synagogue in Aszód, 1907



The synagogue in Ungvár



The interior of the dome in the new synagogue of Szabadka, architects Dezső Jakab and Marcell Komor, 1901-1903



1. Kirche in der Altstadt

2. Kirche in der Altstadt

3. Kirche in der Altstadt

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58. Kirche in der Altstadt

8. THE PALACE TYPE SYNAGOGUE



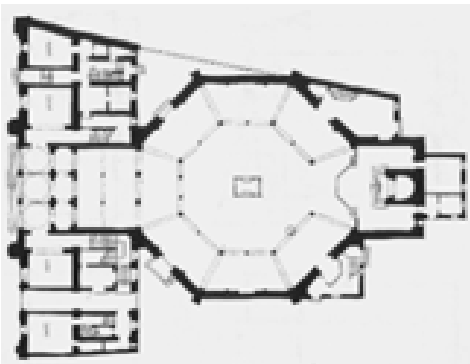
The synagogue in Arad



The synagogue in Munkács



**The synagogue in
Budapest, Rumbach Street**



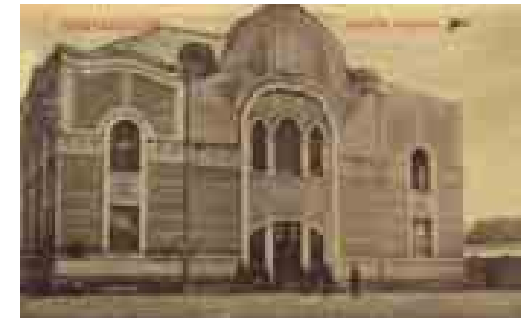
The palace type synagogue does not appear as a synagogue or piece of sacral architecture, but as a palace. It is urban, decorated, usually free-standing answering the milieu of the town. Usually it features central projections on all façades; sometimes it has a tradition oculus above the ark, sometimes it is just another window. Stylistically this type ranges from the early examples of *Rundbogenstil* and neo-Renaissance up to Moorish style, late eclecticism and art nouveau.



The synagogue in Nagymihály



The synagogue in Sátoraljaújhely



The synagogue in Nagyszöllős

5. THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE TOWN

MACRO AND MICRO-LOCATION AS WELL AS JEWISH URBAN TOPOGRAPHY

LOCATION CLASSIFICATION

MACRO LOCATION:

- **Outside the urban fabric of the settlement** (counting on the urban expansion during the second half of the 19th century;
- **On the perimeter of the settlement** (on the city wall mainly in medieval times as Maribor or near some natural limit of the settlement – water surface, forest, etc.)
- **On the periphery of the settlement, but inside the walls** (either on insignificant location or on exposed location)
- **Somewhere halfway between the periphery and the centre** (either in an insignificant location or on an exposed location)
- **Near the centre** (usually on an exposed spot, but without direct visual contact to the main square area)
- **In the very centre** (usually on the main square)

MICRO LOCATION:

- **Hidden in a courtyard** (built into the ensemble or free standing – often in pre-emancipation times or for small synagogues in the framework of a Jewish institution)
- **On the street – recessed or non-recessed – integrated into the urban fabric**
- **On the street, but detached from the neighbouring houses** (the synagogue can be accompanied by the community buildings which are built into the street-façade).
- **On a corner (street crossing)** (detached or built in)
- **On a square (in the axis or off-centred)** (detached, usually surrounded by vegetation)

MACRO CONTEXT 1

FITTING IN NEATLY



Szombathely



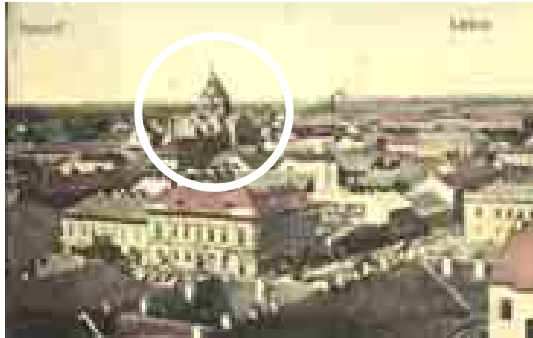
Várpalota



Pozsony

MACRO CONTEXT 2

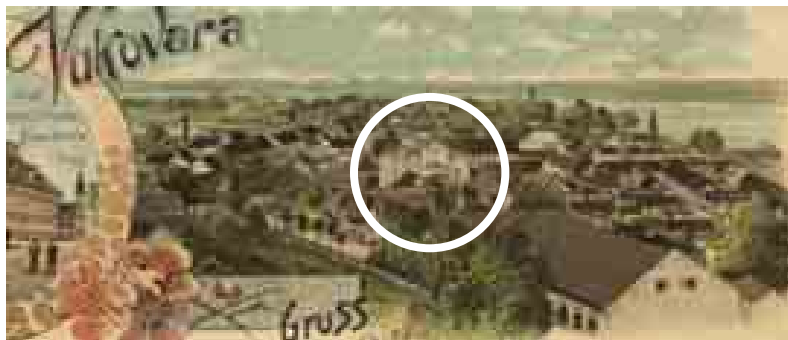
STRETCHING OUT EXPLICITLY



Szeged



Szabadka

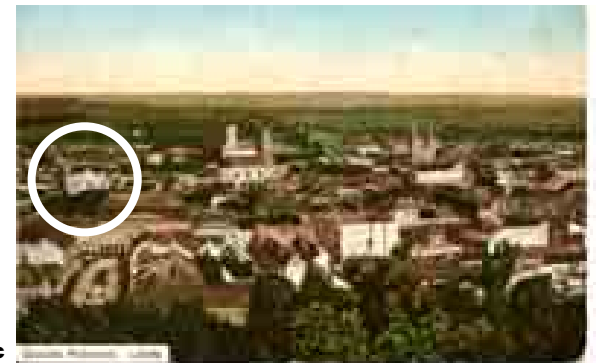


Vukovár

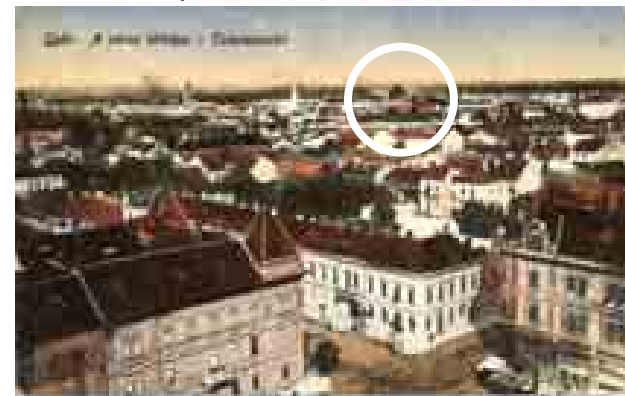
STRETCHING OUT SLIGHTLY



Baja



Miskolc



Győr

MICRO-CONTEXT



ON ITS OWN SQUARE: SZEGED



**ON THE MAIN SQUARE SHARING
PROMINENCE: VÁRPALOLATA**



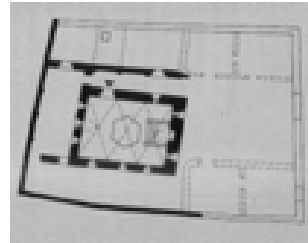
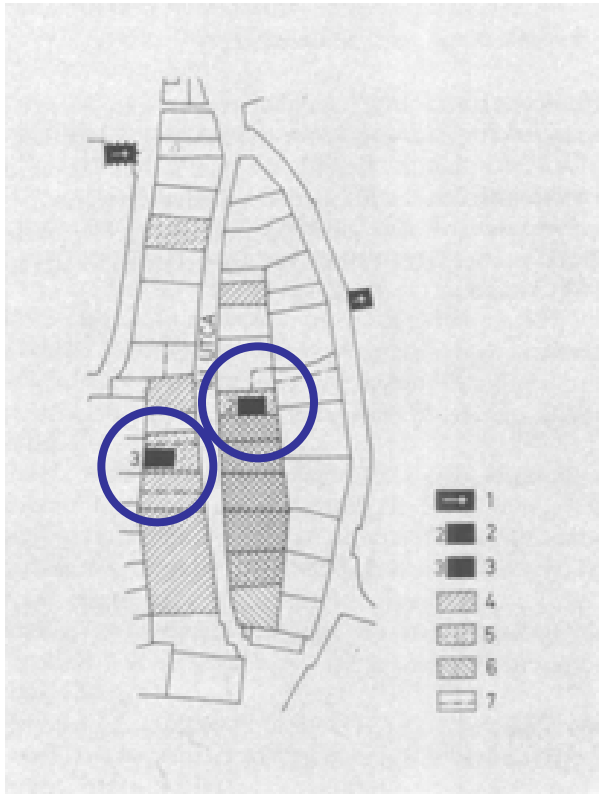
**SYNAGOGUE AN ON
IMPORTANT NEW
COMMERCIAL
STREET: POZSONY,
ÚJVIDÉK**



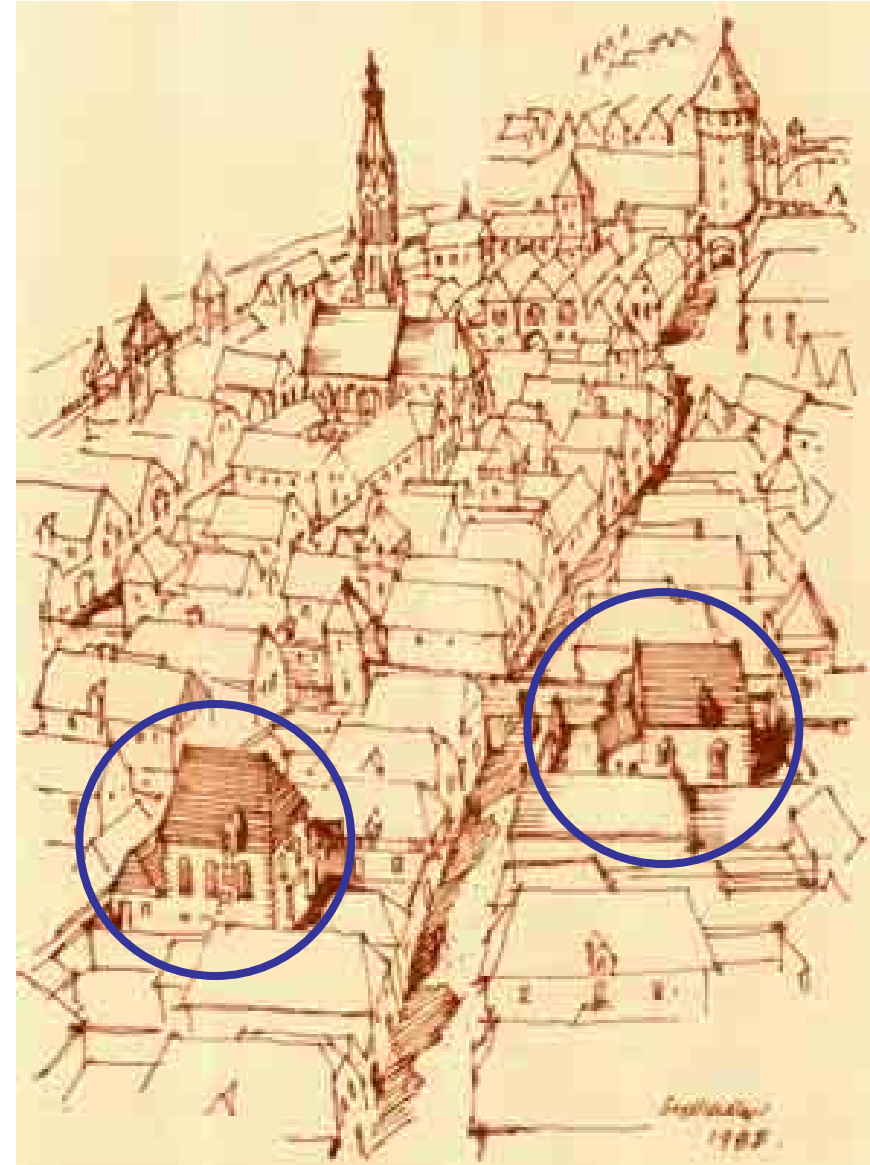
CASE STUDIES

MEDIEVAL PATTERNS: Until 1526 (1686)

SOPRON

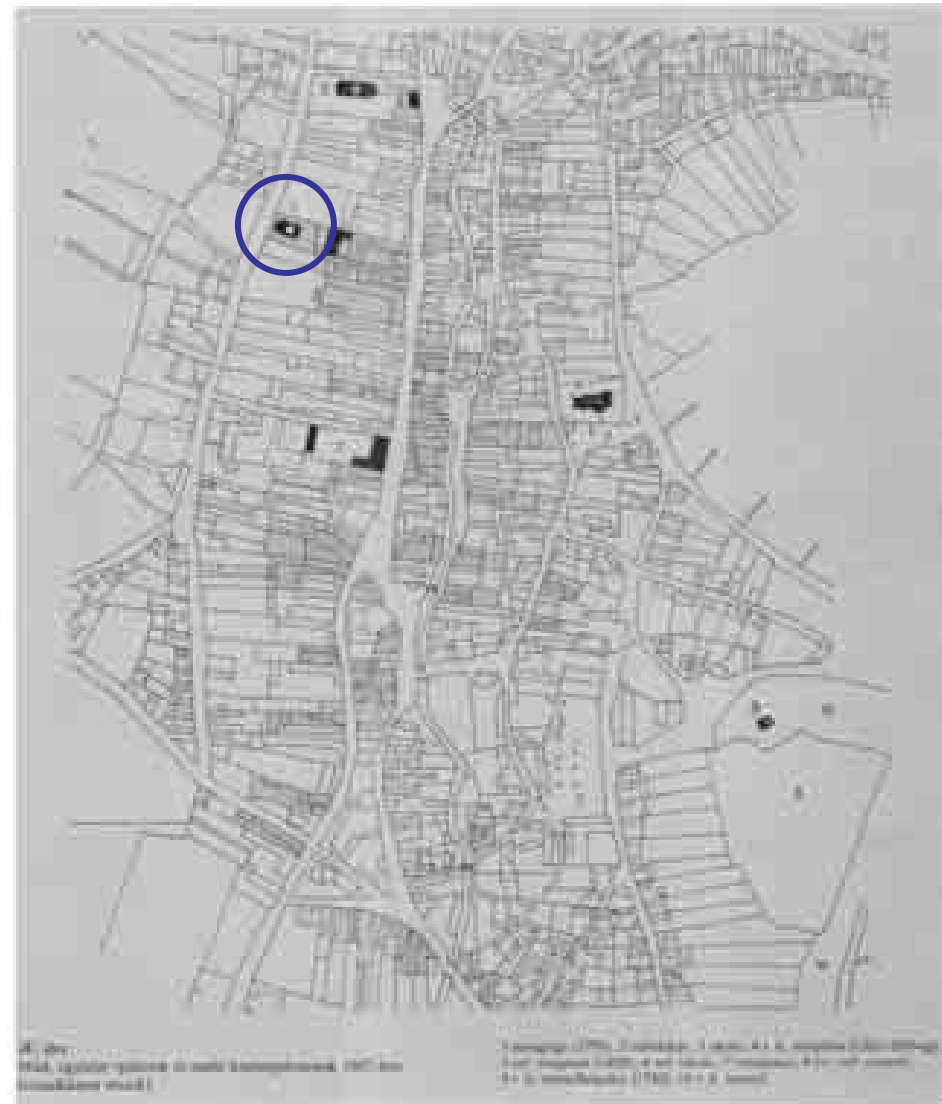


The two medieval synagogues of Sopron are located in courtyards invisibly from the street. In architectural terms they don not differ significantly from their neighbours: pitched roofs cover the synagogues, their details are gothic. The synagogues' size is similar to the dimensions of adjacent houses, just the rhythm and the shape of the windows betray their function. There is no wish and no possibility to any architectural distinction.



EARLY EMANCIPATION: 1789-1848

MÁD



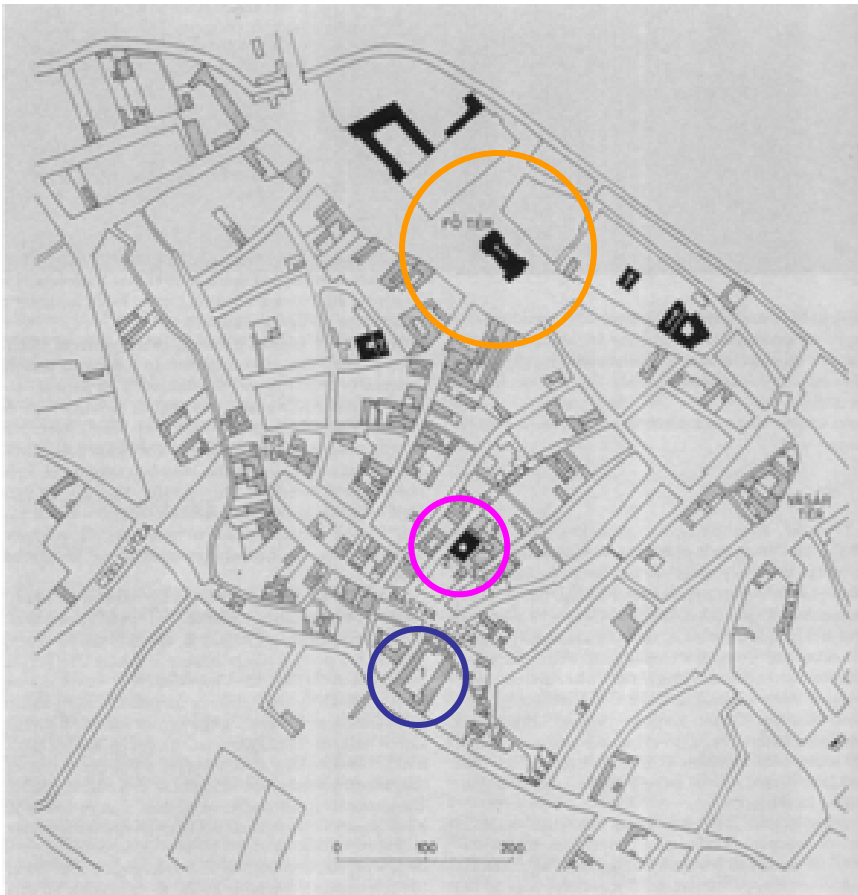
After the Enlightenment and the reforms of Joseph II the position of the Jews has improved somewhat, but the synagogues were still in courtyards hidden from the eyes of gentiles walking on the street. Slowly some distinction started to emerge nevertheless.

Mad is a place where a nine-bay synagogue represents the peak of Jewish architectural achievement. Later in the period of intense Jewish emancipation the town was already in decline. According to the stipulations of the period, the late 18th and early 19th century, the synagogue occupies a slot near the perimeter of the settlement, but due to the slope it became a dominant element of the townscape seen from afar.

PÁPA



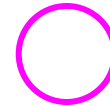
Papa is a town where the Jewish presence peaked in mid-19th century with roughly one quarter of the entire population, which later steadily declined. Accordingly the last synagogue (1846), although quite large and dominant in its mass did not reach the hearth of the city. (The first synagogue was quite close to the periphery.) The synagogue is dominant, seen from the periphery of the town. Some Jewish families later reached the centre of the town, but the community as a whole was already in decline by the end of the 19th century, the most prosperous time in the history of the region.



Main square with
the Baroque church



The place of the
first synagogue



The second
synagogue

BAJA



In Baja the synagogue is closer to the centre, turned to the street with its longer side and it is accompanied by the school (across the street) and adjacent community building as well as the hospital on the corner across the community building. Ritual facilities were located in the courtyard of the synagogue, today a holocaust memorial. It is important that the street is a frequent communication and not a hidden lane. There is no closed Jewish block.

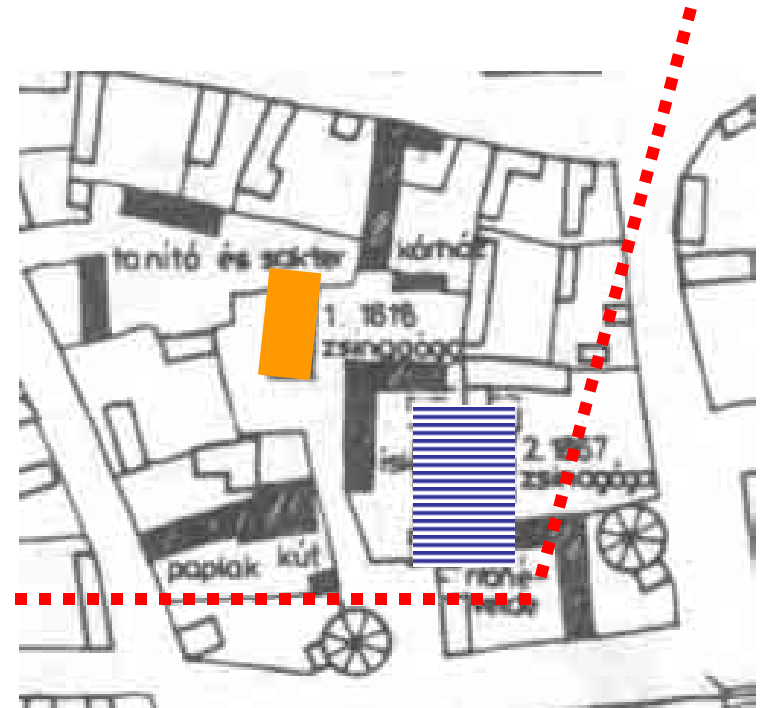
LATE EMANCIPATION: 1848-1918

KECSKEMÉT, 1821

An important market town located some hundred kilometres south from Budapest, Kecskemét exemplifies the dissolution of the closed Jewish block and the emerging of the representative reform synagogue. Unlike many cases, where a set of synagogues approaches gradually the centre, here the synagogues' macro-location is unchanged – they occupied the same block, the old synagogue constructed in 1816 and the new one after the revolution in 1867, the year of Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*.



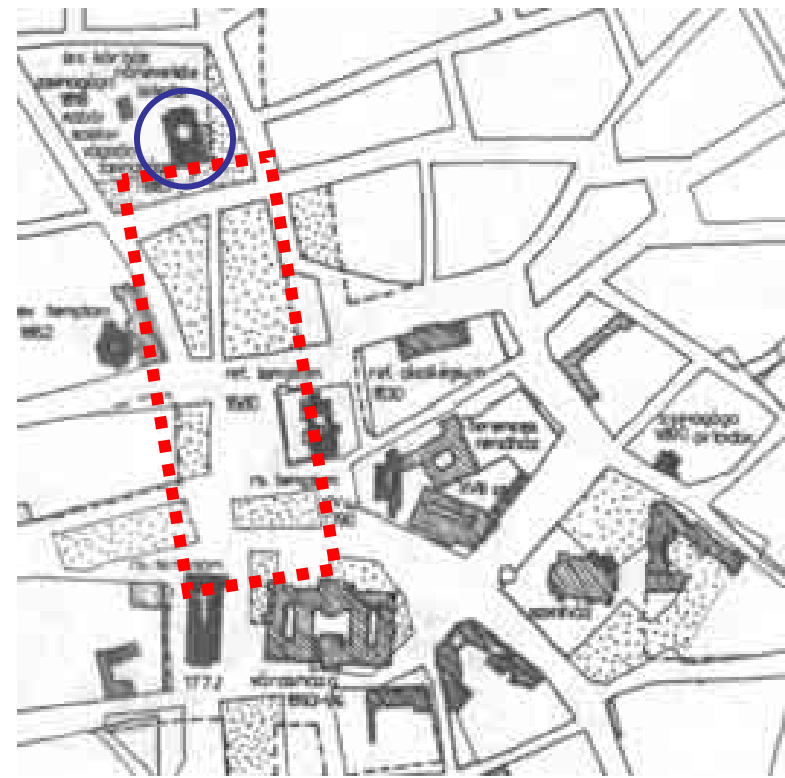
However, the micro-location changed remarkably. The first synagogue occupied the heart of the Jewish block. The new synagogue got closer to the perimeter of the block, to the gentile world, and finally the regulation between 1892 and 1905 cleared the old houses between churches and public buildings and the new synagogue found itself on the main square. With this last action, initiated by the municipality, the Jewish block has lost its integrity, becoming an organic part of the ensemble of squares in the centre.



KECSKEMÉT, 1892-1905





Due to the regulation the town got a more urban look with a solemn main square which represented all confessions in a parliamentary way, though their churches belonged initially to the respective congregations. Right to the synagogue a Jewish entrepreneur with a Jewish architect constructed the *Cifra Palota*, a Hungarian art nouveau building, which manifested the new Jewish-Hungarian identity. With the synagogue it has created a gateway to the new avenue linking the main square with the railway station.



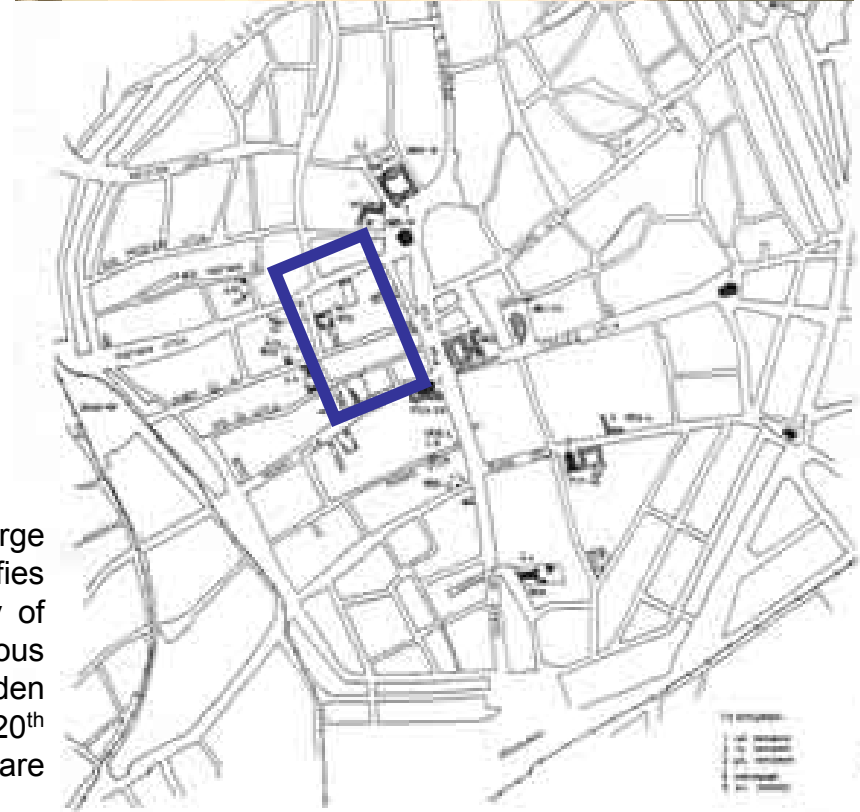
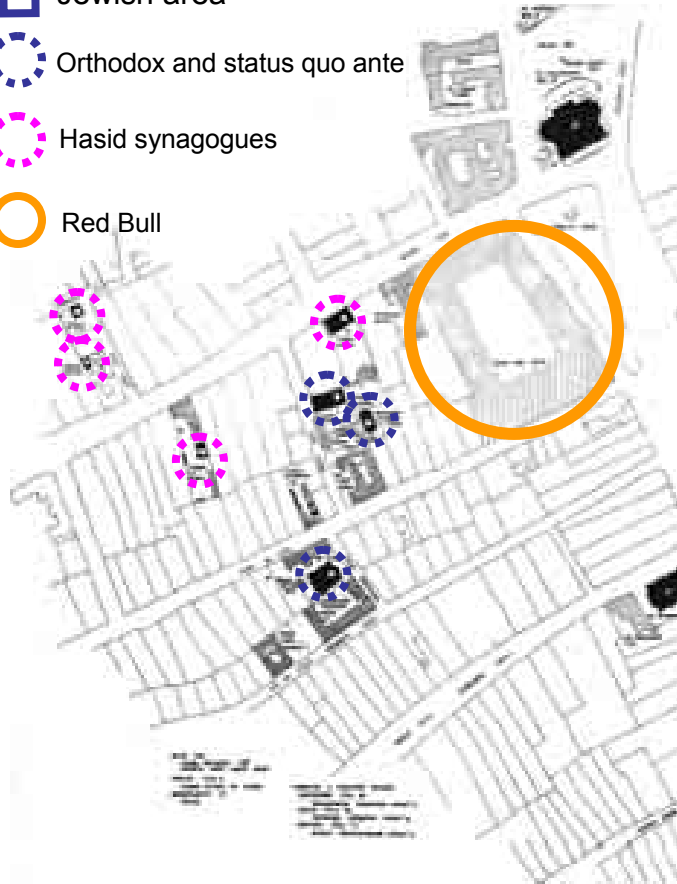
DEBRECEN

 Jewish area

 Orthodox and status quo ante

 Hasid synagogues

 Red Bull



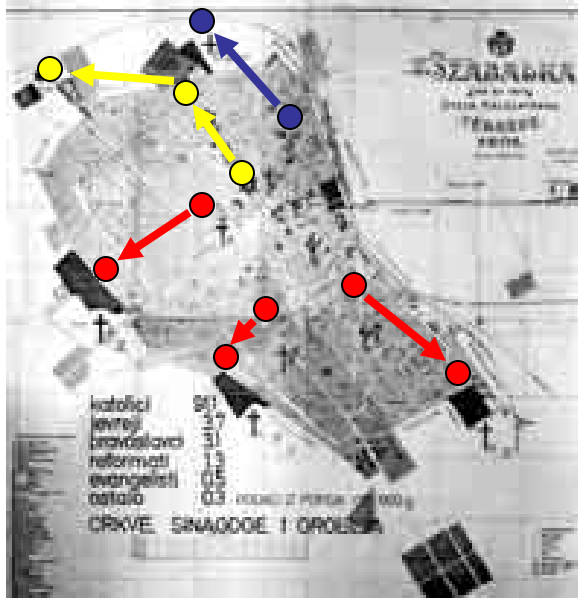
In Debrecen numerous synagogue location types can be found. The large and exposed synagogue, the representative detached edifice exemplifies the assimilation project, but the smaller ones still keep the intimacy of previous synagogue locations. However, the most conspicuous achievement of Debrecen Jews is the large secular ensemble, the Golden Bull, hallmarking the change of social paradigm, the advent of early 20th century mercantilism. With this building the Jews reached the main square and challenged the prominence of the cathedral.

SUBOTICA

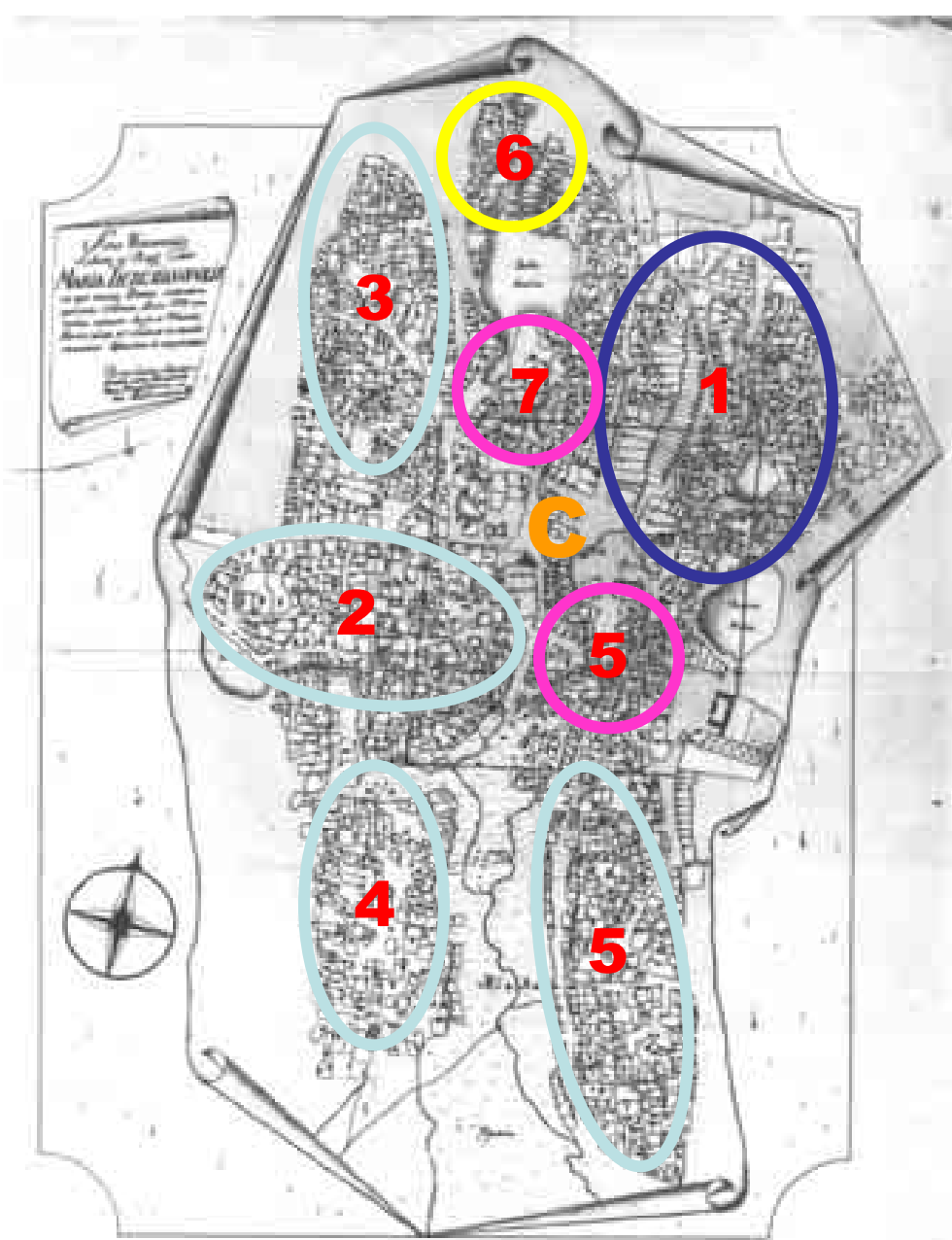
In 1778 the Jews settled in the northern tip of the ensemble of enclaves, different in ethnic and confessional terms (Croats, Serbs, Germans, Hungarians; Catholics, Lutherans, Greek Orthodox). The towns was called then Maria Theresianopolis, later Szabadka and Subotica (both referring to Sabbath). The very centre – the possible meeting point – was still marshlands.

After regulations in the 19th century a homogenous urban fabric came into being, which still reflected the previous ethnic divisions by the churches and cemeteries. (see the arrows below).

The first synagogue constructed around 1800 was still near the perimeter of the city, the second one, constructed 1901-03 reached the centre, although not



Subotica in 1901.



Subotica in 1778.

Ethnic-confessional distribution in the centre of Subotica in 1906



- Legend:**
- 1. Hungarian Catholics
 - 2. Croatian Catholics
 - 3. Serbian Orthodox
 - 4. German Lutherans
 - 5. Jews
 - 6. Hungarian Calvinists
 - 7. Secular main square



The view of the new synagogue from a high rise building.



The new synagogue seen from the market place.




Panoramic view of the Main Square in Subotica with the churches and the new synagogue on the horizon.

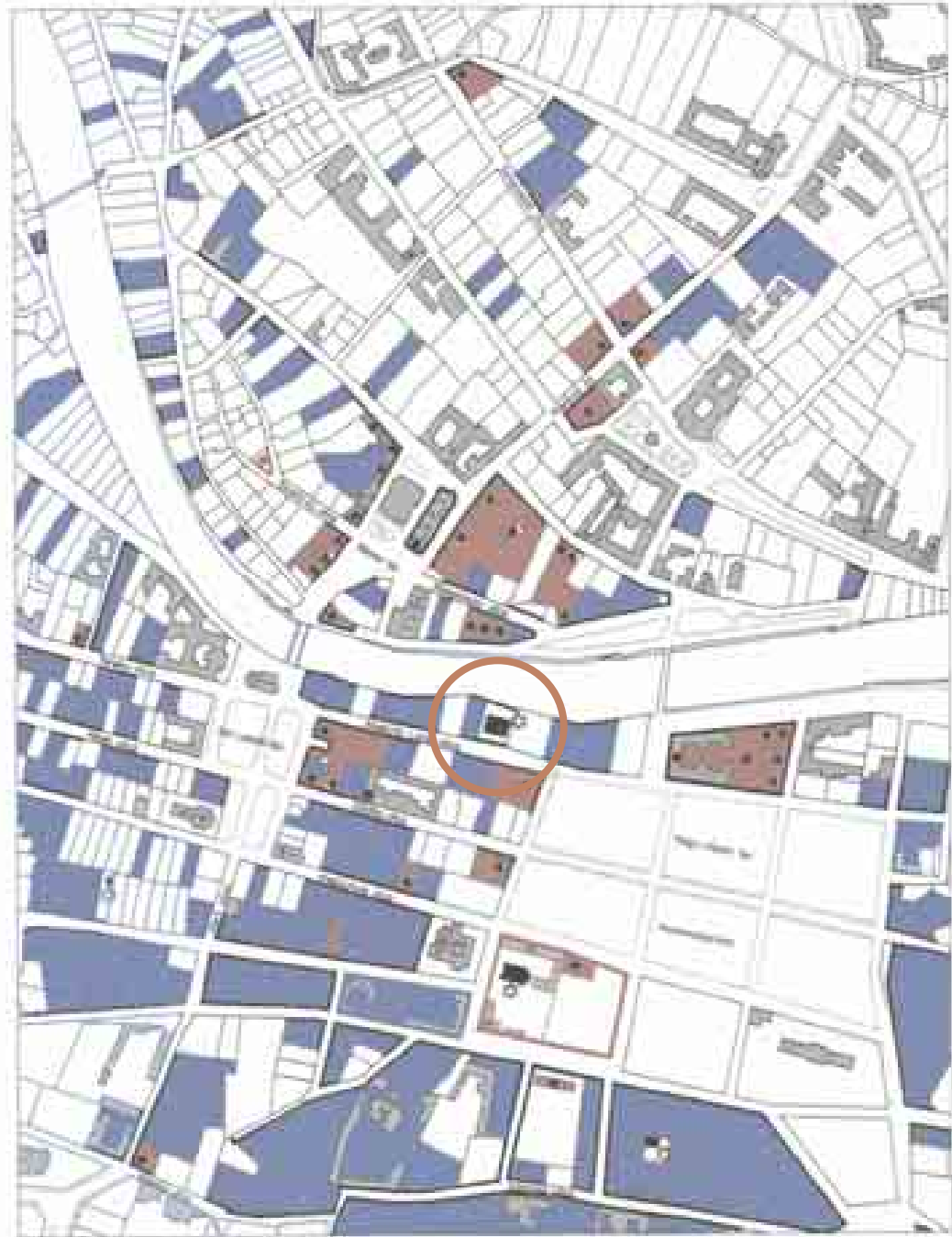


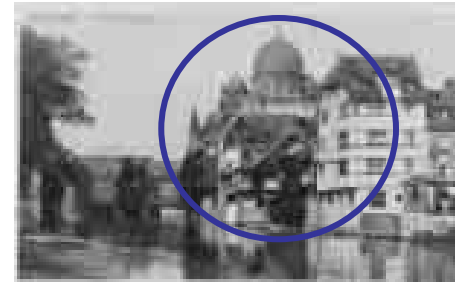
ORADEA

This city has seen one of the most spectacular manifestations of Jewish presence in Austria-Hungary with some nine synagogues and a great number of secular buildings erected by successful Jewish entrepreneurs and intellectuals in the style of Hungarian Art Nouveau. Around 1900 26% of the inhabitants were Jewish.

At first Jews settled in the south-eastern part around the fair grounds, but in the 1880s they reached a dominant position on the riverside for the large reform synagogue. Around 1900 they expanded their activities to the riverside and northern part of the city across the river.

-  Jewish houses of high architectural significance
-  Other houses owned by Jews
-  The great reform temple

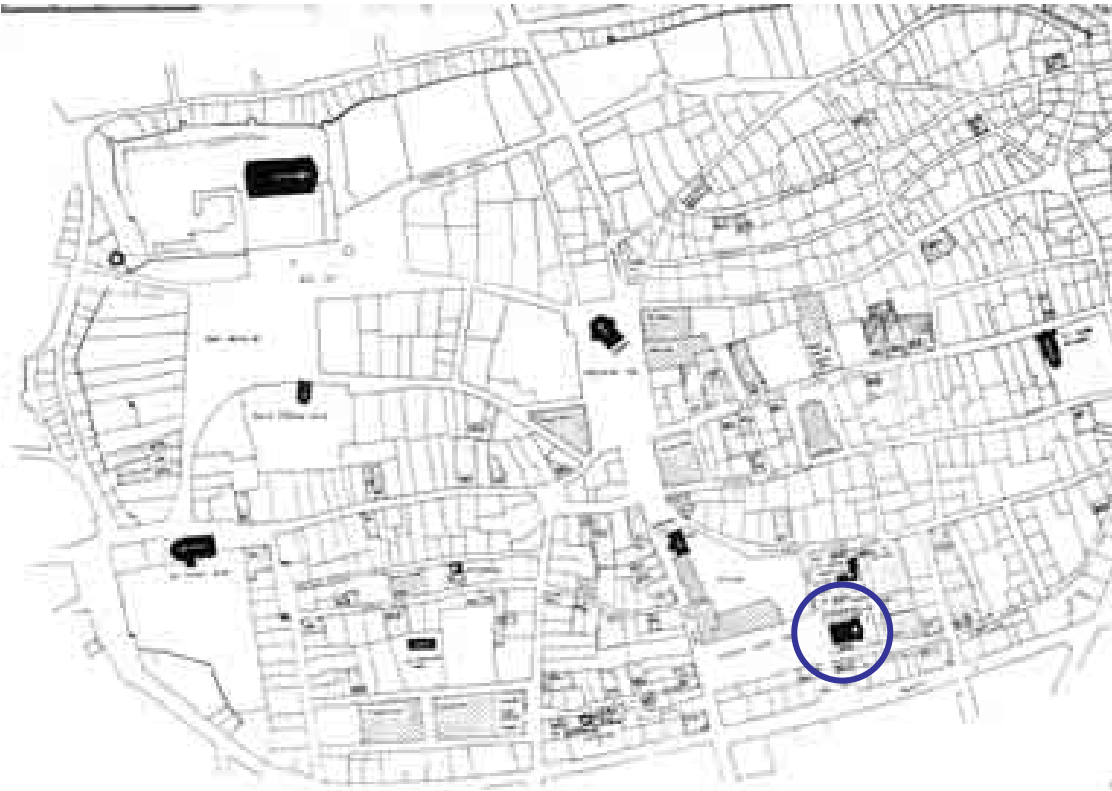




The great synagogue in Nurnberg served as an inspiration both for the layout of the temple in Oradea and its placement on the Körös riverside. Nevertheless, the Oradea synagogue fitted in more neatly, particularly on the street side, where its counterpart suffered a disastrous clash with the buildings on Hans Sachs Platz.



The largest synagogue in Oradea was built in the 1880s, when the Jews were already strong in the city, but their dominance was not unanimous as yet. The synagogue is not on the main square, but it occupies a dominant position in the townscape, foreshadowing absolute Jewish dominance which will occur around 1900, when Oradea would be labelled as 'little Budapest.' As usually, this stage of Jewish dominance did not need the manifest synagogue any more. The project of Jerusalemisation proceeded in erecting commercial buildings, most notably the Black Eagle which comprised a theatre, department store, luxurious shops and hotel.



Pécs's spiritual centre moved during history from the north-eastern corner of the fortified rectangle, the Romanesque cathedral to its geometrical centre, represented by the 15th century mosque, and later down to the south in the 19th century, where the large representative synagogue stands on the shorter side of the large, elongated Kossuth square. The synagogue is axially set, unrivalled in the 19th eclectic architectural context.

THE JERUSALEMISATION OF THE GALUT

- IDENTITY, TOPOS, MESSIANISM -

"There is no other place in the world that is so intensely marked by the influence of Jewish spirit. Being strangers, but at the same time at home everywhere, above national quarrels, Jewry was in the 20th century the main cosmopolitan, integrative element of Central Europe: it was a kind of intellectual cement, the condensed version of its spirit, the creator of its intellectual unity."^[i]

^[i] Milan Kundera: »Tragedija Srednje Evrope«. In: *Gordogan*, Issue 17-18 (January-April) 1985, Zagreb, p. 298.

Identity

Reform Jews took the way of integration into the economic and cultural life of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in Vienna, Prague and Budapest, up to the remotest villages of the Carpathians or Bosnian mountains. In order to achieve this they had to change their way of life, to acquire a new identity, at least on the surface. (Later assimilated Jews took the new identity very seriously.) This new identity was supranational, imperial, universal exemplified in the personality of the long living ruler Franz Joseph, who was the emperor for the Austrians, King for the Hungarians and Czechs, Duke for some others, etc. He himself as a person was – to use Robert Musil's formulation (though not intended to characterise the Kaiser) – *der Mensch ohne Eigenschaften* (the man without characteristics). His most typical feature was his large, curly beard – redundant and obsolete – but for many people it symbolised the empire.

The fluid intellectual condition of the empire suited the Jews, and annoyed many nationalists throughout the region. The oddity of this condition is best expressed by the fact that Jews were the last Austro-Hungarians, as they would become later the last Soviets and the last Yugoslavs some seventy years later. Just a minority of Jews have joined the nationalists, mainly in Hungary.

It is well known that Emperor Franz Joseph's death was a personal tragedy for the most of assimilated Jews, the demise of the father of the empire, which embodied the brave new world for assimilated Jews. Austria was universal, and fictive, territorial and a-territorial — most of its territory was historically land of non-Austrians, the Austrians themselves were a minority in this empire. This was very much in tune with the Jewish condition: being above nations, over their territory, never really establishing the land-spirit connection. No wonder, the most famous advocate of blood and soil ideology, Adolf Hitler, was Austrian and he hated the Jews.

Messianism

The aforementioned fiction coincided with another fiction, which was entirely Jewish: the New Jerusalem. The Holy City, a fiction for most of the Jews since 70 AD, embodied the utopia, an absolute place without actual *topos*. Its counterpart, the Heavenly Jerusalem (Urbs beata Hirusalem) depicted in Saint John's vision was a similar fiction for the Christian world. The orthodox Jews felt a strong longing for Jerusalem fuelled by the Jewish heritage. The city, the country where they happen to live has often been of little importance, and they have been accustomed to migrate, without feeling this condition tragic.

However, for the reformed Jews with the Enlightenment and the beginnings of emancipation, the hope of a Jerusalem outside Eretz Israel takes on a new meaning. The idea of return to the old Jerusalem is replaced with an ever-stronger belief in uninterrupted progress that is going to rule over the whole civilised world. Messianism is re-interpreted in the spirit of the French Revolution and projected onto one's own place of living, where Jews and Christians live together more or less peacefully. The enlightened legislation of the modern age is viewed as an expansion of the Mosaic Law.^[i] The Promised Land becomes to be where one is living in the Diaspora. As a matter of fact this integration was easier into non-homogeneous political entities (Habsburg Empire, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia) and fictions — as well as Messianistic ideologies: the progress in Enlightenment thought and the Communist internationalism, for instance.

This does not imply any rejection of Judaism, but can be interpreted as a very special religious renewal, elaborated by the philosopher Hermann Cohen, the leading German neo-Kantian of the Age and the author of *Religion als Vernunft*.^[ii] Of course, the concept of *Vernunftreligion* was a reduction of the totality of Judaism, which originally had determined not only thinking, but emotions, way of life, etc. The concept of *Vernunftreligion* can be viewed as a reformation, prompted by the gentile environment.

Building a fiction – Jerusalemisation of Europe

The Jewish 'profane Messianism' resulted in building fictions: first the manifest reform synagogue with all its new iconography will represent this fiction. Later Jews would turn to the urban level, conquering the old centre of the town and transforming it, or in big cities prompting of the 'loss of centre,' by building boulevards and avenues. ^[iii]

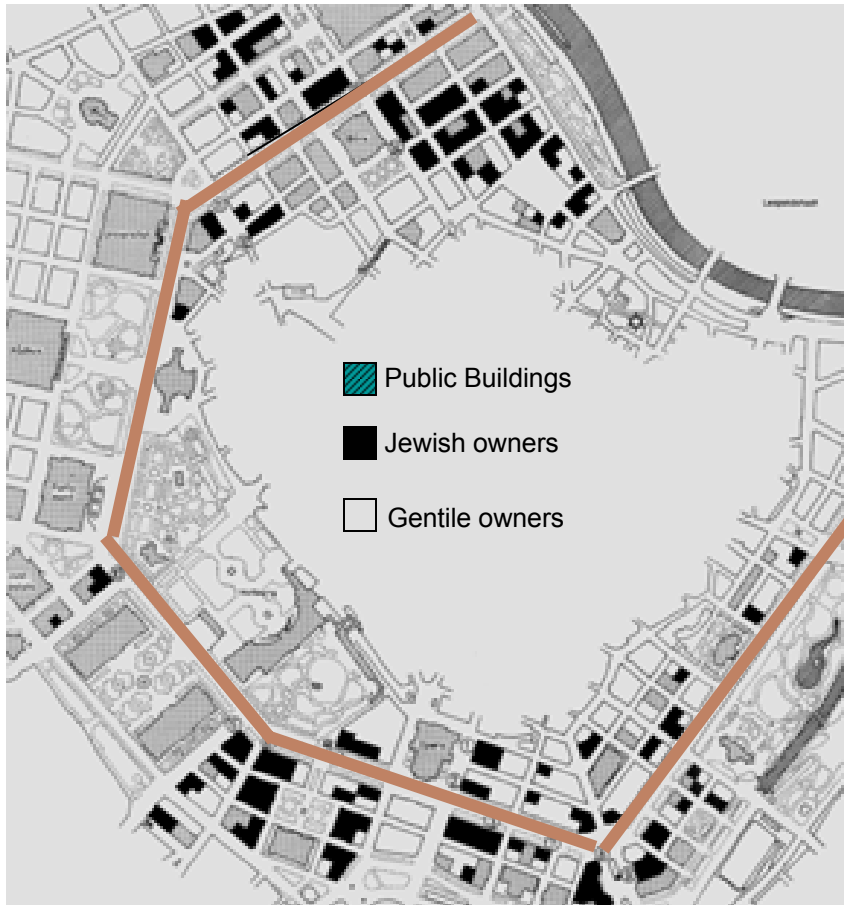
In this paper I shall illustrate these transformations on a couple of examples – synagogues in their context – and two major urban developments, the Ringstraße in Vienna and the Andrásy Út in Budapest.

^[i] That is why the tablets of the Law got such a prominent position in 19th century synagogues replacing some other symbols, like the Menorah, alluding to the statehood of Israel.

^[ii] Gershon Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, New York 1971, pp. 1-37

^[iii] See more in detail: Fredrik Bedoire, »Ett judiskt Europa — Kring Uppkomsten av en modern arkitektur 1830-1930«, Carlssons, Stockholm, 1998.

‘ZIONSTRAßE’



The list of Jewish developers of the Ringstraße and their architects in parenthesis:

1. Todesco (1861 Förster & Hansen)
2. Springer (1862 L. Förster)
3. Königswarter (1860 Romano & Schwendenwein)
4. von Schey (1862 Romano & von Schwendenwein)
5. Königswarter (1862 Romano & von Schwendenwein)
6. von Biedermann (1862 Romano & von Schwendenwein)
7. Todesco (1863 Baumgartner)
8. Wertheim (H von Ferstel 1868)
9. Wiener von Welten (1867 Romano & von Schwendenwein)
10. Epstein (1868 Hansen)
11. Ephrussi (1869 Hansen) - Lieben (1869 Tietz)
12. Ephrussi (1869 Hansen)
13. Leon (1870 H von Ferstel)
14. Epstein (1870 Hansen)



Both Vienna and Budapest got their manifest synagogues soon after the revolutions in 1848 and additional expansion occurred in secular architecture. This coincided further stages of assimilation.

The Viennese Ringstraße was often labelled by the Jews as *Zionstraße* in the spirit of Jerusalemisation of Europe. After demolishing the city walls Jewish developers contributed to the creation of the most splendid urban space in the Habsburg Empire, blending their palaces with a set of representative public buildings – museums, university, parliament, city hall, stock exchange and most importantly the Court Opera.

The Ringstraße replaced the static historical centre – *Verlust der Mitte*, as Hans Sedlmayr formulated – emphasising permanent movement along its broad lanes, tram lines and walkways.

JUDAPEST'S SIEGESALLEE: THE ANDRÁSSY ÚT




Budapest, often nicknamed as *Judapest* had the second largest Jewish community in Europe after Warsaw, with some 300.000 souls. In this city, roughly every fourth citizen was Jewish in period from 1880s up to 1944.

The Andrassy Út, named after Count Gyula Andrassy, the entertainer of Empress Elisabeth, was less splendid than the 'Zionstraße' in Vienna, but much more homogenous, ending with the Millenial Monument, which recalls the *Siegesallee* in Berlin. The Andrassy avenue was so suitable for the representation of power that in 1945 the communists simply renamed it to the Avenue of the People's Republic.

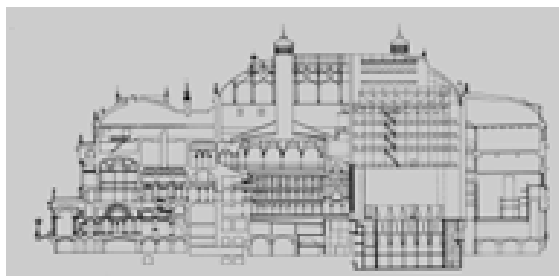
The entrance of the Schoßberger Palais is guarded by Vulcanus and Moses, the latter bearing the torch – a reference to the Jewish role in Hungarian culture.



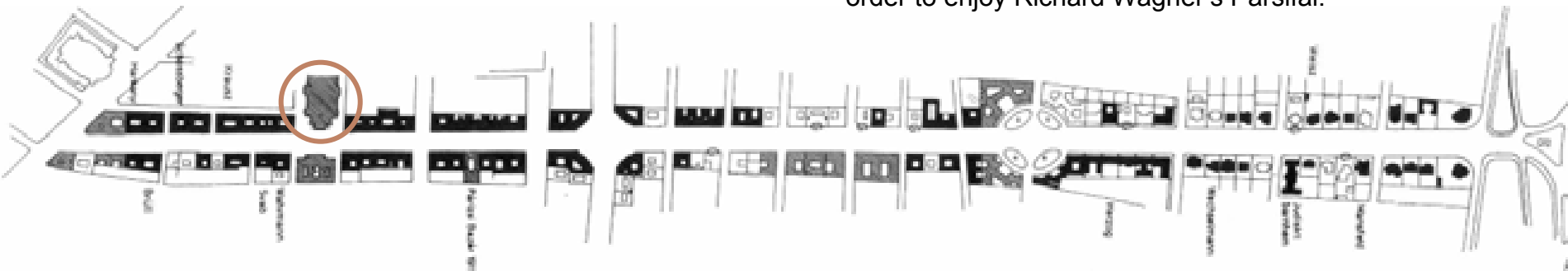
 Public Buildings

 Jewish owners

 Gentile owners



Similarly to its Viennese counterpart, this avenue also offered a replacement for the synagogue: the Hungarian Royal Opera, in which the loyal 'Israelites' gathered under his majesty's benevolent presence on Good Friday night, in order to enjoy Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*.



THE SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Present-day slides are work of the author
- All schemes were created by the author for his lectures on conferences listed on the next page
- Maps which are presented unaltered or which served as a base for the author's new schemes are taken from the author's former researches and from the following sources:
 1. Fredric Bedoire, *Ett judiskt Europa — Kring uppkomsten av en modern arkitektur 1830-1930*, Carlssons, Stockholm, 1998
 2. Gazda Anikó et al, *Magyarországi zsinagógák*, (Budapest, 1989)
 3. The scheme of ethnic distribution in Subotica on page 58 was created by the local historian Geza Vass
- Postcards and historic photographs of synagogues were supplied by the archives of the Hungarian Jewish Museum, selected, scanned and composed by the author; a few miniature historic representations stem from the Museum of Hungarian Jewry, Zfat, Israel
- The map of Austria-Hungary, which served as a base for showing the movements of Jewish immigration was taken from the Pallas Lexicon, CD-version
- Photographs on pages 50 and 51 were taken by Takach H. Agnes for the book Gazda Aniko, *Magyarországi zsinagógák*
- Drawing on page 48 I the work of architect Janos Sedlmayr
- The photograph on the right side of page 65 is the work of Fredric Bedoire
- Historic photographs on page 58 were supplied by the Historic archives of Subotica
- Drawings on page 34 originate from H. Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, Hans Christian Verlag, Hamburg, 1981

THIS LECTURE IS BASED THE AUTHOR'S FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONFERENCES AND PUBLISHED PAPERS

- *19th Century Synagogues in Budapest and their Social Background*, The Fourth International Seminar on Jewish Art, Jerusalem, 29.05-03.06. 1994.
- *Meaning and Transformation of Ashkenazyc Synagogue Architecture*, Fifth Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies, Copenhagen, 14-18.08.1994.
- *Ethnic Zoning and its Influence on Architecture of Middle Sized Cities in the Habsburg Empire — the Case Study of Subotica and Oradea*, International Workshop Meeting "A Tense Alliance: Architecture in the Habsburg Lands 1967-1928", Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften, Vienna, 15-19.11.1995.
- *The Temple of Jerusalem and the Judentempels*, Paper from the Fifth International Seminar on Jewish Art, June 16-21; The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art, Jerusalem, Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem, 18.06.1996., 12,30
- *Jewish Motifs on Secular Buildings of Architect Béla Lajta*, World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 28 July – 02 August. 1997.
- *Jews and Architecture in Hungary 1870-1930*, European Association for Jewish Studies, 6th Congress, Toledo, 19-23 July 1998, Abstracts, p. 149.
- *Neo-Moresque Synagogues in the Context of Architectural History*, Orientalism and the Jews Symposium, 5-9 May, 2001, Victoria Univeristy, Toronto, abstract pp. 2-9
- *Grosswardein-Nagyvárad-Oradea: Multi-ethnic, multi-confessional city with a harmonious face*, 19th Conference Europe of Regions, Timisoara, 14-16 September, 2001., Abstract pp 22.
- *Der Synagogenbau in der mitteleuropäischen Diaspora*, Landsynagogen – Zwishcen Kulturdenkmal, Gedenkstätte und Lernort - Arbeitstagung, Waren, 25.04 bis 27.04.2002.
- *Synagogues of Austria-Hungary In their Architectural-Urban Context*, VIIth EAJS Congress, Amsterdam, 21-25 July 2002.

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- 37. A Dohánytemplom, a “Rombach” és a Kazinczy utcai zsinagóga – Út a keleties stílustól a modernizmusig/The three large synagogues of Pest – three stages of Jewish identity, In: Az Új Magyar Építőművészet melléklete 2002/6, Világörökség – World Heritage, pp. 10-24.
- 38. A zsinagógaépítészet mint a modernizmus előfutára, *Múlt és Jövő*, 2002/2-3, pp.174-184.
- The Hungarian Jews and Architectural Style, In: *In the Land of Hagar – Jews of Hungary: History, Society and Culture*, Beth Hatefutsot, The Nachum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Tel Aviv, 2002. pp. 165-172.
- 35. Synagogues in Hungary: A Short Survey from the Middle Ages to Modern Times, In: *In the Land of Hagar – Jews of Hungary: History, Society and Culture*, Beth Hatefutsot, The Nachum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Tel Aviv, 2002. pp. 93-101.
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- 31. Meaning and Transformation of Ashkenazyc Synagogue Architecture, In: Jewish Studies in a New Europe, Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen in 1994 under the auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies, C.A. Reitzel A/S International Publishers — Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, 1998., pp. 433-452.
- A szabadkai zsidóság felemelkedése és hanyatlása (*The Rise and Decline of the Jews of Szabadka* — First Part of the Book *The Synagogue of Szabadka and its Age*), *Múlt és Jövő*, 1995/1-2, Budapest, pp. 143-160

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- L' art juif (with G.S.Rajna, Z.A. Maisels, R. Reich. D. Jarassé) - Paris : Citadelles & Mazenod, 1995. — the chapter on synagogue architecture in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in Israel. English translation: Jewish Art, - New York : Abrams, 1997., German Translation: Die Jüdische Kunst – Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1997.



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

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