

A Dissertation Submitted to the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Synagogue Architecture in Slovakia Towards Creating a Memorial Landscape of Lost Community

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April 2005

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INTRODUCTION

Although only sixty kilometers east of Vienna, Slovakia remains one of the least known European countries, often confused with Slovenia. The Slovak nation has existed for over a thousand years, but throughout its history, it remained subsumed within different state entities; for centuries as part of the Hungarian Kingdom (MAP 1), Slovakia was referred to as Upper Hungary, *Felvidék* or *Oberland*. For the most of the 20th century, Slovakia functioned as an eastern, less developed and agrarian, appendix of Czechoslovakia (MAP 2). For only a brief period during World War II, Slovakia emerged on the political map of Europe, when Germany installed a vassal government; under the manufactured pretext of inheriting the ancient principal throne of Pribina, the Slovak State served as a submissive actor in the Nazi-orchestrated European tragedy.

The Jews of Slovakia, as well as their culture and history, are also relatively unknown, perhaps even less than the Mountain Jews of the Caucasus or the Romaniot Jews of Greece. Many Jewish people with “Hungarian” roots are still not aware that *Pozsony*, *Bártfa* and *Dunaszerdahely*, from where their grandparents originated, are Hungarian names for towns actually located in Slovakia. Since they had an easier access to centrally located archives in Budapest and Prague, historians dealing with the Jews of Hungary or Czechoslovakia have often focused on the urban Jewish experience in the capitals; Jews in the provinces have escaped their interest.

Publications about Slovak Jewry are rare, though a three-volume work, *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, with a number of studies dedicated to Slovakia, appeared in the U.S. almost forty years ago. In Israel, Professor Yeshayahu Jelinek has devoted his research to Slovakia. After 1989, literature about Jews began appearing in Slovakia; in 1991, the research of Eugen Bárkány enlarged by Ľudovít Dojč was published. Since then, more works dealing the history of local Jewish communities of several Slovak towns have emerged. The volume of *Pinkas haKehillot*, the authoritative encyclopedia of Holocaust-decimated Jewish communities published by the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, dedicated to Slovakia appeared only in 2003. Because the publication is in Hebrew, it remains inaccessible to the most of readers.

So far, no modern comprehensive monographic work on Jewish built heritage in Slovakia exists. In the future, I anticipate publishing a richly illustrated volume, to be based on my doctoral research project. The book will serve as a memorial to numerous communities that disappeared together with their rabbis, cantors and Torah scrolls in the flames of the Holocaust, leaving behind their empty synagogues as silent witnesses of what was once flourishing Jewish life in Slovak towns. After World War II, those who could, left the country; thus the pre-war Slovak-Jewish population of 136,000 sank to - only 3,000 today.

An amazing Jewish built heritage remains, albeit strongly decimated by decades-long neglect. Currently, over one hundred synagogues and prayer halls in the country, two historic ritual baths, almost seven hundred cemeteries with an unknown number of cemetery chapels are extant in one form or another throughout Slovakia, though only about five to seven synagogues function as houses of Jewish worship today, and some of them, only occasionally. A few synagogues have been painstakingly restored and are used for cultural purposes, though most of them have met different fates. Some were demolished during World War II, while many more were destroyed during the Communist totalitarian regime within the framework of megalomaniac urban projects or as a result of a targeted cleansing of the last traces of the former Jewish presence in many cities.

Other synagogues have been altered by their new owners to serve different purposes, resulting in the original character of the buildings having been changed beyond recognition. Many stand unused, dilapidated, and face imminent collapse. Empty and looted synagogues, whose communities vanished during the Holocaust, remain in many Slovak towns as the last dying witnesses to the rich cultural past of one of Europe's once flourishing Jewish communities.

Most preserved synagogue buildings in Slovakia date from the 19th century or the first decades of the 20th century. Valuable buildings include the Baroque synagogue in Svätý Jur, the neo-Classical synagogues in Huncovce, Šarišské Lúky, Šaštín-Stráže and Liptovský Mikuláš and the nine-bay synagogues preserved in Stupava and Bardejov. Several examples of the once fashionable Moorish style synagogues remain in Vrbové,

Prešov or by architect Wilhelm Stiassny in Malacky. Leading Art Nouveau architect Leopold (Lipót) Baumhorn designed the synagogues in Nitra and Lučenec, as well as the restored synagogue in Liptovský Mikuláš. A valuable Art Nouveau synagogue also remains in Trenčín. Significant interwar synagogues can be found in Bratislava, Košice and Žilina, the last of which was built by renowned architect Peter Behrens.

The city of Košice features an invaluable grouping of Jewish monuments. Prior to the Holocaust, this eastern Slovak city was home to several different Jewish communities representing a broad spectrum of religious streams. Communal buildings of former Hassidic, Orthodox, Neolog and Status Quo Ante congregations, some still with their original furnishing, have been preserved until today.

STATE OF KNOWLEDGE AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH:

Several surveys and documentation activities had been conducted before my research. A prominent survey was performed by the Architect Eugen Barkány in the 1960s (*Bárkány, Eugen and Dojč, Ľudovít: Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku. Bratislava 1991*), when many synagogues were still standing. Cemeteries were less overgrown or had not been plundered by the locals. Although outdated, this survey remains the most authoritative and the most consulted. Several surveys from the 1990s are also available, notably, one done by the US Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, a private overview of cemeteries by the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia, and an unpublished survey of the National Monument Office conducted through its regional offices. This last one I consulted with for my project.

In the late 1980s and in 2002, Rivka and Dr. Ben-Zion Dorfman of Jerusalem traveled around Slovakia within the framework of their private synagogue research project (*Dorfman, Rivka and Ben-Zion: Synagogues Without Jews: And The Communities That Build and Used Them. Philadelphia 2000*). Well-known as well are the activities of a Bratislava-based physician Tomáš Stern. Most recently, an issue dedicated to synagogues in Slovakia of *Architektúra a urbanizmus*, a journal of the Institute of

Construction and Architecture of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, appeared.

MY RESEARCH:

The initial impulse for this project came during the advanced stage of my studies at the Department of Art History of the Comenius University in Bratislava. An advisor to my MA thesis on the Architect Szalatnai-Slatinský, Professor Dana Bořutová, suggested the synagogue architecture in Slovakia as a theme of further doctoral research. Supported by Professor Mária Pötzl-Malíková, I embarked on a great journey that determined my further years of university schooling and research. In 1999-2001, I continued in my studies in the “Jewish Civilization” program at the Rothberg International School of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Aside from studying, I was generously granted a research internship at the Center for Jewish Art, where I could learn the bases of synagogue documentation that later proved a fundamental prerequisite for my project.

My methodology has been informed by various research projects, while adapting them to local conditions and my shoestring budget. Two publications have been of particular interest to me: Hammer Schenk’s *magnum opus* on synagogue architecture in Germany, and the research of Hungarian synagogues conducted by Anikó Gazda in Hungary during the 1980s. Understanding the nature of the Slovak territory, where over one hundred buildings have been physically preserved, but where minimal archival documents have been available, I needed to develop a strategy for obtaining complete and precise measurements, and the plans of these buildings. Since my project means have been, from the beginning, very limited, I knew that it would be impossible to rely on work of professional architects.

Therefore, I adopted a scheme founded on student work, used in a joint project between the Center for Jewish Art in Jerusalem and the Technical University in Braunschweig. Moreover, I had the privilege to be introduced in detail to this project by my tutors, Professor Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, Dr. Ruth Jacoby and Architect Ivan Ceresnjes during an internship at the Center for Jewish Art in Jerusalem and by visiting the colleagues at the Technical University in Braunschweig, Germany. As a result, I decided

to model a documentation project on this successful German-Israeli endeavor and developed a fruitful cooperation with the Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak Technological University, the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Slovak National Museum-Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava. After working with students, I can conclude that it proved to be a most suitable and cost-effective solution.

In the fall of 2001, I was accepted as a doctoral candidate at the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg. Under supervision of Dr. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek and Professor Michael Hesse, I began working on the dissertation “*Synagogue Architecture in Slovakia: Towards Creating a Memorial Landscape of Lost Community*”. The Hochschule and the University provided a highly productive environment for the theoretical and analytical part of my research work. In the seminars led by my advisors, I could further deepen my knowledge in Jewish art, architectural history and the social and cultural history of Jews in Central Europe. All of these topics proved to be a crucial precondition for properly evaluating my research results from Slovakia and placing them into correct scientific context.

The key constituent of my doctoral research represented the documentary fieldwork, which expanded during my documentation campaigns in Slovakia in several stages:

1. Identification. This step was an important prologue; I spent the summer of 2000, evaluating information available at the archive of the National Monument Office in Bratislava. I studied results of Bárkány’s survey from the 1960s and compared them with the survey conducted by the National Monument Office during the 1990s. Though the 1990s survey was never published, the reports of the regional branches of the NMO were accessible in the archive. Based on this archival work, I compiled a list of over one hundred synagogue buildings throughout the entire territory of Slovakia.
2. While planning the site visits, I had to identify current owners, users, or wardens of former synagogues. Negotiating free access has been a very delicate process.

3. Photographic documentation. Over hundred synagogues and prayer halls have been systematically photo-documented in detail: in slides and digital images by myself, while photographer of the Museum, Viera Kamenická, an experienced documenter of architectural monuments, produced print photographs. We have visited and photo-documented all of the identified former synagogues and prayer halls.
4. Further processing of fieldwork results. The buildings' architectures were analyzed and described, using on the spot sketches and photo documentation. Thousands of print pictures have been scanned for a future digitized archive at the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava.
5. Archival research. I dedicated great energy to archival research in Slovakia, mostly searching for original building plans and historical documents, finding concrete attribution of buildings and exact dating. This stage of the project, because of the bureaucratic conditions of post-Communist archives, proved to be the most difficult. The archives in Slovakia suffer from a lack of personnel; therefore, numerous archival fonds were never processed. In some towns, this relates to the 19th century period, while priority has been given to younger material; some important documents will emerge only in the future. During the course of the 20th century, because of several administrative reforms in the complicated history of Slovakia, some regions passed from an old county administration to different administrative divisions. Many archives lots were moved to different locations and many of them were damaged. Most Slovak towns do not possess building registries dating beyond two or three previous decades. Finally, the most difficult obstacle turned out to be the ongoing restitutions of Church property; in some cases archival staff even showed displeasure in responding to archive requests related to Jewish property issues, also including those regarding former synagogues.
6. Research of historical images. For the purpose of knowing about heavily altered or demolished synagogues, I was in touch with numerous regional Slovak museums, important museums abroad and various private Slovak and foreign

collectors. Aside to the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava, I am indebted to two prominent foreign collections that granted me generous support, the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives in Budapest and Mr. William Gross in Tel Aviv, both of which possess valuable historical images of the synagogues in Slovakia that I was able to use for my research.

An important feature of project has been my close cooperation with the Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak Technological University in Bratislava. I developed a specialized seminar on synagogue architecture for the faculty, which I taught during my research stays in Slovakia. Its purpose was to educate students to understand and value synagogue architecture as a part of a multicultural Slovak heritage. About fifty students produced measurements and documentation of a particular synagogue object, one previously photo-documented by me and the professional photographer, as their semester project. Plans at a scale of 1 to 50 are archived at the Museum of Jewish Culture and will be accessible to the scientific public in the future. A group of advanced students has processed the plans for my catalogue and future publication purposes.

My dissertation is divided into five different sections, each of them investigating a different aspect of synagogue architecture in Slovakia. In the first chapter I attempt to delineate some major questions related to Slovak Jewish history, focusing on the establishment of religious communities and the various aspects of further developments. My goal is to describe the cultural and historical landscape of Jewish Slovakia. The second chapter is a case study dedicated to the three Eastern Slovak towns of Košice, Prešov and Bardejov. Using the example of three Jewish communities in the same region, I analyze the dynamics of Jewish settlement, inner communal developments and their architectural representation in the urban environment.

In the third chapter, I review various determinants of synagogue architecture. In a broader Central European context, I follow the major developments of synagogue architectural types and how the internal religious and external legal requirements impacted on the synagogue building. I also point to regional architectural features

adapted from local building traditions. The fourth chapter is a classification of known synagogues in Slovakia. Based on the results of my documentation of extant buildings and historical photos from archives and collections, I attempt to divide synagogues into groups according their building period and architectural characteristics. The classification is followed by a catalogue, in which I thoroughly analyze each known Slovak synagogue, whether extant or preserved in historical images. The catalogue has an extensive pictorial supplement with 492 images assembled during my field research and architectural plans drawn by the students during my seminar at the Faculty of Architecture.

The five sections of the dissertation provide different layers to the understanding of Slovak synagogues and entail different methodological strategies from social and cultural history to architectural history, from a broad context to the individual objects. No synagogue should be forgotten, since it not only stands for another example of synagogue architecture, but because it was constructed as a house of Jewish prayer by a community that perished during the Holocaust and whose memory should be perpetuated.

Especially today, 60 years after liberation of Auschwitz, while the generation of Holocaust survivors gradually declines, it is important to integrate the memory of the pre-war Slovak Jewish community into contemporary Slovak public consciousness, especially that of the younger generation. This Central European country has preserved numerous monuments of its rich Jewish past until today. Many will crumble with time, but some have a chance to be preserved, if a genuine preservation program could be adopted, based on cooperation between Slovak and foreign institutions. Joining the European Union will certainly strongly affect Slovak society and economy, and it would be hard to predict the extent to which this will influence the future of Slovakia's Jewish heritage. As a new member, some underdeveloped regions of the country would be eligible for EU funds, so it is possible they could benefit by the restoration of synagogues for cultural purposes.

In May 2005, the Slovak Jewish Heritage Center will be established under the auspices of the Slovak National Museum-Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava, where I will continue my research. The Center will be instrumental in formulating a realistic, long-term strategy for the preservation of Slovak Jewish heritage. Thus, synagogues and

Jewish monuments will be granted a second and last chance to be preserved for future generations.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my dissertation advisor Dr. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek for all her support during my doctoral study. The Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg provided the finest research conditions to work on my doctoral project. My special thanks belong also to the second advisor, Professor Michael Hesse of the Institut für Europäische Kunstgeschichte of the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg. I am indebted to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for their support through the doctoral scholarship that granted me seven semesters of undisturbed work on this research. In 2001 and 2002, my project was greatly assisted by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in New York.

I would not be able to achieve my results without institutional support in Slovakia and I would therefore like to thank Professor Pavol Mešťan, director of the Museum of Jewish Culture, Professor Matúš Dulla from the Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak Technological University and Mr. Egon Gál, director of the Institute of Jewish Studies of the Comenius University. Special thanks belong to Dr. František Alexander, Executive Chairman of the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia, for all his assistance.

A dedicated and special person, who traveled around Slovakia with me for years, and who visited over hundred synagogue sites and helped with a professional documentation, is photographer Viera Kamenická, one of the most experienced architecture documenters in Slovakia. The Architects Katarína Andrášiová, Jana Kramáriková, Jana Ratimorská and Martin Lepej processed the numerous architectural plans made by architecture students. Andrej Gregorovič helped with scanning pictures and Martin Lepej provided a graphical layout of the work. I wish to thank Rebekah Klein-Pejšová, Dr. Samuel D. Albert and Daniel M. Renna for editing of my English text and their precious opinions. Franziska Hegel and Matthias Hoheisel edited my German resume.

I am indebted to numerous friends and supporters who often appeared in the moments, when I had serious doubts about the outcome of my project. Cooperation with some of them pushed my work and was for me a source of inspiration. The greatest debt I owe to my parents, Peter Borský and Oldřiška Borská, who have supported me through years of my education in more ways than would be possible to list. Finally, special acknowledgement belongs to my dear Linda for all her love and patience.

Heidelberg, April 2005

CHAPTER 1: DEFINING THE LANDSCAPE: JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN SLOVAKIA

This introductory chapter is dedicated to examining the broader socio-historical context of Jewish settlement in the territory of historical Hungary and modern Slovakia. Its purpose is not to create a Slovak-Jewish historical narrative, but rather to enlighten historical facts and processes that had been important preconditions for the forming of Jewish communities.

The chapter is divided into several sections providing essential information about evidence of Jewish settlements in Roman and medieval times, and particularly the post-Ottoman era, when the foundations of a modern Jewish presence were laid. The nineteenth century brought a struggle for political and civil emancipation accompanied by rapid urbanization and acculturation, but also assimilation and a search for new models of religious practice. Bitter communal disputes led to further estrangements between various factions, resulting in a schism and the establishment of the several religious streams within Slovak Jewry. The division into the Neologs, Orthodox and Status Quo communities, alternatively accompanied also by the *Kulturkampf* between Ashkenazic traditionalists and Hassidic groups in some Eastern Slovak communities, led to the construction of many places of worship.

In this introductory chapter, I focus only on those Jews who found their communal expression in constructing of the synagogues. Certainly, not all Jews were religious or affiliated; some found their expression in secular Zionist movements, while others, hoping in genuine acceptance by Christian society, opted for baptism while still others followed the ideals of the universal humanism and the Marxist ideology.

The first Jews probably came to this area in the 2nd century CE, when the Roman legions reached the middle Danube region and established the Pannonia Province. It might be possible that they brought with them Jewish slaves or that prosperous Roman towns attracted a Jewish business presence. Sources and archeological evidence are very scarce, leaving this assumption rather hypothetical. Nevertheless, this theory is supported

by the existence of Jewish tombstones from the period in the territory of modern Hungary.¹ Another interesting archeological find, a ceramic oil lamp — identified by some as a Jewish Chanukah lamp — was discovered in the 1950s in Western Slovakia and is now preserved at the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava. The significance of this artifact is questionable, since its provenance and use are not known with certainty. These artifacts of Jewish presence confirm early Jewish contact with the Central European region. No traces of organized Jewish communal life, however, such as the antique synagogues excavated in the Mediterranean, have yet been discovered.

The oldest written sources about the presence of Jews in the area of the Middle Danube come from the Spanish Judeo-Arabic travelers Ibrahim ibn Jakub (around 985 CE) and Hasdai ibn Shaprut (955 CE).² Another important reference to an organized Jewish community with a synagogue in this area is contained within a rabbinical *responsum* from the 11th century about two Jewish tradesmen from Regensburg. While returning from Russia with their goods, the tradesmen passed through the Danube region. One late Friday afternoon, the wheel of their wagons broke; searching for help, they crossed the Danube. They arrived at a nearby Jewish community (perhaps Esztergom) on Shabbat, as worshippers were completing the evening service in their synagogue. The *responsum* speaks of local Jewish community members who declined to communicate with the Shabbat transgressors, barring their presence in the synagogue on the following morning.³

Under the Arpáds, the first Hungarian royal dynasty that ruled the country until 1301, Jews lived in Hungary and were often entrusted with minting and fiscal services for the Royal Chamber. Coins from this period bearing Hebrew letters have been preserved. Certainly, the Jews' coexistence with the Christian majority was not without its troubles, and anti-Jewish legislation typical for medieval Europe also reached Hungary. In 1092, the Church council of Szabolcs prohibited Jewish-Christian marriages and work on Sunday and Christian festivals, and banned Jews from buying Christian slaves. In 1096, when the First Crusaders passed through the Bratislava area, many local Jews were murdered.

Gradually other anti-Jewish legislative measures followed and the legal status of the Jews became similar to that in other medieval European countries. By decision of the Buda Church Council in 1279, they were forced to wear the Jewish badge. This Council also disqualified them from leasing land; as a result, Jews were compelled to take up money lending and other similar jobs. On one hand, this made the Jewish presence crucial for the functioning of the economy; on the other, it pushed the Jews into the insecure position of vulnerable potential scapegoats living on the periphery of feudal society.

Medieval society was strictly divided into corporations, and the Jews constituted one of them. From a legal perspective, they were independent of the Church and towns, and were directly subordinated to the local ruler. In theory, they could not be harmed, since the Jews were property of the Crown, to which they directly paid taxes. The guilds excluded the Jews, thereby leaving them without the possibility of social or economic integration into the life of medieval society. The social exclusion of the Jewish community was also physically expressed in the urban landscape of the period. Special areas of Jewish settlement, known as *Judengassen*, in which Jewish residents exercised administrative autonomy and effectively ran their own communal institutions, were established.

Altogether, knowledge of about 36 medieval Jewish communities in historical Hungary exists, including that of the following Slovak towns (MAP 5): Bratislava (mentioned in 1092), Trnava (12th century), Komárno, Topoľčany (13th century), Trenčín (around 1300), Banská Štiavnica (1367), Devín (1342), Trnava (1380), Holíč (1400), Čeklís (modern Bernolákovo), Sered' (1410), Skalica (1439), Vrbové (1522), Hlohovec (1529), Nitra, Pezinok (1529), and Svätý Jur.⁴ An excellent written source that reveals the situation of Jews is a municipal charter issued for Bratislava by King Andrew III in 1291. The document lists 22 privileges granted to the residents of the emerging town, and among them, Jewish equality with other burghers is number 13.⁵

Accordingly, the Jews were full-residents of Bratislava, living within the city walls [*intramuros*]. Though minimal material evidence has been preserved, the place of their residence has been generally located in two areas of the historic Old Town.

Medieval archival documents inform us about the *Judenhof*, which had been located on what is currently Panská Street 3-5.⁶ Prior to its Jewish ownership, the house belonged to the Cistercians from Pilis monastery. An interesting written source from 1335 notes that Pope Benedict XII informed the Archbishop of Esztergom about complaints by the Cistercians who were being disturbed in their chapel by the noise from a nearby Jewish synagogue.⁷

This Jewish place of worship could actually have been a building that stood adjoining the city walls at the very back of nearby Panská Street 11. In the 1990s, a Gothic entrance portal with visible remnants of a Hebrew inscription was discovered and restored here (FIG. 1). Coincidentally, this court is currently in the compound of the Corpus Christi chapel. This Christian patronage was typical in medieval times for de-Judaized synagogues, and thus might support the theory that a medieval synagogue was once located here.⁸ Another area of medieval Jewish residence was located close to the present Nedbalova Street, in a narrow lane along the fortification wall in the northeastern part of the inner town. The exact location of the synagogue is not known, though some believe that the St. Ursula monastery complex could contain remnants of the former Jewish house of worship. Nevertheless, no serious archeological investigations have ever been conducted on the Church property.

The Battle of Mohács in 1526 was a black day in history of Hungary; the Hungarian army was massacred by the Ottomans and King Louis II Jagello himself fell on the battlefield. The widow-Queen took refuge in Bratislava, and the burghers of the city who took advantage of the turbulent period convinced the young widow-Queen Mary of Habsburg to expel the Jews from the city and to confiscate their property.⁹ The municipality of Sopron used similarly sneaky tactics and convinced the Queen that the Jews wanted to leave the town voluntarily as they feared the Turks and did not want to bear the heavy financial burden of fortification and town defense. The Queen granted the Sopron Municipality permission to seize Jewish property for its benefit. The Jews were then mercilessly expelled from the town.¹⁰ In 1529, the Jews of Pezinok were charged with ritual murder and many were burned at the stake. In 1539, several Jews from Trnava

were accused of a blood libel and executed, the rest of them were expelled “forever” by an imperial decree issued by Ferdinand I.¹¹

With the Hungarian defeat at Mohács, the Kingdom itself was destroyed. While the Ottomans occupied the southern part and approached Buda and Esztergom, the northern part became a battleground of political intrigues between Ferdinand Habsburg and John Zápolyi. The latter ruled over the Transylvanian Principality, which became a Turkish vassal and for centuries a source of active anti-Habsburg resistance. After the tragic events of the 16th century, the remaining Jewish presence on the Habsburg-ruled royal territory was minimal.¹²

Jewish resettlement in the country began only in the course of the 17th century. This time, it took place at the initiative of the Hungarian nobility, which sought a Jewish presence on its estates in order to revitalize these properties through Jewish economic activities and tax money. The *Schutzbrief* issued by the feudal landlord generally granted the legal status of the Jewish community. This document listed the heads of Jewish families and also indicated the sum, referred to as *Schutzgeld*, they were to pay annually in exchange for protection.¹³ Around 1650, immigrants from Moravia established Jewish communities in Hlohovec, Topoľčany and Nitra. No archive material on the funding of these communities is available. Some communities traced their history even further; for example, in 1929 the Ilava Jewish community celebrated 300th anniversary of its *chevra kadisha* [burial society].¹⁴

Jewish settlement on the estate of the Pálffy family in Bratislava developed in the course of the 17th century, when the Jews began residing on a castle slope over a moat of the city’s municipal fortification. The so-called Second Viennese *Gesera*, the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1671, strengthened the community. Some probably also settled in Stupava, an important community under the lordship of Count Pálffy, in the northern vicinity of Bratislava.

On the other side of the Danube, on the estates of Prince Eszterházy in Burgenland, the famous *sheva kehillot* [seven communities] of Kittsee, Kobersdorf, Lackenbach, Frauenkirchen, Deutschkreutz, Mattersburg and Eisenstadt had been formed. Other Jews settled on Batthyány estates in the southern Burgenland. In the

1660s, the first Jewish families from Poland arrived on the Thökoly (later Rákóczy) family estates in northeastern Slovakia.

In contrast, prosperous royal towns with economies based on guild production strictly guarded themselves from Jews; some even received the special privileges of *non recipiendis Judaeis*. Trnava jealously protected this privilege and had it re-issued by Leopold I in 1686.¹⁵ The privilege remained in effect until 1717 when the Hungarian Royal Chamber allowed Jews to pass through Trnava for a fixed transit fee.¹⁶ Furthermore, in 1693, King Leopold prohibited the Jews to enter within a seven-mile radius of mining towns.¹⁷

This legal status quo, which was preserved until 1840 (in 1861, the ban on residence in mining areas was lifted) predetermined the settlement patterns of the Jews in the country. The Jews lived entirely on noble estates, often forming vital communities in market towns subjected to the feudal landlord. Many Jews were scattered throughout the countryside, often living as isolated Jewish families in a village and earning their livelihoods leasing a local inn or redistributing agricultural products in exchange for handicrafts imported from the town.

This Jewish residential disproportion between free royal towns and noble estates was strengthened in the course of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century by substantial immigration from the neighboring Habsburg Crown lands. In 1726-1727, Emperor Charles VI issued the so-called Familiant Laws, aimed at controlling the demographic development of the Jewish population in the Lands of Bohemian Crown. These legislative acts limited the number of Jewish families to 8,541 in Bohemia and to 5,109 in Moravia and legalized only the marriage of one son in each family.¹⁸

While this resulted in the dispersion of Jewry deep into the Bohemian and Moravian countrysides, with isolated families living in small villages, it also generated massive emigration to Poland and particularly to Western Hungary/Slovakia. It is estimated that during the 18th century, up to 30,000 Moravian Jews crossed the Slovak border and found a new home there, often maintaining close ties with their mother Moravian communities, which resulted in their “building synagogues along Moravian models, even paying taxes to their former communities.”¹⁹ The Moravian Jews in

Slovakia continued to send their children to Moravian yeshivot in Prostějov (Prossnitz), Mikulov (Nikolsburg) or Boskovice (Boskowitz), while many Moravian students attended the Bratislava yeshiva. In 1735-1738, the largest Jewish community in northern Hungary was that in Bratislava with 772 persons, followed by Nové Mesto nad Váhom (372), Senica (233), Šaštín (194), Holíč (174), Vrbové (142), Hlohovec (128), Stupava (128) and Čachtice (100).²⁰

Fifty years later (MAP 6), the Bratislava community was still the largest one with 1677 inhabitants.²¹ Other important communities in the 1780s included those in Dunajská Streda (with a Jewish population of 1194), Nové Mesto nad Váhom (whose 1087 Jews amounted to 24.8% of the total population), Vrbové (with 560 Jews), Senica (where the 550 Jews made up 22.3% of the total population), Nitra (with 449 Jews), Holíč (with 420), Trenčín (with 388), Sobotište (with 387), Čachtice (which had grown threefold to 309) and Pezinok (with 304). Ten more communities in this region numbered over 200 persons. The Jews gradually dispersed among more northern counties, forming tiny communities in their county seats; by the end of the 18th century, 77 were in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš (Liptov County) and between 30 to 50 in Dolný Kubín (Orava County) and Turčiansky Svätý Martin (Turiec County).

The 1830-1835 census²² (MAP 7) counted 2,854 Jewish residents in Bratislava, but probably the town with the most Jewish character at the time was Nové Mesto nad Váhom, which had 2,495 Jewish inhabitants forming not less than 57% of the total population. Other large Jewish communities were to be found in Nitra (population 1,654), Dunajská Streda (whose 1,194 Jews amounted to 50% of the total population), Holíč (where the 1,100 Jews made up 32.3% of the total population), Senica (whose Jewish population of 950 represented 38.6% of the total population), Stupava (with 830 Jews), Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš (which with 801 had risen more than tenfold, the Jews represented nearly half (46.7%) of the total population), Vrbové (with 620 or 41.6% of the total population), Topoľčany (with a Jewish population of 561), Hlohovec (with 556) and Sobotište (with 520). The three Jewish communities of Šurany, Mojmírovce and Púchov each had Jewish populations of between 400 and 500 persons. Jewish communities in other county seats grew as well; in addition to Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš,

the number of Jewish residents in Trenčín rose to 389, Turčiansky Svätý Martin to 77 and Dolný Kubín to 124.

The situation in eastern Slovakia was influenced by the emigration of Galician Jews, who entered the country via the Carpathian passes and clustered primarily in the north-eastern provinces of Zemplín and Šariš. At first, most of them were dispersed in the countryside, without any organized Jewish community. Only by 1785-1787, four larger communities were formed in Huncovce, with 567 Jewish inhabitants, followed by Pečovská Nová Ves (with 141 Jews), Šebeš-Kelemeš and Humenné.²³ According to census of 1830-35,²⁴ Huncovce remained largest Jewish community in Eastern Slovakia (928 persons, 43.1% of the total population). The second and third largest were Humenné (666 persons, 24.6% of the total population) and Stropkov (573 persons, 26% of the total population).²⁵

In evaluating these statistics, several important phenomena stand out. First, the Jewish population in this period resided mostly in the outer counties along the Moravian and Galician border and settled entirely on the estates of the landed nobility. Either dispersed throughout the countryside or clustered in market areas, a strong Jewish residential presence was often typical for villages near the free royal towns, using proximity to them to commute for business. A typical example is Huncovce, the only place in Spiš County that tolerated Jewish settlement, which served as a Jewish *yishuv* to the nearby royal town of Kežmarok.²⁶ Secondly, aside from royal towns, as mentioned above, Jews were fully excluded from mining areas, which resulted in the Jewish absence in the five counties of Gemer-Malohont, Zvolen, Hont, Tekov and Turna in the center of the land (MAP 3). On the map of the Jewish population in the historical counties, this area, a compact mountainous region that formed an effective boundary between the eastern and western part of country, appears as an empty island. Finally, separated by mountains that isolated them from each other, the Jews from the two diverse immigration reservoirs, the Moravian and the Galician, settled in two different parts of the country. This created two distinctive groups of Jewry living in northern Hungary: Western Slovakia was populated by western Orthodoxy, which was receptive to cultural and religious trends from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Vienna, while Eastern Slovakia

was settled by Galician Jewish masses influenced by Hassidic trends from Poland and eastward.

Until the beginning of the 19th century all Slovak Jewish communities were still traditional *kehillot*.²⁷ They enjoyed a high degree of autonomy to manage their own internal affairs. The landlord and local authorities were predominantly interested that the *Schutzgeld* and other taxes be paid on time and in full and that public order be maintained. All community members carried a heavy tax burden, but it was unevenly distributed in that the wealthy also had to pay on behalf of the poor. Therefore, it was in the communal interest that the arrival of new residents be controlled, and for this reason the communities strictly guarded domicile rights (*chazakah*). Only scholars and the rich were generally welcomed to join the *kehillah*. Political power in the community rested in the hands of the wealthiest householders, who were often represented in the collective governing body as *parnasim*. They elected or appointed the *rosh kahal* [head of community], who represented the community vis-à-vis the landlord. *Gabbaim* [wardens] assisted them in enforcing communal rules.

The internal affairs of the *kehillah* were conducted under the auspices of Jewish law (*halakhah*), as administered by the rabbinical court (*beit din*). The *beit din* served as a legal authority to resolve conflicts between Jewish parties. The guarantees of its competence were its rabbinical members who were well versed in halakhah and qualified to *pasken* [make binding legal rulings].

The traditional Jewish community maintained a whole range of institutions that provided for various aspects of Jewish life that often clustered together around synagogue. Education held a prominent role in Jewish life and was provided for through a system of communal schools. The all-boy *cheder* taught on the primary level, while the *yeshiva* focused on more advanced studies and often catered only to gifted elites. The role of ritual purity in Jewish life was also of special interest; to that end, the community maintained a *mikvah* [ritual bath] and provided assistance for *shechita* [ritual slaughtering], which was performed on the premises of the special communal slaughterhouse. As one of its first possessions, any newly established Jewish community tried to obtain a burial plot

for its dead; the cemetery was maintained by the *chevra kadisha* [burial society], and was, according to Jewish law, situated out of the residential area.

Appointed by the community and approved by the *parnasim*, the rabbi enjoyed a respected position in the community. Since scholarship was highly esteemed in traditional Jewish society, affluent communities generally tried to attract prominent Talmud scholars. The rabbi received a fixed salary and for this he exercised many duties in the *kehillah*: he supervised *halakhic* affairs at the *beit din*, controlled the *shechitah*, oversaw the *cheder* and maintained the *yeshiva*. Twice a year he delivered a lengthy *derashah* [didactic sermon] at the synagogue.

The most prominent institution in the *kehillah* was the synagogue, which played a central role in the life of the community. It served not only as a place of communal worship, but also for most other communal events, such as group study (*beit midrash*) or sittings of the *beit din*. Individuals could also be banned from communal religious and social life by the sanction of *cherem* [excommunication]. Important lifecycle events also received their expression in synagogue life. Male circumcision (*brith milah*) followed childbirth and formal passage to adulthood was marked by the *bar mitzvah* ceremony, when the 13-year-old Jewish boy was called to read the Torah for the first time. On the Sabbath before and after a wedding the bridegroom especially appeared in the synagogue, while mourners were comforted there as well. Often, proclamations and announcements related to business life and tax collection were made in the synagogue. Compared to the principal institutions of a contemporary Christian town, the synagogue fulfilled the roles of the parish church, town hall and community school incorporated into one building.

The network of Jewish communal institutions catered to the religious, social, cultural and other needs of community members. During the week, individuals often traveled to distant places for business leaving their families behind and returned to their home communities in time for Shabbat. For important holidays, Jewish families isolated in villages visited the nearest community from the countryside.

Discipline in the community was maintained through various punishments. Those who transgressed Jewish or communal law could be penalized financially or in extreme circumstances, the *beit din* could issue a *cherem* on them, which would effectively isolate

the culprit socially and economically, by forbidding them to pray with the rest of the community and denying them the ability to fulfill their religious duties. Even corporal punishments were not rare, as evidenced by a pillory that reportedly stood in front of the synagogue in Šebeš-Kelemeš well into the 19th century.²⁸ Membership in *kehillah* society was effectively predetermined by birth; the only way to leave the Jewish community was by death or religious conversion.

The feudal state considered the Jewish population to be one of its corporations, alongside the Church, the landed nobility, the towns and the peasant serfs. The symptoms of change emerged with the crisis of the feudal system and the decline of traditional society.²⁹ As the statistics above suggest, there was a growing trend of Jewish clustering around urban centers, either directly inside towns or in nearby villages. This observable fact was also typical for other European countries. Cities as centers of commerce, promised a sustainable livelihood to the Jews, who had neither access to farming land nor experience in agriculture. During the second half of the 18th century, the era of Enlightenment, however, there were attempts by absolutist governments to integrate religious minorities, including the Jews, into the public and economic life of their states. In 1781 Prussia, Christian Wilhelm von Dohm published his work *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* [*Concerning the Amelioration of the Civil Status of the Jews*]. A year later, Emperor Joseph II issued the *Edict of Tolerance* in Vienna. The Jews of France acquired full civil rights in 1791. Although these rights were later curtailed, the new legislation marked the shift in the State's centuries-old policy towards the Jews, which until then had subordinated them to a marginal group living at the fringes of feudal society.

On the Jewish side, the intellectual response known as *Haskalah* emerged as the Jewish counterpart to the European enlightenment. Often associated with the ideas of Berlin philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, the *Haskalah* was a movement of the Jewish intellectuals between Berlin and Königsberg and was supported by members of a nascent Jewish bourgeoisie. This multi-faceted movement accompanied in some layers of the Jewish society an acculturation aimed at integrating the Jews into general society, while accepting the cultural models of their non-Jewish neighbors. Secular education was seen

as a key tool for social upward mobility; traditional education epitomized by the *yeshiva* began to be replaced by gymnasium attendance. With increasing disinterest in the traditional education that had been for generations the stronghold of the Torah-centered lifestyle, the numbers of those adhering to traditional Orthodoxy declined. The *kehillah* network began to collapse. Towards the end of the 18th century, this decline was quite visible in some larger German urban communities; it was thus accompanied by an exodus of some prominent rabbis to areas where the movement has not yet reached, to the East.

Rabbi Moshe Schreiber, known also as the Chatam Sofer (1762-1839), was one such rabbi. Born in Frankfurt, he was as a rabbi in Prostějov (Prossnitz) and Mattersburg, before serving, from 1806 until his death, as Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community in Bratislava, where he also maintained a prominent yeshiva. During his tenure in Bratislava, Schreiber became a spiritual leader of Hungarian traditionalist Jewry and the major opponent of the *Haskalah*. Already during his lifetime, however, signs of religious laxity appeared in his community as well. Some shopkeepers kept their shops open on Shabbat and Jewish holidays. Illustrative examples of the Chatam Sofer's endeavor to hinder this trend are to be found in his letters addressed to the Emperor in Vienna, in which he appeals for the strictest punishment for Shabbat violators by means of state authorities.³⁰ One generation later, the bitterness of a rabbi in nearby Pezinok was expressed in a letter to a nearby colleague:

The Rabbis of Oberland nowadays are likened to a commander of a small fort with few men under his command and besieged by the evil inclination... He battles with all his might even if he cannot raise the local children in Torah. He gathers around him cohorts from other places and does what he can. He is comforted by the thought that he has succeeded at least in raising his own children in the way of the Torah and that they have not been entrapped... But if God should summon him to another place and redeem him from prison ... should he refuse, saying, 'I will continue sitting in prison, I will continue to fight the evil inclination?' ... I cannot even find a proper *bachur* for my daughters in order to raise a son-in-law to be like me... Is there at all any doubt or question what you should do?³¹

The decades prior to the 1848-1849 Revolution in Hungarian history are referred to as the Reform period, when a group of liberal aristocrats aimed at modernizing the backward feudal agrarian country. In the early 19th century, Hungarian society

maintained a rigid feudal structure: All political power was concentrated in the hands of the landed magnates, lower gentry tended towards secure jobs in county administration, the royal towns maintained a strong German presence, and masses of poor peasants still lived under the yoke of serfdom. The Jews were outsiders in this societal patchwork, without any civil and with restricted residential rights that excluded them from most royal towns. Within this period, however, some of them gradually adopted the niche of a bourgeoisie, financing and building Hungary's industry and commerce. Certainly, not all Jews were rich, but their substantial overrepresentation in business was striking. The alliance between magnates and Jewish industrialists or bankers became one of the symptomatic features of this period, which also brought an intensive Liberal-led campaign for Jewish emancipation.

The turning point came in 1840, when the Hungarian Diet passed a law granting the Jews the right of free settlement in the whole country with the exception of some mining towns. Indeed, this did not mean an immediate migration of all Jews into towns. In fact, some towns reportedly resisted this new legislation. Košice, for instance, for a while continued to refuse the Jews a presence in its territory, basing this decision on the self-made proclamation that it was a mining town because of its proximity to the Zlatá Ida mines.³²

An excellent personal account of this difficult process is the sentimental memoir by Sigmund Mayer.³³ This Viennese businessman born on the Bratislava *Judengasse* describes in detail the everyday obstacles his family faced moving from the *Judengasse* to inside the town of Bratislava. After the opening of the ghetto, though many Jewish families sought to be integrated into the general fabric of urban society, they faced the hostile and cold attitude of the established, predominantly German-speaking, burgher population. At first isolated and ignored, Jews began to enjoy the cultural life of the town, frequenting cafés, attending theater performances, and sending their children to Christian public schools. Within the next decades, Jewish communities had been established in literally every major town of the country; the Jews adopted the full identity of citizens of their respective towns while gradually earning the respect of their fellowcitizens.

Within the fifty years since the 1830 census, Jewish geographic dispersion changed dramatically.³⁴ First of all, the Jewish residential and communal presence in towns and areas, which had not previously tolerated or had strongly limited Jewish residence were established, including former free royal towns and mining centers. For instance, the Jewish presence in Košice by 1880 was 2,854; the Prešov community had grown from 82 in 1830 to 1,221; Bardejov, from 181 to 1,113; Trnava from 4 in 1830 to 1,325; Nové Zámky reached 1,561. Lučenec had a Jewish population of 1,199, Levice had 903; Banská Bystrica had 566, Kežmarok had 511, Levoča had 399, Rimavská Sobota had 345, Šahy had 331, and Zlaté Moravce had 241 Jews. Until 1861, Banská Štiavnica did not have any Jewish residents and in less than twenty years had 219. Some previously small Jewish communities gained importance and size. By 1880, the Jewish population of Sered' had grown from 333 to 1,354. In Michalovce the number of Jews had increased ninefold from 170 to 1,079, which represented 25% of the local population. The Jews of Sečovce numbered 1,019 from 262 in 1830, comprising one-third of the town, and the small village of Sebeš-Kelemeš had ballooned with Jews, a 2100% increase from 25 to 526, with Jews making up 82.3% of the local population.

The 1880 census also shows that several established Jewish communities had shrunk. Many of these had been on the estates of the nobility, who had granted their Jewish residents protection. Nevertheless, after acquiring residential freedom, maintaining domicile in declining market towns or agrarian villages became disadvantageous for the Jews and these communities experienced Jewish depopulation. Such was the fate of Nové Mesto nad Váhom, which had a decreased Jewish presence of 1,854 compared to 2,495 in 1830; Holíč, with 847 compared to 1100 in 1830; and what had at one time been the only Jewish settlement in Spiš County, Huncovce, had lost nearly two-thirds of its 1830 Jewish population (364 compared to 928) by 1880.

The 1880 census further reveals that some older Jewish communities continued to grow especially in towns that had maintained their economic importance, or had served as county centers. Bratislava with 4,996 was still the largest Jewish community in Slovakia, followed by Nitra whose 3,501 Jews comprised 29.1% of the local population. Other centers of Slovak Jewry included Dunajská Streda, whose community of 1,874 was

44.8% of the town; Vrbové, whose 1,303 Jews comprised 28% of the total population; Topoľčany, where the 1,119 Jews were 30.3% of the town; Trenčín where 1,113 Jews comprised 25.3% of the city; Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, where 45% of the town were its 985 Jews; Galanta, with 714 Jews; Dolný Kubín with a Jewish population of 431; and Turčiansky Svätý Martin with 457. In the east, large Jewish communities could be found in Humenné whose 1,280 Jews and Vranov, whose 500-700 Jews made up one-third of the towns' populations. In Stropkov, 919 Jews were nearly half or 45.5% of the local population, and Zborov had a Jewish population of between 500 and 700.

Significantly, the gradual Jewish dispersion into the hinterland was a development that proved that the Jews were no longer predominantly concentrated in the outer counties along the Polish, Moravian and Austrian borders as had been the case a century earlier. Important communities, such as Arad, Subotica, Szeged or Novi Sad flourished in Southern Hungary. The most important Jewish communities, however, were located in the capitals of the Dual Monarchy, Vienna and Budapest.

The urbanization of Austro-Hungarian Jewry was the most typical feature of its residential behavior. As Marcia Rozenblit has shown in her case study of Vienna Jewry, 70% of Hungarian Jewish immigrants to Vienna from 1870 to 1910, originated from regions in western Hungary — including Western Slovakia — where 22% of the Hungarian Jewish population lived.³⁵ Only 4% of Hungarian Jews in Vienna originated from northeastern regions of Hungary, where 36% of the Hungarian Jewish population resided.³⁶ Vienna, thus, served as a major immigration center for the provincial Jewry in the western Slovak and Hungarian regions. It has been documented that Vienna acted as a siphon for the western Slovak Jewish communities, and was the major point of immigration for Bratislava's Jews. Some of these Jews left rigid Jewish communities dominated by an overbearing rabbinate for Vienna, which offered unprecedented entrepreneurial challenges.

The most important center of Jewish life in the country was Budapest. The city experienced a boom in the 19th century; according to statistics, Budapest was the second fastest growing European metropolis after Berlin. Within sixty years, the population of the twin city on the Danube River had grown from 178 thousand to one million.³⁷ The

local Jewish population grew significantly as well. While in 1869, there were 44,890 Jews living in the city, in 1890 they already numbered 102,377. According to the 1910 census, the 203,687 Jews of the Hungarian capital, mostly concentrated in Pest, represented 23.1 % of the whole city's population .³⁸

Jewish communal life in Upper Hungary, the territory of today's Slovakia, however, was different. No other place in the country had a Jewish community of the size of Budapest. This situation is well illustrated by the 1910 census, which provides data about the largest Jewish communities in Slovakia (MAP 8).³⁹

The greatest number of Jews, 8,207, lived in Bratislava where they amounted to 10.5% of the total population. Bratislava was followed by Košice, where 6,723 Jews were 15.2% of the city; Nitra whose 4,200 Jews comprised 24.7% of the local population; Dunajská Streda, where the town's 2,400 Jews comprised half of the town; Lučenec, where 16.5% of the population was represented by its 2,135 Jews; Prešov, where 2,106 made up 16.6% of the total; Trnava, whose 1,800 Jews were 13.6% of the whole; Sered', whose 1,600 Jews amounted to 34.5% of the population; Nové Zámky, where the Jewish population of 1,504 represented 9.2% of the whole; Bardejov, whose 1,500 Jews remained 27.3% of the entire population; Nové Mesto nad Váhom where two out of five residents were among the town's 1,450 Jews; Levice, whose 1,384 Jews amounted 14.3% of the town; Humenné, where 1,300 Jews made up 29% of the whole; Michalovce, where its 1,200 Jews were 17% of the municipality; Banská Bystrica, where 12% of the total population were the town's 1,200 Jews; Kežmarok, whose 1,050 Jews comprised 16.6% of the total population, Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, where the town's 985 Jews were one-third of its population; and Levoča had 718 Jews who made up to 9.5% of the town. The population of the Jewish communities of Pezinok, Galanta, Hlohovec, Holíč, Šurany, Topoľčany, Piešťany, Púchov, Banská Štiavnica, Stupava, Senica, Sobotište, Vrbové, Sečovce, Huncovce, Kurima, Rimavská Sobota, Rožňava and Moldava nad Bodvou numbered between 500 to 1000. Altogether, there were ninety-five localities with more than 200 Jewish residents in Slovakia. In some 754 towns and villages resided at least fifty Jews.⁴⁰

The 19th and 20th centuries were characterized by tremendous population shifts on the European continent. Similarly, in Hungary, migration was an observable fact. Notably, the United States was the major emigration destination as well. Thousands flocked to the other side of the Atlantic to follow the vision of a new life. Within Central Europe, masses flooded into Vienna and Budapest, while others continued further toward the growing industrial centers of Arad, Szeged and Temesvár (Timișoara) in the Hungarian south. Regional centers also grew. The Jews were not an exception and soon urban Jewish communities could be found in nearly every town ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The nineteenth century was a formative period of Hungarian/Slovak Jewry, in which the fundamental bases of a communal institutional network that prevailed until World War II, were laid. Apart from the enormous changes in Jewish residential patterns characterized by urbanization and the formation of new communities, economic opportunities of the capitalist era brought further deterioration to the traditional Jewish lifestyle. As Jacob Katz has shown in a chapter in his work, *Shabbes Goy*, dedicated to Hungarian Jewry, the major rabbinic authorities of time, such as rabbis Chatam Sofer (Bratislava), Maharam Schick (Svätý Jur, later Chust), Judah Aszod (Dunajská Streda) and Chaim Halberstamm (Nowy Sącz/Zanz, Poland), became involved in the search for innovative *halakhic* solutions that would allow Jewish professional activities to continue during the Shabbat and Jewish holidays.⁴¹

The decline of tradition and the transgression of Jewish law was only one side of the problem. Jewish urbanization also brought social interaction with the non-Jewish population resulting in gradual acculturation. Upward social mobility meant entrance into the middle strata of society and was accompanied by distinct *embourgeoisement*. This also fostered a desire for the development of new models of Jewish religiosity, generally referred to as the Reform movement. Reform originated in Germany and was very much influenced by contemporary Protestant forms.⁴² With it, the synagogue service was completely rearranged; innovations to the liturgy resulted in the shortening or omission of some prayers and introduction of the vernacular alongside the original Hebrew. Additionally, responsive reading replaced silent, individual recitation of many prayers.

As decorum played an important role, and music was introduced to accompany the prayers, either as hymns sung by the community, a choir or a professional cantor. The most controversial novelty in some communities was the introduction of an organ into the synagogue, an act that was fiercely opposed by the traditionalists.⁴³

The role of a rabbi, too, underwent fundamental change.⁴⁴ While the traditional rabbi still served as an administrator and interpreter of Jewish law in the areas of personal status and a supervisor of the ritual slaughtering of meat and other aspects of dietary laws, the modern rabbi was predominantly a university-educated preacher and supervisor of the modern educational institutions of the Jewish community. An inseparable part of these rabbis' education was the university degree. Later, Reform rabbis graduated from specialized rabbinical seminaries that combined a more scholarly secular approach to Jewish studies with essential training for rabbinical pulpit. The traditional rabbi gave the *derashah* twice a year, while the modern rabbi, a qualified preacher, delivered attractive sermons on a weekly basis, which became the highlight of the religious service for many worshippers and often attracted even a non-Jewish audience. The rabbis of this period also began to dress for the services in ways that resembled the canonical vestments of the Christian clergy.

These innovations to the synagogue service also necessitated the remodeling of the building's interior. While in some countries the Reform movement introduced the mixed seating of men and women, in Hungary the division of men and women was preserved, even amongst the Reform. Nevertheless, a more lenient solution appeared. Since it was not necessary to divide strictly between genders, the grille *mechitzah*, a screen or curtain spread across the edges of the women's gallery to prevent the men from seeing the women above, was removed and a lowered gallery railing remained as a standard security barrier. The *bimah* was shifted to the east and formed one unit together with the *aron hakodesh*, leaving the rabbi, a trained professional, to run the service in the eastern portion of synagogue.

The emergence of the Reform elicited various reactions. One of the first international disputes was the Hamburg Temple controversy.⁴⁵ In 1817, a group of progressive Jews in Hamburg decided to establish their own religious congregation

within the Jewish community. This included the establishment of a new house of worship — referred to as a “Temple”⁴⁶— the recitation of some prayers in the vernacular, the addition of uplifting sermons in German and the introduction of an organ and choral singing. Many revolutionary liturgical reforms were introduced into the prayer book as well. The whole project was quite successful in attracting many young and acculturated community members, while it provoked bitter antagonism amongst traditionalists. The rabbinical court, the *beit din* of Hamburg, passed a negative ruling against the reforms introduced by the Temple congregation and called on contemporary *halakhic* authorities in Europe to join forces in condemning this rebel group. The international response⁴⁷ supporting each of side of the conflict included two prominent members of Hungarian rabbinate, the Chatam Sofer and Aaron Chorin⁴⁸, thereby indirectly bringing this controversy to Hungary. While the former was a leading Orthodox authority, the latter represented the emerging Reform movement in Hungary.

The battlefield for the moment, however, was Germany, but soon bitter disputes also emerged in Hungarian territory. As Michael Silber has shown, German innovations penetrated Hungary gradually.⁴⁹ Reform came indirectly to Hungary via Vienna, which played a mediating role between the communities of Germany and Hungary. Vienna somehow softened the radical religious innovations into what became known as the Viennese rite. The rite, associated with Isaac Noah Mannheimer, who served as a preacher in Vienna, was characterized by its stress on the aesthetic qualities of the service, the presence of a choir, the inclusion of an uplifting sermon in German, the holding of the wedding ceremony in the synagogue and the eastern-shifted *bimah*. This moderate Reform gradually spread to various urban centers of the Empire and soon found its followers in Hungary as well, leaving a strong impression on what became known as the Neolog movement,⁵⁰ which would never be as radical as its German or American sister-movements.

The emerging Jewish press played a decisive role in the formation of particular Hungarian Jewish community development and synagogue rites. *Der Israelit des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Der Orient* and *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, spread news about developments in Germany and the Jewish world. Although only a limited

number of copies were in circulation, in those days newspapers were read in cafés and clubs, and even a single available copy passed from hand to hand. Subsequently, the articles were the subjects of discussions among club society. Thus, the Jews in Hungary were well informed about current issues; they read about the struggle for emancipation and about the bitter struggle between traditionalists and reformers, as the Jewish press reported about the newly inaugurated synagogues in Germany. Significantly, the German press also regularly reported about news from Hungary, and thus, Hungarian communities received information about domestic Jewish scene and communal affairs via Germany.

As before, Germany became a model for innovative trends for East-Central Europe. Therefore, progressive elements within the Hungarian Jewish community eagerly followed the news from Germany; it was only matter of time until these reforms had a direct impact on the Hungarian scene and within time, moderate reforms appeared. Already in 1811, Aaron Chorin of Arad performed a marriage ceremony in the synagogue.⁵¹ In 1827, the new Viennese rite reached Hungary, when a group of predominantly upwardly mobile young people of Pest established a private prayer group, *Chesed Neurim*, known in German as the *Jungen-Schul*. They sent their preacher, Josef Bach, to Mannheimer in Vienna for training. Their cantor, Karl Eduard Denhof accompanied Bach to Vienna, where he became a student of Salomon Sulzer, the Viennese cantor. In 1836, Löw Schwab, rabbi of Prostějov (Prossnitz), known as moderate reformer, became the rabbi of the Pest community. Pest was by then already a major commercial center of Hungary, visited regularly by merchants from the whole country. The Jews of Pest were impressed by the services with music and the sermon in the new congregation. Pest thus became a model for smaller Jewish communities in Hungary.

Arad was the first community in Hungary to introduce the organ into the synagogue in 1842. Four years later, an organ had been installed in the new synagogue of Kanizsa. In Lugos and Prešov, the confirmation ceremony, a ritual symbolizing the reaching of religious adulthood, had been pioneered.⁵² Moderate reforms arrived to Kanizsa and even Bratislava (Pressburg). Gradually, modern sermons in the vernacular

were replacing traditional rabbinical speeches, *derashot*, in many places. Hungarian soon appeared alongside German, in what might be considered a mark of growing identification with the Hungarian national movement among the Jews. Even the Hungarian national movement did not remain blind to the Jewish problem and demanded reforms from them: “As early as 1844, Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian leader, had written that the Jews must prove through proper reform and a solemn ecclesiastical proclamation ‘that the social institutions of the Mosaic laws do not constitute an essential part of the Jewish religion’”.⁵³

Reforms had also been reflected in the construction of new synagogues. When the Jewish community in Papa decided to build a new place of worship, the community leaders asked for the *halakhic* opinions of German (including Holdheim and Frankel) and Hungarian rabbis. All of them gave their permission to place the *bimah* near the *aron hakodesh*, include choral music and perform weddings in the synagogue.

To summarize, in this period a section of Hungarian Jewry underwent remarkable modernization and acculturation that was reflected in all spheres of communal life and represented by the appearance of modern educational institutions (in some communities replacing traditional *yeshivot*),⁵⁴ the emergence of a modern rabbinate, and the delivery of sermons in German or Hungarian. There were plans to establish a rabbinical seminary, where secular subjects would be included in addition to traditional education.

These developments, however, also aroused bitter opposition among traditionalists. Within the Orthodox movement, several wings existed. Its modernist faction, called neo-Orthodoxy, was represented by the rabbi of Eisenstadt, Esriel Hildesheimer. The Centrist faction was led by the Ketav Sofer, the chief rabbi of Bratislava and son of the renowned scholar, the Chatam Sofer. The right wing consisted of some Eastern Hungarian Orthodox rabbis who represented communities with strong Hassidic elements that existed within the more backward areas of the country. The Jews living there, led by the Rabbi of Chust, Maharam Schick or the Sátoraljauhely Rabbi, Jeremiah Löw, were not exposed to same external cultural influences as their Orthodox brothers in the west. The ultra-Orthodox circles represented Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein and his son-in-law Rabbi Akiva Joseph Schlesinger.

To illustrate the ideological abyss among the various Orthodox groups, the following example can be given. While Rabbi Hildesheimer belonged to the enthusiastic supporters of modern rabbinical seminary, the ultra-Orthodox Admor of Litzka stipulated: “A rabbi in Israel should have nothing to do with *Bildung*, secular subjects, or the sciences. It is enough if he knows how to sign his name in German and Hungarian, and no more!”⁵⁵ The cultural isolationism of the Orthodox right-wing was best expressed in its fight against the inclusion of German and Hungarian sermons. Yiddish was the language of their daily communication and Hebrew, “*lashon hakodesh*” [the holy language], was reserved for religious rituals and studies. They understood and feared, all too well that acculturation into German or Hungarian society or even the usage of these languages would mean exposure to what they saw as dangerous, non-Jewish cultural influences.

In 1865, the zealots convened a rabbinical conference in Michalovce, where they rendered a *halakhic* decision (*psaq din*), which became the basis for what became an irreversible schism in Hungarian (and also of Slovak) Jewry.⁵⁶ The *psaq din*, by dint of religious authority, prohibited several modernist trends appearing among some Jewish communities of Hungary including bans on delivering sermons in any language other than Yiddish, the wearing of canonical vestments by rabbis, the inclusion of choir singing during services and the performance of weddings in the synagogue. Interdicting structural innovations in synagogue architecture, the *psaq din* included façade towers or turrets, the *bimah* not positioned in the center, and women’s galleries that lacked at least a grille-*mechitzah*. Religious observance in communities that did not accept the *psaq din* was disqualified, bringing unprecedented consequences, such as the nullification of *shechitah*, rendering meat non-kosher, and the inability of praying in such synagogues. The ramifications of the *psaq din* incited fierce conflicts between the traditionalist and reformist wings of many communities.

The Orthodox movement relied on the authority of the deceased leading figure of the previous rabbinical generation, the Chatam Sofer, who had been the Chief Rabbi of Bratislava (Pressburg) from 1806 to 1839. In his ethical testament he stated:

...May your mind not turn to evil and never engage in corruptible partnership with those fond of innovations, who, as a penalty for our many sins, have strayed

from the Almighty and His law! Do not touch the books of Rabbi Moses [Mendelssohn] from Dessau, and your foot will never slip! ... Should hunger and misery lead you into temptation, then the Almighty will protect you; resist temptation and do not turn to the idols or to some god of your own making! The daughters may read German books, but only those which have been written in our own way, according to the interpretations of our teachers (may they rest in peace), and absolutely no others! Be warned not to change your Jewish names, speech, and clothing --God forbid. ... Never say: "Times have changed!" We have an old Father – praised be His name – who has never changed and never will change. ... The order of prayer and synagogue shall remain forever as it has been up to now, and no one may presume to change anything of its structure.⁵⁷

They elaborated his thoughts into the comprehensive ideological stand and the Michalovce Conference was an important move by this right wing Orthodoxy to shift the whole traditionalist faction of Judaism to the right, or as Michael Silber writes, it was an "orthodoxization of the tradition", a move from traditional society towards the Orthodox.⁵⁸ In Hungary this process was characterized by the shift of orthodoxy toward the right and setting borders towards modernized, acculturated Neo-and Centrist Orthodoxy. The moderates were represented by the introduction of a German preacher in Bratislava or by the efforts of Rabbi Hildesheimer in Eisenstadt, who envisioned the establishment of a modern rabbinical seminary.

Since the State would not tolerate excommunicating the transgressors [progressives], the Orthodox strove to institutionalize their position to isolate themselves from the transgressors. They fully achieved this goal by the establishment of the Orthodox national organization in 1871. These events within the Jewish community occurred at a time when the Jews of Hungary were achieving the civil emancipation they had wanted for decades. Parliament improved the Jews' legal status within society by passing the so-called Emancipation Law (XVII/1867), which, stated:

1. The Israelite inhabitants of the country are declared equally entitled to the practice of all civil and political rights as the Christian inhabitants.
2. All laws, customs, or decrees contrary to this are herewith invalidated.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the State sought also to incorporate all religious communities in the country into an officially organized framework through the establishment of a national organization for each faith group. The Minister of Education and Religion, Baron József

Eötvös, called upon the Jews of Hungary to convene a Congress, at which such a Jewish organization would be established. The Congress of 1868-1869, however, turned out to be a decisive event in Hungarian Jewish history.⁶⁰ Delegates came from various religious streams representing divergent ideological communities from different parts of the country. At a crucial moment, the traditionalists withdrew from the proceedings and established their own secessionist conference. The Congress, devoid of traditional elements, succeeded in creating the foundations for a national organization of Jewish communities, a body the Orthodox unequivocally rejected.

Finally, after a long and complicated series of incidents, the Parliament legalized the second, Orthodox national organization in 1871.⁶¹ As a consequence, the State acknowledged more than one Jewish community, a situation without comparison in Europe. Moreover, the individual communities were not legally obliged to belong to one of the two organizations, and some chose to preserve the “*status quo ante*” and declined to join either of the movements in order to maintain communal unity. In the long-term, though, the Hungarian Jewish organizations vied in their lobbying for favors from the State, while small independent communities grew isolated and were ostracized from both sides.

The decision to join one or the other national organization or remain aside in a Status Quo Ante community was often a result of delicate diplomatic activities, dirty conspiracies or incidents that were even more drastic. Jewish communities were often heterogeneous bodies with multiple groupings, each of which adhered to its own ideological perspectives and religious practices. In many cases, traditionalist rabbis failed to convince secular elites to join the Orthodox organization. Congregations, as legal entities, owned and maintained property and real estate like synagogues or school buildings, often the result of many years of financial contributions and fund raising. With the stakes high, no group was prepared to disengage from the struggle for the religious future of their respective congregations.

It is not easy to generalize about the religious observance of various communities. Many towns had only one congregation and synagogue, and those in a minority group could not simply relocate to other domicile, since they were bound by their businesses

and other fundamental existential needs to that specific community. In some instances, the majority of a community opted for Neolog affiliation or Status Quo “independence”, while a small group of Orthodox formed secessionist congregations like in Trnava, Prešov, and Žilina. In other instances, the majority of a community opted for Orthodox affiliation, and a small group of Neologs formed a secessionist congregation as they did, for example, in Bratislava. In still other situations, less-observant members retained their membership in the Orthodox community like Bratislava’s “Orthodox community”. While in those cases in which the majority opted for Neolog or Status Quo, observant members nevertheless retained their membership. This meant many “Neolog” Jews lived very traditional and observant lives and, out of practicality they had no other choice than to be members of the Neolog community.

To understand this situation in its broad social historical context is very important, because even today many biased judgments are based on an individual’s own political and religious opinions than on the knowledge of historical facts. Some communities were simply branded as unfit by the right-wing extremists of the Michalovce *psaq din* because their newly constructed synagogues had towers, the *bimah* in the east or did not hide women behind a genuine grilled *mechitzah*. In some other cases, congregations pulled down synagogue towers in order to appease the more traditional wing.⁶²

By the end of the 19th century, the situation stabilized and the division of Hungarian Jewry became institutionalized into two national organizations representing the Neolog and Orthodox wings. There were altogether 541 communities, 315 of which joined the Orthodox stream, 160 identified themselves as Neolog and 66 others opted for quasi neutral equidistant position of “Status Quo Ante”. There were another 1356 associated small Orthodox and 309 associated small Neolog communities.⁶³ The Neologs represented only a minority of the communities, but comprised about sixty percent of Hungarian Jewry, since most of Jews in Budapest affiliated with this movement. As the beneficiaries of civil equality, they fully used the advantages of secular education to acquire professional skills and economic prosperity. Many entrepreneurs, capitalists and leading figures in economic and scientific life of Hungary were Neolog Jews.

While the overall representation of the Neologs in the ranks of the Jewish bourgeoisie was higher, the observant Jews were characterized by a general conservatism that was also reflected in their economic behavior. Because the management of factories or large businesses did not facilitate the preservations of a traditional religious lifestyle, most of the Orthodox were involved in small business, and therefore belonged to the social middle or lower middle class, and many more owned small groceries or were innkeepers. The typical demographic distribution of the Orthodox in Northern Hungary (Slovakia) was a “vast dispersion of the ... population in small units, in villages and townlets.”⁶⁴

The religious affiliation of the Jewish communities was probably an important factor contributing to the redirection of immigration streams to particular cities.⁶⁵ Assuming that individuals moving into a community always took into consideration a similar religio-ideological stance, large urban communities with growing commercial and industrial sectors, predominantly Budapest, offered genuine opportunities for social and economic mobility in exchange for severing bounds with traditional religiosity, thus attracting ardent supporters of the Neolog movement. Another interesting trend appeared in communities that generated migration. Generally, only those individuals and families that wished to upgrade their social and material life, seeking progress and social improvement, moved away. Those left behind often represented the most traditional elements and, as a result, many communities in underdeveloped rural areas of Eastern Slovakia maintained an unaltered Orthodox Jewish lifestyle.

Interestingly, though compared with Poland, Ukraine, Belarus or Transylvania, Slovakia did not have a glorious Hassidic past, Hassidism was also present in the Eastern Slovak region. Hassidim, a noteworthy Jewish movement of popular mysticism characterized by strict cultural isolationism and the retention of specific cultural traits, strictly adhered to traditional dress and appearance, Yiddish as the language of communication and refused even minor innovations in their common lifestyle. Moreover, they followed the so-called *nusach ha-Ari* (also referred to as *nusach Sepharad*, hence “Sephardic” prayer hall for their places of worship) liturgical format, which was different from the liturgical format used by the other Ashkenazic Jews.

Additionally, they also fervently followed their religious leader, *admor* or *rebbe*, whom they considered to have a special connection with God that enabled him to perform miracles.

Major centers that were influential in Slovakia were located in neighboring Poland and in central Hungary, in Nowy Sącz and Sátoraljaújhely (also called Újhely). Újhely, today a border town, had been for thirty-three years (1808-1841) a seat of the court of Rabbi Moses Teitelbaum. After his death, the most influential leader in this area was his student, Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Friedman, *Admor* of Liszka (village near Újhely).

The Hasidic followers of the Sanczer Rebbe [*Admor* of Nowy Sącz], Rabbi Chaim Halberstamm, clustered in northern Slovakia. His devotees came to dominate the Bardejov Jewish community and were instrumental in giving it its Hassidic character. Later, they also managed to install the Halberstamm descendants onto the Bardejov rabbinate. Stropkov became another Hassidic center in northeastern Slovakia, with the court of Rabbi Avraham Shalom Halberstamm.

Significant Hassidic groupings were present also in other eastern Slovak towns, such as Prešov, Košice, Michalovce and even Kežmarok, which was probably the most western place of Hassidic presence in Slovakia. While in some communities they gained the upper hand over Ashkenazic Orthodoxy, in others they represented a significant faction in the community, which was often the source of harsh conflicts. As result, they frequently established they own separate prayer halls, *klaus* or *kloyz*, using *nusach ha-Ari* and with membership limited only to strictly observant Hassidim loyal to their ancestral tradition.

The second half of the 19th century was a period of prosperity for Hungarian Jews. The Orthodox maintained their institutions of traditional learning; the yeshivot flourished and their students were often exempted from military service. They cultivated their own genuine culture with brilliant scholars, circulated many Orthodox periodicals, and book culture was booming. They remained suspiciously shut to general society and uninterested in its secular culture, preserving only necessary economic ties with their Christian neighbors. For neutral relations with the government, they mostly declared their favor for the Magyar nationality, statistically welcomed the balance in favor of a ruling

nation, but otherwise most of the preaching and traditional teaching in Orthodox circles was in Yiddish or Yiddish-deitsch.

Towards their Neolog and Status Quo brethren, the Orthodox decided on a strategy of full separation and co-existence of the two Jewish ideologies. They forbade using Neolog synagogues, since they were unfit by Orthodox standards (as decided by the *psaq din* of Michalovce) and granted no authority to the Neolog rabbinate. In practical affairs, they minimized social contacts with non-Orthodox Jews, consciously reducing the chances for Neolog-Orthodox family unions. The Neologs, for their part, called for governmental abolishment of Orthodox separatism, and through their press channels condemned Orthodox religious lifestyle and attitudes.⁶⁶

The Jews experienced a peculiar situation in multi-ethnic Hungary. The State acknowledged Judaism as one of its officially recognized faiths in the Jewish Religion Act (Law XLII /1895). The Jewish community was considered a religious denomination within a Hungarian nation rather than a separate nationality or different ethnic group. Jews became either “Magyars of Mosaic faith” or remained lukewarm to national questions believing their Jewish religion offered them complete and genuine identity. Magyar would be for pragmatic reasons indicated as their “mother tongue,” but the language of daily life often remained Yiddish or German. According to 1910 statistics, Hungary had about one million Jewish inhabitants; 75.5% of them indicated Hungarian as their first language compared to 54.4 % of the Roman Catholics living in the country.⁶⁷

The situation of the Slovaks, one of the non-Magyar minority nations living in the country, was problematic for several reasons. They were referred to as a “so-called” nationality; the Hungarian state formally defined their rights by the Nationalities Law (Law XLVI /1868). However, the State recognized only one Hungarian political nation and insisted on linguistic unity in the land, making Magyar was the only official language, though non-Magyars were formally granted the possibility to develop their culture and educational institutions, and to use their language at the lower levels of administration. In reality, however, the Nationalities Law was never respected by the Hungarian government and served just to convince the outside world of the country’s

liberal political conditions, and the government introduced strong nationalist oppression and “magyarization”. Slovak national life was constantly suppressed. In the years 1874-1875, the Hungarian government closed the most important Slovak national educational and cultural institution, the *Matica slovenská*, as well as three Slovak *gymnasia* (secondary schools). As result, the Slovak language faced complete exclusion from higher education, a condition that lasted until 1918. Primary schools were targets as well, and their number sank from 1,921 schools in 1869 to only 440 in 1911.⁶⁸

In 1907, the strict Education Acts of Count Apponyi were introduced, which transformed an entire denominational elementary school network into a genuine mechanism of magyarization. With governmental blessing, various societies were established to propagate Magyar values and education, the most famous being the Felvidék Magyar Education Society (FEMKE), which, apart from its other activities, also transferred Slovak orphans to Southern Hungarian regions. The Magyar or magyarized church representatives guarded Hungarian life in parishes. Slovak patriotic priest Andrej Hlinka was connected to a well-known case that led to the Černová massacre, in which gendarmes opened fire into crowd of protesting Slovak peasants, killing fifteen people in 1907. Critics of government policies were sentenced either to prison or were fined. Because of an unfair election system, the nationalities had minimal representation in the Budapest Diet. The only foreign advocates of the Slovaks were members of the Czech intelligentsia and other personalities such as English historian Seton-Watson and Norwegian writer Björnson. The desperate state of the Slovak nation was illustrated by statistics from 1918, which estimated that the number of national intelligentsia lay between 750 and 1200. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, only 35 out of 12,447 officials, 18 out of 948 county officials, 33 out of 1,133 notaries and 10 out of 660 secondary school professors declared themselves as Slovak.⁶⁹

The comparison of this situation with the unique minority position of the “religious group” enjoyed by the Jews explains certain anti-Jewish sentiment prevalent among many of the non-Magyar nations, including the Slovaks. Nevertheless, Jews living in the centers of Slovak national life became its supporters. Jewish citizens of Turčiansky Svätý Martin were also among contributors to *Matica slovenská*. Moreover, Liptovský

Svätý Mikuláš, became the first town in Hungary to elect a Jewish mayor, Isaac Diner, in 1865. Jewish students attended three Slovak *gymnasia*. Ignác Grossman, a Jew from Sučany, was executed for joining the Slovak National Uprising of 1848-1849. In 1875, the Jewish deputies Moritz Wahrman and Eduard Horn spoke out in the Diet against the closing of three Slovak *gymnasia* and the *Matica slovenská*.

Some Slovak leaders had positive attitudes to the Jews, as well. Well-known is an example of Viliam Paulíny-Tóth, vice chairman of the *Matica slovenská* and a deputy in the Budapest Diet. He published letters to the Jews in the major Slovak newspaper *Národné noviny* calling for cooperation. Also famous is a speech of Slovak volunteer leader Jozef Miloslav Hurban, who, during the Slovak National Uprising of 1848-1849, praised the moral qualities of the Jewish nation and called upon others to follow its example. His son Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský, however, became chief ideologist of the national movement and a spokesperson for the next generation and held different opinions. Hurban-Vajanský was a fruitful writer, journalist, and, beginning in 1878, editor-in-chief of the *Národné noviny*. In his political orientation he favored attachment to Russia as a major Slavic superpower and protector of national interests of small Slavic nations and introduced political anti-Semitism into Slovak national movement.

The Zionist movement began in Slovakia in the late 19th century and was strongly opposed by those Jewish circles that promoted assimilation into Hungarian society. The Orthodox also opposed Zionism for religious reasons. Perhaps it was because of the peculiar situation in Slovakia, where Jews stood in the crossfire of the Magyar-Slovak national conflict that they were more eager to search for an alternative national identity. Eight out of first thirteen Zionist groups in Hungary were established in Upper Hungary, in Bratislava, Trnava, Nitra, Banská Bystrica, Dolný Kubín, Kežmarok, Košice, and Prešov. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, Slovak Zionists became one of the regions of the Czechoslovak Zionist Territorial Organization.

Like in other countries, there were many internal disputes among various ideological groups within the Zionist movement, and some of them formed independent organizations within or apart from the Territorial Organization. The Orthodox Zionist movement *Mizrachi* had an old tradition, having held its founding congress in Bratislava

in 1904. A broad spectrum of Zionist streams functioned in the country from Socialist *Hashomer Hatzair* movement to the Revisionist *Brith Joseph Trumpeldor*. Towards the late 1930s, with the worsening of the political situation, the Zionist movement grew stronger and many young people believed that eventual emigration to Palestine was the solution to their woes. Those who left for Palestine often joined or co-established several *kibbutzim*.

World War I had a significant impact on the further destiny of Jewish communities in Slovakia. Jewish men joined the ranks of the Imperial army and fought on all battlefields. In 1915, the Carpathian Offensive of the Russian army initiated a considerable movement of the population from affected areas. The battles reached also northernmost territory of Slovakia, resulting in the exodus of local, predominantly Hassidic Jews, into heartland Hungary. Two Hassidic courts moved southward as a result, that of Rabbi Avraham Shalom Halberstamm from Stropkov and that of Rabbi Shemuel Angel of Radomysl relocated to Košice. This resulted in the establishment of a separate Hassidic congregation in 1918, which built its own synagogue in 1920. A similar demographic enforcement also occurred in Prešov, Michalovce and other Eastern Slovak cities, where Hassidic places of worship were constructed during the interwar period.

The end of World War I brought about the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of its successor states. New national boundaries, demarcated in the Peace Treaty of Trianon, limited further movements of the population. Despite the efforts of the Czechoslovak border officials to strengthen the border with Poland, some illegal immigration from Galicia followed, although in limited numbers. Furthermore, the United States introduced new immigration policies that restricted the numbers of new arrivals. Domestic migration to major urban centers also continued during the interwar period. The censuses of 1921 and 1930 indicate the growth of the largest Jewish communities in the regional centers of Bratislava, Košice, Nitra, and Prešov, while the Jewish populations in some small villages near towns shrank like those of Huncovce and Veľká Ida. According to the 1930 census, 136,737 Jews were living in 2,262 out of a total of 3,589 villages and towns in Slovakia.⁷⁰

With the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 (MAP 2), the Jews of Slovakia found themselves in a completely new social and political situation. Slovak society itself was in a rather complicated state of affairs as it was subdivided into religious and cultural milieus that formed along the political divisions. The interwar Slovak scene was characterized by its partition into three streams of political movements. Autonomist parties such as Hlinka's Slovak People Party and Slovak National Party that perceived themselves as the only true representatives of the nation. Minority parties represented Hungarians and Germans in Slovakia, while centralist, "Czechoslovakist", parties participated in the Prague government and included Agrarians and Social Democrats. Associational life in the country divided along political and language lines. Bratislava had several artist unions as well as Slovak, German and Hungarian rowing clubs. This character of Slovak interwar society also strongly influenced the life and integration efforts of the Slovak Jewish community.

Some Jews felt comfortable within the German-Hungarian cultural milieu, speaking and using prayer books in German and Hungarian, and reading the minority press. The Jewish press in interwar Slovakia flourished and exemplifies the variety within Jewish communal life. Like many other newspapers and magazines, the Jewish press also had serious problems with survival; some managed to last a few years while others disappeared after a few issues. The most influential Jewish papers were *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, published by Orthodox Zionist *Mizrachi* movement, from 1926 to 1933, and the *Jüdische Volkszeitung*, linked with Jewish Party from 1920 to 1933, and which merged into the *Allgemeine Jüdische Zeitung*. The Orthodox *Agudat Israel* published its own *Jüdische Presse* sporadically between the years 1920 and 1937. The Zionist press represented a variety of movements. The 1924 *Hasomer* in Hungarian, The German *Haderech*, which ran from 1935-1937, and the Slovak-German-Hungarian *Hašomer* during 1927-1928, were published by the *Hashomer Hatzair* movement, while the German *Tel Chaj* from 1929-1935, was a monthly of the *Brit Trumpeldor in der ČSR*. The latter's own reading circle acquired the Bratislava-based magazine *Judaica*, which promoted Jewish history, literature and culture in German from 1926-1930. Also popular was the 1925-1938 Orthodox weekly from Dunajská Streda *Der Jüdische Herold*.

There were also several papers with regional circulation. In Eastern Slovakia the *Jüdische Nachrichten* was published in Košice and Prešov from 1931-1938, and was orientated towards Orthodox readers. The Hungarian *Csallóközi lapok*, published in Dunajská Streda from 1919-1938, *Nyitrai lapok* from Nitra and published from 1920-1936, and *Nyitravármegye*, also from Nitra from 1920-1938, were read by the Jews in Hungarian minority regions. The language of Jewish press in Slovakia indicates the strong inclination of Slovak Jewry towards the minority German and Hungarian cultural identities. A major Slovak language Jewish newspaper appeared only in 1938 and was published by the Jewish Party, but only 27 issues of *Židovské noviny* were published before it disappeared when the party was banned later that year.

Contrary to the old Austro-Hungarian perception of membership in the Jewish community as a religious group, the Czechoslovak government introduced the option to declare Judaism as a nationality. In practice, this would allow individuals without religious affiliation or those who natively spoke German or Hungarian to declare themselves as having Jewish nationality. According to the census results of 1921 and 1930, more than one-half of the Slovak Jews accepted and declared their nationality as Jewish.⁷¹ Another tendency was the decrease in the number of Jews who declared Magyar nationality in favor of Czechoslovak indicating a gradual identification of Slovak Jews with Czechoslovakia. The census, however, did not differentiate between Czech and Slovak nationality, and as a result, the exact Jewish attitudes toward the Slovak national question remain unknown.

From the first years of the Czechoslovak Republic, Jews attempted to engage in their own independent politics. These efforts resulted in the Jewish Party, which participated in four parliamentary elections, and tried to send its representatives to the Prague Parliament. In the elections of 1920, the party received 45,217 votes, and 38,442 votes in 1925. In Slovakia, however, the Party did not enter parliament because the Czechoslovak election system required that a political party receive at least more than 20% of the votes in one local constituency. Due to the demographic distribution of Jewish Party's electorate around the country, this was impossible to achieve. For the 1929 elections a new strategy was adopted to overcome the handicap in which the Jewish

Party formed a pragmatic coalition with Polish Minority Parties. As a result, they received more than 20% of votes in the 14th election district of Moravská Ostrava, near the Polish border, which had also been a center of Czechoslovak interwar Zionism. The Party gained 33,675 votes in Slovakia and two parliamentary deputies, Dr. Ludwig Singer from Prague and Dr. Julius Reiss of Bratislava. The last interwar elections were held in 1935, when the Jewish Party had to opt for a new solution. Due to the worsening political situation, the prior arrangement with the Polish coalition partners was not possible. The Party ultimately entered the election indirectly with its candidates appearing on the list of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, from which two deputies were elected, Dr. Angelo Goldstein and Dr. Chaim Kugel. Notably, the Jewish political scene was divided into many factions and the Jewish Party, through its entire existence, faced internal crises as well as many external problems. The Orthodox *Agudat Israel* especially opposed activities of the Party strongly. Several smaller Jewish parties were established in order to fulfill individual ambitions or to split the Jewish vote. Large parties, like the Agrarian Party, tried and succeeded in attracting Jewish support.

During the interwar period, the Jewish communities in Slovakia preserved the religious organization structure they inherited from the pre-World War I period. The secular State did not have any interest in interfering with religious questions and fully acknowledged the Orthodox, Neolog and Status Quo Ante streams of Slovak Jewish communities. In 1930, there were 167 Jewish congregations in Slovakia; a majority of 107 belonged to the Orthodox movement, 29 were Neolog and 31 were Status Quo congregations.⁷²

The Orthodox continued their policy of paying required loyalty to the State, while preserving their inner cultural and religious inwardly oriented life. Ideologically more problematic was the position of the Neologs, who had been strong advocates of cultural and political orientation toward the Magyar nation under the previous establishment. Moreover, with the loss of Budapest as their capital, they were cut off from the center of the Neolog movement. Previously Budapest had served as a cultural model and also as an important balance, backing the small countryside Neolog communities vis-à-vis the numerous stronger Orthodox. The new situation under the Czechoslovak Republic

forced the tiny group of the Neolog communities to negotiate with the Status Quo communities resulting in an institutional merger, the creation of a national joint-association Ješurun, in 1928.

A recent work on peripheral Slovak towns near the Hungarian border points to questions of cultural orientation. Hungarian residents predominantly formed the population of these towns. In her case study on Komárno and Lučenec, Elena Manová demonstrated that these towns had preserved cultural loyalties to the old political center of country manifested by trans-border cultural orientation towards Hungarian capital.⁷³ We can assume that a similar situation prevailed in many other towns with a significant Hungarian population, including Košice. Therefore, it is not surprising that the local Jewish communities residing within these towns kept an eye on Budapest rather than on Bratislava or Prague. The commissions for two important interwar synagogue enterprises were granted to Budapest architects. The Lučenec Neolog community commissioned a synagogue from leading synagogue specialist Lipót Baumhorn. While his Art Nouveau building constructed in the mid 1920s was an architecturally outdated solution, it refashioned an image of the *fin-de-siècle* Jewish self-respectability for this provincial community.

The Neologs of Košice also selected a leading Budapest architect of the day, Lajos Kozma, to design their new temple. His monumental domed solution is a fine example of interwar Hungarian neo-Baroque architecture. Their Orthodox counterparts of Košice constructed a new synagogue after designs of local architects Oelschläger and Boskó that drew parallels to the Páva Street Synagogue in Budapest, a modern place of worship for an Orthodox urban community.

An interesting case occurred in Žilina, located far north of the Hungarian border.⁷⁴ The local Neologs were more culturally inclined towards Germany; when they called for international competition to replace the 19th century synagogue with a modern building, they opted for the prominent German architect Peter Behrens.

At the dawn of the Holocaust there were, according to the 1930 census, 136,737 Jewish inhabitants residing in Slovakia, who formed 4.4 percent of the general population. They were economically and socially well-integrated and maintained

flourishing Jewish communities. Their situation became more vulnerable towards the end of the 1930s, when Slovak chauvinists inspired by the developments in Nazi Germany began an anti-Jewish crusade. Later, when these political elements came to power and received all the necessary assistance from their dominant German partner, the chain of events leading to the destruction of Slovak Jewry began.

The tragedy of the Holocaust meant direct death to 105,000 Slovak Jews, who were in 1942 deported by the Slovak Fascist government, and murdered on spot or deported by the German Army and their Slovak Fascist collaborators after the suppression of the National Uprising in 1944. Southern Slovakia was under Hungarian occupation from 1938 and the Jewish population of these regions met their tragic destiny during the Hungarian Holocaust in 1944-1945. In 1945, about 30,000 Jews remained in Slovakia, but emigration waves immediately following World War II, after the Communist coup-d'état in 1948 and in the wake of the Soviet occupation of 1968, drastically reduced the Slovak Jewish community to an estimated 3.000 people today.⁷⁵

In many communities, a few survivors returned after the Holocaust to find that their shops, houses and other private possessions had been looted by their Christian neighbors with openly hostile attitudes. Often, they discovered the synagogue had been desecrated and plundered. Facing this reality and the grim prospects of future existence in these towns, they sold their synagogues to their Christian neighbors and left forever. Nevertheless, other cities, mostly strong pre-war Jewish centers, were able to reestablish their religious life, sometimes preserving their traditional ways to a considerable degree. As examples, Michalovce and Galanta, once strictly Orthodox communities, still maintained their religious vitality during the 1960s. Unfortunately, with the exodus of the younger generations, today these communities have been demographically exhausted and face imminent dissolution within the next decade.

The Jewish communities of two major Slovak urban centers, Košice and Bratislava, represent a different type of Jewish existence. After the Holocaust, they became major centers of Jewish immigration. They provided anonymity and genuine space for establishing an individual new existence after having lost a majority of relatives and losing property that had been looted by pre-War neighbors. To maintain or to sever

contact with organized Jewish life was a matter of the survivors' free choice. Despite the fact that many families opted for decades of life in anonymity, after 1989 both Bratislava and Košice experienced the reconstruction of their Jewish communities, as part of the dissimilation tendency in the pluralistic opened society. In 2005, despite some anti-Semitic stereotypes that are still bedded in some strata of Slovak society, Slovak Jews enjoy high degree of integration, peaceful existence and material prosperity.

NOTES

1. A Jewish tombstone from Esztergom, dating from the 3rd century, has been exhibited at the Jewish Museum in Budapest (Hungarian Jewish Archives and Museum, Budapest, Inv. number 64.1963). The simple limestone *matzevah* [Jewish tombstone] with a Latin inscription and a seven-branched menorah is evidence on the deceased person's Roman-Jewish identity (depicted in BENESHOFKY, Ilona and SCHEIBER, Alexander (ed.): The Jewish Museum of Budapest. Budapest (Corvina) 1987, p. 8). Another interesting Jewish-Roman tombstone originates from Intercisa [Dunaújváros] with the inscription "*Cosimus, the leader of the custom station, the prefect of the Jewish synagogue*", HARASZTI, György: *A Brief History of the Jews of Hungary Until the Fall of the Medieval Hungarian State*. In: SZALAI, Anna (ed.): *In the Land of Hagar. The Jews of Hungary: History, Society and Culture*. Tel Aviv (Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Ministry of Defense Publishing House) 2002, p. 13. A Jewish family gravestone from Aquincum [Budapest] from the early 4th century has been also preserved (depicted in HARASZTI, p. 13).
2. HARASZTI, p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5. "*Item Iudei in ipsa civitate constituti habeant eandem libertatem, quam et ipsi cives, salvo iure archiepiscopi Strigoniensis et prepositi Posoniensis remanente*". HORVÁTH, Vladimír: Bratislavské mestské privilégium (Ondrej III. – 2. decembra 1291). Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy. [Municipal privilege of Bratislava (Andrew III – 2nd December 1291). Archive of the Capital of the Slovak Republic Bratislava]. Bratislava (Obzor) 1991.
6. The Archive of the Capital of the Slovak Republic Bratislava [Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy (AMB)] has preserved a rich documentation of the history of this house. In 1368, Paul, son of Jacob [? Jacob II, son of mayor Jacob] sold this house to the Jews Chatchim and Musch for 120 *funts* or *phenigs* (AMB, Satzbuch 1439-, 689a). Later on, this building had also been referred to as Chramhof [shops court?], maybe referring to the Jewish shops here (AMB, Book of Receipts 1438-, 305 and Prot. act. 1400-, 127). A document from 1374 informs us that Jacob family kept *purkrecht*, right to share from the communal estates that belonged to each owner of landowner in town, and sold it to John the Pole for 110 *pfunts* or *pfenigs* (AMB, N 323). Jews stayed on the compound only for a fleeting period, because as 15th century tax records inform us, there were no Jewish residents by that time here, but rather poor Christians.
7. PORTISCH, Emil: *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg Bratislava*. Bratislava (Commissionsverlag S. Steiner) 1933, p. 304.
8. The chapel was mentioned already in 1376. According to a document from 1396, the family of Bonaventura de Salto erected a Corpus Christi chapel here. The original chapel probably lay deeper in the lot, (Portisch, p. 160). In 1627,

- Archbishop of Kalocsa John Telegdy, had it re-built after a series of military damages. (WEYDE, G.: *Pressburger Baumeister der zweiten Hälfte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, p. 10). I am thankful to Simon Paulus of Braunschweig for making me aware of the connection between de-Judaized synagogues and Corpus Christi patronage.
9. The Jews of Bratislava were expelled by the royal decree issued on 9th October 1526. See PORTISCH, Band II, p. 272. They settled then in nearby Hainburg in Austria. See also POLLAK, pp. 47-48 (Note 10).
 10. Pollak provided a comprehensive analysis of the anti-Jewish campaign in Sopron that led to the expulsion of Jews from the town and robbing of their property by local Christians, based on careful research of historical sources. POLLAK, Max: *Die Geschichte der Juden in Oedenburg von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Wien (Adria) 1929, pp. 42-65.
 11. For a detailed study on the medieval Jewish history of Trnava see: ŠIMONČIČ, Jozef: *Židia v Trnave v stredoveku [The Jews in Trnava in the Middle Ages]*. In: *Acta judaica slovacca*. Vol. 2, Bratislava 1995, pp. 83-99; The State Archive in Bratislava, Trnava Branch, MG-L, n. 340.
 12. The Jewish community in Ottoman controlled Buda flourished and its synagogue has been preserved. See FROJIMOVICS, Kinga; KOMORÓCZY, Géza; PUSZTAI, Viktória; STRBIK, Andrea: *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History*. Budapest (CEU Press) 1999, pp. 22-35.
 13. The Hungarian Jewish Archives in Budapest have preserved a *Schutzbrief* issued in 1689 by Count Franz Pongrác for the Jewish community of Nové Mesto nad Váhom.
 14. *Dreihundert Jahre Chewra-Kadischa Ilava, 5389-5689*, Ilava 1929.
 15. The State Archive in Bratislava, Trnava Branch, MG, Listiny, no. 571.
 16. The State Archive in Bratislava, Trnava Branch, MG, Listiny, no. 612.
 17. HARASZTI, György: *A Short History of the Jews of Hungary: The Turkish Occupation and Resettlement (1541-1790)*. In: SZALAI, Anna (ed.): *In the Land of Hagar. The Jews of Hungary: History, Society and Culture*. Tel Aviv (Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Ministry of Defense Publishing House) 2002, p. 31.
 18. KIEVAL, Hillel J.: *Languages of Community. The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London (University of California Press) 2000, pp. 21-22.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 20. LASZLO, Erno: *Hungarian Jewry: Settlement and Demography, 1735-38 to 1910*. In: BRAHAM, Randolph L. (ed.): *Hungarian-Jewish Studies*. New York (World Federation of Hungarian Jews) 1966, p. 80. For complex questions related to the Jewish demography in Hungary see DON, Yehuda and MAGOS, George: *The Demographic Development of Hungarian Jewry*. In: *Jewish Social Studies*. Volume XLV, 1983, pp. 189-216.
 21. LASZLO, pp. 80-81.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

24. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
25. The sources of this statistical information are censuses carried out in 1735-1738, 1785-1787 and 1830-1835. The valuable 1735-1738 census, carried out in most counties of the Kingdom, is preserved in the Hungarian Jewish Archives in Budapest. Known as *Conscriptio judeorum*, this archive fond was published in GRÜNWARD, Fülöp and SCHEIBER, Sándor (ed.): *Magyar-Zsidó Oklevéltár*, Volume 7, Budapest 1963.
26. Huncovce was a serf-village at the estate of the Berzeviczy family. See also MATLÁKOVÁ, Kamila: *Rabínska vysoká škola v Huncovciach [The Yeshiva of Huncovce]*. In: *Acta judaica slovacca*, Volume 5, Bratislava 1999, pp. 69-83.
27. A classical work explaining in detail the structure and life of the traditional Jewish *kehillah* and its gradual disintegration on the eve of modernity is: KATZ, Jacob: *Tradition and Crisis. Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*. New York (Schocken Books) 1977.
28. BÁRKÁNY, Eugen and DOJČ, Ľudovít: *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku*. Bratislava (Vesna) 1991, p. 343.
29. Jacob Katz studies the multifaceted process of civil and social emancipation of the Jews in Europe in detail in his standard work: *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870*. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University Press) 1973. See also BIRNBAUM, Pierre and KATZNELSON, Ira (ed.): *Paths of Emancipation. Jews, States and Citizenship*. Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1995.
30. Two letters by the Chatam Sofer, dated 11th December 1832 and 21st April 1833 are published in LÖW, Leopold: *Zur neueren Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn. Beitrag zur allgemeinen Rechts-, Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*. Budapest (Ludwig Aigner) 1874, pp. 153-155.
31. Letter of Israel David Margalioth-Jaffe Schlesinger, rabbi of Pezinok, 1861, to Maharam Schick, rabbi of Svätý Jur, In: POLLAK, Moshe: *Introduction to Derashot Maharam Schick (Sermons of Rabbi Moses Schick)*, Cluj 1937, fol. 4b-5a. Quoted in SILBER, Michael: *The Emergence of Ultra-Orthodoxy: The Invention of a Tradition*. In: WERTHEIMER, Jack (ed.): *The Uses of Tradition. Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*. New York-Jerusalem (The Jewish Theological Seminary of America) 1992, pp. 42-43.
32. ŠALAMON, Pavol: *Počiatky usádzania sa Židov v Košiciach a ich podiel na kultúrnom a spoločenskom živote mesta v rokoch 1841-1918 [Beginnings of the Jewish Settlement in Košice and Their Contribution to the Cultural and Social Life of the City in the Years 1841-1918]*. In: *Acta Judaica Slovaca*, Volume 2, Bratislava 1995, pp. 103-104. Since mining towns were excluded from 1840 Act and continued to be closed to the Jewish settlement, Košice aimed to present itself as a mining town, justifying this claim by proximity to the Zlatá Ida mines.
33. MAYER, Sigmund: *Ein jüdischer Kaufmann 1831 bis 1911. Lebenserinnerungen von Sigmund Mayer*. Berlin – Wien (Benjamin Harz Verlag) 1926.
34. LASZLO, pp. 82-83, 95-96.
35. ROZENBLIT, Marsha L.: *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity*. Albany (State University of New York Press) 1983, pp. 13-45.

36. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
37. MORAVÁNSZKY, Ákos: *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie*. Budapest (Corvina Kiadó) 1988, p. 23. On Budapest see also: LUKACS, John: *Budapest 1900. A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture*. New York (Grove Weidenfeld) 1988.
38. KARADY, Victor: *The Jewish Bourgeoisie of Budapest*. In: SZALAI, Anna (ed.): *In the Land of Hagar. The Jews of Hungary: History, Society and Culture*. Tel Aviv (Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora) 2002, pp. 145-153. For monographic treatment of Jewish Budapest see also: FROJIMOVICS, Kinga; KOMORÓCZY, Géza; PUSZTAI, Viktória; STRBIK, Andrea: *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History*. Budapest (CEU Press) 1999.
39. LASZLO, pp. 83-84, 96-98.
40. JELÍNEK, Ješajahu A.: *Dynamika židovského osídlenia v Hornom Uhorsku v 19. storočí* [*Dynamics of the Jewish Settlement in Upper Hungary in the 19th century*]. In: *Acta Judaica Slovaca*. Volume 7. Bratislava 2001, pp. 20-21.
41. KATZ, Jacob: *The "Shabbes Goy". A Study in Halakhic Flexibility*. Philadelphia – Jerusalem (Jewish Publication Society) 1989, pp. 185-215.
42. MEYER, Michael L.: *Christian Influence on Early German Reform Judaism*. In: BERLIN, Charles (ed.): *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature, in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*. New York (Ktav) 1971, pp. 289-303.
43. See ELLENSON, David: *A Disputed Precedent. The Prague Organ in Nineteenth-Century Central-European Legal Literature and Polemics*. In: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*. Vol. XL. 1995. London-Jerusalem-New York (Secker & Warburg) 1995, pp. 251-264. The study deals with disputes between the Reform and Orthodox camps regarding the introduction of organs into synagogues in Central Europe, explained by the case of Prague. Ellenson explains the position of various religious movements and their ideological viewpoints in detail.
44. SCHORSCH, Ismar: *Emancipation and the Crisis of Religious Authority: The Emergence of Modern Rabbinate*. In: *From Text to Context. The Turn to History in Modern Judaism*. Hanover – London (Brandeis University Press) 1994, pp. 9-59.
45. MEYER, Michael A.: *Die Gründung des Hamburger Tempels und seine Bedeutung für das Reformjudentum*. In: HERZIG, Arno and ROHDE, Saskia (ed.): *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590 bis 1990*. Hamburg (Dölling und Galitz Verlag) 1991, pp. 195-207.
46. Hamburg Reformers referred to their synagogue as a "temple" due to ideological reasons, since they renounced the concept of the return to Zion and reestablishment of the sacrificial service. Their "temple" was in their "motherland", i.e., Germany.
47. Two pamphlets were published on behalf of the Reformers by Eliezer Liebermann: *Nogah ha-Tzedek* and *Or Nogah* (Dessau, 1818). Chorin contributed to *Nogah ha-Tzedek*. The beit din of Hamburg responded with *Eleh Divrei ha-*

- Brith* (Alton, 1819), where the Chatam Sofer contributed among other leading traditionalist authorities.
48. Aaron Chorin (1766-1844) served from 1789 as the chief rabbi of Arad and is considered a pioneer of Reform Judaism in Hungary. He introduced many innovations into practical life basing them within the Halachic framework: from minor ones such as prohibition of spitting during the *Alenu* prayer to introducing an organ into the synagogue in 1842. Chorin advocated a Sanhedrin or Jewish synod with appointed scholars in each country. He abolished the Kol Nidrei prayer, also authorized traveling on Shabbat by train. Already during his life he gained much respect in German reform circles. See MEYER, Michael A.: *Response to Modernity. A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. New York – Oxford (Oxford University Press) 1988, pp. 158-159.
 49. SILBER, Michael: *The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Its Impact on Haskalah and Reform in Hungary*. In: KATZ, Jacob (ed.): *Toward Modernity. The European Jewish Model*. New Brunswick-Oxford (Transaction Books) 1987, pp. 107-157.
 50. The term “*neolog*” was probably the first time used by Samson Raphael Hirsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. IV, Frankfurt am Main 1908, p. 496. The term was adopted by the Orthodox camp during controversies preceding 1868-1869 Congress.
 51. SILBER, *The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Its Impact on Haskalah and Reform in Hungary*, p. 117.
 52. MEYER, *Response to Modernity. A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 160.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Meyer quotes from DEAK, *the Lawful Revolution*, p. 114.
 54. An interesting example is the Bratislava (Pressburg) Jewish community, where in 1820 the progressives established a new *Primarschule*. Moreover, in 1826, they managed to close the Chatam Sofer yeshiva. On developments in Bratislava (Pressburg) see SILBER, *The Historical Experience of German Jewry and Its Impact on Haskalah and Reform in Hungary*, pp. 120-121. See also notes 56-57.
 55. SILBER, *The Emergence of Ultra-Orthodoxy: The Invention of a Tradition*, p. 44.
 56. KATZ, Jacob: *A House Divided. Orthodoxy and Schism in Nineteenth-Century Central European Jewry*. Hanover and London (Brandeis University Press) 1998, pp. 77-85, chapter: *The Fruits of Zealousness. The Judicial Decision of Michalowitz in 1866*. KATZBURG, Nathaniel: *Assimilation in Hungary during the Nineteenth Century: Orthodox Positions*. In: VAGO, Bela (ed.): *Jewish Assimilation in Modern Times*. Boulder, Colorado (Westview Press) 1981, pp. 49-55.
 57. Cited in MENDES-FLOHR, Paul R. and REINHARZ, Jehuda (ed.): *The Jew in the Modern World. A Documentary History*. New York-Oxford (Oxford University Press) 1980, p. 156.
 58. SILBER, *The Emergence of Ultra-Orthodoxy: The Invention of a Tradition*, p. 26.
 59. PATAI, Raphael: *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, Psychology*. Detroit (Wayne State University) 1996, p. 314.

60. For detailed account of the Congress events see KATZ, *House Divided*, pp. 137-165.
61. *Ibid.*, pp.183-203. The chapter is dedicated to the lengthy political struggle of the traditional camp leading toward legislating and establishing a separate National Orthodox Organization.
62. Such was the case in Levice, where the synagogue originally had two turrets. After the Congress, the community joined the Neolog movement, but in 1874 the Orthodox faction created a secessionist congregation. Following a period of bitter struggle, both groups united again and compromised for the “Status Quo Ante” status. Subsequently, the turrets were pulled down. Compare figures 109 and 110 in the picture catalogue.
63. KATZ, Jacob: *The Identity of Post Emancipatory Hungarian Jewry*. In: DON, Yehuda and KARADY, Victor (ed.): *A Social and Economic History of Central European Jewry*. New Brunswick – London (Transaction Publishers) 1990, p. 19.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
65. KARADY, Victor: *Demography and Social Mobility: Historical Problem Areas in the Study of Contemporary Jewry in Central Europe*. In: DON, Yehuda and KARADY, Victor (ed.): *A Social and Economic History of Central European Jewry*. New Brunswick – London (Transaction Publishers) 1990, pp. 83-119.
66. Jacob Katz described an uneasy situation of the Hungarian Jewry on the eve of World War I with following words:
 The manifest quasi official endeavor of the modernized and Magyarized Jewry was not to gain social approval and access on an individual level, but rather on a collective basis. In this endeavor, however, they felt definitely thwarted by being identified with their less advanced (at least in these respects) Orthodox brethren. The criticism of Orthodoxy by the Neologs shifted accordingly from the religious to the sociopolitical aspects, accusing them of impeding the social equality of Jewry by their tacit frustration of the Magyarization to which they publicly, and hypocritically, paid lip service. KATZ, Jacob: *The Identity of Post Emancipatory Hungarian Jewry*, p. 27.
67. PATAI, p. 431.
68. SETON-WATSON, Robert W.: *A History of Czechs and Slovaks*. Hamden, Connecticut (Archon Books) 1965, p. 268.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
70. ROTKIRCHEN, Livia: *Slovakia: II., 1918-1938*. In: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia. Historical Studies and Surveys. Volume I*. Philadelphia (The Jewish Publication Society of America) – New York (Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews) 1968, p. 102.

71.

Jewish population in Slovakia by nationality, 1921 and 1930

	1921		1930	
Czechoslovak	29,290	(21.55%)	44,009	(32.19%)
Ruthene	164	(0.12%)	178	(0.13%)
German	9,012	(6.63%)	9,945	(7.28%)
Magyar	21,744	(16.00%)	9,728	(7.12%)
Jewish	70,522	(51.89%)	72,644	(53.11%)
Other	72	(0.05%)	233	(0.17%)
Foreigners	5,156	(3.79%)		
Total	135,918	(100%)	136,737	(100%)

Source: *Statistische Übersicht der Tschechoslowakischen Republik, Prague 1930*

- 72.** ROTKIRCHEN, p. 103. About religious life in Slovakia see also: FLEISCHMANN, Gustav: *The Religious Congregation, 1918-1938*. In: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia. Historical Studies and Surveys. Volume I*. Philadelphia (The Jewish Publication Society of America) – New York (Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews) 1968, pp. 267-329; STRANSKY, Hugo: *The Religious Life in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia*. In: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia. Historical Studies and Surveys. Volume II*. Philadelphia (The Jewish Publication Society of America) – New York (Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews) 1971, pp. 347-392.
- 73.** MANNOVÁ, Elena: *Konštrukcia menšinovej identity v mestskom prostredí (Maďari v Komárne a Lučenci 1918-1938)* [*Construction of the Minority Identity in Urban Environ (Hungarians in Komárno and Lučenec 1918-1938)*]. In: SALNER, Peter and LUTHER, Daniel (ed.): *Etnicita a mesto [Ethnicity and City]*. Bratislava (Ústav etnológie SAV) 2001, pp. 111-140.
- 74.** An interesting personal remark on the character of the Neolog Jewish community in Žilina originates from Dr. Hugo Stransky, pre-World War II rabbi of the community. The community consisted of secular intellectuals and strong Zionists. Nevertheless, they were religiously open to install a graduate of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin as their rabbi. See STRANSKY, p. 355.
- 75.** According to the recent census (2001), 2310 Slovak citizens declared themselves to the Jewish religion (748 in Bratislava, 406 in Košice). Jewish nationality declared 218 citizens in Slovakia. Census results have been published on the website of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic:
<http://www.statistics.sk/webdata/slov/scitanie/tab/tab4b.pdf>,
<http://www.statistics.sk/webdata/slov/scitanie/tab/tab3b.pdf>

CHAPTER 2: JEWISH COMMUNITIES AND THEIR URBAN CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF KOŠICE, PREŠOV AND BARDEJOV

In my case study I examine the synagogue architecture of Košice, Prešov and Bardejov. I have selected these three Eastern Slovak cities, since they feature Jewish built heritage of international importance. All three are valuable historical urban units with high number of Jewish monuments preserved within the authentic architectural context of a broader historical townscape. All three of them have been protected as urban architectural reservations, and Bardejov is also listed as the World Cultural Heritage site by the UNESCO, since it “*provides exceptionally well preserved evidence of the economic and social structure of trading towns in medieval Central Europe*“.¹

Each of these Jewish communities had different religious and cultural state of affairs, determined by different communal political developments. Only through careful consideration of the inner religious character, we can understand their building program as expressions in synagogue architecture and other communal buildings. Though in close geographical proximity, each of them represents a problem *per se*, not allowing any generalization. I explore the process, how the Jewish communities were established, when these cities gradually opened to the Jewish settlement, and the Jewish newcomers were able to penetrate through the barrier of legislative obstacles, while facing hostile attitudes of the burghers. Similar difficulties encountered also other non-Catholic religious minorities that were only in the course of the nineteenth century able to construct their communal institutions within these cities. In Košice and Prešov, Jews and other non-Catholics built on the land reclaimed after dissolving the superfluous fortification system, formerly encircling the medieval and early modern towns. Jewish communities required for their existence a whole range of religious institutions providing for educational and ritual purity purposes. These often clustered around the synagogue on the communal compounds. Unique examples of such communal compounds were preserved in all three cities; aside to synagogue stood *mikvah* [ritual bath], school building, kosher slaughterers, rabbinate etc.

Another important phenomenon that accompanied the Jewish communal life was

various internal disputes on religious and political matters. They often lead to secessions and divisions, and establishment of several Jewish congregations in one town. In Hungary, the State acknowledged three Jewish movements, Orthodox, Neolog and Status Quo Ante. In addition, due to proximity to the Polish border, Hassidic congregations emerged in all three cities. The congregations differed in their religious viewpoints, in degree of acculturation, as well in liturgies and perceptions on the appearance of their sanctuary. Architecture of the synagogues reflected these differences and different synagogue would be constructed for prosperous upward mobile Progressive congregation in Prešov and for the strictly traditional isolationist Hassidim of Košice.

My case study is a comparative approach exploring the Jewish communal history of these three cities and architectural history of their synagogues. These are studied within a context of the nineteenth and twentieth century urban developments accompanied by radical social changes in the city organism.

Historically, Košice was a center of the Abov (Abó) County, while Bardejov and Prešov were located in the Šariš (Sáros) County, latter serving as its county seat. In the past, all three cities were prosperous trade centers, with established guilds that jealously guarded their prerogatives and forced Jewish business and residential presence out of the city limits. Therefore, Jews could settle only on the nearby estates of the landed nobility, who sought their presence as an important tax source and as re-distributors of the estate's agrarian production. Major Jewish *yishuvim* [Jewish settlements] were formed on outskirts of these free royal towns, in Zborov (near Bardejov), Šebeš-Kelemeš (today known as Lobotice near Prešov), Veľká Ida and Rozhanovce (both near Košice), and from there the Jewish inhabitants commuted for business to nearby city markets. Košice, Prešov and Bardejov lay on an important immigration route from Galicia, connecting to the country's capitol – Budapest - a major lure of the 19th century Jewish immigration in Hungary.

Košice (German *Kaschau*, Hungarian *Kassa*) is an outstanding example of a traditional town, which passed in the 19th century through a radical pace of modernization that completely altered its social structure. This can be well studied on the architectural

landscape of this town (MAP 9). First mentioned in 1230, it received its municipal rights in 1290 and became a free royal town in 1347. Košice developed into an important market destination along the north-south route, which led into the oval-shaped main square of the town.² A Catholic parish church, St. Elisabeth Dom, had been constructed in the urban center after 1370 and belongs to the easternmost example of continental Gothic cathedral architecture. Next to St. Elisabeth stood, until the 19th century, a solitaire town hall building (on the spot where the Municipal Theatre was constructed in 1899). Around the square ran ellipsoid rings of the street network copying the line of the fortification system with entrance gates at junctions with main north-south and east-west axis streets. By the end of the 13th century, medieval mendicant male orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, had established their monastery compounds near the municipal walls. Finally, during the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits settled in the town and demonstrated their presence by construction of the Baroque Il Gesù type church on the prominent location opposite the former town hall.

Košice preserved its traditional social structure until the end of the 18th century. Business life of the town was effectively controlled by the guilds. Jews and other religious minorities (i.e. non-Catholic religious groups) were either not allowed to settle here or had only inferior social status. This rigid communal structure began to deteriorate with Josephine reforms aimed at integrating non-Catholic population into the economic and social life of the country. Gradually, the non-Catholics became more visible in Košice as well and demonstrated their confessional presence through construction of churches and religious institutions. Certainly, as latecomers they were not able to acquire for their building prominent building lots in the inner city. They constructed churches in the newly reclaimed area of the former glacis and demolished fortifications that had been a superfluous remnant of the medieval town.

The Lutherans established their communal church on the site of the former Mill Gate. It is a neo-Classical domed church (constructed 1804-1816 after plans by J. J. Kitzling), situated on Mlynská ulica [Mill Street]. The other important Protestant community strongly represented in Hungary, the Calvinists, adapted in 1805-1811 a former military storage and in 1853 included a former entrance gate tower as their new

church tower. Thus, a fortification received a new function. Moreover, it dominated visually the street axis and genuinely represented a Calvinist presence in the town. In addition, a third Christian emancipated minority, the Greek Catholics, initiated their building program. Their new parish church was erected in the zone of the newly developed Rákóczy Circle Road (today Moyzesova) in 1882-1886 (two towers added in 1896).

The urban growth of Košice can be best studied at the historical plans preserved in collections of the Eastern Slovak Museum.³ A city map from 1841 features an oval walled town, with an elongated central square and the cathedral in the center.⁴ The area outside the fortification is left free for military purposes. Only in the distance, the northern, southern, and eastern suburbs spread out. Three decades later, the Homolka plan⁵ from 1869 gives us an idea of the transition from a medieval town towards a modern urban center of the Habsburg province. The proud coat of arms of the free royal town is flanked on the sides by symbols of tradition and progress: an illustration of St. Elisabeth Dom and of a new railway station. The plan shows the urbanistic situation of Košice: the inner city had been already enveloped by newly built neighborhoods in the former glacis zone, adjacent to the outer line of former fortification. A *Ringstrasse* scheme was applied in partial measure. A new north-south axis (Rákóczi Circular Road, today Moyzesova) stretches east of the historical town and a broad exercise zone laid barren divided it from eastern suburbs. A new [later called as Status Quo] synagogue is indicated on south-eastern edge of this newly constructed zone. A third important cartographic source informing about urbanism situation in Košice prior to World War I originates from 1912.⁶ Medieval city structure has already been completely enveloped with new suburbs. An empty space along the former fortification is filled with new structures, often containing churches, synagogues and other communal buildings of non-Catholic minorities.

To summarize, in the 19th century Košice underwent the radical transformation from a walled medieval town to a regional industrial center. The well-preserved medieval urban structure had been gradually enveloped within a new suburban zone, which contained recently constructed non-Catholic religious structures. This included the

communal and ritual buildings of the Jews, another emancipated religious minority in a multi-confessional society; the story of their encounter with Košice is no less exciting.

The contacts of Jews with the town are recorded already in medieval times. On April 12th 1484 Jew Mandl (Mendel) accepted 450 Guldens, in 1524, King Luis II Jagello appointed the Jew Isaac to be chief of the Košice mint. Traces of regular community however are missing. Strong opposition of city magistrate and guilds towards any permanent Jewish settlement persisted until mid 19th century and effectively blocked any Jewish attempts to settle in Košice. The Jews therefore resided in nearby villages and commuted to the town for business. Jewish *yishuvim* of Košice were established in nearby Rozhanovce and Veľká Ida. Both were countryside traditional *kehillot* [Jewish communities] that maintained Jewish communal institutions.⁷ Once Košice opened for Jewish immigration, residence in Veľká Ida and Rozhanovce lost its significance and both Jewish communities experienced gradual depopulation.⁸

From the former Jewish life in both villages not much has been preserved: the synagogue of Rozhanovce burned in 1930, the one in Veľká Ida faces imminent disappearance (FIG. 295-297). Even so, in its current condition this synagogue provides helpful evidence about the appearance of a countryside synagogue from the early 19th century. The synagogue⁹ is a simple building topped by a saddleback roof. Distribution of inner space is legible on exterior: the sanctuary was entered through a vestibule in the westernmost section of the building. Above the vestibule and the adjoining study room spread the women's gallery. Access to the women's gallery was secured via an external staircase attached diagonally to the western façade, which is accentuated by a Baroque gable. This simple building belongs to the oldest preserved synagogues in Slovakia.

The actual beginning of the organized Jewish communal life in Košice dates back to the 1840s.¹⁰ Even though individual Jews rarely received a residence permit, it was under the condition that they did not compete economically with local guild members (e.g. the widow Roth leased a kosher inn, Samuel Blumberger taught French). In other cases, the Košice municipality used all tactics to prevent Jews from settling down in town. Even in 1840, when Law XXIX granted the Jews unrestricted residence in Hungary excluding mining towns, the Košice municipality obstructed Jewish settlement. They

declared the city a “mining town” due to its proximity of mining region. The quarrel was brought to the Royal Chamber, which ruled that Košice had never been a mining town. Finally, in 1841 first Jewish tradesmen settled in the town, but obstructions by the magistrate, the guilds and the Chamber of Commerce continued through the decade. In 1843 the Jewish community was founded and the Municipality registered its statutes. The first rabbi, Marton Kohn, arrived from Rozhanovce and the prayer hall was established in a rented house. In 1844 the young congregation acquired a land for a cemetery.¹¹

The Jewish population of Košice grew constantly: numbering 345 in 1843, it grew to 399 in 1847 and by 1850 was 729. Though no regulations of Jewish settlement existed, the Jewish residential patterns typical for other urban centers prevailed. Jews clustered in the southern sections of town and adjoining southern suburbs.¹² Not accidentally, the buildings of their communal institutions have been through decades constructed in this area and the whole neighborhood has received distinctively Jewish character.

The nascent Jewish community acquired a barn at Zvonárska [Bellmaker’s] Street, the curving street following the line of the former fortification. The adjoining lot located in the former glacis zone gradually developed into a center of the Jewish life in Košice, which serves communal purposes until today. The former barn had been altered to serve as synagogue and on the southern side, facing current Krmanova Street, a ritual bath was constructed.¹³ Dating to the 19th century, the neglected *mikvah* of Košice is a rare monument (only two historical *mikvaot* [ritual baths] have been preserved in Slovakia: in Bardejov and Košice) of the Jewish ritual life in Slovakia. The impressive hall features three storeys of galleries and staircases with metallic railing above the ritual pool. Parts of original heating equipment are preserved *in situ*.¹⁴ A former barn use could sustain communal needs for a while, but around mid 1860s the congregation decided to construct a new synagogue.

The synagogue was erected on Rákoczi Circular St in 1866 after plans of the local contractor Michael Repaszky (FIG. 455-458). It was a genuine example of the modern urban synagogue architecture. Similar synagogue buildings were constructed then in various Austro-Hungarian towns and were a proof of emancipation aspirations of the Jewish communities. In Miskolc, a *Rundbogenstil* synagogue by Ludwig von Förster was

constructed in 1856-1863 (FIG. 16-17). We may assume that an imported project designed by the leading architect from Vienna served as an inspiration for a gifted architect in the province. Moreover, Förster's articles about Tempelgasse synagogue in Vienna in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* and in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* must have circulated around Hungary.¹⁵

The new synagogue of Košice had a tri-partite *Rundbogenstil* façade with higher central portion. In the central portion were three entrance gates, stressed by a two-light window and a circular window. Above them peaked the façade a clock dial and the Ten Commandments. Horizontally, cornice topped a façade with two turrets on the central section. Interior sanctuary had a tri-partite arrangement with main nave and women's gallery aisles. The gallery supported by thin cast iron columns run along three sides of the sanctuary. Four stair-towers placed on the corners provided an access to gallery. The *bimah* was placed in the eastern section of the hall.¹⁶

Soon after completion, the new synagogue became the center of a bitter controversy, which rooted in communal developments of the past decade. Košice had become one of the economic centers of the region (together with Miskolc and Prešov), with significant Jewish involvement in the development. The Košice Jewish community was a newly established, rapidly growing urban community, where modernization and upward mobility were accompanied by disintegration of tradition. This of course brought divergent developments within the community, later creating a rift between its various sections.¹⁷ In Miskolc as well, the construction of new synagogue aroused a bitter controversy that served as a prologue for the schism of the community. In 1865, a controversial Michalovce *psaq din* [rabbinical ruling] was orchestrated by zealots led by Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein; the ruling was additionally signed by 72 rabbis. It strictly prohibited any modification of traditional synagogue scheme, so that any resemblance with the Christian church would be avoided. The *bimah* had to be placed in the middle of the hall, towers (or turrets) and singing choir were unacceptable. Similarly, the women's gallery had to be separated by additional *mechitzah* [curtain, bars or some other shield so that women would not be seen by men]. If a synagogue did not fulfill these requirements, it was considered *pasul* [disqualified] and praying in such a place was prohibited. A

shechitah [ritual slaughtering] of communal butchers from such synagogue was not considered kosher and they would subsequently lose customers (not to mention, that tax levied on *shechitah* was one of important communal incomes). Also here in Košice, the butchers stopped praying in the new synagogue, as *chazzan* of Prešov Hayyim David Lippe, reports.¹⁸

As a result of the 1868-1869 Congress in Budapest, the community split into three fractions. The mother community joined the Congress and group of Orthodox secessionists established their own congregation - Shomrei ha-Dat – Guardians of Faith. A fraction of the Orthodox, established a third congregation - Adath Shalom – Congregation of Peace - led by Rabbi Abraham Katz. This later became the so-called Status Quo community. Long-lasting conflict was accompanied by angry quarrels for control over new synagogue building. Finally, the Minister of Education and Religion, Baron Jozsef von Eötvös, had to send moderate Orthodox rabbi of Óbuda, Mordechai Marcus Hirsch, to mediate between the factions. In 1872, the office of the Ministry decided in favor of the Neologs regarding the synagogue ownership, but they also had to contribute financially towards establishing a new prayer hall for the traditionalist party. The traditionalists constructed small prayer hall to the east of the new synagogue, indicated on some older city maps.

The two congregations re-affiliated by 1914, maintaining separate Status Quo and Neolog services. In 1926, the Status Quo prayer hall was demolished and on its place began construction of the new Neolog temple, while the old Neolog synagogue was reconstructed (turrets torn down and *bimah* placed in the center) to serve for the Status Quo group. Both synagogues were consecrated in 1927.¹⁹

The members of the Orthodox Shomrei ha-Dat community²⁰ returned to Zvonárska Street, where they gradually developed a compound of the Orthodox communal institutions as has been preserved until these days (MAP 10). The compound was a rectangular piece of land in the zone of former fortification stretching between Zvonárska Street, a curved street that copied the inner fortification line, and Krmanova Street, running along the outer glacis line. Towards Krmanova Street, the compound had been by then clearly defined by a building of *mikvah*. In the northern section, adjacent to

Zvonárska Street, side stood a prayer hall adopted from former barn. By 1883 commissioned the Orthodox community Josef Novak to construct a synagogue building. In 1899, a new synagogue built by a local contractor János Balogh replaced the older building.²¹

The synagogue (FIG. 253-257) is the main building of the whole communal compound; a simple two-story *Rundbogenstil* creation that bears signs of provincial provenance. The western façade of the building, designed as a main representative side approaching the public zone, faces Zvonárska Street. The façade is tri-partite with distinct stair-tower projections on both sides of the central bay with main entrance, round-arched window motif, topped by a gable with the tablets of the Ten Commandments. A metallic railing with gate spreads connects the projections and encloses the main gateway. The other façades are far less monumental: rusticated walls have bays divided by vertical pilasters. A string course runs between the stories, an arched moulding stresses the cornice. The eastern façade is a three-bay wall with large round-arched window topped by a gable. The synagogue interior is solemn, with the women's gallery construction supported on cast-iron columns. The entire surface of the interior is covered with a rich decorative wall-painting with geometric and Moorish patterns. The hall is empty and of the original furnishing only the ark and the basin on the western wall near main entrance to the sanctuary remain.

This synagogue stands until these days as a center piece of the whole compound. Around the building cluster other buildings, where the communal institutions of the Orthodox community once operated. In 1900-1904, a single-story building was constructed along the northern side of yard (FIG 270-271). The building contained an additional space for prayer (re-inaugurated as a prayer hall in 1993) and the premises for *shochetim* [ritual slaughterers]. In the eastern side adjoins the building a *sukkah* [booth-like construction used during the Sukkoth festival].

Another interesting pre-WWI Jewish institutional building had been so-called Jewish Casino (also know as Košice Society Circle) that was constructed in 1910 after design by the architect Kálmán Beck (FIG. 2). The two-story Art Nouveau street front is a five bay façade. Vertically, two projections stress the second and fourth bay, topped by

cupolas.

World War I brought the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Košice became second largest town in Slovakia. Together with economic and transportation developments this important regional urban center strengthened its importance as an immigration magnet. Parallel to general population growth, the Jewish community grew significantly: from 8,792 (1921) to 11,504 (1930, total: 70,117) which was reflected in the urgent need for new synagogue capacity.²² Already in 1915, Košice, as many other hinterland towns, had to accommodate an influx of refugees fleeing the Russian offensive in the Carpathians. Two important *admorim* [Hassidic religious leaders], Rabbi Avraham Shalom Halberstamm from Stropkov and Rabbi Shemuel Angel of Radomysl moved to the town and established their courts here. This resulted in founding a separate Hassidic section within the Orthodox community in 1918.²³ In 1920 they succeed in establishing their own synagogue on Imre Darvaš Street (today Krmanova Street).

The synagogue²⁴ is a simple plastered building topped by the saddleback roof (FIG. 263-264). Round-arched windows framed by architrave and slight rustication of walls are the only decorative elements of the exterior. The building stands behind the wall in the separate yard and is an excellent example of the importation of a rural traditional synagogue structure into the urban landscape; it could well stand in some traditional countryside community. The Hassidim had no interest for public representation; they lived their separated lifestyle centered on Torah study. Socially, they were the lowest strata of the Jewish population in Košice.²⁵ In the original interior arrangement, the building consisted of two prayer halls, both facing the east. They were accessed through small vestibules on the southern and northern side. In 1957-1959, the interior was strongly altered for needs of the current owner, a laboratory for metal testing.

The interwar period meant an era of gradual consolidation of the political situation and both Jewish communities demonstrated their presence in the newly Czechoslovak town of Košice by representative synagogue enterprises. In 1924, the Neolog Community announced an international competition for a new synagogue with adjoining school facilities. They did not acquire a new building lot, but exchanged with the Status Quo

prayer group. The old Neolog synagogue at Rákoczi Circle Street was reconstructed to serve needs of the Status Quo rite: they removed the organ and relocated the *bimah* to the sanctuary center in order to meet traditionalist requirements. The old Status Quo prayer hall behind the synagogue was demolished, so that the new Neolog synagogue could be constructed on its spot (FIG. 3, 265-269).

Winner was a leading Budapest-based architect, Lajos Kozma, and his synagogue is an outstanding example of the interwar Baroque revival Hungarian architecture. Constructed by a firm Brothers Barkány²⁶ and completed by 1927, it is a large domed structure that marks a significant presence in the townscape. The monumentality of the building was stressed by a massive tetra-styled portico (today demolished) and exterior walls plastically articulated with Baroque elements.²⁷ The size of the building was striking: height of the dome was 37 meters with diameter of 24 meters; portico columns reached to 25 meters. The capacity of the sanctuary was 1,100 distributed on the ground floor and the semi-circular women's gallery. The interior has been completely altered and only few original details are still noticeable: the metallic railing of the staircases and the previous dome with Hebrew inscriptions are preserved in the space above the built-in ceiling of the concert hall. The adjoining school building served before World War II as the Neolog Jewish elementary school (today it houses the University of Economics). The building, also designed by Kozma, corresponds stylistically with synagogue with playful neo-Classical and Baroque elements incorporated into the façade.

After World War II, the Košice municipality acquired the building and in the 1950s it was altered to serve as a Philharmonic Hall. The architect Czihala changed the exterior significantly; a massive unpleasant vestibule structure replaced the stylish portico on the western façade. The metallic Shield of David that once marked the building on the roof lantern was moved to the Jewish cemetery and became a part of the Holocaust memorial. An old synagogue dating from 1866 was razed entirely.

Without a doubt, there existed certain competitive spirit between the two major Jewish communities in town. Therefore, when the Orthodox community expanded its membership and consequently faced a need for additional prayer premises, representative architectural solution was required. In 1926-1927 they constructed a new Orthodox

synagogue on Kazinczy (today Puškinova) Street (FIG. 258-262),²⁸ designed by Ľudovít Oelschläger and Gejza Zoltán Boskó, an architectural office based in Košice, and contracted to Hugo Kaboš. Oelschläger²⁹ was a Košice-based architect, educated in Budapest, who in his *oeuvre* combined traditionalist architectural schooling with contemporary modernist influences. The synagogue is a fine example of the provincial architectural treatment of a historicist scheme, represented by eastern-Slovak Renaissance attic, neo-Classical monumental elements with an application of Jewish iconography. The architects designed this synagogue with adjoining school building on a building lot that bordered the street line on the eastern side. The visible public façade of synagogue, with its grand staircase and triple arched monumental projection is only a pretense entrance: the actual main entrance with vestibule is situated on the western side away from the street. Two entrances are on the southern and northern side of the building.

The interior is a modernist reinforced concrete central domed structure, with a women's gallery supported by concrete pillars running along three sides of main sanctuary. The hall recalls the Orthodox affiliation of the community: the *bimah* stands in center and women's section is fenced with an additional metallic *mechitzah* atop the railing. The ark is constructed of red marble while other rich decorative details, such as lamps and stunning stained glass windows, bear witness to the sophisticated aesthetic requirements of the leading urban Orthodox community in the region.

The booming interwar years were followed by the tragic 1940s, when Košice came under the Hungarian occupation. The harshness of the years peaked in 1944, when the majority of the Košice Jewish population was deported to extermination camps. Today, only a remnant of the former community lives in the city. Nevertheless, from former synagogues and Jewish congregational buildings, with the exception of the Status Quo synagogue demolished after the War, all of them have been preserved. They serve as witness to the splendor of the Jewish life in Košice, where four different congregations, Neolog, Status Quo, Orthodox and Hassidic, existed, each of them constructing its own sanctuary. Together with churches of three emancipated non-Catholic minorities, they are all located in the suburban zone that enveloped the historical walled town during the 19th century urban growth.

The Lutherans were a common Protestant group in Europe; the Calvinist reformation reached only some countries, including Hungary, while the Greek Catholics appeared strongly in north-eastern Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine. Hungary was the only country of continental Europe acknowledging several streams within Judaism; some towns had two different Jewish communities. Nevertheless, it was only here in Košice that in regional urban center of this size, four different congregations representing the whole religious spectrum of Judaism were formed. Adding to a medieval Gothic Cathedral, mendicant churches, a Counter-Reformation Jesuit church, a unique patchwork of sacral architecture from different historical periods has been created.

About thirty kilometers north of Košice lies Prešov (Hungarian *Eperjes*). Today administrative center of the northeastern Slovakia, the city has long played an important role as the Šariš County seat. First time mentioned in 1233, Prešov received a municipal charter in 1299 and, after 1374, was elevated to a free royal town. The layout of town is similar to Košice: an ellipsoid street network radiates around a widened main street turned into prolonged market square, on both edges connected to the main trade route. The square center is dominated by St. Nicolaus, a Gothic parish church established in the first quarter of the 14th century. In the southeastern section of the inner town the Augustinians settled, later replaced by the Franciscans. The Carmelite monastery on the very southern edge of the square, closed during Josephine reforms, was adapted in 1818 into the Greek Catholic Cathedral. The Lutherans experienced a stirring history in Prešov: in 1687, the imperial general Antonio Caraffa executed 24 prominent Lutheran citizens. A memorial on the corner of the Lutheran Lyceum that stands together with Lutheran church prominently in the center of the square aside the Catholic St. Nicolaus, recalls this.

Peter Kónya, a historian of Prešov Jewish history,³⁰ gives evidence based on archival documents about existing contacts between Prešov patricians and Jews during the 16th-18th centuries. The Jewish presence at local markets was limited by the guilds. In *Conscriptio Judaeorum* of 1725 the city reported “*non habent judaeos*”.³¹ The Jews of Šariš were by then still dispersed through the territory of the county and numbered only

300 souls (1720). By 1749 about one hundred Jewish households were estimated for the whole county. The most important Jewish settlement of Šariš developed in Šebeš-Kelemeš (Hungarian *Sebeskellemes*, today Ľubotice)³² on the immediate outskirts of Prešov. This village provided Jewish tradesmen traveling to Poland with a welcoming stopover with necessary facilities and taverns. From here they could commute to the nearby town of Prešov, which did not tolerate the Jewish residence within its municipal boundaries. The Jews of Šebeš-Kelemeš were feudal subjects of Count Haller, whose estate is still visible in the village. The Jewish presence in the village must have been evident, as they represented about 94 per cent of general population, reaching 783 (total: 831) in 1850.³³ The Jewish community maintained all necessary communal institutions: *cheder* [school], *yeshiva* [Talmudic academy], *beit din* [Jewish law court], *chevra kadisha* [burial brotherhood] and cemetery. In 1833 they constructed a synagogue, which survives until today though now used as a Greek-Catholic Church. The building was originally a nine-bay structure with a mansard roof, but was severely damaged by fire in 1905. Nevertheless, even remaining structure has preserved some features of the original building.

The synagogue (FIG. 334-336) is a simple construction with neo-Classical decorative elements; pilasters with Ionic capitals decorate the otherwise plain facades with semicircular windows. The eastern façade features two windows that once flanked the ark, today recalled only by a niche in interior, where a Crucifix is placed at present. On the western façade, traces of tri-partite gateway are visible; the central entry leads through small ante-chamber into a sanctuary, while the side door accesses to the former women's gallery, today used as choir, defined by pillars with neo-Classical finish. The building overall is in fair condition.

The synagogue served as a central institution of traditional Jewish community, which enjoyed inner judicial autonomy. The community was responsible for collecting taxes and maintaining public order. To stress this fact, a pillory stood at the synagogue courtyard.³⁴

During the 18th century, the Prešov magistrate, guilds and Catholic representatives still successfully resisted individual Jewish attempts to settle in Prešov. Jews had to

abandon the town by evening and to return to nearby Šebeš-Kelemeš. From this period originates a discrete prayer hall in Jarková Street 16. We lack any written documents about this place of Jewish prayer, discovered accidentally in 1928. A small house with room, with walls covered by Hebrew liturgical texts, served probably for daily prayer of merchants active during a day in the town.³⁵ A first Jew, who finally managed to reside permanently in Prešov was Marcus (Mordechai) Holländer.³⁶ In 1826, Holländer erected the so-called Neptun fountain on the town square as a symbol of truce with intolerant patricians of Prešov (FIG. 4). Thought he was never granted a citizenship³⁷ of Prešov, he became a groundbreaker for other Jews who gradually settled in the town.

The population census (conscript) of 1810 mentions three Jewish families in the inner town, with two additional families in the suburbs with a total of 35 members. At first, the Prešov Jews belonged to the Šebeš-Kelemeš Jewish community, but by 1827 they had established their own cemetery and, in 1830, an independent community presided over by Leo Holländer.³⁸ The Municipality refused to acknowledge its statutes, until a final decision by the Interior Ministry in 1848. Nevertheless, in 1831, the community set up a prayer hall in the house of Leo Holländer, in 1843 a Jewish school, and in 1850, they shared only a *chevra kadisha* with the mother community.

The newly established community had attributes of a progressive congregation with reformist tendencies. It appointed a university educated rabbi³⁹; and its president was a leading fighter for Jewish emancipation. Liturgical changes were introduced, and Prešov, was one of first communities in provincial Hungary to practice a confirmation ceremony for its youth. The rabbi's sermons were popularly attended also by non-Jews, from which we can conclude, his sermons must had departed far from rabbinical *derashot* [traditional rabbinical sermons] given twice a year by traditional rabbis. Reports⁴⁰ about the community inform us that many families were frequently sending their sons for [Lutheran] *gymnasium* education and also about certain "indifferentismus" of the community, i.e. religious laxity. From the community census of 1848 we learn that 91.8% of Prešov Jews were of Hungarian origin, 31% born in Prešov and another 39.1% immigrants from Šariš County – the immediate hinterland of the town.⁴¹

In 1847-1849 the congregation constructed its first synagogue on Konšantínova

Street after designs by contractor Pribula.⁴² The only surviving historical image⁴³ provides us very scant idea about the appearance of the synagogue. A rectangular neo-Classical building with ordered pilasters capped by an entablature and pediment, it featured a monumental portal with Palladian door as a central element of its western façade. This was one of the earliest urban synagogues constructed in the 19th century in Slovakia. Since no examples of urban synagogue architecture in the region were available, the contractor opted for neo-Classical architectural forms of a Lutheran church architecture,⁴⁴ which he could study in Košice, Levoča, and Poprad.

After the split of the community in 1871 the synagogue remained in the custody of the Neolog community. It burned down on 6th May 1887, when a fire destroyed a significant part of Prešov. After the fire, a new synagogue building (FIG. 347-351) was constructed with donations from Prešov and abroad; Leo Holländer donated a significant amount and Rabbi Schiller-Sziinessy, by then a professor at Cambridge University, conducted a public collection in England.⁴⁵ The synagogue has not been preserved in its original form. An elegant octagonal tower with onion-shaped roof, the upper central section of street façade with small corner towers, were pulled down in the post-war period. Regular windows replaced round ones and monochromatic plaster covered typical Moorish red-yellow coloring of façade. The façade is tri-partite, originally with three entrances, stressing a central section, which features a large arched doorway spreading through both stories. Certainly, when the tower crowned a façade, this solution was more logical than today, when only a torso of building, used as a hardware store, survives. The façade is clearly divided in sections, vertically by simple pilasters and horizontally by a row of small Romanesque blind arches and cornices.

The sanctuary had been originally a three nave space, with the women's gallery spreading along the main nave, supported by pilastered pillars, on the women's gallery level completed by non-order capitals with diamonds and dentils. The room is covered by kerchief vaults, still impressive feature for a commercial venue. The interior of the sanctuary has been completely altered, the ark replaced with cargo elevator and the hall divided by a floor, expanding the usable space, a typical solution for secondary usage for synagogues.

Neighboring the synagogue stands the building of the former Jewish elementary school, today an office building. The two story edifice features round-arched windows and neo-Classical decorative elements. Logically it forms a single unit with the synagogue next by, since they served one congregation, though the buildings are physically separated by a court entrance.

Prešov was one of most attractive centers of Jewish immigration in the region, and by 1869 the Jewish population numbered already 1,010. The political situation in the Jewish community was not simple: though communal affairs were controlled by founding families who had modernist aspirations, a significant immigration of Jews from traditionalist hinterland caused an internal crisis. The *psaq din* of Michalovce disqualified the synagogue of this community. A *chazzan* of Prešov reports a similar situation as in Košice: the meat of Prešov kosher butchers was refused by zealots, who began buying in Šebeš-Kelemeš. In this situation, the butchers were forced to refrain from praying in the synagogue.⁴⁶

At the Jewish Congress in Budapest of 1868-1869, the community was represented by its president, Dr. Leo Holländer. He acted as one of most prominent representatives of the reformist wing and not surprisingly, allied the community to the Neolog stream. Subsequently, on 20th April 1871, 46 families left and established an independent Orthodox Community.⁴⁷ It grew by immigration from the countryside and before World War I oversized significantly the mother community. In 1871, they had a temporary prayer hall adapted from an old mill and in 1891, the secession was final when they founded a separate cemetery.

The presence of the Orthodox Community in Prešov is most significantly visible through the uniquely preserved compound of religious institutions they had been developing since the 1880s (FIG. 5-6). The compound lies in the north-western part of the city center, leaning from outside on the former fortification near Mlynský potok [Mill Creek]. In 1884, they established a synagogue in a simple single-story building, used after 1898 as a *beit midrash* [study hall]. Beneath this building was first *mikvah* of Prešov. The building was later expanded and after 1911 referred to as an Ashkenazic prayer-hall, which might have to do with some inner communal tensions between western

Orthodox (praying in Ashkenazic liturgical format) and Hassidic (praying in *nusach ha-Ari* or *nusach Sepharad* liturgical format) families. Such quarrels over rite were typical through out Eastern Europe, where various traditions met. In Prešov, as in many other places such as Košice or Michalovce, the solution was the establishment of separate Hassidic congregations within the Orthodox community. In 1912, twenty-six Hassidic families in Prešov formed their own congregation.⁴⁸

As recent archaeological research has shown, the oldest building on compound was the two-story building of rabbinate, which contained elements of the former bastion of the historical town fortification.⁴⁹ Towards the street the complex is delineated by a prolonged single-story building of school – *cheder*. On the other side of court stands a building with communal offices and former ritual slaughtering venues.

On Yom Kippur 5658 [1898] the community inaugurated a new synagogue, an electrified building constructed by the Košice-based construction company of Kollacsek and Wirth (FIG. 352-354).⁵⁰ Intentionally, synagogue was built visible from the public zone and thus to represent the self-aware urban community. The lot line of the synagogue compound follows the demolished city fortification that once kept the Jews out of Prešov. To the observer standing on Main Street and looking down the Jarková Street, the synagogue is very well visible. The eastern façade oriented toward the street, ark protrusion and blinded windows indicate that this is a liturgically significant side of the building. The façade is tri-partite, central three-bay section is flanked by bays. Vertically carved by pilasters, horizontally by molding, and topped by a gable, the façade is a mixture of Moorish, neo-Classical and *Rundbogenstil* elements. Other façades repeat this scheme and feature Moorish tri-lobate windows and horseshoe entrance porches. The original main entrance to the men's section had been on the western side, through the vestibule that is today used as small prayer hall. The second entrance to the hall is located on the axis of the northern façade, topped by a massive cornice on cushion capitals. The staircase to women's section has been situated on the north-western part of the building.

While respecting Orthodox requirements, such as separation of genders and the placement of the *bimah* in the middle of hall, the interior had been furnished in most impressive fashion. The interior is a three-aisle hall with the women's gallery supported

by cast-iron columns, which run along three sides of the prayer hall. The design is Moorish, with typical colorful patterns applied to the ceilings and walls, and rich polychromy covering the column capitols and other details. The richly decorated *aron hakodesh* made by Košice sculptor Bacsó matches the interior and repeats some of details.

The building underwent a complete reconstruction during the 1990s and houses, in the women's gallery so-called Bárkány collection, a special exhibition of the Slovak National Museum-Museum of Jewish Culture. The former entrance vestibule is today used as a prayer hall of the tiny Jewish community.⁵¹ Not far-away from the compound, stood a *mikvah* building, constructed in 1904 and demolished in the post-war period.

The Jewish population of Prešov grew significantly and reached 3,477 in 1921 (forming 19.7 % of total population) and the interwar period witnessed construction of additional facilities for communal prayer. A typical phenomenon was the broadening demographic difference between both Jewish communities in the town. Uneasy to generalize, the Neolog community with many members in the urban middle class, and significantly lower birth-rate, attracted only a minority of the newly arrived Jews from traditional hinterland. Most of new arrivals to Prešov were recruited for membership in the Orthodox community, which also had significantly more poor families with numerous children. The ratio between original mother community (Neolog) and secession Orthodox reached 1:3 in the 1930s.

In 1930, the Orthodox community constructed a new synagogue on Košická Road, built by the contractors Tószöghy and Ferderber after designs of the architect Julius Grossmann. The synagogue was severely damaged during an offensive of the approaching Soviet Army in 1944 and was demolished shortly after. Its construction plans, kept in the local archive, provide an idea of its appearance.⁵² The synagogue was a pleasant building, a fine balance between modernist purity and traditional monumental forms. The northern street façade was bi-partite: a white plastered block with flat roof and three pointed windows contrasted with a brick pavilion featuring a monumental pointed entrance portal. This allusion to cathedral architecture was balanced on the counter-end of the façade by a massive brick buttress. The building's interior arrangements strictly

followed *halakhic* prescriptions with *bimah* centrally placed in the sanctuary and women's gallery running along its three sides. The ark stressed three windows, one above it and two flanked it on sides, as typical for traditional synagogues.

The last synagogue building constructed, on the eve of Holocaust, was a new *klaus* [separate] synagogue from 1934-1935 in the Orthodox communal compound, designed by the architect Leopold Šafrán (FIG. 355-358).⁵³ The synagogue was commissioned by the Hassidic congregation formed in 1912 by 26 Hassidic families who wanted to maintain a separate *nusach Sepharad*. The building is a simple modernist structure with flat roof. The interiors and the western side have been altered, but strip windows stressed by horizontal molding and the brick decoration of ark protrusion and round windows give genuine idea about original sober appearance of the building. Round windows on the eastern and western façades feature a menorah, a reminder of building's original purpose. A Hebrew dedicative inscription has been preserved on the western, street façade. The building still belongs to the local Jewish Community, which rents it to an architectural office.

Despite the shrinking size of the Prešov Jewish community, today numbering only dozen of Jewish families, great effort to restore the valuable Jewish communal compound was made in the 1990s. The Neptun fountain still stands on the main square and reminds of Marcus Holländer, who settled as first Jew in the town. Later, his son, Leo presided over the small Jewish community. This community of prosperous businessmen was a leading center of nascent Reform movement in this region, evidenced by their choice of modern rabbi and first synagogue that adopted forms of the Lutheran church. After 1871, when the small secessionist group formed an Orthodox congregation, traditionalist immigrants from the countryside could opt for membership in this congregation rather than for them alien modernist religious expression of the Reformists. Therefore, in time, the Orthodox membership outnumbered the mother Neolog congregation. Aside to the Neolog synagogue with school building, the Orthodox constructed a separate synagogue and communal institutions compound on the other side of town. Later on, they faced inner communal uproar themselves, when the Hassidic groupings tried to gain the upper hand in the Orthodox community. During the 1930s, the Hassidim constructed their own

prayer hall on the Orthodox compound, making Prešov into an architecturally significant assemblage of various synagogues.

The third town in the region with glorious Jewish past and valuable monuments of synagogue architecture is Bardejov.⁵⁴ Known as *Bartfeld* in German and *Bartfa* in Hungarian, it used to be an important and wealthy free royal town. First mentioned in 1247 as a hamlet, by the beginning of the 14th century a colonization town on a regular surface had been established, with a fortification system laid after 1352. The town reached its climax during the 15th-17th centuries, when it carefully controlled a monopoly on linen bleaching. The majestic monuments on the central square even today bear witness to the city's former glory: St. Giles Gothic parish church, built during the second half of the 14th century and the Gothic town hall, a solitary structure in the middle of the square erected after 1505. Sudden loss of importance in the 18th century meant fast decline for Bardejov and subsequent centuries have conserved the townscape's unique medieval character and its fortifications.⁵⁵ In 2000, the city has been listed as a World Cultural Heritage site by the UNESCO.

Two churches have been added to the architectural inlay of Bardejov in more recent times, thus demonstrating existence of two newly emancipated Christian communities in the town. On the northern edge of the historic town, behind the fortification line, the Lutherans constructed their church in 1798-1808, while the Greek-Catholic St. Peter and Paul parish church was a relatively late (1901-1902) addition near the south-western section of municipal fortification.

A Jewish presence in the town appears in the 18th century, though limited to a few privileged individuals. Census of Hungarian Jewry from 1744/1745 reports only one Jewish resident family in Bardejov,⁵⁶ but in 1782 there were already 43 Jews in the town. By 1835 their number had grown to 131 and in 1869 they already reached 1,011 (from total population of 5,307). By 1929 their number had almost tripled and reached 2,745.⁵⁷ The Bardejov Jewish community was a traditional Orthodox with strong Hassidic elements that dominated over Western Orthodox in communal affairs.⁵⁸ Many families had their roots in nearby Poland and maintained strong ties to the *Admor* of Sancz, Rabbi

Chaim Halberstamm. This cultural and religious orientation was obvious later, when the community “imported” its rabbis from Poland, among them also the grandson of Chaim Halberstamm, Moshe, who died and was buried in 1904 in Bardejov. The local archive preserves a rich documentation about efforts of some members of Halberstamm clan to legalize their resident status with Czechoslovak offices.⁵⁹ Bardejov used also to be an important center of Jewish book printing in Slovakia.⁶⁰ Two printing workshops, Blayer and Horovitz, published over one hundred Hebrew titles before 1939. The distinct appearance of Hassidic Jews was, until World War II, an inseparable element of townscape (FIG. 7).⁶¹ A nearby spa, with kosher catering, attracted an Orthodox clientele from a broad region. After the Holocaust, only about thirty community members returned to the town, but most of them emigrated in following years. Today, only the last Jew lives in the town.

The most prominent Jewish monument of Bardejov is the so-called *Jewish suburbium* (FIG. 8): a compound of Jewish institutional buildings including the Old Synagogue, a *beit midrash* and *mikvah*. A Jewish slaughter-house stood nearby on the plot occupied today by the supermarket. The name *židovské suburbium* [*Jewish suburbium*], originating within the Slovak preservationist authorities, does not fully describe the character of these architectural monuments. Prior to World War II the area was strongly populated by Jews, though it was never an exclusively Jewish neighborhood.

The oldest building of the compound is the Old Synagogue [Old *Shul*] (FIG. 299-304), which is one of the most valuable pieces of synagogue architecture in Slovakia. Together with the synagogue of Stupava, it represents one of two remaining nine-bay synagogues in the country. Constructed before Jewish emancipation, the synagogue is discretely hidden in back part of the compound’s lot. Its exterior is a rectangle, made of massive walls pierced with simple Baroque windows and topped by a metallic mansard roof. A monumental neo-Classical portico with a staircase on the south west corner provided an access to the building until it collapsed in the 1990s. The interior consists of a main prayer hall and cluster of vestibule, study-room, and women’s gallery on the west. The prayer hall is a nine-bay space, three bays square, with a *bimah* placed in the middle

and supported by four pillars. The pillars and pilasters support eight kerchief vaults, which are covered with splendid ornamental decoration. The hall is used currently as a storage of hardware store and nothing remains of this original inventory, though the *bimah* platform has been preserved (to store metallic pipes) and the position of former ark is still visible and marked by a Hebrew inscription *Keter Torah* [crown of Torah]. Additionally, a damaged inscription of the Hebrew Psalm 113:3 (“*From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof the Lord's name is to be praised*”) spreads on the the eastern wall. This wall also features an unusual row of small niches thought to keep prayer mantels and books. The most interesting artifact is a Hebrew dedicatory plaque on the western side above the entrance to the hall (FIG. 9). Its poetic text provides information about the donor and the date of construction.

“Twenty-two years of the years had passed
And the hands of Josef [Guttman] who had started to build this house [faltered]
But he was plucked before his time
And grass and thistles nearly filled the halls
Until the challenge fell on the shoulders of his son-in-law.
And Isaac came and stretched his arms upward to God and to the mission.
He allowed his eyes no sleep, nor did he rest nor cease
Until his God answered him and the work was completed, on
Rosh Chodesh Elul, in the year, “May this be a small temple” 5589”⁶²

Due to complicated counting of Hebrew letters, different years can be calculated (1829 and 1836).⁶³ Taking into account both of them, we can state with certainty that this synagogue was constructed around a third decade of the 19th century. Due to proximity to the Polish territory, constant flow of emigration and also on-going business, religious and cultural ties to Nowy Sącz and other Polish Jewish communities, we can rightly assume this synagogue was an imported architectural solution from Poland.⁶⁴

The second building of the compound served as a *beit midrash*, a house of study also used as a prayer hall (FIG. 305-308). This is evident on its eastern façade with its row of six round-arched windows with neo-Classical ornament. Along the central axis of façade, one window has been omitted, on the interior side stood the *aron hakodesh*. The inner spatial distribution is legible on the exterior; the eastern section served as a prayer hall illuminated, traditionally, by twelve windows, while the western section contained a women’s gallery, with different windows, placed on the higher level from ground.

Towards the public street, the compound is shielded by a *mikvah*, a ritual bath building. As the historical images⁶⁵ of former Dlhý rad, demolished during Communist period, show, this building formed an integral element of rhythmical row of single-storied suburban houses. Well-suited visually to this environment, the building appears as a central entrance pavilion flanked by two pavilions on side. This division is stressed by different roofs: the central large arched roof contrasts with side simple pitched roofs. The exterior layout reflects the inner space arrangement: through the vestibule a changing room was accessible; each pavilion of building served as ritual bath, shower, and other facilities for men and women. The interior of building, used as a public spa after World War II, is currently abandoned and is in a dreadful condition.

Without a doubt, the whole complex belongs to the most interesting Jewish monuments in Central Europe. It is a valuable architectural unit of Jewish communal institutions clustered on a small complex, sole surviving witness of the once prosperous center of Jewish communal life in north-eastern Slovakia.

The last Jewish resident of Bardejov, Maximilian (Meier) Špíra (FIG. 11),⁶⁶ preserves the memory of many prayer halls and *shtiblach* [small Hassidic prayer rooms] in Bardejov, often just small rooms for study, such as *minyán* [quorum of ten men needed for Jewish communal prayer] of Friedman, Fränkl, or the one maintained by Rabbi Schmiele Halberstamm (son of Rabbi Moshe Halberstamm). These locales, run by rabbis and Talmud scholars, could survive only thanks to donations of wealthy community members, who considered it a special honor and duty to contribute towards maintaining these places of Jewish study. Additional prayer halls and synagogues were established by important communal associations. Established to serve certain specific purpose; to be a member of such an association was considered to be a matter of social prestige.

Prominent among them was the *Chevra Mishnayot*⁶⁷, which established its prayer hall on Stöcklova Street in 1905 (FIG. 311-312). The building survives until today, but in a completely altered shape.⁶⁸ The original appearance, however, can be reconstructed from an unique historical picture taken during the deportations of 1942, preserved in archive of the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York (FIG. 10). Originally, it was a single-story building, with eastern façade, which reflected interior spatial distribution,

facing the street. Four round-arched windows provided daylight for prayer hall. The rounded window in the middle central bay stressed the presence of *aron hakodesh* on the interior side of wall. An entrance and possibly stairs to the women's gallery used to be on right portion of the building. A Hebrew dedication on the façade indicated building's construction year ([5]665=1905) and the institution's name.

Another important prayer hall was maintained by the *Chevra Bikur Cholim* [Brotherhood for Visiting Sick]. During the 1920s, the Chevra intended to construct a new synagogue in vicinity of St. Gilles church, but after facing public resistance,⁶⁹ in 1929 they adapted an older house on (today) Kláštorská Street to serve their communal purposes (FIG. 11, 309-310). The street façade, a mixture of neo-Classical and Gothic elements, such as two large pointed windows, features a Hebrew inscription with name of association. On the right side of the building stretches a deep corridor providing an access to all building's rooms: prayer hall, back room (probably once used for study and today filled with decaying Hebrew books), staircase to women's gallery, and entrance to backyard (with remnants of wooden *sukkah*). The most representative space is the sanctuary. The pews face eastwards towards street, where an *aron hakodesh*, flanked by two Gothic windows, is placed. A *bimah* stands in the center, as typical for Orthodox synagogue interiors. Owing to narrowness of building plot, woman's gallery with high *mechitzah* shield, could be built only on western side of hall. It stretches, however, only in a form of illusionary fresco, also on southern and northern wall of hall. Additionally, splendid decorative ornamental paintings cover the walls of the hall. Owing much to Mr. Špíra, who maintained this place throughout the Communist era and engaged here in his lone prayers, this structure represents one of the few preserved authentic synagogue interiors in Slovakia.

To conclude, based on the example of three Eastern Slovak cities with exceptionally well preserved Jewish built heritage, I have shown how the synagogue architecture is interdependent upon various aspects of the Jewish communal experience. These include emigration from countryside and urbanization of Jewish life, upward social mobility accompanied by acculturation, strict adherence to traditional models of

religiosity resulting in cultural conservatism, internal communal clashes and divisions. On one side, the synagogues were constructed respectfully to the binding requirements of the Jewish legal tradition. On the other side, they also reflect cultural identity and self-perception of the Jewish communities that have built and used them. These determined the choice of esthetic criteria that architects and contractors had to follow.

I investigated the mechanism, how the Jewish presence became part of the townscape. At first, they clustered in the *yishuvim*, villages with typical Jewish character, near royal cities and commuted daily for business. Later, once new legal situation prevailed, the Jewish communities could have been established within the royal cities. These communities immediately sought to build their religious institutions catering for the needs of their membership. In course of time, due to the differentiation between adherents to various ideological standpoints, schisms and secessions, parallel communal structures were often formed, each maintaining its own institutional network conforming to their liturgical requirements. With subsequent urban growth and migration waves from Eastern-Slovak rural hinterland or nearby Galicia, masses of newly arrived co-religionists were channeled and integrated into existing communal establishment. The flourishing life of these Jewish communities was harshly and brutally destroyed during the Holocaust, leaving only remnants of the rich cultural legacy preserved until today.

Building programs of various religious communities join into a harmonic unity, which is valuable architectural evidence from the formation period of the modern multi-confessional society. As such, Košice, Prešov and Bardejov urban centers together with their Jewish built heritage are deemed to the highest degree of protection. This has been in recent past recognized through preservationist efforts by various expert organizations either on national or international level.⁷⁰

NOTES

1. Report from the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO, Cairns, Australia, 27 November-2 December 2000. Entry: Bardejov Town Conservation Reserve, Id. N. 973.
2. GOJDIČ, Ivan: *East Slovakian Towns with Oval-Shaped Centres*. In: *Romanesque Monuments in Slovakia*. Bratislava (Slovak National Museum) 1999, pp. 33-38.
3. Exhibition catalogue (ed. DUCHOŇ, Jozef): *Mapy a plány z fondov Východoslovenského múzea* [Maps and Plans from the Collections of the Eastern Slovak Museum], Košice 2001.
4. *Plan der Königlichen Freistadt Kaschau*, by engineer Josef Ott, 1841, Eastern Slovak Museum, Košice, S-3958.
5. *Szabad király Kassa városának térképe*, by József Homolka, 1869, Eastern Slovak Museum, Košice, R- 3993.
6. *Kassa törv. hat. jog. fel. szab. kir. város belsőségének és környékének átnézeti térképe*, 1912, Eastern Slovak Museum, Košice, R- 36168/a/b/c.
7. The traditional Jewish community of Veľká Ida maintained a Talmud Torah and yeshiva and in 1880 counted 210 (total population 1,706).
8. Jewish population in Rozhanovce dropped significantly as a result of urbanization from 230 (1840) to 31 (1941).
9. The former synagogue building is owned by the local municipality, which used it until recently as a carpentry workshop; the building faces total collapse of the roof structure and disappearance. The building was surveyed and documented within the framework of *Synagoga Slovaca*, a documentation project of Slovak synagogue architecture. The full documentation of the project will be preserved in the Slovak Jewish Heritage Center, Bratislava.
10. On beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Košice see ŠALAMON, Pavol: *Počiatky usádzania sa Židov v Košiciach a ich podiel na kultúrnom a spoločenskom živote mesta v rokoch 1841-1918* [Beginnings of the Jewish Settlement in Košice and Their Contribution to the Cultural and Social Life of the City in the Years 1841-1918]. In: *Acta judaica slovacica*, Volume 2, Bratislava 1995, pp. 101-110.
11. This cemetery has been partially preserved on a slope near residential houses at Tatranská Street.
12. I wish to thank Dr. Pavol Šalamon for providing me this information. See also his *Demografický vývoj Židov v Košiciach v rokoch 1841-1944* [Demographic Development of the Jews in Košice in Years 1841-1944]. In: *Košice a deportácie Židov v roku 1944* [Košice and Deportations of the Jews in Year 1944], Košice 1994, pp. 85-92.
13. Original documentation providing evidence about the various stages of development of the communal compound has been preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I., odbor stavebnej výstavby*.
14. About the mikvah see also HALÁSOVÁ, Anna: *Najstaršie košické mikve* [The Oldest Mikvah of Košice]. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, Bratislava 1996, Number 3, pp.

- 12-13. From this author see also HALÁSOVÁ, Anna and SCHMIEDLOVÁ, Martina: *Pamiatky židovskej architektúry v Košiciach* [Monuments of Jewish Architecture in Košice], Košice (Agentúra K) 2002.
15. FÖRSTER, Ludwig von: *Über Synagogenbau*. In: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Year XXIV, 1859, pp. 14-16, pls. 230-235.; N.N.: *Über Synagogenbau*, In: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, Year XXII, 31 May 1858, pp. 314-315.
 16. The building was demolished after World War II and its appearance can be reconstructed only according to historical images and fragments of original plans preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I*. In 1911 they enlarged this synagogue according to plans by Otto Sztehló from Budapest. The plans are preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I., odbor stavebnej výstavby*. In 1927, as a result of construction of new synagogue and school behind this building, the structure was shortened again and the *bima* placed into the center of hall. The building was completely demolished to clear up a view of the new Philharmonic Hall in 1950s.
 17. Report attributed to Chaim David Lippe: *Sechs Briefe zur Beleuchtung der religiösen Wirren in Oberungarn*, Košice 1866.
 18. *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 14 May 1872, p. 397.
 19. STRANSKY, Hugo: *Religious Life in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia*, pp. 354-355. In: *The Jews of Czechoslovakia. Historical Studies and Surveys. Volume II*. Philadelphia (The Jewish Publication Society of America) – New York (Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews) 1971, pp. 347-392.
 20. The statutes of the Community were acknowledged on 30 July 1871. See ENTEN, Emanuel: *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Košice (Kaschau)*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*. Prague-Brno (Jüdischer Buch- und Kunstverlag) 1932, pp. 58-60.
 21. The original project documentation is preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I., odbor stavebnej výstavby*.
 22. Pinkas ha-Kehillot: Slovakia (ed. BÜCHLER, Yehoshua Robert). Jerusalem (Yad Vashem) 2003, Entry: Košice, p. 495.
 23. Legally, they did not form their own congregation, but functioned as the Association [Verein] Sefarad within the Orthodox community.
 24. The building plans are preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I., odbor stavebnej výstavby*.
 25. The municipal archive of Košice has preserved their petitions from 1931-1933 to the municipality requesting discounted or free heating wood from city managed forests. Archív mesta Košíc. Fond: Mestský úrad Košice, 1923-1938, “Spolek sefardim”, 14968/33.
 26. The construction details and decoration program of the synagogue is provided by BÁRKÁNY, Eugen and DOJČ, Ludovít: *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku*. Bratislava (Vesna) 1991, pp. 376-378. Original construction plans were not preserved. Schematic drawing appears in journal *Új építészet*, IV Year, Number 2-3, Budapest 1949, p. 49.
 27. The synagogue is a typical example of the Hungarian interwar neo-Baroque architecture, which was a conservative response to loss of the country's

- architectural heritage as result of Trianon partition. See PAMER, Nóra: Magyar építészet a két világháború között. Budapest (Terc) 2001, pp. 18-35.
28. The building plans are preserved in the archive of the *Okresný úrad životného prostredia Košice I., odbor stavebnej výstavby*.
 29. About the architect, see his monograph *Arbeiten des dipl. Ing. Architekt Ludwig Oelschläger Košice*. Bratislava (Verlag Otto Waldes), undated; see also DULLA, Matúš and MORAVČÍKOVÁ, Henrieta: *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí* [Architecture of Slovakia in the 20th century]. Bratislava (Slovart) 2002, p. 78.
 30. KÓNYA, Peter and LANDA, Dezider: *Stručné dejiny prešovských židov* [Concise History of the Prešov Jews]. Prešov 1995. For the history of Jewish community of Prešov see also ATLAS, Moshe: *Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde von Prešov (Eperjes)*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden*. Tel Aviv, Januar-März 1967, pp. 17-32.
 31. *Conscriptio Judaeorum*, Prešov report from 1725. GRÜNWALD, Fülöp and SCHEIBER, Sándor (ed.): *Magyar-Zsidó Oklevéltár, 7th Volume*. Budapest (Magyar Izraeliták Országos Kepviseletének Kiadása) 1963, p. 110.
 32. Pinkas ha-Kehillot: Slovakia, Entry: Šarišské Lúky, pp. 556-559.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
 34. The pillory is reported standing here in 1850, BÁRKÁNY and DOJČ, p. 343.
 35. About the discovery of the original wallpaintings with liturgical texts reports AUSTERLITZ, Theodor: *Das jüdische Museum in Prešov*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, Prague-Brno 1930, Year 1, pp. 127-128. The house is today completely altered, without any traces of the original Hebrew inscriptions. It serves as a notary office and any inquiries about original use are unwelcome.
 36. Born in 1760 in Tarnopol (Galicia), this wealthy businessman with contacts to the Vienna Court, initially settled in Šebeš-Kelemeš and approximately in 1784-89 moved to Prešov. From here he conducted successful business activities, despite decades of continuous conflict with the merchant guild and social isolation. Holländer was really an important figure in the Jewish life of region; in 1813 they elected him to be a *rosh medina* of Šariš Jewry. About Marcus Holländer see KÓNYA, Peter: *Marek Holländer, prvý žid v Prešove* [Mark Holländer, the First Jew in Prešov]. In: LANDA, Dezider – KÓNYA, Peter: *Marek Holländer a vznik židovskej náboženskej obce v Prešove* [Mark Holländer and Founding of the Jewish Community in Prešov]. Prešov (Židovská náboženská obec Prešov) 1999, pp. 22-25.
 37. Mark Holländer died before 1848 and he never became patrician/burgher of Prešov. His name is not listed in the records of newly accepted burghers of the free royal town (KÓNYA, p. 25).
 38. Leo Holländer, the son of Marcus Holländer, was born in 1806 as the first Jew in Prešov. The school-mate of Lajos Kossuth participated in the 1848 Revolution and was an eminent fighter for Jewish emancipation. At the 1868-69, Congress he represented the Neolog platform. Holländer died in 1887. See *Leo Holländer, zakladateľ Prešovskej židovskej obce a Šalomon Marek Schiller, jej prvý rabin* [Leo Holländer, the Founder of the Jewish Community and Salomon Mark

- Schiller, the First Rabbi*]. In: LANDA, Dezider and KÓNYA, Peter: Marek Holländer a vznik židovskej náboženskej obce v Prešove [Mark Holländer and Founding of the Jewish Community in Prešov], Prešov (Židovská náboženská obec Prešov) 1999, pp. 26-29.
39. Rabbi Dr. Solomon Marc Schiller-Szinessy (born 1820 in Óbuda, died 1890 in Cambridge) studied at *yeshivot* [Talmudic academies] in Pest and Gyöngyös, and then received his university education in Pest and Jena (doctorate 1844). *Ausserordentlicher Professor* for Hebrew and Old Testament at the Prešov Lutheran Collegium. Participated in the 1848/49 Revolution, then exile in England, rabbinic posts in Birmingham, later Manchester, in 1878 Professorship at the Cambridge University.
 40. *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 18 January 1858, pp. 51-52.
 41. KÓNYA, Peter: *Počiatky židovskej obce v Prešove a jej úsilie o emancipáciu* [Beginnings of the Jewish Community in Prešov and its Emancipation Effort]. In: LANDA, Dezider and KÓNYA, Peter: Marek Holländer a vznik židovskej náboženskej obce v Prešove [Mark Holländer and Founding of the Jewish Community in Prešov], Prešov (Židovská náboženská obec Prešov) 1999, p. 20.
 42. The 1847-1849 synagogue was constructed by Contractor Pribula for 12,463 Gulden, 52 Kreuzer (KÓNYA and LANDA, p. 27).
 43. The historical photograph has been preserved in the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest.
 44. About Lutheran sacral architecture in Slovakia see KRIVOŠOVÁ, Jana: *Evanjelické kostoly na Slovensku* [Lutheran Churches in Slovakia], Liptovský Mikuláš (Tranoscius) 2001. Connection between synagogue and Protestant churches studies ROSENAU, Helene: *The Synagogue and Protestant Church Architecture*. In: GUTMANN, Joseph (ed.): *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture*. New York (Ktav Publishing House, Inc.) 1975, pp. 309-315.
 45. The collection was divided equally between the Neolog Jewish Community and the Lutheran Lyceum, which also sustained heavy damages. Rabbi Schiller-Szinessy taught at the school forty years earlier.
 46. KATZ, Jacob: *A House Divided. Orthodoxy and Schism in Nineteenth-Century Central European Jewry*. Hanover-London (Brandeis University Press) 1998, p. 82.
 47. KÓNYA, Peter and LANDA, Dezider: *Stručné dejiny prešovských židov* [Concise History of the Jews of Prešov]. Prešov 1995, p. 36.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 49. Research report by the local conservationist office: Prešov – Okružná. *Pamiatkový výskum*. Prešov (Pamiatkový ústav Bratislava, regionálne stredisko Prešov) 2000.
 50. The total expense of the construction works was 48,000 Gulden (LANDA and KÓNYA, p. 36).
 51. Curiously, in the late 1980s, a US Congressman negotiated with the Prague Communist leadership about the transfer of the whole building to the United States.

52. State Archive in Prešov, Prešov Branch, Fond: “Okresný úrad Prešov”, No. 23, Carton 46, document 6522/30.
53. State Archive in Prešov, Prešov Branch, Fond: “Okresný úrad Prešov”, No. 23, Carton 65, Document 10008/36.
54. About the history of the Bardejov Jewish community see ATLAS, Mosche: *Die jüdische Geschichte der Stadt Bartfeld (Bartfa) und des Bades Bardejov in der Tschechoslowakei*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden*. Tel Aviv, April-September 1966, pp. 151-171.
55. See a conservationist manual published by the National Conservationist Office predecessor: Bardejov. *Mestská pamiatková rezervácia*. Bratislava (Slovenský ústav pamiatkovej starostlivosti v Bratislave) 1991.
56. The first Jew living in Bardejov was businessman Joseph Herskovicz with his family consisting of two sons and three daughters. *Conscriptio Judaeorum*, Bardejov reports from 1745 and 1746. GRÜNWALD, Fülöp and SCHEIBER, Sándor (ed.): *Magyar-Zsidó Oklevéltár*, 7th Volume. Budapest (Magyar Izraeliták Országos Kepviseletének Kiadása) 1963, p. 715, p. 842.
57. State Archive in Prešov, Bardejov Branch, Fond: “Mestský úrad v Bardejove 1919-1945”, Carton 12, Document 4709/1929, “Súpis ŽNO”.
58. The orthodox character of the Community has been stipulated in various points of the community statutes. *A Bártfai Aut. Orthodox Izraelita Hitközség alapszabályai*. Bardejov (Blayer) 1906. § 59 states that the synagogue has to be constructed according to the Shulchan Aruch and Orthodox tradition, i.e. with the bima placed in the center of sanctuary. The Hassidic nature of the Bardejov Orthodoxy has been confirmed by contemporary witnesses, photographic images from the collection of local museum and preserved *sidurim* [prayer books] once used in Bardejov.
59. State Archive in Prešov, Bardejov Branch, Fond: “Mestský úrad v Bardejove 1919-1945”, Carton 48, Document 1525/1942, “Mendel Halberstamm, Bardejov – domovská príslušnosť”.
60. See HILL, Brad Sabin: *From Bardejov to Oxford: The Contribution of Slovakian Jewry to Anglo-Hebrew Scholarship*. In: Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. 2000-2001, pp. 108-133.
61. Described in a prewar local geographic work KRPELEC, Bartolomej: Bardejov a jeho okolie dávno a dnes [Bardejov and Environ in the Past and Today]. Bardejov (Miestny odbor Matice Slovenskej v Bardejove) 1935, pp. 155-158, 172-176, 236-253. Written by a non-Jewish author for general public, it contains very informative sections dedicated to the history and life of the Bardejov Jewish community.
62. Translation in: GRUSSGOTT, Abraham: *Bardejov Remembered: A Memorial to the Jewish Community of Bardejov, Czechoslovakia, 1734-1945*. New York (Avraham GA Grisgot) 1998.
63. The Hebrew date is indicated in the text by marking selected letters with a certain numerical value. The text includes a small letter *zayin*, which can alternatively be included into the calculation, therefore two possible dates are available: Rosh

Chodesh Elul 5589 [30 August 1829] or 5596 [14 August 1836] as inauguration dates of completed synagogue.

64. So-called four-pillar tabernacle and nine-bay synagogues are a special type that originated in Poland. It appeared first in the Lvov suburban synagogue (1624-1632) and was soon followed by synagogues in Ostrog, Vilnius, Lutsk, Pinsk, Slonim and other towns of historical Poland. Later dispersed this type to Moravia (e.g. Mikulov), Hungary (e.g. Mád, Apostag, Zsambék) and Slovakia (Trenčín, Čachtice, Stupava, Ľubotice, Huncovce and Bardejov). The major characteristic feature is placing the *bimah* between four pillars or columns that support the ceiling.
65. The picture has been preserved in the Collection of the Bardejov Municipality.
66. Interviews were conducted with Mr. Maximilián (Meier) Špíra in 2001, 2002, 2003.
67. Statutes preserved in local archive give details about the society established in 1905. Its purpose was to study *mishnayot* [tractates from the *Mishnah* – Jewish law] to honor the deceased. Within a year cycle, all tractates had to be studied and a communal dinner was held. State Archive Prešov, Bardejov Branch, Fond: “Mestský úrad v Bardejove 1919-1945”, Carton 9, Document 7934/1927, “Spolok Chevra mišnajot”.
68. In the 1950s the building was acquired by the Secondary Economy School and significantly rebuilt by adding another story and altering the street façade.
69. Documents from 1923-1924, State Archive Prešov, Bardejov Branch, Fond: “Mestský úrad v Bardejove 1919-1945”, Carton 5, Document 442/1925, “Bardejov, stavba židovskej synagógy”.
70. In summer 2003, ICOMOS - Israel organized a survey of the Jewish built heritage in these three cities by the student group from Israeli universities. The upcoming publication of their research will significantly contribute towards raising international awareness about Slovak Jewish heritage.

CHAPTER 3: CENTRAL EUROPEAN SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE: RELIGIOUS, LEGAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL DETERMINANTS

One of the fundamental principles of the Jewish survival in past two millennia has been maintaining a well-organized communal network that provides familiar and friendly environs for the social and religious life of the Jewish individual. Every community, even the smallest, established communal institutions catering to the religious, ritual and educational needs, so that their members could fulfill an obligation to live a life oriented towards fulfillment of religious duties, *mitzvaot*, as prescribed by the Jewish religion. Jewish communities maintained schools, ranking from the elementary level, *cheder*, to the highest degree of Jewish scholarship, the *yeshiva* or the rabbinical seminary. The ritual bath, *mikvah*, and the premises for kosher slaughtering, *shechitah*, responded to the needs for ritual purity. Communities maintained congregational hospitals as well as Jewish cemeteries. Other communally owned buildings housed the rabbinate, apartments for the synagogue wardens and communal employees.

The central institution in the life of the Jewish people in Diaspora during more than past two thousand years though has been the synagogue.¹ Historically, the synagogue fulfilled various functions; it served not only as a place of communal worship, but also for all other communal events, such as group study, *beit din* rulings and, in certain periods, also for enforced conversion lectures of Catholic monks. Individuals could seek justice by delivering a public complaint, which interrupted communal prayer. Conversely, individuals could be banned from communal religious and social life by *cherem* sanction. Important lifecycle moments received their expression in the synagogue; newly born male babies were circumcised during the *brith milah* ritual and thirteen years later they symbolically attained adulthood by the *bar mitzva* ceremony. The bridegroom was called to the Torah on the Shabbat before and after the wedding. The mourners were comforted by the community.

Often, proclamations and announcements related to business life and tax collection were made in the synagogue. If compared with the principal institutions of a

Christian town, it could be said that a synagogue has been the parish church, town hall and school of the Jewish community incorporated into one building.

The architectural arrangements of the synagogue were dictated by numerous internal Jewish and external secular rules ordered by the state or church authorities. The nature of Jewish worship has been one of the most important determinants of the interior layout of synagogue, which is characterized by two focal points, the *bimah* and the *aron hakodesh*, that complement each other with different but related liturgical functions.

The *bimah*, placed in the middle of the hall, is from where the Torah is read. Torah reading is a central moment of Jewish liturgy, and finds its reflection in internal arrangement of the synagogue. In comparison to the Catholic sacred space, in which the altar is the main focal point, synagogue architecture had to articulate a balance between ark and *bimah*, the storing place and reading place of the Torah respectively. This led later to bipolar solutions as known from Italy, or more common, placing a *bimah* in the center of the prayer hall. Rabbi of Cracow, Moses Isserles, codified in the *Shulchan Aruch* that the *bimah* had to be placed in the center of the sanctuary.² This remained an Ashkenazic norm until the Reform movement, when under the influence of Protestant models, the synagogue interior was remodeled and the *bimah* shifted from the center to the east in front of the ark, sometimes creating one *bimah*-ark unit. This new fashion met with negative reactions of the traditionalist circles, while advocated by the Progressives.³

Another *halakhic* requirement was the orientation of the synagogue towards Jerusalem. This, however, was not always possible, and therefore synagogues could be oriented in direction to the Holy City as much building circumstances allowed. Also important was a Talmudic prohibition to pray in the room without windows.⁴ Medieval rabbinical authority Rashi further comments that windows make the sky visible, which thus inspires a worshiper's devotion. Ideally, twelve windows should be pierced.⁵ This, however, remained a hypothetical wish rather than an accepted practice. The synagogue hall was not entered directly, but through a vestibule, in order to stress a distinction between inner sacral space and outer world. It provided a possibility to 'adjust to proper behavior' while entering a sanctuary from the street.

Finally, an important question is the presence of women in the synagogue. According to the traditional Judaism, women are exempt from prayer duty and are not obligated to attend synagogue service. However, their presence in the synagogue was reality. Therefore, it is interesting to follow how their presence was reflected in the synagogue architecture. Traditional Judaism requires segregation of genders, i.e. women had to pray in a separate space from men.

Already in the oldest preserved medieval synagogues, in Worms and Prague – Altneuschul, we find a women's section as a separate hall attached to the main prayer hall on the same level. The sanctuary of the old synagogue in Frankfurt had the whole northern wall pierced by windows of the three-story women annex. Later, the women's section acquired form of a gallery, as carried out by Judah Tzoref de Herz, who remodeled the Pinkas synagogue of Prague in 1625.⁶

The accepted solution became placing a grid screen, *mehitzah*, on the women's gallery, so that female worshipers would not be visible from the men's section. By the 19th century, some communities became lenient about this practice, especially when the rabbis began delivering weekly sermons. This resulted in contradictory reactions; the Progressives advocated the absence of *mehitzah*, while the Orthodox insisted on it as an unavoidable element of the synagogue interior and prohibited praying in the synagogues lacking full segregation between the genders.⁷ Numerous other rules stipulated by the Jewish legal tradition applied to the synagogue structure; these included property issues, construction practice, decoration, restoration, selling synagogue seats, maintenance questions.⁸

Other regulations on the synagogue architecture were imposed by external authorities. The Church or local government often opposed synagogue construction or even its reconstruction. The size of the building was regulated and carefully checked by the authorities. There are several prominent cases recorded in which the newly constructed synagogue had to be demolished because their size extended over the permitted measurements. In other cases, heavy fines were instituted. An important size regulation has been that synagogues could not be higher than Christian churches. This exactly contradicted Jewish custom, which traditionally aspired to build synagogues on

the highest spot in the city and higher than the surrounding buildings.⁹ Therefore, an accepted practice became to lay the synagogue floor deeper in the ground, which became later associated with Psalm verse “*Out of the depths I cry*”¹⁰. Typical examples of lowered synagogue structures are the medieval synagogues in Worms and Prague. In Slovakia preserved this traditional rule the Old Synagogue in Bardejov (FIG. 299-304).

The communities were often ordered to have their synagogues built out of sight of the Christian neighbors. Thus, many synagogues were hidden inside communal compounds or behind facades of regular houses. The Old Synagogue in Bardejov and the Shomre Torah Synagogue in Topoľčany (FIG. 411-416) exemplify this fashion in Slovakia. Humble exteriors in many cases contained splendid sanctuaries that did not provoke evil eyes of the enemies of Jews. Only in later period, climaxing in the nineteenth century with the struggle for civil emancipation of Jews, did synagogue architecture become façade-conscious. It turned with its grand domes, steep turrets and impressive façades to the townscape, communicating message of Jewish desire to live as equals in the modern multi-confessional society.

As seen above, the appearance of the synagogue was very much dictated by the inner religious requirements and external rules imposed on the Jewish community by the state or Church authorities. Another interesting issue is to investigate, how the user, the Jewish community, perceived the synagogue and what the religious meaning of this edifice was. Traditionally, after the destruction of the Temple, where centralized Jewish sacrificial cult was performed, the rabbinical tradition identified the synagogue as *mikdash m'at*, a small sanctuary, substituting for the destructed Temple in Jerusalem.¹¹

In the nineteenth century, when synagogue enterprises of the Jewish legal and civil emancipation period took place, the rabbis held special sermons during the inaugural ceremony. The sermons were often later printed in festive brochures commemorating the event. Numerous sermons held by German rabbis were studied by Michael Meyer, who concluded that the synagogue building came about to fulfill three missions; it served as a *Gotteshaus* [House of Lord], *Heligtum* [Sanctuary] and *Erbaungslokal* [House of Edification].¹² From our region of Europe, a direct ideological involvement in the synagogue construction by the Immanuel Löw of Szeged is known. Learned rabbi

intensively assisted to architect in formulating a broad decoration program of the newly constructed Neolog synagogue.¹³

The other crucial aspect that needs an analysis is determining the position of the Slovak synagogue architecture in the broader Central European architectural context. Slovakia played an important crossroad of the European Jewish history, with major immigration waves from Poland and Moravia. This, together with ideological and cultural influence from Germany, later Vienna and Budapest, as I have stated in the opening chapter, played a significant role in shaping of the Slovak Jewry.

Similarly, the Slovak architectural scene was a considerable recipient of the architectural models from important centers of the Central European architecture, including Vienna, Budapest and Germany. These were further adopted and adapted by local architects and contractors on the regional level, in provincial centers and small towns.¹⁴ In the sphere of Slovak synagogue architecture, the synagogue architecture developments in Poland, German speaking lands, Vienna and Budapest must be cautiously followed as sources of models that were dispersed and accommodated in Slovakia.

Already in the Middle Ages the most important Jewish centers in Central Europe played an important role in disseminating of the synagogue models.¹⁵ Their influence on the synagogue architecture in Slovakia remains hypothetical, since we possess only one minimally preserved Jewish monument from this period (FIG. 1).¹⁶ Yet in Hungary, archeological evidence from the Buda Castle and two preserved Gothic synagogues in Sopron give us an idea about the synagogue architecture on the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁷

An influential center contributing significantly to the history of European synagogue architecture that produced models received also in Slovakia was Poland. Historical Kingdom, referred to as *Rzeczpospolita*, spread further to the east through territories of Ukraine and Belarus. It was a home to prosperous Jewish community that settled here in times, when other European countries were expelling their Jews. Many forms of synagogue architecture were typical for Poland, reflecting long history of Jewish

presence in the country and variety of residential situations. Synagogues included wooden and masonry synagogues, fortress synagogues as well as other types. Two types of synagogue have special relevance for territories to the south of Poland. They were transmitted to these areas, either as result of business or religious and cultural ties. Slovakia had a direct contact with Poland by the Polish-Jewish immigration in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. These influences entered Slovakia in two streams, either directly by immigration penetrating northern and north-eastern territory of Slovakia or were intermediated via Moravia to western Slovakia.

The first type represents single-nave synagogues without internal support pillars. Two of them, so-called ReMA Synagogue from 1553/1557 and Rabbi Isaac Synagogue (FIG. 13), stand in Cracow.¹⁸ Looking at plan of the Isaac synagogue constructed in 1644, we can see a layout that later became typical for many traditional synagogues in Slovakia. Sanctuary was entered through a vestibule in the westernmost section of the building. Above vestibule and adjoining study room spread a women's gallery. Access to the women gallery secured an external staircase diagonally attached to the western façade. The *bimah* was placed in the center of the sanctuary, which is a barrel-vaulted hall with windows placed in the lunettes. Two windows flank the ark in the east, three windows pierce the southern and northern wall of the sanctuary.

The second important Polish invention were a four-pillar tabernacle synagogue and so-called nine-bay synagogue.¹⁹ They developed as an attempt to solve the old problem of placing a *bimah* into center of sanctuary and finding a place for support pillars, so that view from the *bimah* to the ark would not be blocked. Such was the case of medieval twin-nave synagogues, where the *bimah* was placed between columns. The connection of the *bimah* and architecture, which reflects the liturgical needs is an excellent example, how the liturgical and *halakhic* needs determined an emergence of special type of Jewish religious architecture.

This solution appeared first time in the MaHarSHal Synagogue in Lublin from 1624-1632 (FIG. 12), followed in the first half of the 17th century by synagogues in Vilnius, Ostrog, Slonim, Lutsk, Pinsk and other places in historical Poland. This important synagogue type reached over-regional influence, since it gradually

disseminated to the broader territory of the East-Central Europe and examples are known from Moravia (Mikulov), Hungary (Mád, Zsambék, Apostag) and Slovakia (Trenčín, FIG. 428; Čachtice, FIG. 419-420; Stupava, FIG. 47-52; Huncovce, FIG. 319-323; Lubotice, FIG. 334-336; and Bardejov, FIG. 299-304).

A wide spread custom in the Baroque synagogues was painting of the liturgical texts on the sanctuary walls. Hebrew prayers were placed into architectural frames and surrounded by rich decorative folk paintings, often featuring symbolic animals, menorah and depiction of Jerusalem. Detailed analyze of synagogue wall paintings brought recently an excellent monographic work on Gwoździec synagogue.²⁰

From Poland we know a genuine number of examples of this practice, which spread also to Moravia and even Bavaria. In Moravia, liturgical texts on walls of several synagogues have been preserved.²¹ Minimal evidence about such a practice in Slovakia exists, since our preserved synagogues are relatively young. Nevertheless, we possess indications that also Slovak synagogues contained liturgical texts on their walls.²²

An important chapter in the Central European synagogue architecture is represented by the wooden synagogues. This chapter, however, has almost been entirely closed, since with exception of the last extant synagogues in Ukraine and Lithuania,²³ all the wooden synagogues were lost during World War II or afterwards. Our knowledge, based on the pre-war documentations, shows that hundreds or perhaps even thousands wooden synagogues existed.²⁴ These included synagogues from simple barn-like buildings to complicated creations with side annexes and corner towers. Classification of the wooden synagogue architecture acknowledges several types according to division of spaces.²⁵ While comparing the wooden synagogues with other architecture in the region, we can often trace elements of profane countryside mansions as well as typical translation of masonry synagogue architectural solutions into wooden material. Polish wooden synagogues are a genuine example of meeting local Carpathian architectural tradition and Jewish religious concepts. Their influence on Slovak territory will remain unanswered question, since we possess only scarce knowledge about once standing wooden synagogues in Slovakia.

The oldest synagogues on the territory of Slovakia originate from the late 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. In this period, the prevailing fashion of the residential and religious architecture was neo-Classical.²⁶ In the broader Hungarian territorial context, this included the mansions, churches as well as the synagogues. The synagogue façades were characterized by monumental portico with pediment, such as can be seen in Óbuda and Baja. Similar schemes appeared in Slovakia; the buildings in Liptovský Mikuláš (FIG. 215-220) and Huncovce (FIG. 319-323) exemplified this type.

It was predominantly in the second half of the 19th century, when most of the preserved synagogues in Slovakia and of the former Habsburg Empire were constructed. Therefore, it would be important to have a more detailed view on the situation in the 19th century architecture in general. This period was characterized in Central Europe by an ongoing discussion on question of appropriate architectural style. Emblematic of this dilemma was the title “*In welchen Style wollen wir bauen?*” by Architect Heinrich Hübsch. Historical styles were studied and applied to new building types, stylistic canons received new use. In broader sense, each historical style became associated with certain values, representing various historical periods. To mention the most complex example, the *Ringstrasse* in Vienna, here was this academic architectural approach materialized in full scale.²⁷ The Viennese *Ringstrasse* mega-project serves as an extreme example of developing a modern European city after the medieval fortification was demolished. Nevertheless, already in the first half of the nineteenth century we encounter examples of mass-scale rebuilding in German residential towns.

Precisely this period of lengthy discourse over style coincided with substantial changes to the Jewish communal situation. Jews had begun to settle in numerous cities that had previously banned or limited their residence, while they struggled for their civil equality. This was reflected in the quest for a new synagogue type, which had to replace a countryside synagogue or a synagogue humbly hidden behind houses of the Jewish neighborhood. The modern synagogue became façade-conscious and had to embody a self-respecting and emancipated urban Jewish community. The search for this new type of building spread through decades of the nineteenth century. Architects of the day entered this uneasy task with great enthusiasm, often expressing their own vision, how

the Jewish community should be perceived through their projects. Needless to say, not always were their proposals, often backed by state authorities, in accord with expectations of the Jewish community representatives.

The synagogue built in 1788 by architect Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff in Wörlitz took on a shape of an Antique Roman round-temple to match the overall concept of the principal garden empire. The ideal landscape garden concept has determined the appearance of the synagogue. The early Reform Seesen Temple was strongly modeled according to the Protestant church, since its founder Israel Jacobson wished to create a radically new form of Judaism. In Munich in 1824, Jean Baptiste Métivier decided on a three-nave ancient basilica with eastern apse, which had to be hidden behind a modest neo-Classical façade. Another important synagogue was constructed in 1798-1800 in Karlsruhe by Friedrich Weinbrenner. This synagogue had to be discretely accessed through a courtyard.

The Jewish situation in imperial Vienna was not unproblematic. The Empire tolerated residence of the limited number of wealthy Jewish families, who established a small community and constructed their synagogue in the Vienna Inner City. Yet the State authorities did not allow a street façade for this new sanctuary and synagogue had to be constructed on an irregular lot surrounded by residential buildings. The interior, though, surpasses all expectations of visitor, as the community had engaged Josef Kornhäusel, a leading architect in the city who designed several Viennese theatres. For a new synagogue he introduced a splendidly decorated Biedermeier theatre hall.

The above mentioned synagogues in Germany and Austria were all unique buildings that expressed a long journey of experimenting in order to create a genuine prototype of modern synagogue building. This task was first time successfully achieved in Kassel (FIG. 14), which happened to be also one of first synagogues to be designed by Jewish architect.²⁸ After a long and complicated process, when the Jewish community of Kassel had carefully refused, so as not to arouse wrath of authorities, many projects, they constructed a new synagogue in 1836-1839.²⁹ In the course of the lengthy planning phase that included changes in style and new cost calculations, the project was finally realized in a design by Albrecht Rosengarten.

The synagogue was a free-standing three-nave structure; a tri-partite western façade, forming a massive pavilion with a central bay accentuated by gable, faced the street. The architect opted for Romanesque style as obvious from typical round-arched windows that gave the name to the “Rundbogenstil”. In his article on Kassel synagogue published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Rosengarten advocated for the *Rundbogenstil*, as the most suitable style for synagogue architecture.³⁰

Among other reasons, he rejected the Egyptian style as reminder on slavery in Egypt, as well as Gothic, which he identified as typical style of Christian religious architecture. His preferred style reminded him on early Christian churches and oldest synagogues from the Roman time. He discouraged copying Classical temples and suggested ancient basilicas as models, since it was there where the community assembled. In his article he further explained the important structural requirements that architects had to consider while designing synagogue building. An interesting detail related to the women’s gallery lacking upper grid – *mechitzah* – which the architect consciously omitted.

The Kassel synagogue turned into a synagogue model that found followers in Germany, in Frankfurt am Main - Schützenstrasse (1853) and Mannheim (1855). Nevertheless, it was especially in the Austrian Empire, where the influence of the Kassel model appeared. This was surely influenced by the circulation of the Vienna edited *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* in the land. Several Moravian synagogues (Pohrlitz, 1855; Brno, 1855; Jihlava, 1863), synagogues in Gliwice (1861) and Linz (1877) show clear kinship with the Rosengarten’s work. Moreover, Hammer-Schenk draws a development line between the Kassel synagogue and twin-tower façade that became emblematic for synagogue architecture of the second half of the 19th century.³¹ Pilsen synagogue front (1861) reminds indeed on the slightly altered Kassel scheme, though on both sides topped by octagonal towers with onions.

Aside from Germany, we can consider Vienna as the main center that exercised influence over synagogue architecture in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Vienna played important role as the center of architecture in general and it was also here that there developed one of the large and affluent Jewish communities of the former Monarchy.

Numerous synagogues were constructed in the second half of the 19th century what gave architects opportunity to formulate their opinions on the suitable appearance of the synagogue.

Prominent among them was Friedrich von Förster, who designed three synagogues that became influential models followed in distant corners of the Empire and abroad.³² Von Förster, who was himself Protestant, wished to find an appropriate design reflecting the emancipating Jewish community that for decades had only limited residential right in the Habsburg capitol. Moreover, their synagogue built earlier in the 19th century in the Inner City had to hide its façade behind the apartment block.

The Tempelgasse project (FIG. 15), realized in 1853-1859, was entirely different concept. The new Temple had to present self-aware Jewish community that stood firmly in the urban society. The architect designed the building in the Moorish style, with exotic turrets on top of two pillars attached to the façade, symbolizing two pillars of the Jerusalem Temple, Jachin and Boaz.³³ The street front was tri-partite with higher central portion marking the main nave of the sanctuary. Horizontally, a massive cornice with Moorish ornament stressed the façade. The main entrance was placed in the center, flanked on both sides by large round-arched windows. Soon became this synagogue façade popular model followed by many other communities. This included Bucharest, Nyíregyháza, Szekszárd, Barcs, Vác and Banská Bystrica (FIG. 429-431) in Slovakia.

A second prominent synagogue was designed by von Förster for Miskolc, a prosperous Jewish community in the fast growing regional center, built in 1856-1863 (FIG. 16-17). The building was an alteration of the Viennese tri-partite scheme, with central portion stressed by a gable accent. The structure became soon a scheme applied also in other Jewish communities of comparable size. This included among others nearby Košice, where the new synagogue was constructed in 1866.

Another trendy synagogue feature was also associated with von Förster. There was probably in the 19th century nothing which provoked the traditionalists and the Orthodox more than the towers appearing as an integral element of the synagogue architecture. It seems that the first time there emerged a twin-tower design was a drawing by A. Regel that in 1841 won in Berlin the architectural competition for innovative

synagogue building (FIG. 18).³⁴ Striking similarity is shown by the synagogue at Dohány Street in Pest, constructed by von Förster in 1854-1859 (FIG. 19). Its tri-partite street front has been extended by two slim octagonal minarets with onion-shaped roofs. The twin-tower scheme became very popular architectural solution for the 19th century synagogues, which has been represented by buildings located in small provincial towns as well as major urban Jewish centers on the European and the American territory, such as the well-known Central Synagogue in New York.

The two most prominent Viennese synagogue architects were Max Fleischer and Wilhelm Stiassny. In private life friends, as architects they stood in clear ideological opposition; while Fleischer advocated building synagogues in Gothic style, Stiassny favored Moorish designs. Both of them considered their style preference as the most suitable style for synagogue architecture. The public opinion was significantly shaped through the *oeuvre* of these two architects, which included not only executed projects physically present in various Viennese neighborhoods and small towns throughout the Empire, but also included their frequent publications and public lectures, where the architects voiced their opinions on contemporary synagogue architecture. Fleischer designed several synagogues in Vienna that did not have direct followers in Slovakia, but Stiassny had an important realization in Malacky (FIG. 29-33) that was spared of destruction met by most of his other works during the Holocaust. For this small town he designed a charming twin-tower Moorish structure that remains one of the most interesting buildings there.

The often overlooked, although for Slovakia quite important, architect working in Vienna, was Jakub Gartner.³⁵ During his career he designed four synagogues in Vienna and nine in other towns of the Empire. Two of them, he designed for Jewish communities in Slovakia, Hlohovec (FIG. 392-398) and Trnava (FIG. 76-81). Interestingly, both communities were so-called Status Quo Ante, independent communities that did join neither Orthodox nor Neolog movement. His works are fine examples of imported designs from the capital, very much reflecting contemporary *Rundbogenstil* architecture.

Another prominent figure that left mark on search for Jewish national style was Edwin Oppler. In the German synagogue architecture he voiced the preference for the

medieval style inspiration, as represented by the ancient synagogues of Worms and Prague. His designs for Hannover, Wrocław (FIG. 21) and other towns strongly reminded of the Romanesque German imperial cathedrals. Oppler's works did not have a direct impact in Slovakia, but draw significant parallel with the *oeuvre* of a prolific Budapest-based synagogue specialist, Lipót Baumhorn.

The architect Baumhorn³⁶ was no-doubt influenced by Ödon Lechner as many others in his generation in a search for appropriate Hungarian national representative architecture. He developed a specific synagogue style deemed to proclaim the ardent patriotism of Jews. Baumhorn adopted eclectic approach integrating the Byzantine, neo-Romanesque, Gothic and Art Nouveau style elements that created a characteristic Baumhornian *mélange* (FIG. 22). The architect favored a domed scheme on the Greek cross plan, with stair-towers located on the corners, often articulated as towers. The sanctuary was a hall with dome supported by pillars that also carried the women's gallery. This design reflected the taste of the Jewish communities and within decades of his prolific *oeuvre*, his synagogues were erected in the capital as well as in the smaller provincial towns, ranking him to the most productive synagogue architects ever.

Until the early 1900s, synagogue architecture very much reflected the 19th century style discourse, which associated the building style with certain qualities and values. Through the choice of specific architectural solution, the commissioners and the architects wished to communicate the balance between the particularistic Jewishness, degree of acculturation and anticipated acceptance into the general society. Therefore, the whole communities engaged into the internal disputes favoring either Moorish, *Rundbogenstil* or Gothic approaches.

Prior to World War I there came about another development in the synagogue architecture in Germany. Echoing the general trend towards reducing decoration while preserving monumental Classical forms, there were constructed several synagogues in this new fashion. Massive structures utilized modern construction technologies, but retained the exotic elegance of the domed forms. The synagogues of Essen (FIG. 23) and Frankfurt-Westend (FIG. 24) well exemplified this approach, which had been to our territory transmitted in the Trenčín synagogue project.

The tendency further continued throughout the 1920s, characterized in Germany by search for new Jewish artistic expression. This included the painting, sculpture, bookprint and also the architecture.³⁷ Especially among the Jewish middle-class found the modern many supporters and patrons. Contemporary architecture was popularized in the Jewish cultural press; great number of functionalist villas was commissioned by the Jewish clientele.³⁸ Naturally, this intensive movement could not by-pass the field of synagogue architecture and we encounter in this period a genuine search for new architectural forms expressing the spirit of time and Jewish communal needs.³⁸

They were demonstrated in the competitions and constructions of new synagogues in Amsterdam and London, in our geographic region in Vienna-Hietzing, Plauen and Hamburg. The competition for a new synagogue for Žilina (FIG. 244-247) must be seen in this context, when small provincial town in East-Central Europe, with German speaking community and Berlin-trained rabbi, decided to sponsor an international competition, which had attracted the leading architects of time, including Lipót Baumhorn, Josef Hoffman and Peter Behrens.³⁹

Synagogue architecture after World War II underwent further development in the United States and in Germany, where many new synagogues were constructed as part of renewal of Jewish life in the 1950s and 1960s, and in the last decade with arrival of the Jews from the former Soviet Union. None of this, though, has relevance for Slovakia, where most of the Jewish population was decimated during the Holocaust, and there were no new synagogues constructed anymore.

The third very important determinant that needs to be closely considered, when assessing the context of the synagogue architecture in Slovakia, is the influence of local architectural environment. Slovakia was an architecturally peripheral region, with imported designs from major centers that were further reproduced by the contractors on the regional level. Nevertheless, these often incorporated the elements of the local building tradition influencing the taste of the patrons, as well working manner of the contractors.

The oldest surveyed synagogues from Slovakia are reminiscent of rural Baroque architecture. This included the Old Synagogue of Humenné with large gable (FIG. 476-477); the similar appears on the façade of Mád synagogue in Hungary. The synagogue of Šebeš-Kelemeš [today Lúbotice] (FIG. 334-336) near Prešov originally featured a monumental Mansard roof, as today visible on the local Haller mansion and the historical local inn. In Stupava, the gable is a typical representative of the local regional folk architecture with three round ventilation holes (FIG. 47), as seen until today in the Záhorie countryside.⁴⁰ Štítnik synagogue façade (FIG. 290) is a rural street front with two windows archetypal for the whole Carpathian area, yet the windows had received pointed arch articulation, probably under in the fashion of the local Gothic church.

Lučenec, an often overlooked regional town on the Hungarian-Slovak periphery became at the beginning of the 20th century an important center of Art Nouveau provincial architecture⁴¹ that served as popular neo-traditionalist architectural expression. This fashion, supported by the Revisionist cultural orientations to Budapest rather than to Bratislava or Prague, continued well into the 1920s. It is not surprising, therefore, that both new synagogues constructed during the interwar period were Art Nouveau buildings (FIG. 189-195, 435-438), one of them by Baumhorn. Similarly, in Šahy, another Slovak-Hungarian border town, the synagogue utilized a pre-World War I scheme (FIG. 129).

The developments at the architectural periphery often included surprising and unexpected elements, which exemplified the local attempts for innovative and authentic architecture. This was the situation in Košice, a center of Eastern Slovakia, where influences from Prague and Budapest intertwined with local inputs. The façade of the Orthodox synagogue at Puškinova Street (FIG. 258-259), designed by the local architects, integrated typical Renaissance attic as seen on the historical mansions in Eastern-Slovak region.⁴²

The synagogues were not merely a result of simple mechanical replacing of a common architectural scheme onto the building lot provided by the Jewish community. The architect or the contractor had to consider the financial situation of the patron. The community had to evaluate its size and further possible growth, since the synagogue would be constructed from financial means raised among the community members, sale

of the seats and additional loans from the bank. The synagogue was anticipated to serve for decades, which sometimes favored more conventional architectural designs, especially, when the congregation was smaller and with limited financial means. On the contrary, some affluent urban communities wished to demonstrate their status by choice of fashionable and innovative appearance for their sanctuary.

An important determinant influencing the appearance of a synagogue was the location. The situation of the building lot had strong impact on the architectural solution, which reflected the distribution of neighboring architecture. The synagogue in Banská Štiavnica (FIG. 169-171) is an excellent example of the architect's creative approach to his task. The former mining town hidden between the hills is a picturesque cluster of the streets meandering on the slopes. The synagogue stands on a Y-junction of descending and ascending streets; its articulated western front makes it a dominant structure in the middle of the small area.

The required direction of a Jewish house of prayer towards Jerusalem had to be respected, and together with orientation of the building lot, they effected the appearance of the synagogue. Ideally, synagogue was constructed as a free-standing building with western façade facing the street, if the western edge of the building lot bordered the street. On a building lot with eastern orientation, the eastern façade of a synagogue faced the street, and the ark was legible as a central motif of the façade. Most complicated were the cases, when the lot was too narrow, had other than east-west orientation or the building had to be integrated into the neighboring architecture. In such case it was left solely to the invention of an architect how would he interact with complicated situation. The Orthodox synagogue at Heydukova Street in Bratislava (FIG. 25-28) exemplifies a successful architectural solution of these problems; the architect hid the actual building with west-eastern orientation behind an elegant colonnade turned towards the south.

The location of a synagogue also reflected the social and legal status of the Jewish community. The Jewish residential presence was often limited to certain neighborhoods outside of the city walls; therefore, synagogue buildings and communal compounds with other Jewish communal institutions were located there. In former free royal towns that banned the Jewish residence until 1840, Jews as newcomers could not acquire centrally

located land, which was already built up by other users. They had to construct their houses of worship behind the line of the demolished fortification and the glacis zone.

Market towns or villages subjected to the feudal landlord represented a slightly different situation; the local population did not present a rigid urban organism in privileged position to keep the Jews out, but was subjected to the same landlord, who settled the Jews in the town. Therefore, the synagogues often had a more prominent place in this architectural setting and were frequently located in close proximity to the feudal residence.

To summarize, in this chapter I tried to delineate the broader Central European regional context of the synagogue architecture. Defining the mechanism, how synagogue architecture came to reflect various determinants, is of great importance, since it helps to assess the multifaceted problem of the Slovak synagogue architecture.

First of all, synagogues were constructed by the Jewish communities to fulfill the role of the central communal institution; they served as a house of worship and place of assembly. The synagogues had to accommodate their function while respecting internal legal requirements of the Jewish religious tradition. In addition, since throughout the history was the Jewish community in a vulnerable position of minority marginalized by the host society, the synagogues had to meet the external regulations imposed by the Church or State authorities.

Only in the 19th century, with civil and legal emancipation of Jews, did the synagogues become façade-conscious buildings. The transformation from introvert synagogues, either hidden in the communal compounds or with humble façades, brought a new meaning to a street front, which became a display shield of the self-aware community. The quest for a suitable architectural style, as reflected in the contemporary discourse, brought a variety of fashions; the synagogues were constructed in the *Rundbogenstil*, Moorish, Byzantine, Gothic and their variations and cross-breeds.

Precisely this period, the second half of the 19th century, is marked by a rapid urbanization of Jews. The towns that for centuries remained closed to the Jewish residence became vibrant centers of Jewish life and the synagogues genuinely embodied

in the architectural landscape the Jewish presence. Local contractors were commissioned to build new synagogues; they looked for models, which they found in already constructed synagogues in the main centers of the Monarchy. Moreover, some affluent communities and donors commissioned buildings from leading architects in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin.

It would be incorrect, though, to assume that synagogues in the province were constructed merely as a result of mechanical transmission from the center onto the periphery. The buildings also reflected local architectural tradition and had to consider character of the building lot, its orientation and position in the urban architectural setting.

NOTES

1. For origins and early history of synagogue see LEVINE, Lee I.: *The Ancient Synagogue. The First Thousand Years*, New Haven – London (Yale University Press) 2000; RUNESSON, Anders: *The Origins of the Synagogue. A Socio-Historical Study*. Stockholm (Almqvist & Wiksell International) 2001.
2. Shulchan Aruch, Isserles, Orach Chajim 150, 5.
3. Serious discussion about this issue aroused in Hungary in the 19th century. Rabbinical *responsa* have preserved numerous queries addressed to the Orthodox rabbinical authorities. This included the Jewish community in Eisenstadt that approached the Chatam Sofer in 1830, who strictly refused innovations (Sefer Chatam Sofer, Orach Chajim 28). In some other case, the *chazzan* of the Jewish community in Šaštín asked for an advise the rabbi of Eisenstadt, Esriel Hildesheimer (She'elot u-Teshuvot Rabbi Azriel, O'Ch 22). The rabbi of Pezinok, Israel David Jaffe-Margoliot wrote: "*The bimah in the center is a fundament on which the entire Torah is built. Whoever tears her from the center uproots the fundamentals of the Torah.*" (Mecholat ha-Machanajim, Bratislava (Pressburg) 1859, quoted in KERN-ULMER, p. 86).
4. Babylonian Talmud, Ber. 34b.
5. Shulchan Aruch, OH 90:4, from the Zohar, Parashat Pekudei.
6. On the Pinkas Synagogue see VOLÁVKOVÁ, Hana: *The Pinkas Synagogue. A Memorial of the Past and of Our Days*. Praha (Státní pedagogické nakladatelství) 1955.
7. The presence of the *mehitzah*, grid screen on top of the women's gallery railing, turned into an ideological battle. In 1864, Leopold Löw, rabbi of Szeged, expressed benevolent and supportive stance on this issue (quoted in KERN-ULMER, pp. 51-57), while two years later, the zealots meeting at Michalovce conference issued a harsh *psaq din* that disqualified all synagogues with tower, without *bimah* placed in the center and without genuine *mehitzah*. The ideological and political dispute led later toward schism of the Hungarian Jewry.
8. See KERN-ULMER, Brigitte: *Rabbinische Responen zum Synagogenbau*. Volume 1, Die Responentexten. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York (Georg Olms Verlag) 1990.
9. Tosefta Meg. 4:23, Sh. Ar., OH 150:2.
10. Psalm 130:1.
11. Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 29a.
12. MEYER, Michael A.: "*How Awesome is this Place!*" *The Reconceptualisation of the Synagogue in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. In: Leo Baeck Institute Year Book. Volume XLI. London-Jerusalem-New York 1996, pp. 51-63.
13. Rabbi Löw was a devoted botanist, who developed for the synagogue sophisticated decoration program based on Biblical flora.
14. In their recent monographic work on Slovak architecture, two leading Slovak architectural historians contemplate on peripheral role of Slovakia, and the ways how the influences from major architectural centers were further developed on the

- local scene. See DULLA, Matúš and MORAVČÍKOVÁ, Henrieta: *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí* [Architecture of Slovakia in the 20th Century]. Bratislava (Vydavateľstvo Slovart) 2002.
15. Medieval Central European synagogues with typical twin-nave plan, forming the development line Worms – Regensburg – Prague – Cracow are discussed in WISCHNITZER, Rachel: *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*. Philadelphia (The Jewish Publication Society) 1964, pp. 44-56.
 16. The Gothic entrance portal, discovered at the compound of the Corpus Christi Chapel in Bratislava, originates probably from the medieval synagogue.
 17. On the medieval synagogue on the Buda Castle Hill see BUDAI, Aurél: *Középkori zsinagóga a Budai várnegyedben*. In: Pavillon. *Építészet, Művészet, Történet*. Number 9, Budapest 1994, pp. 6-8. On Sopron medieval synagogues see GERŐ, László (ed.): *Magyarországi Zsinagógák*. Budapest (Műszaki könyvkiadó) 1989, pp. 141-145; KRINSKY, Carol H.: *Synagogues of Europe. Architecture, History, Meaning*. New York (The Architectural History Foundation) - Cambridge-London (The MIT Press) 1985, pp. 143-145.
 18. On these two synagogues see REJDUCH-SAMKOVA, Izabella – SAMEK, Jan (ed.): *Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland, Volume IV: The City of Cracow, Part VI: Kazimierz and Stradom. Judaica: Synagogues, Public Buildings and Cemeteries*. Warsaw (Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art) 1995, pp. 9-13, 24-26; PIECHOTKA, Maria and PIECHOTKA, Kazimierz: *Brany Nieba. Bóznice murowane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Gates to Heaven. Masonry Synagogues in the Lands of Ancient Poland]. Warsaw (Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka) 1999, pp. 116-119, pp. 129-133.
 19. This unique synagogue type attracted interest of prominent researchers in the synagogue architecture field. Among others, following works include the nine-bay synagogues: GROTE, Alfred: *Deutsche, böhmische und polnische Synagogentypen von XI. bis Anfänge des XIX. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1915. Wischnitzer identified four-pillar tabernacle synagogues as a direct follower of the Worms-Regensburg-Prague-Cracow development line of the two-nave synagogues. See WISCHNITZER, Rachel: *Mutual Influences Between Eastern and Western Europe in Synagogue Architecture from the 12th to the 18th Centuries*. In: GUTMANN, Joseph (ed.): *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture*. New York (Ktav Publishing House, Inc.) 1975, pp. 265-308. ZAJCZYK, Simon: *Architektura barokowych bóżnic murowanych w Polsce. Zagadnienia i systematyka materiału zabytkowego*. [The Architecture of Baroque Masonry Synagogues in Poland and the Systematics of Monument Fond]. In: *Biuletyn historii sztuki i kultury*. Warszawa (Zakład Architektury Polskiej i Historji Sztuki Politechniki Warszawskiej) 1932-1933, pp. 186-195; KRINSKY, pp. 205-217. In his recent study provided Sergei Kravtsov interesting hints about connection of the in Poland widely circulated early 17th century theoretical work by Ioannis Baptista Villalpando and Hieronymos Prado, *In Ezechielem Explanaciones et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolimitani Commentariis et Imaginibus Illustratus opus*, and the appearance of the nine-bay synagogue type. See in KRAVTSOV, Sergei: *O proischozhdenii deviatipolnych*

- kamennykh sinagog.* In: RODOV, Ilija (ed.): *Evreiskoe iskustvo v evropeiskom kontekste.* Moskva (Mosty kulturny) 2002, pp. 191-204.
20. See remarkable study by HUBKA, Thomas C.: *Resplendent Synagogue. Architecture and Worship in an Eighteen-Century Polish Community.* Hanover-London (Brandeis University Press) 2003. Hubka explains on example of wooden Gwoździec synagogue the role played a synagogue in the life of a small town Jewish community. He brilliantly analyzes impact of local architectural and artistic traditions as well as Jewish sources, including the Zohar, a wide spread Kabbalistic work.
 21. Hebrew liturgical texts on the walls of sanctuary were preserved in the following synagogues in Moravia: Třebíč (Back Synagogue, interior paintings from 1706-1707) Holešov (Shach Synagogue, interior paintings from 1725-1737) and Boskovice (interior paintings from 1703-1705).
 22. In Slovakia, we possess fragmentary photographic evidence from the old prayer halls in Hlohovec (FIG. 399-400) and Prešov. During my field trips, we discovered traces of Hebrew inscriptions in storage of a private house in Sobotište, formerly synagogue.
 23. The synagogue of Velikiye Komyaty was discovered in the 1980s by Aniko Gazda. See KRAVTSOV, Sergei: *Wooden Synagogue at Velikiye Komyaty.* In: YARGINA, Zoya: *Wooden Synagogues.* Moscow (Image Publishing House) undated, pp. 65-69. Several wooden synagogues were preserved in Lithuania; in Seda, Ziezmariai Pakruojis and Tirksliai.
 24. YARGINA, *Wooden Synagogues*, p. 8.
 25. Researchers differed on this issue and introduced several classifications. Grotte recognized two types (GROTTE, pp. 53-63), Yargina five types (YARGINA, pp. 23-33) and Piechotka three types. PIECHOTKA, Maria and PIECHOTKA, Kazimierz: *Bramy nieba. Bóżnice drewniane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Gates to Heaven. Wooden Synagogues in the Lands of Ancient Poland]. Warszawa (Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka Sp. z o. o.) 1996, pp. 40-42.
 26. See overview monographic works ZÁDOR, Anna: *Die Architektur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in Ungarn.* Budapest (Korvina Kiadó/Helikon Kiadó) 1985; WIEBENSON, Dora and SISA, József: *The Architecture of Historic Hungary.* Budapest (Kiadó 2000) 2000.
 27. SCHORSKE, Carl E.: *Fin-de-siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture.* New York (Alfred A. Knopf) 1980, pp. 24-115. WAGNER-RIEGER, Renate: *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert.* Wien (Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst) 1970. See also remarkable work by OLSEN, Donald J.: *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna.* New Haven - London (Yale University Press) 1986.
 28. Rosengarten constructed during his career one synagogue in Kassel and four in Hamburg. He is considered to be a first Jewish architect in Germany, though his biographical entry is missing in major Jewish encyclopedic works. On architect see ROHDE, Saskia: *Albert Rosengarten (1809-1893). Die Anfänge des Synagogenbaus jüdischer Architekten in Deutschland.* In: *Menora. Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 1993. München-Zürich (Piper) 1993, pp. 228-258.

- 29.** HAMMER-SCHENK, Harold: *Synagogen in Deutschland. Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Volume I-II.* Hamburg (Hans Christian Verlag) 1981, pp. 87-113. See SCHUCHARD, Jutta: *Synagogen und Synagogenprojekte in Kassel im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert.* In: *Synagogen in Kassel.* Marburg (Jonas Verlag for Stadtmuseum Kassel) 2000, pp. 25-43. See also HAMMER-SCHENK, Harold: *Die Architektur der Synagoge von 1780 bis 1933.* In: SCHWARZ, Hans-Peter (ed.): *Die Architektur der Synagoge.* Frankfurt (Deutsches Architekturmuseum) 1989, pp. 177-184.
- 30.** Allgemeine Bauzeitung, Wien 1840, pp. 205-207, CCCXLIX-XXXLIII.
- 31.** HAMMER-SCHENK, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, p. 114-123.
- 32.** About dispersion of von Förster's synagogue models in the former Empire wrote MÜLLER, Ines: „*Dort, in Kakanien, diesem untergegangenen, unverstandenen Staat...*“. *Synagogen zwischen Wien und Budapest.* In: *Juden im Grenzraum. Geschichte, Kultur und Lebenswelt „Schlaininger Gespräche 1990“.* Eisenstadt 1993, pp. 245-286.
- 33.** FÖRSTER, Ludwig von: *Das israelitische Bethaus in der Wiener Vorstadt Leopoldstadt.* In: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Wien 1859, 14.
- 34.** BENDT, Veronika and BOTHE, Rolf (ed.): *Synagogen in Berlin. Zur Geschichte einer zertörten Architektur. Volumes I-II.* Berlin (Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, Berlin Museum) 1983, Volume I, pp. 76-77.
- 35.** More about Jakub Gartner, today lesser known Vienna-based architect, who built at least thirteen synagogues in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, see in MÜLLER, pp. 274-281.
- 36.** On Baumhorn see the exhibition catalogue *Baumhorn Lipót Építész/Architect 1860-1932.* Budapest (Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Leveltár, OMVH Magyar Építészeti Múzeum) 1999.
- 37.** See BRENNER, Michael: *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany.* New Haven – London (Yale University Press) 1996, pp. 153-184.
- 38.** Max Eisler published articles popularizing contemporary architecture in Jewish cultural press. EISLER, Max: *Vom neuen Geist der jüdischen Baukunst.* In: *Menorah.* Volume 4, Number 9, Wien-Berlin 1926, pp. 519-527; *Entwürfe für eine Synagoge.* In: *Menorah.* Volume 7, Number 2, Wien-Berlin 1929, pp. 86-95; *Vom Geist der Synagoge.* In: *Menorah.* Volume 8, Number 1-2, Wien-Berlin 1930, pp. 79-86. In the *Menorah* magazine he also informed about newly constructed synagogues. EISLER, Max: *Ein moderner Tempel in Amsterdam.* In: *Menorah.* Volume VII, Number 11-12, Wien-Berlin 1929, pp. 559-567; *Die Synagoge in Sillein.* In: *Menorah.* Volume 9, Number 11-12, Wien-Berlin 1930, pp. 529-543.
- 39.** The most recent summarizing study on this synagogue is by DULLA, Matúš: *The Last Synagogue: on the Origin and Form of the Neolog Synagogue in Žilina by Peter Behrens.* In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus.* Volume XXXVII, Number 3-4, Bratislava 2004, pp. 199-215.
- 40.** On the vernacular architecture of Záhorie Region see GAZDÍKOVÁ, Alžbeta: *Záhorie, Malokarpatská a Trnavská oblasť [Záhorie, Small Carpathian and Trnava Regions].* In: *Ľudová architektúra a urbanizmus Ľudových sídiel na*

Slovensku [Folk Architecture and Urbanism of Folk Settlements in Slovakia]. Bratislava (Ministerstvo kultúry Slovenskej republiky, Národné pamiatkové a krajinné centrum, Academic Electronic Press) 1998, pp. 29-66.

- 41.** Lučenec is a provincial town on the Slovak-Hungarian border. In the first decade of the 20th century several vernacular Art Nouveau buildings were constructed here.
- 42.** DULLA and MORAVČÍKOVÁ, p. 78.

CHAPTER 4: CLASSIFICATION OF THE SLOVAK SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE

To provide an overview and classification of the synagogue architecture in Slovakia, we need to assess the nature of material preserved in the country. During my research, I have identified and documented 107 former synagogues and Jewish prayer halls in various conditions, from genuinely restored structures used for cultural purposes, to nearly collapsing, to completely altered buildings.¹ These included some residential dwellings, once used by tiny local Jewish communities as a house of worship. In addition to 107 extant buildings, I could find photographic documentation for another sixty-four demolished synagogues. Often these images existing solely as postcards were preserved in collections of regional museums, foreign institutions or private collectors.²

We possess the evidence of almost seven hundred centers of the Jewish communal life that once functioned in Slovakia,³ which allows us to conclude that extant synagogues are only fraction of the Slovak synagogue architecture. Nevertheless, even this incomplete documentation will allow us to assess the character of the Slovak synagogue architecture, the basic architectural solutions as well as to grasp the inner development of this architectural type on the territory of Slovakia. After considering the nature of the documented synagogues, their historical context, and the architectural tendencies, I divide their construction into four basic periods. The pre-emancipation period covers the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. Emancipation overlaps the second half of the 19th century until the early 1900s. During the pre-World War I period, there emerged some trends which fully developed in the last period, between the two World Wars.

4.1. PRE-EMANCIPATION PERIOD SYNAGOGUES

The oldest known synagogue buildings in Slovakia date to the late 18th or early half of the 19th centuries. Jewish residential rights in this period were limited and Jews could settle only on the estates of the nobility. They lived dispersed in the countryside or clustered in the market towns subjected to a landlord. Free royal towns and mining

regions did not tolerate Jewish presence at all. Elsewhere, the synagogues were built out of the sight of Christians; they were often hidden deep in the communal compounds behind other structures (Topoľčany, Bardejov), stood in the small villages (Huncovce) or in less prominent suburban zones (Liptovský Mikuláš).

The interior arrangement of a typical synagogue from this period reflected its liturgical function and eastwards orientation. On the western rear clustered an entrance vestibule and a room reserved for daily study and prayer. Especially in winter months, it was a matter of practicality to meet in a smaller space, which was much easier to heat. Above these rooms spread the women's gallery, often accessed via an external stairway, attached diagonally to the western façade (Stupava, FIG. 48; Veľká Ida, FIG. 295) or articulated as a portico (Bardejov; FIG. 300; Humenné, FIG. 476). The sanctuary was located in the eastern part of synagogue and had a traditional Ashkenazic arrangement: the *bimah* stood in the center and the ark, generally flanked by windows, adjoined the eastern wall. The sanctuaries could be either a single hall (Veľká Ida, FIG. 296; Humenné, FIG. 477) or more complicated nine-bay type with tabernacle *bimah* in the center, supporting the nine-bay ceiling structure (Bardejov, FIG. 303; Stupava, FIG. 51; Čachtice, FIG. 419; Trenčín, FIG. 428; Huncovce, FIG. 323; Šebeš-Kelemeš). Both types originated in Poland and were represented in the whole Central European region, including Moravia and Hungary.

Common fashion in the 18th century was to decorate the walls of the sanctuary with Hebrew liturgical texts. Several Polish and Moravian synagogues have preserved them in full beauty and we know that some Slovak synagogues also contained this kind of textual wall decoration. We possess photographic evidence about the presence of Hebrew liturgical inscriptions in a demolished prayer hall in Hlohovec (FIG. 399-400) and the first prayer hall in Prešov⁴. In addition, during my field trips, we discovered some textual fragments in storage of a private house in Sobotišťe, formerly synagogue.

The exteriors were inspired by the contemporary Baroque and neo-Classical architecture. The synagogues of Huncovce (FIG. 320), Liptovský Mikuláš (FIG. 215, 218) and Holíč featured a grand façade with representative neo-Classical portico topped by a tympanum. The old synagogue in Sobotišťe and Šaštín-Stráže (FIG. 70, 72) had a

Classical temple front. Other integrated typical Baroque elements; the synagogues in Šebeš-Kelemeš and Bardejov (FIG. 299, 302) had a mansard roof and the Humenné synagogue (FIG. 476) featured a large Baroque gable. An interesting synagogue stands in Svätý Jur (FIG. 53-56), a small town next to Bratislava, beyond any typological categorization: local Jews probably adapted the former rural mansion from the 17th century to serve as their house of worship. Few more synagogues in Slovakia are eligible to be added into the category of the oldest extant buildings. This includes former synagogues in Skalica (FIG. 60), Sekule (FIG. 61-62) and Rajec (FIG. 221-224) that are, however, in very fragmentary condition, not allowing more precise information about their original appearance.

Only rudimentary documented remains the question of wooden synagogues. Although Slovakia is located in geographic proximity to Poland and throughout history maintained genuine cultural and economic communication with the northern neighbor, as reflected on the masonry synagogue architecture, compared to Poland, our knowledge about wooden synagogues in Slovakia remains limited, since none stand. Limited information about wooden synagogues in Čirč, Pečovská Nová Ves and Kurima is available.⁵ We possess visual information only about two synagogues made of wood, in Veličná (FIG. 452-453) and Brezovica nad Torysou (FIG. 473-474).⁶ In their forms and spatial arrangements, both buildings corresponded with masonry synagogues and were genuine examples of transmission of the traditional synagogue scheme into wooden material.

4. 2. EMANCIPATION PERIOD SYNAGOGUES

After the mid 19th century, the synagogue architecture in Slovakia entered a new phase, which coincided with social reforms accompanied by the Jewish emancipation movement. The legislative changes of 1840 and 1867 contributed to unprecedented Jewish urbanization. Jewish communities were established in cities, previously not allowing Jewish residence, and the population of some *yishuvim*, villages with strong Jewish presence, began shrinking.

The synagogue building received a new role; it had to represent vis-à-vis fellow-citizens the presence of the emancipated and self-aware Jewish community. The Jewish ambition to be culturally integrated and tolerated in the society, were to be expressed by a distinct mark in the urban landscape, a Jewish house of worship topped by Ten Commandments.

Synagogues were no longer introverted structures hidden in villages or deep in communal compounds behind other buildings; they became façade-conscious objects of public display. Affluent communities commissioned leading architects from Budapest, Vienna or Berlin to design their sanctuaries. Other communities turned to local contractors, who often lacked any experience with this kind of commission and naturally looked for models. The synagogues vary in quality: some were imported designs from major cultural centers, other were more or less successful attempts of local contractors to master synagogue according to prevailing fashion and patron's taste.

New type of synagogues with different interior arrangement appeared, partially under indirect influence of the Christian church architecture. The women's gallery received more important form running along both sides of the sanctuary, either supported by cast-iron columns or by pillars dividing the interior hall into a three-nave space. In the Orthodox and Status Quo synagogues, the *bimah* was placed in the center; in the Neolog synagogues it could be shifted to the ark, sometimes forming a single *bimah*-ark unit (Liptovský Mikuláš, FIG. 219-220). On the western rear clustered an entrance vestibule with the main gateway pierced into the center of the west façade. Generally, the vestibule was flanked by stair-towers, on the façade often articulated as projections. The western façade reflected the interior arrangement and since it received a new meaning, it was not fewer prominent part of the building.

An interesting case is the first synagogue in Prešov, built by an emerging Jewish community in 1847-1849. The contractor Pribula decided to fashion this Jewish house of worship as a neo-Classical building, adopting the forms of a Lutheran church. Other contractors and architects were less audacious; they modeled their synagogues after several well established prototypes. Thus we find reflections of the Vienna-Tempelgasse Synagogue (FIG. 15) in Banská Bystrica (FIG. 429-431) and Senica (FIG. 403). Košice-

based contractor Repászky surely studied Förster's new synagogue in nearby Miskolc (FIG. 16-17), before he embarked on his own project for the Košice Jewish community (FIG. 455-458). Ignatz Feigler Jr., who inherited a prosperous firm from his father, was a leading contractor in Bratislava, when approached by local Jews to construct a synagogue at Zámocká Street (FIG. 377), he provided them a hybrid between Berlin-Oranienburgerstrasse (FIG. 20) and Budapest-Dohány utca (FIG. 19) synagogues. Rumors say that within days upon its completion, the synagogue had to be altered to respect the opinion of conservative rabbinical authority, the Kefav Sofer. Soon after introducing the prototypes modeled after the synagogues in Vienna, Kassel, Miskolc and Budapest, domestic variants were formed, providing broad repertoire of façade solutions.

Most common was the tri-partite façade, with central portion raised and often articulated as a projection. The central projection had sometimes a pillar accent on the corners, invented by von Förster as a reminiscence of Jerusalem Temple pillars, Jachin and Boaz. The pillars were sometimes prolonged by turrets or small towers, marking the Neolog affiliation of the congregation, as in Zvolen (FIG. 202). Some synagogue façades were fashioned after the Roman triumphal ark. This included the synagogues in Púchov (FIG. 424) and the old synagogue in Žilina (FIG. 451). In several cases, a single tower or dome was placed on the central portion of the façade. This included the synagogues Bratislava-Zámocká Street (FIG. 377), Prešov-Neolog (FIG. 349) and Brezno (FIG. 172, 174, 176), which could be the distanced followers of the Berlin-Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue (FIG. 20).

The presence of tower or towers on the façade was a significant ideological mark indicating the nature of the Jewish community. Derived from the Budapest-Dohány Street Synagogue, where von Förster had utilized this scheme for the first time, twin-tower solution became soon popular among the Neolog and Status Quo congregations throughout the country. The façade was tri-partite, with corner projections. Above them were placed the towers; these could be either octagonal (Bratislava-Rybné Square, FIG. 375-376; Trnava-Status Quo, FIG. 76-77) or roofs placed directly on the cornice of façade (Malacky, FIG. 29; Spišská Nová Ves, FIG. 469). Different solution represented

the synagogues in Nové Zámky (Neolog synagogue; FIG. 408) and Šaľa (FIG. 410); they had fore-standing octagonal towers attached to the western façade. Some synagogues did not have towers, but they still employed the vertical accent of the corner minarets. Such was the case in Pezinok (FIG. 381), Rimavská Sobota (FIG. 440), Lučenec (FIG. 434) and Levice (FIG. 110).

The Orthodox communities strictly adhered to the *psaq din* of Michalovce, which disqualified the synagogues with towers. Some congregations backed the Orthodox movement from the beginning and considered themselves a bastion of traditional Judaism (Michalovce, FIG. 459-461; Dunajská Streda, FIG. 384-385; Sečovce, FIG. 465-466; Topoľčany, FIG. 139-140), others were established as result of congregational rift (Komárno, FIG. 102-104; Trnava, FIG. 82-86; Nové Zámky, FIG. 119-122; Prešov, FIG. 5-6, 352-354). Naturally, the Orthodox synagogues required different appearance; they had no towers and their women's gallery featured genuine *mechitzah* while the *bimah* was strictly placed in the center. The synagogues were constructed by prosperous congregations and therefore, despite their strict Orthodox character, they did not lack rich ornamentation and representative elegance.

The appearance of some synagogues was a result of lot orientation rather than ideological affiliation. Their eastern façade oriented towards the street, the protrusion or monumental niche marking the ark became a central motif of the street front. In Rimavská Sobota (FIG. 440-441) and Kokava nad Rimavicou (FIG. 183-186) was the ark flanked by windows. In Piešťany, the street façade with monumental niche and geometric window received a tri-partite arrangement (FIG. 401-402).

Three-bay façade became a well-established scheme applied also among architecturally less prominent synagogues located in small agricultural towns and villages. The synagogues in Šahy (FIG. 123), Liptovský Hrádok (FIG. 444) and Kurima (FIG. 485) featured three doorways as the main façade motif. Other synagogues had a simple window-portal-window scheme (FIG. 442). A typical rural synagogue was preserved in Bojná (FIG. 93-95); the three-bay façade is topped by a saddleback roof. On the corners, polygonal pillars accentuate the building. The sanctuary had traditional arrangement: the *bimah* stood in the center and the ark was flanked by windows. The

women's gallery was smaller; sometimes it run along both sides of the sanctuary, in other cases it was located only on the western side of hall. Similar synagogues stood once in many Slovak provincial towns and villages.

Not all synagogues in Slovakia were the finest architecture; the architectural quality of many of them, especially in the smaller communities, reflected the rural character of towns and villages. These rural synagogues, though, represent often charming vernacular inventions of local contractors. The buildings in Štítnik (FIG. 290-294), Rohožník (FIG. 38-40) and Halič (FIG. 177-182), to mention some of them, correspond all with the character of rural settlement. For matter of correctness, it is important to mention also countryside Jewish prayer halls that bear no exterior reminiscence to synagogue architecture. By and large these were regular village houses, where the dwelling of the religious leader, commonly a *chazzan*, since the community could not afford to maintain a rabbi, was located. In the backyard he ritually slaughtered animals for the community; in the front part was located the prayer hall. Such buildings were identified with the help of locals in Sološnica (FIG. 45), Smolník (FIG. 288-289), Klátová Nová Ves (FIG. 156), Neporadza (FIG. 159), Ľubotín (FIG. 337) and other Slovak villages.

Associational synagogues and prayer halls constitute a special category, which must be considered separately. Typically, they were not established as a main communal house of worship, but they were initiated by specific association within the Jewish community or established for specific purpose. In Topoľčany it was a memorial prayer hall erected in memory of a son fallen in World War I (FIG. 417-418). In Bardejov, the associational prayer halls were established by the *Chevra Bikur Cholim* (FIG. 309-310), *Chevra Mishnayot* (FIG. 311-312) and one as a *beit midrash* (FIG. 305-308) at the communal compound. The Jewish old age home in Komárno had its own prayer hall (FIG. 96-101), today used as the only Jewish house of worship in the town. The former Orthodox synagogue of Žilina also belongs to this category (FIG. 248-250), since the size of community did not merit a large structure. The synagogues of this group are generally smaller, with more intimate interiors, and bear less external hallmarks of the monumental synagogue architecture. They often appear as a regular house in the street; the sanctuary

is legible by an array of windows. In Stropkov (FIG. 490), Žilina (FIG. 248) and Bardejov (FIG. 305) was the position of the ark indicated on the façade. The Jewish old age home prayer hall in Komárno is articulated as distinct pavilion standing on the edge of the communal center (FIG. 96).

Aside to several form types and spatial arrangement schemes, an important role in the synagogue architecture of the 19th century played a style.⁷ We can differentiate several sources of inspiration, medieval, classical and oriental. It is very uncertain to estimate, why sometimes the congregation decided in favor of this or other style. Moreover, similar form type of synagogues might appear in different style version; fine example is the Status Quo synagogue in Trnava (FIG. 76) and the Neolog synagogue in Bratislava (FIG. 375). Both were twin-tower buildings with octagonal towers placed on the corner projections. Both had their west façades rhythmized by an arcade or cluster of windows; yet one has a *Rundbogenstil* and the other had a Moorish design.

Moorish style was specifically associated with the synagogue architecture. To the repertoire of this style belonged among other: unplastered brick façades, characteristic contrasting color stripes, glazed tiles, archetypal horseshoe profiles of window and gate openings and typical Moorish ornament with octagons. Several buildings utilized this style in so-to-say pure forms, including the synagogues of Malacky (FIG. 29-33), Vrbové (FIG. 87-91) and Topoľčany (FIG. 140). Other synagogues, e.g. Senec synagogue, combined it with other styles, creating a *mélange* of various style elements (FIG. 41-44).

To the medieval inspiration responded the *Rundbogenstil*. Characterized by typical round-arched windows and arched molding, the style found its representatives in Martin (FIG. 445-449), Ružomberok (FIG. 225-229), Trnava (FIG. 76-81) and many other synagogues. The Gothic was less frequent, with only two marginal appearances in Slovakia; the synagogues in Bytča (FIG. 212) and Komárno Jewish old age home (FIG. 100) utilized the Gothisized eastern polygonal apses.

The Classical fashion penetrated the synagogue architecture in this period less frequently. Nevertheless, several synagogues display some sort of inclination in this direction. The synagogue in Trstená has an entrance portal with Renaissance-Baroque

features (FIG. 230); the west front on the Levice synagogue reminded on Renaissance church front (FIG. 109-110). The synagogue in Poprad received an overall neo-Classical look (FIG. 342-343), and this occurred not earlier than in the first decade of the 20th century.

4. 3. ON SEARCH FOR A NEW ARCHITECTURE: SYNAGOGUES PRIOR TO WORLD WAR I

Another period in the Slovak synagogue architecture appeared prior to World War I. This was characterized by a search for new appearance of the Jewish house of worship. We can not generalize, since there were still some synagogues constructed in fashion of the 19th century, such as one in Vrútky (FIG. 237-243) returning back to the decades old Kassel model (FIG. 14) or in Poprad, where a neo-Classical structure was built (FIG 342-343). For other major synagogues from this period, though, was typical combining of the historical style elements with Art Nouveau fashion. The trend embodies the synagogue in Šurany (FIG. 135-138); the western façade is a *mélange* of Moorish, Byzantine and Art Nouveau elements, turning its whole surface into an exotic oriental screen (FIG. 135).

More remarkable representatives of this trend were the architectural designs of Lipót Baumhorn from Budapest. In some way, this architect bridged the 19th and 20th centuries in his work; he searched for new forms and dispositions of a synagogue building, while still employing his highly individual style, a blend of Moorish, Byzantine and Art Nouveau, which became emblematic for Baumhorn's synagogues. Nevertheless, his style must be considered in the political and cultural context of search for a specific Hungarian synagogue style. Nationalist overtones bring Baumhorn to the pinnacle of the 19th century style discourse. He successfully managed to match the needs of the Jewish communities in historical Hungary and created for them well-liked designs, making him one of the most productive synagogue builders.

Before World War I, the architect designed three synagogue projects for Slovakia.⁸ Two of them were executed and we can today admire his innovative architectural mind. In 1906, the synagogue of Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš burned and the community appointed Baumhorn to reconstruct the building (FIG. 215-220). The

architect inserted a dome supported by four pillars that carried also the women's gallery, into the interior. His creative freedom was limited by the old neo-Classical outer shell, which survived the damage, and had to be integrated with new additions. Thus a unique hybrid building resulting from various architectural periods had been created. Few years later, 1908-1911, Baumhorn built a new Neolog synagogue for Nitra, where he fully expressed his ability (FIG. 112-117). The synagogue, built in a narrow lane, is a domed structure with a two-tower street accent and with typical Baumhornian interior arrangement. The third pre-War project was intended for Trenčín; the architect envisioned a large domed structure, but the community decided in favor of different design.

The synagogue of Trenčín was constructed according to designs of Richard Scheibner from Berlin, assisted by Hugo Pál, in 1912-1913 (FIG. 160-164).⁹ The synagogue is a distinctive domed structure with Byzantine and Art Nouveau decorations, pulling back in favor of clear distribution of masses, legible as rationally assembled basic forms. It has an important place in a transitory stage between the architecture of the 19th century and emerging modernism. Moreover, the Trenčín design echoes the coincidentally built synagogues in Essen (FIG. 23) and Frankfurt-Westend (FIG. 24), which could, together with Berlin domicile of the architect, suggest a connection between Slovak and German architectural scenes.

4. 4. SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

Trends that emerged prior to World War I fully developed during interwar time. About twenty synagogues were constructed in this period in Slovakia. It is uneasy to draw any categorization, since they were built by very different communities with diverse needs and they show great variety. Synagogues range from simple traditional buildings to the most elegant examples of the modern architecture.

Several traditional synagogues were built in Eastern Slovakia. The synagogue, constructed by the Hassidic congregation in Košice in 1920, is a very fine example of transplanting of a traditional rural synagogue into the urban setting (FIG. 263-264). The Hassidim had no interest in public self-presentation and their requirements met a humble

prayer hall that could be easily constructed hundred years earlier in the countryside. Two other synagogues from this period built in this region follow this trend: the synagogue in Michal'any (FIG. 275) and in Moldava nad Bodvou (FIG. 278-279). The latter replaced an older structure damaged by fire in 1931 and fully resembles its predecessor. These were, however, the most blatant examples of the architectural conservatism.

Another Hassidic synagogue was established in Michalovce (FIG. 276-277). The separatist group formed their own institutions, including the *mikvah*, *cheder*, ritual slaughter place and synagogue that were part of own compound. The buildings of the former Hassidic center of religious life can be still identified. The synagogue was a traditionalist building with western façade bearing decorative elements typical for the early 1920s Czechoslovak architecture. Other synagogue with the typical 1920s ornamentation is the Orthodox synagogue of Žilina (FIG. 248-250). The congregation split off from the main community and in 1927 constructed own house of prayer. It is part of a small house that housed also other communal premises, reflecting the emerging trend towards creating a synagogue-communal center unit. Less interesting synagogues were constructed in Stará Ľubovňa (FIG. 488) and Zlaté Moravce (FIG. 141-142).

A very remarkable synagogue, unnecessary demolished in 1982, stood in Vranov nad Topľou (FIG. 491). It was donated to the local community by an émigré to America. Although the documentation indicates a local architect, there is chance that this synagogue was directly sent from America by the patron, since it strongly reminded on American vernacular synagogues.

In the 1920s, several synagogues of higher artistic standard appeared. The only image of the synagogue in Sered' shows an innovative façade concept (FIG. 404), which rejected conventional 19th century façade schemes. The façade tended towards reducing the decoration in favor of clear and basic forms. More significant was the Orthodox synagogue at Heydukova Street in Bratislava constructed by Arthur Szalatnai-Slatinský (FIG. 25-28).¹⁰ The architect designed it in the early stage of his *oeuvre*, characterized by his balanced stand between academic schooling and new decorative Cubist tendencies from Prague, formulated as the Czechoslovak national style.¹¹ The actual synagogue is well hidden behind a representative colonnade of seven pillars. The interior is a well-

balanced blend of an eclectic decorativism, Cubist details and modern construction technologies.

Aside to the influences from Prague, another important cultural center influencing Jews in Slovakia was Budapest. Many Jews spoke Hungarian and during the 1920s only slowly began to identify with the political reality of living in the Czechoslovak Republic. Nevertheless, even being loyal citizens, living in towns with substantial Hungarian minority that actually formed the local majority, provided for them genuine opportunities to frequent the Hungarian cultural milieu. Two Jewish communities in the south of Slovakia near Hungarian border, Šahy and Lučenec, built new synagogues during the 1920s. In Lučenec a grand design was executed by Lipót Baumhorn (FIG. 189-195). Nonetheless, it was an already outdated model; to the Jewish community it surely epitomized a fashionable *fin-de-siècle* Temple. Even the Orthodox congregation followed them in 1930 with an Art Nouveau synagogue (FIG. 435-438). The local architect originally designed the building with a twin-tower front, which was not executed; probably the still resonating *psaq din* of Michalovce hindered it. Nevertheless, the Orthodox congregation of another border town, Šahy, did not object to have their new Art Nouveau house of worship constructed even with two towers (FIG. 128-129).

The Neologs of Košice consecrated their new synagogue in 1927 (FIG. 265-269); its dome proudly expands into the city skyline even today. The building was designed by a leading Budapest-based architect Lajos Kozma, who modeled the synagogue as an elegant neo-Baroque structure with imposing dome and majestic neo-Classical portico. This architectural fashion must be perceived in the context of an interwar Hungarian architecture that had to accommodate the loosing of historical Hungarian provinces. The trend tended towards substituting the vanished monuments of Upper Hungary and Transylvania by historicist creations, and the synagogue by Kozma is an excellent example, though standing in Slovakia.

Building activities of one congregation in town often provoked counter-projects of the rival congregation; developments in Košice followed this pattern. The Orthodox commissioned the local architectural office Oelschäger and Boskó to design a new house of prayer at Puškinova Street (FIG. 258-262). The result of their work was a large stylish

synagogue, a fine example of the provincial treatment of a historicist scheme with neo-Classical elements and applied motifs of the Jewish iconography. In the similar category can be viewed also the synagogue of Lipany, built in 1929 after designs of Eugen Bárkány (FIG. 330-333). The building with a large menorah on the east façade, facing the street, epitomized the moderate modernism in the provinces. The framing of windows and application of round decorations with symbols of Judaism bear strong affinity to the Košice-Puškinova Street project. One year later, in 1930, Bárkány constructed another synagogue, in Humenné (FIG. 478-482). This synagogue was an additional example of his architectural expression, a half-way between moderate modernism and historicist recollection. The trend characterized by balancing between modernist purity and traditional monumental forms concluded the Orthodox synagogue, constructed in Prešov – Košická Road by the local contractors Tószöghy and Ferderber after designs of the architect Julius Grossmann in 1930.

During the 1930s, synagogue architecture in Slovakia entered into its last phase. In this period, characterized in former Czechoslovakia by the functionalist architecture, three newly constructed synagogues followed this fashion. In Raslavice, a large village between Prešov and Bardejov, a modernist sanctuary was constructed (FIG. 359-363). The building preserved until today, is an exceptional example of the reception of the interwar modernism in the architecturally peripheral environ. Also the Hassidim of Prešov built in 1934-1935 on the Orthodox Jewish community compound an unpredictably austere and functional synagogue (FIG. 5, 355-358). The design by the local architect Leopold Šafran provided them a simple modernist structure with flat roof; the only façade decoration was a round window with menorah motif.

The synagogue, which concluded the development of the synagogue architectural type in Slovakia, was constructed in Žilina (FIG. 244-247). The local Neolog Jewish community ran an international competition in the late 1920s for design of a new synagogue. From several competition entries, which included the works by Josef Hoffmann, Lipót Baumhorn and local architect Michal Maximilián Scheer, they finally decided in favor of the project by Peter Behrens. The legendary German architect designed the synagogue as an exotic monumental domed building. He refrained from

historicist sentiments and created a modern Jewish house of prayer reflecting contemporary architectural trends. Completed in 1931, the synagogue of Žilina, as in his recent study emphasized Matúš Dulla,¹² embodies the last Slovak synagogue.

The geographic position of Slovakia on the crossroads of the region and its communication with major cultural centers in the area assured that major trends did not overpass the country. We can also here observe all basic trends and developments that occurred in surrounding Central European countries. These were demonstrated in representation of region-typical synagogue types, architectural solutions, questions of style and in the 20th century search for appropriate approach of designing modern synagogue architecture.

Slovakia played an honest role of periphery; no specific architectural invention that would be dispersed from here into the neighboring countries occurred. Nevertheless, despite its peripheral role, the architectural quality of some synagogues is remarkable. Some communities commissioned their synagogues from leading architects of time from Vienna, Budapest and Berlin. Many other synagogue designs were imports of widely-circulated models by von Förster and others.

This, however, did not mean that Slovak contractors and architects were merely passive recipients. On the regional level, they further experimented and created regional variants of the synagogue building type. Especially during the 20th century, some leading local architects engaged in synagogue design. Nevertheless, in this period the Jewish communities did not experience, with exceptions of some largest urban centers, such a dramatic growth that would provide enough opportunities for local architects to demonstrate their invention.

Another striking principle appears, when various synagogues are compared and their distance from each other considered. Several “twin” synagogues appear, allowing us to speculate about common design authorship and also about the patterns of dispersion of certain architectural solutions on the regional level. These include synagogues of Prešov (FIG. 352) – Michalovce (FIG. 459), Žilina (FIG. 451) – Púchov (FIG. 424), Martin (FIG. 445) – Ružomberok (FIG. 225), Tornaľa (FIG. 442) – Rimavská Seč (FIG. 439),

Veľký Meder (FIG. 405) – Kolárovo (FIG. 406) and Šaľa (FIG. 410) – Nové Zámky (FIG. 408).

It is not possible to draw a simple development line of the architectural type overlapping with certain periodization. The synagogues reflecting the conservative taste of patron constantly appeared. Therefore could in the first decade of the 20th century appear a neo-Classical building in Poprad and the community of Vrútky returned to the sixty-year-old scheme of the Kassel synagogue. In the same time as the community in Žilina decided in favor of modernist project by Behrens and rejected Baumhorn's old-fashioned proposal, the latter still could place similar design into a provincial town on the Slovak-Hungarian border, Lučenec. In 1931, when the elegant Žilina synagogue was inaugurated, the Jewish community of Moldava nad Bodvou constructed a traditional synagogue, which was a true copy of its ancient predecessor.

The Holocaust meant a total halt to the further development of the synagogue building type in Slovakia. Prosperous communities were decimated and the tiny minority of survivors could not maintain pre-war communal facilities. The synagogues were sold into hands of local private owners or expropriated by the State. Only small number of synagogues were destroyed during World War II, mostly either by fanatic local ethnic German mobs or damaged in the military operations of 1945. Most synagogues demolished the Communist comrades during the post-war decades, when they cleaned out whole neighborhoods for their megalomaniac building enterprises. It would be highly speculative to assume that beyond their decisions was also intention to erase the last witness of their town's Jewish past; nevertheless, some demolition cases would also allow this impression.

Today is the situation different; some municipalities, organizations and enlightened individuals became aware of the cultural potential of preserving their synagogues. These have been restored for cultural purposes, serving as art galleries and concert halls. Many others, though, remained in dilapidated condition without any chance to preserve them. Some received secondary use as private dwellings, churches, shops, storages and gyms. The synagogues often underwent substantial alterations and the original purpose and former architectural value are beyond recognition. Despite the

damage, a representative example of synagogue architecture has been preserved in Slovakia. This valuable architectural repository embodies a great cultural and historical asset of the Slovakia's past. Time will show how the country will preserve it for the future.

NOTES

1. I did not include current meeting halls of the Galanta, Michalovce, Dunajská Streda Jewish communities into survey. The local synagogues were demolished during the Communist era. Their current community centers function in modern post-war buildings.
2. Although I invested great energy and effort into search for historical documentation and images, I did not manage to convince several collectors to allow access to their fonds. Postcards of synagogues are today highly valued item and the collectors guard them jealously. The images might appear with time from other sources.
3. According to the register of the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia, there are 693 identified Jewish cemeteries scattered throughout the country. Few Jewish communities possessed more than one cemetery, so we may conclude that this number roughly corresponds with number of centers of communal Jewish life. Beside a cemetery, each community would possess at least one house of worship, though some had several synagogues and prayer halls.
4. In 1928, Jewish liturgical inscriptions were discovered in a house that served as the first Jewish prayer hall in Prešov. See in AUSTERLITZ, Theodor: *Das jüdische Museum in Prešov*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*. Year I, Prague-Brno 1930, pp. 127-128.
5. The 18th century synagogue in Čirč was demolished in the 19th or early 20th century. The Pečovská Nová Ves synagogue, from the 18th century was demolished in 1896, and the synagogue in Kurima was demolished in 1810. See KOVAČEVIČOVÁ, Soňa: *Drevené kostoly na Slovensku [Wooden Churches in Slovakia]*. In: *Národopisný věstník československý*. Volume VII, Number 1-2, Brno 1972, p. 51.
6. Two photographs of the wooden synagogue in Veličná were photographed by Josef Vydra in 1926 and published in VYDRA, Josef: *Ľudová architektúra na Slovensku [Folk Architecture in Slovakia]*. Bratislava (Vydavateľstvo SAV) 1958, pp. 266-267. The schematic plan and side elevation of the synagogue in Brezovica nad Torysou by Eugen Bárkány have been preserved in the archive of the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava.
7. See recent study LUKÁČOVÁ, Elena and POHANIČOVÁ, Jana: *Return to the Medieval and Oriental Inspirations in Architecture of Synagogues in South-Western Territory of Slovakia*. In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus*. Volume XXXVIII, Number 3-4, Bratislava 2004, pp. 175-198.
8. On Lipót Baumhorn in Slovakia, recently appeared study ŠOLTÉSOVÁ, Danica: *Baumhorn's Buildings in Slovakia*. In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus*. Volume XXXVIII, Number 3-4, Bratislava 2004, pp. 217-226. See also the exhibition catalogue *Baumhorn Lipót Építész/Architect 1860-1932*. Budapest (Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár, OMVH Magyar Építészeti Múzeum) 1999.

9. Full project documentation with original plans has been archived at the State Archive in Bratislava, Trenčín Branch, Fond: Magistrát mesta Trenčín, No. 4410, ADM 1913.
10. The Orthodox Synagogue at Heydukova Street was publicized also in Germany, Bt.: *Einige Bauten aus der Slowakei*. In: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, Number 82, Berlin 1929, pp. 705-711.
11. About the 1920s architecture in Slovakia see BOŘUTOVÁ, Dana: *Die Persönlichkeiten und Trends in der Architektur Bratislavas der zwanziger Jahre*. In: *ARS*, Number 2, Bratislava 1991, pp. 97-109, ŠLACHTA, Štefan: *Kubismus a rondokubismus v slovenskej architektúre [Cubism and Rondocubism in Slovak Architecture]*. In: *Výtvarný život*, Volume 34, Number 4, Bratislava 1989, pp. 3-7.
12. DULLA, Matúš: *The Last Synagogue: on the Origin and Form of the Neolog Synagogue in Žilina by Peter Behrens*. In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus*. Volume XXXVIII, Number 3-4, Bratislava 2004, pp. 199-215.

CHAPTER 5: CATALOGUE OF SYNAGOGUES IN SLOVAKIA

The synagogues are classified according to the current administrative division of the Slovak Republic into eight regions:

A – Bratislava
B – Banská Bystrica
K – Košice
L – Trenčín
N – Nitra
P – Prešov
T – Trnava
Z – Žilina

Each object has received a unique individual code that indicates object type and exact location.

S1A0101 – synagogue Bratislava-Heydukova Street: S = synagogue, 1 = extant, A = Bratislava Region, 01= location / 01 = Bratislava, 01 = building no. 1

S0A0102 – synagogue Bratislava-Rybné Square: S = synagogue, 0 = demolished, A = Bratislava Region, 01= location / 01 = Bratislava, 02 = building no. 2

Note: For clarity, the wall containing the *aron hakodesh* and facing Jerusalem is referred to as “east”, despite possible deviation.

5. 1. EXTANT SYNAGOGUES

5. 1. 1. BRATISLAVA REGION [A]

Bratislava [Hungarian: *Pozsony*, German: *Pressburg*]

S1A0101

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Heydukova 11-13, Bratislava

Present Use: active synagogue

Date of Construction: 1923-1926

Architect: Artur Szalatnai-Slatinský

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 277

Figures: 25-28

The only remaining synagogue in Bratislava, the Orthodox Heydukova Street synagogue is located not distant from the historic city center. It was constructed once the Jews did not reside exclusively in the area of former *Judengasse*, but moved to the broader area of the newly established political center of Slovakia. To the street, the synagogue exterior appears as a seven-pillared colonnade, hiding actual building behind it. This is reached through a narrow courtyard, accessed from the street via a passage in the westernmost bay of the façade.

The central hall of the interior is a large sanctuary with a modern steel-concrete construction combined with historicist elements, such as the arcade of the women's gallery, a metallic *bimah*, and the ark. These were supplemented with contemporary Cubist details. Thus, the synagogue combines traditional religious requirements, such as separation of genders and placement of the *bimah* in the center, with needs of an urban congregational life. Modern facilities, cloak-rooms, toilets, and array of additional rooms for study and social gatherings cluster along the western façade of the building. The synagogue belongs to the Bratislava Jewish Community and serves its original purpose until today.

Malacky [Hungarian: *Malacka*]

S1A0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Na brehu 2, Malacky

Present Use: elementary art school

Date of Construction: 1886

Architect: Wilhelm Stiassny

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10733

Figures: 29-33

One of the most interesting Slovak synagogues is preserved in Malacky. Designed by the prominent Viennese Jewish architect Wilhelm Stiassny, it is an excellent example of Moorish-styled synagogue architecture typical for his *oeuvre*.

The fascinating exterior façade features two corner projections and towers with onion shaped roofs. Three-bay façade is characterized by Moorish style elements: horseshoe windows and portals, rich Moorish ornaments, and emblematic yellow-red polychromy cover the entire surface. Building's large open interior was altered by splitting it into stories, though many original features were preserved. The ground floor, used as an artistic workshop, contains the cast-iron support columns of the women's gallery as well as the original ark. The upper floor serves as a concert hall with a stage that incorporates the ornate upper section of the ark. An amazing original wooden cassette ceiling spreads above the room.

The synagogue originally stood within a neighborhood, which has fully disappeared in favor of a car parking, police station, and hotel. Only the former Jewish school building, today used as an art school together with synagogue, survived. It is unclear, why the architectural design for a synagogue in the peripheral town was commissioned from a leading architect in Vienna, a center of the Empire. The prominent status of the local Spitzer family who maintained business connections in Vienna might be a clue. It was them who donated the building lot.

Modra [Hungarian: *Modor*, German: *Modern*]

S1A0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Súkenická 41, Modra, Pezinok District

Present Use: artist studio

Date of Construction: 1902

Architect: unknown

Figures: 34-37

Throughout history Modra was a prosperous wine-growing town located under the Small Carpathian vineyards. Its German-speaking inhabitants obstructed for centuries a Jewish presence. A small Jewish community was established here only during the second half of the 19th century.

The synagogue is located on the southern border of historical town, in the line of the municipal fortification walls. The original character of building is legible: a tri-partite façade vertically divided by lisenés and topped by an arched molding. Modern windows have replaced the historical round-arched fenestration and the most of decorative details disappeared. The postwar owners fully altered the interior. The synagogue currently serves as a studio to an artist from Bratislava.

Rohožník**S1A0401****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Pri potoku 76, Rohožník, Malacky District**Present Use:** storage of coffins**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 38-40

The synagogue, located at the village square, belongs to the most charming examples of rural synagogue architecture in Slovakia. The simple four bay building, topped by a hipped roof, is solely decorated by vertical lisenés, and pierced with round-arched windows. On the eastern rear, facing the street, a projection with circular window marks the former location of the ark. The building is used today as municipal coffin storage; not much of an original interior has been preserved. On the western side of sanctuary stands the former women's gallery, with original wooden paling with carved decoration.

Senec [Hungarian: *Szencz*, German: *Wartberg*]**S1A0501****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Mierové Square 12, Senec**Present Use:** formerly storage, now abandoned**Date of Construction:** last quarter of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 2275**Figures:** 41-44

The synagogue is located on a prominent spot in the midpoint of the central street-square of Senec. It dominates the street line, and represents a distinctive *mélange* of the Moorish and *Rundbogenstil* style elements. The façade is divided by horizontal moldings and vertical pilasters into a tri-partite scheme, stressing the middle bay with horseshoe shaped entrance portal and large central rose window. An attic with dwarf gallery, emphasized by a gable with arched molding and peaked with Ten Commandments and Shield of David, crowns the façade.

Not much of an original interior has been preserved; the building served as storage post-World War II. A monumental horseshoe-shaped niche marks the former location of the ark. The women's gallery, supported by cast-iron columns, runs along three sides of the sanctuary. In the vestibule, a basin with Hungarian dedication has been preserved: "Emil Popper bestows in respectful memory of his father Simon Popper, 5667 [1907]". The synagogue is vacant and gradually deteriorating.

Sološnica**S1A0601****Structure:** prayer hall**Location:** Sološnica 485, Malacky District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 45

The building is typical of folk architecture in the Záhorie Region. Identified by the locals as the former Jewish prayer hall, the house probably belonged to the senior member of the local Jewish community, which assembled here for social and religious purposes.

Studienka**S1A0701****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Studienka 364, Malacky District**Present Use:** local municipality**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 46

The former synagogue is located at the prominent spot in the middle of the village, facing the Roman Catholic parish church. Today, it is fully altered and serves as a village mayor office.

Stupava [Hungarian: *Stomfa*, German: *Stampfen*]**S1A0801****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Hlavná Street, Stupava, Malacky District**Present Use:** without use**Date of Construction:** 1803**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 10004**Figures:** 47-52

The Stupava Jewish community was one of the most ancient in Slovakia. Established during the 17th century on estate of the Counts Pálffy, an important Hungarian magnate family, this prosperous community counted 819 Jews in 1828, making it to one quarter of the local population (total: 3,374).

The synagogue was constructed in 1803 and represents a unique nine-bay type. Located in the center of the village, close to the Pálffy family residence, it is laid in a deep lot near a creek. Its exterior is a rectangle, made of massive walls pierced with simple Baroque

windows and topped by a saddleback roof. Access to the women's gallery is secured by an external staircase attached diagonally to the western façade. An interesting detail of the façade are several oval ventilation openings pierced in the gable, typical for the local architecture of the Záhorie Region.

The interior consists of a main prayer hall and cluster of vestibule, study-room, and women's gallery on the west. The prayer hall is a nine-bay space, three bays square with a *bimah* placed in the middle and supported by four columns. The columns and pilasters support eight kerchief vaults that are covered with splendid ornamental decoration. The hall is currently empty. Nothing remains of the original furnishing, though the *bimah* platform has been preserved, and the position of former ark is still visible and marked by a niche in the wall. The building is dilapidated and faces imminent collapse.

Svätý Jur [Hungarian: *Szentgyörgy*, German: *Sankt Georgen*]

S1A0901

Structure: synagogue

Location: Pezinská 21, Svätý Jur, Pezinok District

Present Use: residential house storage

Date of Construction: 1790; 1876 (reconstruction)

Architect: unknown

Figures: 53-58

The evidence of Jewish presence in this pleasant winegrowing town dates to medieval times; in 1529, the Jews were expelled from the city. The settlement of individual Jewish families began here again in the 17th century and during the 18th century fundamentals of an organized community were laid. In the first third of the 19th century, the Chatam Sofer often visited in Svätý Jur.

The former synagogue is located on the eastern edge of the historical town, near a small creek. Built in the Jewish communal courtyard, other Jewish institutions originally clustered around the building. These were demolished by the current owner, who acquired the property after World War II. The synagogue dates to the late 18th century and resembles a late Baroque rural mansion. A two-story building with characteristic round-arched windows, it is topped by a hipped roof.

The interior organization is legible on the exterior; on the western side stands a doorway projection with vestibule and women's gallery above. Access to the gallery was secured through a covered staircase, attached next to it. A Hebrew psalm on the doorpost dates the 1876 building reconstruction. The sanctuary on the eastern side is a large rectangular hall, emphasized by three bays of windows opening to the street. The ark stood in the center of the long side, today marked by an empty niche, flanked by windows and with a round window above. Originally, the women's gallery projection opened into the hall. In 1876, the synagogue underwent a reconstruction; interior walls were redecorated with Moorish ornaments and a new women's gallery, supported by cast-iron columns that runs along three sides of the sanctuary, was constructed. Today, the building, used for storage, is dilapidated and faces imminent destruction.

5. 1. 2. TRNAVA REGION [T]

Borský Mikuáš

S1T0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Ludvíka Svobodu Street, Borský Mikuláš 644, Senica District

Present Use: bakery

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 59

A completely altered building without any traces of the original purpose serves today as a bakery.

Sekule [Hungarian: *Székelyalva*]

S1T0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: behind apartment houses at the southern edge of village, Sekule, Senica District

Present Use: ruin

Date of Construction: late 18th century or the first half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 61-62

Located at the southern edge of the village, behind apartment houses and encircled by loads of debris, only the ruined torso of the western façade with the entrance portal has been preserved from this Baroque synagogue.

Skalica [Hungarian: *Skalocza*, German: *Skalitz*]

S1T0401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Pod Kalváriou, Skalica

Present Use: outer wall of the residential house

Date of Construction: 1760

Architect: unknown

Figure: 60

Jews resided in several intervals in Skalica since medieval times. During the 18th century, Jewish families from Moravia settled in the town. The synagogue, also constructed in this time, has been partially preserved as an outer wall fragment in the municipal fortification. It can be viewed in vicinity of the Romanesque St. George rotunda, over the lot of former Jewish cemetery, today a car park.

Sobotište [Hungarian: *Szobotist*]

S1T0501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Sobotište 19, Senica District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: 1763

Architect: unknown

Figure: 64

The Jewish community of Sobotište was established in the 18th century by Moravian immigrants who settled on the estate of the Counts Nyári.

The former neo-Classical synagogue was completely rebuilt into a residential house in post-war time and no traces of original appearance have been preserved. On the eastern rear, a support arch of ark is visible under the plaster.

S1T0502

Structure: beit midrash

Location: Sobotište 86, Senica District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: first half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 63

On the small square in the middle of the village, facing the Nyári family residence, a rabbi's house was built, which also served as a *beit midrash*, *mikvah* and *matzah*-bakery. A small creek flows behind the house. A simple neo-Classical building in the fashion of a rural mansion has been accentuated by a central three-bay section, topped by a pediment.

Šamorín [Hungarian: *Somorja*, German: *Sommerein*]

S1T0601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Mliečňanská 6, Šamorín, Dunajská Streda District

Present Use: modern art gallery

Date of Construction: 1912

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2529

Figures: 65-69

The synagogue, located in the eastern section of town, is surrounded by original but varied Jewish communal buildings. There used to be a Jewish school behind the synagogue, next to the synagogue, a ritual bath. Other houses served as a kosher slaughter house or dwellings for the communal employees.

The synagogue is a free-standing building with a traditional layout. The interior spatial distribution is legible on the exterior. The women's gallery is placed in the western rear

of the building stressed by a stair-tower. The sanctuary is marked by three bays of round-arched windows and the massive ark protrudes on the eastern rear. The western façade has a three-bay design with axis accentuated by a gable with the Ten Commandments. Overall impression of the building is eclectic with incorporated Moorish elements, as well as contemporary Art Nouveau impulses. The interior, partially preserved with the original ark and ceiling ornamentation, is an experimental modern art gallery.

Šaštín-Stráže [Hungarian: *Sasvár*, German: *Schossberg*]

S1T0701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Šaštín-Stráže 1071, Senica District

Present Use: abandoned storage

Date of Construction: 1852

Architect: unknown

Figures: 70-75

Historically, the Jewish community of Šaštín-Stráže is among the oldest in Slovakia, with organized communal structure and institutions already in the 16th century. By the mid-19th century numbered the community over five hundred souls and had to construct a new sanctuary, preserved until today.

This free-standing neo-Classical synagogue dominates the rural community; the surrounding buildings once served as Jewish communal institutions. Not much of the original structure has been preserved: the round-arched windows were filled in and interior altered to serve as storage. Nevertheless, the former glory of this house of prayer is still visible. The eastern façade of the building faces the street; the massive projection, flanked by two circular windows marks the former *aron hakodesh*. The projection, topped by a gable, features a cartouche, which once held a dedication text. Originally, the synagogue was entered by a monumental portico adjoining the western façade, today partially legible as filled-in three arches on the western rear. In the interior, a cassette wooden ceiling and the monumental niche of the former ark, pierced by current entrance door, are preserved. The former rabbi's home neighbors to the north; the house on the western side served as a school.

Trnava [Hungarian: *Nagyszombat*, German: *Tyrnau*]

S1T0101

Structure: Status Quo synagogue

Location: Halenárska 2, Trnava

Present Use: modern art gallery, Judaica exhibition in the women's gallery

Date of Construction: 1897

Architect: Jakub Gartner

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2276

Figures: 76-81

In the Middle Ages, Jews formed a vibrant community in Trnava. In 1494, after a blood libel charge, fourteen of them were executed, and the rest exiled. For over 250 years, Jews could not even pass through the town. Towards the end of the 18th and in course of the 19th century developed a strong and prosperous Jewish community, which wished to retain its inner unity and to remain independent from sectarian post-1869 policies. Therefore, they opted to join neither the Neologs nor the Orthodox, and stayed behind as a Status Quo Ante community.

The synagogue was constructed in the late 19th century according to the designs of the Viennese synagogue specialist, Jakub Gartner, who was also an author of the synagogue in Hlohovec. A free-standing structure made of unplastered bricks, it has a three-nave basilica scheme, with heightened central nave, and clerestory windows. The west façade reflects the internal division of space; it is tri-partite with corner stair-tower projections, topped by octagonal towers with copper onion-shaped roofs. The central part is accentuated by a blind arched gable topped with the Ten Commandments.

In the sanctuary, a women's gallery, supported by cast iron columns, runs along three sides of the hall. The columns also support the central nave construction. The original spatial arrangement of the sanctuary contradicted Orthodox requirements: the women's gallery did not have a *mechitzah* and the *bimah* stood in the east near the ark rather than centrally.

During the 1990s, the sanctuary was partially restored and today serves as a modern art gallery. A small Judaica presentation is installed in the women's gallery. A Holocaust memorial designed by the architect Artur Szalatnai-Slatinský stands in front of the synagogue.

S1T0102

Name: Orthodox synagogue

Structure: Havlíkova Street, Trnava

Present Use: dilapidated building

Date of Construction: 1892

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 11391

Figures: 82-86

The Orthodox community of Trnava formed in 1880 after several Orthodox families split off from the main, Status Quo Ante, community. Their towerless dilapidated synagogue stands today overgrown in a narrow lane, close to the Status Quo synagogue. As legible from the vandalized interior, it was built according to Orthodox criteria. The *bimah* stood strictly in the center of sanctuary and women's gallery had an additional *mechitzah* – wooden screen hiding the female audience. On the eastern side of building lot stands a single-story house that once belonged to the Jewish community and housed the communal institutions. The building is currently private property and unused.

Vrbové [Hungarian: *Verbó*, German: *Werbau*]

S1T0801

Structure: synagogue

Location: Beňovského Street, Vrbové, Piešťany District

Present Use: dilapidated building

Date of Construction: 1883

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2491

Figures: 87-91

The former synagogue is located on the town's main street and belongs to the most interesting buildings in Vrbové. The Moorish structure with a tri-partite façade is decorated with typical yellow-red horizontal stripes, octagonal stars and slim minarets. These are accompanied by *Rundbogenstil* round-arched windows and blind arches. Interior is partially preserved; the women's gallery, supported by cast-iron columns, is without railing and the other furnishing has disappeared. Most impressive is an elaborate ceiling of saucer domes, shallow vaults and tie bars. The whole ceiling structure is covered by lively geometric and floral decoration motifs.

In the late 1980s, the local municipality initiated a complete restoration for cultural purposes and two façades were given respectable appearance. With political changes of 1989 came the restitution that granted one half of this property to the individuals who owned the synagogue shortly after World War II. Restoration stopped and ever since stands the building without use, in a Catch-22 situation.

5. 1. 3. NITRA REGION [N]

Bátorove Kosihy [Hungarian: *Bátorkeszi*]

S1N0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Bátorove Kosihy 36, Komárno District

Present Use: factory hall

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 92

This agricultural village in southern Slovakia was one of the most important Jewish communities in Esztergom County. After World War II, the synagogue was heavily altered. On both edges of this simple countryside synagogue rooms were added, so that locals could use it as a village cultural center. Today, the building serves as a factory hall.

Bojná [Hungarian: *Nyitrabajna*]

S1N0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Bojná 250, Topolčany District

Present Use: village bar and wine store

Date of Construction: before 1880

Architect: unknown

Figures: 93-95

The former synagogue is a free-standing structure located on the village square. Approached from the east, it appears as a local bar with a distinctive orange façade. Only from the other side, can the viewer identify original use as a house of worship. This simple countryside synagogue, topped by a saddleback roof, was four bays deep. The three-bay west façade is decorated by Moorish corner pillars and *Rundbogenstil* elements.

Komárno [Hungarian: *Komárom*, German: *Kommorn*]

S1N0402

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Biskupa Királya 28, Komárno

Present Use: dinning hall and club hall of the old age home

Date of Construction: 1904

Architect: unknown

Figures: 102-104

This building is a fine example of restoration of a disused synagogue for humanitarian purposes; it was integrated into a newly constructed old age home compound. Interior space divides a built-in story so that the synagogue could be used as assembly premises. The overall appearance of the synagogue is well-preserved; it was a free-standing building with simple forms topped by a saddleback roof. Cast-iron columns in the interior and the David shield window on the western façade are reminders of the original purpose.

S1N0401

Structure: prayer hall in the Jewish old age home

Location: Štúrova Street / Eötvösa 15, Komárno

Present Use: Jewish prayer hall

Date of Construction: 1896

Architect: unknown

Figures: 96-101

The synagogue of the Jewish community in Komárno served once as the prayer hall of the Jewish old age home. This is a single-story neo-Gothic complex with brick facades that spreads in the shape of letter L on the street corner, with the main entrance on the

corner. The house of prayer, a distinctive pavilion with a steep gable, rosette window and entrance portal, adjoins this compound at the northern rear.

The sanctuary is a small barrel-vaulted Gothic room, with a women's gallery, and highly decorative cast-iron tie bars. The interior is well preserved with the original furniture; the *bimah* is placed in the center. A Holocaust monument with a memorial book of Komárno victims stands on the northern wall.

S1N0403

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Štúrova Street, Komárno

Present Use: fitness and squash center

Date of Construction: 1863

Architect: unknown

Figures: 105-108

The building of the former Neolog synagogue has passed through many uses since World War II; eventually, it became a health club with gym, sauna and squash courts. Little of the original synagogue has been preserved. All decorative details disappeared from the tri-partite façade, the interior was completely altered.

Levice [Hungarian: *Léva*, German: *Lewentz*]

S1N0501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Kalmana Kittenbergera Street, Levice

Present Use: dilapidated building

Date of Construction: 1853; 1883 (reconstruction)

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2281

Figures: 109-111

The Levice synagogue was constructed on the edge of the historical town, on a building lot gained after the moat of the former fortification was filled in. The unstable surface is also the reason for constant sinking of the building, which endangers its future preservation.

The synagogue is a mediocre mélange of various architectural ideas: Renaissance west front, archaic buttresses along the side façades and the main nave supported by the cast iron construction of the women's gallery. Originally, the synagogue had two turrets, which were later dismantled as a sign of compromise between the traditionalists and reformists in the community.

Nitra [Hungarian: *Nyitra*, German: *Neutra*]

S1N0101

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Pri synagóge 3, Nitra

Present Use: exhibition and concert hall

Date of Construction: 1908-1911

Architect: Lipót (Leopold) Baumhorn

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 1503

Figures: 112-117

Nitra is one of the most ancient cities in Slovakia and throughout its history has had significant Jewish settlement. Already in 1111-1113, the *Mons Judeorum* [Jewish Hill] was mentioned. During medieval times, there was a prosperous community here. In the 18th and 19th centuries Nitra had the third largest Jewish population in Slovakia (1787: 425; 1828: 1,340; 1869: 3,141; 1900: 3,674), who resided mostly in the Párovce suburb. In 1869, the Jewish population split into two communities, the Orthodox and the Neolog. The first maintained the synagogue in Párovce, which was demolished after World War II.

The Neologs constructed a synagogue, which was one of the three in Slovakia realized by the prolific Budapest-based synagogue specialist, Lipót Baumhorn. This free-standing building located in the narrow lane is a fine example of his architectural ability. The south façade faces the street with a two-tower accent and extensive fenestration. The entrance vestibule leads from the side to the sanctuary with an eastern orientation and the polygonal rear. Typical for synagogues by Baumhorn, the sanctuary is a domed hall supported by four pillars that also carry the women's gallery. Access to the gallery is provided by two stairways on the northern corners of the building. The building is a characteristic Baumhornian *mélange* of Moorish, Byzantine, and Art Nouveau elements. After over a decade of restoration works, the synagogue serves cultural purposes.

Nitrianska Blatnica

S1N0601

Structure: prayer hall

Location: Nitrianska Blatnica 287, Topoľčany District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 118

According to local tradition, this countryside house used to be a center of the Jewish communal life in this village. It housed a prayer hall and probably also dwelling of the *shochet* and the yard where he ritually slaughtered animals.

Nové Zámky [Hungarian: *Érsekújvár*, German: *Neuhäusel*]

S1N0701

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Česká bašta 5, Nové Zámky

Present Use: active synagogue

Date of Construction: 1859; 1931 (reconstruction)

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10671

Figures: 119-122

One of the few synagogues still used for its original purpose this synagogue is also one of the best preserved in the country. Located at the edge of the former historical fortress town, the synagogue is part of the Jewish communal compound, facing towards the street leading to the town center.

The *Rundbogenstil* structure, topped by a saddleback roof, has a tri-partite façade with a rosette window in the center. The building six bays long, has at the rear, a projection indicating the *aron hakodesh*. The original interior has been preserved, with the *bimah* placed strictly in the center and the women's gallery on cast-iron columns running along three sides of the sanctuary. The synagogue was constructed for the Orthodox congregation; therefore, the women's gallery has additional *mechitzah* shields, so that women would not be visible.

Šahy [Hungarian: *Ipolyság*]

S1N0801

Structure: Status Quo synagogue

Location: Bélu Bártóka Square 13, Šahy, Levice District

Present Use: exhibition and concert hall

Date of Construction: 1852

Architect: unknown

Figures: 123-127

Jews could not reside in this town until 1840 and the organized community was only established in 1850. During the schism of Hungarian Jewry, the community joined neither the Neolog nor the Orthodox movement opting for Status Quo Ante status.

The communal synagogue was fully restored by a local cultural foundation. Located on a small square in the center of the town, it has a white plastered west façade with three entrance gateways and a Hebrew Psalm on the attic. In the interior, the cast-iron women's gallery columns have been preserved.

S1N0802

Structure: Orthodox synagogue
Location: Ružová Street, Šahy, Levice District
Present Use: abandoned disco hall
Date of Construction: 1929
Architect: unknown
Figures: 128-131

In 1876, several Jewish families abandoned the mother community and established a separate Orthodox congregation. Their synagogue is situated in the area that, according to information of the local population, used to be a typical Jewish residential area before the Holocaust. The building is free standing, constructed during the interwar period. It was a late example of Moorish-Art Nouveau with a two tower west façade. After World War II, the synagogue underwent reconstruction and served other purposes.

Štúrovo [Hungarian: *Párkány*]**S1N0901**

Structure: synagogue
Location: Hlavná 32, Štúrovo, Nové Zámky District
Present Use: youth center
Date of Construction: 1926
Architect: unknown
Figures: 132-134

Located on the main road of a small border town, southern façade of the former synagogue, accentuated by two corner projections, faces the street. After World War II, the synagogue was strongly altered; only in the western rear, has the original stairway tract been partially preserved.

Šurany [Hungarian: *Nagysurány*]**S1N1001**

Structure: synagogue
Location: Malá 2, Šurany, Nové Zámky District
Present Use: restoration for cultural purposes
Date of Construction: beginning of the 20th century
Architect: unknown
Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10801
Figures: 135-138

Šurany was home to an affluent and respected Orthodox community, which maintained a well-known yeshiva. At the beginning of the 20th century they began constructing a new synagogue, which was an interesting amalgam of Art Nouveau, Byzantine and Moorish elements. Decorative motifs, typical for the Hungarian architecture of the day, cover the

whole surface of the façade. The sanctuary is an empty hall; an unfilled niche marks the former location of the ark.

Topolčany [Hungarian: *Nagytopolcsány*, German: *Topulchau*]

S1N1101

Structure: synagogue

Location: Terézie Vansovej 2, Topolčany

Present Use: secondary apprentice school

Date of Construction: 1895-1900; postwar reconstruction

Architect: contractor Bilik

Figures: 139-140

The Jewish presence in the city dates back to 11th December 1649, when a contract between Count Adam Forgács and five Jews from Uherský Brod and Hradiště na Morave was signed at Hlohovec Castle. They leased the right to charge the toll in Topolčany, which was then an important market town. By the 18th century, an established Jewish community functioned here. After 1869, Topolčany Jews opted for the Orthodox stream. Great self-awareness of the community was demonstrated by the construction of a representative synagogue in the Moorish style. The structure, however, did not contradict the Orthodox regulations regarding synagogue appearance; it had no towers or turrets, which would offend traditional worshipers.

A tri-partite projection with accentuated central portion stood on the western rear. This contained an entrance tract providing access to the vestibule and corner stair-towers leading to the women's gallery. The overall appearance of the building was exotic, with rich ornamentation, horseshoe doorway and windows, and contrasting horizontal stripes.

In 1944, on St. Stephan's Day, the German *Wehrmacht* burned the synagogue, whose remains later served as storage. The heavily altered synagogue is today used as a school and its original appearance can be reconstructed only from historical images.

Zlaté Moravce [Hungarian: *Aranyosmarót*]

S1N1201

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Štúrova 5, Zlaté Moravce

Present Use: gym hall

Date of Construction: 1928

Architect: Andrej Petö

Figures: 141-145

The eastern façade of the synagogue, with gable accent and simple vertical lisenés, faces the street. The former sanctuary today serves as a gym with a climbers' exercise wall. This building, design by a local contractor, does not have much architectural value.

S1N1202

Structure: Neolog prayer hall
Location: Robotnícka 9, Zlaté Moravce
Present Use: former bakery
Date of Construction: late 1920s – 1930s
Architect: unknown
Figure: 146

The former prayer hall was housed in this building constructed for the small Neolog community. The building, which served as a communal center, appeared as a common residential house. It is a typical example of interwar architecture in a provincial town, evidenced by an accentuated concrete corner balcony column.

5. 1. 4. TRENČÍN REGION [L]

Bánovce nad Bebravou [Hungarian: *Trencsénbán*, German: *Banowitz*]

S1L0201

Structure: synagogue
Location: Jesenského 14, Bánovce nad Bebravou
Present Use: Lutheran church
Date of Construction: 1862
Architect: unknown
Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10710
Figures: 147-149

The synagogue of Bánovce nad Bebravou still serves for the worship of God. It has been fully restored by the current owner, the Lutheran community. Though the interior was adjusted to the needs of current use, the original cast-iron columns in the women's gallery still stand. The exterior, topped today by a Cross on the gable, is a trivial *Rundbogenstil* synagogue scheme, with legible former interior distribution.

Bošany

S1L0301

Structure: synagogue
Location: Čsl. Armády 24, Bošany, Partizánske District
Present Use: family residence with bar
Date of Construction: 19th century
Architect: unknown
Figure: 150

Situated on the main street of the village, the former synagogue was completely altered and today serves as a village bar with slot machines. Only after consulting with the

current owner, could we believe that this building was indeed originally a Jewish house of worship.

Dežerice**S1L0401****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Dežerice 159, Bánovce nad Bebravou District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 151

The former synagogue is located near the main road in the central part of the village. The current owners have fully rebuilt the building for residential purposes. They showed us the remnants of Jewish prayer books discovered during the reconstruction work. Their daughter carefully looks after this last reminder of the original usage of this house.

Drietoma**S1L0501****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Drietoma 93, Trenčín District**Present Use:** Lutheran church**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 152-155

Located in the center of the village below a small slope, this simple countryside synagogue was converted to a Lutheran church. The interior was completely altered, with concrete piers supporting a secondary added ceiling. From the north façade, the distribution of the windows indicates the original division of the synagogue space: the sanctuary and the women's gallery on the western rear.

Klátová Nová Ves**S1L0601****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Klátová Nová Ves 179, Partizánske District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 156

According to information of the current owners, this simple countryside house served as prayer hall of the local Jewish community.

Melčice - Lieskové**S1L0701****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Melčice-Lieskové 19, Trenčín District**Present Use:** workshop and residential house**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 157-158

The synagogue underwent complete reconstruction that removed all traces of the former use. Only the outer shell with a distinctive eastern rear bears some witness of the religious purpose this building once served.

Neporadza**S1L0801****Structure:** prayer hall**Location:** Neporadza 283, Trenčín District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 159

This building we identified as a former Jewish prayer hall with help of the local inhabitants. Located on the charming village square, as the last house below a forest, the building is a fine example of a rural Jewish congregation.

Trenčín [Hungarian: *Trencsén*, German: *Trentschin*]**S1L0101****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Štúrovo Square, Trenčín**Present Use:** exhibition hall, prayer hall**Date of Construction:** 1912-1913**Architect:** Richard Scheibner, Hugo Pál**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 1380**Figures:** 160-164

This former county center had an ancient Jewish community originating from Moravian immigrants. They established their communal presence behind the fortification walls, in the neighborhood that has today been fully merged with the former old town center. Their

first synagogue was a nine-bay structure, demolished in 1912, when the current synagogue was constructed. The Jewish community held an architectural competition, to which the synagogue specialist, Lipót Baumhorn from Budapest, sent a project. The design was commissioned from an architect residing in Berlin, probably a native of Trenčín. In his work he absorbed common trends towards reducing decoration while preserving monumental Classical forms. This was typical for contemporary German architecture, which included also some synagogues constructed prior to World War I.

The domed synagogue is a *mélange* of the Byzantine and Art Nouveau styles, but the decoration pulls back in favor of clear distribution of masses, legible as rationally assembled basic forms. The sanctuary is a large hall with a dome on pendentives, supported by broad barrel vaulted arches along the sides, using advanced construction technology. The concrete women's gallery on pillars runs around the three sides of the space. Originally, the sanctuary was colorfully decorated as visible in the historical images. Today, only some fragments, including the stained glass windows, blue dome decoration and the historical lamp are preserved. In the back part of the building, a small prayer hall, with a Holocaust memorial plaque listing the victims from Trenčín, serves as an occasional place of worship to the tiny local Jewish community.

Veľké Uherce

S1L0901

Structure: prayer hall

Location: Veľké Uherce 69, Partizánske District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 165

A residential house situated on a side street in the central part of the village does not bear any traces of the religious use of the former Jewish prayer hall.

Vrbovce [Hungarian: *Verbócz*]

S1L1001

Structure: synagogue

Location: Vrbovce 134, Myjava District

Present Use: workshop

Date of Construction: first half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 166

In the center of the village, surrounded by a green area near a creek, is located a free-standing building that once served as a synagogue. After World War II it served many other purposes; lately a bakery, today a small manufactory workshop, is located in the building.

Žabokreky nad Nitrou [Hungarian: *Nyitrazsámbokrét*]

S1L1101

Name: synagogue

Location: Vendelína Murína Square, Žabokreky nad Nitrou, Partizánske District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 167-168

The former institutions of the Jewish community are located on a slight slope above the village square. The synagogue was entirely rebuilt into a residential building and no traces of the original use were preserved. The Jewish elementary school with dwellings of the communal employees, rabbi and teacher, stood next to the building. Today it is a private residence.

5. 1. 5. BANSKÁ BYSTRICA REGION [B]

Banská Štiavnica [Hungarian: *Selmecebánya*, German: *Schemnitz*]

S1B0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Novozámocká 5, Banská Štiavnica

Present Use: in restoration

Date of Construction: 1893

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2493

Figures: 169-171

In the center of the UNESCO-listed historical mining town, on the Y-junction of the ascending and descending streets, stands a synagogue constructed over the fundamentals of an older building. The free-standing structure dominates a small urban area; therefore, an architect designed the western façade as grand front with three round-arched windows, gable accentuation and broad text stripe with Hebrew Psalm. The interior is covered with a barrel vault, which corrects an irregularity of the plan. After World War II, the sanctuary space was filled in to create a second floor and the building was used as a driving school.

Brezno [Hungarian: *Breznóbánya*, German: *Bries*]

S1B0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Štúrova 11, Brezno

Present Use: exhibition hall

Date of Construction: 1901-1902

Architect: Peter Payerberger

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 2740

Figures: 172-176

The Jewish community of Brezno was well integrated into the general population of this small town in the upper Hron River valley. It proudly belonged to the Neolog movement, demonstrated by the elegant tower on the synagogue.

The synagogue is located on the junction of two side streets in the city center. It has a tri-partite front dominated by the octagonal tower with onion shaped copper roof placed in the axis of the façade. The interior has a traditional arrangement; the stairways to the women's gallery are located in the western rear, the sanctuary is a three-nave hall with the women's gallery supported by cast-iron columns. The original *aron hakodesh* is placed in a semi-circular apse.

Halič

S1B0401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Zámocká 3, Halič, Lučenec District

Present Use: restoration as Lutheran church

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10953

Figures: 177-182

The synagogue is a small building with a simple façade with portal and tri-partite window, stressed by two corner pillars, and with a gable accentuation. The interior is an empty hall, void of any furnishing: a vacant niche marking the ark and traces of the women's gallery are visible.

Kokava nad Rimavicou

S1B0501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Štúrova 11, Kokava nad Rimavicou, Poltár District

Present Use: exhibition hall

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10954

Figures: 183-186

This little synagogue stands in the center of town, its eastern façade faces to the street. This orientation is also reflected in the façade arrangement with a monumental niche, rounded window and round-arched windows flanking the ark. The interior is fully restored with the historical wall ornamentation and the women's gallery running along three sides of the sanctuary. Most interesting is the construction of the gallery; it is not supported, as usual, by cast-iron columns, but it is affixed by metallic supports into the walls.

Krupina [Hungarian: *Korpona*, German: *Karpfen*]

S1B0601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Kuzmányho 22, Krupina

Present Use: offices, restaurant

Date of Construction: mid 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 187-188

The building of this former synagogue stands at the edge of the historical town, near a creek. Not much has been preserved from the original structure; it has been incorporated into a larger building, housing a restaurant, a sauna with swimming pool, and offices.

Lučenec [Hungarian: *Losonc*]

S1B0701

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Adyho 4, Lučenec

Present Use: dilapidated building

Date of Construction: 1924-1926

Architect: Lipót (Leopold) Baumhorn

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 3507

Figures: 189-195

A colossal building of the former Neolog synagogue is as a grand memorial to Slovak Jewry: the community disappeared during the Holocaust, after the war their houses were demolished. Only the decaying synagogue remained, surrounded by a typical Communist housing estate. In course of time, the locals robbed the building of everything valuable, so that today we find capitols from the interior in private gardens in the city.

The synagogue was constructed in the mid-1920s after designs of the well-known Budapest-based synagogue architect, Lipót Baumhorn. The architect applied here his favorite scheme of the Greek cross with a central dome and corner stair-towers. The stair-towers he articulated as a western two-tower façade or polygonal eastern addition. Between them the architect placed a polygonal "presbytery", which served as daily prayer hall. The dilapidated interior hints at the original inner spatial distribution; four pillars, supporting the dome, also carried the women's gallery, which run along three sides of the

sanctuary. The style of the synagogue represents the distinctive Baumhornian eclecticism with Moorish, Byzantine, and Art Nouveau elements, typical for Hungarian national architecture prior to World War I.

Nová Baňa**S1B0801****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Štefánikova 10, Nová Baňa, Žarnovica District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 196-198

After World War II, the local synagogue was rebuilt into a residential house. The former appearance of the building is legible on the southern façade, where the traces of the original round-arched windows are still evident. The entrances to the synagogue and the women's gallery, located on the western side, are today blocked. The neighboring house probably served as a dwelling of the rabbi or *hazzan*.

Revúca [Hungarian: *Nagyőröcze*, German: *Gross Rauschenbach*]**S1B0901****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Železničná 55, Revúca**Present Use:** Jehovah's Witnesses prayer hall**Date of Construction:** 1889**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 199

Already the glance at this building suggests that not much of the former synagogue remains. Its southern façade is oriented toward the street, where the original round-arched fenestration is legible.

Zvolen [Hungarian: *Zólyom*, German: *Altsohl*]**S1B1001****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Jozefa Kozáčeka 10, Zvolen**Present Use:** textile and furniture shop**Date of Construction:** 1895**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 200-204

Only when compared with historical images, can we reconstruct the original appearance of the Zvolen synagogue. The free-standing two-story building with Moorish and Neo-Romanesque elements had a tri-partite façade. Two massive pillars, topped by octagonal towers, emphasized the central portion. This characteristic appearance of the synagogue disappeared after World War II, when the building was heavily altered. Today, only the memorial plaque affixed to the façade recalls the original purpose of this former place of Jewish worship.

Žarnovica**S1B1101****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Andreja Sládkoviča 16, Žarnovica**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** third quarter of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 205

This synagogue we surveyed during the reconstruction for residential purposes when the remnants of the former building were still visible. The school and the flats of the communal employees were probably located in the neighboring yard.

Žiar nad Hronom**S1B1201****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** SNP Street 64, Žiar nad Hronom**Present Use:** old age home**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 206

Not much of the original synagogue has been preserved. A few years ago, fragments of the original ornamentation were discovered in the attic of the building.

5. 1. 6. ŽILINA REGION [Z]

Bytča [Hungarian: *Nagybicsce*]

S1Z0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Sidónie Sakalovej Street, Bytča

Present Use: restoration as Bible center

Date of Construction: 1886

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10498

Figures: 207-212

This former synagogue stands in the center of town, between the chateau and the brewery of Baron Popper, who also constructed the synagogue. Nowadays, the chateau serves as district administration offices and the privatized brewery uses the name of the founder, but the building, where the Jewish baron worshiped God with his community, falls to pieces.

The building has an interesting *Rundbogenstil*-Moorish design, perhaps originating in Vienna that indicates the taste of the patron. The internal spatial distribution, between a three-bay sanctuary and the entrance hall and stairways on the western rear, is legible on the exterior.

The tri-partite western front appears as a projection, with an accentuated central section, topped by a gable with four turrets. The solemn interior still bears traces of the former historicist splendor. Despite damage, the remnants of the wooden paling, cassette ceiling, and stained glass windows are remarkable.

Dolný Kubín [Hungarian: *Alsókubín*]

S1Z0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hviezdoslavovo Square 1269, Dolný Kubín

Present Use: cinema

Date of Construction: 1893

Architect: unknown

Figures: 213-214

Currently used as a cinema, the former synagogue stands at the end of the elongated town square. The appearance of the synagogue is a result of strong alterations; the cinema entrance hall adjoins the eastern façade and the original substance appears only when observing the building from distance.

Liptovský Mikuláš [*Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš*, Hungarian: *Liptószentmiklós*]
S1Z0401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hollého Street, Liptovský Mikuláš

Present Use: exhibition and concert hall

Date of Construction: 1846; 1878, 1906 (restoration after fire)

Architect: Lipót (Leopold) Baumhorn [1906 restoration]

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 335

Figures: 215-220

Historically, this town served as a center of the Liptov County, where Jews were well respected and socially integrated. Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš became the first town in Hungary to elect a Jewish mayor (Isaac Diner, 1865), three years before Jews acquired civil rights in the country.

The synagogue, constructed in the town center, is a blend of various building stages. The original structure was destroyed by fire in 1878. Rebuilt, it was again damaged by fire in 1906. The free-standing structure, with tetra-styled portico with Ionic capitals, topped by a tympanum, originating from the first building stage was altered. The resultant building is harmonic masterpiece fusing the original neo-Classical building and with Art Nouveau reconstruction. From studying historical photo-documentation, we can conclude that after the first fire, in 1878, a conventional women's gallery structure supported by cast-iron columns was built into the sanctuary and was damaged by the second fire of 1906.

The second reconstruction, supervised by the Budapest-based synagogue architect Lipót Baumhorn, utilized the left-over shell of the neo-Classical building and inserted his favorite planning scheme: a central dome, carried by four pillars that also support the women's gallery. The *aron hakodesh* and the *bimah*, located in the east of the sanctuary, form one unit, as typical for Neolog synagogues. Behind them Baumhorn added a small room for storage of Torah scrolls. This is clearly visible, on the eastern rear, where he additionally attached three projections; on the sides are stair-towers, typical of the architect's planning scheme.

The synagogue contained the original furnishing until the 1980s; during the 1990s it underwent a partial restoration for cultural purposes.

Rajec

S1Z0501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Štúrova 4, Rajec, Žilina District

Present Use: municipal storage

Date of Construction: end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 221-224

The former synagogue of Rajec is definitely not an architecturally appealing building. We lack any historical documentation and from the former house of prayer, with fallen off

plaster, used after World War II as a barn, only a brick torso has been preserved. The sanctuary was filled in with wooden stories and no more than traces of the original decorative painting, depicting the illusive baldachin stressing the *aron hakodesh*, are preserved.

Ružomberok [Hungarian: *Rózsahegy*, German: *Rosenberg*]

S1Z0601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Panská Street, Ružomberok

Present Use: without use

Date of Construction: 1880

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 10513

Figures: 225-229

The synagogue is situated in a small street leading to the river, not far from the city center. It is a typical *Rundbogenstil* design with tri-partite front; the central portion is articulated with a projection topped by a gable. The exterior uses red and white plaster to emphasize the elements of the façade.

In the interior, the sanctuary is a three-nave hall, with the main nave carried by pillars. The pillars also support the women's gallery that runs along both sides of the sanctuary. The original *aron hakodesh* stands in the east.

Trstená [Hungarian: *Trsztena*]

S1Z0701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Železničiarov 44, Trstená, Tvrdošín District

Present Use: shops

Date of Construction: 1880s

Architect: unknown

Figures: 230-232

The synagogue and the former rabbinate building stand in the center of a small market town near the Polish border. Initially a house of worship, today it houses two shops, one on each floor. Despite alterations, the exterior has retained its charm; a three-bay façade with gable features a Baroque entrance portal. Some traces of the original arrangement are left over in the interior; a small round window in the southern wall marks the former *aron hakodesh* and the cast-iron columns remind of the women's gallery.

Tvrdošín [Hungarian: *Turdossin*]

S1Z0801

Structure: synagogue

Location: Radničná 4, Tvrdošín

Present Use: disco bar, shops

Date of Construction: 1885

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 3514

Figures: 233-236

Once the place of Jewish prayer and communal assembly, today the building is known as a center of loud night adventures with a perverse club name “synagoga”. A free-standing building on the edge of the historical town center, near the river it is a simple two-story building without significant architectural qualities. During the reconstruction, a balustrade railing was added on the front. The three-bay façade reflects the original division of the interior. On the façade, a Hebrew date indicates the construction year of the synagogue.

Not much of the former sanctuary is visible: upper floor with wooden paneling is a bar; original cast-iron columns of the women’s gallery are part of the club’s interior.

Vrútky [Hungarian: *Ruttka*]

S1Z0901

Structure: synagogue

Location: 1. Čsl. Brigády 24, Vrútky, Martin District

Present Use: ceremonial and concert hall, shops

Date of Construction: 1910

Architect: unknown

Figures: 237-243

Originally a free-standing synagogue, integrated into a housing estate during the 1970s, it now forms an important element of the pedestrian zone of this small town in northern Slovakia. Although constructed in the early 20th century, the building design bears the spirit of 19th century synagogue architecture. It serves as an example of the conventional synagogue scheme applied at the architectural periphery. Proportions are rough and the stylistic elements are void of elegance. Western and eastern façades were articulated as three-bay projections with vertical pilaster accent and small turrets on the top. A story has been built into the interior; some details including the triumphal ark, stairway and cast-iron supports of the women’s gallery, are preserved

Žilina [Hungarian: *Zsolna*, German: *Sillein*]

S1Z0102

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Kuzmányho 1, Hurbanova 11, Žilina

Present Use: cinema

Date of Construction: 1928-1931

Architect: Peter Behrens

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 1398

Figures: 244-247

This city limited a Jewish presence for centuries. Although the Jews could sell their goods at local market, they were prohibited from staying overnight within the city walls. Only during the 19th century began permanent Jewish settlement.

The community constructed the synagogue, which was replaced in 1880 by another synagogue building serving its purpose until the late 1920s, when the modern synagogue was commissioned. The community conducted an international competition which attracted important architects of the time, including Josef Hoffmann from Vienna and Lipót Baumhorn from Budapest. Ultimately, the winner was Peter Behrens and thus this synagogue became an important work of European modern architecture in Slovakia.

The synagogue is a domed structure, reflecting conventional notions of exotic monumentality reserved for Jewish ritual buildings. Nevertheless, the overall appearance of the synagogue is modern. The artistic concept horizontally divides the mass of the building into two contrasting materials. The base is made of rough square stone, while the upper plastered part is pierced by an array of narrow windows making the otherwise massive block lighter. The sanctuary was formerly a large and spacious hall, with the women's galleries running along its sides. Today is this space fully altered and serves as a cinema hall.

S1Z0101

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Dlabačova 15

Present Use: active synagogue, Judaica exhibition, shops

Date of Construction: 1927

Architect: unknown

Figures: 248-250

A small Orthodox congregation was formed by splitting off from the main community, which was associated with the Neolog movement. During the interwar period, they constructed a new communal center with a synagogue in the quiet residential neighborhood. The building consists of two structures: a synagogue in the front and a rear building visually unified by a veranda and stairway. The eastern façade of the synagogue faces the street and is articulated by an array of round-arched windows. In the center, one window is omitted; this marks the ark in the interior.

The sanctuary is fully preserved with the original furnishing decorated by a typical geometric ornament of the 1920s. A wooden screen, *mechitzah*, forms an internal division between the men's and women's section. In the back, in the women's section, a small Judaica exhibition of the Jewish Museum is installed. In the cellar used to be a *mikvah* [ritual bath], today a shop.

5. 1. 7. KOŠICE REGION [K]

Čaňa

S1K0201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Mieru Street, Čaňa, Košice-okolie District

Present Use: cinema, shops

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 251-252

In the center of the village stands the heavily altered building of the former synagogue. The former gable is visible on the eastern rear, which accentuated the synagogue to the street.

Košice [Hungarian: *Kassa*, German: *Kaschau*]

S1K0102

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Zvonárska 7, Košice

Present Use: without use

Date of Construction: 1899

Architect: János Balog

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 3620

Figures: 253-257, MAP 10

The synagogue is the main building of the Orthodox Jewish communal compound; a simple two-story *Rundbogenstil* creation that bears signs of its provincial provenance. The western façade of the building faces Zvonárska Street; it was designed as the main representative side, facing the public zone. The façade is tri-partite with distinct stair-tower projections on both sides of the central bay with main entrance, round-arched window motif, topped by a gable with the tablets of the Ten Commandments. A metallic railing with gate connects the projections and encloses the main gateway. The other façades are far less monumental: rusticated walls with bays divided by vertical pilasters. A string course runs between the stories, and an arched molding stresses the cornice. The eastern façade is a three-bay wall with a large round-arched window topped by a gable. The synagogue's interior is solemn, with the women's gallery construction supported on

cast-iron columns. The entire surface of the interior is covered with a rich decorative wall-painting with geometric and Moorish patterns. The hall is empty and of the original furnishing only the ark and the basin on the western wall near the main entrance to the sanctuary remain.

S1K0104

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Puškinova Street, Košice

Present Use: synagogue

Date of Construction: 1926-1927

Architect: Ludovít Oelschläger and Gejza Zoltán Boskó

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 1135

Figures: 258-262

Oelschläger was a Košice-based architect, educated in Budapest, who in his *oeuvre* combined traditionalist architectural schooling with contemporary modernist influences. The synagogue is a fine example of the provincial architectural treatment of a historicist scheme, represented by eastern-Slovak Renaissance attic, neo-Classical monumental elements with an application of Jewish iconography. The architects designed this synagogue with adjoining school building on a building lot that bordered the street line on the eastern side. The visible public façade of the synagogue, with its grand staircase and triple arched monumental protrusion is only a pretense entrance: the actual main entrance with vestibule is situated on the western side away from the street. Two further entrances are on the southern and northern side of the building.

The interior is a modernist reinforced concrete central domed structure, with a women's gallery supported by concrete pillars running along three sides of the main sanctuary. The hall recalls the Orthodox affiliation of the community: the *bimah* stands in the center and the women's section is fenced with an additional metallic *mechitzah* atop the railing. The ark is constructed of red marble while other rich decorative details, such as lamps and stunning stained glass windows, bear witness to the sophisticated aesthetic requirements of the leading urban Orthodox community in the region.

Together with the adjoining Orthodox school and planned ritual baths in the back part of the lot, this synagogue was foreseen as a religious center for the modern Orthodox Jews of Košice.

S1K0103

Structure: Hassidic synagogue

Location: Krmanova 5, Košice

Present Use: research institute lab

Date of Construction: 1920

Architect: unknown

Figures: 263-264

The synagogue is a simple plastered building topped by a saddleback roof. Round-arched windows framed by architrave and slight rustication of walls are the only decorative elements of the exterior. The building stands behind the wall in the separate yard and is an excellent example of the importation of a rural traditional synagogue structure into an urban landscape; it could well stand in some traditional countryside community. The Hassidim had no interest in public representation; they lived their separated lifestyle centered on Torah study. Socially, they were the lowest strata of the Jewish population in Košice.

In the original interior arrangement, the building consisted of two prayer halls, both facing east. They were accessed through small vestibules on the southern and northern side. In 1957-1959, the interior was strongly altered for needs of the current owner, a laboratory for metal testing.

S1K0105

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Moyzesova 66, Košice

Present Use: philharmonic hall

Date of Construction: 1927

Architect: Lajos Kozma

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 1181

Figures: 3, 265-269

In 1924, the Neolog Community announced an international competition for a new synagogue with adjoining school facilities. They did not acquire a new building lot, but exchanged with the Status Quo prayer group. The old Neolog synagogue at Rákoczi Circle Street was reconstructed to serve needs of the Status Quo rite: the organ was removed and the *bimah* was relocated to the sanctuary center, in order to meet traditionalist requirements. The old Status Quo prayer hall behind the synagogue was demolished, so that the new Neolog synagogue could be constructed on its site.

Winner of the competition was a leading Budapest-based architect, Lajos Kozma, and his synagogue is an outstanding example of the interwar Baroque revival Hungarian architecture. It is a large domed structure that marks a significant presence in the townscape. The monumentality of the building was stressed by a massive tetra-styled portico (today demolished) and exterior walls plastically articulated with Baroque elements. The size of the building was striking: the height of the dome was 37 meters with the diameter of 24 meters; portico columns reached to 25 meters. The capacity of the sanctuary was 1,100 distributed on the ground floor and the semi-circular women's gallery. The interior has been completely altered and only few original details are still noticeable: the metallic railing of the staircases and the previous dome with Hebrew inscriptions are preserved in the space above the built-in ceiling of the concert hall. The adjoining school building served before World War II as the Neolog Jewish elementary school (today housing the University of Economics). The building, also designed by Kozma, is stylistically similar to the synagogue, with playful neo-Classical and Baroque elements incorporated into the façade.

After World War II, the Košice municipality acquired the building and in the 1950s it was altered to serve as the Philharmonic Hall. The architect Czihala changed the exterior significantly; a massive unpleasant vestibule structure replaced the stylish portico on the western façade. The metallic Shield of David that once marked the building on the roof lantern was moved to the Jewish cemetery and became a part of the Holocaust memorial. An old synagogue dating from 1866 was razed entirely.

S1K0101

Structure: Orthodox prayer hall

Location: Zvonárska 7, Košice

Present Use: active synagogue

Date of Construction: 1900-1904

Architect: István Forgách

Figures: 270-271

A single-story building is located along the northern side of the Orthodox communal compound, next to the synagogue. The building contained an additional space for prayer (re-inaugurated as a prayer hall in 1993) and the premises for *shochetim* [ritual slaughterers]. A *sukkah* [booth-like construction used during the Sukkoth festival] adjoins the building in the eastern side.

Kráľovský Chlmec [Hungarian: Királyhelymec]

S1K0301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hviezdoslavova Street, Kráľovský Chlmec, Trebišov District

Present Use: without use

Date of Construction: 1850

Architect: unknown

Figures: 272-274

A free-standing building of bricks and rubble is situated in the last part of a dead end street. The synagogue does not have a very imaginative west façade. It consists of three asymmetrically distributed entrance portals, two round-arched windows flanking the round window and a monumental neo-Classical gable showing traces of the pilaster decoration.

During the Communist time, the sanctuary served as furniture storage and therefore some traces of the original furnishing remained. Though emptied of pews, the ark and the women's gallery, running along the western side of the sanctuary, remain. The gallery, supported by cast-iron columns, protrudes along both side walls into the sanctuary. The original ornamentation of the walls is well-preserved.

Michaľany [Hungarian: *Alsómihály*]

S1K0401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Cintorínska 10, Michaľany, Trebišov District

Present Use: shop, beverages storage

Date of Construction: 1934

Architect: unknown

Figure: 275

The regular synagogue of the small Jewish community in Michaľany was constructed only few years prior to the Holocaust. Not much of its original appearance has been preserved. Only the west façade with a gable accentuation recalls that this building did not serve usual residential purposes.

Michalovce [Hungarian: *Nagymihály*, German: *Michalowitz*]

S1K0501

Structure: Klaus synagogue [Hassidic]

Location: Kostolné Square 1, Michalovce

Present Use: without use

Date of Construction: end of the 1920s or 1930s

Architect: unknown

Figures: 276-277

The Jews of Michalovce had a traditional community, which had not by chance been selected in 1865 as the site of the rabbinical conference, which later led to the institutional schism of Hungarian Jewry. After the 1868-1869 Congress, the community unquestionably joined the Orthodox movement. Nevertheless, a small Hassidic group did not consider the community strict enough, and formed their own congregation, establishing separate communal institutions. These included the synagogue, school, ritual bath, slaughter house and house of the rabbi located in a prolonged courtyard, once accessed from a school building at Štúrova Street 8. The parents of the current owner bought the house from a rabbi in the post-war years, before he emigrated to Israel. The owner, who was then a child, recollects even today the rabbi's Hassidic garb. Traces of *mezuzah* are still visible on the doorposts.

The synagogue is an abandoned building on the compound of a car repair workshop, on the neighboring lot. Though constructed during the interwar period, the building is a traditional synagogue with round-arched windows topped by a hipped roof. On the former western front, today partially visible above the roof of the neighboring structure, typical decorations of the interwar architecture are legible. The interior is barren and the future of this building unclear.

Moldava nad Bodvou [Hungarian: *Szepesi*, German: *Moldau*]**S1K0601****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Vodná 21, Moldava nad Bodvou, Košice-okolie District**Present Use:** abandoned building with gym hall**Date of Construction:** 1931**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 278-279

The synagogue was constructed during the interwar period on the spot of its predecessor, which had been destroyed by fire. The Jewish community opted for a replica of the old synagogue, thus giving an example of a traditional synagogue scheme to be implemented in the period, when other communities commissioned modernist buildings.

The current building consists of the former synagogue and a western addition, constructed after World War II. The eastern façade, facing the street, is a simple gabled façade, with a pair of windows. Behind the synagogue flows a river that once supplied the nearby ritual bath with water.

Príbeník**S1K0701****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Sándora Petöfiho Street, Príbeník, Trebišov District**Present Use:** without use**Date of Construction:** beginning of the 20th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 280-284

This is the easternmost preserved synagogue building in Slovakia. A small structure made of unplastered bricks with applied Jewish symbols carved into stonework decorations, it is located on the junction of two major streets of the village. During our visit, the sanctuary was full of garbage, but the original ornamentation of the ceiling was still well visible. The village intends to restore the synagogue for cultural purposes.

Slovenské Nové Mesto**S1K0801****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Hlavná 87, Slovenské Nové Mesto, Trebišov District**Present Use:** Catholic church**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 285-287

Slovenské Nové Mesto was formed by splitting off from the Hungarian Sátorajáújhely after World War I, when the new Czechoslovak-Hungarian border was created along the Roňava River, leaving the former eastern suburb of the town in Slovakia.

The synagogue, situated on the main road, serves today as a Catholic church. Only after we were informed by local inhabitants could we identify this building as a former Jewish place of worship. On the eastern rear, a large protrusion marked the ark, where the Torah scrolls were stored. The western façade features a large classical temple front.

Smolník [Hungarian: *Szomolnok*, German: *Schmölnitz*]

S1K0901

Structure: synagogue

Location: Smolník 123, Gelnica District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: beginning of the 20th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 288-289

A small mining town hides deep in a valley encircled by green forest hills, where the Jewish presence is marked by an overgrown cemetery and the former synagogue. It is a countryside L-shaped house topped by a saddleback roof, located near a small creek in the center of the village. As neighbors recall, the house served the local Jewish community as a house of prayer and a dwelling for a *shochet*. The *shochet*, who served as a religious leader and *chazzan* for this small community, slaughtered animals at the northern side of the house. The synagogue used to be in the eastern part of the building, facing the street, and was accessible through a gate on the street façade, which was built over after World War II.

Štítník

S1K1001

Structure: synagogue

Location: Štítník 323, Rožňava District

Present Use: reconstruction for residential purposes

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 290-294

This tiny house is a fine example of a countryside synagogue. Originally a typical village house with a two window façade, it was rebuilt into a house of prayer. Gothic windows and a gable with a round window accentuate the sanctuary towards the street. The community was small and could not maintain a rabbi; it had to suffice with a *shochet*, who also served as a *chazzan* and a religious leader. He lived and slaughtered animals in the back part of the house.

Veľká Ida [Hungarian: *Nagyida*]

S1K1101

Structure: synagogue

Location: Veľká Ida 326, Košice-okolie District

Present Use: municipal carpentry workshop

Date of Construction: beginning of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 295-297

The Jewish community of Veľká Ida was once a prosperous community located in the proximity of Košice and serving as a Jewish *yishuv*, since the Jews could not settle in the Royal towns. It is located in the center of a village, which today lies decrepit in the shadow of the chimneys of the U.S. Steel factory.

The synagogue is a simple building topped by a saddleback roof. Distribution of the inner space is legible on the exterior: the sanctuary was entered through a vestibule in the westernmost section of the building. Above the vestibule and the adjoining study room spread the women's gallery, access to which was secured via an external stairway attached diagonally to the western façade, accentuated by a Baroque gable. This simple building belongs to the oldest preserved synagogues in Slovakia.

Zemplínske Jastrabie

S1K1201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hlavná Street, Zemplínske Jastrabie 37, Trebišov District

Present Use: abandoned garage

Date of Construction: 18th or early 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 298

A simple free-standing building made of unplastered rubble is located behind the village house and originally served as a prayer hall of the local Jewish community.

5. 1. 8. PREŠOV REGION [P]

Bardejov [Hungarian: *Bártfa*, German: *Bartfeld*]

S1P0201

Structure: Old Synagogue

Location: Mlynská 13, Bardejov

Present Use: metalware shop

Date of Construction: 1829 or 1836

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 1789

Figures: 8-9, 299-304

The most prominent Jewish monument of Bardejov is a so-called *židovské suburbium* [Jewish suburb]: a compound of Jewish institutional buildings including the Old Synagogue, a *beit midrash* and a *mikvah*. A Jewish slaughter-house stood nearby on the lot occupied today by the supermarket. The name *židovské suburbium*, originating within the Slovak preservationist authorities, does not fully describe the character of these architectural monuments. Prior to World War II the area was heavily populated by Jews, though it was never an exclusively Jewish neighborhood.

The oldest building of the compound is the Old Synagogue [Old *Shul*], which is one of the most valuable pieces of synagogue architecture in Slovakia. Together with the synagogue of Stupava, it represents one of the two remaining nine-bay synagogues in the country. Constructed before Jewish emancipation, the synagogue is discretely hidden in the back part of the compound's lot. Its exterior is a rectangle, made of massive walls pierced with simple Baroque windows and topped by a metallic mansard roof. A monumental neo-Classical portico with a staircase on the south west corner provided an access to the building until it collapsed in the 1990s. The interior consists of a main prayer hall and a cluster of vestibule, study-room, and the women's gallery on the west. The prayer hall is a nine-bay space, three bays square, with a *bimah* placed in the middle and supported by four pillars. The pillars and pilasters support eight kerchief vaults, which are covered with splendid ornamental decoration. The hall is used currently as a storage of hardware store and nothing remains of this original inventory, though the *bimah* platform has been preserved (to store metallic pipes) and the position of the former ark is still visible and marked by a Hebrew inscription *Keter Torah* [crown of Torah]. Additionally, a damaged inscription of the Hebrew Psalm 113:3 ("*From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof the Lord's name is to be praised*") spreads on the eastern wall. This wall also features an unusual row of small niches thought to keep prayer mantels and books. The most interesting artifact is a Hebrew dedicatory plaque on the western side above the entrance to the hall. Its poetic text provides information about the donor and the date of construction.

Due to proximity to the Polish territory, constant flow of emigration and also on-going business, religious and cultural ties to Nowy Sącz and other Polish Jewish communities, we can rightly assume this synagogue was an architectural solution imported from Poland.

S1P0202**Structure:** beit midrash**Location:** Mlynská 13, Bardejov**Present Use:** metal ware shop**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 1789**Figures:** 8, 305-308

The *beit midrash*, house of study, served for Torah study and often as a prayer hall, is a newer synagogue structure in the compound of the Jewish communal buildings. Distribution of the inner space is legible on the northern façade. On the eastern rear was the sanctuary, on the west spread the entrance tract with the women's gallery. The sanctuary had, as the Jewish tradition proscribed, an ideal number of twelve windows. Six of them, together with blind window opening marking the position of the *aron hakodesh* on the internal side, demarcated the eastern façade. The overall character of the building is determined by neo-Classical elements which allow dating the *beit midrash* to the second half of the 19th century.

S1P0203**Structure:** Chevra Bikur Cholim Synagogue**Location:** Kláštorská Street, Bardejov**Present Use:** prayer hall**Date of Construction:** 1929**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 1743**Figures:** 11, 309-310

This synagogue, established in the interwar period by an association assisting sick communal members, *Chevra Bikur Cholim*, is in the historical city center. It is a simple building and its eastern façade, featuring a pair of pointed windows marking the sanctuary, faces the street. On the right side of the façade is the gateway with a smaller pointed window above. The appearance of the façade reflects the internal spatial distribution within a narrow building, prolonged onto the deep lot, with backyard. Thanks to the last Jew of the city, Mr. Maxmilián Špíra, the sanctuary, with fully conserved inventory, belongs to the best preserved synagogue interiors in Slovakia.

S1P0204**Structure:** Chevra Mishnayot Synagogue**Location:** Stöcklova 20, Bardejov**Present Use:** secondary school of commerce**Date of Construction:** 1905**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 10, 311-312

The synagogue was set up by an association functioning within the Bardejov Jewish community in order to study the *Mishnah* [*Mishnah* = commentaries to the Torah; element of the Jewish law]. The building was heavily altered after World War II, and we can reconstruct the original appearance only through the preserved historical photo-documentation. This single-story structure's eastern façade faces the street. The five bay façade consisted of the entrance portal and four round-arched windows. The *aron hakodesh* stood between them.

Bystré [Hungarian: *Tapolybeszterce, Bisztra*]**S1P0301****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Bystré 196, Vranov nad Topľou District**Present Use:** municipal storage**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 313-317

The former synagogue stands in the central part of village, near a creek. The simple single-story building is topped by a saddleback roof and has a secondary pierced garage doorway. Most of the round-arched windows were filled in, but are still legible in the plaster of the interior, where also the former ark niche can be identified.

Hniezdne**S1P0401****Structure:** prayer hall**Location:** Hniezdne 118, Stará Ľubovňa District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figure:** 318

The residential house was identified by locals as a former Jewish prayer hall. A two-story structure is similar to the other buildings of the historical town square. The house probably belonged to a prominent member of the local Jewish community, which assembled there for religious and social purposes.

Huncovce [Hungarian: *Hunfalva*, German: *Hunsdorf*]

S1P0501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Huncovce 467, Kežmarok District

Present Use: textile storage

Date of Construction: 1825

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 883

Figures: 319-323

This important Jewish community was once a center of the Jewish life in the Spiš Region and the site of the famous *yeshiva*. The appearance of the synagogue reflected this prominent status of the community, which can be today only imagined from the historical pictures preserved in the archives of the Jewish Museum in Budapest.

The pictures depict the nine-bay sanctuary with a *bimah* in the center of the hall. The west façade was articulated as a representative neo-Classical front with massive portico and grand stairway access. The synagogue stood near the Poprad River, which provided fresh water for the ritual baths in the basement of the synagogue. The current appearance of the synagogue is a miserable torso; the building suffering a fire during World War II, was subsequently heavily altered into a storage hall.

Košarovce

S1P0601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Košarovce 174, Humenné District

Present Use: abandoned fire station

Date of Construction: late 1920s or 1930s

Architect: unknown

Figures: 324-325

A simple free-standing single-story countryside synagogue, this building was, for decades, used by the local fire brigade. Maintenance investments were minimal, as can be seen from the current condition of the unused building.

Lemešany [Hungarian: *Lemes*]

S1P0701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Lemešany 80, Prešov District

Present Use: storage of local farmer

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Figures: 326-329

A neglected synagogue stands in the small field of the local farmer. This building represents a traditional solution of a countryside synagogue. Blocked round-arched windows are legible under the falling-off plaster. The position of the ark is stressed on exterior by the vertical strengthening of the eastern wall and two flanking windows. In the upper part of the lot, on the main road, stands a building that probably once served as a school, ritual slaughter house, or dwellings for the communal employees.

Lipany [Hungarian: *Héthárs*, German: *Siebenlinden*]

S1P0801

Structure: synagogue

Location: Sabinovská 9, Lipany, Sabinov District

Present Use: shop and office premises

Date of Construction: 1929

Architect: Eugen Bárkány

Figures: 330-333

The synagogue was constructed in the interwar period to the designs of a Prešov-based Jewish architect. Today the building is fully altered and serves as business and office premises. In the eastern rear, on the former place of the ark, a large shop window was pierced. Only the motif of the Ten Commandments in the stairway railing recalls the original purpose of this building.

With help of the historical images, we can imagine the former appearance of the synagogue. The eastern façade faced the street with a large Menorah decoration, flanked by two prolonged round-arched windows and a round window accentuating the former position of the ark. The building had a flat roof, topped on the eastern front by horizontal steps with the Ten Commandments symbol and a Hebrew Psalm. In general, the synagogue was an example of the restrained modernism in the provinces, reflecting common decorative trends of 1920s architecture.

Lubotice [Hungarian: *Sebeskellemes*]

S1P0901

Structure: synagogue

Location: Bardejovská 57, Lubotice, Prešov District

Present Use: Greek Catholic church

Date of Construction: 1833; 1905 (restoration after fire)

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 383

Figures: 334-336

The village, located on the outskirts of Prešov, belonged to the estate of Count Haller, who settled the Jews here. The Jewish residents formed an absolute majority (1787: 99%, 1850: 94.2%, 1880: 82.3%, 1900: 82.3%, 1919: 59%) giving a strong Jewish character to

the village. A large cemetery with ancient tombstones is preserved in the center of this settlement, which today, has no Jewish residents.

The synagogue is a simple construction with neo-Classical decorative elements; pilasters with Ionic capitals decorate the otherwise plain facades with round-arched windows. The eastern façade features two windows that once flanked the ark, today recalled only by a niche in the interior, where a Crucifix is placed. On the western façade, traces of a tripartite gateway are visible; the central entry leads through small ante-chamber into a sanctuary, while the side door accesses to the former women's gallery, today used as choir, defined by pillars with neo-Classical finish. The building overall is in fair condition.

Lubotín**S1P1001**

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hlavná 58, Lubotín, Stará Ľubovňa District

Present Use: residential house

Date of Construction: end of the 19th century or beginning of the 20th century

Architect: unknown

Figure: 337

This simple wooden house is an example of regional folk architecture. The house probably belonged to the prominent members of a small Jewish community that assembled here. More elderly neighbors refer to the building as “bužňa”, which in the local dialect is a term for a synagogue.

Pečovská Nová Ves [Hungarian: Pécsújfalu]**S1P1101**

Structure: synagogue

Location: in the center of village between houses, Pečovská Nová Ves, Sabinov District

Present Use: abandoned barn

Date of Construction: 1868

Architect: unknown

Figures: 338-341

According to the Jewish census in 1787, this village had 141 Jewish residents, making it one of four largest Jewish communities in Eastern Slovakia. The synagogue is a typical countryside synagogue, which replaced its wooden predecessor in 1868, shortly before this traditional community opted for the Orthodox movement membership. The former house of worship, decaying in the center of the village on an inaccessible lot, is surrounded by residential houses.

The building, with collapsing saddleback roof and large gables, has blocked window openings. Interior distribution was traditional: on the western rear stood a vestibule and a daily prayer room, above them spread the women's gallery. The ark was placed in the

east, accentuated by a round window and flanked by windows. Nothing from the original interior was preserved; after World War II, wooden stories of a barn were built in.

Poprad [Hungarian: *Poprád*, German: *Deutschendorf*]

S1P1201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Popradskej brigády 9, Poprad

Present Use: printing workshop

Date of Construction: 1906

Architect: unknown

Figures: 342-346

Jews could settle in Poprad only after 1867, and not before the early 20th century did their community reach the size that allowed for construction of a representative synagogue. It was built not far from the historical city center, in the street that extends from the main city square.

The synagogue is a free-standing building whose northern façade faces the street. This façade, together with western and eastern façades, have neo-Classical decoration. On the eastern rear, was attached a factory hall with a tall chimney. The interior is fully adjusted to serve as a printing workshop; a story was filled in and only one cast-iron column has been preserved in its original position.

Prešov [Hungarian: *Eperjes*, German: *Pressow*]

S1P0102

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Konštantínova 7, Prešov

Present Use: home furnishing shop

Date of Construction: 1887

Architect: unknown

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 4108

Figures: 347-351

The Neolog synagogue was constructed on the site of the first synagogue, damaged by the fire in 1887, and has itself been subsequently altered. An elegant octagonal tower with onion-shaped roof and the upper central section of street façade with small corner towers were pulled down in the post-war period. Regular windows replaced round windows and monochromatic plaster covered the typical Moorish red-yellow coloring of the façade. The façade is tri-partite, originally with three entrances, stressing a central section, which features a large arched doorway spreading through both stories. Certainly, when the tower crowned a façade, this solution was more logical than today, when only a torso of the building, used as a home furnishing store, survives. The façade is clearly divided in sections, vertically by simple pilasters and horizontally by a row of small Romanesque blank arches and cornices.

The sanctuary was originally a three-nave space, with the women's gallery spreading along the main nave, supported by pilastered pillars, on the women's gallery level completed by non-order capitals with diamonds and dentils. The room is covered by kerchief vaults, still impressive feature for a commercial venue. The interior of the sanctuary has been completely altered, the ark replaced by a cargo elevator and the hall divided by a floor, to expand the usable space, a typical solution for secondary usage of synagogues.

Near the synagogue stands the building of the former Jewish elementary school, today an office building. The two-story edifice features round-arched windows and neo-Classical decorative elements. Logically it forms a single unit with the synagogue next by, since they served one congregation, though the buildings are physically separated by a court entrance.

S1P0101

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Švermova 32, Prešov

Present Use: active synagogue, Judaica exhibition in the women's gallery

Date of Construction: 1897-1898

Architect: Kollacsek and Wirth

Central Registry of Monument Fund: 3350

Figures: 5-6, 352-354

The Orthodox synagogue is the central structure of the Orthodox Jewish communal compound. Intentionally, built to be visible from the public zone and thus to represent the self-aware urban community. Its eastern façade oriented toward the street, the ark protrusion and blinded windows indicate that this is a liturgically significant side of the building. The façade is tri-partite, the central three-bay section is flanked by a bay on both sides. Vertically divided by pilasters, horizontally by molding, and topped by a gable, the façade is a mixture of Moorish, neo-Classical and *Rundbogenstil* elements. Other façades repeat this scheme and feature Moorish tri-lobate windows and horseshoe entrance porches. The original main entrance to the men's section was on the western side, through the vestibule today used as a small prayer hall. The second entrance to the hall, topped by a massive cornice on cushion capitals, is located on the axis of the northern façade. The staircase to the women's section has been situated on the north-western part of the building.

While respecting Orthodox requirements, such as separation of genders and the placement of the *bimah* in the middle of the hall, the interior had been furnished in most impressive fashion. The interior is a three-aisle hall with the women's gallery supported by cast-iron columns, which runs along three sides of the prayer hall. The design is Moorish, with typical colorful patterns applied to the ceilings and walls, and rich polychromy covering the column capitals and other details. The richly decorated *aron hakodesh* made by Košice sculptor Bacsó matches the interior and repeats some of the details.

S1P0103**Structure:** Klaus synagogue [Hassidic]**Location:** Švermova 32, Prešov**Present Use:** office premises**Date of Construction:** 1934-1935**Architect:** Leopold Šafran**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 3350**Figures:** 5, 355-358

The *klaus* [separate] synagogue was commissioned by the Hassidic congregation, who wanted to maintain a separate *Sepharad* liturgical format. The building is a simple modernist structure with flat roof. The interiors and the western side have been altered, but strip windows stressed by horizontal molding and the brick decoration of the ark protrusion and round windows give a genuine idea about the original sober appearance of the building. Round windows on the eastern and western facades feature a *menorah*, a reminder of the building's original purpose. A Hebrew dedicative inscription has been preserved on the western, street façade. The building still belongs to the local Jewish Community, which rents it to an architectural office.

Raslavice [Hungarian: *Raszlavicza*]**S1P1301****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Hlavná Street, Raslavice, Bardejov District**Present Use:** shop with building material**Date of Construction:** 1930s**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 11301**Figures:** 359-363

Raslavice used to be an important Jewish community and the seat of the local rabbinate. Numerous Jews settled in the village, which was a prosperous trading center halfway between Bardejov and Prešov. Jews owned many inns and shops.

The former synagogue is located in the center of the village, between two residential houses. A free-standing building whose western façade faces the main street, it has a five-bay arrangement, with an accentuated central bay. A stair-tower projection adjoins the building on the north-western corner. The interior was rebuilt; the second story was filled in, but the former women's gallery is still evident.

This synagogue is an interesting example of the reception of the interwar modernism in the architecturally peripheral environment.

Spišská Belá [Hungarian: *Szepesbéla*, German: *Berl*]**S1P1401****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Letná 3, Spišská Belá, Kežmarok District**Present Use:** residential house**Date of Construction:** 1922**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 364-365

A former synagogue located near a river, on the north-western side of the central square in the town, the building was significantly altered to serve as a residential house. Only from the southern façade, can the distribution of the original fenestration be imagined.

Spišská Stará Ves [Hungarian: *Szepesófalú*, German: *Altendorf*]**S1P1501****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** SNP Street 57, Spišská Stará Ves, Kežmarok District**Present Use:** former youth club, now abandoned**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Figures:** 366-367

Originally located on the main street, as locals recollect, the synagogue used to be a free-standing structure placed deeper in the lot. After World War II, another building, today a bank office, which blocks the view of the synagogue from the main street, was added on the front. The structure was completely altered by substantial additions to serve as a cultural center and today only fragments of the western walls can be identified as part of the former synagogue.

Spišské Podhradie [Hungarian: *Szepesváralja*, German: *Kirchdorf*]**S1P1601****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Štefánikova 78, Spišské Podhradie, Levoča District**Present Use:** restoration for exhibition and concert hall**Date of Construction:** around 1875; 1905-1906 (restoration after fire)**Architect:** unknown**Central Registry of Monument Fund:** 10945**Figures:** 368-372

This synagogue, preserved within the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage listed town below the majestic Spiš Castle, is undergoing a substantial reconstruction to serve the local municipality for cultural purposes. A simple building, designed in the spirit of 19th century provincial synagogue architecture, its eastern façade is oriented to the street, and

is accentuated by four polygonal pillars with massive stone balls. The interior has been relatively well preserved; the women's gallery is supported by cast iron columns, the *aron hakodesh* and the original Moorish wall decorations are still visible.

Zborov [Hungarian: *Zboró*]

S1P1701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Zákutie 4, Zborov, Bardejov District

Present Use: abandoned fire station

Date of Construction: 19th century, after 1915 (partial restoration)

Architect: unknown

Figures: 373-374

The Jewish community of Zborov is among the oldest in the region. In the 18th century, Jews settled on the estate of the Aspermont family and maintained a flourishing community near the Polish border, with a strong Hassidic presence. Until today, a well-preserved cemetery with richly decorated tombstones recalls the former prosperity.

In 1915, during a Carpathian offensive of the Russian army, fighting reached this village. Austrian propaganda published a set of postcards illustrating damage in the war territories. One of them shows the burnt synagogue of Zborov; today circulated among collectors.

Of the former synagogue, little has been preserved. Originally a three-bay two-story façade with round-arched windows, accentuated by a pediment, it survives only as a single-story structure. After World War II, the local municipality used the synagogue as a fireworks garage, while the neighboring prayer hall served as a cinema.

5. 2. DEMOLISHED SYNAGOGUES

5. 2. 1. BRATISLAVA REGION

Bratislava [*Hungarian*: Pozsony, *German*: Pressburg]

S0A0102

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Zámocká Street, Bratislava

Date of Construction: 1862-1863

Architect: Ignatz Feigler Junior

Demolished: 1961

Figures: 377-379

Bratislava's Jewish community belonged to the leading communities of the country. In the Middle Ages, Jews resided in Bratislava, as stipulated in the municipal charter of 1291, which provided them with certain rights. In 1526, however, they were expelled and settled in nearby Hainburg. After 1599, when the castle became a residence of the Pálffy Counts, Jews settled on their estate, on the slope between the castle hill and the city fortifications. In legal terms, this was a serf town called Schlossberg and, until 1840, Jews were confined to reside only in the *Judengasse*, the main street of this town.

The new synagogue was constructed on the *Zamocká Street*, which ascended to the castle. The Jewish community commissioned the most prominent contractor in the town, heir of an important builder family, Ignatz Feigler Junior. Feigler was known as a gifted and well-traveled master, who followed contemporary architectural trends and introduced them on the local level. The synagogue building he built for Bratislava followed models of other urban synagogues. The Berlin-Oranienburgerstrasse and Budapest-Dohány Street synagogues might have served as important sources of inspiration.

The synagogue was laid deeper in the lot, with a small forecourt formed by two doorway pavilions and the fence between them. The eastern façade of the building faced the street, which was a five-bay mass pierced by windows accentuating the ark. Above it spread the tower with flat roof stressed by a horizontal attic with corner turrets. The Moorish decoration, with typical ornaments and horizontal stripes, characterized this façade. Originally, on top of the central tower was a dome, which according to legend, was taken away by the angels. In reality this was a result of swift overnight modifications, after the rabbi of Bratislava, the Ketav Sofer, refused to attend the dedication of the synagogue.

The sanctuary was strictly traditional: the *bimah* with metallic railing stood in the center and the ark was positioned in a monumental niche. It was emphasized by a rosette window, flanked by large windows, which pierced the eastern wall facing the street. The women's gallery, running along three sides of the hall, was a two-storey construction supported by cast-iron columns. The synagogue was demolished after World War II.

S0A0103**Structure:** Neolog synagogue**Location:** Rybné Square, Bratislava**Date of Construction:** 1893**Architect:** Dezső Milch**Demolished:** 1967**Figures:** 375-376

The Neolog community was established by a secessionist group unhappy with conditions in the Orthodox community. They constructed their synagogue on a square close to the St. Martin Cathedral, which was a major landmark of this square and often depicted on postcards.

The two-story Moorish building had a tri-partite façade with corner projections, accentuated by two octagonal towers with onion-shaped roofs. A Moorish arcade, superposed by an array of ornated windows, gave a rhythmical accent to the central portion, topped by the Ten Commandments. The sanctuary had a conventional interior arrangement with a women's gallery supported by cast-iron columns. A community house adjoined the building on the northern side.

After World War II, the synagogue was used to store the Judaica collection assembled by the architect Eugen Bárkány, who hoped to establish a Jewish museum in the building. Contrary to his vision, the synagogue was demolished and the New Bridge was constructed here. The site of the former synagogue was selected in the 1990s as a place of public remembrance of the Holocaust victims and the memorial has been erected here.

Gajary [Hungarian: *Gajar*, German: *Gayring*]**S0A1001****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Gajary, Malacky District**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Demolished:** after World War II**Figure:** 380

The synagogue was a free-standing building in the center of the village. The interior spatial distribution was readily legible on the exterior: the women's gallery stood in the western rear, accessed from the side entrance, articulated as a slight projection. The sanctuary had three round-arched windows, pierced in the southern and northern façades.

Pezinok [Hungarian: *Bazin*, German: *Pösing*]

S0A1101

Structure: synagogue

Location: Pezinok

Date of Construction: 1872

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1957-1958

Figures: 381-383

The synagogue of Pezinok stood near the center on the spot, where today the local branch of the Slovak Savings Bank stands. The building was a typical example of a small town synagogue, utilizing the stylistic repertoire of historicist architecture. The three-bay front with round-arched windows and Hebrew Psalm inscriptions was flanked by slim corner towers.

5. 2. 2. TRNAVA REGION

Dunajská Streda [Hungarian: *Dunaszerdahely*]

S0T0901

Structure: Great Synagogue

Location: Dunajská Streda

Date of Construction: 1865

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1950s

Figures: 384-385

This important agricultural town was home to a prosperous Jewish community, which in the 19th and early 20th centuries belonged to the strongest in Slovakia. The Jewish community joined the Orthodox movement after 1869.

The well-established community wished to demonstrate their status and constructed a representative house of prayer. The richly decorated sanctuary had a traditional interior arrangement: the *bimah* stood in the center and the women's gallery on cast-iron columns integrated the *mechitzah*.

As visible, when both preserved historical views are compared, the eastern tri-partite façade, with accentuated central portion, faced towards the street. A horizontal array of blind arches and round-arched windows characterized the façade. Vertically, the counterbalanced corner quoins topped slim turrets.

S0T0902**Structure:** Adas Israel Synagogue**Location:** Dunajská Streda**Date of Construction:** 1927**Architect:** unknown**Demolished:** 1950s**Figure:** 386

Two different Orthodox communities formed in this town. Although the mother community adhered to mainstream Orthodox Judaism, a small group of zealots, unhappy with the choice of the rabbi whom they considered too moderate, established their own community, *Adas Israel*, in 1927. This congregation served the more Orthodox part of the local Jewish population, which enjoyed a lesser level of acculturation. Therefore, the synagogue was a much more plain structure. The free-standing building, topped by a saddleback roof, was four bays long. Simplified neo-Classical style elements appear on the façades.

Galanta [Hungarian: *Galánta*]**S0T1001****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Galanta**Date of Construction:** 1899**Architect:** Dezső Milch**Demolished:** 1970s**Figures:** 387-391

Two Orthodox Jewish communities operated in this agricultural town, but documentation is available for only one of the synagogues. The structure, encircled by the Jewish communal institutions, was a free-standing building. Its exterior was simple, with minimal decoration, and no towers. The eastern rear, facing the street, had a projection, marking the position of the ark. The sanctuary had a conventional arrangement. A prayer hall used for study and daily prayer stood next to the building.

Hlohovec [Hungarian: *Galgócz*, German: *Freystadt*]**S0T1101****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Hlohovec, Hlohová Street**Date of Construction:** 1891**Architect:** Jakub Gartner**Demolished:** 1960**Figures:** 392-398

The synagogue of Hlohovec was constructed according to designs of the prominent Vienna-based Jewish architect, Jakub Gartner. This choice of architect suggests high collective self-awareness of this ancient community that opted to remain independent rather than joining the Neolog or the Orthodox movements. Interestingly, Gartner also designed the synagogue for another Status Quo community in Trnava.

The synagogue was a free-standing building with conventional spatial arrangement. On the western rear were clustered the vestibule and corner stairways, accessed through three entrances. The eastern façade, facing the street, was tri-partite and accentuated by two pillars topped by octagonal towers with onion-shaped roofs. The sanctuary had a typical appearance; the women's gallery on cast-iron columns ran along three sides of the hall.

Excellent photo-documentation and plans are preserved at the local museum. They depict the glory of this building as well as the demolition works, when the new main road was constructed, passing through its lot. One onion-shaped tower has been removed to the Jewish cemetery.

S0T1102

Structure: Jewish prayer hall

Location: former Gottwaldovo Square, Hlohovec

Date of Construction: 18th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figures: 399-400

Not much about the former Jewish prayer hall is known. The picture depicting its demolition reveals the presence of the Hebrew liturgical texts on the walls.

Piešťany [Hungarian: *Pöstyén*, German: *Pistyan*]

S0T1201

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Piešťany

Date of Construction: 1904

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1979

Figures: 401-402

The mother community of the famous spa center joined the Neolog movement and constructed a house of worship in the northern part of the town, next to the Lutheran church.

Historical postcards reveal that this was probably a domed structure, the eastern façade of which faced the street. Street front was tri-partite, with accentuated central portion decorated by a large niche marking the position of the ark in the interior. The overall style appearance was a mixture of Moorish and *Rundbogenstil*, characterized by a contrast between red brick and white stone.

Senica [Hungarian: *Szenicze*, German: *Senitz*]

S0T1301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Senica

Date of Construction: 1866

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1988

Figure: 403

Without a doubt, this synagogue was the most eccentric building of the town. As common, it faced the street with its western façade which had a conventional tri-partite arrangement, and the central portion of which was accentuated projection raised above the rest of the structure.

The façade was full of interesting playful details giving it a Byzantine touch. Unusual window shapes and distribution, heavy cornice, corner polygonal pillars with helmet top and a pagoda roof reminded very much of an exotic castle. The building had some similarities to the Tempelgasse Synagogue in Vienna, which became an important prototype circulated around the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Sered' [Hungarian: *Szered*]

S0T1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Hlavná Street, Sered', Galanta District

Date of Construction: 1920s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 2001

Figure: 404

An interesting synagogue was constructed in this town after World War I. Its design marked the rejection of conventional synagogue schemes and illustrates a search for new architectural forms in the 1920s.

The building stood deep in a lot created by the demolition of an older structure, behind a fence and a small court. The façade had three bays; the central doorway led to the vestibule, while side entrances provided access to the women's gallery. Clear and basic forms made up the street front; horizontal molding zoned the surface into parterre, upper storey and attic. These were in geometric harmony with narrow windows and sober decoration program.

After World War II, the synagogue was heavily altered and last used as a gym of the local sport union. The structure was recently demolished, when the new sport facilities were constructed.

Veľký Meder [Hungarian: *Nagymegyer*]

S0T1501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Veľký Meder, Dunajská Streda District

Date of Construction: 1870s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 405

Knowledge about the appearance of this synagogue has been obtained only thanks to a very tiny miniature image on a historical postcard. The synagogue was a free-standing building, topped by a saddleback roof. The western façade had three bays, with portals and round-arched windows above them. The polygonal pillars with small turrets stood on the corners. An array of the blind arches decorated the gable.

5. 2. 3. NITRA REGION

Kolárovo [Hungarian: *Guta*]

S0N1301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Kolárovo, Komárno District

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 406

The synagogue of Kolárovo was almost identical with the synagogue in Veľký Meder, leaving room for speculations about common authorship of both buildings, or at least how synagogue designs were copied by neighboring Jewish communities.

Nitra – Párovce

S0N0102

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Nitra-Párovce

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1970s

Figure: 407

The whole neighborhood, once heavily populated by Jews, was entirely razed in the 1970s, when a new housing estate was constructed. The only known picture shows most probably the synagogue. The building compound was accessed through a tri-partite

metallic gate. Stairways followed behind the entrance; the central one descended, while the side arms rose to the terrace. Two hypothetical explanations would be possible. First, the bottom entrance led to the men's section, while the upper part was a women's gallery. Second, the upper entrance led to the sanctuary while the lower entrance led to *mikvah*, as in the Huncovce synagogue.

Nové Zámky [Hungarian: *Érsekújvár*, German: *Neuhäusel*]

S0N0702

Structure: Neolog synagogue

Location: Nové Zámky

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1945

Figure: 408

Unlike the Orthodox synagogue in this town, this Neolog house of prayer was heavily damaged during the fighting in 1945. The building appears on several historical images which provide us with idea about its appearance.

The synagogue stood at the edge of the former fortress town, its western façade facing the street. On both sides stood two single-story buildings, probably housing the communal institutions. The synagogue was four bays deep, with external stair-tower arms. These must have been accessed by side entrances, providing access to the women's gallery. The most dominant element were two octagonal towers with distinctive onion roof, adjoining to the western façade. They contained the spiral stairway to the women's gallery and also served as an important statement of the Neolog affiliation of this congregation.

Pribeta [Hungarian: *Perbete*]

S0N1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Pribeta, Komárno District

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 409

An archival picture depicting the synagogue in this agricultural village has been preserved. The building was a simple village house, with a typical two-window front, serving the needs of a small Jewish community (133 in 1880).

Šaľa [Hungarian: *Sellye, Vágsellye*]

S0N1501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Šaľa

Date of Construction: 1896

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1960s

Figure: 410

The synagogue of this community was a free-standing building, accentuated by polygonal towers adjoining the western façade. Between them spread the western front, with its pointed gable, topped by the Ten Commandments. The similarity to the Neolog synagogue in Nové Zámky is noticeable; analogous neo-Romanesque decoration with lisenés and arched molding has been applied.

Topoľčany [Hungarian: *Nagytopolcsány*, German: *Topulchau*]

S0N1102

Structure: Shomre Torah Synagogue

Location: Topoľčany, former Lipová Street

Date of Construction: 18th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1960s

Figures: 411-416

This late Baroque synagogue stood in the backside of the so-called Riders Barrack and developed as a centerpiece of the Jewish communal compound, where were also located the yeshiva, rabbinate, ritual slaughterhouse and communal dwellings. Typically for pre-emancipation Jewish architecture, the whole compound was closed-off, hidden behind a modest street façade, accessible through a vaulted passageway. This simply decorated building had a hipped roof; on the eastern façade, a small round window, flanked by round-arched windows, marked the ark.

Photo-documentation of the demolished Shomre Torah Synagogue in Topoľčany is some of the best pictorial evidence of 18th century synagogue architecture in Slovakia. Unfortunately, only exteriors are recorded.

S0N1103

Structure: Rosenthal Prayer Hall

Location: Topoľčany, former Ružová Street

Date of Construction: during or shortly after World War I

Architect: unknown

Demolished: early 1980s

Figures: 417-418

This prayer hall was endowed by the wealthy landowner in Nedanovce, Rosenthal, in memory of his son, fallen during World War I. It stood next to the New Synagogue. In the rear were located the premises for a *hazzan-shochet* and a hostel for travelers and poor yeshiva students. The prayer hall survived the Holocaust undamaged, together with the Torah scrolls and remained in use until 1965.

The building was an elongated hall, with a simplified neo-Classical façade featuring vertical pilasters and horizontal brick stripes, evidently corresponding with the Moorish façade of the neighboring New Synagogue.

5. 2. 4. TRENČÍN REGION

Čachtice [Hungarian: *Csejte*, German: *Cachticz*]

S0L1201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Čachtice, Nové Mesto nad Váhom District

Date of Construction: first third of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1955

Figures: 419-420

This synagogue belonged to the group of so-called nine-bay synagogues that developed in Poland and eventually reached Slovakia. The only preserved documentation shows the sanctuary with the *bimah* placed between four columns of the nine-bay ceiling structure.

Nové Mesto nad Váhom [Hungarian: *Vágújhely*, German: *Neustadt an der Waag*]

S0L1301

Structure: Great Synagogue

Location: Nové Mesto nad Váhom

Date of Construction: 1870s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: during World War II

Figures: 421-422

The Jewish community in this town was, in the late 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, the second largest in Slovakia. After 1869, the mother community opted for Status Quo policy.

Their synagogue was a *Rundbogenstil* creation, recalling the synagogue scheme utilized in the area of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The western front was tri-partite, with a central portion stressed by a gable with arched molding. The building was six bays long, with corner bays accentuated. On the eastern rear, an extension marked the position of the ark.

Prievidza [Hungarian: *Privigye*, German: *Priwitz*]

S0L1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Košovská Road, Prievidza

Date of Construction: 1868

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1980

Figure: 423

The synagogue in Prievidza had a simple arrangement not extending beyond the level of provincial architecture. A tri-partite western façade had an accentuated central portion, stressed by two pillars and topped by the Ten Commandments. Untypical elements were the geometric windows and especially the hexagonal window in the center of the façade.

Púchov [Hungarian: *Puhó*, German: *Puchow*]

S0L1501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Púchov

Date of Construction: 1868

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1980s

Figure: 424

The Jewish community in this town was ancient, with the first Jewish families settling here in the 17th century and with an organized community already mentioned in 1727.

The synagogue building was constructed on the spot of its predecessor and was an architecturally conventional building. The western façade of the free-standing building faced the street and its tri-partite façade was reminiscent of a triumphal arch. The central portion was higher; polygonal pillars and half-pillars accentuated the façade horizontally.

Trenčianske Teplice [Hungarian: *Trencsén-Teplicz*]

S0L1601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Trenčianske Teplice, Trenčín District

Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figures: 425-426

This town experienced rapid growth in the second half of the 19th century, when it became one of the most important spa centers in Slovakia. The local Jewish community

also grew, since the emerging spa industry generated new business and professional opportunities.

The synagogue was constructed in the center of the town, next to the spa compound. The building had a mundane appearance: a tri-partite front with higher central portion and the usual *Rundbogenstil* repertoire.

Trenčín [Hungarian: *Trencsén*, German: *Trentschin*]

S0L0102

Structure: synagogue

Location: Trenčín

Date of Construction: 1790s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1913

Figures: 427-428

This old synagogue was a predecessor of the current one, constructed in 1913 on the same site. The older structure was a nine-bay synagogue type, with the *bimah* placed among the central columns. The women's section was located in the southern aisle, divided from the men's section by a distinctive *mechitzah* shield. Only historical pictures of low quality have been preserved; showing an uncertain façade and the interior.

5. 2. 5. BANSKÁ BYSTRICA REGION

Banská Bystrica [Hungarian: *Besztercebánya*, German: *Neusohl*]

S0B1301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Janka Kráľa Street, Banská Bystrica

Date of Construction: 1867

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1983

Figures: 429-431

Jews resided at first in the village of Radvaň close to the town, later they could settle in the town proper. The Jewish community was established in 1862 and constructed its communal institutions at the compound located on the south-western edge of the town, behind a creek which provided water for the *mikvah*. From this compound, only the rabbinate building and the former entrance gate to the area have been preserved.

The synagogue also stood here and was designed after the Tempelgasse Synagogue in Vienna, a popular model in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The building had a tri-partite street front, with the central portion slightly raised, and accentuated by polygonal pillars with turret pinnacles. The main portal, accented by a round window and Moorish

decorative motif above, were located in the central bay of the façade. A horizontal frieze with Moorish ornamentation ran on the top of the façade.

After World War II, the building received an unpleasant roof and was later used as storage. Eventually, the building was demolished and the lot left vacant.

Fil'akovo [Hungarian: *Füle*k]

S0B1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Fil'akovo, Lučenec District

Date of Construction:

Architect: unknown

Demolished: damaged in 1944 and demolished in 1950

Figure: 432

The synagogue was a simple free-standing structure, topped by a saddleback roof. The exterior had minimal decoration. Both entrances were on the western façade: one led to the entrance vestibule, the other to the women's gallery. The center of the façade was pierced by a large round window.

Kremnica [Hungarian: *Körmöczbánya*, German: *Kremnitz*]

S0B1501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Kremnica, Žiar nad Hronom District

Date of Construction: 1890

Architect: unknown

Demolished: during World War II

Figure: 433

For centuries Jews could not reside in this former mining town. The Jewish community was thus only established in the second half of the 19th century. A house of worship was constructed in the southern suburb of the historical town, below the fortifications. The synagogue had a saddleback roof and a conventional spatial layout with a three-bay western façade; entrance portals to the vestibule and stair-towers were located on the western rear.

The overall appearance revealed the hand of a more sophisticated architect. The building had a pleasant Baroque façade, integrating well-balanced horizontal molding lines and vertical pilasters with a playful contrast of brick and plaster.

The town had a strong German character and we may also speculate that the local Jewish community wished to demonstrate their acculturation by importing architectural design from Vienna or other German speaking area.

Lučenec [Hungarian: *Losonc*]

S0B0702

Structure: Neolog synagogue (old)

Location: Lučenec

Date of Construction: 1863

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1924

Figure: 434

Lučenec was an important center in South-Central Slovakia and in course of the 19th century the Jewish community also emerged here. After the 1869 split of the Hungarian Jewry, the community joined the Neolog movement. This was perhaps due to their synagogue building, constructed a few years earlier, which was unfit to the Orthodox standards as affirmed by the *psaq din* of Michalovce.

The synagogue was located in a suburban area with large Jewish and Lutheran populations. The historical image shows a building with an adjoining house of rabbinate and *cheder*. The building was a blend of contemporary styles, with distinctive octagonal corner minarets, buttresses attached to the southern façade and neo-Romanesque blind arches along the gable molding.

The synagogue remained in use until the 1920s, when the community decided to replace it with a new house of worship, constructed on the same site after the designs of a leading Hungarian synagogue architecture specialist, Lipót Baumhorn.

S0B0703

Structure: Orthodox synagogue

Location: Lučenec

Date of Construction: 1930

Architect: Gaál

Demolished: 1969

Figures: 435-438

A small group within the Jewish community did not want to join the Neolog movement. By 1880 they formed their own separate Orthodox community, which in 1930 constructed its own new synagogue. The original building plans have been preserved in the local archive. Comparing them with the historical images, we can better assess this structure. Initially, a very late Art Nouveau design with small towers, apparently influenced by the Baumhornian ideas of the newly constructed Neolog synagogue, was planned; Lučenec was an important regional center of the Art Nouveau architecture.

In the final execution though, the building slightly differed from the proposed scheme; the small towers were omitted, possibly reflecting the Orthodox disapproval of this element. The synagogue was a free-standing structure with representative northern and western façades, facing the public domain. The exterior had a distinctive articulation built on a contrast of brick, and light and dark colored plaster. The northern façade was made of five sections, with the central portion accentuated by a Baroque gable. Two entrance

portals, one leading directly to the sanctuary, the other providing an access to the women's gallery, were pierced in the northern façade. The interior had conventional spatial arrangements; the vestibule and stair-tower were located in the western rear, the sanctuary with the *bimah* in the center spread on the east.

The synagogue represented a remarkable piece of the regional synagogue architecture and an interesting attempt to create an innovative design of this type of building.

Rimavská Seč [Hungarian: *Rimaszécs*]

S0B1601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Rimavská Seč, Rimavská Sobota District

Date of Construction: beginning of the 20th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 439

The synagogue was a simple free-standing building of typical countryside synagogue architecture. The small size of the structure reflected needs of a small Jewish community. Entered through the portal in the center of the western façade, the building was only three-bays deep with round-arched windows. This façade also featured other typical decorative elements: arched molding, corner pillars with decorative pinnacles, a round window in the center of the front, and curved molding that probably carried a Hebrew inscription. Strongly reminiscent of the synagogue of Tornal'a, this might point to the origin of the design.

Rimavská Sobota [Hungarian: *Rimaszombat*, German: *Gross Steffelsdorf*]

S0B1701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Rimavská Sobota

Date of Construction: 1886

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1986

Figures: 440-441

The building lot, owned by the Jewish community, had its eastern side towards the street, which determined the layout of the synagogue. Standing next to the communal house, it was a free-standing structure built deeper in the lot. The central element of the façade was a Torah ark protrusion marked by a monumental niche with a round window. On both sides, small round-arched windows flanked the ark. The dominant elements of the synagogue exterior were the corner polygonal minarets with onion-shaped roofs pinnacled by David Shields.

The sanctuary was a simple hall with the women's gallery on cast-iron columns running along three sides of the hall.

Tornaľa [Hungarian: *Tornalja*]
S0B1801
Structure: synagogue
Location: Tornaľa, Revúca District
Date of Construction: 1890
Architect: unknown
Demolished: after World War II
Figure: 442

The synagogue was a typical provincial type utilizing a common decorative repertoire. The only preserved historical image shows a street façade, which was composed of three bays and gable. It featured Gothic windows and the portal in the center, arched molding and polygonal corner pillars. The David Shield in a stained-glass round window in the center of the façade, on the corner pillars and the Ten Commandments crowning the building, marked the building as a Jewish house of worship. This synagogue probably served as an inspiration for the synagogue of Rimavská Seč.

5. 2. 6. ŽILINA REGION

Čadca [Hungarian: *Csacza*]
S0Z1001
Structure: synagogue
Location: Pohálikova Street, Čadca
Date of Construction: 1860-1864
Architect: unknown
Demolished: after World War II
Figure: 443

The synagogue was a free-standing building topped by a saddleback roof. The western façade had three bays; in the center were an entrance portal and a twin window, accentuated by its framing. The architectural quality of this building did not rise above the provincial level; it was a historicist creation, with round-arched windows, polygonal corner pillars with turrets and arched molding.

Liptovský Hrádok
S0Z1101
Structure: synagogue
Location: Liptovský Hrádok, Liptovský Mikuláš District
Date of Construction: second half of the 19th century
Architect: unknown
Demolished: after World War II
Figure: 444

The Jewish community of this town numbered fewer than one hundred members. Their synagogue, a large massive free-standing building topped by a saddleback roof, represented vernacular architecture with additional Classical elements. The western façade was a classical temple front, composed of three portals, vertically divided by pilasters and with gable accent. The structure was five bays deep, articulated by round-arched windows and vertical pilasters.

Martin [*Turčiansky Svätý Martin*, Hungarian: *Turoczszentmárton*]

S0Z1201

Structure: synagogue

Location: Janka Kráľa Street, Martin

Date of Construction: last quarter of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1974

Figures: 445-449

A historical center of Turiec County, then called Turčiansky svätý Martin, this town was in the 19th century a center of the Slovak national life. Local Jews were also among its supporters. They established their synagogue next to the Jewish cemetery, on the outskirts of the town, facing the National cemetery.

The synagogue was a pleasant *Rundbogenstil* building, five bays deep with first and last bays accentuated as projections with a gable. The western façade had a tri-partite scheme; the central portion was higher and featured the entrance portal and two round windows.

The interior had a conventional spatial arrangement; two stairways located in the western rear provided an access to the women's gallery supported by cast-iron columns. The sanctuary was a three-nave space with kerchief vaults and the ceiling carried by the columns of the gallery. The columns are preserved in a private garden in Martin.

Slanica [Hungarian: *Szlanica*]

S0Z1301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Slanica, Námestovo District

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: around 1950

Figure: 450

Slanica was one of the villages that disappeared under the waters of the Orava Dam. Only the church that stood on the hill above remains preserved on an island in the middle of the artificial lake.

The picture depicts a previously unknown white-plastered building with a wooden mansard roof, which could have been perhaps a synagogue or served to the Jewish

community. It recalls a countryside mansion, with the entrance located in the axis of the façade and with the first floor articulated as a tri-partite block. A projection topped by a tympanum stood in the center. If this building indeed served as a Jewish house of worship, the sanctuary was probably located on the first floor.

Veličná [Hungarian: *Nagyfalu*]

S0Z1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Veličná, Dolný Kubín District

Date of Construction:

Architect: unknown

Demolished: World War II

Figures: 452-453

The only wooden synagogue in Slovakia preserved in historical images was photographed in 1926 by Josef Vydra, who was researching Slovak folk architecture, and was in a village located in the Orava Region, on the borderland with Poland. We might consider strong cross-border influences from the northern neighbor territory, where many examples of wooden synagogue architecture were known before World War II.

The synagogue, made of wooden logs and topped by a hipped roof, recalls other wooden architecture of the Carpathian area. The spatial arrangement corresponded with masonry synagogues; on the western side clustered the entrance vestibule and probably also a daily prayer room, above them spread the women's gallery. The sanctuary was a simple hall with the *bimah* in the center. The ark was flanked by two windows pierced in the eastern façade. The synagogue was damaged by fire during the Holocaust. A genuine example of application of conventional architectural schemes translated into wood, as was typical also with other building types in this region.

Žilina [Hungarian: *Zsolna*, German: *Sillein*]

S0Z0103

Structure: Neolog synagogue (old)

Location: Žilina

Date of Construction: 1865

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1928

Figure: 451

The old synagogue of Žilina was located near the former fortification line, next to the historical city center. The synagogue was a free-standing historicist creation topped by a saddleback roof. The street front recalled a triumphal arch; it was tri-partite with higher central portion topped by the Ten Commandments and small turrets. A similar façade scheme seems to be applied also at the synagogue of nearby Púchov. The structure was demolished in the late 1920s; on its site was constructed a modernist synagogue building.

5. 2. 7. KOŠICE REGION

Gelnica [Hungarian: *Gölniczbánya*, German: *Göllnitz*]

S0K1301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Gelnica

Date of Construction: beginning of the 20th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1939

Figure: 454

Gelnica was a historically important center of mining and Jews settled here only in the second half of the 19th century. They constructed their synagogue, in the center of the town, next to the railway station. The building was simple, topped by a saddleback roof, with more decorated western façade. Only the eastern side is visible in the historical postcards, showing two round-arched windows obviously flanking the ark. Similar to other towns with strong ethnic German population, this synagogue was burned during World War II by the locals.

Košice [Hungarian: *Kassa*, German: *Kaschau*]

S0K0106

Structure: Status Quo synagogue

Location: Rákoczi Circular [Moyzesova] Street, Košice

Date of Construction: 1866

Architect: Michael Repaszky

Demolished: 1958

Figures: 3, 455-458

This synagogue was the only one demolished from an otherwise uniquely preserved set of the Jewish religious buildings in Košice. The synagogue was the oldest structure, constructed on the new boulevard developed in an area of the former glacis zone. Soon after its completion, the building became a centerpiece of controversy with the traditionalist fraction, resulting in the split of the community. The synagogue then served the Neolog mother community; in 1912, an organ was installed.

The building had a tri-partite *Rundbogenstil* façade with higher central portion. In the central portion were three entrance gates, stressed by a two-light window and a circular window. The façade was peaked by a clock dial and surmounted by the Ten Commandments. Horizontally, a cornice topped a façade, with two turrets in the central section. The interior of the sanctuary had a tri-partite arrangement with the main nave flanked by women's gallery aisles. The gallery, supported by thin cast-iron columns, ran along three sides of the sanctuary. Four stair-towers, placed on the corners, provided an access to the gallery. The *bimah* was originally placed in the eastern section of the hall. Later, in the interwar period, the synagogue was altered for the *status quo* group: the

bimah was shifted to the center, the organ removed, and the small turrets on the street front dismantled.

Similar synagogue buildings were constructed in various Austro-Hungarian towns and were visible witnesses to emancipation aspirations of the Jewish communities. In Miskolc, a *Rundbogenstil* synagogue by Ludwig von Förster was constructed in 1856-1863. We may assume that an imported project designed by the leading architect from Vienna served as an inspiration for a gifted architect in the province. Moreover, Förster's articles about the Tempelgasse synagogue in Vienna in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* and in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* must have circulated around Hungary.

Michalovce [Hungarian: *Nagy Mihály*, German: *Michalowitz*]

S0K0502

Structure: synagogue

Location: Michalovce

Date of Construction: 1888

Architect: Jelinek

Demolished: 1976

Figures: 459-461

Michalovce had a well-established Jewish community settled on the estate of the Counts Sztáray. The community was strictly traditionalist; therefore in 1865, a controversial rabbinical conference of zealots took place here. After the split of the Hungarian Jewry, the Jews of Michalovce joined the Orthodox movement, later constructing their new synagogue on the main street of this town.

This was a representative building reflecting the urban and religious self-awareness of the prosperous community. Respecting Orthodox rules, it had no towers, the women's gallery included a *mechitzah*, and the *bimah* was placed in the middle of the sanctuary. The synagogue's southern façade faced the street. It consisted of seven bays with central and corner portions articulated as projections. The central three-bay portion was stressed by a gable with the Ten Commandments. The façade was a *mélange* of the Classical, Moorish and *Rundbogenstil* elements and later served as a model for the Orthodox synagogue in Prešov. The interior was a three-nave space, with barrel-vaulted main nave and ark placed in a large niche with apse. The cast-iron columns with neo-Romanesque capitols supported the women's gallery articulated by a rhythmical arcade.

The synagogue was demolished in the post-War period; on its spot was constructed an office building of the district committee of the Communist Party.

Plešivec [Hungarian: *Pelsöc*, *Pelsüc*]

S0K1401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Plešivec, Rožňava District

Date of Construction: beginning of the 20th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 462

Only one historical picture of this charming countryside synagogue has been preserved, depicting the street front, the eastern façade. The façade featured a typical repertoire of elements; the position of the ark was demarcated on the façade, flanked by pairs of superimposed windows, the upper in a round-arched frame. In the center, a window made of four stained glass David Shields, stucco David Shield above, and the Ten Commandments on the top of the blind arched gable, announced the Jewish religion practiced in this house of worship. Two corner polygonal pillars with turret pinnacles further emphasized the building.

Rožňava [Hungarian: *Rozsnyó*, German: *Rosenau*]

S0K1501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Rožňava

Date of Construction: 1893

Architect: unknown

Demolished: late 1950s

Figures: 463-464

Originally covered by rich vegetation, towards its end, this synagogue was barren building without use, standing in the middle of a razed area waiting to meet its sad destiny. The synagogue was a free-standing structure inspired by medieval architectural models. Four bays deep, with an extension on the eastern rear, the building had a tripartite front, with emphasized central projection. This portion had a gable pinnacle and small turrets, supported by two corner polygonal pillars.

Sečovce [Hungarian: *Gálszécs*]

S0K1601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Sečovce, Trebišov District

Date of Construction: 1904

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figures: 465-466

The ritual bath and the synagogue are often depicted on historical postcards of Sečovce. Both were demolished after the War, leaving an empty space near the Communist housing estate. Only the Jewish cemetery reminds us today about the former glory of this important Jewish community in Eastern Slovakia.

This community was strictly Orthodox; therefore, the synagogue had no towers. Nevertheless, this large building, topped by the hipped roof, had similar interior arrangements as most synagogues of this time. On the western rear, the entrance vestibule

and two stairways to the women's gallery were located. The sanctuary had a women's gallery, supported by cast-iron columns, running along three sides of the hall.

Somotor [Hungarian: *Szomotor*]

S0K1701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Somotor, Trebišov District

Date of Construction: 1890

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figures: 467-468

This small synagogue resembled a countryside residential house with Baroque gable. A four-bay front had two windows in the center, flanked by entrance portals. One provided the access to the sanctuary, while the other served to reach the women's gallery.

Spišská Nová Ves [Hungarian: *Igló*, German: *Iglau*, *Neudorf*]

S0K1801

Structure: synagogue

Location: Spišská Nová Ves

Date of Construction: 1899

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1941

Figures: 469-470

The Jewish community was established in this town in early 1860s and enjoyed high degree of self-awareness due to their acculturation within the more sophisticated environ of this ancient German town. Therefore, after the schism of Hungarian Jewry, they decided not to join the Orthodox movement and remained Status Quo Ante, unlike most of the Jewish communities in this part of Slovakia. To fully understand its significance, we must consider its social and cultural context.

This free standing building was located outside of the historical town, and its western façade faced the street. It had a tri-partite arrangement, with corner stair-towers topped by mansard roofs. Horizontally, it was divided by molding lines into the parterre, first floor and attic zones. Five gateways also contributed to the representative street front, providing an access into the vestibule and the women's gallery.

We possess no photographic evidence about the appearance of the interior. From a plan, we know that the women's gallery ran along three sides of the sanctuary and the ark was placed in a semicircular apse.

Trebišov [Hungarian: *Töketerebes*]

S0K1901

Structure: synagogue

Location: Trebišov

Date of Construction: after 1900

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 471

Trebišov underwent radical demolition during the Communist time, when most of the historical town was razed. Originally, all ecclesiastical buildings stood facing each other along the main road. The synagogue was replaced by the cultural center Mukachevo, a typical unpleasant Communist block.

The synagogue was a simple building with *Rundbogenstil* elements; its eastern façade faced the street. This reflected the arrangement of the front; a tri-partite façade had a projection corresponding with the placement of the ark in the sanctuary. As was typical, the eastern façade had a round window flanked on both sides with round-arched windows.

Veľké Kapušany [Hungarian: *Nagykapos*]

S0K2001

Structure: synagogue

Location: Veľké Kapušany, Michalovce District

Date of Construction: 1891

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 472

The synagogue of Veľké Kapušany stood next to the elementary school. It was a free-standing building topped by a saddleback roof, with a traditional interior arrangement. The entrance vestibule was located on the western side, the women's gallery spread above, and was reached by a side entrance placed in the northern façade. The western façade faced towards the street and had a gable accent. The portal was flanked by round-arched windows, historicist elements decorated the façade.

5. 2. 8. PREŠOV REGION

Brezovica nad Torysou [Hungarian: *Berzevicze*]

SOP1801

Structure: synagogue

Location: Brezovica nad Torysou, Sabinov District

Date of Construction: around 1870

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1960s

Figures: 473-474

Though hidden deep in the Torysa River valley, this Jewish community was quite prominent place. The famous Shlomo Ganzfried, author of a standard work, *Kitzur Shulchan Aruch*, served as rabbi here. The engineer Bárkany discovered the last wooden synagogue still standing in Slovakia here in the 1960s. The synagogue was a simple building topped by a hipped roof. Although wooden, its forms fully corresponded with the traditional masonry synagogues.

The interior's spatial distribution was legible from the façade. On the western side, the daily prayer hall and entrance vestibule were located; above spread the women's gallery, accessed by an external staircase attached to the western façade. The sanctuary spread on the eastern side, with the *bimah* placed in the center of the hall and the ark flanked by two windows.

Giraltovce [Hungarian: *Girált*]

SOP1901

Structure: synagogue

Location: Giraltovce, Svidník District

Date of Construction: 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 475

The only preserved image of the synagogue shows the eastern façade with two round-arched windows, obviously flanking the ark in the sanctuary. The façade had a large Baroque gable accent, typical for the older synagogues in this region. The building on the picture has been identified as the synagogue in Giraltovce, nevertheless it may well be an eastern rear of the Old Synagogue in Humenné.

Humenné [Hungarian: *Homonna*, German: *Humenau*]

S0P2001

Structure: Old Synagogue

Location: Humenné

Date of Construction: 1790s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1970s

Figures: 476-477

Humenné, located in the Zemplín County, was a residence town of the Counts Csáky. They allowed the Jewish settlement as early as the 18th century; later, this Jewish community belonged to the largest in the region.

The late-Baroque synagogue was one of the oldest identified synagogue buildings in Slovakia. The synagogue was a free-standing building, topped by a saddleback roof, accentuated by large Baroque gables on the eastern and western façades. The interior arrangement had a scheme typical for Baroque synagogues. On the western rear clustered the entrance vestibule flanked by small rooms for daily prayer and study. Above them spread the women's gallery, reached by an external stairway, attached to the western façade. The sanctuary was placed on the east; it was a three-bay hall with kerchief vaults and round-arched windows. The ark was flanked by two windows.

The synagogue was demolished in the 1970s together with the New Synagogue and a nearby prayer hall.

S0P2002

Structure: New Synagogue

Location: Humenné

Date of Construction: 1930

Architect: Eugen Bárkány

Demolished: 1970s

Figures: 478-482

The New Synagogue was constructed on a building lot in front of the Old Synagogue. It was an example of the moderate modernism with historicist reminiscences. The building had a modern ferroconcrete construction with a flat roof. The exterior's monumentality was underscored by simplified massive forms such as pillars stressing the corner or supporting the portico. The window framing extended through both storeys and unified the façade into a rhythmical array of round-arched windows. The entrance was marked by a projection, which stood forward of a building, with a portico.

The sanctuary had a women's gallery running along three sides of a hall, supported by ferroconcrete pillars. An ark accentuated a six-pointed star window and the *bimah* was placed strictly in the center of the hall. The architect paid great attention to details; the *bimah*, ark and other furnishing had interesting designs integrating Jewish symbols. Even this synagogue, which even in the 1970s must have been in relatively good technical shape, was razed, removing almost all remembrances of the city's Jewish past.

SOP2003**Structure:** prayer hall**Location:** Humenné**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Demolished:** 1970s**Figure:** 483

Only one image of this prayer hall has been preserved, showing a building situated in a narrow lane adjacent to both synagogue buildings. Its south façade facing the street, the interior's spatial distribution was legible on the exterior. Three windows on the eastern side marked the sanctuary, while two smaller windows on the western rear provided light for the women's gallery.

Kežmarok [Hungarian: *Késmárk*, German: *Käsmarkt*]**SOP2101****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Kežmarok**Date of Construction:** second half of the 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Demolished:** 1950s**Figure:** 484

For centuries, Jews could reside only in nearby Huncovce village while the free royal town, with strong ethnic German layout, prohibited Jewish settlement. Once no limits on the Jewish residential freedom were imposed, Jews began moving to Kežmarok and established a community over there.

Similar to the local Lutheran religious buildings, the Jewish house of worship also stood behind the fortification line. The synagogue was a conventional building with *Rundbogenstil* touches, but not extending beyond the regional level of architecture. The free-standing structure had a tri-partite façade, with central portion articulated as a projection with a gable top. The same motif appeared in reduced size on the side façade, accentuating the first and last bays.

Kurima**SOP2201****Structure:** synagogue**Location:** Kurima, Bardejov District**Date of Construction:** 19th century**Architect:** unknown**Demolished:** after World War II**Figure:** 485

This Hassidic community was located deep in the forests in close to Polish territory. Their house of prayer was a simple free-standing building with a hipped roof. The western façade had a three-bay arrangement, with round-arched portals and small windows above them.

Levoča [Hungarian: *Löcsé*, German: *Leutschau*]

S0P2301

Structure: synagogue

Location: Levoča

Date of Construction: 1899

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1970s

Figure: 486

The Jewish community of Levoča was well-established, though it could emerge only in the second half of the 19th century in an ancient ethnic German town, which had prohibited the Jewish presence for centuries. As latecomers, Jews could construct their house of worship only behind the city walls, near the main road. The western façade of the building, which was tri-partite, with a higher central portion stressed by a gable and the Ten Commandments, faced the town. On the façade, *Rundbogenstil* elements were applied; the arched molding and the entrance portal flanked by two half-columns decorated the street front. The synagogue was demolished in the 1970s. On its site was constructed a school building.

Podolíneč

S0P2401

Structure: synagogue

Location: Podolíneč, Stará Ľubovňa District

Date of Construction: last quarter of the 19th century

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1988

Figure: 487

The synagogue was located on the edge of the historical town, in an area of the former fortification. It was a traditional, free-standing building, topped by a saddleback roof forming a large gable. The overall appearance of the exterior was simple and the façades lacked any decoration; only round-arched windows were pierced into the walls. On the eastern façade, two of them flanked the ark, further emphasized by a circular window. The tablets of Law were built into the pinnacle of the gable.

Stará Ľubovňa [Hungarian: *Ólubló*, German: *Lublau*]

S0P2501

Structure: synagogue

Location: Stará Ľubovňa

Date of Construction: 1920s or 1930s

Architect: unknown

Demolished: after World War II

Figure: 488

The historical image of this synagogue has been preserved in an archive of the local museum. It depicts part of a building constructed after World War I. This simple two-story structure with traditional proportions had a saddleback roof. Only a side façade appears on the picture; it consisted of two rows of, in upper line round-arched, windows. A broad gable crowned the façade.

Stropkov [Hungarian: *Sztropkó*]

S0P2601

Structure: synagogue

Location: Stropkov

Date of Construction: 1894

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1980s

Figure: 489

Stropkov was one the most important centers of the Hassidic movement in Slovakia. It had congregations praying in two different liturgical formats, the Hassidic and the Ashkenazic. The Ashkenazim used a larger synagogue, which was a simple free-standing building, topped by a hipped roof. The main entrance, placed on the western façade, stressed a round window and flanked on both sides by round-arched windows. Only one historical image has been preserved of this synagogue used after World War II as storage.

S0P2602

Structure: Hassidic prayer hall

Location: Stropkov

Date of Construction: 1920 (restored)

Architect: unknown

Demolished: 1980s

Figure: 490

The Hassidic congregation assembled for prayer in this building, which was a simple single-story structure. The eastern façade, facing the street, reflected the interior arrangement; the ark was located in the axis of a four-window façade. The Hassidic group

originating in this town exists even today in Jerusalem; they call themselves Hassidei Stropkov.

Vranov nad Topľou [Hungarian: *Varannó*]

S0P2701

Structure: synagogue

Location: Vranov nad Topľou

Date of Construction: 1921-1924

Architect: Viliam Šipoš, American architect (?)

Demolished: 1982

Figures: 491-492

Construction of this synagogue was financed by Max Schwartz, a successful émigré to America, who after World War I visited his native Vranov. The façade of the building was a variant of the traditional scheme with two towers. The overall appearance of the building was extravagant and exotic, based on simplified, but highly plastical and playful details. The façade was tri-partite, with three-bay Moorish portico in front of the central portion with a large Shield of David round window. Exotic Moorish windows pierced the corner towers, topped by the balustraded lanterns. A large dome was visible between the towers.

Although constructed by the local architect, Viliam Šipoš, the origin of this design is open to discussion. Firstly, the building has no parallels in the regional architecture. Secondly, it shows similarities to some American vernacular synagogues. Thirdly, it is highly questionable, why would a traditional Orthodox community wish to have a synagogue with towers, contradicting the spirit of *psaq din* of Michalovce. The only explanation would be that the community was not in position to determine the design, but rather passive recipient of the donor's largesse. He most probably brought this exotic vernacular design from America and thus would be this synagogue an example of an unusual transatlantic architectural import into the Eastern Slovak province.

CONCLUSION

In my doctoral research project, I investigated synagogue architecture in Slovakia. The first goal was to document all extant buildings in the country and, with help of the historical images and other archived materials, to reconstruct knowledge about demolished synagogues. I then placed the collected material into the broader context of both Central European synagogue and specifically Slovak architecture in an attempt to discover what were the principal determinants in the shaping of synagogue architecture in Slovakia. This led me to various approaches, from the studying of the socio-historical context of the Jewish settlement in Slovakia to a close examination of the synagogues within three selected urban centers that had had substantial Jewish communities. I also followed the development of distinct synagogue typologies in Poland, Germany and Austria, and followed their dispersions within the Central European region and their actual penetration into Slovakia. A substantial part of my interest focused on individual Slovak synagogue buildings, each of which I examined in detail. My discoveries uncovered numerous facets, which are mirrored in the structure of my work. The several sections of the dissertation relate to various aspects of Slovak synagogue architecture.

First, it was important to introduce Slovak Jewish history accented with the mechanism of Jewish settlement and various aspects of Jewish communal life. Jews had been present in Slovak towns already in the medieval times; they had established their communities in the free royal towns and had enjoyed the status of royal chamber protégées. For example, the 1291 charter of Bratislava issued by Andrew III clearly stipulated Jewish residential rights in the city. By the early 1500s, though, all of the royal cities managed to expel their Jewish residents. Only during the 17th century did a new wave of the Jewish settlement in Hungary begin, when the nobility began to settle Jews on their estates as a source of tax and for economic profit. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Moravia and then Galicia generated masses of Jewish immigrants to Slovakia. The Jewish communities, those immigrants established, enjoyed a great degree of internal autonomy to run their religious affairs under rabbinical supervision. Each community maintained the communal institutions necessary to live a traditional Jewish life, including schools, a cemetery, a ritual slaughter place, a ritual bath and a synagogue.

The 19th century brought unpredictable changes in all spheres of society that radically impacted on traditional Jewish life. The Jewish emancipation movement that aimed at integrating Jews into the general society was also accompanied by the phenomena of acculturation and assimilation. The trend towards Jewish urbanization led to the establishment of communities in towns that had previously banned a Jewish presence. Internally, the search for new models of religious expression engendered modernization, which was manifested in the Reform movement. This provoked a traditionalist response from the Orthodox movement and its ideological platforms. The 1865 rabbinical conference in Michalovce was an important event at which the Orthodox rabbis present issued a *psaq din* against the already widely practiced innovations in synagogue architecture and service. The 1868-1869 Jewish Congress in Budapest exhibited the unavoidable rift between the factions. With the 1871 approval of a second national Jewish organization representing the interests of Orthodox communities, the state institutionalized the communal split. Given that the membership in both the Orthodox and Neolog umbrella organizations was voluntary, a significant group of congregations opted to associate with neither of them, preserving an independent “*status quo ante*.” Consequently, a unique situation in Europe prevailed when the State acknowledged several parallel Jewish communal establishments that worked on a national as well as a local level, as several competing congregations functioned in many towns.

Legally emancipated in 1867, Jews were the loyal citizens of their respective countries, and many of them demonstrated this by the adoption of Hungarian language and culture. Even the predominantly Orthodox, with their isolationist German-Yiddish stance, nominally affirmed their loyalty to the state. The prevailing tensions in Hungary between Hungarians and non-Hungarian nationalities, in which the latter were bitterly oppressed, maneuvered Jews into an unhappy position between the conflict parties. This later complicated Jews' situation in their relations with Slovaks and other non-Hungarians in post-1918 successor states.

Interwar Czechoslovakia gave Slovak Jews twenty years of democracy while elsewhere in the region, authoritative regimes were using anti-Semitism as a favorite

political instrument. Czechoslovak Jews were acknowledged as a national minority; they formed their own political representative organization, the Jewish Party, which managed on two occasions to send its representatives to Prague's parliament and remained very active in the local politics. Interwar Jewish communal structure in Slovakia remained almost unchanged with its two umbrella organizations, the Orthodox and the Ješurun association, the latter formed in 1928 by the merging of the Neolog and Status Quo Ante communities into one national association.

The Holocaust meant the end of prosperous Jewish life in the country. The Slovak State, governed by the Nazi-allied puppet government and presided over by the Catholic priest Dr. Jozef Tiso, introduced harsh anti-Jewish legislation and stripped Jews of their elementary civil and human rights. This immoral process peaked with the 1942 deportations of tens of thousands of Slovak Jews to the death camps in Poland. After the suppression of the Slovak National Uprising in 1944, the country was directly occupied by the *Wehrmacht*; many Jews were killed in the mountains and the deportations continued. By 1945, only about 30,000 Jews remained in the country, but this number sank significantly as a result of several post-war emigration waves and Communist-provoked assimilation, so that today the Slovak Jewish population numbers only about 3,000 persons, most of whom live in the two major cities of Bratislava and Košice.

As the second part of my dissertation, I present case studies of Košice, Prešov and Bardejov, three important centers of Jewish life in Eastern Slovakia. I opted for the form of the case study, because I wanted to provide a more detailed analysis of the social, cultural and historical phenomena described in the first chapter and how they were reflected in the synagogue architecture on the local level.

I selected three Eastern Slovak cities, since they feature the most interesting and valuable monuments of Jewish built heritage, well preserved within an authentic urban setting. Each of these Jewish communities had a different religious and cultural nature that was a reflection of the different internal communal development. Despite their relative geographic proximity, each of them represents unique situations that do not allow for generalization. I investigate the mechanism of Jewish urbanization, when, with the opening of the royal towns to Jews, Jewish newcomers gradually penetrated the barrier of

the anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation and xenophobic attitudes of the burghers. Other non-Catholic groups faced similar problems when they, too, were only allowed to construct their religious buildings during the course of the 19th century in these cities. In Košice, Jews and non-Catholics built on the new building lots reclaimed after the demolition of the superfluous medieval fortifications that had limited medieval and early modern cities.

Another important aspect of the Jewish communal experience in these cities was the ideological diversity between the various congregations. Hassidic Jews were present in all three towns; in Košice and Prešov they established their prayer halls within the Orthodox community, while in Bardejov they controlled the entire community. Synagogue architecture reflected these internal ideological nuances: the Reformist congregation of Prešov tradesmen built a significantly different house of worship than did the more isolationist and strictly traditional Hassidim in Košice.

Košice is a unique city with a well-preserved medieval layout, with a Gothic Cathedral within the central square, alongside medieval mendicant churches and a Jesuit church. In the 19th century the city underwent a radical transition into a modern multi-religious urban center, when non-Catholics and Jews constructed their religious buildings in the area of the former *glacis*. Thus, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Greek-Catholic churches and Orthodox, Neolog and Status Quo synagogues sprang up throughout the city, creating a unique multi-religious architectural blend, well visible in the urban landscape.

The establishment of Jewish community in Prešov was strongly associated with the emancipation efforts of merchant Marcus Holländer and his son Leo, who later became the first president of the Jewish community. Before 1848, the congregation was one of the leading centers of Reform Judaism in the country, boasting a university-educated rabbi. The neo-Classical synagogue built by the self-aware and socially upwardly mobile congregation members, was strongly influenced by the Lutheran church. The Orthodox community appeared in 1871, when a group of families left the mother community and set up their own congregation. From then on, the Orthodox community attracted immigrant newcomers from the traditional countryside and eventually it became three times larger than the original congregation that joined the

Neolog movement. The Orthodox community developed a valuable compound with several synagogues, a school and a rabbinate building, which in the last decade has been thoroughly restored.

The third city featured in my case study is Bardejov, a well-preserved medieval town located close to the Polish border. Since the late 18th century, a substantial Jewish population had settled there, mostly originating in nearby Poland, which determined the strictly traditional character of the Jewish community. Strong religious ties to Nowy Sącz, where the renowned Hassidic leader Moshe Halberstamm resided, later led to the appointment of his grandson as Bardejov's chief rabbi. The vital activities of the Blayer and the Horowitz printshops made the city a center for Hebrew book printing in Slovakia. Although only one last Jew remains in the city today, that Bardejov features valuable Jewish built heritage helped the city to receive UNESCO World Cultural Heritage status recently. A precious nine-bay synagogue is the centerpiece of the so-called Jewish suburb, a unique communal compound with a *beit midrash* and a *mikvah*. Two other synagogues established by the *Chevra Bikur Cholim* and the *Chevra Mishnayot* communal associations are still present in Bardejov and are symbolic of the rich Jewish past of this Eastern-Slovak city.

In the third chapter, I review various determinants of synagogue architecture. First, the synagogue had to respond to the requirements of Judaism's liturgical needs. The *bimah* and ark were two focal points of the sanctuary arrangement, while women's gallery with its grilled *mehitzah* facilitated traditional Judaism's separation of the sexes during services. The Church and State authorities also exercised significant influence on the appearance of synagogue architecture. A synagogue had to be hidden off the sights of the Christian public, often within introvert communal compounds behind humble street façades. Additional regulations imposed on synagogues by Christians determined that their churches should not be undermined, prevented the synagogue from attaining discernable height, the building required a floor lower than street level to accommodate its architecture.

In the 19th century, the Reform movement, under the influence of Protestant models, initiated modifications of the synagogue building. The *bimah* was shifted to east

creating a singular *bimah*-ark unit and, while the sexes were still separated with the women having their own gallery, the grilled *mechitzah* disappeared from it. These developments met with a strident opposition from traditional Jewish circles.

A specific question remained for me to determine the essential synagogue types that had influenced the synagogue architecture in Slovakia. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Poland played an eminent role as a source of synagogue models that appeared in Slovak territory either directly with Galician immigrants or indirectly via Moravia. Two architectural solutions remain the most significant: the single hall sanctuary synagogue and the tabernacle / nine-bay synagogue.

Later, during the 19th century, with the Emancipation Movement, Jewish urbanization and the ongoing style discourse made the synagogue a façade-conscious building. Several models that were designed in Germany and Austria became the canonized schemes that became widely dispersed in Central Europe. The *Rundbogenstil* synagogue in Kassel and several designs by Vienna-based architect Friedrich von Förster were the most significant. In addition, during the second half of the 19th century, Vienna became a significant center with several prolific architects designing synagogues for many towns in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Designs by these architects were also widely published in the architectural journals accessible to contractors in the provinces. We may not assume, however, that the local contractors and synagogue builders were just passive recipients of imported synagogue models. In my work, I also point to regional architectural features adapted from the local building traditions.

The synagogues utilized a broad repertoire of available historical styles from the Moorish, *Rundbogenstil*, and Gothic to the Byzantine and neo-Classical variants. Later in the 19th century, several architects attempted to formulate a specific Jewish style; Edwin Oppler in Germany opted for the neo-Romanesque, while Lipót Baumhorn in Hungary developed his characteristic eclectic style, which became emblematic for Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* synagogue projects.

The last section of the dissertation presents the results of my extensive documentation activities in Slovakia. The catalogue of over one hundred extant buildings scattered throughout the whole territory of the country, supplemented by historical

images of another sixty-four synagogues, provides rich documentation of synagogue architecture in Slovakia. It is subdivided into two parts featuring the extant and demolished buildings and then further into eight sections according to the current administrative divisions of Slovakia. Each building was assigned a unique code for purposes of further database processing. Aside to photodocumentation and historical images showing the original situation of building, valuable plans and elevations made by the architecture students within framework of my seminar in Bratislava were included. Verbal description was the key to the architectural analysis of each surveyed synagogue, with particular interest to spatial arrangement, decoration program and style elements. I also included the buildings of architecturally inferior quality in rural areas, since they represent a proportional share of Slovak synagogues and are witnesses of the communal past.

Only after I fully completed the catalogue, could I work on the fourth chapter, based on the evaluation of synagogues in Slovakia and their place in the broader Central European and specifically Slovak architectural traditions. The regional-local and center-periphery relations were important aspects of my approach. I moved from context to object and vice-versa in an attempt to place the individual objects contextually into categories and periods, while considering the basic synagogue types and styles.

With this approach, I divided the synagogues into the four basic periods of pre-Emancipation, Emancipation, the early 1900s and the interwar era. The first period was characterized by structures with a simple hall sanctuary and nine-bay synagogues. The Emancipation period coincided with the 19th century urban synagogue schemes, and synagogues of this period included, among others, those with tri-partite façades, twin-tower solutions, typical urban Orthodox arrangements, small rural synagogues and urban associational prayer halls. The 20th century was the most divergent period spanning from grand architectural designs by Lipót Baumhorn to approaches towards those defining modern and functional houses of worship, as done by Peter Behrens in Žilina. Nevertheless, the synagogue architectural type did not develop along a single evolution line; because of extreme religiously and culturally conservative attitudes, some communities in the 20th century opted for synagogues of the vernacular traditional type.

My dissertation about the Slovak synagogue architecture is the first comprehensive monographic treatment of the history of this building type in Slovakia. It is of eminent importance that I disseminate the results of this research project, which I will do in the form of an online-database later this year and monographic book publication in Bratislava foreseen for 2006. During my doctoral research, I developed intensive professional ties with the Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak Technological University, Slovak National Museum – Museum of Jewish Culture and the Institute of Jewish Studies of the Comenius University in Bratislava. Moreover, I was privileged to provide my research results and consultations to the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and the US Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad.

The doctoral research and study in Heidelberg, the last stage of my formal university education, has had a fundamental impact on my further professional career. My research project will be institutionalized in the Slovak Jewish Heritage Center, which will commence its work under my leadership in May 2005. The center will be a subdivision of the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava, the leading state-co-sponsored institution involved in the research and promotion of Jewish heritage in Slovakia. Through a broad range of activities including archiving, research, education, consulting and promotion, the Center seeks to contribute to the preservation of Slovakia's Jewish heritage for posterity.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG IN DEUTSCHER SPRACHE

In dem Forschungsprojekt zu meiner Doktorarbeit untersuchte ich die Architektur der Synagogen in der Slowakei. Hauptziel hierbei war es, alle vorhandenen Gebäude im Land zu dokumentieren und das Wissen über die zerstörten Synagogen mit Hilfe historischer Bilder und anderer Archivmaterialien in überarbeiteter Form wieder zugänglich zu machen. Hierdurch konnte das gesammelte Material in den größeren Zusammenhang mitteleuropäischer Synagogenarchitektur gesetzt und weiterhin im Kontext der slowakischen Architektur betrachtet werden. In meiner Arbeit ging ich der Frage welche entscheidenden Faktoren die Synagogenarchitektur in der Slowakei prägten. Hierbei waren verschiedene Ansätze hilfreich, von der Untersuchung des sozial-historischen Umfeldes der jüdischen Ansiedlung in der Slowakei, bis hin zur Untersuchung der Synagogen in drei ausgewählten Stadtgebieten mit großen jüdischen Gemeinden.

Ein weiterer Teil meiner Forschung beschäftigt sich mit der Entwicklung der wichtigsten Synagogentypen, hauptsächlich in Polen, Deutschland und Österreich, und ihre Verbreitung in Mitteleuropa sowie deren tatsächliches Eindringen in die Slowakei. Besonders habe ich mich mit meiner Arbeit auf einzelne slowakische Synagogen konzentriert, die ich jeweils detailliert untersuchte. Die Dissertation ist in mehrere Abschnitte unterteilt, die Bezug auf die verschiedenen Aspekte der slowakischen Synagogenarchitektur nehmen und dabei den Facettenreichtum der Antwort widerspiegeln.

Zuerst war es wichtig, eine allgemeine Einführung in die jüdische Geschichte der Slowakei mit Fokus auf den Beginn jüdischer Ansiedlung und die unterschiedlichen Aspekte des jüdischen Gemeindelebens zu geben. Bereits im Mittelalter gab es Juden in slowakischen Städten, und sie errichteten ihre Gemeinden in den freien Königsstädten und genossen den Status der Protegierten des Königshauses. In der Stadtrechteurkunde von Bratislava aus dem Jahre 1291 legte König Andreas III zum Beispiel die Rechte der jüdischen Stadtbewohner fest. Zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts gelang es den Einwohnern der Königsstädte jedoch, ihre jüdischen Mitbürger vertreiben.

Erst im 17. Jahrhundert begann eine neue Welle jüdischer Ansiedlung in Ungarn, als Adlige begannen, Juden auf ihren Ländern anzusiedeln, um daraus steuerlichen und wirtschaftlich Profit zu schlagen. Zwei Immigrationswellen erreichten die Slowakei; während des 18. Jahrhunderts kamen jüdischer Immigranten aus Mähren ins Land, denen sich im 19. Jahrhundert Bewohner Galizien anschlossen. Die entstandenen jüdischen Gemeinden genossen ein hohes Maß an interner Autonomie, um ihre Religion unter rabbinischer Beaufsichtigung auszuüben. Jede Gemeinde unterhielt Institutionen, die für ein traditionelles jüdisches Leben notwendig sind. Dazu zählten Schulen, Friedhöfe, rituelle Schlachtplätze und Bäder sowie die Synagoge.

Das 19. Jahrhundert brachte unvorhergesehene Veränderungen auf allen Gesellschaftsebenen, die das traditionelle jüdische Leben radikal beeinträchtigten. Die jüdische Emanzipationsbewegung zielte auf die Integration in die bürgerliche Gesellschaft, die sich in Phänomenen der Akkulturation und Assimilation ausdrückte. Ein typischer Trend war die jüdische Urbanisation, die vermehrt in den Städten stattfand, welche zuvor Juden verbannt hatten. Innerhalb des Judentums manifestierte sich die Reformbewegung unter anderem in der Suche nach neuen liturgischen Praktiken. Dies provozierte eine traditionalistische Gegenbewegung, verkörpert durch die orthodoxe Bewegung mit all ihren ideologischen Plattformen.

Ein wichtiges Ereignis war die rabbinische Konferenz in Michalovce (Michalowitz) im Jahr 1865, in der ein Psaq Din herausgegeben wurde, welches bereits weiträumig eingeführte Erneuerungen in der Synagogenarchitektur und im Gottesdienst ausschloss. Der jüdische Kongress, der sich 1868-1869 in Budapest versammelte, brachte hervor, dass die Kluft zwischen den Splittergruppen unvermeidbar war. Der Staat institutionalisierte de iure die Spaltung der Gemeinden 1871, indem die orthodoxe jüdische Dachorganisation, als zweite offiziell anerkannt wurde. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass die Mitgliedschaft in beiden Dachorganisationen freiwillig war, entschied sich eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Gemeinden, sich keiner Organisation anzuschließen, sondern einen unabhängigen „Status quo ante“ zu behalten. Als Konsequenz daraus entstand eine in Europa seltene Situation, da im Staat verschiedene jüdische Konfessionen parallel

anerkannt wurden, welche in vielen Städten als konkurrierende Religionsgemeinden existierten.

Die Juden, die 1867 den anderen Bürger gesetzlich gleichgestellt wurden, waren loyale Einwohner ihres Landes, was viele sogar durch das Erlernen der ungarischen Sprache und einer patriotischen kulturellen Orientierung zeigten. Andere wiederum, hauptsächlich Orthodoxe, nahmen eine isolationistisch deutsch-yiddische Haltung ein, obwohl auch sie sich zur Loyalität gegenüber ihrem Land bekannten. Der vorherrschende Zustand in Ungarn, wo nicht-ungarische Nationalitäten heftig unterdrückt wurden, führte Juden in eine unglückliche Position zwischen den Konfliktparteien. Dadurch verschlimmerte sich ihre Situation vis-à-vis den Slowaken und anderen nicht-Ungarn in den Nachfolgestaaten der Monarchie nach 1918.

In der Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen erlebten slowakische Juden, die in der Tschechoslowakei lebten, zwanzig Jahre lang Demokratie, während anderswo in der Region autoritäre Regime den Antisemitismus vorantrieben. Tschechoslowakische Juden wurden als nationale Minderheit anerkannt und bildeten eine politische Vertretung, die Jüdische Partei, die zweimal Abgeordnete in das Parlament nach Prag entsenden konnte und auch auf kommunalpolitischer Ebene sehr aktiv war. Die Struktur der Gemeinden aus der Zeit vor dem 1. Weltkrieg blieb mit zwei Dachorganisationen, den Orthodoxen und den im Jahr 1928 durch den Zusammenschluss der Neologischen Gemeinden und der Status Quo Gemeinden gegründeten Jesurun-Verein, fast unverändert.

Der Holocaust bedeutete das Ende des wohlhabenden Lebens für die 1930 über 136,000 Mitglieder zählende Gemeinde. Der Slowakische Staat, geführt von einer mit den Nazis verbundenen Marionettenregierung und dem katholischen Priester Dr. Jozef Tiso als Staatspräsident, setzte eine resolute anti-jüdische Politik durch und entzog den Juden ihre Grund- und Menschenrechte. Dieser unmoralische Prozess erreichte mit den Deportationen von 1942 seinen Höhepunkt, als zehntausende Juden aus der Slowakei nach Polen in Todeslager geschickt wurden. Nach der Unterdrückung des slowakischen Aufstandes 1944 besetzte die Wehrmacht das Land, tötete viele Juden in den Bergen und nahm auch die Deportationen wieder auf. Zehntausende wurden 1944 auch aus den von Ungarn besetzten Gebieten deportiert. Im Jahr 1945 gab es noch 30,000 Juden in der

Slowakei, aber auch diese Zahl sank beträchtlich aufgrund der Emigrationswellen der Nachkriegszeit und Assimilationen. Aus diesen Gründen zählt die slowakische Bevölkerung heute nur noch 3000 Juden, von denen die Mehrheit in Bratislava und Kosice lebt.

Im zweiten Teil meiner Dissertation stelle ich eine Fallstudie der Städte Košice, Prešov und Bardejov vor, dreier wichtiger Zentren jüdischen Lebens im Osten der Slowakei. Ich habe die Art der Fallstudie gewählt, um eine detailgenauere Analyse der im ersten Kapitel beschriebenen sozialen, kulturellen und historischen Phänomene zu erstellen und zu zeigen, wie diese sich in der Synagogenarchitektur auf lokaler Ebene widerspiegeln.

Dabei habe ich drei Städte aus dem Osten der Slowakei gewählt, da sie die interessantesten und wertvollsten Monumente jüdischen Kulturerbes aufweisen, die inmitten einer authentischen städtischen Umgebung sehr gut erhalten sind. Jede dieser jüdischen Gemeinden hatte eine andere religiöse und kulturelle Natur, die eine Reflexion der unterschiedlichen inneren Entwicklung der Gemeinden darstellte. Trotz der relativen geographischen Nähe repräsentiert jede von ihnen eine einzigartige Wirklichkeit, die keine Verallgemeinerung zulässt. Ich untersuchte den Immigrationsmechanismus zu der Zeit, als die Königsstädte für die Juden geöffnet wurden, und jüdische Neuankömmlinge die Hürden anti-jüdischer Diskriminierungspolitik und fremdenfeindlicher Einstellungen der Bevölkerung allmählich durchbrechen konnten. Auch andere nicht-katholische Gruppen sahen sich ähnlichen Problemen ausgesetzt, denn sie konnten ihre religiösen Bauten erst im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts in diesen Städten errichten.

Ein weiterer sehr wichtiger Aspekt des jüdischen Gemeinschaftslebens in den drei genannten Städten war die ideologische Vielfaltigkeit unter den verschiedenen Religionsgemeinden. Chassidische Juden lebten in allen drei Städten, wobei sie in Košice und Prešov ihre Gebetshäuser inmitten der orthodoxen Gemeinden errichteten, während sie in Bardejov die Leitung der gesamten Gemeinde übernahmen. Diese internen ideologischen Nuancen sind in der Architektur der Synagogen sichtbar: die reformistische Religionsgemeinde von Geschäftsleuten aus Prešov errichtete ein anderes Gotteshaus als die traditionellen Chassiden in Košice.

Košice (Kaschau) ist eine einzigartige Stadt mit gut erhaltener mittelalterlicher Urbanstruktur, mit einem gotischen Dom in der Mitte des Hauptplatzes. Im 19. Jahrhundert erlebte die Stadt einen entscheidenden Wandel hin zu einem modernen, multi-konfessionellen städtischen Zentrum, als nicht-katholische Kirchengemeinden und Juden ihre Gotteshäuser auf dem Gebiet des früheren Glacis errichteten. Dort umgaben die Kirchen der Lutheraner, der Calvinisten und griechisch-katholischen Gläubigen sowie die Synagogen der Orthodoxen, Neologen und Status Quo die Stadt und schufen eine einzigartige Mischung multi-konfessioneller Architektur, die das Stadtbild prägen.

Das Entstehen jüdischer Gemeinden in Prešov war eng verbunden mit den Emanzipationsbemühungen des Händlers Marcus Holländer und seines Sohnes Leo, der später der erste Präsident der jüdischen Gemeinde wurde. Vor 1848 zählte die Gemeinde zu den führenden Zentren des Reformjudentums in Ungarn und engagierte als eine der ersten Gemeinden im Land einen Rabbiner mit Universitätsabschluss. Die neoklassizistische Synagoge, die von den selbstbewussten und sozial aufstrebenden Mitgliedern der Gemeinde errichtet wurde, erinnerte stark an die Lutheranische Kirche. Die orthodoxe Gemeinde gründete sich im Jahr 1871, als eine Gruppe von Familien die "Muttergemeinde" verließ und ihre eigene Religionsgemeinde schuf. Seit dieser Zeit war es die orthodoxe Gemeinde, die Immigranten vom Land anlockte und schließlich dreimal so viele Mitglieder hatte wie die Neologengruppe.

Die dritte von mir untersuchte Stadt ist Bardejov (Bartfeld), eine gut erhaltende mittelalterliche Stadt in der Nähe der polnischen Grenze. Seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert siedelte sich hier eine beträchtliche Anzahl der - mehrheitlich polnischen - Juden an, was den streng traditionellen Charakter der jüdischen Gemeinde bestimmte. Enge Verbindungen nach Nowy Sącz, wo der chassidischer Rebbe, Moshe Halberstamm, residierte, dessen Enkel später zum Oberrabbiner in Bardejov ernannt wurde, wurden gepflegt. Aufgrund der regen Aktivitäten der Druckereien Blayer und Horowitz entwickelte sich die Stadt zu einem Zentrum hebräischen Buchdrucks in der Slowakei. Obwohl heute nur noch ein Jude in der Stadt wohnt, beherbergt Bardejov wertvolle jüdische Baudenkmäler, die dazu beitrugen, dass die Stadt von der UNESCO in das Weltkulturerbe aufgenommen wurde. Eine wertvolle Neungewölbesynagoge bildet das

Herzstück des jüdischen Gemeindekomplexes, eine einzigartige Mischung mit Beit Midrash und Mikvah innerhalb eines Grundstücks. Zwei weitere Synagogen, die von jüdischen Vereinen errichtet wurden, die Chevra Bikur Cholim und die Chevra Mishnayot, befinden sich immer noch in Bardejov und erinnern an die bedeutsame jüdische Vergangenheit der ostslowakischen Stadt.

Im dritten Teil meiner Arbeit untersuche ich unterschiedliche Faktoren der Synagogenarchitektur. Zuerst mussten die Synagogen den Anforderungen des Judentums und seinen liturgischen Anforderungen entsprechen. Die Bimah und der Thoraschrein waren zwei Mittelpunkte des Kultraumes. Weiterhin war es wichtig, Frauen den Zugang zum Gottesdienst zu ermöglichen. Eine Frauenempore mit der Mechitzah, die die Frauen versteckte, waren Ausdruck der im traditionellen Judentum praktizierten Geschlechtertrennung. Zusätzliche Regulierungen legten die Anzahl der Fenster fest. Im 19. Jahrhundert initiierte die Reformbewegung unter dem Einfluss protestantischer Modelle die Umgestaltung der Synagogen; die Bimah wurde nach Osten verlegt und bildete eine Bimah-Thoraschrein-Einheit und die Mechitzah verschwand von der Frauenempore.

Diese Entwicklungen trafen auf scharfe Opposition in den traditionellen Kreisen des Judentums. Auch die Kirche und der Staat übten einen beträchtlichen Einfluss auf das Erscheinungsbild der Synagogenarchitektur aus. Eine Synagoge musste außer Sichtweite der christlichen Öffentlichkeit stehen, oft war sie in einem Gemeindehof hinter einfachen Häuserfassaden versteckt.

Eine besondere Fragestellung für mich blieb die Bestimmung der entscheidenden Synagogentypen, die Einfluss auf die Synagogenarchitektur in der Slowakei hatten. Während dem 17. und dem 18. Jahrhundert spielte Polen eine wichtige Rolle als Ursprung für Synagogenmodelle, die auch in slowakisches Gebiet vordrangen, entweder direkt durch Immigranten aus Galizien oder indirekt über Mähren. Die Synagoge mit einem einfachen Betraum sowie die Tabernakel- / Neun-Gewölbe-Synagoge bleiben die zwei bedeutsamsten Bauformen.

Später im 19. Jahrhundert, im Zuge von Emanzipationsbewegung, jüdischer Urbanisation und dem andauernden Stildiskurs, wurde die Synagoge zu einem Gebäude,

dessen Fassade an Bedeutung gewann. So wurden verschiedene Modelle, die in Deutschland und Österreich entworfen wurden, weit in der Region Mitteleuropas verbreitet. Die bedeutendsten davon waren die Rundbogenstil-Synagoge in Kassel und verschiedene Entwürfe des in Wien ansässigen Architekten Friedrich von Förster. Zusätzlich wurde Wien in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zu einem wichtigen Zentrum mit mehreren produktiven Architekten, die Synagogen für viele Städte in der früheren österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie entwarfen. Diese wurden auch in den Architekturzeitschriften häufig veröffentlicht, die den Baumeistern in der Provinz zugänglich waren. Dennoch kann man davon ausgehen, dass sowohl die örtlichen Baumeister nur passive Empfänger der importierten Synagogenmodelle waren. In meiner Arbeit stelle ich auch die Merkmale regionaler Architektur heraus, die von der örtlichen Bautradition übernommen wurden. Für den Bau der Synagoge wendete man ein weites Repertoire an verfügbaren historischen Stilen an, angefangen von maurischen, dem Rundbogenstil über die Gotik bis hin zu byzantinischen und neoklassizistischen Varianten. Im 19. Jahrhundert versuchten verschiedene Architekten einen speziellen jüdischen Stil festzulegen. Edwin Oppler in Deutschland sprach sich für den neuromanischen Stil aus, während Lipót Baumhorn in Ungarn seinen charakteristischen eklektischen Stil entwickelte, der zum Symbol für ungarische Synagogenprojekte Ende des Jahrhunderts wurde.

Der letzte Teil meiner Dissertation stellt die Ergebnisse meiner umfangreichen Dokumentationen in der Slowakei vor. Der Katalog von über einhundert bestehenden Synagogen, die sich über das gesamte Landesgebiet erstrecken, ergänzt durch historische Bilder weiterer vierundsechzig Synagogen, ist eine umfassende Dokumentation der Synagogenarchitektur in der Slowakei. Sie ist in zwei Abschnitte unterteilt, die zuerst die bestehenden und an zweiter Stelle die zerstörten Gebäude präsentiert und dann in weitere acht Einheiten entsprechend der heutigen Verwaltungseinheiten der Slowakei eingeteilt ist. Jedem Gebäude ist ein eigener Code für weitere Datenerfassungsvorgänge zugeteilt worden. Neben der reichhaltigen Fotodokumentation und historischen Bildern, die den ursprünglichen Zustand der Gebäude zeigen, enthält die Dokumentation wertvolle Pläne und Erhebungen von Architekturstudenten im Rahmen meines Seminars in Bratislava.

Die wörtliche Beschreibung war der Schlüssel für die architektonische Analyse jeder erfassten Synagoge, wobei besonderes Interesse auf der Raumanordnung, der Dekoration und den Stilelementen lag. Ich habe auch Gebäude von niederer architektonischer Qualität aus ländlichen Gegenden in meine Arbeit aufgenommen, da diese einen proportionalen Anteil der slowakischen Synagogen ausmachen und Zeuge der Geschichte der Landgemeinden sind.

Erst nachdem ich den Katalog vervollständigt hatte, konnte ich mich dem vierten Kapitel widmen, welcher auf der Klassifikation der Synagogen in der Slowakei und ihrer Bewertung innerhalb der mitteleuropäischen und slowakischen Architekturtradition basiert. Dabei standen die regional-lokal und Zentrum-Peripherie Beziehungen im Fokus meiner Arbeit. Ich bewegte mich vom Kontext zum Objekt und vice versa, wobei ich versuchte, die einzelnen Objekte in Kategorien und Zeitabschnitte einzuordnen, indem ich die grundlegenden Synagogentypen und Baustile beurteilte.

Mit dieser Vorgehensweise teilte ich die Synagogen in vier grundlegende Zeitabschnitte ein: Vor-Emanzipation, Emanzipation, frühes 20. Jahrhundert und die Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen. Der erste Zeitraum war gekennzeichnet durch Synagogen mit einem einfachen Betraum und Neun-Gewölbe-Synagogen. Die Zeitspanne der Emanzipation ging mit den städtischen Synagogenmodellen des 19. Jahrhunderts einher, unter anderem Synagogen mit dreigeteilten Fassaden, zweitürmiger Bauten, typischen orthodoxen urban Lösungen, kleine dörfliche Synagogen und städtische Vereinsynagogen. Das 20. Jahrhundert war das variantenreichste Zeitalter. Es reicht von grandiosen architektonischen Entwürfe von Lipót Baumhorn bis hin zur Suche nach modernen und funktionalen Gotteshäusern, wie das von Peter Behrens in Zilina. Nichtsdestotrotz entwickelte sich der Bautypus der Synagogen nicht in einer einzigen Entwicklungslinie, sondern es gab selbst im 20. Jahrhundert einige Gemeinden, die sich als Ergebnis extremer religiöser und kulturell konservativer Einstellungen für den traditionellen Synagogenbau entschieden.

Meine Dissertation über die slowakischen Synagogenarchitektur ist die erste umfassende monographische Betrachtung der Geschichte dieses Bautyps in der Slowakei. Es

ist von eminenter Bedeutung, die Ergebnisse dieses Forschungsprojekts zu veröffentlichen, was in Form einer Online-Datenbank noch in diesem Jahr geschehen wird. Eine monographische Buchveröffentlichung ist für 2006 in Bratislava vorgesehen. Während des Projekts zu meiner Doktorarbeit konnte ich umfassende berufliche Kontakte mit der Fakultät für Architektur der Slowakischen Technischen Universität, mit dem Slowakischen Nationalmuseum - Museum der Jüdischen Kultur und dem Institut für Jüdische Studien in Bratislava knüpfen. Darüber hinaus durfte ich meine Forschungsergebnisse und Konsultationen dem Ministerium für Kultur der Slowakischen Republik sowie der US Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad vorstellen.

Die Doktorandenstudien in Heidelberg waren die letzte Station meiner formalen Universitätsausbildung und hatten einen sehr bedeutenden Einfluss auf meine weitere berufliche Laufbahn. Mein Forschungsprojekt wird im Zentrum für slowakisch-jüdisches Kulturerbe institutionalisiert, was seine Arbeit unter meiner Führung im Mai 2005 aufnehmen wird. Das Zentrum wird eine Unterabteilung des Slowakischen Nationalmuseums - Museums der Jüdischen Kultur in Bratislava und wird vom Staat unterstützte Forschungen und Werbung für jüdisches Kulturerbe in der Slowakei durchführen. Mit einem weiten Maß an Aktivitäten, die Dokumentation, Forschung, Bildung und Kulturmarketing beinhalten, hoffen wir, zum Erhalt des jüdischen Kulturerbes in der Slowakei für die Nachwelt beitragen zu können.

GLOSSARY

aron hakodesh – Holy Ark; niche or special furniture in which the Torah scroll or scrolls are kept

admor (*pl.* admorim) – title of a rebbe or Hassidic religious leader

bachur – young, bachelor yeshiva student

bar mitzvah – a 13-year-old boy who achieves formal adulthood; also a synagogue ceremony to mark the occasion

beit din – rabbinical court

beit midrash – house of study

bimah – raised platform in the synagogue upon which the Torah is read

brith milah – male circumcision ceremony

chazakah – right of settlement in a Jewish community during pre-emancipation period based upon established habitation

chazzan – cantor or synagogue prayer leader

cheder – Jewish elementary school

cherem – excommunication

chevra bikur cholim – brotherhood for visiting sick

chevra kadisha – burial brotherhood

chevra mishnayot – brotherhood for studying the Mishnah,

derashah (*pl.* derashot) – traditional rabbinical sermon expounding on scripture or legal themes

glacis – vacant zone outside of a fortification left unbuilt for military reasons

gabbai (*pl.* gabbaim) – warden, communal official

halakhah (*adj.* halakhic) – Jewish law

Haskalah – Jewish enlightenment

Hassid (*pl.* Hassidim) - follower of a rebbe

Hassidism (*adj.* Hassidic) - an 18th century religious movement based upon popular mysticism

Judengasse – Jewish street

Judenhof – Jewish court; in medieval times, typically a house around which the Jewish population clustered

kehillah (*pl.* kehillot) – highly autonomous Jewish community during the pre-emancipation period

Keter Torah – Crown of Torah

kibbutz (*pl.* kibbutzim) – communal farming settlement in Israel

klaus (*also* kloyz) – Hassidic separate prayer hall; see **shtiebl**

matzevah – Jewish tombstone

mechitzah - screen, curtain, bars or some other device to separate men and women in the synagogue

mikvah (*pl.* mikvaot) – ritual bath

mitzvah (*pl.* mitzvaot) – obligatory commandment in Judaism

minyan - quorum of ten adult men needed for Jewish communal prayer

Mishnah – of the corpus of Jewish Oral Law compiled in the second and third centuries.

Neolog [Judaism] – sister movement of Reform Judaism in Hungary, less radical than its German counterpart

“non recipiendis Judaeis” – privilege of some royal towns allowing them to restrict or prohibit Jewish entry or transit

nusach ha-Ari (*also known as nusach Sepharad*) – liturgical format used by the Hassidim

Orthodox [Judaism] – religious movement of strictly traditional Jews contra distinct from Reform and Neolog Judaism.

parnas (*pl. parnasim*) – community leader

pasul – disqualified, unfit for religious use

psaq (*v. to pasken*) – rabbinic halakhic decision

psaq din – ruling of the rabbinical court

rebbe – usually dynastic, politico-spiritual leader of a Hassidic sect

responsum (*pl. responsa*) – published answer to a legal question posed to one or more rabbis regarding practical everyday life problems

rosh kahal – elected head of the Jewish community

Schutzbrief – a document issued by the feudal landlord, in which the rights, duties and taxes of Jews were stipulated when he settled Jews on his estate

Schutzgeld – “protection money”; the tax paid by Jews to their landlord

shechitah – ritual slaughtering of halakhically permitted animals

Sheva kehillot – seven Jewish communities in Burgenland (today, eastern Austria) that enjoyed a high degree of communal autonomy

shochet - ritual slaughterer

shtiebl (*pl. shtiblach*) –small prayer rooms commonly used by Hassidim

shul – synagogue, probably from the word “schule” (“school”)

Status Quo Ante – group of unaffiliated synagogues in Hungary that opted to join neither the Orthodox nor Neolog movements of the 19th century.

sukkah – booth-like construction used during the Sukkoth holiday

Talmud – comprised of the Mishnah and its 4th to 6th century expository gloss, the Gemara, forms the textual source for all halakhah and the basis for all legal codices that succeeded it

Torah – the Five Books of Moses, the holiest text of Judaism; also the embodiment of all Jewish law and ritual

tzedakah – Jewish charity

yeshiva (*pl. yeshivot*) – Talmudic academy, institution of the highest Jewish education

yishuv (*pl. yishuvim*) – village with strong Jewish residential presence; during the pre-emancipation period, when the Jewish rights of settlement were limited, Jewish settlements in commuting proximity to royal towns

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FIG. 248. Žilina, Orthodox Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 249. Žilina, Orthodox Synagogue, Interior, Looking South-East.
FIG. 250. Žilina, Orthodox Synagogue, Interior, Looking West.
FIG. 251. Čaňa, Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 252. Čaňa, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 253. Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Zvonárska Street, West Façade.
FIG. 254. Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Zvonárska Street, East Façade.

- FIG. 255.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Zvonárska Street, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 256.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Zvonárska Street, Plan.
- FIG. 257.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Zvonárska Street, West Elevation.
- FIG. 258.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Puškinova Street, East and South Façades.
- FIG. 259.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Puškinova Street, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 260.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Puškinova Street, Plan.
- FIG. 261.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Puškinova Street, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 262.** Košice, Orthodox Synagogue, Puškinova Street, Interior, Women's Gallery, Looking North-East.
- FIG. 263.** Košice, Hassidic Synagogue, Krmanova Street, North and East Façades.
- FIG. 264.** Košice, Hassidic Synagogue, Krmanova Street, Original Project.
- FIG. 265.** Košice, Neolog Synagogue, Moyzesova Street, West Addition.
- FIG. 266.** Košice, Neolog Synagogue, Moyzesova Street, South and East Façades.
- FIG. 267.** Košice, Neolog Synagogue, Moyzesova Street, West Façade, Historical Image.
- FIG. 268.** Košice, Neolog Synagogue, Moyzesova Street, Interior, Looking South, Historical Image.
- FIG. 269.** Košice, Neolog Synagogue, Moyzesova Street, Interior.
- FIG. 270.** Košice, Orthodox Prayer Hall, Zvonárska Street, South Façade.
- FIG. 271.** Košice, Orthodox Prayer Hall, Zvonárska Street, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 272.** Kráľovský Chlmec, Synagogue, West Façade.
- FIG. 273.** Kráľovský Chlmec, Synagogue, Interior, Looking South-West.
- FIG. 274.** Kráľovský Chlmec, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 275.** Michal'any, Synagogue, West and South Façades.
- FIG. 276.** Michalovce, Hassidic Synagogue, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 277.** Michalovce, Hassidic Synagogue, South and East Façades.
- FIG. 278.** Moldava nad Bodvou, Synagogue, East and South Façades.
- FIG. 279.** Moldava nad Bodvou, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 280.** Príbeník, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
- FIG. 281.** Príbeník, Synagogue, Plan.
- FIG. 282.** Príbeník, Synagogue, West Elevation.
- FIG. 283.** Príbeník, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
- FIG. 284.** Príbeník, Synagogue, Interior, Looking West.
- FIG. 285.** Slovenské Nové Mesto, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 286.** Slovenské Nové Mesto, Synagogue, East Façade.
- FIG. 287.** Slovenské Nové Mesto, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 288.** Smolník, Prayer Hall, West Façade.
- FIG. 289.** Smolník, Prayer Hall, North and East Façades.
- FIG. 290.** Štítnik, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 291.** Štítnik, Synagogue, Interior, Looking North.
- FIG. 292.** Štítnik, Synagogue, North Elevation.
- FIG. 293.** Štítnik, Synagogue, Plan.
- FIG. 294.** Štítnik, Synagogue, Section, Looking South.
- FIG. 295.** Veľká Ida, Synagogue, West and South Façades.
- FIG. 296.** Veľká Ida, Synagogue, Plan.
- FIG. 297.** Veľká Ida, Synagogue, East Façade.

- FIG. 298.** Zemplínske Jastrabie, Synagogue, East Façade.
- FIG. 299.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, South and West Façades.
- FIG. 300.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, South and West Façades, Historical Image.
- FIG. 301.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, Plan, Original Situation.
- FIG. 302.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, South Elevation, Original Situation.
- FIG. 303.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, Interior, Looking South-East.
- FIG. 304.** Bardejov, Old Synagogue, Section, Looking North.
- FIG. 305.** Bardejov, Beit Midrash, East Façade.
- FIG. 306.** Bardejov, Beit Midrash, First Floor, Looking South-West.
- FIG. 307.** Bardejov, Beit Midrash, North Elevation.
- FIG. 308.** Bardejov, Beit Midrash, Plan.
- FIG. 309.** Bardejov, Chevra Bikur Cholim Synagogue, East Façade.
- FIG. 310.** Bardejov, Chevra Bikur Cholim Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 311.** Bardejov, Chevra Mishnayot Synagogue, East Façade.
- FIG. 312.** Bardejov, Chevra Mishnayot Synagogue, Historical Image.
- FIG. 313.** Bystré, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
- FIG. 314.** Bystré, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 315.** Bystré, Synagogue, East Elevation.
- FIG. 316.** Bystré, Synagogue, Plan, Current Situation.
- FIG. 317.** Bystré, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 318.** Hniezdne, Prayer Hall, South Façade.
- FIG. 319.** Huncovce, Synagogue, West Façade.
- FIG. 320.** Huncovce, Synagogue, West and North Façades, Historical Image.
- FIG. 321.** Huncovce, Synagogue, Plan, Current Situation.
- FIG. 322.** Huncovce, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 323.** Huncovce, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East, Historical Image.
- FIG. 324.** Košarovce, Synagogue, West Façade.
- FIG. 325.** Košarovce, Synagogue, Interior.
- FIG. 326.** Lemešany, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
- FIG. 327.** Lemešany, Synagogue, Plan.
- FIG. 328.** Lemešany, Synagogue, East Façade.
- FIG. 329.** Lemešany, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 330.** Lipany, Synagogue, North and East Façades.
- FIG. 331.** Lipany, Synagogue, East Façade, Historical Image.
- FIG. 332.** Lipany, Synagogue, Interior, Detail.
- FIG. 333.** Lipany, Synagogue, Interior, Looking North-East.
- FIG. 334.** Ľubotice, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
- FIG. 335.** Ľubotice, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
- FIG. 336.** Ľubotice, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
- FIG. 337.** Ľubotín, Prayer Hall.
- FIG. 338.** Pečovská Nová Ves, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
- FIG. 339.** Pečovská Nová Ves, Synagogue, Plan.
- FIG. 340.** Pečovská Nová Ves, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
- FIG. 341.** Pečovská Nová Ves, Synagogue, Interior.
- FIG. 342.** Poprad, Synagogue, North and East Façades.

- FIG. 343.** Poprad, Synagogue, West and South Façades.
FIG. 344. Poprad, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 345. Poprad, Synagogue, West Elevation.
FIG. 346. Poprad, Synagogue, Interior, First Floor, Looking North-East.
FIG. 347. Prešov, Neolog Synagogue, West and South Façades.
FIG. 348. Prešov, Neolog Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 349. Prešov, Neolog Synagogue, West Façade, Historical Image.
FIG. 350. Prešov, Neolog Synagogue, Interior, First Floor.
FIG. 351. Prešov, Neolog Synagogue, Interior, Looking East, Historical Image.
FIG. 352. Prešov, Orthodox Synagogue, North Façade.
FIG. 353. Prešov, Orthodox Synagogue, East and South Façades.
FIG. 354. Prešov, Orthodox Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 355. Prešov, Hassidic Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 356. Prešov, Hassidic Synagogue, North and East Façades.
FIG. 357. Prešov, Hassidic Synagogue, Plan, Original Situation.
FIG. 358. Prešov, Hassidic Synagogue, West Elevation, Original Situation.
FIG. 359. Raslavice, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 360. Raslavice, Synagogue, South Façade.
FIG. 361. Raslavice, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 362. Raslavice, Synagogue, West Elevation.
FIG. 363. Raslavice, Synagogue, Interior, Women's Gallery, Looking East.
FIG. 364. Spišská Belá, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 365. Spišská Belá, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 366. Spišská Stará Ves, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 367. Spišská Stará Ves, Synagogue, Interior, Looking West.
FIG. 368. Spišské Podhradie, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 369. Spišské Podhradie, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 370. Spišské Podhradie, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 371. Spišské Podhradie, Synagogue, West Elevation.
FIG. 372. Spišské Podhradie, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 373. Zborov, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 374. Zborov, Synagogue, Historical Image.
FIG. 375. Bratislava, Neolog Synagogue, Rybné Square, South and West Façades.
FIG. 376. Bratislava, Neolog Synagogue, Rybné Square, West Façade.
FIG. 377. Bratislava, Orthodox Synagogue, Zámocká Street, Street Façade.
FIG. 378. Bratislava, Orthodox Synagogue, Zámocká Street, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 379. Bratislava, Orthodox Synagogue, Zámocká Street, Interior, Looking South-West.
FIG. 380. Gajary, Synagogue, General View, Looking North.
FIG. 381. Pezinok, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 382. Pezinok, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 383. Pezinok, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 384. Dunajská Streda, Synagogue, East and South Façades.
FIG. 385. Dunajská Streda, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 386. Dunajská Streda, Adas Israel Synagogue, West and South Façades.

- FIG. 387.** Galanta, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 388. Galanta, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 389. Galanta, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 390. Galanta, Prayer Hall, Façade.
FIG. 391. Galanta, Prayer Hall, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 392. Hlohovec, Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 393. Hlohovec, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 394. Hlohovec, Synagogue, West Elevation.
FIG. 395. Hlohovec, Synagogue, Interior, Detail.
FIG. 396. Hlohovec, Synagogue, Interior, Ark.
FIG. 397. Hlohovec, Synagogue, Interior during Demolition.
FIG. 398. Hlohovec, Synagogue, General View during Demolition.
FIG. 399. Hlohovec, Prayer Hall, General View during Demolition.
FIG. 400. Hlohovec, Prayer Hall, Wall Inscriptions Detail.
FIG. 401. Piešťany, Neolog Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 402. Piešťany, Neolog Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 403. Senica, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 404. Sereď, Synagogue, Façade.
FIG. 405. Veľký Meder, Synagogue, West and North Façades.
FIG. 406. Kolárovo, Synagogue, West and North Façades.
FIG. 407. Nitra – Párovce, Orthodox Synagogue, Façade.
FIG. 408. Nové Zámky, Neolog Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 409. Pribeta, Synagogue.
FIG. 410. Šaľa, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 411. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, General View.
FIG. 412. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, Passage.
FIG. 413. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 414. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, West Elevation.
FIG. 415. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 416. Topoľčany, Shomre Torah Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 417. Topoľčany, Rosenthal Prayer Hall, South Façade.
FIG. 418. Topoľčany, Rosenthal Prayer Hall, West Façade.
FIG. 419. Čachtice, Synagogue, Interior, Detail.
FIG. 420. Čachtice, Synagogue, Interior, Drawing by Ing. Eugen Bárkány.
FIG. 421. Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 422. Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 423. Prievidza, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 424. Púchov, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 425. Trenčianske Teplice, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 426. Trenčianske Teplice, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 427. Trenčín, Old Synagogue, Exterior.
FIG. 428. Trenčín, Old Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 429. Banská Bystrica, Synagogue, General View of the City.
FIG. 430. Banská Bystrica, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 431. Banská Bystrica, Synagogue, West Façade.

- FIG. 432.** Fiľakovo, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 433. Kremnica, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 434. Lučenec, Neolog Synagogue (Old), West and South Façades.
FIG. 435. Lučenec, Orthodox Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 436. Lučenec, Orthodox Synagogue, Interior, Ark.
FIG. 437. Lučenec, Orthodox Synagogue, Plan, Original Project.
FIG. 438. Lučenec, Orthodox Synagogue, West Elevation, Original Project.
FIG. 439. Rimavská Seč, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 440. Rimavská Sobota, Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 441. Rimavská Sobota, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 442. Tornaľa, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 443. Čadca, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 444. Liptovský Hrádok, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 445. Martin, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 446. Martin, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 447. Martin, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 448. Martin, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 449. Martin, Synagogue, Interior, Detail, Looking East.
FIG. 450. Slanica, Synagogue, Exterior.
FIG. 451. Žilina, Neolog Synagogue (Old), West Façade.
FIG. 452. Veličná, Synagogue, East and North Façades.
FIG. 453. Veličná, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 454. Gelnica, Synagogue, General View, Looking West.
FIG. 455. Košice, Status Quo Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 456. Košice, Status Quo Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 457. Košice, Status Quo Synagogue, South and West Façades, After World War II.
FIG. 458. Košice, Status Quo Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 459. Michalovce, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 460. Michalovce, Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 461. Michalovce, Synagogue, Interior, Detail.
FIG. 462. Plešivec, Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 463. Rožňava, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 464. Rožňava, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 465. Sečovce, Synagogue and Mikvah, General View, Looking North-East.
FIG. 466. Sečovce, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 467. Somotor, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 468. Somotor, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 469. Spišská Nová Ves, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 470. Spišská Nová Ves, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 471. Trebišov, Synagogue, General View, Looking North-West.
FIG. 472. Veľké Kapušany, Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 473. Brezovica nad Torysou, Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 474. Brezovica nad Torysou, Synagogue, South Elevation.
FIG. 475. Giraltovce, Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 476. Humenné, Old Synagogue, North and West Façades.

- FIG. 477.** Humenné, Old Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 478. Humenné, New Synagogue, North and West Façades.
FIG. 479. Humenné, New Synagogue, East Façade.
FIG. 480. Humenné, New Synagogue, Plan.
FIG. 481. Humenné, New Synagogue, Women's Gallery, Looking East.
FIG. 482. Humenné, New Synagogue, Interior, Looking East.
FIG. 483. Humenné, Prayer Hall (South Façade), Old Synagogue (North Façade) and New Synagogue.
FIG. 484. Kežmarok, Synagogue, South and West Façades.
FIG. 485. Kurima, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 486. Levoča, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 487. Podolíneč, Synagogue, South and East Façades.
FIG. 488. Stará Ľubovňa, Synagogue, North Façade.
FIG. 489. Stropkov, Synagogue, Exterior.
FIG. 490. Stropkov, Prayer Hall, North and East Façades.
FIG. 491. Vranov nad Topľou, Synagogue, West Façade.
FIG. 492. Vranov nad Topľou, Synagogue, Interior, Dedicatory Plaques.