Reconstruction of the Temple by Charles Chipiez and Its Applications in Architecture

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The period from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I witnessed a peak of building activity in the Jewish world. Numerous factors contributed to the shaping of architecture commissioned for Jewish needs: the disintegration of traditional Jewish society; individuals' success in becoming involved in public life of European nations, without actually achieving full incorporation; the Zionist dream and steps towards its fulfillment; the emergence of an art market with the rise of the middle class; and an art and architecture enhanced by the vast knowledge of historical styles and the ability to construct new ones on their basis.

At that time, history was largely perceived as a necessary attribute of a nation, and the conception of style as pertinent to the philosophic concepts of *Volksgeist* and *Zeitgeist* had a great impact on architecture. However, in German lands and in the Habsburg and Romanov Empires Neoclassicism, believed to be a timeless universal architectural style, sufficed almost till the mid-nineteenth century. This rudiment of Enlightenment dogma was displaced by romantic historicism, which gave rise to a variety of new expressions, or styles, based on knowledge of the medieval heritage, adjusted to the climate, building materials, and traditions of the specific countries. From this moment on, the Jewish communities faced politically and culturally stipulated options: either to adopt the local "national" style and thus convey their belonging and loyalty, to strive for expression of the Jewish "other," or to make a reasonable compromise. The latter was facilitated by a measured combination of oriental and western means. The Neo-Renaissance – an expression of European humanism – at times helped flee the political predicament by appealing to universal values. However, the considerations of loyalty, Jewish pride, or universal humanistic principles were not the only criteria for choosing a style for a synagogue. As a place of religious veneration, it not only provided a framework for the liturgy and signified the "here" and "now," as suggested by the Reform Jews, but often bore the teleological meanings of "elsewhere" and "then," fundamental to Judaism. Probably for this reason, the oriental expression prevailed in synagogue architecture, be it Progressive or Orthodox.

In the 1850s, a leading Viennese architect, Ludwig Förster,[1] – assisted by knowledge of architectural history and the latest theory of *Gesamtkunstwerk* – managed to coin a "pure" Jewish style. It was adopted throughout the following decades to contrast with the Christian edifices of the pedigreed revivalist styles. This was achieved by the decoration of these synagogues, which employed Moorish elements from Spain and Italy as well as Byzantine ones, and through their composition of masses, which followed the Temple of Jerusalem rather than the human body – the Body of Christ being discernable in ecclesial cross-shaped architecture. The desire for better historical reliability attracted architects to new reconstructions of the Temple as their design models. These derived from the recent archaeological discoveries interpreted in light of critical

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1 Ludwig Christian Friedrich (von) Förster (1799–1863), together with other Viennese architects initiated a sharp stylistic shift around 1848. Förster designed the synagogues of Vienna-Leopoldstadt (1854–58), Budapest *Dohány utca* (1854–59), and Miskolc (1863). See Susanne Kronbichler-Skacha, "Förster, (Christian Friedrich) Ludwig," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, vol. 11 (New York, 1996), 319.

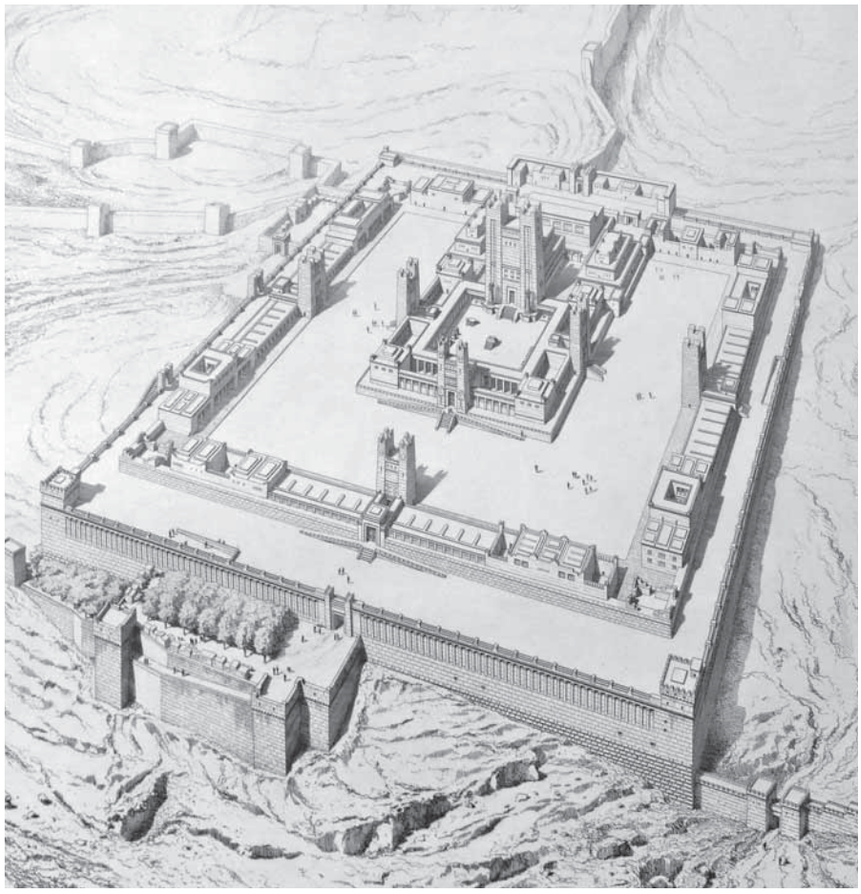

Fig. 1. Charles Chipiez, The Temple of Jerusalem after Ezekiel, general view, 1887, in Charles Chipiez and Georges Perrot, *Le Temple de Jérusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban restitués d'après Ezéchiel et le Livre des Rois* (Paris, 1889), pl. 3

historiography together with the Bible. An important visual source was the work by architect and architectural historian Charles Chipiez (1835–1901) and archaeologist Georges Perrot (1832–1914), which included a theoretical reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Chipiez, first published in 1887.[2] Later, his graphics were reproduced in the professional and popular press, and became widely known.[3]

Chipiez and Perrot presented their imagery as a restitution of Ezekiel's vision (chapters 40–42), "a blending of idealism and reality,"[4] but not an actual edifice. They argued that Hiram of Tyre, who built the Temple, followed the forms of his native Phoenician architecture. The Phoenicians, the authors thought, unlike the Jews, were involved in cultural exchange with most of the peoples of the Mediterranean basin and Mesopotamia, and thus

2 Charles Chipiez and Georges Perrot, *Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité, Égypte, Assyrie, Perse, Asie mineure, Grèce, Etrurie, Rome*, vol. 4: *Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Cappadoce* (Paris, 1887), English translation: idem, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, Syria and Asia Minor*, trans. and ed. by I. Gonino, vol. 1 (London, 1890). The section of the book dealing with the Temple of Jerusalem included a chapter on the House of Lebanon, and a number of new illustrations. It was published separately with the consent of the Société des Études Juives as a printing masterpiece measuring 56 × 71 cm: idem, *Le Temple de Jérusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban restitués d'après Ezéchiel et le Livre des Rois* (Paris, 1889).

3 For instance, the reproductions were published in: Julian Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów o niedoszłej restauracyi Synagogi na placu Rybim we Lwowie" (A Few Words about Unrealized Restoration of the Synagogue at the Fish Market in L'viv), *Czasopismo Techniczne* (Technical Magazine) 14, no. 5 (1896): 60–61, pls. I–VII (Polish); *Ost und West* (1901): 730; Judah D. Eisenstein, "Temple, Plan of Second," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, eds. Cyrus Adler [et al.], 12 vols. (New York, 1901–06), 12:90, 92–93.

4 Chipiez and Perrot, *History of Art*, 200.

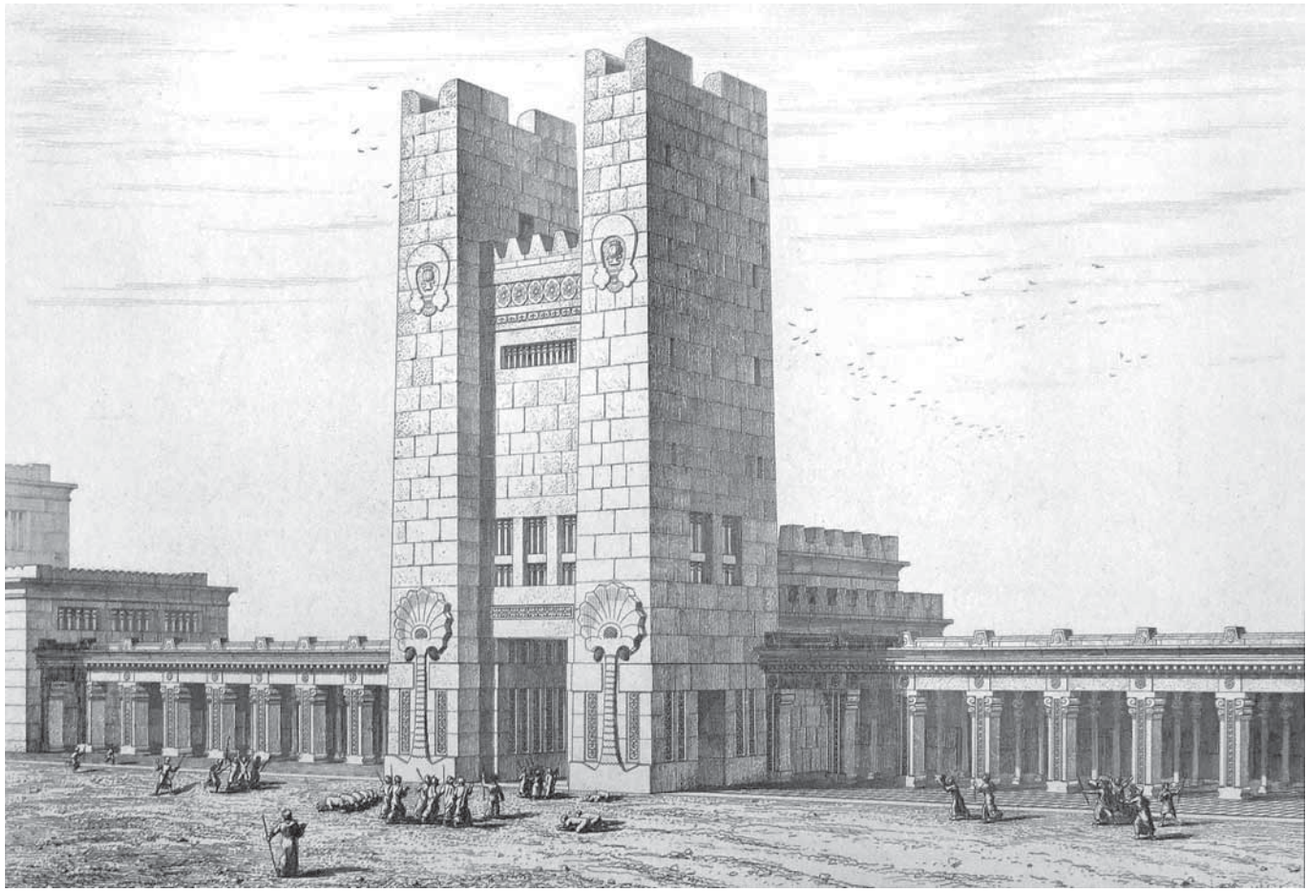

Fig. 2. Charles Chipiez, *The Temple of Jerusalem*, Court of Israel, southern gateway from the southwest, 1887, in Charles Chipiez and Georges Perrot, *Le Temple de Jérusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban restitués d'après Ezéchiel et le Livre des Rois* (Paris, 1889), pl. 4

it is legitimate to search throughout the region for the patterns which might have been applied to the Jewish Temple. As a result of such an openhanded hypothesis, the reconstruction of the Temple integrated elements of Egyptian and Assyrian architecture in addition to recent archaeological findings in Palestine. The details included pylons flanking the recessed face with a doorway, an "Assyrian" embattled crowning ornament, the cavetto cornice, the palm ornament in low relief wreathing the doorway, the relief pomegranates at the upper parts of the pylons of the gate of the Court of Israel, and double scrolls of volutes in flanking colonnades (figs. 1–2). The proportions of the elevations were largely derived from the architect's esthetic sense, in order to overcome the lack of vertical measurements in Ezekiel's vision and disagreement between the descriptions of 1 Kings 6–7 and 2 Chronicles 3–4.[5] In 1889, a colleague considered it "a great work,"[6] and in 1901–06 it was still accepted as a reliable source for many articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.[7] However, at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century it lost its attraction with the advance of archaeology in Palestine and growing awareness that "much confusion has been caused in the past by arrogant claims made on behalf of archaeology, and the unsuspecting reader has often assumed that the construction which writers have placed upon archaeological discoveries was as real and objective as the

5 Ibid., 222–41, pls. I–V.

6 George Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia* (London, 1889), "Introduction." See online resource: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2331/2331-8.txt (accessed on 16 Feb. 2008).

7 See n. 3 above. Chipiez and Perrot were quoted in twelve articles throughout the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

Fig. 3. Lewicki (?) and Johann Salzmann, The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, 1840–46, destroyed in 1941, photo: Józef Eder, ca. 1870, view from southeast, L'viv Historical Museum

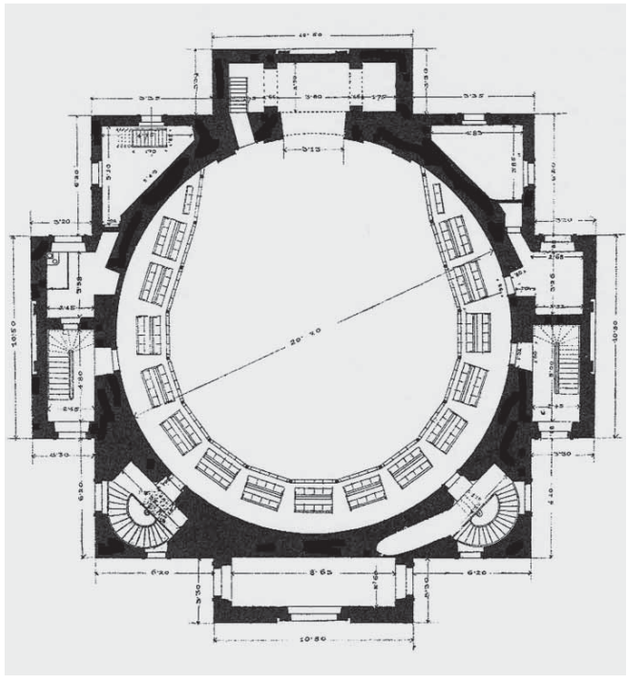

Fig. 4. Julian Zachariewicz, plan of the first floor, The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, 1896, in Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": 60–61, pl. I fig. I

precious 'finds' themselves."[8] Finally, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1911 devaluated the work, admitting that "the restoration of Ezekiel's temple [by Chipiez] is probably untrustworthy."[9] The aim of the present article is to trace the impact of this representation in actual architecture of the Jewish communities in the changing context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This impact has already been mentioned in publications by Eleonora Bergman and Dominique Jarrassé.[10]

The first known attempt to utilize Chipiez's reconstruction of the Temple in synagogue architecture was by Julian Oktawian Zachariewicz (1837–98) of L'viv.[11] The son of an Armenian Catholic married to an Evangelical Protestant Danish woman, Zachariewicz was an exemplary representative of the tolerant elite in the Habsburg Empire. A graduate of the Imperial and Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, he worked in Vienna, Timişoara, and Chernivtsi[12] mainly, but not exclusively, on designing railway stations. In 1872 he returned to his native L'viv, where he became a professor and received the Chair of Building at the Technical Academy, was knighted in 1877, elected as a rector in 1877–78 and again in 1881–82, and carried out a number of important projects.[13] His practice in synagogue architecture started

8 Stanley A. Cook, "An Important Archaeological Work" [review of Hugues Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (Paris, 1907)], *The American Journal of Theology* 12, no. 3 (July 1908): 472.

9 Crawford H. Toy, "Ezekiel," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (Cambridge, 1911), 10:104.

10 Eleonora Bergman, "Motywy jerozolimskie w architekturze i dekoracji synagog na przełomie XIX i XX wieku na ziemiach polskich" (Motifs Pertaining to Jerusalem in the Building and Decorating of 19th and 20th Century Synagogues in the Polish Lands), in *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej* (Jerusalem in European Culture), eds. Piotr Paszkiewicz and Tadeusz Zadrożny (Warsaw, 1997), 446–57; Dominique Jarrassé, *Synagogues: Architecture and Jewish Identity* (Paris, 2001), 210–11.

11 Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": passim.; on this publication, see Bergman, "Motywy jerozolimskie," 446–57. The present-day Ukrainian city of L'viv, historical Lemberg, Lwów, Lvov, and Leopolis, was the capital of Galicia, an autonomous land (from 1872) in the Habsburg Empire.

12 Chernivtsi (German Czernowitz), today in Ukraine, is the capital of the historical province of Bukovina.

13 Among Zachariewicz's works in L'viv were the main building of the Technical Academy (1874–77) and its chemical laboratories (1876),

in Chernivtsi, where he designed a Moorish-style Temple Synagogue for the Progressive Community, built by contractor Josef Gregor in 1873–78.[14]

Zachariewicz's next commission from a Jewish congregation was the reconstruction of the Temple Synagogue in the Fish Market of L'viv. This house of worship of the Progressive Community was supposedly designed by master builder Lewicki in 1840,[15] and erected under the supervision of architect Johann Salzmann in 1843–46.[16] It was a Neoclassicist, centric, domed, and rusticated structure, with a round prayer hall occupying the central square section of the ground plan arranged as an equal-armed cross (figs. 3–4). In the early 1890s, the congregation considered undertaking a general modernization of the Temple Synagogue, adding to it a hall for board meetings, weddings, and other community events. The great boom around the All-Country Exhibition of 1894 promoted the start of renovation, and the design was commissioned from Professor Zachariewicz.[17]

The architect claimed that he had conducted his work "in a spirit of style of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem."[18] He disclosed that his design was based on Chipiez's publications and on a study by Bernardine monk Odilo (Karl) Wolff (1849–1928).[19] Zachariewicz supplied

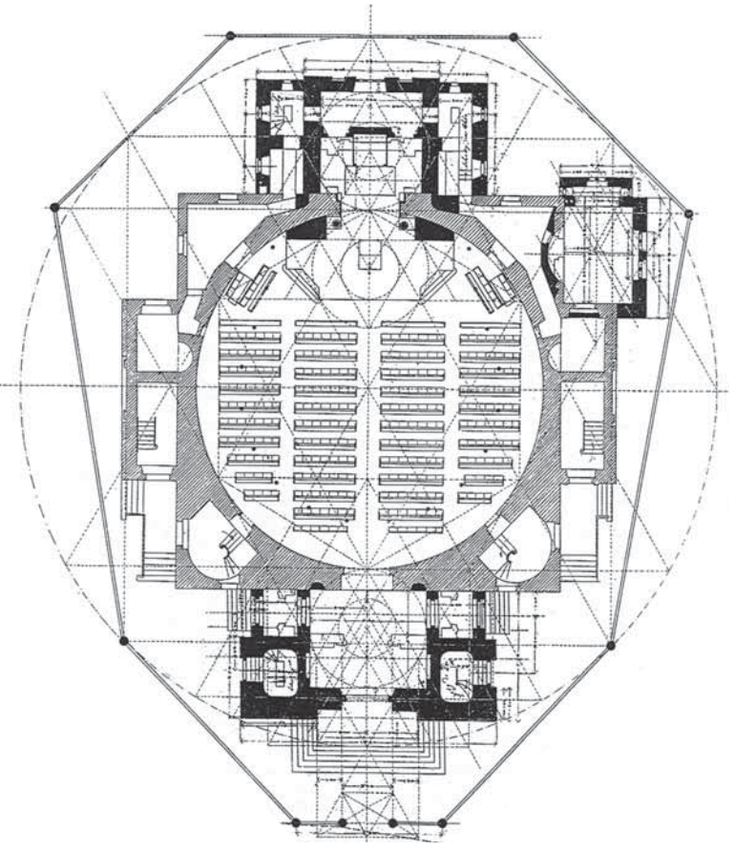

Fig. 5. Julian Zachariewicz, proposed ground plan, The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, 1896, in Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": 60–61, pl. 4 fig. 4

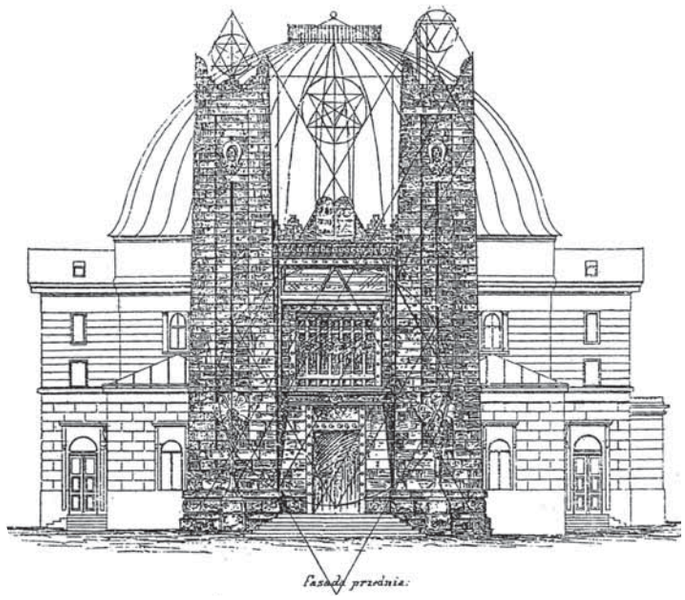

Fig. 6. Julian Zachariewicz, proposed western elevation, The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, 1896, in Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": 60–61, pl. 5 fig. 6

the Banking Headquarters (1884), the Franciscan Nuns' convent (1876–88), reconstruction of the churches of St John the Baptist (1886), St Maria Magdalena (1889), and St Maria of the Snow (1888–92), the Savings Bank of Galicia (1891), studio of painter Jan Styka (1889), and a number of villas, including the architect's private Villa Julietka (1891–93). See Jurij Biriulow, *Lwów: Ilustrowany przewodnik* (L'viv: Illustrated Guide) (L'viv, 2001), 48, 55, 61, 71, 98, 100–101, 103, 112, 114, 122–25, 273 (Polish); Igor Siomochkin, "Chernivets'kiy period tvorchosti Yuliana Zakharevycha" (The Chernivtsi Period of Julian Zachariewicz's Creativity), in *Arkhitekturna spadshchyna Chernivtsiv avstriys'koi doby* (Architectural Heritage of Chernivtsi from the Austrian Period) (Chernivtsi, 2003), 163–168 (Ukrainian).

14 Julian Zachariewicz, "Israelitischer Tempel in Czernowitz," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1882): 48–49, pls. 28–33.

15 Personal information on Lewicki is scarce; his first name unknown.

16 Majer Bałaban, *Historia Lwowskiej Synagogi Postępowej* (History of the L'viv Progressive Synagogue) (L'viv, 1937), 30 (Polish). The synagogue was totally destroyed by the Nazis in 1941 and the site became a public square.

17 Bałaban, *Historia*, 143.

18 Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": 60.

19 Odilo Wolff, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Maasse* (Graz, 1887).

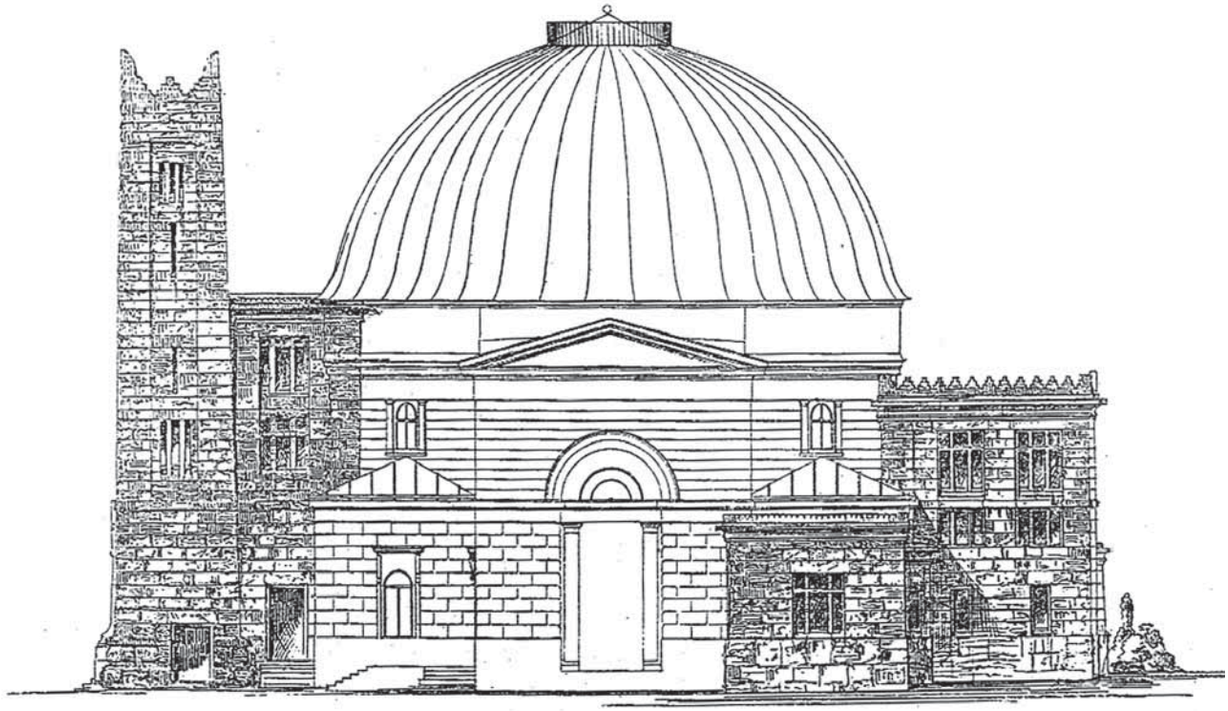

Fig. 7. Julian Zachariewicz, proposed southern elevation, The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, 1896, 1896, in Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów": 60–61, pl. 7 fig. 9

Chipiez's and Perrot's theory with a reflection on racial proximity between Jews and Phoenicians. He also borrowed from Wolff an idea of the hexagram as a base for a proportional system preferred by Egyptians – and hence by Phoenicians – and thus applied to the Temple of Solomon. In Wolff's and Zachariewicz's perception, the geometry of the Star of David had to dictate the particular measurements of the Temple and the synagogue throughout its ground plan, elevations, and cross-sections (figs. 5–6).[20] Zachariewicz's project included extensions in the vein of Chipiez's reconstruction, with its pylons flanking the recessed central field, an "Assyrian" battlement, reliefs of palm trees and pomegranates, and a cavetto cornice of the eastern extension. The annexes planned on the west and east of the existent building contrasted greatly with its Neoclassicist style, which largely remained as a monument to the *Vormärz* epoch. The cupola of the old Temple Synagogue, an element alien to Chipiez's imagery, was still seen on the façades of the edifice (figs. 6, 7). The new annexes broke the centricity of the old plan and created the tripartite longitudinal arrangement alluding to the Temple. This spatial composition, introduced into synagogue architecture by Förster, was already used by Zachariewicz in Chernivtsi (figs. 5, 7). The cladding of the designed extensions had to be complementary with the rustication of the old structure and resemble the masonry of Chipiez's imagery. In spite of this contextual adjustment, an exotic expression of Zachariewicz's design referred to places and times far removed from the L'viv Fish Market.

The congregation apparently had certain reservations concerning the architect's proposal, so far as the latter "erroneously understood that the synagogues are descendants of the Temple on Mt Moriah (those of Solomon and Herod)." As a result of the "fortunate" shortage of financing, a reduced version of reconstruction "which did not alter the face of the temple beloved for half a century" was carried out.[21] In fact, only a few elements of

20 Wolff, *Der Tempel*, 42–50, pls. I–III, V, VII, and VIII.

21 Bałaban, *Historia*, 143–44. When completing his book on the synagogue in 1937, Bałaban considered that Zachariewicz had made too far-reaching changes to the original, venerated appearance of the Temple Synagogue. However, the opinion of the patrons of the synagogue reconstruction in the 1890s about the renewal of the old building may have been different.

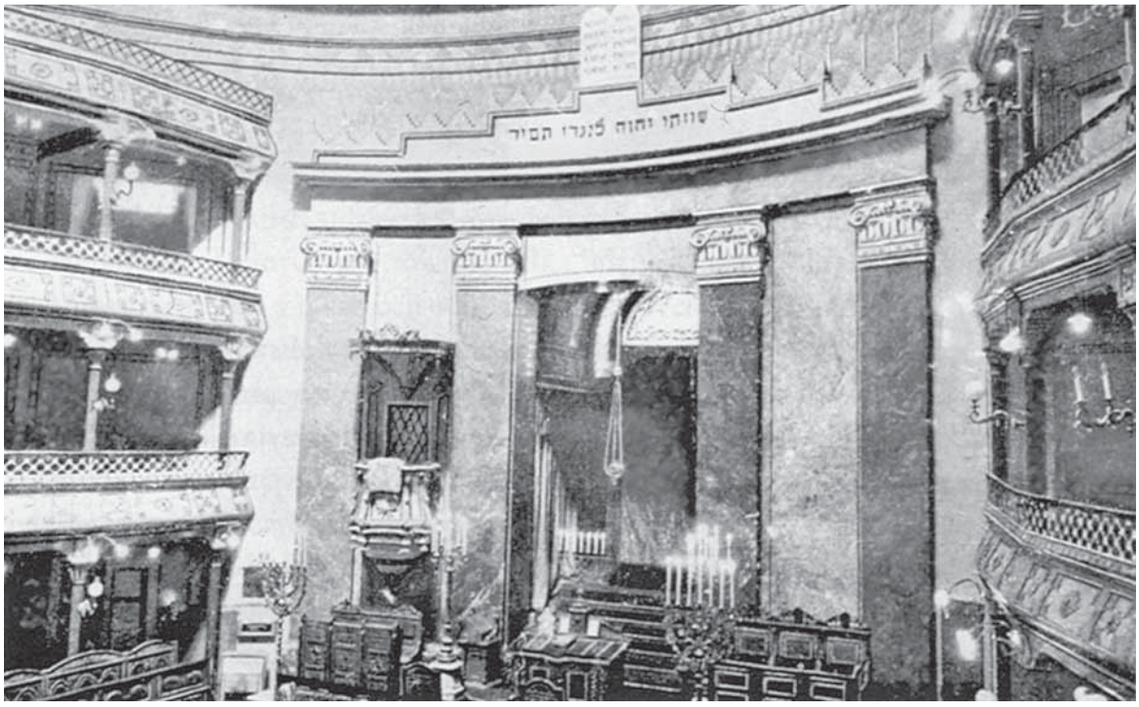

Fig. 8. The Temple Synagogue, L'viv, photograph of interior, ca. 1937, in Majer Bałaban, *Historia Lwowskiej Synagogi Postępowej* (L'viv, 1937), plate between pp. 216 and 217

Chipiez's imagery had been implemented in the building: the "Assyrian" embattled edge is evident in the interior of the prayer hall in a photograph of 1937 (fig. 8).

Zachariewicz plausibly was the first, but not the only one, to try to utilize Chipiez's iconography in architectural practice. Another application is found in the Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue in Adly Street, Cairo (figs. 9, 10).[22] It was designed by the architectural firm of Maurice Joseph Cattaui (Cattaoui, Cattawi, Cattavi, 1874–?) and Eduard Matasek (1867–1912) in 1899, and built in 1902–04. Cattaui belonged to a respected Egyptian Jewish family which traces its roots back to the eighth century. He had studied architecture at Atelier Lambert of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, which he entered in 1893.[23] Matasek was a Vienna-born Roman Catholic. He never formally studied architecture. He apprenticed in the office of his father, master builder Josef Matasek, and later worked for the highly successful architects Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer in Vienna. Eduard Matasek moved to Cairo in 1892.[24] Cattaui and Matasek designed a large number of buildings in belle époque Cairo.[25] The Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue's exterior followed Chipiez's iconography closely. The "Egyptian" pylons flanking the recessed central field, the "Assyrian" embattled edges, the recessed central field, numerous reliefs of palm trees and pomegranates, cavetto cornice, and the double scrolls

22 Mohamed Scharabi, *Kairo: Stadt und Architektur im Zeitalter des europaeischen Kolonialismus* (Tübingen, 1989), 249; Jarrassé, *Synagogues*, 210–11.

23 Edmond Delaire, *Les Architectes élèves de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 2004), see Index, under Cattaoui.

24 Rudolf Agstner, "Dream and Reality: Austrian Architects in Egypt 1869–1911," in *Le Caire – Alexandrie architectures européennes*, ed. Mercedes Volait (Cairo, 2001), 146–49.

25 Beside the Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue, they designed Credit Foncier (1903, together with Max Herz), the "S" Building (1907–08), a German Protestant School in Būlāq (1907–08), the Cairo Stock Exchange (1909, together with Ernest Jaspar), the Austro-Hungarian Hospital in Šubrā (1909–13); villas of Emmanuel Casdagli, Adolphe Cattaui Bey, Maurice J. Cattaui, Moise de Cattaui, Hassan Khari Bey, Akhmed Khari Bey, Vita and Isaac Mosseri, Ibrahim Neguib Pasha, Eduard Matasek, Robert Rolo, Saleh Sabet Pasha, and Aslan Zagdoun; cemetery mausoleums for Aslan Cattaui Bey and the Cattaui family in the Bassatine Jewish Cemetery of Cairo; see Agstner, "Dream and Reality," 147.

Fig. 9. Maurice J. Cattaui and Edward Matasek, The Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue, Cairo, 1899–1904, photo: Sergey R. Kravtsov, 2008

of volutes (missing in Zachariewicz's drawings) were borrowed from this model. The reliefs of a Shield of David and Tablets of the Law repeated on the façade emphasize the Jewish identity of the edifice. The overall style was fashionable Art Nouveau, charged with retrospective elements. This kind of architecture might have been perceived as dual purpose: complimentary to the host Egyptian society and declaring its Jewish otherness by the Assyrian and Jewish elements. Yet, it was consistent, since the eclecticism of its historical quotations was "approved" by the science of archaeology, and the Jewish-Egyptian recollections went as far back as the times of the biblical Moses. The meaning of the edifice unfolds in an intricate dialogue between the Egyptian "here," "now" and "once" and the Jewish eschatological "elsewhere" and "then."

The design of the Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue was not unique in Cairo. It was partially repeated in the Moshe Dar'i Synagogue of the Karaite community. Designed in the early 1900s, it was constructed only in 1926–31.[26] This was probably the latest occurrence of Chipiez's iconography in synagogue architecture. Both of these Cairo synagogues are domed.

26 Mourad El-Kodsi, *The Karaite Jews of Egypt, 1882–1986* (Lyons, NY, 1987), 105–6, photograph on p. 112, pl. 7a; Yoram Meital, *Atarim yehudiyim be-Mizrayim* (Jewish Sites in Egypt) (Jerusalem, 1995), 81 (Hebrew).

Fig. 10. Maurice J. Cattaui and Edward Matasek, The Sha'ar ha-Shamayim Synagogue, Cairo, 1899–1904, interior, view towards northeast, photo: Sergey R. Kravtsov, 2008

Shortly after the Cairo Sha'ar ha-Shamayim episode, Chipiez's reconstruction was used by a Christian architect, Václav Weinzettel (1862–1930), in a synagogue he designed and built in 1904–05 at Hradec Králove, then under Habsburg rule (fig. 11).[27] His curriculum vitae presents the architect as one interested in historically and ideologically charged work.[28] The new synagogue at Hradec Králove, on the corner of Pospíšilova and Československé

27 *Ročniky střední kamenické školy v Hořicích* (Yearbooks of the Secondary School for Sculpture in Hořice) (1905), 6–7 (Czech); Jiři Fiedler, *Jewish Sights of Bohemia and Moravia* (Prague, 1991), 78–80; Jarrassé, *Synagogues*, 210–11. Prior to construction of the synagogue, a prayer hall existed in 1888–1905 in the courtyard of the rabbi's house at Rokytanského St 67 (ibid.). Hradec Králove (German: Königgrätz) is today in the Czech Republic.

28 Weinzettel acquired his professional training at the Technical University of Prague in 1882–87 and then was employed by architect Achill Wolf on construction of the Hypothec Bank in the same city. He designed the monument "Batteries of the Dead" at the battlefield of Hradec Králove, military memorials at Kolin, Probluz, and Kbelnice near Jičin, and an obelisk to Czech nationalist politician František Ladislav Rieger at Hořice (1906). He published theoretical articles on folk architecture and funerary art. He taught at the School for Casting and Sculpture in Hořice in 1890–95 and in 1897–1929, and headed this school from 1905 till his retirement in 1929. See Erik Tichý, *120 let Hořické Školy pro sochaře a kameníky, 1884–2004* (120 Years of the School for Casting and Sculpture, 1884–2004) (Jičin, 2004), 45–49 (Czech).

Fig. 11. Václav Weinzettel, Synagogue in Hradec Králove, 1904–05, photo: Emmanuel Dayan, 2007

Fig. 12. L'udovít Oelschläger and Gejza Zoltán Boskó, The New Orthodox Synagogue in Košice, 1926–27, photo: Maroš Borský, 2007

Armady streets, employs Chipiez's imagery in its façade scheme, with its pylons flanking the recessed central field, the "Assyrian" battlement, the cavetto cornice, and symmetrical reliefs of a palm tree. Weinzettel processed the oriental elements in Art Nouveau taste, adding a pointed arch of a Sassanid silhouette at the first floor and a kind of Chinese pagoda topping the street corner. The oriental lotus decoration was combined with a central European folk zigzag pattern repeated in stucco on the façade and in the tin roof. A noticeable part of the building is a dome with a lantern above its entrance section. This could hardly have been borrowed from Zacharievicz's design, where the cupola was merely a *Vormärz* reminder; rather it could have been added for urban and architectural effect, for a clear statement of the Jewish presence in the city. The synagogue at Hradec Králove is an example of Art Nouveau in its

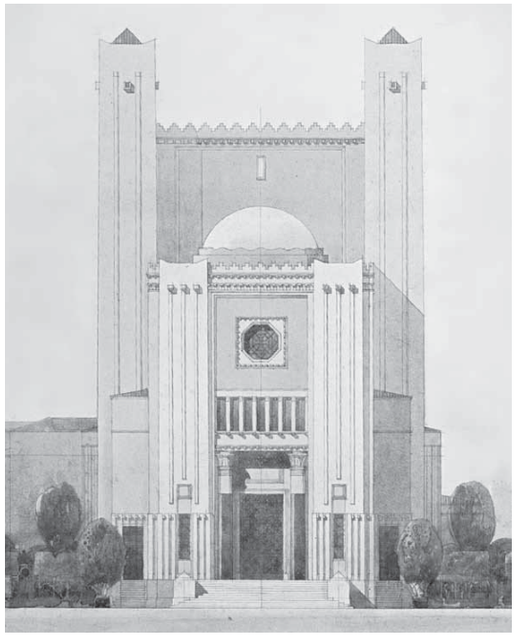

Fig. 13. Mikhail Dubinsky, façade, competition design, The Choral Synagogue, Kharkiv, 1909, third prize, in Lalewicz, "Otzyv komissii": 395–96, pl. 49

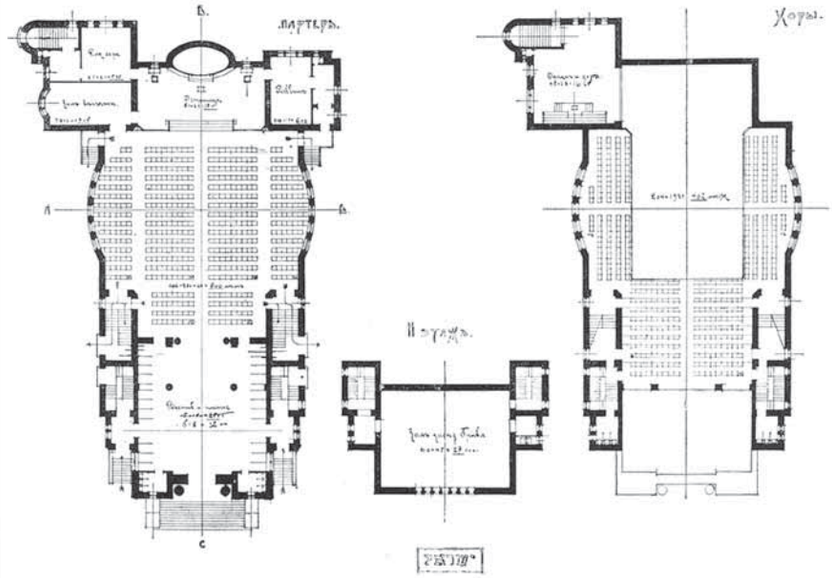

Fig. 14. Mikhail Dubinsky, plans, competition design, The Choral Synagogue, Kharkiv, 1909, third prize, in Lalewicz, "Otzyv komissii": 395–96, pl. 49

ethnic central European version, a structure friendly with its cultural environment. Its oriental motifs, borrowed not only from Chipiez, were interwoven with the local folk ones and adjusted to the regional style of the epoch.[29]

Probably the latest example of Chipiez's influence in the post-Habsburg realm was the New Orthodox Synagogue in Košice (fig. 12),[30] then in Czechoslovakia and now in the Slovak Republic. The local Orthodox Jewish community comprised many immigrants who had left Poland in the hope of escaping the calamities of World War I.[31] It was designed by a non-Jewish, Budapest-educated and native architect L'udovít Oelschläger in association with Gejza Zoltán Boskó, and built by contractor Hugó Kaboš in 1926–27.[32] The imagery of the Temple was processed in a provincial version of the Art Deco style. It further departed from Chipiez's source, replacing, for instance, the recessed façade fields with projecting extensions. The "Assyrian" battlement amalgamated with the motif of the "Polish" attic wall, characteristic of Baroque synagogues. Despite the emphasized otherness of Polish, eastern European Jewry, the Middle-Eastern flavor persisted in its overall expression.[33]

One more application of Chipiez's idea occurred in Imperial Russia in 1909. It was proposed by a Jewish architect, Mikhail Khaimovich Dubinsky (1877–?) in his design for the Choral Synagogue at Kharkiv, which he submitted under the motto "Israel" for the competition and won the third prize.[34] Dubinsky graduated from the

29 Shortly after World War II, the building was used as an academic library. In 2006, its façade was restored at the cost of some €60,000; see Blanka Rozkošná, "Úspěch společnosti Matana" (Success of the Matana Community), *Maskil*, 8 (Apr. 2007): 11 (Czech).

30 Kaschau in German and Kassa in Hungarian.

31 Jehuda Schlanger, *Divrei yemei kehillat Koshize* (History of the Community of Košice), (Bnei Brak, 1991), 19 (Hebrew).

32 Maroš Borský, "Jewish Communities and Their Urban Context: A Case Study of Košice, Prešov and Bardejov," *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 38 (2004): 124; idem, *Synagogue Architecture in Slovakia: A Memorial Landscape of a Lost Community* (Bratislava, 2007), 46, 84–85, 123.

33 Carol H. Krinsky, *Synagogues in Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 94.

34 *Architektory–stroiteli Peterburga–Petrograda nachala XX veka* (Architect–builders of Petersburg–Petrograd in the Early Twentieth Century), exhibition catalogue (St Petersburg, 1982), 57 (Russian); Marian S. Lalewicz [Lialevich], "Otzyv komissii sudey po konkursu proektov zdaniia khoralnoy sinagogi v g. Khar'kove (Opinion of the Jury on the Competition Proposal for Building of the Choral Synagogue in Kharkiv)," *Zodchiy* (Architect), 40 (1909): 395–96, pl. 49 (Russian).

Imperial Academy of Art in St Petersburg in 1904, and already during his studies was mentioned as a talented architect. He designed a number of residential houses in 1909–11, as well as the Nikolayevskaya Naval Academy in St Petersburg. As Vadim Bass – a researcher of Dubinsky's works – notes, at that time the architect evolved from "classicizing Art Nouveau to modernized classicism."[35] Dubinsky's successful participation in architectural competitions paved his way to the elite of contemporary Russian architects.[36]

Dubinsky's project for the Kharkiv Choral Synagogue proves Bass's observation (figs. 13, 14). The published design for the synagogue's façade followed Chipiez's concept in general, though the composition of masses and treatment of details were innovative. The pylons are doubled on either side of the entrance, and their increasing proportions generate the dynamism of the masses which depart from the center, a device pointed out by Bass in other contemporary works by the architect. The Egyptian lotus columns, rectangular gutters piercing the façade, and octagonal central window are Dubinsky's enhancements to Chipiez's model. A low cupola, used by Dubinsky, was no longer an innovation, but rather a commonplace. The tripartite longitudinal composition also followed the conventional scheme (fig. 14).

The competition's jury wrote the following about Dubinsky's project:

> The façade is presented in a style of academic pathos of archaeologists-conservators of the mid-nineteenth century. A tribute has been paid to the suggestions of intermixture of the Egyptian and Assyrian influences along the ancient Phoenician coast. The jury does not examine any closer relevance or irrelevance of this style to Russian soil, where Jewry has its own history, but it does consider as deserving of note the damage to the integrity of impression caused by the curved outlines of the hall.[37]

Thus, Dubinsky's senior colleagues wrote ironically about Chipiez's ideas as an outdated and misplaced concept, even if processed in the spirit of a smartly modernized classicism.

A building erected by the Jewish community in Palestine under the influence of Chipiez's reconstruction of the Temple was not a synagogue, but a school: the Herzliya Gymnasium,[38] in Aḥuzat Bayit, the first Hebrew secondary school in the first neighborhood of Tel Aviv. The gymnasium was designed by Joseph Barsky (?–1943)[39] and built by contractor Yosef Eliyahu Chelouche (1870–1934) in 1909–10.[40] Publication of a sketch of the gymnasium's façade in the German-Jewish cultural review *Ost und West*, made Barsky famous in the Jewish world. The published drawing (fig. 15) was signed by Barsky and Boris Schatz, the founding director of the Bezalel Art School, and the article identifies Barsky as a pupil of the Bezalel School.[41] However, historical evidence suggests that his professional experience was different. Bezalel, established some three years before Barsky started his work on the gymnasium project, did not offer its students architectural training. Written in perfect Russian, Barsky's professional report to the Aḥuzat Bayit building committee betrays his origin in the Russian Empire.[42] Indeed, Barsky's curriculum vitae submitted in 1925 to the Association of

35 Vadim G. Bass, "Gorodskoy ansambl' peterburgskoy neoklassiki 1900–1910-kh gg.: Na primere zastroyki Tuchkova Buiana (konkursy 1912–1913 gg.)" (Urban Ensemble of the St Petersburg Neoclassicism of 1900–10: On the Example of Tuchkov Buian [Competitions of 1912–13]), MA thesis, Russian Academy of Art, St Petersburg, 2000, [unpaged]; published on internet: http://www.archi.ru/publications/diplomas/bass/diplom.htm (accessed 28 Oct. 2007).

36 Dubinsky participated in competitions for the exhibition hall of the Imperial Academy of Art (1910, third prize), the Mud Cure Clinic in Zheleznovodsk (1912, first prize), the Contract House in Kiev (1912, first prize), the Tuchkov Buian Compound (1912, first prize), the Agricultural Museum (1914, together with Aleksey Z. Grinberg, second and third prizes); see Vadim G. Bass, "Gorodskoy ansambl'."

37 Lalewicz, "Otzyv komissii": 395.

38 In continental Europe, the term "gymnasium" denoted a school that was preparatory to study at the universities.

39 The date of Joseph Barsky's death is recorded by the Ḥevra Kadisha (Burial Society) of Haifa.

40 Baruch Ben-Yehuda, *Sippurah shel ha-gimnasya "Herzliyya"* (The Story of Gymnasia "Herzliya") (Tel Aviv, 1970), 55, 59 (Hebrew).

41 Adolf Friedemann, "Juedische Kunst in Palaestina," *Ost und West* 11 (19 May 1911): 452.

42 Letter from Joseph Barsky, 8 Feb. 1908. Tel Aviv Municipal Archives, 1-2a/510.

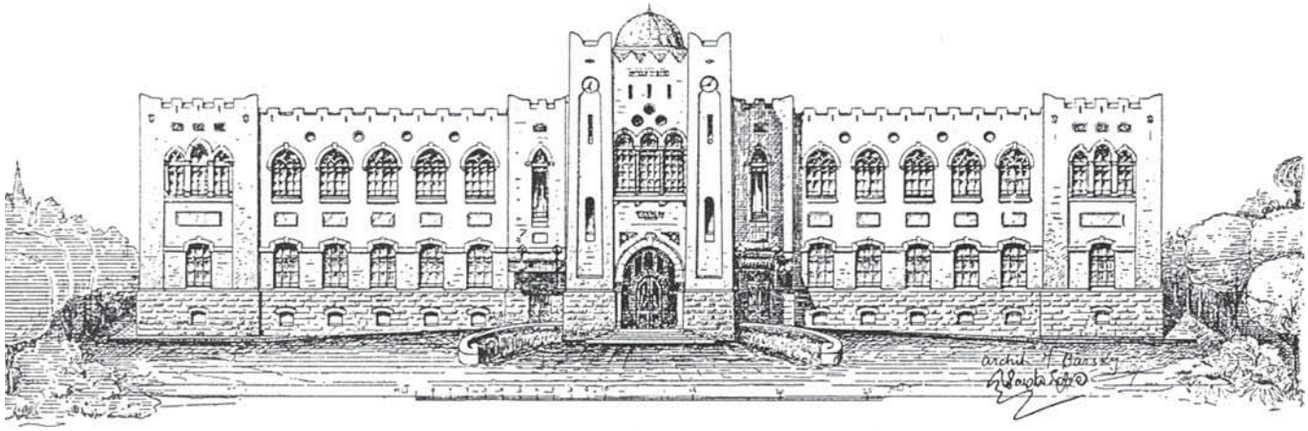

Fig. 15. Joseph Barsky, façade, preliminary design, The Hebrew Gymnasium in Jaffa (later Tel Aviv), ca. 1909, in Adolf Friedemann, "Juedische Kunst in Palaestina," *Ost und West* 11 (1911): 452

Architects in Eretz Israel testifies that he graduated from the Architectural College in Odessa in 1900. That same year, he successfully passed the entrance examination for the St Petersburg Imperial Academy of Arts and embarked on his studies in its Architectural Department. In 1906 Barsky graduated from the Academy, and left for Palestine the next year. In 1908–09, he designed and built a few residences in Jerusalem; in addition, construction of the Diskin Orphanage and Bikur Ḥolim Hospital was begun there based on his plans. According to his statement, in 1910 Barsky designed and supervised the construction of the Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv, as well as the first houses in the neighborhood.[43] Hence, public emphasis on the relationship between Barsky and the Bezalel School, though undisputable, gave prominence to the two Zionist projects – the Hebrew gymnasium and the national school of arts – rather than stressing the architect's education and experience. Moreover, Barsky had other companions in addition to Schatz on the Herzliya Gymnasium project. The building estimate was calculated in 1908 on the basis of a project by an architect known to us as Friedland from Odessa.[44] Another participant in the project was Józef Awin (1883–1942 or 1943), an architect, architectural historian and theoretician, photographer, and artist from L'viv.[45]

The influence of Chipiez's reconstruction of the Temple is visible in the drawing of the southeastern elevation of the gymnasium (fig. 15), with its recessed field between the pylons, battled edge, and wall clocks instead of the pomegranates inserted in the horseshoe niches in the

43 CZA, file J116/24. According to the same document, Barsky's further career included construction of the Technion in Haifa after plans by [Alexander] Baerwald (1911–14), a mosque, a school, and a park in Damascus under the guidance of [Gedalia] Wilbuschewitz (1914–18), employment as a city engineer of Haifa (1918), houses of [Tuviah] Dunia and [Samuel] Itzikowitz and many other private and public structures in Haifa in the postwar years, first prize in the competition for the Bank Hapoalim building in Tel Aviv, planning of the Bat Galim neighborhood in Haifa and construction of about twelve houses there (1918), and teaching civil engineering at the Technion (1919).

44 See CZA, KKL2/137, KKL2/138. I have not found any graphic record which may be attributed with certainty to this project.

45 Awin's works include dwelling houses in Sykstuska St 14 (1911), Słowackiego St 2 and 4 (1910s), the Splendid Hotel (1912), a number of houses in Konopnickiej Street (1911–14, together with Ferdynand [Feiwl] Kassler and Stanisław Olszewski), the Byblos Paper Factory (1926–28), residence in Pełczyńska St 37 (1928), all in L'viv (the street names refer to the period before 1939); conservation of synagogues: the TaZ Synagogue in L'viv (1925), the Old Synagogue in Jazlivets' (1929), and the Great Synagogue in Drohobych (1930s); documentation of Jewish art since 1925. Awin perished in the Holocaust. See Biriulow, *Lwów*, 93, 106, 174, 200, 225; Zofia Borzymińska, "Kuratorium opieki nad zabytkami sztuki żydowskiej przy Żydowskiej gminie wyznaniowej we Lwowie (Commission for Preservation of Jewish Art of the Jewish Community of L'viv)," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* (Jewish History Quarterly) 214 (2005): 158 (Polish); Oksana Boyko, "Yazlivets'ka synagoga: Rekonstruktsiya Yozefa Avina (Synagogue at Yazlitets': Reconstruction by Józef Awin)," *Visnyk instytutu "Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsiya"* (Bulletin of the West Ukrainian Institute for Conservation) 15 (2005): 92–98 (Ukrainian).

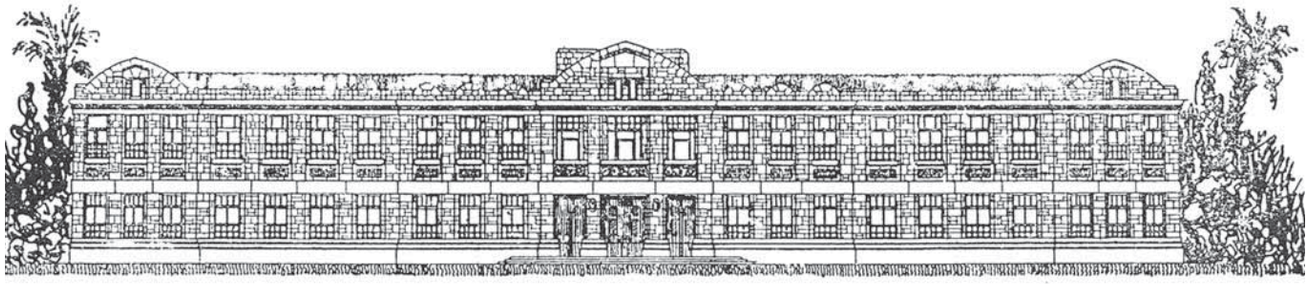

Fig. 16. Józef Awin, façade, preliminary design, The Hebrew Gymnasium in Jaffa, ca. 1909, in *Almanach Żydowski*, ed. Leon Reich (L'viv, 1910) [unpaged]

upper part of the pylons. The entrance is treated as a pointed arch, similarly to Weinzettel's design. The Bramantian windows[46] above the entrance were Barsky's addition to Chipiez's reconstruction. This element was already tested in synagogue architecture from the mid-nineteenth century. The central axis was emphasized with a cupola that became a humdrum in this kind of design after such cupolas were used in the design of synagogues by Zachariewicz, Weinzettel, Cattaui and Matasek, and Dubinsky. The style of Barsky's project can be specified at best as historicist, rooted in the conventions of the late nineteenth century.

However, Awin's proposal for the design of the Hebrew Gymnasium that was published in 1910 led to alterations to Barsky's primary project.[47] Oskar Aleksandrowicz's essay that accompanied this publication explained Awin's professional credo:

> One who attentively views the old ghetto houses in a big city and the little-town wooden synagogues and tombstones, even with a little experience, will easily discern their distinctive difference from the surroundings. Obviously, relatedness to and influence of the local shapes prevails, to say nothing about general structural demands dictated by climate; there is, however, much originality in interpretation and adaptation of these forms to the needs and sometimes unique regulations to which even in this field the Jews were subjected. For healthy, revitalizing motifs, Awin refers to these very traditions, not to the official and banal forms. Above all, he strives for integrity, appropriate layout, and harmonious composition of masses and silhouette of a building. The decoration as such is downplayed; it is modernized and altered, nonetheless it has a lot in common with the decoration of those prototypes. Thus we have got a project of the Hebrew gymnasium in Jaffa based on purely eastern motifs. We will easily understand how valuable these efforts and deliberations are when we recall the synagogues and other buildings erected for Jewish purposes at home [in Austro-Hungary] and abroad, most often lacking in style and taste, rarely in Gothic and a Renaissance style, and even in […] Moorish style, since the architect wished to be original and inventive.[48]

46 Nineteenth-century European architects used this term to designate grouped round-headed windows, separated by slender columns. Such windows were known from Lombardian structures ascribed to Donato Bramante (1444–1514). In Romantic Historicism this element of Italian architecture was combined with Moorish and Byzantine forms.

47 *Almanach Żydowski* (The Jewish Almanac), ed. Leon Reich (L'viv, 1910), plates are not paginated (Polish).

48 Oskar Aleksandrowicz, "Do naszych ilustracji" (About Our Illustrations), in ibid., 245 (Polish).

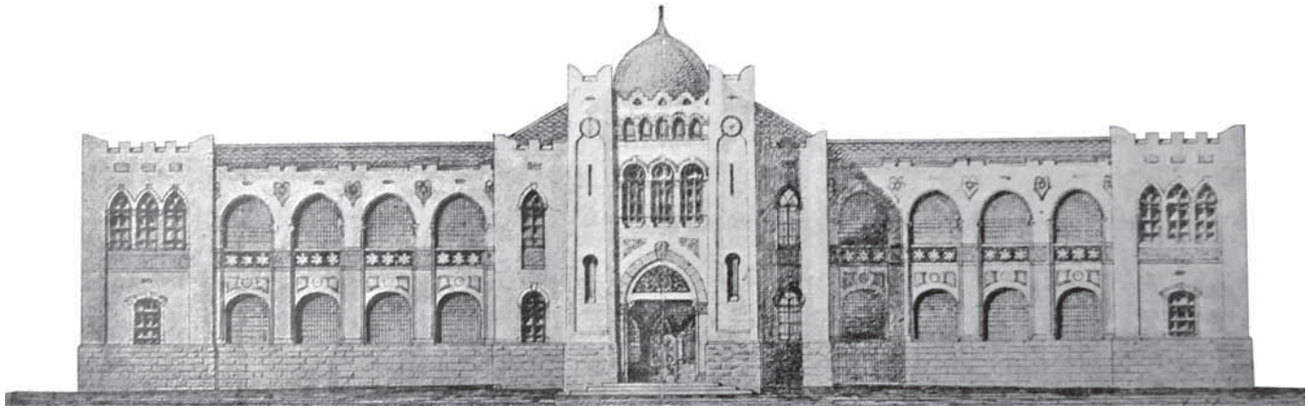

Fig. 17. Joseph Barsky, façade, the updated design, The Hebrew Gymnasium in Jaffa, ca. 1909, archives of the Herzliya Gymnasium

Awin himself displays anti-historicist pathos in his 1909 article on "Jewish aesthetic culture."[49] In his opinion, genuine Jewish art existed for centuries in a state of great isolation in the ghetto, and the "barbarian" breach of the traditional boundaries in the second half of the nineteenth century caused an upsurge of "everything conventionally stylized […] in Baroque or Gothic, or, if very religious, then Moorish," all this instead of "good systematic development based on our eternal tradition."[50] Thus Awin rejects the "conventional" historicist constructs for the sake of an immanent, inherently Jewish, tradition.

Awin's design for the Hebrew Gymnasium illustrates his aesthetic manifesto (fig. 16). His style belongs to the National Romanticist trend popular in northern Europe, mainly in Germany and Scandinavia.[51] The curvilinear pointed gables above the central entrance and pointed pediments above the windows, lesenes, recessed framings of the openings, instead of protruding ones and the severity achieved by the overwhelming use of "raw" stone – all these reflect the architect's affiliation with "Nordic" architecture.[52] Awin's visual and verbal narratives clearly belonged to National Romanticism, versatile in the 1900s for construction of Jewish national art as envisioned by its ideologists Ahad Ha'am and Martin Buber, and for the Bezalel School's objectives in particular.[53]

As evidenced by the reworked version of the façade which appeared in a later publication (fig. 17),[54] Barsky accepted some of Awin's proposal and as a result introduced the pointed pediments above the upper-floor windows, replaced some of the protruding archivolts with recessed framings (fig. 18). Thus the architectural rendering of the gymnasium became the fruit of a collaboration between

49 Józef Awin, "O naszej kulturze estetycznej" (On Our Esthetic Culture), *Wschód* 44 (1909): 4–5 (Polish).

50 Ibid.: 5.

51 Barbara Miller Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and Scandinavian Countries* (Cambridge, 2000).

52 Awin's style is close to that seen in a number of the contemporary synagogues in Germany, such as the Westend Synagogue in Frankfurt a.M. (1907–10), Darmstadt (1904–06), Essen (1911–13), and Wilhelmshaven (1914–15). See Harold Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20 Jh.* (Hamburg, 1981), 488; Simon Paulus, "Wilhelmshaven, Synagoge Börsenstrasse," in *Synagogenarchitektur in Deutschland vom Barock zum 'Neuen Bauten': Dokumentation zur Ausstellung*, eds. Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Harmen Thies (Braunschweig, 2001), 96–97.

53 Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 2005), 2–4.

54 Ben-Yehuda, *Sippurah*, 55. Ben-Yehuda erroneously identifies this drawing as the "first proposal for the façade of the gymnasium building," although it is definitely an intermediate variant between the *Ost und West* publication and the actual edifice.

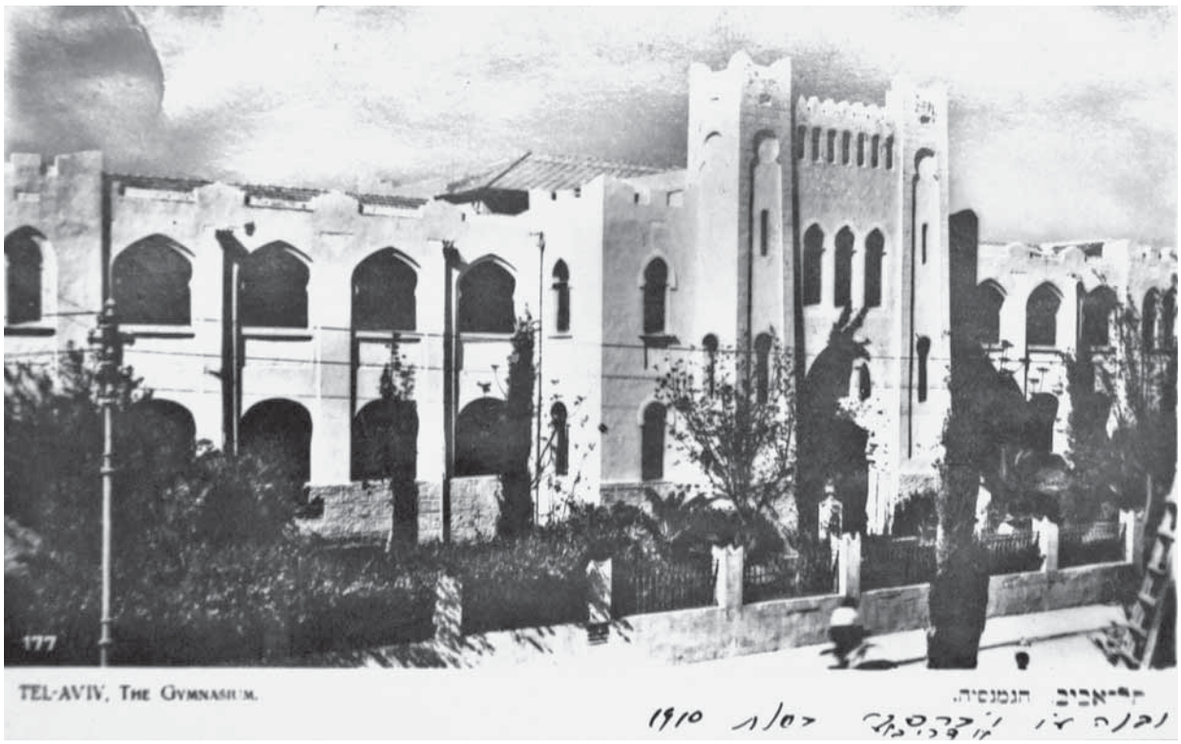

Fig. 18. The Hebrew Gymnasium in Jaffa, built in 1910, razed in 1962, a postcard signed by Joseph Barsky, 1925, CZA

Jewish architects from Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

A Herzliya Gymnasium graduate of 1914, and one of its teachers from the mid-1920s, Baruch Ben-Yehuda (Baruch Lejbowicz, 1894–1990) wrote in 1970 about the concept of the building and the decision-making process relating to its construction:

> The idea of making the building look like the walls of Jerusalem, with its small towers and its narrow apertures, was most pleasing, and architect Joseph Barsky was commissioned to draw up [a plan] according to this proposal; after much research and thought the plan for the façade was submitted and then printed and sent to various experts for their opinion. Apparently, there was much criticism of the form of the façade, and indeed many changes were made: the proposed dome was deleted, thus giving more prominence to the two towers that reached for the sky, and more light entered through their windows; the many ornamentations were removed, which were more Arab than Jewish in style; a few arches were straightened to reduce the mosque-like look of the structure.[55]

Further on in the text, Ben-Yehuda mentions a purported symbolic content of the building: "about which it was said at the time that its shape was derived from that of the Temple."[56] This may refer not only to the visual quotation from Chipiez, but also to the date when the cornerstone of the gymnasium was laid: 28 July 1909 (10 Menahem Av 5669 in the Hebrew calendar), just one day after the Ninth of Av, which was the 1,841st anniversary of the Destruction of the Temple according to the Hebrew calendar.[57] An important clue to the meaning of the edifice is also provided in the speech delivered that same day by

55 Ibid., 55.
56 Ibid., 371.
57 Ibid., 58.

the gymnasium board member Menachem Shenkin (1871–1925). Shenkin, who saw the gymnasium as a precursor of the Hebrew high school, called it "a little sanctuary" (Ezek.11:16), a term commonly applied to synagogues. He foresaw that in the coming generations the "heroes of Israel" will march from the gymnasium to the mounts of Israel.[58] The founders of the gymnasium conceived it as the precursor of a greater fulfillment in national education. They expressed their hopes in the fact that the gymnasium was located on the Mediterranean shore facing Jerusalem and the envisaged Hebrew University.[59]

The original building was razed in 1962 to make way for construction of the Shalom Meir Tower. The modern building of the Herzliya Gymnasium was designed on a new site, and it was explicitly stipulated by Ben-Yehuda and other graduates of the gymnasium that the old façade be quoted in the main elevation of the new structure. This demand was met by architects Yeshayahu Bickel and Lea Ginzburg (fig. 19), but vigorously rejected by the Tel Aviv Municipality. The historicist concept presented by Ben-Yehuda "fell on dry rock. It was opposed by a strict doctrinarianism taught in the architectural schools of Belgium, Switzerland, and Denmark, but not in the school of though of Ahad Ha'am […]"[60] The modern approach prevailed, and the old façade of the gymnasium was not repeated in the new structure.[61]

The history of the reconstruction of the Temple by Chipiez quoted in actual architecture was limited to a comparatively short period of time from 1894 to 1931. Throughout these years, the constant application of the iconographical source left the other parameters of architectural expression dependent on the cultural moment. In the pioneering project by Zachariewicz, the source was treated with the utmost reverence in relation to its scientific value, underlying meaning, and the design itself. The latter was subject to fluid stylistic changes: from Zachariewicz's historicism, to the Art Nouveau of Cattaui and Matasek, the unknown architect of the Moshe Dar'i Synagogue, and Weinzettel, to the "modernized classicism" of Dubinsky, the oriental style married to National Romanticism by Barsky, and to the Art Deco by Oelschläger and Boskó.

The underlying meaning of the ancient Temple rebuilt seems invariable, though no contemporaneous narratives from Cairo, Hradec Králove, and Košice are known. The oriental expression of the edifices was finely tuned to the ideologies of particular communities, whether in Bohemia, Egypt, Palestine, or Slovakia. But not everywhere were architects' intentions met enthusiastically. Their professional conventions, including the distance established between architecture and science, especially history, were not uniformly accepted throughout the period under discussion. Whereas for Zachariewicz the scientific provenance of Chipiez's imagery, Wolff's proportioning system, and the racial theory verified the relevance of his design (the project was rejected for other reasons), for the jury of Dubinsky's project and for

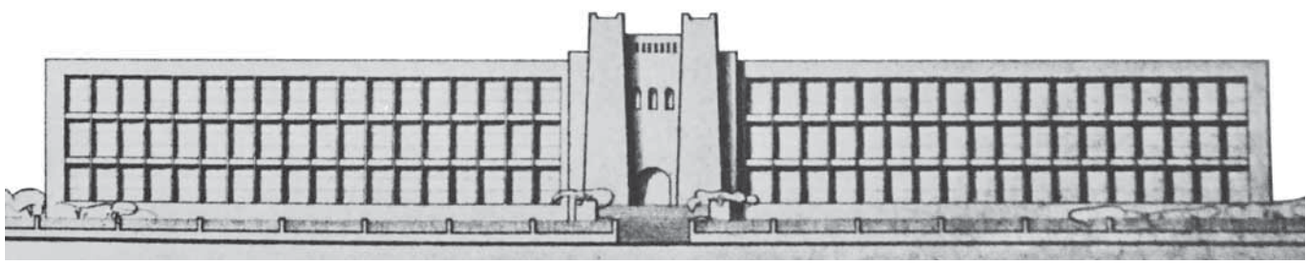

Fig. 19. Yeshayahu Bickel and Lea Ginzburg, façade, The Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv, ca. 1962, in Baruch Ben-Yehuda, *Sippurah shel ha-gimnasya "Herẓliyya"* (Tel Aviv, 1970), 371

58 Ibid., 56.

59 Factually, the main façade of the gymnasium faced southeast.

60 Ibid., 374.

61 The old façade was commemorated in the new metal gate on the school's centenary. It was designed by Sefi Goldenberg, Meir Buchman, and Yuval Goldenberg.

Awin the historicist speculations were unacceptable. In the latter cases, the scientific foundation for architectural thought was replaced by criteria for the integrity of impression (Dubinsky's jury) and an intuitive sense of tradition (Awin), both clearly characteristic of modern architecture, but not of historicism. However, not only the architects abandoned the reconstruction by Chipiez and Perrot as a scientific theory; it was cast off by archaeologists as well. Thus, the visual source was devaluated, and the bond with its meaning broken, first, for the rejection of historical science as a basis for architecture and secondly, for the depreciation of the particular historiography itself. As a result, the edifices, which once bore a powerful message of the Temple rebuilt, became meaningless and unworthy of perpetuation in the eyes of the new generation.