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## **JEWS AND SLAVS**

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### **Galicia, Bukovina and Other Borderlands in Eastern and Central Europe.**

**Essays on Interethnic Contacts and Multiculturalism**

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**The Progressive Synagogue in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv:  
Architecture and Community**

The *Deutsch-israelitisches Bethaus* (German-Israelite Prayer House), a monumental sacred building in Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów), was designed and constructed in 1840–46. Also known as the Temple, it was renamed *Synagoga Postępowa* (Progressive Synagogue) in the 1890s. It was the second instance of a new type of synagogue in Galicia, the eastern province of the Habsburg Empire. Since no building or visual evidence of the earlier “temple” of Ternopil (Tarnopol) has survived<sup>1</sup>, the Lviv synagogue deserves special attention as a pioneering urban, architectural, religious, and cultural statement that stood out in the cityscape for almost a century, until its deliberate destruction in 1941.

The Judaism professed in the German-Israelite Prayer House was formulated by the secularly educated and most dynamic groups of the Central European Jewish population. These enlightened Jews claimed religious reform was needed for philosophical and aesthetic reasons, and because of the incompatibility between the older beliefs and customs on one hand and modern life on the other. In their opinion, the motifs of enmity and envy found in many traditional Jewish prayers, which originated as responses to past adversities, sounded anachronistic and unfair considering the emancipated status of the Jews in the enlightened countries. Neither the vow for restitution of the Temple’s sacrificial customs, nor the promises of a return to Zion were considered appropriate for Jews wishing to express their loyalty to the European nations. These “political” nations were constituted on the universal principles of reason and human equality. This liberal nationalism, with its claim to universalism and cosmopolitanism, attracted enlightened Jews, and the Reform Movement was their response to the cultural, social and political modernization. This movement was initiated in the German lands by the end of the eighteenth century, and took organized forms in the early nineteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

In keeping with the ideas of the Enlightenment and rationalism, Joseph II (r. 1780–1790) inaugurated the modernization of the Austrian Empire, that brought with it a reevaluation of Jewish loyalties towards the host society. However, the new religious rite of the Habsburg lands, although inspired by Reform Judaism of German origin, differed significantly from that progenitor

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<sup>1</sup> That synagogue was founded by the educator Joseph Perl in his private house in 1818; see [J. Safier]: *Szkola Perla*. “Słowo Żydowskie” (28.01.1927): 1–2; M. Bałaban: *Historia Lwowskiej Synagogi Postępowej*. Lviv 1937, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Meyer: *Response to Modernity. A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. New York 1988, p. 10–61; Idem: *Reform, Religious* [in:] *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2. New Haven 2008, p. 1526–32.

because of the presence of influential traditionalist groups within the communities and the prevailing unwillingness to create an institutional split in the Jewish milieu. Such a split was not welcome to the imperial authorities as well.

Another formative factor that influenced Jewish society in the Habsburg Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the tension between the Vienna-centered and centrifugal political forces. A specifically Galician factor was the growing Polish nationalism and striving for the restitution of the Polish State. The educated Jewish elite had to choose between the rising national awareness of the Poles and retaining their imperial patriotism and German affiliation, acquired by the previous generations in concert with their secular and religious education. The goals of Polish autonomy, with statehood as its final objective, became increasingly important for the Jewish Galician elite.

This article demonstrates the process of defining and reshaping synagogue architecture as a component of the elitist Jewish identity in Galicia. This architecture is shown in relation to the Jewish sacred past and eschatological future, to the “rules and science” of the Enlightenment, and to the variable centers of political and cultural authority.

#### **Prologue: the Stadttempel of Vienna**

From its initial stages, the Progressive community of Lviv sought appropriate models in Vienna and Prague<sup>3</sup>.

The Viennese model – the Stadttempel of Central Vienna – was created in the mid-1820s. It was founded under the guidance of a Copenhagen Reformer, R. Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793–1865). At the time, Viennese Jewry comprised two major groups: the emancipated Jews who longed for Reform, and the much more conservative group, comprising mainly Hungarian Jews, who wished to preserve their traditional Ashkenazi rite. Despite his initial Reform zeal, Mannheimer managed to bring both parties to a compromise by producing a compound liturgy, later known as the Vienna or Mannheimer Rite. The few though significant changes he made to the traditional liturgy were the introduction of some German songs to increase congregational participation, the reduction of the number of *piyyutim* (Hebrew liturgical songs), thus making the service shorter and better ordered, and the elimination of the *Kol Nidre* prayer, which annulled vows taken under duress and was used by Gentiles to accuse Jews of duplicity<sup>4</sup>. Notwithstanding changes in the liturgy, Mannheimer never tried to deny the Jewish historical and eschatological link to Jerusalem. In his sermon on 28th March 1835, Mannheimer emphasized that after the destruction of the ancient Temple, Jews carried its holiness with them and that love of God and faith in Him provided the element that unified the Jewish people and

<sup>3</sup> Bałaban, *Historia...*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer: *Response to Modernity...*, p. 49, 150.

rendered it holy. The Jewish people's function, therefore, was to be the bearer of the holiness of God<sup>5</sup>.

Mannheimer's religious credo was reflected in his political views. Although he recognized "the historical, national side" of Jewish Messianism and "hoped for and expected salvation in this sense," he did not expect the future restoration of the Jewish people as a political nation. Mannheimer understood the Jewish people not in secular ethnic terms, but in the context of the Jewish religion and in relationship to God<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 1. 1. "The Israelite Prayer House" in Vienna I, main façade by Joseph Kornhäusel, 1825. Pierre Genée, *Synagogen in Österreich* (Vienna, 1992), 57

The Stadttempel was built in 1825–26. It was designed and constructed by Joseph Kornhäusel (1782–1860), architect to Johann I Joseph, Prince of

<sup>5</sup> M. L. Rozenblit: *Jewish Identity and the Modern Rabbi: The Cases of Isak Noa Mannheimer, Adolf Jellinek and Moritz Güdemann in Nineteenth-Century Vienna* [in:] *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35. 1990, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> Rozenblit: *Jewish Identity...*, p. 108.

Liechtenstein in 1812–18, and to Archduke Charles in 1820–22<sup>7</sup>. The synagogue was concealed from the street by two five-storey apartment houses at 2 and 4 Seitenstettengasse, and connected spatially and functionally to the latter. This layout was stipulated by the authorities in their desire to avoid stirring up hostility towards the Jews by reducing their urban visibility<sup>8</sup>.

The visitors entered the synagogue via the passage in the apartment house and a secluded courtyard, from where only the front of the synagogue was visible (Fig. 1). The main entrance was flanked by Corinthian pilasters, and concave rusticated segments connected the synagogue to the neighboring structures, thus suggesting a Classical temple façade “in antis”, that is a portico flanked by wall projections.

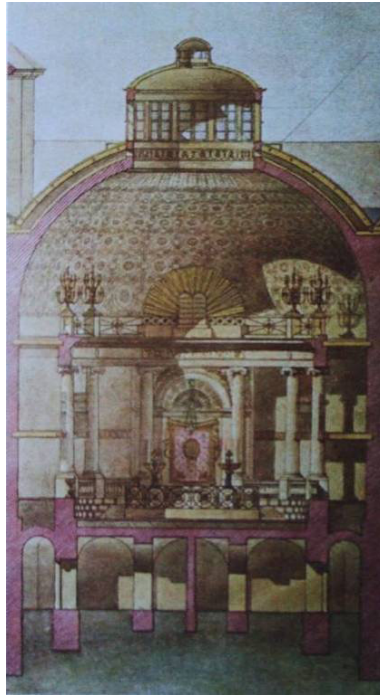


Fig. 2. "The Israelite Prayer House" in Vienna I, cross-section by Joseph Kornhäusel, 1825. Pierre Genée, *Synagogen in Österreich* (Vienna, 1992), 57

The prayer hall was based on an elliptic ground plan and spanned by a cupola. The central space was surrounded by twelve Ionic columns bearing a two-tiered gallery. An ambient daylight, delivered by the central lantern and a lunette above

<sup>7</sup> S. Kornbichler-Skaha: *Kornhäusel, Joseph*. [in:] J. Turner, ed.: *The Dictionary of Art*. New York 1996, vol. 18, p. 386; C. H. Krinsky: *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*. Cambridge MA 1985, p. 188.

<sup>8</sup> R. Wischnitzer: *Architecture of the European Synagogue*. Philadelphia, 1964, p. 178.

the entrance, emphasized the central space and kept the screened-off women's galleries in shadow. Liturgical appliances, including the Torah ark and the *bimah*, were integrated into the eastern segment of the ellipse, leaving most of the space for ordered pews facing the ark, as in the Reform synagogues of Germany. Sculptured and gilded rays emanated from the Tablets of the Law set above the ark, at the upper gallery level designated for the choir (Fig. 2).

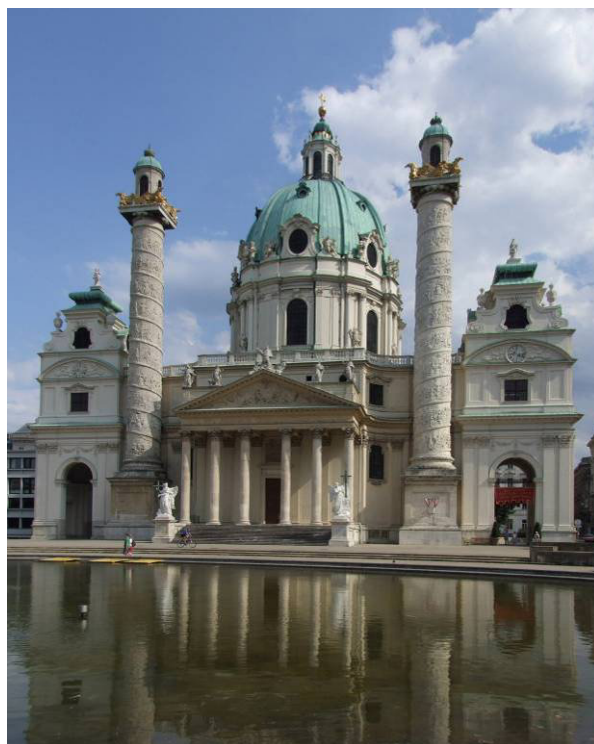


Fig. 3. St. Charles' Church, Vienna, architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, started in 1715. Photo by Sergey Kravtsov, 2007

According to Carol H. Krinsky, Kornhäusel's concept of the Stadttempel could have referred to the Pantheon of Rome, "a temple to all gods, later a church of the Virgin and all martyred saints, and now a temple in which ideas of universal tolerance and fraternity with other faiths could be implied"<sup>9</sup>. Despite certain similarities between these spaces, the ideological parallel seems too far-fetched, since the Judaism practiced in Vienna was much closer to the traditional one, and certainly

<sup>9</sup> C. H. Krinsky: *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*. Cambridge 1985, p. 189.



free of pantheist traits<sup>10</sup>. I would argue that the St. Charles' Church of Vienna (Fig. 3), started by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723) in 1715, offers more comparative material and better elucidates the meaning of the Stadttempel, than does the Pantheon of Rome. Whereas the longitudinal elliptic cupola and the zenith lantern were rather formal similarities, the twelve Ionic columns, encircling the prayer hall of the synagogue and the chancel of the church, were iconic and meaningful parallels. In St. Charles' they symbolized the Twelve Apostles, while in the synagogue they stood for the Twelve Tribes of Israel, a meaningful sign of Jewish sacred history and eschatology. In both instances, these columns conveyed the idea of the twelve-partite completeness of the chosen people<sup>11</sup>. Another meaningful parallel viewed the shining Tablets of the Law at the Stadttempel as deriving from the abundant decoration of the St. Charles' high altar, where the Tetragrammaton emitted gilded beams (Fig. 4).

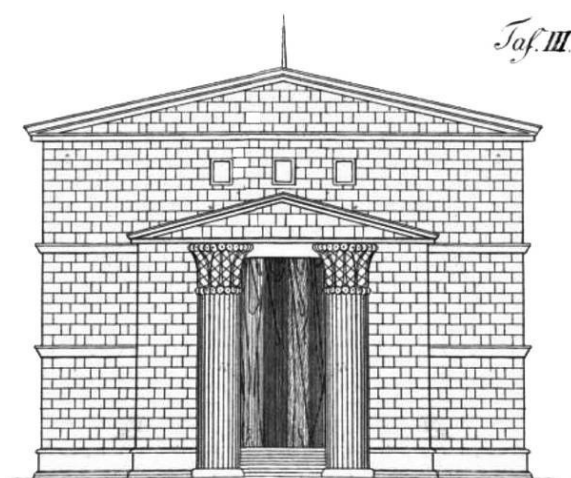


Fig. 4. St. Charles' Church, interior view towards the chancel.  
Photo by Sergey Kravtsov, 2007

<sup>10</sup> Krinsky's book, where the religious inclinations of the Viennese community are hardly mentioned, was published prior to the groundbreaking works by Michael Meyer and Marsha Rozenblith.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. S. Averintsev: *Dvenadtsat' apostolov* [in:] S. A. Tokarev: *Mify narodov mira*, vol. 1. Moscow 1991, p. 355–7.

Notwithstanding the great difference in their scale and urban visibility, the conceptual comparability of these two edifices affords further understanding of the synagogue, due to the intricate and well-studied iconographic program of the St. Charles', that was partially based on the Temple of Jerusalem<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the two Corinthian pilasters flanking the doorway of the synagogue represent Jachin and Boaz, the two columns standing to the left and right of the porch of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 7:21), quoted also in the two gigantic columns in front of St. Charles'. These pilasters echoed also the Neo-Classical reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Aloys Hirt, where Jachin and Boaz were treated as two Egyptian-style columns flanking the doorway and supporting a classical gable (Fig. 5)<sup>13</sup>.



5. Façade of Solomon's Temple.

Aloys Hirt, *Der Tempel Salomon's* (Berlin, 1809), plate 3

Like the two columns standing in front of St. Charles', a church dedicated to the emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40), the reviver of the Holy Roman Empire, the pilasters flanking the entrance to the Stadttempel served as a loyalist reference to the Habsburgs' emblem. The latter included two pillars and the motto

<sup>12</sup> H. Sedlmayr: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*. Vienna, 1956, passim.; Idem: *Die Schauseite der Karlskirche in Wien* [in:] *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*. Berlin 1956, p. 262–271; F. D. Fergusson: *St. Charles' Church, Vienna: The Iconography of Its Architecture*. "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians" 29 (1970), p. 318–326.

<sup>13</sup> A. L. Hirt: *Der Tempel Salomon's*. Berlin 1809, plate 3, fig. 4. On this pattern in Neo-Classical synagogue architecture see Rudolf Klein: *Synagogues in Hungary, 1782–1918. Genealogy, Typology and Architectural Significance*. Budapest 2011, p. 211.



*constantio et fortitudine*, the textual attributes of Jachin and Boaz (Fig. 6), supporting the imperial crown<sup>14</sup>. According to Hans Sedlmayr and Frances Fergusson, the cupola of St. Charles' enlarged the imperial crown of the emblem to a monumental size, and echoed this crown as being placed upon the pillars<sup>15</sup>. In the synagogue, the cupola could be interpreted as the Torah Crown, imbuing the whole composition with an additional Jewish meaning.

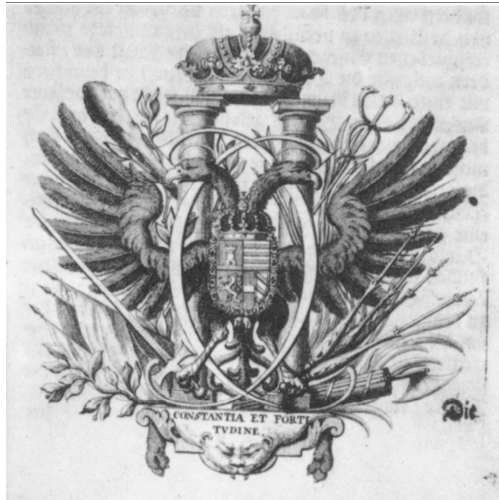


Fig. 6. Emblem of Charles VI, 1721. After Fergusson, “St. Charles’ Church, Vienna: The Iconography of Its Architecture,” fig. 9

Thus, the architecture of the *Stadttemple* was related to the Viennese imperial metropolitan and to traditional Jewish context, rather than to the geographically and historically removed pantheist model. By these historical, political, and religious references, the Neo-Classical architecture of the Viennese synagogue was enriched with a local meaning not common in Enlightenment architectural theory, one based on universal “laws and science,” and purportedly valid for any given place and time.

### The Early History of the Lviv Temple

The Jewish community of Lviv underwent a manifold religious and ideological split in the first half of the nineteenth century. The emerging groups and subgroups of Hasidim, *mitnagdim*, and the adherents of Progressive Judaism each sought to establish their particular religious and lifestyle practices. The major restraining role in this ongoing differentiation was played by Jacob Meschulam Ornstein (1775–1839), the Chief Rabbi of Lviv in 1809–39, an outstan-

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Fergusson: *St. Charles’ Church...*, p. 325–326.

<sup>15</sup> Sedlmayr: *Fischer von Erlach...*, p. 125–26; Fergusson: *St. Charles’ Church...*, p. 325.

ding scholar and defender of traditional Ashkenazi Judaism, who for the enlightened Jews was “the great inquisitor of Galicia”<sup>16</sup>. Only with his death did the adherents of enlightenment and reform manage to take the upper hand in the Community Council, and dare to consider the possibility of a Progressive synagogue.

The idea of a new synagogue in Lviv was proposed by the first two Jewish lawyers in the city, Dr. Emanuel Blumenfeld and Dr. Leo Kolischer. With the backing of Dr. Jacob Rappaport, an honored physician and representative of a highly esteemed rabbinical family, they engaged tens of physicians, bankers and educated businessmen for their cause. One remarkable member of the group was the German poet and physician Moritz Rappaport (1808–1880), a cousin of the Progressive Rabbi Salomon Juda Loeb Rappaport (1790–1867); the latter was excommunicated by Rabbi Ornstein in 1816, and in summer 1840 began serving as the rabbi of Prague<sup>17</sup>. Some others, like descendants of the prosperous merchant Ephraim Fischel Mieses, including his son and the community president Meyer Rachmiel Mieses, were related to the Ornsteins. This group of founders, comprised of respected *maskilim*, convened for their first meeting on October 4, 1840, and decided to seek the advice of R. Mannheimer of Vienna and Dr. Michael Sachs of Prague about how to organize the new synagogue<sup>18</sup>.

At the next meeting, held on October 25, when a considerable sum of 4,000 guilders had been secured, and the election of the building committee was on the agenda, the attitude to the traditional Judaism was formulated. Jacob Rappaport addressed the problem in the following words:

Today we are opening a sanctuary with a regulated liturgy, and hence we should take care that the majority of our brethren, who still cannot or do not want to use this sanctuary, should not turn against us. And this would definitely happen if the prayers were not in our ancient Hebrew language but in German, or if we were to drop some parts of the prayers, thus provoking our Orthodoxy. We should not be shy about our nationality; I meet all sorts of people and I must confess that the peoples do not hate us so [much], as some suggest. Likewise, we should not be shy about our liturgy, either about its language or its ritual. Indeed, there are some holiday prayers, which could easily be dismissed, like the Hasidim did long ago, but the basic prayers should remain. As for me, to the end of my days I will oppose crippling our prayer book and introducing prayers in the German language. I am afraid, however, that after my death you will be ready to do so, and hence I beg and beseech you not to!

<sup>16</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> N. M. Gelber: *Toledot yehudei Lvov* [in:] *Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora: A Memorial Library of Countries and Communities; Poland Series, Lvov Volume*. Part 1, ed. N. M. Gelber. Jerusalem 1956, col. 217.

<sup>18</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 14–19.

These words of the old doctor moved some participants of the meeting to tears, and they vowed loudly to retain the tradition and not to make changes either to the language or the ritual<sup>19</sup>.

The formal application for the construction of a synagogue modeled on those of Vienna and Prague was filed in the *Landespräsidium* on 29 June, 1842. When asked about the reasons for a new synagogue (such explanations were still obligatory under the Josephine legislations), the building committee explained that the old synagogues were not meeting the demands of the intelligentsia: the prayers there were loud, no preaching and no ethical instruction were in practice, no modern cantor and choir were making the prayers more aesthetic and spiritually elevating for the youth. Also, all the seats in the Lviv synagogues had allegedly been sold out, and young people could not occupy worthy places, nor could patriotic events be celebrated in the existing synagogues. The application for construction was approved by *Kreishauptmann* Casimir von Milbacher on December 18, 1842<sup>20</sup>.

Though the most of the building committee resided in the luxury area to the west of the downtown section, the busy Sykstuska (today Doroshenka) Street, the plot of land appropriate for the new synagogue was found at some distance from there, outside the medieval Jewish quarters of Lviv, both the Walled City and the suburb. It was situated to the north of the downtown, in the Fish Market, also known as the Old Market, at the foot of the High Castle Mount. This public square, the major urban hub in the period preceding the construction of the Walled City in the fourteenth century, and still the place of one of the city's oldest Catholic churches, St. John the Baptist, had lost its status long before the nineteenth century. Now it was surrounded by cheap stores, inns and brothels, and housed a dilapidated fire brigade stable in its midst. The fire depot was transferred to another location at the expense of the Jewish investors, and a prominent plot in the center of the Fish Market went to the building committee<sup>21</sup>.

The synagogue was probably designed by master builder Lewicki in 1840. His first name was not recorded in the *pinkas* of the congregation, and so remained unknown to the synagogue's historian, Majer Bałaban<sup>22</sup>. A search through Galician directories of the late 1830s and early 1840s discloses only one master builder Lewicki – Johann Lewicky, the 2<sup>nd</sup> class road builder (*Wegmeister*) who worked on the construction of the Lviv–Yavoriv (Jaworów) road<sup>23</sup>. The synagogue was erected under the supervision of the architect Johann Salzmann (1807–

<sup>19</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 25–26.

<sup>21</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> *Schematismus der Köhigreiche Galizien und Lodomerien für das Jahr 1838*. Lviv 1838, p. 67; *Provinzial Handbuch der Köhigreiche Galizien und Lodomerien für das Jahr 1844*. Lviv 1844, p. 78.

1869) in 1843–46<sup>24</sup>. Salzmann was born in Vienna and educated at the Technical University (*Technische Hochschule*) and the Academy of Fine Arts in that city. He worked as a draftsman and inspector at the Building Authority and taught construction at the Lviv University<sup>25</sup>.

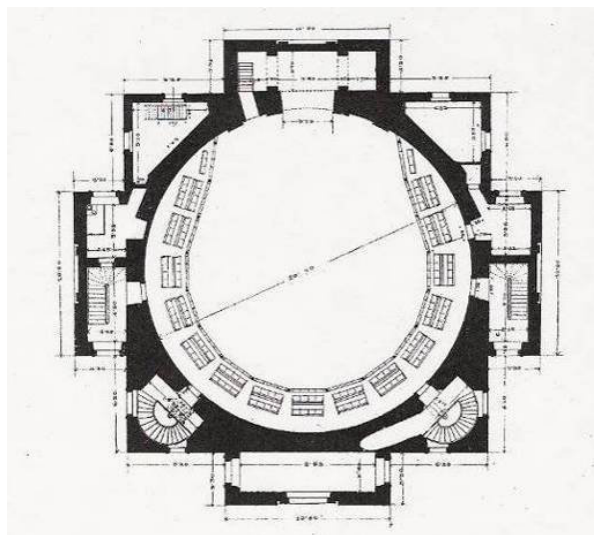


Fig. 7. The Temple, Lviv, plan of the first floor.  
Julian Zachariewicz, “Kilka słów,” pl. 1 fig. 1

The synagogue’s interior was largely modeled on the Stadttempel of Vienna. The prayer hall was round, encircled with two tiers of eighteen Doric columns bearing galleries, which were elegantly bent outwards, leaving the eastern segment of the circle free for the Torah ark (Fig. 7, 8). The hall was spanned by a dome and lit by a zenith lantern. The Torah ark was set in an apse and it was preceded by the *bimah* and a choir loft that faced the congregation. The Tablets of the Law, in a radiating aureole, were set above the ark. The ordered pews occupied the center of the hall; the worshipers constantly faced east during the liturgy. The synagogue exterior was impressive, with its monumental, centralized domed mass that heralded a new Jewish presence in the townscape (Figs. 9, 10). Its exterior outline, embracing axial annexes, formed an equal-armed cross, a shape that angered the Jewish traditionalists. The four gab-

<sup>24</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 30; S. R. Kravtsov: *Jewish Identities in Synagogue Architecture of Galicia and Bukovina*. “Ars Judaica: The Bar-Ilan Journal of Jewish Art” 6 (2010), p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> S. Łoza: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce pracujących*. Warsaw 1931, p. 296–7; J. Purchla: *Patterns of Influence: Lviv and Vienna in the Mirror of Architecture*. “Harvard Ukrainian Studies”, Vol. 24, *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture* (2000), p. 113.

led facades of these annexes were designed as Doric porticos “in antis,” surrounded by broad rusticated extents; the western portico served as an entrance, while the other three were purely decorative. The synagogue’s Neo-Classical style closely recalled other works by Salzmänn in Lviv – the Skarbek Theater (1837–42, designed in partnership with Alois L. Pichl), and the Catholic Archbishops’ Palace (1844, designed by Salzmänn alone)<sup>26</sup>. This style became an official norm in Metternich’s Austria, a sign of integration and subordination.

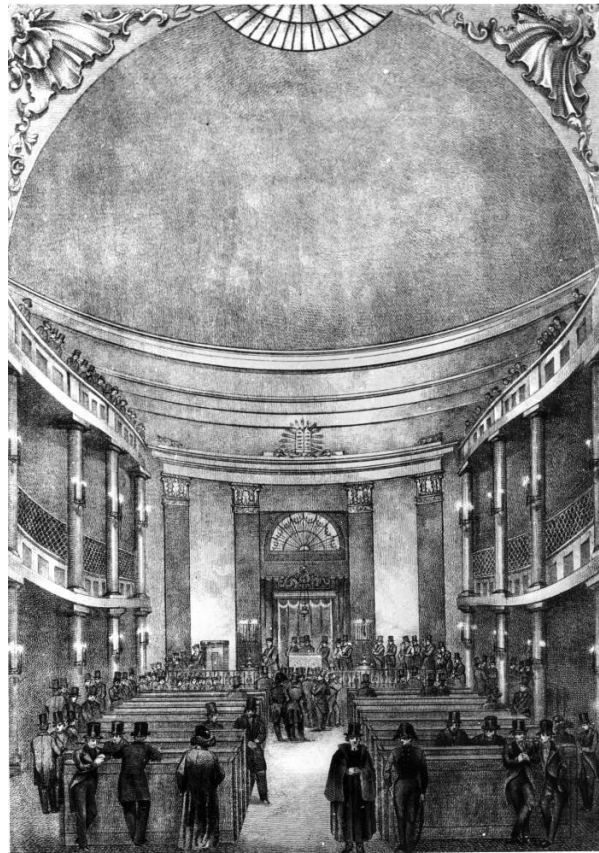


Fig. 8. The Temple, Lviv, interior view by unknown artist. Lithograph, Piller Publishers, Lviv, 1846. Archives of KyivNIITIA, neg. 30099

From the standpoint of architectural iconography, the synagogue was close to the initial design of the Ossolineum Public Library in Lviv, produced by the leading Viennese architect Pietro (Peter von) Nobile (1774–1854) in

<sup>26</sup> Łoza: *Słownik architektów...*, p. 296–7; J. Biriulow: *Lwów: Ilustrowany przewodnik*. Lviv 2001, p. 30.

1823 (Fig. 11). Like Nobile's design, the synagogue employed the Doric motif "in antis" and the cupola, though in our case the latter was not elevated by a fenestrated drum. Nobile's design for the Ossolineum was reworked by a military engineer, Józef Bem (1794–1850), and carried out under Bem's supervision and, in 1830–40, under that of Johann Salzman<sup>27</sup>.



Fig. 9. The Temple, L'viv, view from southeast.  
Photograph by Józef Eder, ca. 1870. L'viv Historical Museum

Alongside the Neo-Classical soberness, the synagogues of Vienna and Lviv were touched by a Biedermeier elegance, evident in the elliptic ground plan of the Viennese Stadttempel and in the bent shape of the galleries, the sinuous lines of the cupola and the rear portico gable in the Lviv Temple<sup>28</sup>. While these stylistic features were the contemporary means for softening the severe Neo-Classical expression, they were not mere formal devices. While the Viennese elliptic cupola might be seen as a reference to the St. Charles' Church, the waving lines in Lviv might have been derived from another source. Eleonora Bergman has suggested that the idea of the sinuous skyline of the Lviv roof was borrowed from two projects by Henryk Marconi, from 1832 and 1835, for the synagogue in Łomża, then under Russian imperial rule. Possibly Marconi's con-

<sup>27</sup> T. Mańkowski: *Dzieje gmachu Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*. Lviv 1927, p. 89; M. Prokopowych: *Habsburg Lemberg, Architecture, Public Space and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772–1914*. West Lafayette 2009, p. 137.

<sup>28</sup> Kravtsov: *Jewish Identities...*, p. 88.



cept derived from the drawings of a Turkish bathhouse published by Fischer von Erlach in 1721<sup>29</sup>.



Fig. 10. The Temple, L'viv, view from southwest. Postcard, before 1914

While not questioning Marconi's source, I would argue that the Oriental connotation could hardly have been desired by the Lviv *maskilim* as a means of self-identification. Actually, community's intellectual avant-garde considered the image of Orient negative. Moritz Rappaport, one of the synagogue's founders, addressed the Orient in his epic poem *Moses* (1842): "And when the veil of passions/ encircles the firmament like misty clouds,/ when prejudice, the bloody monster,/ and misbelieve rages through the Orient,/ the faith will approach you, a loyal friend,/ whose heart is always burning in pure love,/ and it will raise the wings of your spirit,/ so as to act, to fight for law [and] to struggle with delusion"<sup>30</sup>. The Lviv enlightened Jew in the early 1840s appears to have viewed the Orient as a place of past prejudices and mistaken beliefs, rather than a source of inspiration.

<sup>29</sup> E. Bergman: *Nurt mauretański w architekturze synagog Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIX i na początku XX wieku*. Warsaw 2004, p. 71, 101; J. B. Fischer von Erlach: *Eintwurf einer historischen Architektur*. Vienna 1721, bk. 3, plate 1.

<sup>30</sup> M. Rappaport: *Mose: episches Gedicht*. Leipzig 1842, introduction, strophe 6: "Und als noch jüngst der Leidenschaften Schleier/ Wie Dunstgewölk umzog das Firmament,/ Als Vorurtheil, das blut'ge Ungeheur,/ Und Irrwahn wild durchrast den Orient,/ Da naht der Glaube dir, ein Freund, ein treuer,/ Dem stets dein Herz in reinster Liebe brennt,/ Und hebt zur Thatkraft deines Geistes Schwingen,/ Für Recht zu kämpfen, gegen Wahn zu ringen!" Author is profoundly grateful to Ulrich Knufinke for English translation of this strophe.



Fig. 11. Façade design for the Ossolineum by Pietro Nobile, 1823.  
Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Początki nowożytnego Lwowa w architekturze*

Instead of seeking an Oriental iconographic source, one may suggest that the waving shapes of the Temple referred to the “line of beauty,” the S-shaped line proposed as a universal aesthetic device by the English painter and writer William Hogarth (1697–1764). In Hogarth’s opinion, based on an anecdote by Pliny and on Michelangelo’s judgment, the S-shaped, waving and serpentine lines stimulated the attention of the viewer and evoked liveliness and movement<sup>31</sup>. This concept was well known to the enlightened German public, since Hogarth’s book had been translated into German<sup>32</sup> and was discussed by such luminaries as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing<sup>33</sup> and Johann Gottfried Herder.<sup>34</sup> In

<sup>31</sup> W. Hogarth: *The Analysis of Beauty*. London 1753, p. 25 nn.

<sup>32</sup> W. Hogarth: *Zergliederung der Schönheit: die schwankenden Begriffe von dem Geschmack festzusetzen*, transl. by Christlob Mylius. Berlin 1754.

<sup>33</sup> G. E. Lessing [review]: *Zergliederung der Schönheit, die schwankenden Begriffe von dem Geschmacke festzusetzen, geschrieben von Wilhelm Hogarth*. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von C. Mylius. London bei And. Linde 1754. in 4to auf 20 Bogen nebst zwei großen Kupfertafeln. „Berlinische Privilegierte Zeitung“ May–June 1754, <http://www.textlog.de/lessing-hogarth.html>, accessed on January 21, 2012. Hogarth’s aesthetic theory was also discussed in Lessing’s seminal work: *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*. Stuttgart 1766, p. 240.

<sup>34</sup> J. G. Herder: *Plastik* (1778). [in:] *Herder und die Anthropologie der Aufklärung*, vol. 2. Munich 1987, p. 498.

retrospect, it seems quite clear that Hogarth's work served as a touchstone for a continuous discourse on visual hermeneutics<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, the waving "line of beauty" became a popular notion, if not a commonplace, among cultured Germans in the first half of the nineteenth century<sup>36</sup>. Hogarth's work was known in Lviv, since it was and is still held in the University Library<sup>37</sup>. Thus, the waving lines of the synagogue's design were the product of an aesthetic theory, of the "laws and science" so valued by the Enlightenment; they were meant to symbolize motion in terms of the underlying theory. They did not suggest any Oriental iconic quotation; neither did they represent a Baroque retrospection, as might be suspected by a misleading analogy with the style of Louis Philippe in contemporary France. It should be remembered that the educated Austrian bureaucrats – including the architects officiating in Lviv – associated the Baroque with the Polish people while reserving the Enlightenment, and thus Neo-Classicism, for themselves. They believed that Baroque was the hideous style of the ignorant local population<sup>38</sup>. Undoubtedly, the enlightened Jewish elite of that period associated themselves with the enlightened Germans rather than with the "retarded" Poles.

The synagogue of Lviv was a much bolder urban statement than its Viennese predecessor, due to the surprising goodwill of the Galician provincial authorities toward the Progressive Congregation, and due to Lviv's status as a testing ground in the field of urban planning<sup>39</sup>. Interestingly enough, no fuss was made about the synagogue's proximity to a Catholic church, as would have been the case in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or in the contemporaneous Russian Empire<sup>40</sup>. The urban setting and architecture of this synago-

<sup>35</sup> F. Burwick: *Lessing's 'Laokoon' and the Rise of Visual Hermeneutics*, "Poetics Today", Vol. 20, No. 2, *Lessing's Laokoon: Context and Reception* (summer, 1999): 219–272.

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, Aleksei K. Tolstoy's (1817–1875) reminiscences of a German tutor in his poem *Portrait*, 15: 1–6 (1874): "Любезен был ему Страбон и Плиний,/ Горация он знал до тошноты/ и, что у нас так редко видишь ныне,/ высоко чтил художества цветы,/ причем закон волнообразных линий/ мне поставлял условием красоты". (He was fond of Strabo and Pliny,/ his knowledge of Horace made me sick / and, what is a rare thing today,/ he appreciated the splendor of art,/ conditioning the beauty/ by the law of waving lines). We might conclude, from the content of Tolstoy's poem, that its action takes place about 1839.

<sup>37</sup> *The Works of William Hogarth, including the Analysis of Beauty, Elucidated by Descriptions, Critical, Moral, and Historical; founded on the most approved authorities, to which is prefixed, Some Account of his Life, in three volumes*. London 1837.

<sup>38</sup> Prokopovych: *Habsburg Lemberg...* p. 65, 70–71.

<sup>39</sup> For instance, the fortifications of Lviv were converted into a boulevard ring shortly after 1800, about half a century prior to the Viennese Ringstrasse. See T. Maksymiuk: *Sadovo-parkova arkhitektura*. [in:] *Arkhitektura L'vova. Chas i styli: XIII-XXI st.* Lviv 2008, p. 225–226.

<sup>40</sup> Nicholas I's construction law ruled in 1844 that a synagogue should not be closer than 100 *sazhens* (213.36 m) to any Christian church in the same street, and at least 50

gue continued the path taken in the time of Emperor Joseph II, and led to the replacement of the Catholic-dominated and controlled urban fabric by a milieu of diverse religious foci which did not insult the liberties of others, who would now be treated as equals.

The two Neo-Classical synagogues of Vienna and Lviv demonstrated their congregations' welcome for the novel style whose origins were found in Enlightenment thought and which was accepted by the dominant society. While the Viennese synagogue was anchored in the local urban and metropolitan context, its Lviv sister broke sharply with other Jewish and Gentile sacred buildings in the city. The architectural expression of the latter was only minimally related to traditional Jewish eschatology: the conventional numerology did not play any significant role there and the only iconic motif of the Jerusalem Temple – the façade “in antis” – was devalued by its humble Doric order and even repetition on the four sides of the building. This ambivalence towards eschatological matters contrasted with the Hebrew inscription on the frieze above the entrance: *בית יעקב לכו ונלכה באור יי* (“Come, o house of Jacob, let us walk in the light of the Lord,” Isaiah 2:5), a verse related to the latter-day glories. It is unclear, however, when this inscription was made.

### The Challenges of Time and Reconstruction of the Synagogue

The German-Israelite Prayer House was opened in September 1846 and shortly after its inauguration a Jew from Lviv reported: “Now there is more German culture and fashioning in Galicia, more German physiognomy [...]. Our future is in the hands of Austria. Our new spiritual-political rebirth can only be German. Germany is close to us geographically, and our language is a German dialect”<sup>41</sup>. In fact, the new synagogue was not wholly rejected by Orthodox Jews; a newspaper reported that some Jews “dressed like Polish Jews” also attend, together with their wives, on Friday evenings and on the Sabbath, as they have realized that “here too, one can pray with concentration”<sup>42</sup>.

A significant political and cultural shift occurred in 1861, when the Jews were allowed to elect and be elected to the Diet of Galicia. That year, Jewish and Polish candidates held an election meeting at the German-Israelite Prayer House. The future Jewish representative Marek Dubs (1801–1874) spoke in Po-

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*sazhens* from a church in another street. See V. Levanda: *Polnyi khronologicheskii sbornik zakonov i polozhenii, kasaiushchikhsia evreev, ot Ulozheniia Tsaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha do nastoiashchego vremeni 1649–1873*. St. Petersburg 1874, p. 569.

<sup>41</sup> *Korrespondenz*. „Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums” (Nr. 45, 2.11.1846): 658–9; R. Manekin: *Hashorashim ha-galitsayim shel ha-historiografia shel yehudei Polin*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Rachel Manekin for providing me with her text.

<sup>42</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (Nr. 49, 30.11.1846): 719; quoted from R. Manekin: *Praying at Home in Lemberg: The Minyan Laws of the Habsburg Empire*. [in:] *Polin*, vol. 24, eds. I. Bartal, A. Polonsky and S. Ury. Oxford U.K. and Portland Oregon 2011, p. 67.

lish and praised those Jews who struggled for Polish independence. His Polish counterpart Florian Ziemiałkowski (1817–1900) reiterated the significance of the “Jewish question” as a general Polish issue, and vowed absolute equality of Jews and Poles on the basis of full emancipation<sup>43</sup>.

The compassion for the Polish cause came to light in the poem *Bajazzo*, written by Moritz Rappaport in 1863. Deeply moved by the failure of the Polish uprising, he wrote: “A love of fantasy from the Orient and passion from the Slavs set my soul ablaze. [...] How nostalgia filled my heart at the soft moans of the Sarmatians, how the spirit rose heavenward at my father’s wondrous utterances. [...] To be both Pole and Jew is a double crown of melancholy”<sup>44</sup>. This time the poet connected himself to the Orient, and this nostalgia made him sensitive to the Sarmatian, i.e. Polish, pain.

The following years saw a struggle between the Vienna-centered and German-oriented organization *Schomer Israel* on the one hand, and the Polish-oriented *Agudas Achim*, facilitated by the Polish newspaper *Ojczyzna* (Fatherland) and its Hebrew supplement *Hamazkir* (The Recorder), replaced in 1892 with *Przyszłość* (Future), on the other<sup>45</sup>. Special patriotic services were held in the synagogue in 1869, 1882 and 1883 in the memory of the Polish King Casimir the Great (r. 1333–70), the Polish Constitution of 1791 and the heroes of the Polish uprisings of 1831 and 1863; however, the chief rabbi Bernard Löwenstein chose to absent himself from these events<sup>46</sup>. The customs had changed significantly by the late nineteenth century, when the German-Israelite Prayer House was renamed *Synagoga Postępowa* (Progressive Synagogue). The synagogue’s rabbi, Samuel Wolf Guttmann (1864–1935), began preaching in Polish, occasionally in 1903 and regularly from 1904<sup>47</sup>. These changes developed slowly but irreversibly, supported as they were by the rising Polish-educated generation of rabbis and worshippers.

<sup>43</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 113.

<sup>44</sup> M. Rappaport: *Bajazzo. Ein Gedicht*. Leipzig 1863, p. 93: “Vom Orient die Fantasie./ Und in der Brust des Slaven Feuer./ Wie flammte meine Seele früh./ Entquoll ein Lieb der gold’nen Leier./ Wie rang in Wehmuth mir das Herz/ Bei des Sarmaten weichen Klagen./ Wie schwang der Geist sich himmelwärts/ Bei meiner Väter Wundersagen./ Wie prangte da im Zwielightsschein/ Der alte Schutt im fahlen Glanz./ Ein Pole und ein Jude sein/ Das is des Unglücks Doppelkranz!” English translation quoted from J. Holzer: *Enlightenment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Élite in Galicia*. [in:] *Polin*, vol. 12, *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918*, eds. I. Bartal, A. Polonsky. London 1999, p. 82.

<sup>45</sup> Bałaban, *Historia...*, p. 121–22, 152.

<sup>46</sup> Bałaban, *Historia...*, p. 122.

<sup>47</sup> Bałaban, *Historia...*, p. 27, 170–171; C. Karl: *Ha-hayim hadatiim shel yehudei Lvov*. [in:] *Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora: A Memorial Library of Countries and Communities; Poland Series, Lvov Volume*, Part 1, ed. N. M. Gelber. Jerusalem 1956, cols. 441–450.

With time, the architectural tastes and styles changed. In Vienna, Neo-Classicism gave way to Romantic Historicism immediately after the revolution of 1848. The latter style creatively synthesized features of Romanesque, Byzantine, and Moorish medieval architecture, and intended to convey the colorful composition of the Habsburg Empire that flourished under the liberal rule of Franz Joseph I. The Moorish component of this synthesis was eagerly exploited by many architects for new synagogues from the 1850s on. The Romantic Historicist synthesis was replaced with the “strict” Historicism, which proposed “pure,” “pedigreed” styles, picked up from the historical palette appropriate to the edifice’s function, as happened with the grandiose projects of the Viennese Ringstrasse in the 1860s. Following this move, the Moorish style occupied the niche of a “pure Jewish style” by default. However, it was increasingly regarded as foreign to the local Central-Eastern European milieu, and lacking any proven historical connection to Jewish antiquity<sup>48</sup>. At the same time, in Lviv, the Neo-Classical structures were being considered “ugly,” and their style was defined as the “caserne” one reminiscent of the depressive *Vormärz*<sup>49</sup>.

In the early 1890s, the congregation considered undertaking a general reconstruction of the Temple, adding to it a hall for board meetings, weddings, and other community events. The great boom that accompanied the Provincial Exhibition (Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa) of 1894 promoted the start of renovations, and the design was commissioned from Professor Julian Oktawian Zachariewicz (1837–1898)<sup>50</sup>.

The son of an Armenian Catholic married to an Evangelical Protestant Danish woman, Zachariewicz was an exemplary representative of the Habsburg Empire’s tolerant elite. A graduate of the Imperial and Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, in the years 1853–1871 he worked in Vienna, Timișoara, and Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), mainly, though not exclusively, designing railway stations. In 1872 he returned to his native Lviv, where he became a professor and received the Chair of Building at the Technical Academy. He was knighted in 1877, elected as a rector in 1877–78 and again in 1881–82, and carried out a number of important projects. His experience in synagogue architecture started in Chernivtsi, where he designed a Moorish-style Temple, built in 1873–78, for the Progressive Congregation<sup>51</sup>.

By the time of the commission for the Progressive Congregation of Lviv, Zachariewicz had a number of “Jewish” stylistic concepts at his disposal. Besides the well-tested, though banal Moorish option, he had the motifs he had

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<sup>48</sup> Kravtsov: *Jewish Identities...*, p. 90–98.

<sup>49</sup> Prokopovych: *Habsburg Lemberg...*, p. 116.

<sup>50</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 143.

<sup>51</sup> Łoza: *Słownik...*, p. 370–71; Yu. Biriuliov: *Zakharevychi, tvortsi stolychnoho Lvova*. Lviv 2010, p. 55–57.



recently discovered in Galician Jewish paper-cuts<sup>52</sup>, and those revealed in synagogue murals of the Carpathian region by Karol Maszkowski<sup>53</sup> and Ludwik Wierzbicki<sup>54</sup>. He could also use local motifs found in the Baroque masonry synagogues surveyed by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz<sup>55</sup>. Virtually nothing barred Zachariewicz from using the Polish or Ruthenian/Ukrainian patterns, which he studied in the 1880s<sup>56</sup>.

Instead however, Zachariewicz proposed an unprecedented concept of synagogue reconstruction that was ultimately unrelated to the Lviv milieu. He rejected the nineteenth-century “Jewish” styles as provisional constructs and artificial conventions, be they “Moorish, Gothic, Roman, etc”<sup>57</sup>. As an alternative, Zachariewicz, in his pursuit for a “true” and “pure” Jewish style, turned to the work of architect and architectural historian Charles Chipiez (1835–1901) and archaeologist Georges Perrot (1832–1914), including a theoretical reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Chipiez (1887)<sup>58</sup>. Chipiez and Perrot presented their imagery as a restitution of the biblical Ezekiel’s vision, “a blending of idealism and reality,” but not an actual edifice. They argued that Hiram of Tyre, who built the Temple, followed the forms of his native Phoenician architecture. The authors maintained that the Phoenicians, unlike the Jews, had cultural exchanges with most of the peoples of the Mediterranean basin and Mesopotamia, and hence it would be legitimate to look there for the patterns which might have been applied to the Jewish Temple. In keeping with this hypothesis, the reconstruction of the Temple integrated elements of Egyptian and Assyrian architecture with 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 pomegranates in relief on the upper parts of the pylons, and

<sup>52</sup> F. Petriakova: *The Collection of Jewish Art of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov*. [in:] *Treasures of Jewish Galicia: Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov Ukraine*, ed. S. Harel Hoshen. Tel Aviv 1996, p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> W. Wyganowska: *O odkryciu polichromii bóżnicy drewnianej w Gwoźdźcu pod Kołomyją*. „Rocznik Historii Sztuki”, 17 (1988), p. 429–36.

<sup>54</sup> L. Wierzbicki: *Bóżnica w miasteczku Jabłonowie nad Prutem*. „Sprawozdania Komisji do Badań Historii Sztuki w Polsce Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 4 (1889), 45–51, with 6 plates.

<sup>55</sup> W. Łuszczkiewicz: *Sprawozdanie z wycieczki odbytej w lecie 1891 roku*. [in:] „Sprawozdania komisji do badania historii sztuki w Polsce”, vol. 5. Kraków 1896, p. 172–89.

<sup>56</sup> Prokopowych: *Habsburg Lemberg...*, p. 113–14.

<sup>57</sup> *Sprawozdanie ze zgrupowania odb. d. 29 stycznia r.b.*. „Czasopismo Techniczne” 14, no. 5 (1896): 58.

<sup>58</sup> C. Chipiez, G. Perrot: *Histoire de l’art dans l’Antiquité, Égypte, Assyrie, Perse, Asie mineure, Grèce, Etrurie, Rome*, vol. 4: *Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Cappadoce*. Paris 1887; idem, *Le Temple de Jérusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban restitués d’après Ezéchiël et le Livre des Rois*. Paris 1889.

double volutes in flanking colonnades. The proportions of the elevations were largely derived from the architect's aesthetic sense and his efforts to overcome the lack of vertical measurements in Ezekiel's vision and the disagreement between different biblical descriptions.

a)

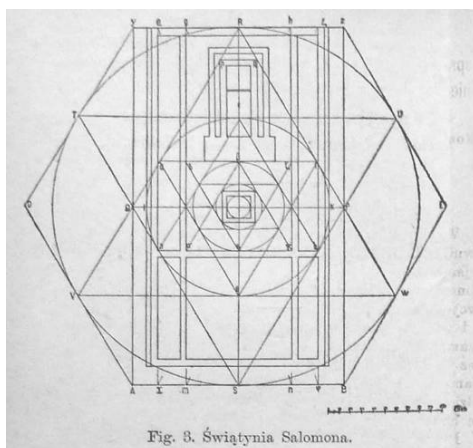


Fig. 3. Świątynia Salomona.

b)

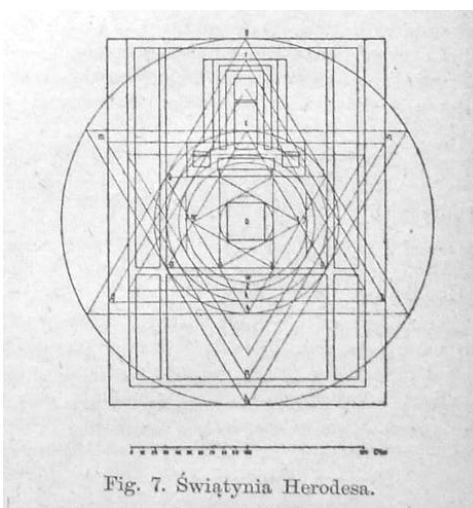


Fig. 7. Świątynia Herodesa.

Fig. 12. Julian Zachariewicz, graphical analyses of Solomon's Temple (a), and Herod's Temple (b). Zachariewicz, „Kilka słów,” figs. 3 and 7.

Zachariewicz claimed that he had conducted his work “in the spirit of the style of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem”. He revealed that his design was based

on Chipiez's publications and on a study by the Bernardine monk Odilio Wolff<sup>59</sup>. Zachariewicz supplied Chipiez's and Perrot's theory with a reflection on racial proximity between Jews and Phoenicians. He also borrowed from Wolff the idea of the hexagram as a basis for the proportional system preferred by the Egyptians and hence by the Phoenicians, who then applied it to the Temple of Solomon.

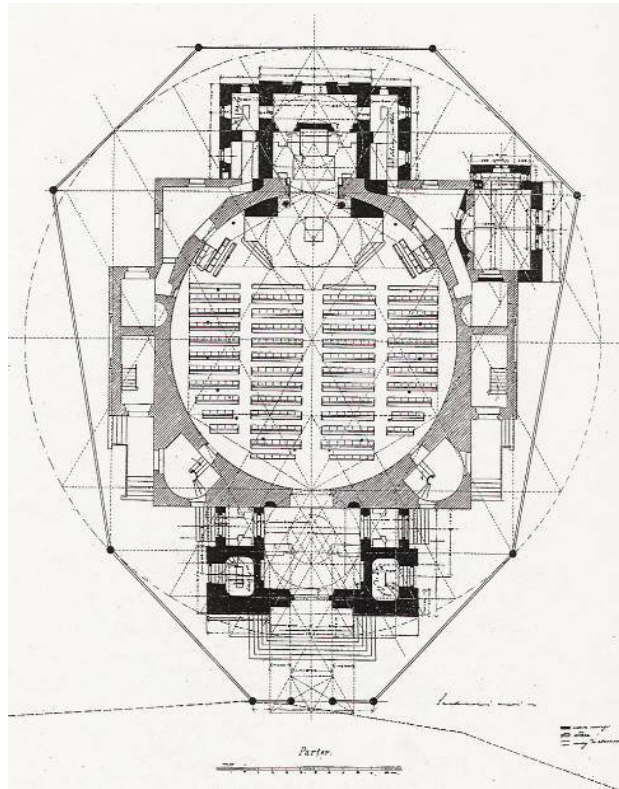


Fig. 13. The Temple, Lviv, ground plan proposed by Julian Zachariewicz, 1896. Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów," pl. 4 fig. 4

In Wolff's and Zachariewicz's thought, 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. Zachariewicz "proved" also that the same proportional system had predetermined the dimensions of the Herodian Temple, thus elevating the Star of David to the status of a timeless Jewish instrument of proportioning (Fig. 12)<sup>60</sup>. By doing so, Zachariewicz reworked his own methodology, which employed a triangulated modular grid for

<sup>59</sup> O. Wolff: *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Maasse*. Graz 1887.

<sup>60</sup> Zachariewicz: *Kilka słów...*, figs. 6 and 7.

establishing proportions and which he had used in another of his projects – the Franciscan Nuns' Monastery in Lviv (1876). However, in that early project Zachariewicz derived his grid from the principles of crystallography<sup>61</sup>. Probably, by these theoretical speculations, Zachariewicz intended to provide his designs with “timeless” Jewish features and to refute the client’s accusation that the architect “erroneously understood that the synagogues are descendants of the Temple on Mt Moriah (those of Solomon and Herod)”<sup>62</sup>.

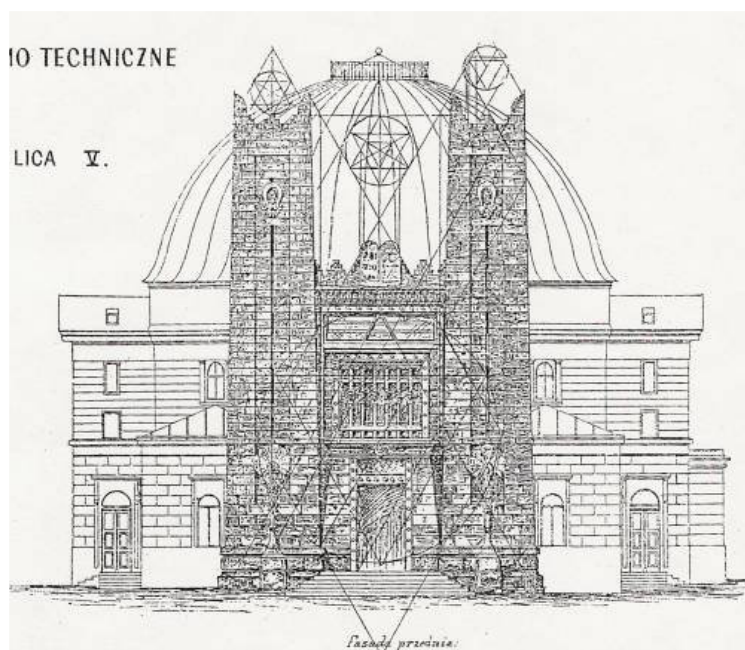
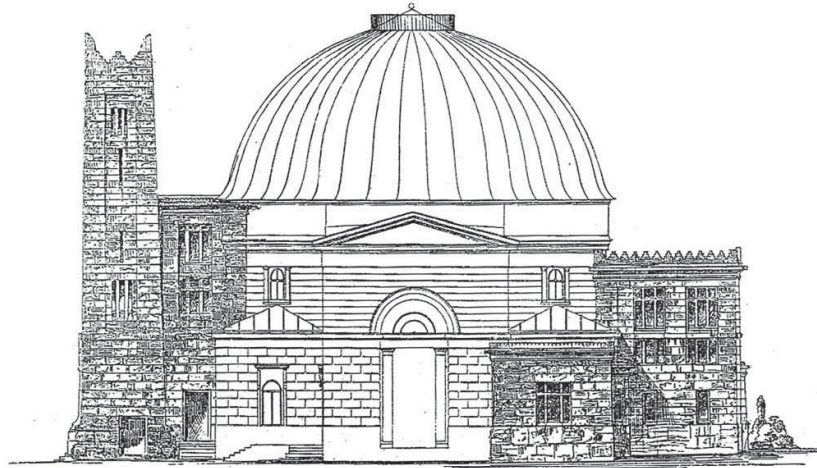


Fig. 14. The Temple, Lviv, western façade proposed by Julian Zachariewicz, 1896. Zachariewicz, “Kilka słów,” pl. 5 fig. 6

Zachariewicz’s project for the Progressive Synagogue included extensions in the vein of Chipiez’s reconstruction, with its pylons flanking the recessed central field, an “Assyrian” embattlement, reliefs of palm-trees and pomegranates (Figs. 13–15). The annexes planned to the west and east of the existent building contrasted greatly with its Neo-Classical style (Fig. 15). The new annexes broke the centrality of the old plan and created the tripartite longitudinal composition alluding to the Temple of Jerusalem.

<sup>61</sup> J. Zachariewicz: *Budowa kościoła i klasztoru PP. Św. Franciszka i Przenajśw. Sakramentu*. “Dźwignia”, vol. 3, 12 (20.12.1879): 92, plates 1–11; idem: *O poglądach Jul. Świącjanowskiego na harmonię w architekturze*. “Dźwignia”, vol. 3, 3 (20.3.1879): 17–19; Biriuliov: *Zacharevychi*, p. 154, 156.

<sup>62</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 143.



15. The Temple, Lviv, southern façade proposed by Julian Zachariewicz, 1896.  
Zachariewicz, "Kilka słów," pl. 7 fig. 9

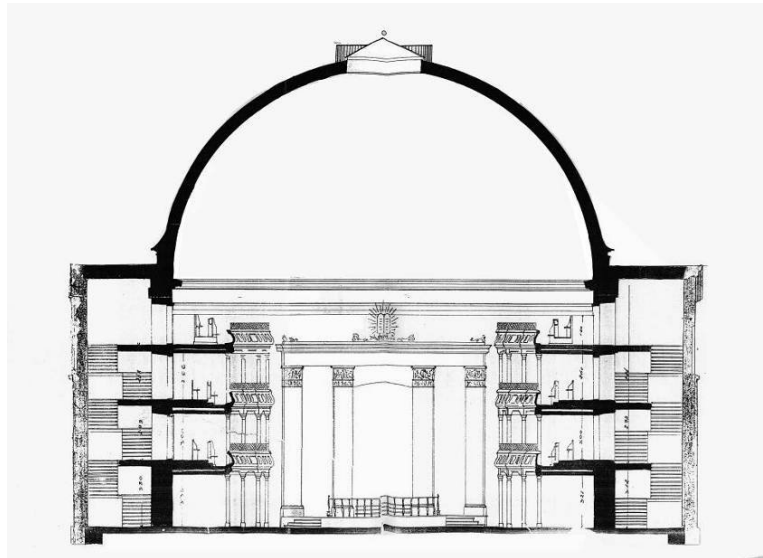


Fig. 16. The Temple, Lviv, cross-section by Maurycy Silberstein, 1906.  
State Archives of Lviv Region, 2-2-3698

In this project, Zachariewicz reconsidered the propriety of a cupola in synagogue architecture. He claimed that the cupola was a shape alien to Jewish architecture (there is no mention of it in the Bible), and imbued it with the

meaning of open sky, and thus of a courtyard, like the one that preceded the sanctuary of the Jerusalem Temple. For this reason, Zachariewicz decided to replicate the façade of the Temple on the eastern side of the prayer hall.<sup>63</sup>



Fig. 17. The Temple, Lviv, photograph of interior, ca. 1937.  
Majer Bałaban, *Historia Lwowskiej Synagogi Postępowej* (L'viv, 1937),  
plate between pp. 216 and 217

The congregation apparently had certain reservations concerning the architect's proposal, and 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.<sup>64</sup> In fact, only a few elements of 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. 17).

The reconstructions of 1906–7 included the new galleries (Fig. 16), staircases, and a room for daily prayers and betrothals installed instead of the rabbi's wardrobe. Contractor Maurycy Gall carried out these works according to the design of architect Alfred Kamienobrodzki (1844–1922)<sup>65</sup>. Kamienobrodzki also designed two symmetrical annexes on the eastern side of the synagogue<sup>66</sup>, but this project of 1907 was realized only partially, in the southern annex, which was built then to house the rabbis' room. Architect Leopold Reiss (1882 – after 1939) took up the completion of this task in 1921, adding the northern annex designated for the cantors' room. Kamienobrodzki and Reiss reproduced the

<sup>63</sup> *Sprawozdanie ze zgromadzenia*, p. 58.

<sup>64</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 143–144.

<sup>65</sup> Bałaban: *Historia...*, p. 179–180.

<sup>66</sup> Boyko: *Synahohy L'vova...*, p. 148–149.



hipped roofs, fenestration and wall rustication of the existing building (Fig. 18)<sup>67</sup>. As one can see in the documentary film of 1939, these plans were implemented<sup>68</sup>.

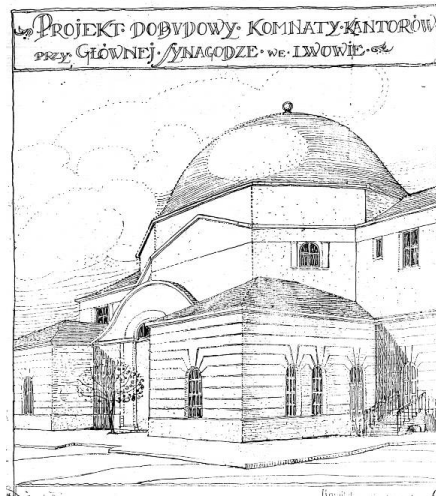


Fig. 18. Project for addition of the cantors' room, view from northeast, drawing by Leopold Reiss, 1921. State Archives of Lviv Region, 2-2-3698

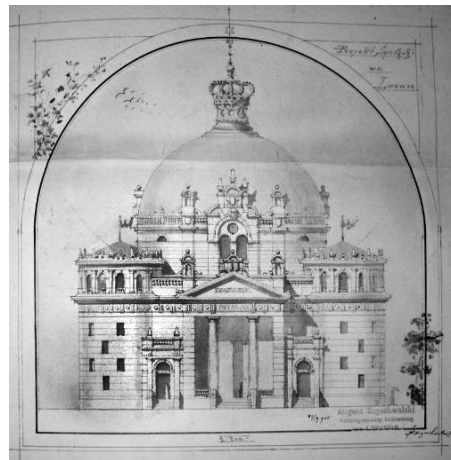


Fig. 19. New Temple in Lviv, façade, proposal by architect August Bogochwalski, 1905. Central Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, 701-3-1505

<sup>67</sup> State Archives of Lviv Region, 2-2-3698; Boyko: *Synagogy L'vova...*, p. 150.

<sup>68</sup> *Jewish Life in Lvov*, Yitzhak Goskind prod., Poland 1939. The Hebrew University Spielberg Film Archives, coll. No. B00034 (A-E); 2A; 2C.

The Progressive Congregation did not dare to change the Neo-Classical character of the synagogue exterior, despite the significant cultural and political changes that occurred from the 1840s until the moment of the inevitable renovation. The bold design proposed by Julian Zachariewicz in the mid-1890s, and meant to emphasize the Jewish sacred source and eschatological destination, was rejected by the congregation for the sake of the status quo. The interior changes eagerly employed motifs of historicist retrospections borrowed from the Oriental and Baroque repertoire.

### Polish Expression in a Progressive Synagogue

A new design concept emerged in 1905 in the deliberations regarding a new Progressive Synagogue of Lviv. The new plot was chosen in the most prominent urban location: by the corner of the Galician Diet, across the Mickiewicz thoroughfare<sup>69</sup>. As can be understood from a thin archival file, two mutually close stylistic alternatives — the Budapest Dohány Street and the Berlin Oranienburgerstrasse synagogues — were examined as possible models, but rejected. Instead, architect August Bogochwalski proposed a genuine Polish idiom (Fig. 19). He used the lower register of the walls, facilitated by Doric gabled porticos “in antis” alluding to the Temple of Jerusalem, as the foundation for the so-called Polish parapet, a Renaissance or Early Baroque form in its Polish rendition of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By the time of Bogochwalski’s work, such a parapet had already been discussed as a specific element of Polish synagogue architecture<sup>70</sup>. Three round towers flanked the central cylindrical domed mass of the prayer hall, topped with the Torah Crown and a Star of David. The interior layout with its round and sky-lit prayer hall paid tribute to the revered predecessors — the Stadttempel of Vienna and the extant Progressive Synagogue of Lviv. Moreover, the ground plan was delimited by offset equilateral triangles, a reference to Zachariewicz’s theory of inherent Jewish proportions (Fig. 20). Despite the multiplicity of subject-matters, the synagogue’s exterior transmitted a triumphant Polishness, enhanced by the similarity between its crowned cupola and that of the Progressive Synagogue at the Tłomackie Square in Warsaw (Leonard Marconi, 1874–78)<sup>71</sup>. Thus the Progressive Jewish congregation expressed support for the Polish cause through the use of design elements borrowed from across the partition borders, from Warsaw, the historical metropolis of Poland.

<sup>69</sup> Boyko: *Synahohy L'vova...*, p. 38–39; Central Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, 701-3-1505.

<sup>70</sup> M. Bersohn: *Żydowska bóżnica w mieście Łucku*, “Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce”, 5, zes. 4 (1896), 87–9; H. Segel: *Stare Synagogi*, “Wschód” [Lviv], 66 (1902), p. 7–8.

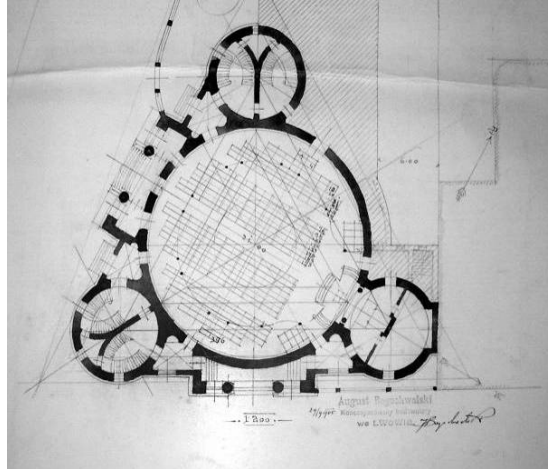


Fig. 20. The New Temple in Lviv, ground plan, proposal by architect August Bogochwalski, 1905. Central Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, 701-3-1505

The authorities did not allow the construction of this synagogue, and the plan was dropped in 1906 with the death of its ardent enthusiast Dr. Emil Byk (b. 1845), the President of the Jewish Community from 1902, and a strong supporter of Jewish assimilation in the Polish milieu<sup>72</sup>. Soon after, the highly acclaimed building plot was occupied by a bank.

### Epilogue

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the west-east vector of cultural patronage in the Central-Eastern European Jewish realm changed its direction radically. This was due to the ideology awakened by young western-educated intellectuals of *Ostjüden* roots, among them Martin Buber (1878–1965), and editors of the *Ost und West* review. They saw the “authentic folk” of eastern European Jewry as the revitalizing force for their western assimilated brethren, in the name of Jewish solidarity and emerging self-awareness<sup>73</sup>. This development was supported by a new generation of architects, including Józef Awin (1883–1942), born and active in Lviv. In his opinion, the genuine Jewish art that had existed for centuries in the ghetto was disrupted by the “barbarian” breach of the traditional boundaries and by the upsurge of architecture, especially that of the Reform synagogues, “where one can find hardly any Jewish

<sup>72</sup> N. M. Gelber: *Toledot yehudei Lvov*, col. 332; I. Singer, P. Wiernik: *Byk, Emil*. [in:] *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 3. New York 1902, p. 449–50.

<sup>73</sup> J. Nemtsov: *National Dignity’ and ‘Spiritual Reintegration’: The Discovery and Presentation of Jewish Folk Music in Germany*. [in:] *Jewish Cultural Studies*, vol. 1: *Jewishness: Expression, Identity, and Representation*, ed. S. J. Bronner. Oxford 2008, p. 105–106.

motifs,” at the expense of “good systematic development based on our eternal tradition”<sup>74</sup>. In his practice of synagogue architecture, unrelated to the Progressive denomination, Awin preferred implicit Polish references<sup>75</sup>.

However, Polish architectural patterns were barely acceptable in the West, where they were perceived as local Polish, and temporal<sup>76</sup>. They were seldom applied in the post-Hapsburg Central-European world, and then only by the Orthodox communities<sup>77</sup>. Thus the architectural realm of Central-European Progressive synagogues fell apart with the decay of the Empire.

The Progressive Synagogue of Lviv remained a monument to the 1840s, the years of its formation. It was adjusted to the changing cultural tastes by minor changes, discernable mainly in its interior and much less on the exterior. Retaining the exterior Neo-Classical style made this expression really timeless, as was intended by the architects. Despite connotations with the oppressive *Vormärz* epoch, the Temple became a revered landmark of Jewish culture: similarly, the Neo-Classical edifices housing Polish institutes – the Skarbek Theatre and Ossolineum – became appreciated landmarks of Polish culture in the city.

In the Second Polish Republic, the Progressive Synagogue annoyed some Polish chauvinists with its opulence, foreignness to the Polish architectural tradition, and its urban proximity to the Church of St. John the Baptist. Architect and theoretician Jan Karol Sas-Zubrzycki (1860–1935), a professor at the Lviv Polytechnic University, wrote: “Meantime in 1845 Lviv allowed the construction of a new synagogue similar to a Protestant church, even reminiscent of a presbytery, even of an apse, one that has suppressed and overshadowed the oldest Catholic church in Lviv, which is most dear to the memory of a Pole and a Catholic. In that church the icon of the Madonna of Częstochowa was said to have been preserved”<sup>78</sup>.

Despite many challenges, the revered congregation of the Progressive Synagogue, throughout its entire history, secured the majority in the Jewish Religious Community Board. It succeeded to delegate its members to the Town Hall, to the Diet of Galicia, to the Austro-Hungarian Parliament, and to the Sejm of the Second Polish Republic. As time passed, more and more fields of public activity beyond the synagogue’s walls became available to the congregation members. Notwithstanding their involvement in many modern forms of activity, some Jewish youth proudly attended it in the years between the World

<sup>74</sup> J. Awin: *O naszej kulturze estetycznej*, “Wschód” 44 (1909), p. 4–5.

<sup>75</sup> Kravtsov: *Jewish Identities...*, p. 99.

<sup>76</sup> E. Hiller: *Betrachtungen über den modernen Synagogenbau*, “Ost und West” 1 (1906): col. 36.

<sup>77</sup> See synagogues of Vienna XIII (by Arthur Grünberg, 1924), and Košice (by L’udovít Oelschläger and Gejza Zoltán Boskó, 1926–27), the latter with the impact of the Chipiez-Zachariewicz iconography.

<sup>78</sup> J. Sas-Zubrzycki: *Zabytki miasta Lwowa*. Lviv 1928, p. 6.

Wars<sup>79</sup>. Others seldom visited it except in the course of organized didactic excursions that were a part of the school lessons in religion<sup>80</sup>. For all of them, the Temple was related to their lifestyles and identities: it constituted a respectable place of prayer on an equal footing with the city's Christian sacred places.

The congregation members felt the enmity and arrogance peeping out from behind the quoted words of Sas-Zubrzycki. However, nothing in the history of the Temple was believed to contain any teleological seed of its destruction. The innocent racial speculations by Zachariewicz could not have predicted the scale of the hatred to which a scholarly notion could be extended. Eventually, the Temple was razed by German National Socialists, as were most of Lviv's synagogues, whether Progressive or belonging to other denominations.

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<sup>79</sup> J. J. Bussgang: *The Progressive Synagogue in Lwów*, [in:] *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 11, *Focusing on Aspects and Experiences of Religion*, ed. A. Polonsky. London 1998, p. 127–128.

<sup>80</sup> The author is profoundly thankful to Joanna Grun, the descendant of Meyer Rachmiel von Mieses, for her reminiscences of 1930s.