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A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF TÁLLYA AND OF THEIR SYNAGOGUE[1]

"Life cannot withstand death,
but memory is gaining in its struggle
against nothingness."[2]

Abstract: In the study I tried to reconstruct the history of the Jewish community of Tállya and their synagogue, for up to now neither the community, nor the art historically important Torah ark has received due attention. After the Holocaust very few survivors came back to Tállya – a settlement in Tokaj-Hegyalja, a region of north-eastern Hungary – and not a single member of the former Orthodox congregation lives there today. The community built their third place of worship in the mid-nineteenth century, pulled down in 1964. The reasons why I found it important to map the socio-cultural and religious environment in more detail are commemorative and research methodological. The Israelite community enjoyed autonomy in choosing their rabbi and arranging all other domestic matters, and consequently, their taste, religious orientation, acculturation influenced the shaping of their synagogue building, the style of its furnishing and ritual objects. For lack of congregational documents, many kinds of sources (e.g. newspaper articles, recollections, biographies of rabbis, municipal documents) had to be interpreted within the context offered by the historical elaborations of the age. It was indispensable to shed light on the system of relations between Hasidism of growing influence from the early nineteenth century and traditional Orthodoxy, particularly because the tendencies of secession also appeared in the Tállya community, and the iconography of the Torah ark of their synagogue is most closely related to the carved Torah arks of East European Hasidic communities (in Poland, Galicia, Moldavia, etc.). According to archival sources the community leaders of Tállya could assert their wish to have the woodcarver create symbolic motifs on the ark despite the rabbi's disapproval. As the direct antecedent to the composition I identified the masonry Torah ark of Mád, but the inventive, singular style of the carvings bears no kinship with the mentioned prototypes or the altars in churches in the vicinity. At the end of the paper I sum up the events that led to the demolition of the synagogue and the perishing of its interior furniture, relying on documents in the Hungarian Jewish Museum and the Monument Documentation Centre.

Keywords: Jewish community, Tokaj-Hegyalja, Tállya, Mád, Galicia, Moldavia, synagogue, Torah Ark, iconography, orthodox, hassidism, acculturation, antisemitism

Tállya in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used to be one of the most important market towns in the famous Hungarian wine growing region, Tokaj-Hegyalja, situated in north-eastern Hungary. Jews arriving from Eastern Poland and Moravia played significant roles in wine producing as vineyard tenants, middlemen and traders. Thus this region became a pretty lively area of Jewish culture until the Second World War, but after the Holocaust just a few survivors came back and could revitalize community life for a short period. Such was the case with Tállya where the orthodox synagogue built around 1840 was dismantled in 1964.

In this paper I try to reconstruct – on the basis of the sparse surviving written and pictorial sources – the building history of the Tállya synagogue and the construction of the peculiar Torah Ark made for it.[3] Discussing the building is, however, inseparable from the community that once used it. I deem it imperative to survey the sociocultural background and religious environment thoroughly, for two reasons. The one is that unlike Catholic parishes but similarly to Protestant congregations, the Israelite community had autonomy to choose its rabbi and decide on other

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Fig. 1. View of Tállya, the 1930s.
Szerencs, Zemplén Museum, Postcard collection

internal affairs, and therefore the taste, religious inclinations, acculturation of the members influenced the shaping of the synagogue building, the style of the furnishing and the ceremonial objects. The other is the need to pay tribute: the story outlined by the degree of integration of the Orthodox community members of Tállya in the local economic and cultural life in the nineteenth century and their tragic fate in the twentieth century with the disappearance of their material and spiritual legacy is not unparalleled: it sadly exemplifies the attitude of the majority nation once apparently more welcoming toward one of its most significant minorities *(Fig. 1)*.[4]

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF TÁLLYA FROM SETTLING TO THE 1950S

There is a dearth of sources about the early history of the Tállya Jewry. The history of the Jewish population of north-eastern Hungary, Tokaj-Hegyalja, is relatively thoroughly explored, their numbers, activities are fairly well documented with sources, and the findings of the publications may be understood to the Tállya community, too. The modern-time settling of Jews in Hungary started at the end of the seventeenth century, after the Ottomans had been driven out of the country. However, a more massive influx from Silesia, Moravia and later from Poland, Galicia to Hegyalja took place in the eighteenth century. More and more inns, shops, mills of local landowners were leased by them in the market towns of Tokaj-Hegyalja, and their role in vine growing and particularly in the vine trade increased considerably from the second half of the eighteenth century.[5] In the Hegyalja district 255 family heads, that is, about 1122 people lived in 1770. Though this area had the most populous Jewish community in the county, in Tállya there was still only a single Jewish family, while in Mád there were 48 and in Bodrogkeresztúr 36.[6] Several special laws and privileges were enacted about the settling and occupations of the Jews, but there was no unified legal regulation yet in the age, which also applies to the possession of vineyards, making wine (mainly sweet *aszú* wine) and wine trade, too.[7]

A larger influx of Jews from Galicia became possible after the annexation of the area by Austria in 1772 and the release of Joseph II's order "*Systematica gentis Judaicae regulatio*" in 1783. Census data for Zemplén county show 6412 Jewish inhabitants in 1787, 14 933 in 1835.[8] The major census under Joseph II taken in 1786 shows 4388 inhabitants in Tállya, promoting the market town to first place in Zemplén county, ahead of Sátoraljaújhely. In that year, 49 people were registered as Israelite in 9 households.[9] The county register of Jewish patresfamilias in 1812 reveals 39 in Tállya including rabbi David Löbl and teacher Aron Klein (*Instr. Prolium*). Sam.[uel] Schachter's name obviously indicated his occupation.[10] In the early nineteenth century, the community had a place of worship, [11] its tax-liable plot was provided by the owner of the demesne Prince Bretzenheim. The national census of Jews in 1821 registered 257 people in Tállya, the more affluent being lease-holders, merchants, artisans and shopkeepers.[12] There is another register for 1822, which enumerates the Jews who moved to Tállya in the previous three years and also lists their places of residence. Twenty-six newcomers are named, including four *praeceptor*s (teachers). The high number of teachers suggests that the community was large enough to provide a living for several teachers.[13]

For more populous Jewish communities outside the feudal system of estates, the Jewish communal structure, the *kehilla* provided the frames for everyday life, ensuring legal, religious, economic and welfare services. The communities lived by the Jewish tradition, their way of life – like that of the surrounding Christians – was traditional. Birth, death, marriage, divorce, succession, litigation, etc. took place under the strict regulations of the Halacha (Jewish religious "law"). The observance of the rules was supervised by chosen officials, first of all rabbis and judges. The shochet (ritual slaughterer) and the shamas (sexton, churchwarden) were also employed by the kehilla. The main venue of religious life was the synagogue,

but there were additional Jewish institutions, such as the *mikveh* (ritual bath) *heder* (elementary school), *yeshiva* (school of Talmudic studies), *Chevra Kadisha* (sacred society for burials) and *Chevra Shas* (a fraternity of men for the study of the Talmud). The survival of the Jews largely depended on this differentiated institutional system, on the millennia-old tradition of self-governance. In these cases the communities can be seen as closed, separate entities, the only area in which they were in interaction with members of the majority society being finance and commerce.[14]

By 1825, Jewish wine marchants and publicans had such weight in Tállya, that the nobility drafted a memorandum against them: "The Jews sell poor wine from other places in the taverns, whereas they could sell good wines from Tállya for the same price […] these poor wines from elsewhere are kept in the cellars of previously bribed inhabitants of Tállya, and making the middlemen believe they are wines of the owners of the cellars, they are sold as wine from Hegyalja."[15] The protocol compiled after the county investigation in 1826 mainly includes reports by settlement aldermen and the complaints of the denunciators, the other side was hardly given a hearing.[16]

One of the main activity of Tállya Jews was leasing shops or inns, but running them was not necessarily always profitable.[17] A certain Jakab Kohn (Kun), who was the leaser of the inn at today's No. 29, Rákóczi street and also worked as middleman and paid the tax after the large house at 31, Rákóczi street from 1817 *(Fig. 2)*, must have had considerable income. The house in the town centre was built by the former owner in the last third of the eighteenth century. Over the nineteenth, it remained in the Kohn family; in 1868 it was owned by Bernát Kohn and a men's outfit store, an apartment, a wine-house and a cellar were registered in it. The family sold the house in 1893.[18] The story of Jakab Kohn and his family – a high multiple of such stories could be cited from Tállya – well illustrates the process of emancipation which started in the stratum of the Tállya Jewry with a bent for entrepreneurship in the early nineteenth century and from the 1830s, when the regulations afflicting Jewish vineyard owners, middlemen and merchants were gradually eliminated, resulted in continuous economic growth. The next major station providing the Jewry of entire Hungary considerable concessions was Act 29 of 1840, which sanctioned the rights of free moving, free pursuit of trades and learning, much of which had already been implemented in practice. The last testament of Sámuel Deszberg dated 25 January 1842 kept in the Tállya municipal archives

Fig. 2. Tállya, No. 31, Rákóczi st.
(photo: Péter Kecskés, 1975. Szentendre, Hungarian Open Air Ethnographic Museum, inv.no. 25178)

is worthy of attention. Though he did not belong to the affluent (he left behind a house subject to tax, a tithe-imposed vineyard, a few movables and some debt), yet he is outstanding among Tállya inhabitants of the same status by leaving ten books behind, while in other last wills at most a Bible is mentioned sometimes. Since his two sons had caused him so much sorrow, he only left them ten forints each, the rest of his goods and chattels was bequeathed to the Israelite community of Tállya.[19]

The April Laws of 1848 including the liberation of serfs turned serfs into free citizen who could own land via the compulsory and general manumission compensation. The Jewish inhabitants of Tállya also became lawful house owners in the next years. With the extension of state administration to all citizens, the independent Jewish communities as administrative and legal units ceased to exist from the mid-nineteenth century, and their jurisdiction got restricted to issues of faith, charity and religious life. An illuminating event in January 1861 sheds light on the fact that the Jewry of Tállya – at least the more well-to-do stratum – had already integrated in the society of the market town. When two deputies were about to be elected into the county assembly by the inhabitants with voting rights, parish priest József Fándy chairing the meeting asked whether the dwellers of the town would be ready to give voting rights to "eligible Jews", even though the 1848 laws did not imply the franchise of the Jews. As the reply to his question was in the affirmative, he ordered that

the Jews entitled to vote on the bases of their wealth or income should be listed. The list was subsequently put up in the square outside the town hall. The names also survive in the municipal record: rabbi Tannenbaum, Márton Pakubovics, Emanuel Fendric, József Schwarz, József Bergstein, Jakab Farkas, Móric Stern, Farkas Stern, Zsigmond Jonász, Bernát Kohn, Jakab Goldstein, Jakab Zicherman, Ignác Berger, Hermann Zsürger, Sándor Polák, Sámuel Stern, Sámuel Polácsek.[20] Some of the names in the list may be familiar: Bernát Kohn was introduced above, Móric Stern and Jakab Farkas were lease-holders of the most lucrative properties of the owner of the estate, Ignác Berger was the lessee of the Korona inn and he also ran a seasonal pub to sell his own wine at his own house. [21] The cadastral map of 1867, the 1868 record of the estate section and the census data of 1869 provide grounds to reconstruct what their occupations were and in which part of town, in which houses they lived.[22] Earlier archival sources help clarify (approximately) from when they had lived in or possessed the real estates. For pressure of space, let me only mention one of the finest houses of Tállya once owned by Hermann Zsürger. The proprietorship of this country house – now a listed historic bulding – at No. 22, Rózsa street can be retraced to the seventeenth century; it was owned in the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries by one of the most influential and richest families of the town, the Janthós. In the original layout, downstairs was the spacious winery with vaulted and timbered ceiling, upstairs were the private apartments, and a storeyed and ramifying cellar was attached to the end of the house. The court front showed a parapeted porch with semicircular arches, Tuscan semi-columns and Bohemian vaults (Figs. 3–4). Earlier missing from the registers, Hermann Zsürger must have bought the property after 1848; in 1888 it already belonged to another family.[23] The change of owners must have been connected to the vine-pest phylloxera raving in the Hegyalja at that time.

From the mid-nineteenth century the percentage rate of Jews continuously increased in the whole country, due partly to the natural growth rate and immigration from the east. This increase was typical of Tállya, too: by the census of 1869, 404 Jews lived in Tállya (10.1% of the total population), and with 420 in 1880 (11.5%) they reached their highest number. Growth can be demonstrated in the entire country and in the region, too, while in the vicinity there were settlements with much higher rates of the Jewry: e.g. in Abaújszántó there were 1093 Jews (24.3% of the population), in Mád 882 (25.4%). in Sátoraljaújhely 4057 (32.1%) in 1880.[24] With the dissolution of feudal society, most obstacles shackling the social and economic advance of the Hungarian Jewry had been eliminated. The social establishment based on capitalist economy required the very qualities and knowledge the development of which had been "forced" upon the Jews, as it were: enterprising spirit, mobility, a flair for financial matters, erudition. That went parallel with the emancipatory efforts of a part of the Jewish society.[25] The real breakthrough came with Act 17 of 1867 on civil and political emancipation of the Hungarian Jews in the civil society.

Fig. 3. Tállya, No. 22, Rózsa st., 1961
(photo: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, inv.no. 56.340N)

Fig. 4. Tállya, No. 22, Rózsa st. courtyard, 1961
(photo: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, inv.no. 56.340aN)

Few nineteenth-century sources can be found on the religious life of the Orthodox community of Tállya, on the role played by diverse religious trends emerging from mid-century. They are to be discussed in the analysis of the synagogue, as they help shed some light on the events and actors. As for the knowledgeable rabbis leading the congregation, let me quote two brief appreciations. In the periodical *Egyenlőség* the following praise of Jakov Tannenbaum (1832–1896, rabbi in Tállya in 1858–1869) appeared upon his refusal as rabbi of Putnok to accept the rabbinate of the Pest Orthodox community in 1889: "the rabbi of Putnok is among the most outstanding rabbis of Hungarian Orthodoxy, he is an authority on the Talmud and is distinguished by birth as well. He is namely the son of Wolf Tannenbaum, the late rabbi of Verpelét, famous author of the works 'Maamar Ester', 'Palgé Majim' and 'Beer Rechovos'. His elder brother is the rabbi of Mezőcsát, one of the greatest authorities among Orthodox rabbis and his two sons, Menachem and Meir as rabbis of Fülek and Torna, respectively, stand the test among the cream of Orthodox rabbis."[26] The obituary in the periodical *Zsidó Szemle* for Gerson Lits Rosenbaum (1837–1901, rabbi in Tállya in 1870–1901), founder of a dynasty of Tállya rabbis contains the following: "Worthy offspring of great ancestors and the ancestor of worthy descendants […] For the precious gem and ornament of Israel was his dear father R. Léb Lits Rosenbaum, the famous rosh beth din and judge of Pozsony, and so is his son a prominence of Israel, Moses Rosenbaum, the rabbi of Kisvárda… He has devotedly served the Almighty in his predecessors and his scions, as a committed priest of the Torah. He inherited blessing, and he passed on blessing to his son. The greatest blessing: the blessing of piety. He was a trunk tied to the prominents of Israel with each of his roots and each branch of his family."[27]

With Act 42 of 1895 – the law of Reception – which ensured religious emancipation after legal emancipation, all barriers were – in theory – cleared from the path to the assimilation of the Jews. However, it did not mean economic, social and cultural equality between the Jewry and the majority society. From among the factors hindering assimilation only the most important ones can be listed here for shortage of space: the sociocultural differentiation of the Jewish society, growing anti-Semitism (the Tiszaeszlár trial in 1882–1883, foundation of the National Anti-Semitic Party in 1883), and the tensions between the Neolog and Orthodox branches of the religion. Instead of assimilation, though, a degree of acculturation can be observed in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century even in such a traditional, Orthodox community as that of Tállya. Only a few of its moments can be touched on here, although the highest number of sources and a few truly suggestive recollections have survived from this very period.[28]

In the early twentieth century, the rate of Jews within the country's population constantly decreased: in 1910 282 out of 3650 inhabitants of Tállya were Jews, in 1920 299 out of 3927, in 1930 196 and in 1941 173 (4.9%). Their economic significance, by contrast, increased up to World War I echoing the nationwide tendency, and their social approval – except the period of white terror after the Republic of Councils – was constant until the 1930s. A survivor of the Holocaust Simon Paszternák writes that in Tállya the largest of the nine manorial inns – the "Veres", "Cifra", "Dobogó" and "Nagyvendéglő" were run by Jewish innkeepers, and of all the 13 innkeepers only one was not Jewish. The owner of the dominion, Baron Nándor Maillot (1884–1929), MP from the Unity (*Egységes*) Party,[29] leased out the lands to Jewish tenants: the so-called "Masina" estate in Tállya was rented by a member of the Grosz family who went into land lease in other nearby settlements, Forró, Encs, Fáj, etc.; the so-called "Rátkai" estate was leased out to the Herz family.[30] Ede Herz was the burgher for whom the house at today's No. 45, Rákóczi street was built. Out of the former two buildings the one on the street was pulled down and replaced, above the valuable cellar system, by a new house in then fashionable geometric Art Nouveau style *(Fig. 5)*. The town mill was purchased by Benjámin Paszternák in 1909. He died at the age of 81 in 1935, his son Simon going on with the business. People recalled that he kept it working after the war, until the nationalizations in 1949.[31] I cite a few episodes from the life of Márton Stern's family, which suffice to illustrate the day to day life of a traditional Orthodox Jewish family and the coexistence of Christians and Jews prior to the late 1930s by when anti-Semitism had intensified.[32] Márton Stern was born in 1880, originating from Huszt. A grocer, undertaker and jack-of-all-trades, he was also a teacher (*melamed*) at the Tállya heder. His shop can be seen in a picture postcard of the central part of Rákóczi street, in Miksa Baumgarten's house, at today's No. 47. It was burglarized during the 1919 revolution and he could never find his footing again. In spite of that, Márton was also among the leaders of prayer in the synagogue, although it was usually the prerogative of the more affluent. He was a devout and erudite person, in his youth he attended

Fig. 5. Tállya, No. 45, Rákóczi st.
Drawing: Ádám Bálint, 2016

the yeshiva, he taught his 3-year-old grandchild the Hebrew alphabet. His son attended the yeshiva in Abaújszántó, the daughters also learnt to read Hebrew and studied in the Calvinist school of Tállya (the Israelite denominational school was no longer active), because it was important for their father that there was no depiction of God there. One of them was allowed to join the school choir as only psalms were sung there, but they were forbidden to utter the name of Jesus. In the recollections of Simon Paszternák we may read about the contact between Jews and Christians the following: "For Kol Nidre on the eve of Yom Kuppur, the polish (*antechamber)* and the temple itself up to the rear pews were filled with Christians. After the great day Christians came to me at the mill and said: We've been in your church on the eve of the feast, we saw your priest dressed in white as if he was not a human being but an angel descended from heaven to preach."

In the first half of the twentieth century, the rabbi of Tállya was the middle member of a dynasty, Lipót Rosenbaum (1901–1935), followed by his son Miklós Rosenbaum (1935–1944). Lipót Rosenbaum must have been a respected citizen of the settlement, as several data prove. *Egyenlőség* also reported in 1925 that "in the world-famous settlement of Tokaj-Hegyalja", Tállya aldermen were elected and the chief rabbi was also included in the council: "The voters of two small electorates of Tállya, the people of Rákóczi – 800 hard and serious souls – set an example to the hate-mongering part of the capital. With their votes the Hungarians of Tállya have proven that with denominational walls only wicked creatures would want to segregate one human being from his fellow humans in the social and political sphere."[33] The election of the Mád district members whose eligibility did not depend on their wealth but were elected directly was held on 3 November 1929 for the Zemplén county government. Among them Lipót Rosenbaum, "the generally respected, eloquent and highly erudite chief rabbi of Tállya" was also sent to the body by voters of Mád, Rátka, Tállya and Ond.[34]

In the decade after Hitler's rise to power the Jews lost all their rights step by step in Hungary via the so-called anti-Jewish laws (the first being Act 15 of 1938), ministerial orders and tens of thousands of legal rules. They were squeezed out from all fields of economic, political and cultural life, got deprived of their individual and communal property and finally of their civil rights.[35] To what extent the non-Jewish population of Tállya was influenced by the general anti-Semitic atmosphere of the country, by the instigating tone of some peiodicals, by the prospect of acquiring Jewish leases, possessions cannot be known. The attitude of the Christian denominations, local civil societies and individuals could perhaps be explored through meticulous research into the material of municipal and county archives.[36] A few cases are known from Tállya of Jewish owners who had to "convey" their possessions under the legal regulations in the forties.[37]

After the occupation of Hungary by the German army (19 March 1944) in April when the Jewish communities were listed, Tállya as an Orthodox parent congregation was registered with 143 members. The president of the religious community was official Ármin Nagy, the keeper of the register was rabbi Miklós Rosenbaum. The only independent denominational institution was the Chevra Kadisha.[38] In April 1944 the collection of the Jews in the provinces and deportation into concentration camps began under the control of Adolf Eichmann's *Sondereinsatzkommado* with the active participation of the Hungarian gendarmerie and administration. On the pretext of the approach of Russian troops, the collection of people began on 15 and 16 April (the day of Pesach) in Abaúj-Torna and Zemplén counties, ahead of most of the country. The Jews of Tállya, too, were gathered on these days and transported to the ghetto in Sátoraljaújhely. Several reports survive even from April 1944 about the incredulity of the Jewry about the ghettoization. Those who dared speak of deportation were branded traitors, scare-mongerers; they believed in the just and strong Hungarian government who would not leave them in the lurch.[39] Rabbi Dr. Jákob Teichmann, an inhabitant of Zurich originating from Tállya, put it succinctly: "They were

Fig. 6. Tombstone of Gerson Lits Rosenbaum, rabbi of Tállya between 1870–1901
(photo: Zsuzsanna Galamb, 2018. MÉM MDK)

Fig. 7. Tombstone of Lipót Rosenbaum, rabbi of Tállya between 1901–1935
(photo: Zsuzsanna Galamb, 2018. MÉM MDK)

gullible, misled, naïve and unsuspecting people. But, after all, the horrible reality surpassed the most terrified imagination." Rabbi Miklós Rosenbaum (b. 1910) shared the fate of his flock with his wife Franciska Katz (b. 1918), mother Mrs Lipót Rosenbaum b. Margit Amália Rosenbaum (b. 1880) and four small children, who perished in forced labour or the annihilating camps of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Mauthausen.[40]

In 1945, hardly 30 survivors returned to Tállya, and not all were former inhabitants. They cleaned the synagogue used as a stable, had the ark of covenant renovated, rebuilt the mikveh, and repaired the graves. On the wall of the synagogue a memorial tablet with the names of martyrs was put up.[41] In Jewish tradition the preservation of the names of the deceased plays a particularly important role, for it ensures the survival of the person's legacy. In the period following the Shoa no figural memorials were created as the rabbis of great prestige were against them for fear of idolatry. It was a time-honoured practice to perpetuate the names of the deceased members of the community on *mazkir* tablets (commemorative tablet) on the wall of the synagogue. The names of soldiers killed in WWI were also put up on the walls of synagogues, and in 1945 the new tablets were made on their model. The inscriptions are generally in Hebrew or Yiddish, some featuring the commandment Do not kill! in Hungarian, e.g. on the memorial in neighbouring Abaújszántó.[42]

Without a rabbi and a community, you cannot pursue religious life. In 1949 a total of 23 people self-reported being Jews.[43] The Tállya survivors emigrated, most to Israel and America. Some moved to Budapest or other large cities.[44] The unused, deteriorating synagogue, despite several years of fighting for is salvage, was demolished in 1964.[45] Today, there isn't a single memorial apart from the deserted cemetery that would conjure up the memory of a community once of rich traditions and its tragic fate. The tombstones of two members of the Rosenbaum rabbi dynasty can be found in the *ohel* (*Figs. 6–7*).

THE SYNAGOGUE AND TORAH ARK OF TÁLLYA

In the nineteenth century, a block of lots bounded by today's Bercsényi, Kazinczy, Rákóczi and Kossuth streets evolved owned by the Jewish community. In the first half of the century on one of the first acquired parcels the synagogue was built in place of former sites of worship. The history of the plot on which the synagogue used to be can be retraced until 1741. In the knowledge of the history of the surrounding lots it can be presumed that prior to 1741 this plot was not built up, but contained gardens.[46] At first it was probably a plot between two streets, which was later divided, and the upper tax-imposed part toward today's Kazinczy street could be separately owned by Pál Mohácsy, a tax-paying serf.[47] In 1783 György Mohácsy's name appears in the register; in Römisch's contemporaneous map lot no. 260 displays a short oblong house with its short side to the street.[48] In the great fire of 1810 it did not burn down, while all the houses on the tax-exempt site to northeast were registered as consumed by fire.

The register of 1813 already indicates the Jewish community as proprietor of the plot (presumably with a building).[49] The lot after which tax was to be paid was given to them by Prince Charles August Ferdinand of Bretzenheim, the owner of the dominion from 1808. In 1812, 39 Jewish patresfamilias were registered in Tállya including rabbi David Löbl and Aron Klein, the teacher of the children (*Instr.Prolium*).[50] So many men and their families could not crowd into a dwelling house room, so probably they used a larger building for the site of worship. Since the documents of the Israelite community did not survive, only secondary sources and summarizing works help outline an approximative chronology of construction. In registers of 1817–1822 a "house of the Jewish public" is recorded, maybe it was the first venue of worship.[51] As noted above, from the early nineteenth century the number of Tállya Jews grew constantly, numbering 257 in 1821, the better-off being lease-holders, innkeepers, shopkeepers. Volume 3 of Elek Fényes' statistical work came out in 1837; in it he put the number of Jews in Tállya at 340 and mentions a synagogue, too, which might be the second place of worship.[52] According to the *Pinkas Hakehillot*, the synagogue pulled down in the 1960s was built in 1840, and it was the third venue of worship.[53] The first renowned rabbi of the Tállya community was David Jehuda Rottenberg (1783–1857), but we don't know from when to when he led the community and, maybe, supervised the construction of the synagogue.[54] Another book dates the construction to the time of rabbi Jakob Tannenbaum, who was the rabbi and leader of the yeshiva between 1858 and 1869.[55] In Anikó Gazda's fundamental summary, Tállya is included in the table showing the size of Jewish communities and communal buildings by settlements (the groundplan of the building is not included), but probably the date of the completion of the new roof – 1890 – was misinterpreted as the date of completion, possibly on the basis of the *Pinkas hakehillot*.[56] Since no authentic primary data are available, all we may contend is that most probably the third place of worship was built in the 1840s–1850s, during the rabbinate of Rottenberg or Tannenbaum.

For lack of congregation documents, only some archive photos from different years and survey drawings made during the demolition are at our disposal to reconstruct the one-time exterior and interior of the church and the furnishing.[57] Important additional information is gleaned from the memoirs of Simon Paszternák, earlier a resident of Tállya.[58]

Fig. 8. Tállya, synagogue, NW façade, 1964
(photo: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, inv.no. 149.864ND)

The synagogue with a rectangular plan form and modest architectural dressing was set against the rear boundary of the plot (cad.no.: 981) with access from Kazinczy street and oriented to NW–SE *(Fig. 8)*. Its pitched roof was tiled, the shorter facades had multi-curved gables. Dimensions of the building were: wall width: 1.15 m, interior space: 21.7 m × 11.3 m, the synagogue space: 9 m × 13.7 m, gallery: 7.7 m × 9 m, interior height: 7.3 m *(Figs. 9–10)*. Above the stone base the facades adorned with lisenas and panels were crowned by a triple cornice with an empty frieze. The short side facing the street includes the flat-headed entrance door with a stone frame and a wooden semi-circular lunette above it. At the northern corner steep stairs between wing walls lead to the plaster-framed flat-headed door of the women's gallery. On the other side of the gate there is flat-headed window. The stairs, gallery door and the window date from the time of a later reconstruction; the shape and parapet height of the apertures differ from the rest of apertures on the other three sides. On the south-western front, in the first groundfloor axis there is a plaster-framed standing oblong window, above there are three plaster-framed segment headed windows, between them and on the corners there are double lisenas. The north-eastern façade is similarly designed. On either edge of the south-eastern front there are double lisenas and two plaster-framed segment headed windows. The gables are divided by a string course, with vases on the corners. Beneath the string course there is a round aperture on the entrance side and a round plaster frame on the rear gable.

The interior has a flat dowelled beam ceiling with painted cornice mouldings. The decorative painting of the ceiling consists of a painted border and medallions with geometric and vegetal ornaments, the walls are divided into fields by painted frames and lisenas. The painting probably dates from the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth century. The women's balcony with a plank floor and masonry parapet resting on two columns projects deep into the nave on the north-western side. On the brickwork parapet with a single-moulded cornice and painted panels there is a simple wooden railing. This screen (*mechitza*) is meant to hide women as required by Orthodox rules. The first part of the gallery is above the vestibule with a three-bay barrel vault. In the middle of its eastern wall an aperture leads to the space under a narrower, flat-ceiling section supported by two columns, which thus has three apertures toward the nave. The vestibule under the barrel vault served for example as the garderobe, and in winter as a smaller house of prayer.

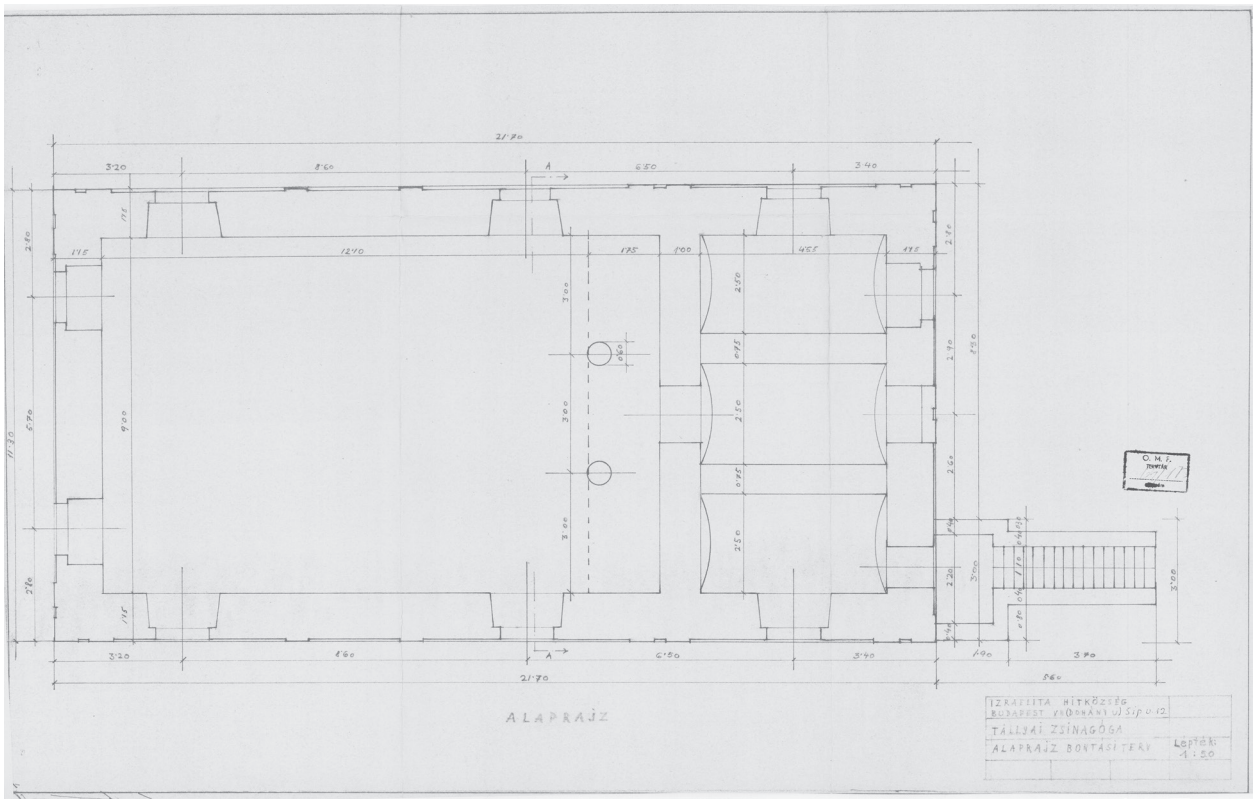

Fig. 9. Tállya, synagogue, groundplan, 1964. MÉM MDK, Tervtár, inv.no. 7709

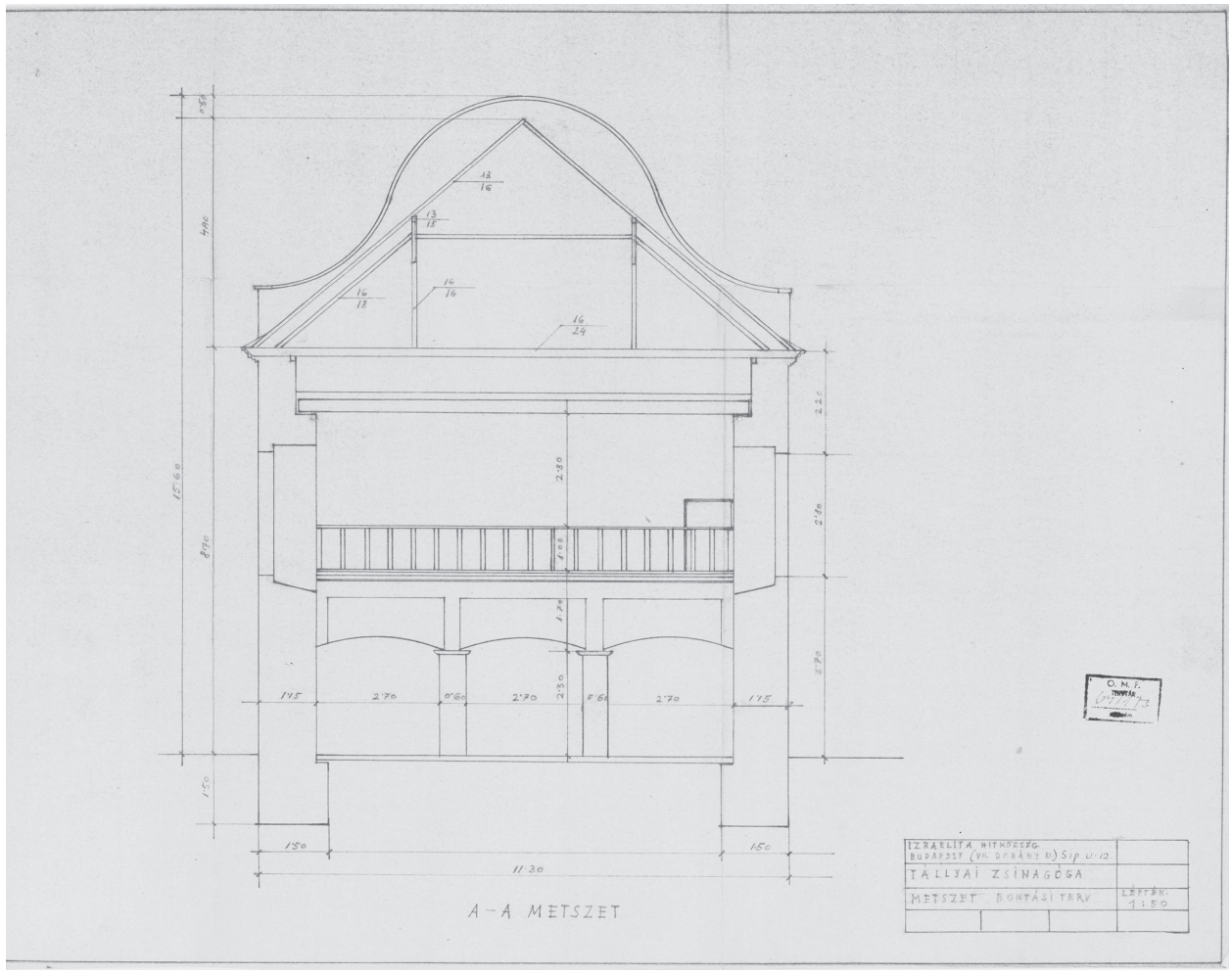

Fig. 10. Tállya, synagogue, section, 1964. MÉM MDK, Tervtár, inv.no. 7709

The Torah Ark of some 7 m in height up to the ceiling is against the south-eastern wall; its beauty owed to the plasticity and expressive power of its carvings and colours (*Fig. 11*). Unfortunately, only Simon Paszternák's recollections give us some idea of the colours. His description is so evocative that it is worth quoting the entire passage: "A special attraction of the synagogue was the Torah Ark carved with peerless mastery and covering nearly the entire eastern wall. Four huge white Corinthian columns on broad plinths with steps divided the lower section into three fields. In the middle part was the Ark proper, while the two outer fields featured lute-shaped carvings. On the cornice about 4 m in height two life-sized carved lions guarded the two stone tablets. Guarding was indicated by the carved rope they held in their mouths. Above the tablets in a cloudlike form the 4 letters of the "Name of G-d". This was surrounded by a halo of fire from which sheaths of rays reached up to the ceiling. The thickness of the church walls being about 1 m made it possible to build such tall walls without vaulting. At the end of each sheath of rays on both sides blood red roses bloomed. The masterpiece listed as a historic monument was built by a cabinet maker of Bénye called Pálffy and painted in the harmonious azure of the sky and the colour of the cloud, with rich gilding. From the legs of a painted hovering eagle the Ner-Tamid was hanging.[59] At the four corners of the nave ornate six-point chandeliers of rich wood carvings and in the middle a 12-point chandelier were hanging from high. Later, electric lighting replaced the candles in these wooden chandeliers."[60]

On the basis of the only surviving black/white photo of the Torah Ark and the photos showing the more or less emptied building, we identified a few motifs that deviate from the above description, and added a few minor details. In front of the Torah niche the richly moulded cornice is held by four stylized Corinthian columns. On the cornice, on a low pedestal, two reclining lions looking backward are

seen, with the two tablets of the ten commandments between them. Above this, in an oval tablet there is the Tetragram, with a richly carved and painted wreath-like framing around it. Inside a gilded bead moulding, around it inward bending white and dark leaves, with a "wind-blown" wreath of leaves of diverse lengths around them can be made out. Below, on either side a white and red rose stem ending in sturdy leaves and a braided rope held by the lions in their mouths start.

Between the two pairs of columns, the gothic-style back of the officials' seat ending in a Torah crown can be identified against the wall. In front of the outer column on the right the prayer leader's desk, the *omed* can be seen.

The Torah niche is hidden by a curtain (*parochet*) hung from the rear rail of a metal stand in front of the columns, the front rail holding a short curtain (*kaporet*). The name parokhet first appears in the description of the first shrine where it separated the Holy of Holies from the temple hall, while the kaporet symbolizes the gold lid of the Ark; the latter only appeared in European synagogues as late as the end of the seventeenth century. The positions of the parochet and kaporet on parallel rails is unusual, for normally the kaporet is above the parochet, hiding its upper part.[61] I found a similar arrangement in the Rococo style synagogue of Lazně Kynžvart/Bad Königswart (Czech Republic).[62]

In the middle of the patterned parochet a monochrome velvet inset is seen with David's star. This simple Torah curtain without inscription is certainly other than the one made from the beautiful table-cloth, a gift by the Counts Andrássy,[63] about which Simon Passternák writes: "The Chevra Kadisha preserved the purple silk table-cloth richly embroidered in gold thread, with the ornate Andrássy coat of arms in the four corners. The table-cloth was converted by the Chevra Kadisha into an Ark curtain by mounting it onto a very fine brocade fabric."

In the middle in front of the Ark is the *bimah* covered with a textile; there is a wrought iron rail of leaf motifs on three sides with finely decorated candlesticks at the four corners. At the back there were two entrances from two sides to the bimah closed by simple lath doors.

Oriented NW–SE, the building was situated west of the market town centre, on a plot in a side street of the main street. It was set on the rear boundary of the lot with a front yard as shown by the map of 1867

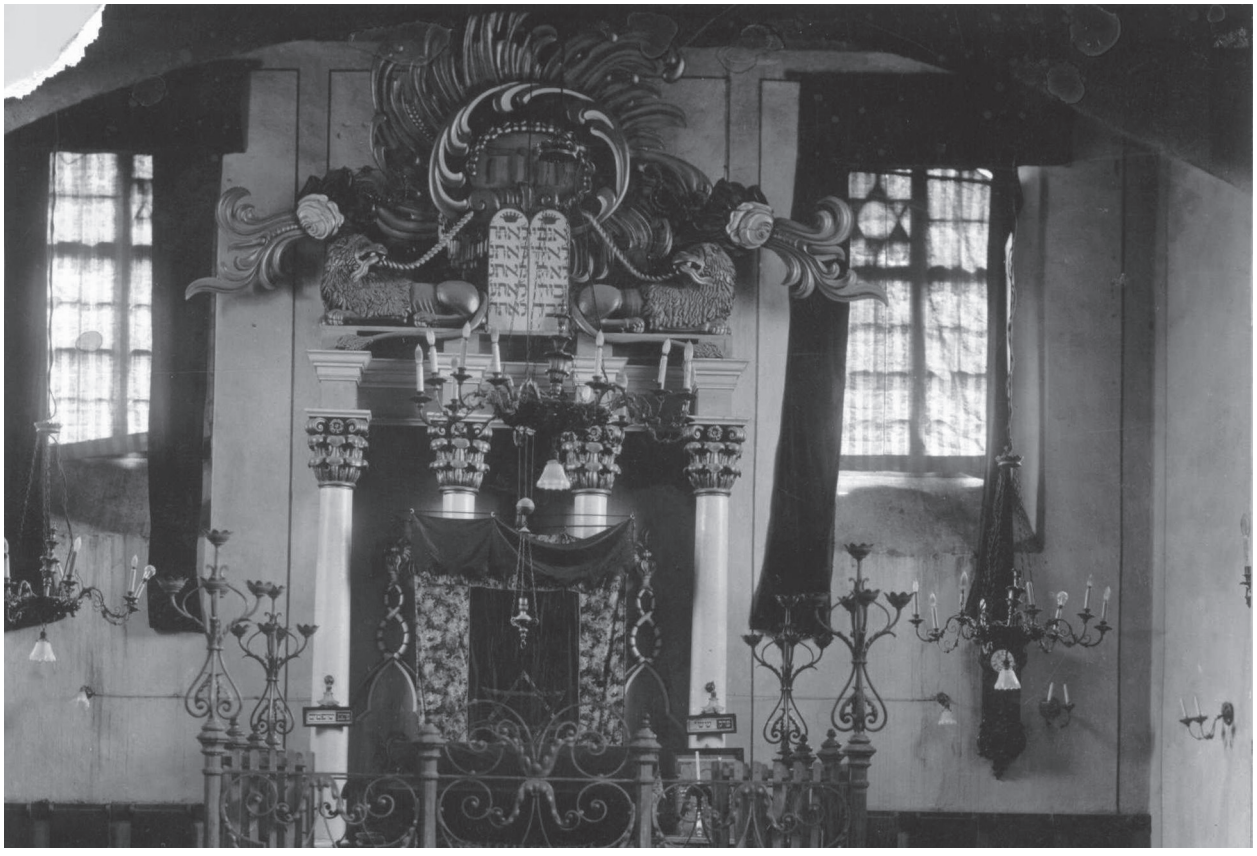

Fig. 11. Torah Ark of the Tállya synagogue, before 1944 (photo: MZsML, Fénykép Gyűjtemény, inv.no. F00.22)

(cad.no. 234, No. 500, Posta st.; *Fig. 12*). This mode of building up a plot was typical of the first half of the nineteenth century when thanks to liberalization from around the 1820s and more extensively from the 1840s, the synagogues of the Israelites did not have to be built on the innermost spot of a block in the neighbourhood most densely populated by Jews, but it could be erected on a plot bounded by a street, with a front court or on the street line. In line with the general synagogue plans of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, too, this one also had a single hall laid out longitudinally. It was the most widespread type in the first half of the nineteenth century, too. Similar is the layout of the synagogue of Tokaj built in 1750, that of Tarcal dated 1779, that of Sátoraljaújhely built in 1790, as well as that of Szendrő (c. 1830) where the religious leader around that time was Wolf Tannenbaum, father of the Tállya rabbi Jakov Tannenbaum. The overall dimensions of the above synagogues are approximately identical, c. 10 m × 15–20 m; the smallest was the earliest synagogue of Tokaj which was consumed by fire in 1890.[64] Like the above temples, the one in Tállya also had a flat ceiling and a western gallery. Originally an indoor staircase led to the women's balcony, but when it was extended, an external entrance was made. The later exterior stairs of the Mád synagogue (1795–1798) were pulled down in the twentieth century, the staircase of Tarcal is still extant.

According to Israelite religious practice, sacrality is not bound to the place of worship as a building but to the community that uses it. In traditional communities the synagogue was not only the venue of prayer and learning, but also an assembly point: that was where the official decisions were read out. The interior layout of synagogue buildings is determined by the liturgy which is emphatically communal. It means reading a definite passage from the five books of Moses (the Torah) three times a week and joint prayer every day. Anyone can be the leader of prayers who knows the ritual order. In buildings facing east there are two focal point: the bimah used for the recitation of the Torah, which in Ashkenazi practice is in the middle, and the cabinet holding the Torah scrolls, in remembrance of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies. Both edifices were raised on elevated platforms with a few steps. The Torah ark was set against the eastern wall, because Jewish communities traditionally prayed turning toward Jerusalem. It was still an important aspect at that time to separate men and women, which explains the western galleries for women.

Fig. 12. Cadastral map of Tállya, 1867: Synagogue (plot no.: 500), house of rabbi (plot no.: 501), mikveh (plot no.: 525). MNL BAZmL SFL

There is no instruction about the architectural language in the Tanakh (the Hebrew Bible) or in the rabbinical tradition, but it was important that the synagogue should not adopt the style of the churches of the majority society. The same was expected by the Christian majority as well. The simple dressing of the Tállya synagogue with its gables, stone urns, wall panels and pilasters did not differ from that of rural country houses or town dwellings built by the Christian artisans who constructed the synagogues, too. The master builder was either the manorial architect or a member of the town guild of builders.[65] Kornél Divald, art historian of the beginning of the twentieth century wrote a pithy summary: "From among the Israelite temples of Hegyalja, those of Mád, Tállya and Tarcal survive in their eighteenth-century Zopf style. In all three the lavishly carved fantastic frames of the Torah niche concentrate all interior ornamentation."[66] Divald dates the Tállya synagogue to the eighteenth century; indeed, the simple late Baroque style of the façade does not help exact dating, for this idiom of form survived up to the mid-nineteenth century. The architecture of the synagogues of nearby Tarcal and Mád is, however, richer (*Figs. 13–14*); the Tállya church is closer to the places of worship in Apostag (1822) and Hőgyész (1815), while the design of its gables is very similar to that of a baroque house in Sárospatak, today at No.9, Attila street. This kind of synagogues with similar longitudinal mass layout and facade design can also be spotted in settlements of the broader region, former Upper Hungary, e.g. Homonna

Fig. 13. Synagogue of Mád
(photo: Krisztina Bélavári, 2013. MÉM MDK)

Fig. 14. Synagogue of Tarcal
(photo: Sergey Kravtsov, 2018. Courtesy of the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

(today Slovakia), the 1790s; Sebes-Kellemes, (today Slovakia), 1830; Stomfa (today Slovakia), 1803.[67]

It is mentioned by Simon Paszternák in his memoirs that in the great fire of 1868 the temple of the Jews also burnt down, and the inscription on its gable said it was rebuilt in 1871.[68] Actually, the great fire was in 1861 in Tállya, in which 178 houses, buildings of the Catholic and Calvinist churches and the synagogue were registered as affected.[69] Since the synagogue was built of stone, mainly the roofing and the ceiling must have been damaged, similarly to the Calvinist church whose tower and roof structure had to be rebuilt. 1871 possibly marked the completion of the reconstruction. That was probably when the women's gallery was extended, the external entrance on the NW front is apparently a later addition where the shape of the windows and their parapet height also differ from the other sides. Adding a wooden screen to the parapet after the extension to hide women's heads was already judged as a conservative solution. In congregations more open to modern ideas the heightening screen was omitted from the mid-nineteenth century. However, traditionalists regarded this element as crucially important, and the resolution of the conservative rabbis made after the congress at Nagymihály in 1865 prohibited, among other things, visiting synagogues in which the balcony only had a handrail instead of a screen.[70]

One of the central principles of Judaism is that God cannot be represented, and therefore in the synagogues only his attributes, names and forms of manifestation could be the themes of art. There are, however, no written sources with accurate prescriptions about the possible sphere of topics to be visualized, there are only some recommendations about some symbols. Since there was no continuous tradition of symbolic images used in painted decoration and the programs were not written down, different interpretations are possible. The symbolic animal and plant motifs applied usually depended on the consent of the community – scholarly rabbis were only consulted when doubts were raised because, e.g., a depiction echoed some non-Jewish religious symbol, or it could divert the attention of the believers, or again, the danger of idolatry was feared. The authors of responsa were engrossed in explaining the Law, which did not include guidelines for ornamentation. The opinion of the asked rabbis were responses to concrete situations, ill suited to provide general rules for the practice. Modern-age rabbis often referred to their noted mediaeval predecessors when they did not forbid the depic-

tion of certain animals or plants. The meaning of an ornamental motif must have been obvious for the congregation at the time of origin, then this interpretation was passed down by word of mouth, changing and fading in time. Later researchers tried to decipher the meanings of symbols based on the Talmud, the Bible, the Jewish mystical literature and/or the local folklore, praising the creators' ability to cherish Jewish art rooted in their own tradition, or conversely, to adapt to the East European cultural tradition. Sometimes, the creative solutions of restorers or the local oral tradition (too) revealed the answers.[71] The described difficulties of interpretation also apply to certain motifs of Torah arks and the carvings of grave stones. With all this in mind, it is still worth attempting to enumerate and when possible, interpret the unusual, atypical details of the Tállya Torah Ark.

Only a single photo survives from the first half of the twentieth century of the carved crested edifice held by wooden columns framing the Torah niche of Tállya synagogue in addition to the detailed descripted by Simon Paszternák cited on earlier pages (see *Fig. 11*). Few eighteenth–nineteenth-century Torah arks survived in north-eastern Hungary, and archive photos are rare, too. The simple, presumably mid-nineteenth century carved Torah ark of the pulled down synagogue of Olaszliszka represents another type. Among the surviving specimens there are masonry edifices, some restored from their deteriorating state such as the Ark at Mád. What they share with the Tállya ark is the adoption of the scheme of Catholic altars: the edifice is divided into tiers and emphatically framed by columns/pilasters which may hold the architrave. The iconography of the restored Mád ark and the surviving remains of the Tarcal ark displays links to Tállya, so they will be discussed in more detail later. However, the style of the carvings of the Tállya Torah ark is quite unique not only in the region but among the monuments of Eastern Europe. Analogies of the edifice have not been found even in areas (Poland, Lithuania, Galicia, Ukraine) where there was a great output of artistically executed Torah arks carved in wood with rich iconography from the mid-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, from where other regions also borrowed the type.[72]

There are important publications about the synagogues of the above areas and the symbolic representations of the Torah arks, but the single major synthesizing work is Bracha Yaniv's book published in 2017, which has elaborated the few surviving specimens and a lot of archival materials in terms of art history, culture history and religion history.[73] In the second half of the eighteenth century the massive spread of mystic spiritualism of time-honoured antecedents and the access to a multitude of printed Kabbalistic literature were concomitant to the appearance of Hasidism. Founded by rabbi Israel ben Eliezer/Baal Shem Tov (1698–1760), the Hasidic movement spreading from Polish, Galician communities was rooted in the Halachic traditions but also drew on Kabbalistic, mystic ideas. Faith and devotion are as important for them as the knowledge of the Halacha. Their rabbi is "the righteous one", the tzadik, who lives by the rules of the Torah, keeps studying it and is therefore capable of coming into direct contact with the divine sphere. The divine presence ennobles everything, and hence man's supreme task is to facilitate God's undisturbed working in the world of the created things. Beyond that, the helping of the poor and in many cases the miracles promote the Hasidic rabbi to become the charismatic leader of the community. His followers, the "soulful" or "pious" live through the religious experience via his mediation, often accompanied with dancing and music.[74] Hasidic religiosity largely influenced both the everyday life and the religious practice in the synagogues, and it had a great impact on the shaping of the temple interiors, bringing a turning point in the structure and iconography of the Torah arks as well. It can be demonstrated that the visual representation of abstract notions that the congregation members could interpret began spreading from the last third of the eighteenth century when the Torah arks were primarily made by Jewish furniture makers and wood carvers.[75] However, the carved Torah arks produced in that period have several tiers and far richer ornamentation than the one in Tállya, they are characterized by a luxurious wealth of vegetal and animal motifs of symbolic contents – gazelles, eagles, doves, lions, etc. In the packed compositions, elements of the flora and fauna rendered with diverse carving techniques are presented now in naturalistic, now in stylized forms, side by side. A frequent motif was the Torah crown and several arks feature Biblical quotations and prayers from the liturgy *(Figs. 15–16)*.[76] The Tetragram appears in either of two forms: most frequently it is written on the breast of a double-headed eagle or into a decoratively framed tablet held sometimes by lions or griffons. The Kabbalistic method of invoking God's name was used by the Baal Shem Tov to achieve *devekut* ("clinging to God"), which some of his followers identified with the absorbed contemplation of the written characters. This practice was rejected by

Fig. 15. Zelva, Torah Ark, 1849–1850
(photo: YANIV 2017. 242)

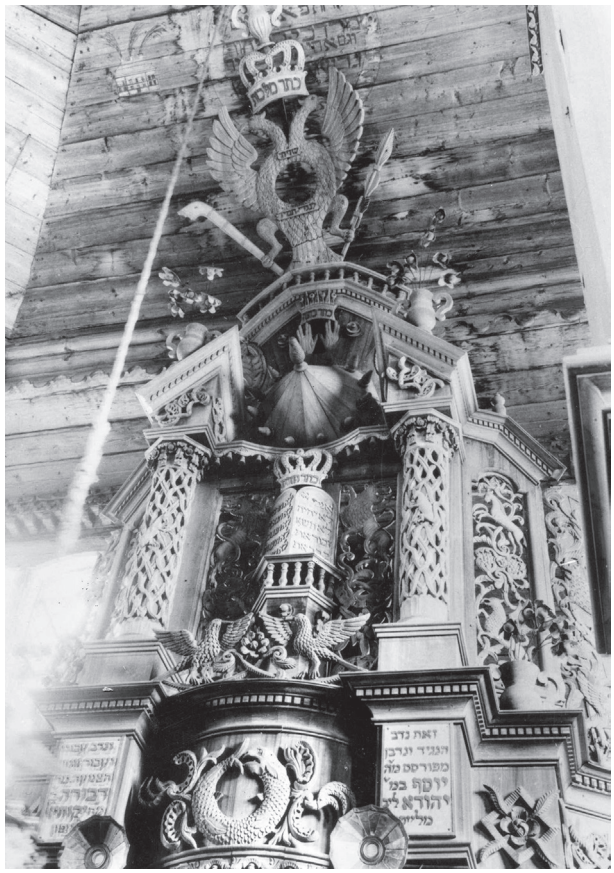

Fig. 16. Valkininkai, Torah Ark, 1804, detail
(photo: YANIV 2017. 99)

several rabbis, yet the four letters can be found in East European synagogues. The characters are larger and in more accentuated places in the Hasidic synagogues. The double-headed eagle, a symbol of God and also a heraldic animal and a power symbol, appeared on the Torah crown and the painted ceilings of synagogues, too.[77] As Simon Paszternák recalled, the *ner tamid* (eternal flame) was hanging from the legs of the painted eagle hovering on the ceiling in Tállya. A similar solution can be seen in a synagogue in Pinczow (1695–1696).[78]

The Torah arks of the synagogues in a more remote region, Moldavia (Romania), with an equally sizeable Jewish population and tradition display more similarities with the ark in Tállya in terms of carving and some of them in the bright colour schemes (e.g. in Botosani, Suceava, Piatra Neamţ). The lace-like openwork flat carving is not typical there, the animal and plant motifs have greater plasticity, more compactness. The structure of the two-tier Torah ark in the Baal Shem Tov synagogue in Pietra Neamţ dated to 1829–1830 is more complex and richer in motifs than the Tállya counterpart, but the Tetragram and the accented role of lions are similar *(Fig. 17)*. On the Moldavian Ark there are two tablets with the Tetragram, the lower has a crown on top and a bird on either side with a rose stem in its beak. Just like in Tállya and Mád, the four gilded characters help the faithful to understand the presence of God in contemplation. The mentioned Moldavian synagogues were also created at the time of the spread of Hasidism. Local tradition had it that the founder of the movement the Baal Shem Tov once visited the synagogue in Pietra Neamţ, which was later named after him in tribute.[79]

In the settlements of former Upper Hungary I haven't found an ark whose system of symbols or composition was similar to that of Tállya. None of the wooden synagogues and funishings there survive and the archival material is also negligible.[80]

The tall carved wood or masonry Torah arks in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century East European synagogues conjure up the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple on the lid of which, on the kaporet, two cherubim were seated. In his vision of the heav-

Fig. 17. Pietra Neamţ, Old (Ba'al Shem Tov) synagogue, Torah Ark, detail (photo: Zoya Arshavsky, 2009. Courtesy of the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

enly chariot Ezekiel identified the four living creatures including the lion as cherubim – that is why the cherubim can be replaced by lions on some Torah arks. Besides, the lion also personifies one of the virtues of religious Jews, courage.[81] On this basis, the Tállya lions would fit the iconographic tradition but on other arks the lions holding the tablets of Moses or the Torah crown are typically rampant.[82] In Tállya, however, the lions are sitting in a twisted position, with a rope in their mouths in a wholly unusual arrangement *(Fig. 18)*. Jakob Tannenbaum's son recalled that in Tállya the rabbi disapproved of lions to be included in the edifice. We learn that in Torna he was capable of persuading the congregation against it with the following argumentation: It is not the lions that are to hold and keep and Ten Commandments, but it is you, heads of the families, who have to keep and observe them![83] It was again the the two carved lions on the Torah holder that made the believers of Földes seek out rabbi Hajim Shofer, for there were some who disagreed with the use of the carved image. In his reply the rabbi cited from the commentaries, referring to the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant and concluding that the lions were permissible as they represented the cherubim and strengthened the congregation in their faith.[84] The lion representation already caused concerns earlier, too: e.g. in the sixteenth century some people wanted to remove the crowned lion, the emblem of the patron, from the Torah ark in the synagogue of Heraklion, interpreting it as the expression of the donator's superciliousness. Four prestigious rabbis condemned this kind of decoration, also fearing that the congregation might fall into the sin of idolatry. In other communities, there was no objection to the figure of the lion. There was no consensus among rabbis, some were firmly against any kind of representation, and some thought it rooted in the ancient tradition. As a result, painted and carved animal and plant motifs of symbolic contents were spreading in the synagogues of East Europe from the late seventeenth century, with some earlier examples, too.[85]

Apparently, the community leaders of Tállya could assert their wish to have the woodcarver create the lions and other symbolic motifs despite the rabbi's disapproval. The unusual braided rope and the rose have a special significance in one of the main works of Jewish mysticism, the Zohar ("Light") that gained great popularity among the Hasidim from the eighteenth century.[86] Two more or less authentic stories about the religious practice of the congregation in mid-nineteenth century provide some information related to the iconography and arrangement of the Tállya edifice. As mentioned earlier, the fire of 1861 probably consumed the roofage, but it not impossible that the Torah ark was also burnt and a new one had to be ordered. Simon Paszternák's recollection and the story about rabbi Tannenbaum and the installation of the lions may jointly suggest that under his rabbinate (1858–1869) the synagogue was renovated and a new Torah ark erected. When the design of the new Ark was being discussed, there was disagreement between the community and the rabbi, which might be attributed by a religious schism in the congregation in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are two sources in which this dissent is mentioned: one says that the Hasidim seceded the congregation around that time, but shortly afterwards they reunited.[87] Another source confirms that right around the decade of the renewal of the synagogue and the erection of the new Ark, the congregation went through a turbulent period. It is registered in the municipal record of the meeting in

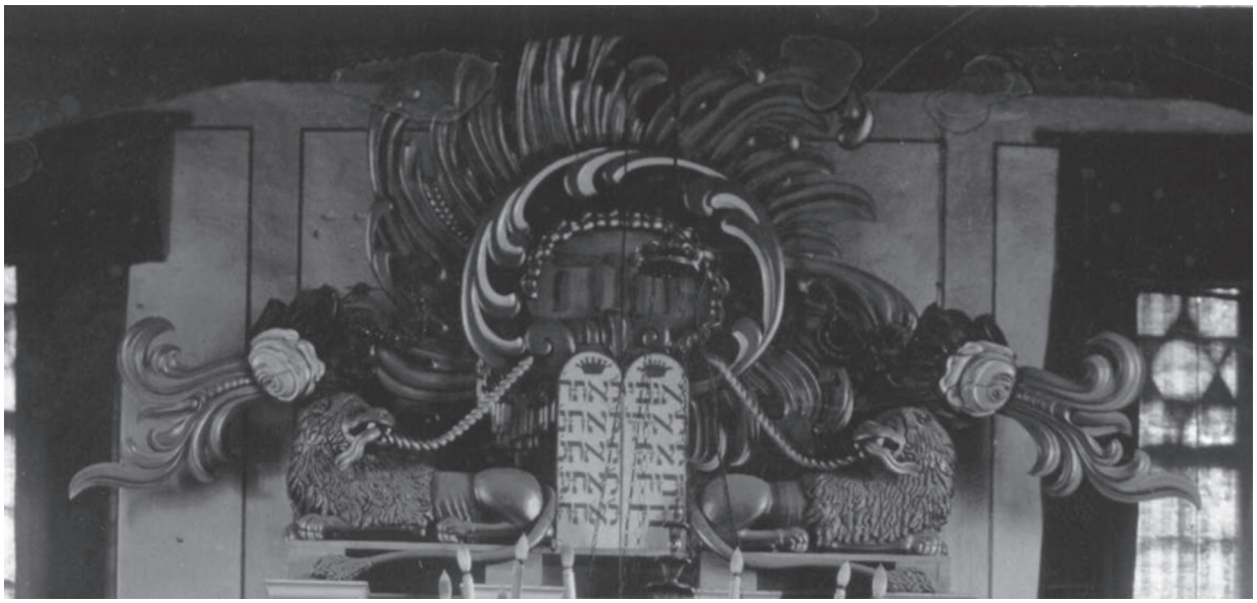

Fig. 18. Torah Ark of the Tállya synagogue, before 1944, detail (photo: MZsML, Fénykép Gyűjtemény)

1872 discussing the foundation of a common school in Tállya that some of the leading personages of the Israelites "were at loggerheads with most members of the religious congregation" and they were most heatedly in support of the school. The minority dissenters in Tállya must have been advocates of emancipation and the reform movement, by urging for the children's attendance of the common, Hungarian-language school. At last, the teaching started in autumn 1874 in the common municipal school in which only the poorest 27 out of the 250 school-age Israelite children were enrolled, the rest either attending the "hedge-school" (heder) or learning with private tutors, that is, they remained within the traditional frames of education.[88] In Meir Sas' book it is said without references that there were three synagogues in Tállya. That may perhaps suggest that in the most stormy period of wrangling those who did not attend the synagogue could pray at two other places.[89] The earlier antagonisms probably faded in the memory of the Holocaust survivors in the twentieth century and they only remembered a homogeneous Orthodox community.[90]

The escalation of the conflicts within the Tállya community cannot be separated from the struggle between diverse religious movements among the Jewry, which climaxed in the schism following the Israelite Universal Conference in 1868/1869, after which organizations of the Neolog, Status quo and Orthodox movements began to emerge.[91] Already in the 1850s several communities were paralyzed by the antagonisms between the advocates of liturgical and cultural innovation and those adhering to the traditional order of the synagogue.[92] In Hungary, conservative rabbis and communities had to face several interrelated challenges: there was growing expectation toward the Jews to identify with the Hungarian nation, some of the Jews entered the path of linguistic acculturation, the government imposed compulsory secular education, and religious reforms were spreading wide in synagogues (sermons in Hungarian and German, using an organ, choral singing, etc.). To the above challenges, to the spreading of *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) several replies were given within traditional Judaism, too. Although in the eye of the Orthodox trends the greatest danger threatening the survival of the Jewry was the reform movements, they did not fight in the same ways for the reinforcement of traditional religiosity and way of life. Rabbi of Pozsony Mózes Szófer (1762–1839), the Hatam Sofer, one of the spiritual fathers of Orthodoxy and founder of a noted dynasty of rabbis, taught that the Torah prohibited everything that was new, that was not the practice of the ancestors. In this sense he placed the scholars studying the Torah between the heretics and the Hasidim.

From among the movements within Orthodoxy, the Hasidic movement defined as ultra-Othodox was gradually gaining ground in north-eastern Hungary from the early nineteenth century. Among other things, they insisted on the use of Yiddish in education and in the synagogue, rejected the need for secular studies, strictly observed the dietary and clothing traditions. Sizeable Hasidic communities existed in Sátor-

aljaújhely, Bodrogkeresztúr, Olaszliszka and Mád, but considerable Hasidic communities had influence e.g. in Sárospatak and Tokaj as well. The second notable representative of Hasidism in Hungary, Mózes Teitelbaum (1759–1841), was the rabbi of Sátoraljaújhely from 1808.[93] The Hasidic "wonder-working" rebbes and their followers had increasing influence upon the way of living and religious practice of the Jewry in the Hegyalja.[94] It is nearly impossible to reconstruct today what influence the Orthodox and more specifically the Hasidic rabbis and their congregations exerted upon the interior design, symbolic motifs and inscriptions of the synagogues of the region. The great majority of the monuments have perished just like the documentations of the communities, nor is the known archival pictorial material sufficient. The mapping of the network of relations between the rabbis, the examination of published and handwritten Hebrew sources (responsa, correspondence of the rabbis, etc.) might produce some results. As the obituaries upon his death suggest, the rabbi of Tállya Jakob Tannenbaum was a tzadik, a paragon of the ascetic, pious, charitable and erudite rabbis. It was also stressed that "he was an inexorable enemy of religious innovations, even any attempts to this end."[95] This sentence means that he was an adherent of the path signposted by the Hatam Sofer, at a distance from both the reformists and the ultra-Orthodoxes. It is also known that he had studied in the yeshiva of Pozsony under the guidance of the Hatam Sofer's son.[96] It is hard to decide what position he had taken on Hasidism, but the intensification of conflicts was "in the air" in this period, as is also proven by the dispute of the Orthodox rabbi of nearby Sátoraljaújhely and the Hasidic rebbe of Liszka.[97] What is certain is that since in Tállya the Israelite community only numberd a few hundred, the adherents of the Hasidic trend cannot have succeeded in institutionalizing their secession. At the same time, there are documents from other more sizeable communities which reveal how after the schism of 1868 they managed to create their own religious congregation.[98]

There is a single monument in the region, the synagogue of Mád built in 1795–1798 and restored in the 2000s, related to which the presence of the Hasidic, Kabbalistic, mystic ideas can unanimously be demonstrated (interior: *Fig. 19*). The iconography of the Torah ark of Tállya shows considerable similarity to that of Mád and to the fragmentary upper part of the framework around the Tarcal cabinet, so the direct influence and similar spirituality are palpable. The most significant and populous Jewish community of the region in the studied period lived in Mád. There is information that the rabbi Mose Wahl (c. 1710–1799) was deeply impressed by the views of the highly respected rabbi of Berdicsev, Lévi Jichak ben Meir (c. 1740–1810). In fact, one of the inscriptions next to the Torah ark donated by the Teiltelbaum family was a short passage from the Zohar put up in the decade after the installation of the ark.[99] It is to be added that the symbols of the three-tier masonry Torah ark also point toward the earlier discussed eastern Polish, Galician relics. The first to be mentioned is the Tetragram in a salient place, here held by Cherubim; the Torah crown adorned with plastic vegetal motifs was also one of the most widespread motifs on Polish, Galician Torah arks. The tablets are held in Mád by lions, too, facing rampantly in compliance with the iconographic scheme, and there are smaller seated lions on the cornice of the second tier *(Fig. 20)*. Animal symbolism appeared on the bimah as well, as the restorers found: the Tablets of Testimony crowning the two entrances of the bimah were accompanied by a leaden eagle and cherubim figures.[100] On the upper part of the fragmentary ark frames of Tarcal the same can be seen and reconstructed as in Mád: the tablets are held by rampant lions, above that in a tablet with decorative frame held by cherubim God's name appears *(Fig. 21)*. The masonry edifice of Bonyhád close in time to the arks of Tarcal and Mád was clearly designed on a different model: on the monumental simple structure neither symbolic figures, nor the Tetragram can be seen, but the framing drapery is accentuated, similarly to specimens in Moravian and Bohemian areas *(Fig. 22)*.[101]

Simon Paszternák also named the craftsman of the Tállya ark as the cabinet-maker of Erdőbénye, Pálffy, but no other source has been found.[102] It may also happen that at a distance of nearly a century, the recollector did not remember the person or place correctly. In the studied years, there was a furniture maker called János Gálffy living in the settlement, a vice warden of the Catholic church of Tállya who draw up the ground plan of the Catholic church and vicarage in 1872 upon the request of the parish priest instead of master mason Lajos Lang, who had fallen ill.[103] No other work by him is known, nor is it known whether he was a carpenter and cabinet-maker in one person, and whether he was capable of constructing such a painted, carved edifice on the given scale. It is not impossible either that the work was signed, as some Christian masters working for synagogues signed their creations.[104] The named prototype of the compositional scheme (the columns holding the architrave, the tablet with the

Fig. 19. Torah Ark of the Mád synagogue (photo: Galacenu Efstatia, 2004. MÉM MDK, Fotótár, inv.no.: 211.679)

lions, the Tetragram in a decoratively painted frame above it) must have been neighbouring Mád's ark, but apart from that the master got a free hand to choose and shape the elements of the décor. The architecture of the ark is not customary, either, the four columns in front of the Torah niche and the architrave resemble the portico of a building, and the two columns in the middle conceal some of the niche. Traditionally, the columns are on either side of the niche so that the Torah scroll could be accessed, which can't have been easy in Tállya. Whoever was the cabinet-maker, it is confirmed at several points that he either did not entirely understand the clients' expectations or they were not laid out lucidly enough. The unusual solutions are also to be ascribed to the fact that in this case the rabbi's authority did not play a role, and the community put through their conception, as a strong manifestation of the autonomy of the congregation.

Fig. 20. Detail of the Mád Torah Ark, 1984
(photo: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, estate of Anikó Gazda)

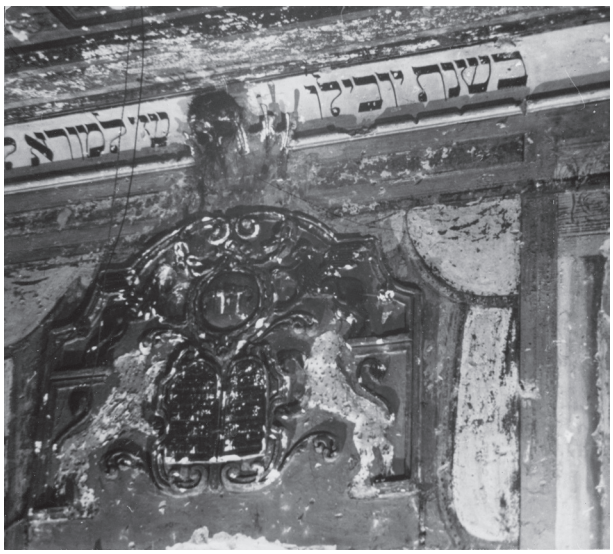

Fig. 21. Tarcal, detail of the Torah Ark, 1984
(photo: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, estate of Anikó Gazda)

Fig. 22. Bonyhád, Torah Ark
(photo: Vladimir Levin, 2018. Courtesy of the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Not only the interpretation of the ark is problematic, but the style of the carvings is also difficult to determine. The influence of the baroque or neoclassical late baroque style of the altarpieces, pulpits of Christian churches in the region cannot be discovered.[105] The Tállya edifice is characterized by individual invention and imagination, the wood carvings coming perhaps closest to "popular" baroque, in strong contrast to the simple, almost indistinctive architecture of the building.[106] In one of his studies Ilia Rodov argues with convincing force that the painted decoration and furnishing objects of synagogues do

not belong either to traditional folk art or to "high" art.[107] This stock of motifs rooted in local tradition but reformulated can be discerned on most East European carved Torah arks. For example, a Torah ark in Krakow from around 1800 and the originally painted and gilded chair of the famous Hasidic rebbe of Breslov (Ukraine) Nahman (1772–1811) (c. 1808) are also adorned with few symbols carved in plasticity in the style of vernacular art.[108]

That the believers, who perceived simultaneously the synagogue interior with all its objects, ornaments and the recited holy texts, were not hard put to interpret the symbolism of the Torah ark in Tállya in the traditional manner is also revealed by Simon Paszternák's depiction of the ornaments around the crest as a halo of fire and sheaths of flames. In East Europe often sun rays symbolized the divine presence in the upper section of Torah arks from the mid-nineteenth century. The motif first appeared in Polish areas inspired by the baroque altars of Catholic churches and spread further from there. The rays appeared in diverse forms and the meaning was often supported by Biblical quotation, but obviously, the Christian theological parallel was not comprehended by the communities.[109] In Tállya, however, no beams of light are seen: the floral motifs arranged in a wreath on top, the wildly swaying succulent leaves and rose stalks are alien to the symbolic system of East European arks.

THE TÁLLYA SYNAGOGUE AFTER 1944

Until the deportation of the Jewish inhabitants of Tállya in April 1944, the place of worship had been continuously used. Though an order of the minister of the interior dated 3 June 1944 spelt out that "when justified by building supervision and public safety" the Jewish properties could be demolished by the authorities, the Tállya synagogue was spared at that time, unlike several other synagogues in Hungary.[110] From the 173 adults and children taken to the death camps very few returned in 1945.[111]

A questionnaire by Fülöp Grünwald and Ernő Naményi sent on behalf of the Scholarly and Artistic Association of the Hungarian Jewish Museum to reviving congregations in 1945 aimed to survey the material legacy of the Jewry. It inquired about the archives, Torah scrolls, ceremonial objects, state of cemeteries, etc. Subsequent correspondence reveals that the communities of Mád and Tállya did not reply to several inquiries whether their synagogues and especially their Torah cabinets were cared for.[112] President of the congregation Simon Paszternák sent his reply in 1946 informing the centre that the synagogue had been used as a stable by the military units stationed in Tállya, the 14 Torahs were used shredded as litter, 9 diverse plush and velvet ark curtains with gold embroidery had been seized by the mob. The gold and silver devotional objects representing invaluable museal value had been delivered up to the gendarmes. After returning, the Israelites repaired the vestibule of the temple and had their divine services there. Paszternák's later recollection reveals that the furniture of the synagogue had been used as firewood in the military kitchen; upon the return of Jews, they buried the remains of the 14 Torahs in a cemented grave in the temple, had the Torah ark repained, restored the ravaged gravestones with iron straps and rebuilt the mikveh.[113]

On 14 September 1948, Fülöp Grünwald and Ernő Naményi wrote a letter on behalf of the Hungarian Jewish Museum to the Board of the Committee of Hungarian Monuments, asking to place the Mád synagogue on the list of historic monuments and to have the restoration work done, for "among all the synagogues of the country, the synagogue of Mád – perhaps together with that in Óbuda – is in first place in terms of architecture and interior decoration." At the end of the document they also noted that there was a finely carved Aron (*Torah ark*) in the equally eighteenth-century synagogue of Tállya, the building had been renovated by the community and even the Aron of Monok had been transferred to the temple."[114]

As part of the political retaliations after 1956, state control over the religious denominations in Hungary was further tightened. The material and spiritual strength of scattered Israelite congregations had been dwindling, funds raised by MIOK[115] hardly reached the countryside. Some local communities and MIOK as well regarded selling properties as the only solution. Besides, there was considerable pressure on MIOK from the State Office for Religious Affairs to sell the synagogues, some still in use, to the state or town or village. That is how the synagogues of Gyöngyös, Kiskőrös were sold after long wrangling with the leaders of the congregations. At that time, the artistic or architectural values of synagogues were hardly considered.[116]

The failure of a restart was put into words by Simon Paszternák: "To live a religious life without a rabbi, to pursue a Jewish life without a shochet or a congregation is impossible. All Jews left Tállya. The houses and temple of the community were sold by the Nat. Office, the synagogue was dismantled, the ark – as a historic monument – was transferred to the Jewish Museum in Pest. In Tállya, like in entire Hungary, the Israelite congregation is only a memory."[117] In the archives of the National Monument Inspectorate (OMF) official letters and other documents about the deserted Tállya synagogue survive.[118] The corresponding partners were the National Israelite Office and the local authorities. There is a memorandum from 1957 by art historian András Gergelyffy calling his superiors' attention to the information he had about the intention of the Israelite community to sell the synagogue for demolition and urging them to take immediate measures to save the building. Though in 1958 the Tállya synagogue was put on the list of monuments, no renovation or due utilization was facilitated. There is a letter by Klára Freyberger, a Tállya inhabitant from 1959 expressing worries that the local council rented the synagogue for storing grain.[119] In the view of local dwellers, it would have been suitable for a culture centre and MIOK also made a proposal, but nothing happened. Since the state of the building continuously deteriorated, the national office finally asked for demolition in 1962, claiming that they were not in the position to restore it. OMF suggested that the state buy it and use it for cultural purposes while preserving its historic character. No steps were taken, so OMF consented to demolition in 1964, for a site-based investigation found that the building was ruinous, the interior was characterless, historic values were only preserved by the two facades. The synagogue was crossed out among the listed monuments, the national office was asked to make surveys and take photos. The photos reveal that the furnishing had disappeared, only the vacant place of the Torah Ark can be seen, all there is in the interior a fallen ceiling beam, the railing around the bimah and a few dismantled pews.[120]

ABBREVATIONS
Archives, institutions

MÉM MDK	Magyar Építészeti Múzeum – Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ / Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Centre, Budapest
MÉM MDK, Fotótár	MÉM MDK, Photo Repository, Budapest
MÉM MDK, Tervtár	MÉM MDK, Plan Repository, Budapest
MÉM MDK, Tudományos Irattár, OMF iratok	MÉM MDK, Scientific Archives, Files of the OMF, Budapest
MIOI	Magyar Izraeliták Országos Irodája / National Office of Hungarian Israelites, Budapest (till 1951)
MIOK	Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete / National Representation of Hungarian Israelites, Budapest (from 1951)
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
MNL BAZmL SFL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megyei Levéltár / National Archives of Hungary, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Archives, Sátoraljaújhely
MOB	Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága / National Committee of Hungarian Monuments, Budapest (till 1949)
MZsML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár / Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest
MZsML, Fénykép Gyűjtemény	MZsML, Photo Collections, Budapest
OMF	Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség / National Monument Inspectorate, Budapest (1957–1992)

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NOTES

[1] My gratitude for the help lent to me with this paper is due first of all to Viktória Bányai (Institute of Minority Studies, Centre for Social Sciences, Hungary), who translated the Hebrew texts, compiled the biographic data about the rabbis of Tállya and helped my work with suggestions. I must also thank Ruth Ellen Gruber (Jewish Heritage Europe), Prof. Bracha Yaniv (Bar-Ilan University, Israel), Prof. Ilia Rodov (Bar-Ilan University, Israel), Dr. Vladimir Levin (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Prof. Rudolf Klein (Szent István University, Hungary) and Zsuzsanna Toronyi (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives) for their useful advice and support. I owe my thanks to István Bardoly and Klára Menényi for editing the text. The detailed elaboration of the other buildings of the Jewish community of Tállya is found in the manuscript temporarily entitled *Tállya mezőváros műemléki topográfiája / Monument Topography of Tállya Market Town*. The volume awaiting publication contains our results of site-based investigations backed up with extensive historical and archival research supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund [OTKA (MKFI)] project no. K 109323 entitled *Műemléki topográfiai kutatások Kőszegen és Tokaj-Hegyalján* / Research in Monument Topography of Kőszeg and Tokaj-Hegyalja.

[2] TODOROV 1996.

[3] The documents of the Jewish parish was destroyed during the Shoa. Birth, marriage and death registers survive for 1827–1895 (with some interim years missing) in MNL OL and MNL BAZML SFL., FROJIMOVICS 2007, 549–550: Tállya. The drafted charter of the Israelite Sacred Society, the Chevra Kadisha of Tállya founded in 1832 can be

found for 1878 and 1894: MNL OL K 148 –150 and XIX – B – 1 – h.

The first specialist who was interested in surveying and elaborating the history of the Jewish built heritage, first of all synagogues, was architect Manó Pollák in Hungary. He asked for photos, letters, ground plans, descriptions about rural synagogues and visited those he could in the 1930s. His monograph remained in manuscript, the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives plan to publish it. See: Bevezető. Források a magyar zsidó kulturális örökségről 1945–1960. [Introduction. Sources on the Hungarian Jewish cultural heritage 1945–1960], in TORONYI (ed.) 2010b, 9. Since the Museum is closed, the material could not be researched. Zsuzsanna Toronyi, director of the institution kindly informed me that Tállya is not included in the manuscript. Earlier publications on the synagogues in Hungary discussed some major temples of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, e.g. Mád, Abaújszántó, Tarcal, see: GERŐ (ed.) 1989; GAZDA 1991; KLEIN 2011. Anikó Gazda was the first to pubish a few data about the Tállya synagogue in her survey of 1991, without a groundplan. Rudolf Klein included pictures of Tállya available in the Hungarian Jewish Museum: catalogue of pictures 617–618. Important publications have appeared on the architectural legacy of the Jewish community of Hegyalja, but the detailed elaboration of the buildings has been beyond their scope: GÁBOR 2014, BENKŐ–WIRTH 2015.

[4] There is yet another reason: the historical chapters of the earlier two monographs of the settlement hardly contain any information of the local Jewry, ignoring their economic and cultural importance in the settlement. TAKÁCS 1994; TAKÁCS 2001. The practice adopted by the author, himself a historian, must be related to the long-lasting amnesia of Hungarian historiography and memory politics for diverse reasons. Both paid hardly any attention to the Jewish genocide: historiography up to the 1980s and memory politics up to the 1990s. Memory politics placed the main stress on rescuers of Jews and not on the victims, and the historians hardly differentiated the general Hungarian tragedy caused by the world war from the tragedy of the Jews. On this, more recently: GYÁNI 2016, 187.

[5] Registration had diverse criteria: sometimes the tenants were registered, sometimes only the family heads, and therefore these documents cannot provide an accurate picture. In 1735–1738 most Jews – 14 families – lived in Tolcsva in Zemplén county, and there were places with a single Jewish family. Immigration from the direction of Poland sped up in the 1770s owing to the political situation there, but its rate was much lower than the contemporaries, including Ferenc Kölcsey, perceived and described. MISLOVICS 2008, 53–56. She cites Ferenc Kölcsey's famous speech from 1830: 'A szatmári adózó nép állapotáról'. See: József SZAUDER (ed.): Kölcsey Ferenc összes művei. II. Politikai beszédek [Complete works of Ferenc Kölcsey. Political speeches], Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1960. 38–39; GOLDBERGER 1910, 276–277; GRÜNWALD–SCHEIBER (eds.) 1963, 5–48.

[6] GOLDBERGER 1910, 278.

[7] Although leasing or buying land was not legally possible for Jews at the end of the eighteenth century, the surviving archival sources (orders by the Hungarian Royal Regency Council [Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum], petitions from the local authorities etc.) provide ground to conclude that in that period a part of the Jews in Hegyalja owned vineyards, stored wine in their cellars and played the most important role in the wine trade and as licensed victuellers in leased inns. HÁZI 1974, 13, 349: NO. 42; BALASSA 1982, 11–16.

[8] MISLOVICS 2008, 420. I. Függelék/Appendix

[9] BARSI (ed.)1998, 408.

[10] The list contained the following: Mendel Silberkrausz, Hersco Klein, Isak Klein, Jacob Klein, Majer Stern, Lebel Stern, Laur. Stern, Jos. Herschneu, Jos. Lebel, Sal. Rosz, Mos. Goldsman, Hersko Stein, Isak Stein, Herko Edenburger, Moses Roth, Elias Veisz, Majer Svartz, *David Löbl Rabinus*, Majer Hamburg, Abr. Jung, Sam. Deutsch, Abr. Pipás, Sam. Schacter, Jacob Bernat, Mart. Valdmann, *Aron Klein Instr. Prolium*, Mandel Breuer, Moses Altman, Is. Buchbinder, Moses Gutman, Jeitel Schöffer, Farkas Salamon, Sam. Klein, Mendel Heiszler, Lebel Koon, Isak Mandel, Sam. Saltzman, Mart Fersich, Vid. Hersc. Grosz. The rubrics of the census contained the occupation, family status, number of children of the men. GOLDBERGER 1911, 222.

[11] MNL OL, C59 Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum, Departamentum urbariale (1724–1848), X7485, Zemplén megyei összeírások/Zemplén county registers, Tállya.

[12] GÁBOR 2014, 61–63.

[13] The praeceptors usually opened heders, but there may have been one or two teachers, young Talmudic scholars engaged by better-off families to privately teach their children. In the heders, childen learnt to write and read Hebrew through reading sacred texts, without grammar bases. This was complemented by algebra as practical knowledge, and the learning of the Latin alphabet was also spreading. Children began to attend around age 5 and the boys learned till age 12–13. Until the mid-nineteenth century, there was no prescribed qualification expected of the teachers (*melammed*), in their youth they learnt some Torah. Similarly, there was no precondition for opening a heder, there could be several in a settlement. The teacher's living was ensured by the families, depending on their satisfaction and financial strength. See BÁNYAI 2005, 17–21, 101–102.

[14] FROJIMOVICS 2007, 13–14; GYURGYÁK 2001, 35–36; STESSEL SZÁSZ 2013, 94–111; HÁBERMANN 2012.

[15] BALASSA 1982, 32.

[16] Ibid., 33–35.

[17] In 1827 the tax collector of the estate of Regéc wrote about the lease-holders of shops and inns: „I am trying to squeeze the money out of the Jews, but they keep reiterating there's none. It's is no wonder that they can't sell anything nowadays, when the wretched folk earning no day-wage don't drink, or if they drink, they drink their bar tab remains unpaid". MNL OL P 66 A Bretzenheim család sárospataki iratai (1776–1875) II. csoport. Az uradalmak Bretzenheim családi igazgatás alatt keletkezett iratai (1807–1875) I. alcsoport (pre-1848 documents) 50. cs. p. 11.

[18] The history of the house is detailed in the volume of monument topography.

[19] MNL BAZML SFL, V. 271 Tállya nagyközség iratai, 42. dob. Végrendeletek 1796–1850.

[20] TAKÁCS 2001, 80.

[21] MNL OL P 66 A Bretzenheim család sárospataki iratai (1776–1875) II. csoport. Az uradalmak Bretzenheim családi igazgatás alatt keletkezett iratai (1807–1875) II. alcsoport (post-1848 documents) 3. 202. csomó.

[22] MNL BAZML SFL, XV.7/b. Nyomtatott térképek gyűjteménye 1806–2003, Tállya mezőváros kataszteri térképe 1867; MNL OL, S 79 1184. cs. No. 1751/1. Tállya község birtokrészleti jegyzőkönyve 1868; MNL BAZML SFL, XV. 83. Zemplén vármegye 1869. évi népszámlálási iratok levéltári gyűjteménye, Tállya.

[23] The history of the house is elaborated in detail in the volume of monument topography.

[24] KEPECS (ed.) 1997. Demographic researches have shown convincingly that what explains the natural growth of the population is not the higher birth rate but the lower mortality rate. This situation can be ascribed to the better life expectancy of the Jewry which rooted in the more stable family community, the higher status of women in the family, the early organizations of caring for children and the poor, abstention from alcohol, etc. See GYURGYÁK 2001, 64.

[25] Ibid., 37–38.

[26] *Egyenlőség* 1889. október 27. 7.

[27] Cited: *Zsidó Hiradó,* 1901. május 2. / 2. Rosenbaum Gerson z. cz. l. [Written by:] –sz. –l.

[28] PASZTERNÁK 1970. In it the recollections of Tállya by Andor Paszternák (pp. 57–60) and Simon Paszternák (90–93) can be read. Frigyes Hirschberg's years spent with his maternal grandfather Márton Stern in the 1930s can be read in HIRSCHBERG 2001.

[29] KUN (ed.) 1932, 196–197. Baron Nándor Maillot inherited the estate from his father Baron György Maillot. He married the great-granddaughter of Prince Bretzenheim, Margit Beust and thus came into property.

[30] PASZTERNÁK 1970, 90.

[31] The history of each house is elaborated in detail in the volume of monument topography. The local speaker is cited in BENKŐ–WIRTH 2015, 76.

[32] See footnote 28.

[33] *Egyenlőség* 1925. June 4. 12–13.

[34] *Egyenlőség* 1929. November 16. 6.

[35] BOTOS 2011, 11. For former literature on the theme see footnote 4.

[36] It is to be noted that micro-scale researches to explore the Jewish-Christian coexistence, the communal relations and conflicts are missing at other places in the region as well. See CSIKI 2015, 61. 7.

[37] Act 15 of 1942 ruled that all field and forest property of Jews were to be confiscated, that is, the owners had to give them over, the compensation – cynically – to be in state bonds due within 30 years. However, the transfer of proprietorship to the state or designated institute was immediately possible. Such a designated institution was e.g. the Zemplén County Public Welfare Cooperative, which wanted to sell Tállya real estates falling within the law, as the advertisement for tenders in county papers reveal. The advertised properties were: Former vineyards of Mrs Lipót Rosenbaum (1.42 cad. acre and 1280 square fathoms), Simon Teiltelbaum's vineyards (1249 and 1272 square fathoms), Mrs Lajos Tannenbaum's vineyard (461 square fathoms). Data on another two "ceded" properties reveal that in 1944 the chief administrator of the Szerencs district assigned Kálmán Bodó to direct the cardboard-box factor formerly owned by Farkas of Tállya, and Kálmán Galamb to lead Simon Paszternák's mill. MNL SFL XIV. 42. Vangrey Gusztáv tállyai jegyző iratai, 1806–1944.

[38] FROJIMOVICS (red.) 1994, 692.

[39] CSIKI 2015; STESSEL SZÁSZ 2013, 206; SAS 1986, 127–128.

[40] *Tállyai holokauszt áldozatok* n. d.; *Deportáltak listája* n. d.

[41] To the parent congregation Tállya belonged Monok, Golop and Rátka, too, but only the members of the latter two were included in the list of the Tállya martyrs. Only one photo survives of the memorial tablet, at the beginning of Simon Paszternák's recollections. A Hebrew inscription can be made out with the names of the martys, also listed by Simon Paszternák in his book (PASZTERNÁK 1970, 89, 93, 268–270). The caption says that after the demolition of the synagogue the tablet went to the Jewish Museum. Museum director Zsuzsanna Toronyi kindly informed me that as they know at present the tablet is not in the collection. It is not in the Jewish cemetery of Miskolc either where memorial tablets of already non-existent communities were transfered. I am grateful to Péter Ráckövesi for this latter information.

[42] BÁNYAI–KOMORÓCZY 2018, 118–122.

[43] KEPECS (ed.) 1997, 290: Tállya.

[44] When a few years ago during topographic work in Tállya I got engrossed in the Jewish legacy of the settlement, I searched for survivors in vain.

[45] The story in detail can be read at the end of the paper.

[46] On the basis of the testimonies appended to the two registers containing tax-exempted houses and plots (MNL OL, E 325 28. csomó, 8. tétel. Conscriptio exemptarum dominii Regétz, Tallya, 1784 Nr. 29., MNL OL, E 325 Acta dominiorum fiscalium Regétz, Conscriptio Tállya, 1803), the former owners of the through plots originally between two streets (today's Bercsényi and Kazinczy) cannot be identified. The register of 1784 appears also to know that the plot used to be larger and was divided crosswise. Earlier there was indeed a large garden owned by the Bagoly family.

[47] MNL OL, Urbaria et Conscriptiones 1744 Fasc. 96. No. 13.

[48] A regéci kamarai uradalomhoz tartozó Tállya településtérképe (kéziratos) [Settlement map of Tállya belonging to the treasury dominion of Regéc (manuscript)], MNL OL, Térképtár. Kamarai térképek. S 11 No 159:2 Year of verification: 1783. Author: Römisch, Franciscus, Caal. Geometra.

[49] MNL OL, C59 Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum, Departamentum urbariale (1724–1848), X7485, Zemplén megyei összeírások, Tállya.

[50] GOLDBERGER 1911, 222.

[51] MNL BAZmL SFL, V.271 Tállya nagyközség iratai, 84–123. k. Adókivetési összeírások (1808–1848).

[52] FÉNYES 1837, 403: Tállya. It presumably repeats the data of Ludovicus Nagy for 1828.

[53] KATZBURG et al. (eds.) 1976, 299–301: Tállya. The entry contains that after two earlier synagogues, a third was build in 1840, whose roof was completed in 1890. In the accessible literature named in this source I did not find the above data. Sándor Scheiber also dated the construction of the synagogue to 1840, but he did not give the source, either. SCHEIBER 1982, 178.

[54] David Jehuda Rottenberg (1783–1857). All information we have is from the title-page of his book published by his son in Munkács in 1871. The title of the book: *Tehila le-David* (Praise Be to David). Genre: Torah explanation. This reveals that he was the rabbi in Tállya, then Sajószentpéter for a total of 50 years. His teacher was rabbi Joav of (Abaúj) szántó, his father was rabbi Jehiel of (Sátoralja)újhely.

[55] Jakov Tannenbaum (1832–1896), rabbi in Tállya in 1858–1869. He was born in Szendrő, where his father was the rabbi. After Tállya, he was the rabbi in Mezőcsát from 1869, later in Putnok from 1873 where he died. He was the member of a noted dynasty of rabbis. From the obituary and other articles in *Zsidó Hiradó* we learn that he was a pious tzadik, a student of the Pozsony yeshiva and of K'tav Sofer; in the Putnok yeshiva he had more than a thousand students. His followers erected an ohel on his grave worth 400 florins. See GLÄSER 2014, 124, 132, 138, 215. His rabbinic decisions appeared in print in the year after his death titled *Naharé afarsemon* (Balm Streams). Its title-page: https://www.hebrewbooks.org/1457. His Torah commentaries appeared in Munkács with the title Shemen afarsemon (Balm Oil). Its title-page: https://www.hebrewbooks.org/35270. In 2010 it appeared in a new edition in Jerusalem; on page 21 of the biographic introduction presumably by his son it can be read that at the age of 15, he started teaching the Torah in Verpelét, and taught there for some 10 years before in 1858 the Eternal God chose him to be the rabbi of Tállya and the leader of the yeshiva. At the same place it can be read that during his stay in the sacred community of Tállya a synagogue was built there: https://www.otzar.org/wotzar/Book.aspx?159388.

[56] GAZDA 1991, 21. General sources of population size and date of construction of the synagogues are given on p. 16, and these include the Pinkas hakehillot (1976) as well. In the table she includes three buildings, the construction date 1890 attached to the last one. Similar (mis)information can be found in the book of Meir Sas on the Zemplén Jewry: he says that the last of the three synagogues was completed in 1890. See SAS 1986, 114.

[57] MÉM MDK, Tervtár: Pétery István népi műemléki kutatása, Tállya, 1958, two exterior photos; MÉM MDK, Fotótár: fronts (1964): 149.864ND, 149.865ND, 149.866ND; MÉM MDK, Tervtár: documentation of demolition (1964): groundplan, section, elevations, 1:50, inv.no. 7709; MZsML, Fénykép Gyűjtemény: Torah Ark: prior to 1944, inv.no. 00.22; 1963, and exterior and interior photos: inv. nos. 01.380., 70.424.2., 70.424.3., 70.424.4., 70.425.1., 70.425.2., 70.425.3., 70.425.4., 73.170.2., 73.170.3., 73.170.4., 73.170.424.1. The pictures are available on the Museum's homepage: http://collections.milev.hu

[58] PASZTERNÁK 1970, 90–93.

[59] Ner-Tamid = eternal flame, everlasting light.

[60] PASZTERNÁK 1970, 91.

[61] YANIV 1999, 155–157.

[62] http://lcdl.library.cofc.edu/lcdl/catalog/lcdl:53678 – The synagogue was built in 1764, it was renovated after the fire of 1871, in November 1938 it was set on fire and later it was pulled down.

[63] Today's no. 30, Rákóczi street in Tállya was inherited by Etelka Szapáry, wife of Count Károly Andrássy in 1838 together with the vineyard. The property was owned by the family until 1945, so we don't know when „the Counts Andrássy" donated the table-cloth. See MNL BAZmL SFL, V.271 Tállya nagyközség iratai, Adókivetések, 1808–1848; MNL OL, S 79 1184.cs. No. 1751/1. Tállya község birtokrészleti jegyzőkönyve 1868; MNL BAZmL SFL, Szerencsi Kir. Járásbíróság iratai, 13/c Telekkönyvi iratok, 1911–1914, Tállya 110. birtoklap; MNL BAZmL SFL, V.271 Tállya nagyközség iratai, Házadók, 1921–1943.

[64] GAZDA 1991, 60, 118; groundplans: 129–130; GERŐ (ed.) 1989, 113–120. (written by Anikó GAZDA). Further photos: MÉM MDK, Fotótár: Estate of Anikó Gazda.

[65] KLEIN 2011. The author call them „burgher house type" synagogues. E.g. synagogues of Albertirsa, Mád, Bonyhád, Apostag. 130–162. See also: GOLDMAN-IDA 2019, 184–186, 192; BORSKÝ 2005, 89–91.

[66] DIVALD 1927, 234.

[67] BORSKÝ 2005, 112–113, 204, figs. 476–477; 173, figs. 334–336; 134–135, figs. 47–52.

[68] PASZTERNÁK 1970, 91.

[69] TAKÁCS 2001, 83. Another author, the Calvinist pastor Emil Hézser did not mention the synagogue among the buildings affected by the fire. HÉZSER 1900, 146.

[70] Further topics included, for example: *It is forbidden to build a tower to the temple; to celebrate a wedding in the synagogue; to pray in a temple in which the almemor is not in the middle*. The council was an important station on the way of the intensification of conflicts already present between the conservatives (Orthodox) and modernists (Neolog) since the onset of the nineteenth century. UJVÁRI (ed.) 1929, 633–634.

[71] RODOV 2016, esp. 1–3 and 9–12; RODOV 2016c, 49–63; GOLDMAN-IDA 2019, 196–200; DÁVID 1997, 13–14. MÉM MDK, Tervtár.

[72] YANIV 2017. In her book she elaborates the history of Tora arks from the antiquity to the nineteenth century, the impact of Kabbalistic, Hasidic mysticism on symbolic representations, the characteristics of materials and techniques, and the specificities of diverse regional workshops. In the appendix, she presents the detailed description of fourteen typical Torah arks of importance for some reason, listing the identified masters and their works. A noted researcher of the theme beside Bracha Yaniv, Ilia Rodov declared too that he had not met with an ark similar to that of Tállya. I received the same answer from Ferenc Dávid and Rudolf Klein. The perusal of the *Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art* has brought no result, either.

[73] See the preceding footnote.

[74] It is beyond the scope of this paper to list the library-ful literature on mystic movements including Hasidism. From among distinguished authors of recent decades a special attention is deserved by historian Marcin Wodziński, who has studied the spatial-temporal changes of Hasidism, originally a religious movement that gradually assumed social and economic aspects as well. Many books he authored or co-authored and over a hundred articles are devoted by him to the analysis and contextualization of sources; here are some examples: Marcin WODZIŃSKI: The Socio-Economic Profile of a Religious Movement. The Case of Hasidism, *European History Quarterly* XLVI. 2016. 668–701; Marcin WODZIŃSKI: *Historical Atlas of Hasidism,* Princeton (N. J.): Princeton University Press, 2018; Marcin WODZIŃSKI, et al.: *Hasidism. A New History*, Princeton (N. J.): Princeton University Press, 2018. A good summary with the critique of publications in the past decades based on materials in archives opening their gates after the political turn of 1989/90: Arthur GREEN: Hasidism and Its Response to Change, *Jewish History* XXVII. 2013. 319–336. An illuminating analysis of the intellectual stance of the early Hasidic rebbes, and later of the growing importance of „simple faith": Benjamin Brown: The Comeback of „Simple Faith". The Ultra-Orthodox Concept of Faith and Its Development in the Nineteenth Century, in

Simcha FISHBANE – Eric LEVINE (eds.): *Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Jewish Religious Life*, New York: Touro University Press, 2018, esp.: 146–176.

[75] YANIV 2017, 20–30; GOLDMAN-IDA 2019, 202–207.

[76] A few more examples from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries: YANIV 2017, Appendix: I.4. Druja 1774/75; I.6. Lukiv 1781; I.9. Saukénai 1885/86.

[77] YANIV 2017, 78–79, 97–104, 117–119; RODOV 2016B, 41–47; RODOV 2017, 195–199, 207–208.

[78] RODOV 2004, 122–123, illustration: 117.

[79] On the mentioned synagogues, see RODOV 2017. For fine illustrations of the Torah ark of 1887 of the Beit Midrash in Botosani, the ark of 1861 in the Great Synagogue in Botosani, the ark of 1870 in Gah Synagogue in Suceava and the ark carved by Isaac Bein Moses in Piatra Neamt see: http://www.romanian-synagogues.org, /https://cja.huji.ac.il/. In these towns of 10–40 thousand inhabitants the Jews amounted to half of the population in the late nineteenth century, they had 10–50 synagogues many of which were still extant in the 1950s. By now one or two survive by settlements. The furnishing of such a large number of synagogues was obviously chiefly provided by local Jewish artisans, as in Polish, Lithuanian, etc. areas.

[80] BORSKÝ 2005, on wooden synagogues see 114.

[81] Naturally, the lion was not only a symbolic figure on Torah arks, but from late antiquity it was a constant motif also on mosaic floors, in illumined manuscripts, later in the painted decoration of synagogues, on ritual objects, etc. YANIV 2006, 84 and notes 4–5; HEIMANN-JELINEK 2004, 153.

[82] YANIV 2017, 133.

[83] See note 55.

[84] YANIV 2017, 168. The extinct synagogue of Földes was built in 1845. The Hajim Sofer (1821–1886) was born in Pozsony, studied at the yeshiva there and was the rabbi of the Orthodox community, among other places, of Munkács and from 1879 in Budapest. He was against any form of reform, his responsa and halachic works earned him great esteem among Orthodox Jews. KOMORÓCZY 2013, 91.

[85] RODOV 2013, 68–73.

[86] The rose symbolizes the Assembly of Israel as written in the opening chapter of the Zohar: "… Just as a rose among thorns is colored red and white, so the Assembly of Israel includes judgement and compassion (Lovingkindness)." The motif of the braided rope may allude to the concept of *kashra* (knot). In the Zohar it has a magical connotation, signifining e.g. the knots of the king's crown or the tying of parts of the body. GOLDMAN-IDA 2018, 62–64, 108.

[87] According to the *Pinkas hakehillot* (1976) the community split to different trends in 1876 for a brief period. It can be read in the entry of Tállya in Meir Sas' mentioned book (SAS 1986) that in 1867 the Hasidim seceded from the congregation but shortly afterwards they returned. There are no accurate references in either publications.

[88] TAKÁCS 2001, 149–151.

[89] SAS 1986, 114.

[90] HIRSCHBERG 2001: recollections of Frigyes Hirschberg; SAS 1986, 127–128: recollection of rabbi Jakob Teichmann.

[91] The plenary meeting upon the initiative of minister of religion and public education József Eötvös comprised the elected leaders of the Hungarian Jewry. The task was to settle the issues of organization, but the themes soon shifted to religious issues generating sharp antagonism between representatives, some of whom left the Congress. After that, as a special Hungarian form of the schism, the Neolog organization rallied the congregations open to innovations, the Orthodox trend gathered the traditionalists, while the Status Quo trend was joined by those insisting on the state before the secession, however different a practice this implied locally. On the institutionalization of the trends, see: Bevezetés I. A hitközségi szervezet kialakulása a magyarországi zsidóság három irányzatánál [Introduction I. Emergence of the congregational organizations of the three trends of Judaism in Hungary], in FROJIMOVICS 2008, 11–15. On the consequences of the Congress, the not always unambiguous differences between communities affiliated with diverse trends, on the importance of knowing the local contexts, see BÁNYAI–KOMORÓCZY 2016, 38–45.

[92] At that time, there was no possibility to be organized separately, hence the conflict often centered on the person of the rabbi. E.g. in Bonyhád the rabbi left because of disputes about innovations, and the new rabbi was only accepted by the seceded communities in the 1870s–'80s. BÁNYAI–KOMORÓCZY 2016, 38–39. It is noteworthy that the old synagogue of Bonyhád built in the late eighteenth century was used by the Neologs until 1944.

[93] The relations of trends within Hungarian Orthodoxy, the responses to the challenges posed by Jewish Enlightenment are analysed in the fundamental study of Michael K. SILBER: The Emergence of Ultra-Orthodoxy. The Invention of a Tradition, in Jack WERTHEIMER (ed.): *The Uses of Tradition. Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992. 23–82. On the evaluation of Hasidism within Orthodoxy, see Michael K. SILBER: The Limits of Rapprochment. The Anatomy of an Anti-Hasidic Controversy in Hungary, *Studia Judaica – Cluj Napoca, Babes Bolyai University*, III. 1994. 124–146. For important recent analyses on the relations between Orthodoxy and Hasidism, see BÁNYAI et al (eds.) 2013, esp.: Erzsébet MISLOVICS: Rabbik, irányzatok, közösségek [Rabbis, trends, communities], 45–57 and EAD.: A haszidizmus megjelenése és terjedése [The appearance and spreading of Hasidism], 58–68; Benjamin BROWN: The Two Faces of Religious Radicalism: Orthodox Zealotry and „Holy Sinning" in *Nineteenth Century Hasidism in Hungary and Galicia = The Journal of Religion* XCIII. 2013. 341–374; Yosef SALMON: The Precursors of Ultra-Orthodoxy in Galicia and Hungary, *Modern Judaism* XXXVI. 2016. 115–143. On the Hatam Sofer's attitude to the reform movement, philosophy, the Kabbalah, see: Benjamin BROWN: The Comeback of „Simple Faith". The Ultra-Orthodox Concept of Faith and Its Development in the Nineteenth Century, in Simcha FISHBANE – Eric LEVINE (eds.): *Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Jewish Religious Life*, New York: Touro University Press, 2018, 142–146, 184. More recent historiographic summary on Eastern Europe: Glenn DYNNER: Jewish Traditionalism in Eastern Europe. The Historiographical Gadfly, *Polin Studies in Polish Jewry* XXIX. 2017. 285–299.

[94] In Liszka (Olaszliszka) Moses Teitelbaum's most faithful disciple, Friedmann Hirsch (1818–1874) was the Hasidic rebbe, the village was a place of pilgrimage. Crowds (including Christians) sought out the rebbe of Bodrogkeresztúr, Shaje Steiner (1851–1926) on Sundays, who was venerated as a wonder worker, to hear his advice and prayers. About their wonders, mostly narrated by Christians in the 1960s, see DOBOS 1990, 31–38.

[95] In the Hungarian-language Orthodox press the tzadik was not necessarily a Hasidic rebbe, but was often used in the Talmudic sense with reference to greater morality in the way of living. In obituaries about the religious authorities of Orthodoxy the deceased are named *tzadik-gaon-vekados*, a person with an unparalleled knowledge of the Talmud, a holy life and true humanity. Probably the writings about rabbi Tannenbaum are also in this vein. *Zsidó Hiradó* 1896. december 9. 1–2. Rabbenu Jákob Tannenbaum z. cz. v. l. [Written by:] József Habermann; *Zsidó Hiradó* 1897. szeptember 16. 8–9. Hirek – Putnokról irják lapunknak… – Mór Hoffer – József Habermann: Rabbenu Jákob Tannenbaum z. cz. v. l.; *Zsidó Hiradó* 1901. május 23. 7. – See: Gläser 2014, 144–145, 103–104, 276.

[96] See note 55. On yeshivas, see: Domán 1990, 203–216.

[97] On this and on changes in the evaluation and influence of Hasidism in Hungary over the nineteenth century, see: Silber 1994, 124–146. (In footnote 93.) It reveals that in Hungary the Hasidic movement was judged with less hostility than elsewhere in East Europe, e.g. Galicia. The reason is that here it was a local phenomenon, restricted almost exclusively to the scattered small settlements in the NE counties and northern Transylvania (*Unterland*) and not in the more concentrated and populous *Oberland*. The other reason was timing: by the time Hasidism had grown significant and there were Hasidic rebbes e.g. in Makó, Ada, Zenta, tensions had faded in the East European centres. An additional factor was that the chief rabbi of Pozsony Moses Sofer, undoubtedly the most prestigious representative of Othodoxy, the leader of the largest yeshiva in the world between 1806 and 1839 spoke less reprovingly of the Hasidim. Also, it is hard to determine in which period in which counties and settlements were the Hasidim clearly in majority. Even in Sátoraljaújhely, where rabbi Moses Teitelbaum led the community for 33 years, there were considerable groups in addition to the Hasidim, who followed the maskilim and the Neolog trend. The latter were so numerous that an adversary of Hasidism, rabbi Jeremias Löw was chosen in 1852 as his successor.

[98] There are two well documented examples of the setting up of independent congregations by Hasidic communities within the narrow frames provided by Neolog, Status Quo and Orthdox organizations after the Schism (1868): Beregszász where the Hasidim formed a Neolog congregation, as they could not set up a second Orthodox unit which rallied the Ashkenazi Orthodox, and Munkács where there were two Hasidic congregations, one Orthodox, one Neolog. See Bányai–Komoróczy 2016, 43–44. The other example is Sátoraljaújhely where the status quo congregation had a Hasidic rebbe who represented a very conservative trend. See Sas 1986, 74.

[99] Komoróczy 2005, 174–175, 181–183. For a more detailed biography of rabbi Mose Wahl/Moshe Vohl see: Tóth 2018.

[100] Dávid 1997; Dávid 1997. The restorer's documentation on the painting and the Torah ark mentioned in the latter work is not included in the Plan Repository of MÉM-MDK. See also Toronyi 2010a, 44–55.

[101] It is to be noted that during the restoration of the Mád ark the painted curtain motif similar to the one in the Bonyhád synagogue was added without any justification.

[102] The first guild of carpenters in Zemplén county was founded in Sárospatak in 1771, the most important guild of the area was founded in Miskolc in 1799. The Landmaisters (rural masters) of the Miskolc guild worked in over fifteen settlements, including Tolcsva and Tokaj, but Erdőbénye was not included. The separate woodworkers' guilt of Sátoraljaújhely was founded in 1842. See Fügedi (ed.) 1997, 243, and Domonkos 1991, 131–133 and maps 43, 44. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a master from Sárospatak or Újhely, or just an unlicenced master may have worked in Erdőbénye. In the material of Erdőbénye at the Kassa Archiepiscopal Archives (Acta parochiae, Acta aedilia, Inventaria, etc.) no master by the name Pálffy working for the Catholic Church was found. The processing of the census of 1868 may produce some results.

[103] As the cadastral register of 1868 indicates, János Gálffy was the owner of the house today at 71, Rákóczi street (later municipal kindergarten). I thank Katalin Borossay for the information.

[104] Rodov 2016c, 53.

[105] The impact of artistic styles can be identified on Israelite ceremonial objects depending on the depth of acculturation of the community, and the place and time of their production. The history of Jewish art is actually the imprint of a long multicultural experience – the Jews having been living within the frames of diverse cultures and civilizations. This, in turn, can be discerned in the style, occasionally in the theme of the art objects. At the same time we must take in consideration that this art was inseparable from the community that produced it and can only be interpreted in terms of Jewish tradition. Even if not every detail of the meaning of an object may be unraveled in the analyses, the context of a given place and given point of time can be illumined from Jewish and non-Jewish viewpoints. „As Eva Grabherr has shown, the achievement of merging these two quantities – that which is part of the surronding culture and that which is specifically Jewish – to create the maximum possible interface was and is one of Jewry's important achievement in the area of integration, and constitutes a significant contribution to Central European culture." Heimann-Jelinek 2004, 149–150, 161–162.

[106] It was widespread in other East European areas to build Torah Arks in the Baroque idiom in the nineteenth century, while the buildings already displayed the impact of the predominant neo-classical style. Some examples: Kratsov–Levine 2017, 81: Vishnivec before 1872, Olyka around 1870.

[107] In the wake of Joan M. Benedetti, Ilia Rodov proposed that they be taken for products of folk art in a broad sense. While the anonymous masters of folk art repeat and reshape elements of a common cultural tradition, the masters decorating a synagogue often put down their names and mixed the known prototypes with novel, often alien visual elements. Rodov 2016c, 54–55.

[108] On the Krakow Torah ark, see: Yaniv 2017, 215, fig. 118. On the rabbi's chair, see Goldman-Ida 2010, figs. 117–121.

[109] Yaniv 2008, 477, 488–490. In the study one of the examples is the Ark in the synagogue in Dohány street, Budapest (1859).

[110] 31.43/1944. XXI. res. sz. BM rendelet. Where demolition was the goal, they could justify it; the chief administrator of Keszthely, for example, remarked „factually" that the buildings had lost their original purpose. At some other

places, e.g. in Szeged, the municipal officials sabotaged demolition or alteration. See KÁDÁR–VÁGI 2005, 342–343. In summer 1944 several central institutions were set up (e.g. Government Organ to Solve the Material and Proprietary Questions of the Jews) whose job was to inventory the objects from confiscated storage stocks, public collections, synagogues and sell them. See SÁGVÁRI 2002, 76.

[111] Only a third of the religious congregations in 1939 continued after the war, three-quarters of their members perished. In 1945, 263 communities resumed (102 neolog, 146 Orthodox and 7 status quo ante), but in many the minimum number for collective prayer (*minjan*) was missing. A mere 55 cogregations had a building of their own. 50% of synagogues and their furnishing perished, only a fragment of the surviving denominational property (schools, care homes, clubs) was restored to the proprietorship of Jewish communities and organizations. SÁGVÁRI 2002, 80–81. A document of 1949 says there were 280 Neolog and Orthodox communities. It also states that to communities where the rabbinate was not filled, rabbis would be despatched for the holidays from Pest. MZsML: MIOK iratai, iktatószám nélküli iratok 1910–1952, Tájékoztató a magyarországi zsidó szervezetekről (1949); MNL OL, XXXIII–5–a–28 tétel.

[112] The letter and the questionnaire are published in TORONYI (ed.) 2010b, 29–31. The received and extant responses, and the letters to the communities of Mád and Tállya can also be read here.

[113] Az Országos Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Könyvtár Iratai (1930–1952) 1946, MZSL–1–1–a., PASZTERNÁK 1970.

[114] The document is published in: TORONYI (ed.) 2010b, 82–83.

[115] In 1950 the state combined all Israelite congregations irrespective of their former religious lines and merged them in the former Neolog umbrella organization MIOI. Thus, the central organs of the Orthodox and status quo ante congregations ceased to exist. In 1951 MIOI was renamed MIOK. BÁNYAI–KOMORÓCZY 2016, 45.

[116] In the 1960s 700 real estates including historic monuments were sold. The synagogue in Rumbach Sebestyén street could miss being sold by the Israelite congregation of Budapest because there was mortgage on it TORONYI (ed.) 2010b, 83; Ságvári 2002, 111.

[117] PASZTERNÁK 1970, 93. Though his text on the Torah cabinet includes the remark that it was taken to the Jewish Museum of Pest, it is more probable that the Torah curtain transformed from the purple silk table cloth with gold embroidery, a gift by the Counts Andrássy, got there, as *Pinkas hakehillot* indicates. As far as we know, neither is in the collection at present. The Torah curtain might be among the so-far unidentified curtains, although Othodox communities usually disapproved of the practice of preserving Torah curtains in museums. (Kind communication by Zsuzsanna Toronyi.) The uncertainty is caused by the fact that in 1964 the director had the entire collection newly inventoried, with provenance data deleted. On this: TORONYI 2011, 299–301.

[118] MÉM MDK, Tudományos Irattár, OMF iratok, 1958/19/4, 1959/29/1, 1962/62/4, 1963/76/1, 1964/89/5. Further details may come to life provided that the archives of MZsM become researchable again. Results are expected first of all from checking the MIOK real estate boxes (inv. no. VI. 8. 1950-1981.)

[119] Klára Freyberger, who cherished close friendship with the physicist Ede Teller, was displaced with her family to Tállya in 1951.

[120] For the list of photos and survey drawings, see footnote 57.