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THE HIDDEN JEWISH HERITAGE OF LIPÓTVÁROS

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

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THE HIDDEN JEWISH HERITAGE OF LIPÓTVÁROS

by

Zsófia Maróti

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Zsófia Maróti**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

One of Budapest's top tourist attractions is the 'Jewish Quarter', situated in the 7th district, around the magnificent Dohány street synagogue. However, the city's Jewish heritage is not restricted to this neighbourhood. The present research focuses on revealing and presenting the Jewish past of the 5th district, Lipótváros, or in its original, German name, Leopoldstadt, which has always been famous for its Catholic heritage, most notably for St Stephen's Basilica. However, when the area became the heart of the city in the 19th century, the Jewish community living there also had a great influence on the development of the neighbourhood and contributed a lot to its present form. The aim of the study is to show why it is important to examine the different layers in a city, why the Jewish heritage of this part of Budapest is crucial for understanding the past, and how it can be presented to the public. After giving an overview of the historical, social and theoretical backgrounds, it introduces an example of heritage presentation, the content for a phone application I have created for the Lipótváros project, which will operate as a tour guide with twenty-six locations in the district connected to the Jewish heritage of the area, including monuments, memorials, homes of important figures of Hungary, and buildings with their largely forgotten history.

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Introduction

When visiting a tourist information office in Budapest, right after the Danube cruise and the folklore evening offers, the third most advertised tour is the Jewish heritage tour of the city. This sheds a light on the fact that Jewish heritage tourism is an existing and well-known phenomenon for the Hungarian tourist industry. If digging deeper in the historical context of the development of the city, it seems clear why it is so. At its highest peak, in the late nineteenth century, 23% of the population of Budapest was Jewish, it was even referred to by anti-Semitic voices as “Judapest”. However, today’s Jewish heritage presentation does not necessarily aim to discover and present thoroughly this rich past of Jewish contribution to Budapest’s history, economics, politics, architecture, culture and social evolution. The afore-mentioned Jewish heritage tours mostly focus on a particular part of the Seventh District, Inner-Erzsébetváros (Elisabethtown), the so-called Jewish Quarter. There are different reasons for this approach, such as the type of built heritage which one can find in the Jewish Quarter, or the historical reasons, which the thesis will elaborate more on. The touristic approach of this area is rather diverse and there are a lot of options for the tourists to discover it. After all, the detailed and colorful presentation of one part of the city, connected with the Jewish population of Budapest, does not give a whole or correct presentation of the Jewish heritage of Budapest. This approach oversimplifies and paints a false picture, and also creates a theme-park like solution, which is in general characteristic of Budapest’s tourism. It gives the idea that Jews were only present in an area of Budapest, always lived there, so when looking for Jewish heritage sites, there is only one area which should be visited.

This research aims to widen the perspective of Jewish heritage tourism with exploring the Jewish past of a certain area, Lipótváros (Leopoldstadt), which can be found in the Fifth District of Budapest, in the heart of the city. The first part of the study focuses on the historical and

social aspects of Lipótváros, discovering its Jewishness and the Jewish contribution to the development of the area; while the second part offers a plan for the presentation of this hidden and forgotten Jewish heritage of Lipótváros. The plan uses the techniques of digital humanities and alternative tourism, presenting a possible smartphone application, which could cover the area, speak about its history and more about certain aspects and kinds of Jewish heritage, while educating and entertaining both the local population and the tourists.

An overview of the history of the Hungarian Jewry from the 19th century

The Jews were present from the Roman times in Hungary, but they were allowed to live only outside the walls of the city, in ghettos. The nineteenth century, which is in the focus of the research, is the century of assimilation and emancipation. During the Reform Era, the equal rights of Jews were advocated, and after the Revolution in 1848, the climate was very positive in the whole country regarding the Jews. Their devotion and effort for Hungarian liberty made the Hungarian society accept and embrace the Jewish population. In 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, which established the dual monarchy, brought a real novelty, the emancipation of Jews (Patai 230-240). It was one of the first actions of Jozsef Eötvös, the new minister for religious affairs, and it meant that the Jewish citizens had the same rights as the non-Jewish, Christian citizens, both civil and political. Also, in the nineteenth century, the neolog branch of Judaism was born in Hungary. One of the biggest settlement of the century took place with the mass migration of Ashkenazi, poor Eastern European Jews, who spoke Yiddish, to Hungary.

The Jewish population celebrated the outburst of World War I, and most of them participated in the war. After the war, especially regarding the role of the Jews in the Aster Revolution (1918), the anti-Semitic voices started to grow stronger, claiming that besides the economic power, Jews aimed for political power as well (Patai 458-465). The upper circles of the

Hungarian Soviet Republic, which was a short-lived communist rump state, were in sixty percent Jewish. After the communist state failed, and after the Trianon treaty in 1920, according to which, Hungary lost two thirds of its territory, a conservative, authoritarian system was established with the governance of Miklós Horthy. The first anti-Jewish law was 'numerus clausus' in 1920, which controlled the number of students of Jewish origin at universities (Patai 468-475). When World War II broke out, Hungary committed itself to the side of Germany, which meant the following of Hitler's policy regarding the Jews. After the German occupation (1944), the Jews were forced to live in ghettos and wear the yellow star, and finally the deportations started, mostly from the countryside, since Horthy tried to protect the Jewry of Budapest as long as possible. By July 1944, 445.000 people had been deported. After the liberation, the surviving group of Jews returned to the country, in 1945, 47.500 people returned. Around 20-30.000 Jewish people were taken as prisoners of war by the Soviets (Patai 560-563). After the Shoah, many Jewish people decided to leave Hungary and start a new life somewhere else, in an attempt to get rid of the hurtful memories. Canada, the United States and Israel were the most popular destinations. The so-called Jewish question was muted under Communism, it was not possible to talk about the Holocaust as something which aimed to eliminate the Jews; it was only mentioned in the context of fascism, and the victims were all the victims of fascist systems (Patai 604-608).

The surveys after the change of regime in Hungary, in 1989, show that the Jewish population was around 80 000-100 000 (Sebők 2012). The Jewish organizations started to grow stronger, such as the Zionist, cultural, sport and youth organizations. In 2004, the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation was established, and the level of anti-Semitism seemed to decrease further. However, 2010 meant a change in this field too: with the new Constitution as well as the emergence of the far-right party, Jobbik, the anti-Semitic voices became louder again. With the erection of the Memorial of the Victims of the German Occupation, it became clear what

the position of the ruling government of Hungary is about the Holocaust and the role of the country in the deportations (Erőss, 2016 240-242). The victimization of Hungary, the rejection of taking responsibility for the country's actions during World War II, all reflect the shift towards a more anti-Semitic approach of the Jewry of Hungary.

Jewish (heritage) tourism

Jewish tourism is a phenomenon, which specifically aims to introduce sites related to Jewishness, may it be a religious site, such as a synagogue, or a historical one, such as a former ghetto, or a site of remembrance and memory, like a cemetery (Gruber, 2002 200). The boom affected many countries which share an important Jewish past, as both medieval and more contemporary heritage got into the spotlight and guided tours were created to present the forgotten past (Gruber 131-140). The motivation behind these presentations might be diverse, depending on the historical context of the given space, the type of the given heritage and the aim of the given presentation. Jewish heritage tourism can be understood in the framework of national, minority, religious and painful heritage as well (Howard 2003 3-4). The framework influences mostly the outcome of the touristic presentation. Other reasons, like psychological ones can also be present behind the developments, for example, 'national guilt' concerning the role of the given country during the Holocaust. The target audience can also alter the outcome, since tourism mostly focuses on the demands of the audience. The touristic approach does not necessarily cover the Jewish heritage of a given city well but is worth looking at and compare it with the given historiographical data of the country. Depending on the background of the given country, Jewish heritage tourism can be built on the tragic happenings of the Holocaust, like in the case of Poland or the Czech Republic (Hermanová-Abrahám 2015). The seriousness of the topic demands different tools from other types of heritage; however, it is easy to overemphasize various aspects, especially for the type of audience which is looking for an entertaining effect even in such a tragedy. Venice is a notable example of the presentation of

medieval heritage, just like Spain, although it does not seem important enough everywhere, for example in the case of Budapest's discovered but not presented medieval Jewish heritage of the Buda castle district (Klein 2009). In the case of many countries it is not easy to decide what to put the stress on, if a country has always had a Jewish population which formed the cities and created important heritage. In the case of Budapest, the Jewish population was present in medieval times as well as in the 18-19th centuries, and during World War II, were pushed back into ghettos and yellow star houses, leaving memories of painful heritage. After the Holocaust, the Jewish community became much smaller than it was, but at least it is an existing community, which in most cases can take care of their own heritage.

The motivation of the tourists can differ as well, hence the size of the Jewish diaspora, for many it is a way of getting to know their past, discovering their roots, getting familiar with their heritage. Because of the Holocaust, Jewish tourism often focuses on the sites of Holocaust, where people can pay their respect. A newer approach in the tourism industry is the presentation of intangible Jewish heritage, which fits into the concept of alternative tourism well, since it offers an authentic and special experience to get to know a culture through their cuisine, music and lifestyle. In the case of Jewish tourism, preserving and presenting sites is especially important since the community which could work on keeping the site alive is often missing (Gruber 122). This absence of community is a very common issue in Europe in the case of Jewish heritage; it is often referred to as heritage without heirs. Thus, the role of tourists is crucial in preservation: due to their interest it becomes possible to get enough financial help, raise awareness, and emphasize the importance and relevance of these heritage sites. Following this sort of interest, Jewish heritage can find new heirs in a certain sense.

According to Gruber, discovery plays a crucial part as a motif for those who tend to explore the Jewish heritage (Gruber 234). For those, who have Jewish origins, it is the discovery of the

old country, a place which was left a long time ago, and when coming back they are able to discover the tangible traces of their past, the evidence of their heritage. Many believe that the home of their ancestors was destroyed, and no traces are left, and through Jewish tourism it becomes possible for them to learn about their past and visit what is left, since in many cases it is not true that everything was destroyed during the Holocaust.

The other category of tourists are the non-Jewish tourists, who want to discover something that is new for them, something that is exotic but still is around them, a group which might be gone, or at least is not as much present as before but left their traces behind. An important feature of Jewish heritage, which makes it even more interesting, is their integrity in the cityscapes, thus it can be even appealing to more seasoned tourists who might have already visited certain sites but were not aware of the Jewish heritage of the area. Being offered to revisit a site and get to know it from a different aspect seems appealing to a lot of people since seeing a site through a novel perspective gives better knowledge of the site, and also shows something different, something unique. The quest for finding authentic and exotic experiences has always been an important part of tourism and Jewish tourism fulfils these wishes while being easily reachable in most European countries.

The Jewish Quarter of Budapest

The area of Budapest today labelled as the ‘Jewish quarter’, used to be the ghetto during World War II (Cole 2003). The idea behind ghettoization was to create a strong border between the Jewish and the non-Jewish populations. The decision to build it in Budapest was made during the spring and the summer of 1944. As it is well known, Regent Horthy tried to hold back the deportation of the biggest Jewish community in Hungary, the Budapest Jews, however, the deportation was implemented in the countryside more thoroughly. In the first phase of ghettoization, the Jews were pushed back to certain buildings, marked with a yellow star. 1,948

such houses were created, then in June, the ghetto was ready for the Jews to move in. The choice of the location of the ghetto was not random, the Seventh district had been populated by many Jews before the war as well - mostly the poorer, working class Jewish population lived here (Patai 560-568). While drawing the borders, it became obvious that it is easy to lock the area away from bigger roads, by drawing the borders right at the inner ring, Károly körút, and the outer ring, Erzsébet körút. With this decision, the ghetto was separated from the major traffic and roads. The houses, where the Jews were allowed to live, faced inside the ghetto, but the ones which opened to the rings were not included; the ghetto was an isolated island. The non-Jewish population was prohibited to enter the ghetto, especially the Christians, no business or institution, which were non-Jewish could open an office or a shop inside the locked-away area.

The Pest ghetto was liberated in February of 1945. In the after-war period the population of the area went through a big change, lot of the surviving families never returned, in most cases they had left the country trying to get rid of the painful memories of this geographical location. After the Communist takeover, until about the 1990s, the physical state of the district worsened and there came a long period of decay, not only in the physical but also in the demographic aspect; in the 80s, just like many other inner districts of the city, the Seventh district went through an aging period (Patai 604-606). All this resulted in such a bad state of the district that finally the authorities also admitted that it could not be postponed anymore (Szívós 94-96). Looking at the rather complex, multi-layered system of the changing Jewish population, and how long their history of living in Budapest dates back, the question of presentation and Jewish heritage tourism has become complicated and shows how much it lacks now (Gruber 131-140).

The Seventh district offers a wide range of built and unmovable heritage with the different synagogues, memorials and with the mikveh, and important objects of the religious life,

including personal artefacts in the Jewish Museum. Many places, like restaurants and bars present a certain image of Jewish cultural life. Although with time passing, this area has changed a lot, different people inhabit it now, and it has become an important cultural hub, and the center of the night life, still it has much to offer from the cultural heritage aspect as well.

A civil movement, called Óvás (Objection) was established in 2004 with the goal of protecting the buildings, the heritage, the inhabitants and the traditions of the Jewish Quarter (ovas.hu). The area is protected by UNESCO since 2002, although renovations, new investments and the overall transformation started in the same year. The members of Óvás, who are architects, journalists, economists, sociologists and photographers as well, started to raise awareness of this transformation, which would demolish the Jewish heritage. They reached great success: the area gained the ‘area of historical significance’ title, which means that valuable buildings cannot be destroyed (Smith 2015). The book, called *Unprotected heritage*, by Anna Perczel was written for the same reason, the fear of demolition (Perczel 2007). The book discovers the Jewish Quarter in detail, tells the stories of the buildings with photographs as well. Óvás plans to extend the research of Jewish heritage to Lipótváros and to Új-Lipótváros as well.

This dichotomy between old and new, the traces of the ghetto and Jewish life mixing with the hippest clubs and restaurants, the ruin pubs next to the synagogues, and the atmosphere of urban decay together create the vibe and the look of this area. Shorter tours focusing only on the built heritage, such as the Dohány street synagogue, which almost works like a factory from the aspect of visitor management, do not present the full image of this district. The different walking tours available promise to show everything in the Jewish quarter in 2 hours; however, most of them do not present the social and economic changes but only the traces of the Ghetto ("Jewish Quarter Walking Tour" 2017). For the benefit of both tourists and inhabitants of Budapest, to help understand the specific and exciting heritage value of this district, the

heritage management of the area should be clear and more detailed, offering more exhibitions, guided tours for everyone.

Generally speaking, the Great Synagogue is the biggest highlight for both types of tourist groups. The rest of the Jewish District tours are in many cases organized by different walking tour companies, which offer a 1-2-hour walking tours in the area, showing 1 or 2 other synagogues, the Mikveh, Kosher restaurants and cafés and speak about the history of the district. These tours simplify the history and the heritage levels of the district but it has to be admitted, that they offer a practical and efficient solution for those who do not have a specific knowledge about the Jewish heritage of the Eastern-Central European Jewry but are interested.

The research aims to reflect the history and the social aspects of Lipótváros, which was different from Inner-Erzsébetváros, not only because of its inhabitants but because of the nature of the heritage of the area. Presenting the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros would add more ideas and knowledge about Jewish Budapest and would show how layered and varied heritage is. The study focuses on primary sources, such as contemporary journals, and uses secondary literature of cultural heritage, Jewish studies and the Budapest Collection of the Szabó Ervin Library and takes a look at phone applications which are, to some extent, similar to the one proposed in the research.

1 The historical background of Lipótváros

To understand the role of Jews in the development of Lipótváros, and to see how this part of the city became the center, it is necessary to take a look at its history. The uniqueness of the area lies in the fact that it has concentrated different aspects of power, such as political or economic powers, and it also serves as the hub of the city, or even the country. When analyzing these power aspects, it becomes clear that every one of them has some Jewish background. However, this distinctive Jewishness is neither presented nor well-known enough for most of the people living in the capital in 2018. Since this research aims to propose a way to introduce the Jewish heritage and contribution to Lipótváros, it is crucial to understand how this area developed and what led to its current status.

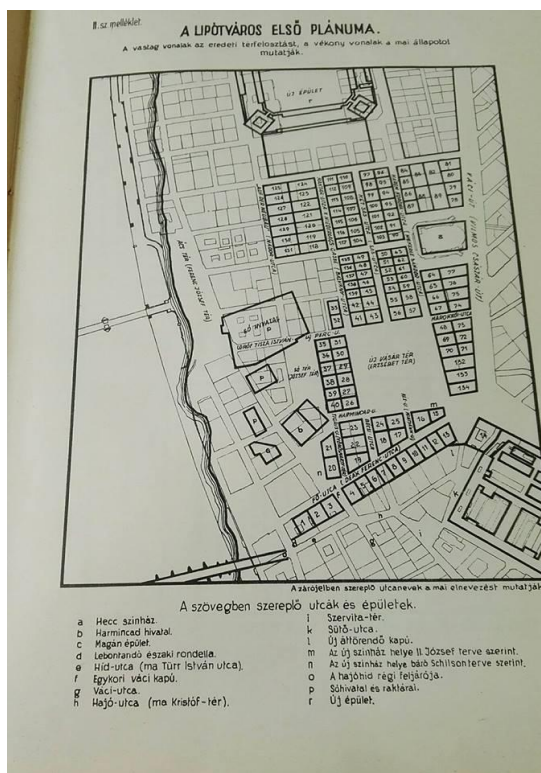


Figure 1: The first plan of Lipótváros. Source: Mihály Pásztor. *A százötvenéves Lipótváros (The one hundred and fifty years old Lipótváros).* 1940

“Lipótváros was built as a district for business” (Mihály Pásztor, 1940 218-219)

Lipótváros was one of the fastest developing parts of Pest, built later than other districts, but soon became the center of the city (Géza Komoróczy, ed. 1999 319) (Mihály Ráday XI XVIII 1993). The first important development, affecting the whole area, was the construction of a bridge connecting Pest and Buda in 1787. In 1827, north of the early city center, the Neugebäude was built, and between this and the city wall of Pest, a new part of the city emerged (Pásztor 1-2). In 1790, on the coronation of Leopold II, the area got the name Leopoldstadt, Lipótváros. The first plans were made by János Schilson in 1789 (Pásztor 30-32). In 1805, János Hild added plans for the area from the city wall to today’s Markó Street (Pásztor 79-83).

Lipótváros developed especially rapidly after 1873 (Gábor Gyáni manuscript 1-2). It became the commercial center, since it was a kind of meeting point between Buda and Pest, and with the fairs and markets it was an important space for trade and business (Pásztor 20-22). The first buildings in the area, such as Lloyd Palace, which attracted the merchants from the outskirts, forecast the importance of Lipótváros (Gyáni 2). The area was not only important because of its vivid commercial life but other aspects helped its development too, and it became a highly important part of Budapest, and still is today. Significant and grandiose buildings were built here, which rule the area and make the district well-known and popular with tourists. Lipótváros grew out of a suburb, as the city palaces and the commercial institutions were built. The market and later these institutions and banks attracted Jewish merchants and tradesmen, who decided to buy property and move there. By the fin-de-siècle, 23% of the population of Budapest was Jewish (166,000 citizens out of the 703,000) (Bedoire 374-375). In Lipótváros, the number of Jews were not as high as in the seventh district: 12,000 Jews lived here, while in the sixth and seventh districts their number was around 60,000. However, t 12,000 people gave almost the whole bourgeoisie of Lipótváros, where the upper-middle class Jewry lived

together, on the same streets with the Hungarian aristocracy. According to Pásztor, “the owners of the largest fortunes and payers of the highest taxes live here” (Pásztor 222), which is an exaggeration but true in the sense that definitely the middle and mostly the upper-middle classes of the Budapest population lived in Lipótváros (Gyáni 10). The Jewish population had an undeniable role in this development, and I am going to discuss their role in certain power relations, from the political and economic to religious and social aspects.

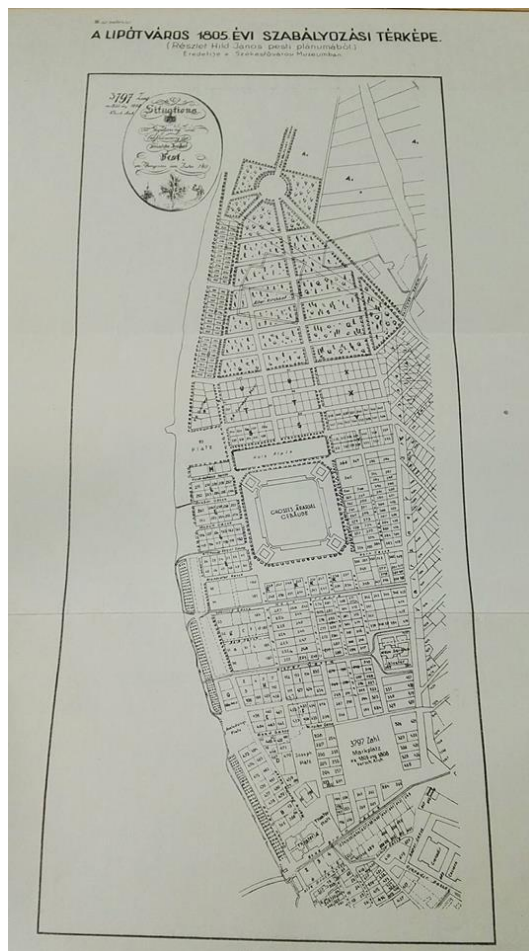


Figure 2: The regulation map of Lipótváros in 1805. Source: Mihály Pásztor. *A százötvenéves Lipótváros (The one hundred and fifty years old Lipótváros)*. 1940



Figure 3: The layout of Lipótvaros in 1838. Source: Mihály Pásztor. *A százötvenéves Lipótvaros (The one hundred and fifty years old Lipótvaros)*. 1940

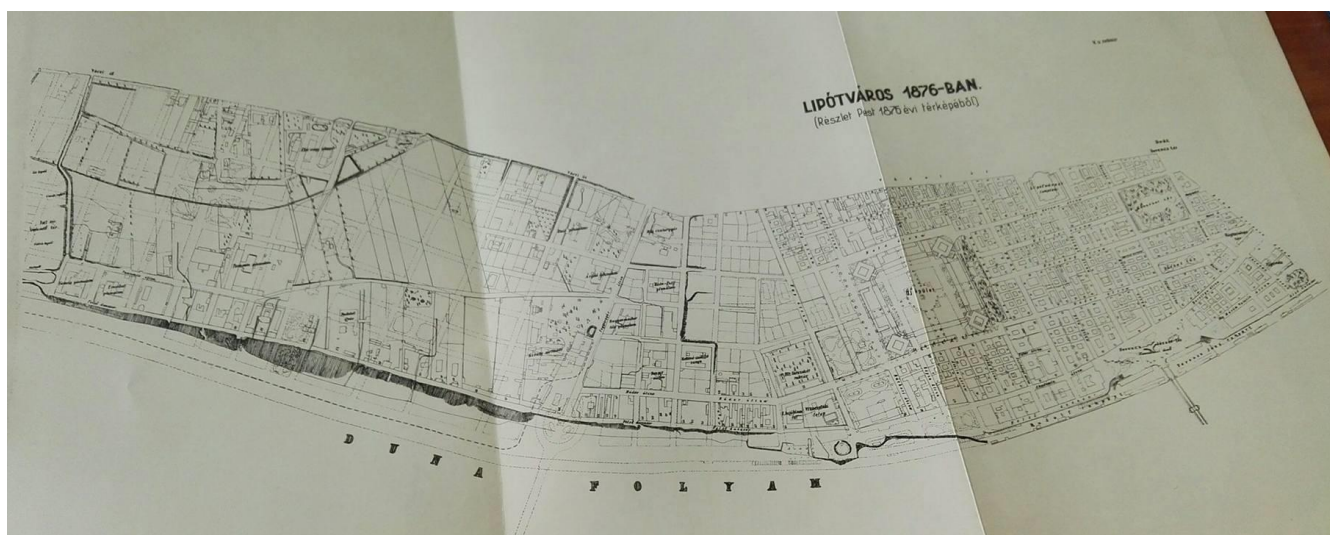


Figure 4: Lipótváros in 1876. Source: Mihály Pásztor. *A százötvenéves Lipótváros (The one hundred and fifty years old Lipótváros)*. 1940

1.1 The economic aspect of Lipótváros and the stock market

The center of business in Pest during the nineteenth century was Lipótváros, its markets were famous and attracted the merchants from other parts of the city (Komoróczy 319.322) (Vera Bácskai 1995/2). The Jews, who were in most of the cases merchants and tradesmen, started to move closer to Lipótváros, built warehouses first, but later apartments as well and as the authors of *Jewish Budapest* pointed out, a new Jewish quarter emerged. One of the reasons of this shift was the annual fair, which was the cornerstone of merchant life in Pest. It was where everyone could meet, do business, trade, sign contracts, and this was where institutions were founded. This makes it understandable how this area of the city got so much attention from the nineteenth century on, how it evolved and became the very center of Budapest. The headquarters of the Civil Merchants' Corporation of Pest, established earlier in 1699, grew bigger and needed a new center, which was built here as well, and this was one of the first and most important business-related buildings of Lipótváros. It was designed by József Hild and first was called the Merchants' House, later it was renamed Lloyd Palace (Komoróczy).

It was built on the corner of Kirakodó tér (presently Szechenyi István tér) in 1828, and by 1854, it also hosted the first stock market of Pest. The palace had different functions, on the ground floor there was the editorial headquarters and the printing press of the *Pester Lloyd* newspaper, the famous Lloyd Café and the Grain Hall (Gabonacsarnok), and the group of transportation companies (Berkovits 11-13). On the first floor, the Lloyd Association and the Hungarian Commercial Bank had their offices, on the second, there were the Chamber of Commerce and the Commerce Casino (Kereskedői Kaszinó), which could only be visited by the prestigious merchants of Pest. From 1830 to 1847, the National Casino (Nemzeti Kaszinó) was established here (Ráday 272). Later the same rooms were rented by the Labor Party. The building had a very adventurous story throughout history but served most of the time as a lively commercial meeting point of the Pest society (egykor.hu 2009).

The Jewish inhabitants of Lipótváros were especially involved in the banking business, their experience with commerce and trade helped to gain them new roles in the banking system. Zsigmond Kornfeld was the vice- and later president of the stock market, one of the biggest financial geniuses of this time (Móricz 1931). Kornfeld came from a very poor family and wanted to become a rabbi, but after his father died, he had to start working. He worked first in Prague at the Wahrmann and Sons banking house, then he got a position in Vienna and in Paris. He arrived in Budapest when he was 26, after Albert Rothschild sent him there to work at the Hungarian General Credit Bank. His role and importance in the life of the Credit Bank, the stock market and all together in the economic life of Budapest was crucial.



Figure 5: Lloyd Palace in 1930.

Source: https://mah150.kormany.hu/download/b/f4/f1000/ALP%C3%81R%20%20IGN%C3%81C%20%C3%81I%20%C3%A1nos%20Hitelbank%20k%C3%A9panyag_2.pdf Last accessed: 12.05.2018



Figure 6: Lloyd Palace before its demolition in 1948.

Source: https://mah150.kormany.hu/download/b/f4/f1000/ALP%C3%81R%20%20IGN%C3%81C%20%C3%81I%20%C3%A1nos%20Hitelbank%20k%C3%A9panyag_2.pdf Last accessed: 12.05.2018

1.1.1 The stock market (Tőzsdepalota)

The stock market moved from the Lloyd Palace to its own building, especially built for this purpose on a very central location, Liberty square. It played an important part in the business life of Budapest, as most of the businessmen had some interests in it. It had an intriguing Jewish connotation, since the stock market had many famous Jewish gentlemen among the members of its executive board, and even among the presidents of the stock market (Ráday 338-343).

The stock market, the official name of which was Pest Exchange Market of Commodities and Stocks, only stayed here for five years, from 1868 to 1873. Soon it started to grow and the space that Lloyd Palace could offer was not enough. The Neugebäude, (Újépület), which used to rule Liberty Square (Szabadság tér) before, was demolished in 1897-98, and Antal Palóczy's plans for restructuring it were accepted (Pásztor 26-28) (János Potó manuscript 3-4). Ignác Alpár was asked to design a new building for the stock market on the square, since it was big enough to accommodate it and still very much in the city center. Alpár is well-known as one of the architects of the banks of Pest, since besides the stock market, he designed the Hungarian Credit Bank on József Nádor tér, the First Domestic Savings Bank of Pest and the Hungarian Commerce Bank of Pest as well (Artúr Elek 1928 1). Alpár's plan drew up a symmetric, clean and light building, where the offices were on the first floor, so the ground floor could function as a public space, a café and a telegraph office were opened here (Kata Maróczy 2005 5).



Figure 7: The stock market on Liberty Square. Source: <https://mult-kor.hu/cikk.php?id=11406> Last accessed: 27.05.2018

The palace is huge and majestic, it was the biggest building of Europe used for this purpose, being 145 meters long and 41-61 meters wide (Ráday 338-343). At the entrance the Roman god of commerce, Mercury, and the god of craftsmen and artisans, Vulcan, protect the building. The wheat spikes on the columns propagate its main function. The size and the grandiosity of the building showed the competing intentions of Budapest with Vienna, just as in the case of the Parliament and the intentions to catch up with the Western countries. The constructions started in 1902 and were finished in 1907, and the stock market worked here until 1948. Later the Lenin Institution, and the House of Technology were established here, and in 1955, the Hungarian Television moved its headquarters in the building. The interior of the palace was rebuilt many times because of its changing functions, hence the original design is not present anymore, but the exterior still looks the same.



Figure 8: The stock market's interior today. Source: <https://www.portfolio.hu/ingatlan/iroda/elkezdodhet-vegrea-tozsdepalota-felujitasa-latvanyterveken-a-megujulo-epulet.279039.html>. Last accessed: 27.05.2018

The stock exchange and the banking system meant also a step forward for the slowly more independent, stronger Hungary. Especially after the Compromise, which established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, the importance of the Hungarian bank establishments became more crucial than ever (Kövér 2012 11-15). It provided to the country an entry into the international circulation of trade, commerce and finances, new opportunities and economic power which could lead to more power, including political as well.

1.2 The political aspect of Lipótváros

In the nineteenth century, the political center of Hungary, the building of Parliament (parlament.hu) was built in Lipótváros. It helped to boost the importance of the area and added a new power aspect to the city center, the political power (Déry 160-162). Hungarian political

life became stronger and more independent and the Compromise introduced a new era in Hungarian politics. By this time, the Jews were associated mostly with economic activities and business, so they were able to achieve a distinguished position in Hungarian society. However, the political sphere was unattainable for the Jewish population for a long time. The full emancipation of the Jews in 1867, allowed them to participate in politics, not only by voting but by taking initiative and representing their interests too (mazsike.hu).

1.2.1 The Parliament and Mór Wahrmann

The construction of the Parliament, the third largest parliament in the world, started in 1885 (Török 146-147). Another intriguing aspect of the location of the Parliament, in the context of the present research, is that it is one of the most important and visited sites of Budapest, similarly to the Basilica, indeed the majority of the tours pass through this part of the city. It is a peculiar situation, when the area is so well-known and full of tourists, still, different aspects and heritage remain completely unrepresented.

When the tender was released in 1880, four different, today famous, plans were awarded but the winning plan was that of Imre Steindl's (Déry 160-162). With such an influential building in the area, it was clear that besides the economic life, the political aspect of Lipótváros became (and still is) very important, especially for the Jewish citizens of the district, after the Compromise.

The economic development of Lipótváros, which attracted the Jewish population to the district, made it possible for them, even before the Compromise, to gain a fortune and achieve a wealthy lifestyle. After 1867, the Jewish population had the same rights as the non-Jewish population, and with emancipation, all the opportunities were available for Jews as well. Not only were Jewish citizens granted the suffrage, they were also allowed to play an active role in the politics of the country. One of the most influential figures of this period was Mór Wahrmann (1832-

1894), who was an upper-middle class politician (Vörös 1995/2). The Wahrmann family arrived earlier in Hungary, and Izrael Wahrmann was already born in Óbuda in 1755 (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon). The members of the family went in different directions, some of them became merchants, dealing with textiles, and others studied to become rabbis. Mór Wahrmann was the only owner of the banking company ‘Wahrmann and Son’ (Kövér 185-190). By the 1860s, Wahrmann had become a well-known and respected businessman, who was very interested in the social and political situation of the country. After emancipation, he became the first Jewish member of Parliament. Ferenc Deák, a Hungarian statesman and former Minister of Justice, supported him, since Deák considered it important to represent the interests of the liberal bourgeois who were mostly interested in economic questions. Wahrmann became a deputy in Lipótváros, where the majority of the voters were Jewish businessmen. He empathized with the problems of the Jewry of Hungary, and saw the differences in the behavior of different Jewish groups. He was the vice-president of the national congress, led by Ignác Hirschler, where the Jewry of Hungary had split into three branches (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon). He joined the Neolog community, and in 1881, he followed Hirschler in its leadership. He participated in and initiated many important projects and recommendations, such as the unification of Buda, Pest and Óbuda, or the demolition of the Neugebäude.

1.3 The religious heritage of Lipótváros

When discussing the Jewish heritage of a place, one aspect is of utmost importance, which it is religion. In the case of the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros, after realizing the importance of the Jews in this area, and especially their number, the absence of religious heritage is conspicuous. Especially, in the light of the fact that Lipótváros became the Catholic religious center of Budapest when the Basilica was built, which was accomplished by 1905 (Déry 245).

As the writers of *Jewish Budapest* claim, after the emancipation in 1867, the Jewish institutions, such as synagogues, mikvehs, Jewish hospitals, schools and orphanages represented the visible Jewishness of Pest (Komoróczy 2). Thus, it can come as a surprise that there is no religious heritage in the area of Lipótváros. It explains quite clearly, why the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros was forgotten. It is hard to think of and represent the Jewish heritage of an area where one cannot find any ‘traditional’ Jewish heritage sites which tourists usually look for, such as a synagogue. No wonder, the Jewish heritage of the seventh district is better presented and more often visited, as the Great Synagogue in Dohány Street does not only serve as a symbolic landmark for the area but usually features in every tourist book as a significant example of Europe’s Jewish heritage. However, this does not mean there was no intent on behalf of the Jewish community to build a synagogue for the Jews of Lipótváros.

1.3.1 The plans for the Synagogue in Lipótváros

The Jews of Lipótváros used the big synagogues in the 7th district; in their own neighborhood they had no synagogue, but only two small prayer sites (Komoróczy 266). In 1889, Mór Wahrmann and Ignác Goldziher, the president and the secretary of the Israelite Congregation of Pest, asked for two plots of land in the fifth district from the municipality of Budapest with the purpose to build a school for Jewish children on the property (Gábor 1998 2-6). The plan was first to build a smaller secondary school but with getting the two plots, it would have been easy to expand. The municipality reacted quickly, and the Congregation got the plots, on the corner of Markó and Koháry (today’s Nagy Ignác) streets, with the term that the school should be built in five years after signing the contract (Ráday II, 101). However, the complications right after this started, since the Congregation did not sign the contract for two years, probably to procrastinate this five-year deadline, then Wahrmann died and the Congregation agreed that it would make no sense to build a school in this area, but it would be more practical to place it in the 6th or 7th districts. However, they had a plan with the already acquired plots to build a

temple on. It has a special importance why they chose the word temple. Usually the place of worship is called synagogue, the word temple (*hekhal*) can traditionally only be used for the first and the second temples of Jerusalem. The Dohány Street Synagogue was also originally called "Kultustempel"; this word came from Vienna and meant a modern-style synagogue.

Lipótváros had been ruled by big and important buildings, such as the Parliament, built in 1885 and the Basilica, finally finished in 1905, but almost ready by 1891. Thus, the plans were drawn up, when the Basilica had already been built. According to the original plan a small place of worship would have been built here, but then it was changed for a more grandiose plan. The Great Synagogue on Dohány Street had already been in use since 1859, so the Jewry of Budapest had a big, famous and representative place of worship by that time. This gives an idea why the Jewish community thought it could be important to build an even bigger temple in Lipótváros, strategically in between the Basilica and the Parliament, which was already planned to be built there. It would have served as a further symbol of emancipation, the feeling of acceptance by the Hungarian society.



Figure 9: The plot of the planned Temple. Source: http://hvg.hu/itthon/20070327_zsinagoga_zsido_hitkozseg_kossuthter Last accessed: 27.05.2018

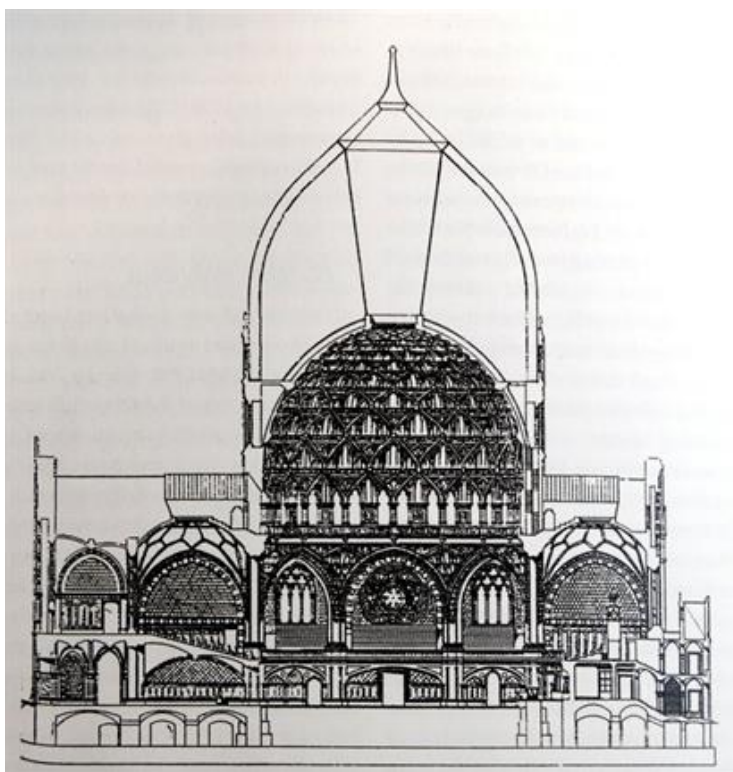


Figure 10: The plans of the Synagogue of Lipótváros.

Source: http://hvg.hu/itthon/20070327_zsinagoga_zsido_hitkozseg_kossuthter *Last accessed:* 27.05.2018

The Neugebäude on Szabadság tér had already been demolished, the Parliament was being built during this time period, so the area was not so crowded yet, and the huge building of the temple would have fitted in easily. The other synagogues of Budapest were believed not to be big enough, so the planned temple should have seated 1800 men and 1800 women. The municipality agreed that the Congregation could build the school in another district, which was executed in 1896 on the corner of Wesselényi and Kertész Streets, and that the temple would be ready in eight years. The tender was announced in 1898, and the condition was that the budget of the temple would not extend beyond 2 million golden crowns. The specialty of the tender was that most of the applicants were young architects and followers of the recent trends of the time. It was the time when bribery was rampant in tender processes, but the first three candidates for designing the Lipótváros synagogue were all very talented architects with exemplary plans. The winners of the tender were Ernő Foerk and Ferenc Schömer; Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámor came in second, and the third was Béla Lajta (Komoróczy 324-326).

None of them was more than thirty-two years old. It was Lajta's first more well-known tender and he became a very influential architect of Budapest after this project (Bedoire 367-368). It was during this tender that another architect József Vágó, who was 22 years old at that time, first got involved in a large-scale project, and later he became an influential and well-known architect of the city too; however, because of his Jewish origin, he could not use the title 'architect' anymore during the 1930s, since he was not accepted into the engineering chamber.



Figure 11: The actual building of the Court on the plot and the plan of the Synagogue. Source http://hvg.hu/itthon/20070327_zsinagoga_zsido_hitkozseg_kossuthter Last accessed: 27.05.2018

In the first round, the winning plan was grandiose, the architects imagined the temple with a huge, 70 meter high dome, however, the budget of the Congregation was too small, so they announced a second round, only with eight architects who had to revise their plans and reduce the costs (Komoróczy 326) (Gábor 10). But this was still not enough, and it became clear that

it was impossible to build an impressive and huge building, which the Congregation wanted, out of this budget. They ran out of the eight years which the municipality gave them and they had to ask for extension. In 1907, the president of the Congregation, Fülöp Weinmann realized that it was unnecessary to build such a huge temple in Lipótváros, since there was no need for it, and the costs of the maintenance would be so high that the Congregation would not be able to cover them. Finally, at the end, in 1909, the municipality gave another plot to the Congregation, the third of the size of the one in Lipótváros, close to the Dohány street synagogue, and on the plot of the planned temple, the Central County Court of Budapest was built (Gábor 12).

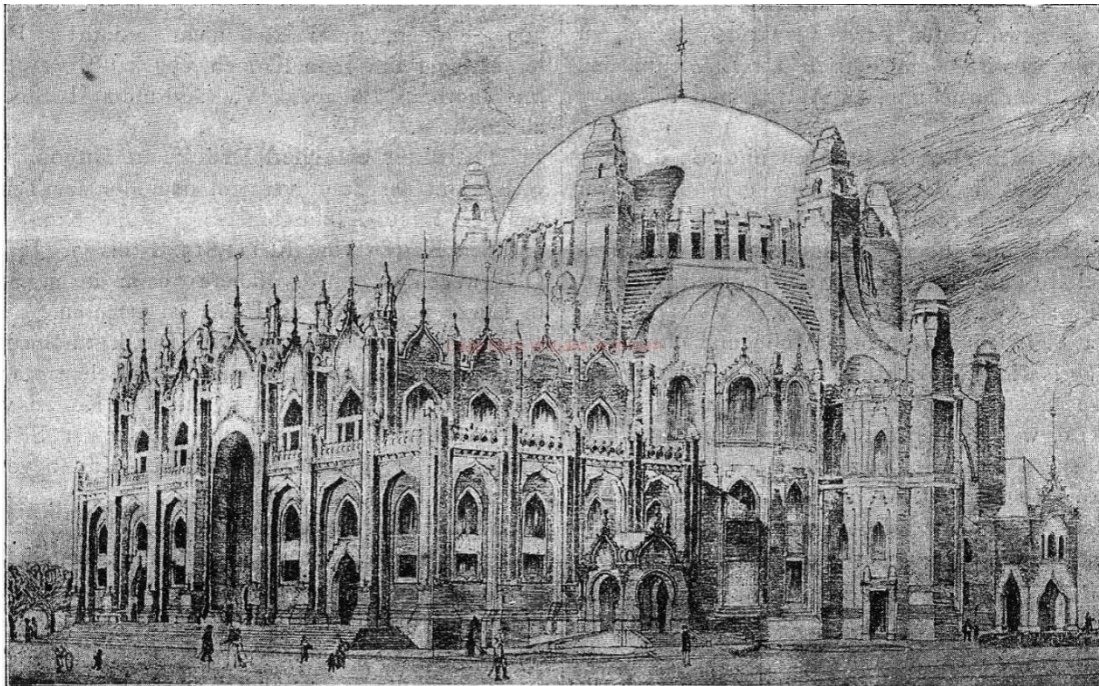


Figure 12: A drawing of the planned Synagogue.

Source: http://hvg.hu/itthon/20070327_zsinagoga_zsido_hitkozseg_kossuthter Last accessed: 27.05.2018

This story reflects the religious situation of the time period of Lipótváros. The plan of a huge temple had always been unrealistic, since the Jewry of Lipótváros was not very religious; they usually visited the synagogue only on holidays and celebrations, so on a Friday night or

Saturday morning service the great temple would have been almost empty. It was a clear sign of the positive feelings of the Jewish community of Budapest that they wanted to show their presence, and the opportunity was not restricted anymore, the municipality gave them a big plot for free, for religious purposes, which seemed impossible before 1867. The whole story of the plan for the temple sheds a certain light on different issues, such as the competition between buildings, the quickly assimilating and less religious society of Lipótváros and also gives a reason for today's absence of Jewish heritage presentation.

1.4 The social aspect of Lipótváros and the Casino of Lipótváros

The Casino of Lipótváros, which functioned between 1896 and 1944, is an important part of the Hungarian Jewish heritage. It was one of the most prestigious Casinos of Budapest, with the specificity that its members were mostly Jewish. It was influential in the literary, political, and intellectual life of the city as well, and gave the social dimension to Lipótváros. The building is today known as the Danube Palace, which is well visited and organizes many programs for tourists, however this part of its past is not presented anyhow. There are different literary, artistic, and musical events and exhibitions organized (dunapalota.hu). According to their mission, the goals and aims which were articulated by Miksa Falk are still relevant and important for the institution. Some parts of the Casino can be visited at certain times such as the Theatre Hall which can seat 292 people and is famous for its frescoes or the Chamber Room, or the Széchenyi, Brown and White Halls which are rentable as well for conferences and events. The seats of the National Election Committee are also kept here. In 2013, the statue of Ferenc Liszt was erected on the corner of the building on Nádor Street, commemorating the fact that the world-famous composer's first apartment in Budapest was close (dunapalota.hu). However, there are no plaques or statues remembering the Casino of Lipótváros at all, even though the building was built for this purpose.

The birthplace of the casino and club culture was England, and this form of social life developed there (Bölöny 1993). The establishment of the institution was initiated by a number of people with a similar social status and interest, who wanted to meet in cafés and restaurants and discuss several political, economic, and social questions during dinner. Later, when the meetings became more frequent and regular, clubs were born and rules and joining terms were created. When István Széchenyi visited the United Kingdom, he saw this club culture and liked it, so when returning to Hungary, he wanted to introduce it in Budapest. The evolution of the casino culture in Hungary helped the empowerment of the Hungarian aristocracy and bourgeoisie in several ways; when meeting, the aristocrats had a chance to discuss the political questions, which deputy they should and would support, moreover, in most of the cases the candidates were members of these clubs. After the Compromise, in 1867, it became even more important, since the independent Hungarian politics was in formation (Novák 2004/4). The institution of the casino supported the creation of the political parties and provided a kind of debating platform for the politicians and members of the parties, which had never existed before. In many cases, the casinos were not only the places of political debates, but economic ones as well, deals and business were conducted there. Two other important functions which the casinos served as well were the nurturing of the cultural life and charity. They held literary events, supported rising poets and writers, organized theatrical and musical performances. The first two casinos of Pest played a crucial part in the development of the Hungarian aristocracy, who would support the Hungarian art scene as well as help and deal with social problems and unexpected crises. The first two casinos of Budapest were the Nemzeti (1827) and the Országos (1883) (Novák 3-6). It was not easy to get a membership there, only respected, wealthy members of society were invited, who, and this is the interesting part, shared a noble origin, or were associated with the aristocracy. This, however meant for the Jewish population of Lipótváros that they could never become members of these casinos. They made their fortune

not a long time before, were mostly well-known and even respected businessmen, but they were not members of the nobility. Hence, they decided to establish their own casino, where people who were respected members of society, but who were not aristocrats could apply and be accepted.

The Casino of Lipótváros is one of the most well-known works of Vilmos Freund and was built between 1894 and 1897 on Zrínyi Street, today it is Zrínyi Street 5 (Ráday 539-540). The architect, after finishing his studies in Zurich, returned to Hungary and built several private city palaces, mostly on Andrásy Avenue, also hospitals, such as the Hospital of the Israelite Congregation of Pest on Szabolcs Street. For the plans of the Casino, Freund won a prize when celebrating the Millennium. During the construction, the architect of Cifrapalota in Kecskemét, Géza Márkus gave a helping hand, and the frescos of the Theatre Hall were painted by the famous fresco painter, Lajos Márk (Komoróczy 334-335). Both the detailed façade, the special architectural solutions and the ornamented and fairly decorated interior design, which made the Casino really look like a palace, aimed to emphasize the social importance of the members. The first and founding president of the institution was Miksa Falk, and it soon became a prominent and influential establishment with important and well-known members and significant cultural programs. Famous Hungarian writers, poets and thinkers of the time visited the palace, but many artists from abroad accepted the invitation of the Kaszinó as well, such as the famous American writer, Mark Twain and the Czech composer, Antonín Dvořák. An interesting addition to the institution was Gyula Reisz, who became well-known as the headwaiter of New York Café, of whom an entire generation of writers had pleasant memories - he started his career in the Casino of Lipótváros as well.

In 1907, Falk summed up the goals and aims of the Casino, saying that the main models for the Casino of Lipótváros were the casinos in London, Paris, Graz and Prague (dunapalota.hu). The

Casino is a place, according to Falk, where distinguished members of society could meet to discuss things or to read political papers or economic studies. The main aim was to increase the membership and offer them a place to stay, where they could enjoy life and discuss issues, even if they did not own property in Budapest, they could find a home in the Casino.¹

The Casino was also very well-known because of its large-scale charity events and donations (Thury 2006 97-98). A kind of charity competition was going on between the three big casinos of Budapest (Nemzeti, Országos, Lipótvárosi), which all wanted to organize the biggest events and donations. Besides philanthropy, it was the competition of prestige, influence and money that was even a bit more important for the Casino of Lipótváros than for the other two casinos. There could be several reasons behind that, but what seems to be most likely is that this served as a kind of tool for the legitimacy of the Casino and it could prove to the public that the noble origins did not mean everything and that in the modern world the ranks and titles were becoming less important than bourgeois respectability, artistic taste and social responsibility.

¹"... hogy a Londoni, Párisi, Gráci, Prágai s több casinok példáján, a mi Hazánkban is legyen egy olyan megkülönböztetettebb díszes összegyülekező hely, melyen főbb és előkelőbb s jobb nevelésűek, eszes, értelmes férfiak a társasági rendek mindenik osztályából egymással vagy barátságos beszélgetés végett találkozzanak, vagy többféle politikai ujságokat, mint amilyeneket rendszerént a kávéházakban találni lehet, s hasznos gazdasági, tudományos, művészi hónapos írásokat olvassanak. Magokat pedig üres óráikban illendően mulathassák, vagy ha történnék, hogy ezutánra több magyar főúri házak az esztendőnek egy részét itten Pesten töltenék, ezek közül azok, akik külön házat nem tartanak, a Casinoban egyúttal kények szerint való vendéglőt is lelhessenek és így azt, amit az életnek gyönyörűbbé tehetésére nézve idegenben bőven feltalálnak, nálunk hazánkban is lassankint mindinkább pótolva leljék s ez által folyvást többen és többen ide szokjanak." Miksa Falk, 1907

In 1907, the most well-to-do members of the Casino decided to leave and established a sort of millionaires club, the Hungaria Club. As a result of this, the Casino of Lipótváros lost its richest members and its economic power weakened a little bit, however its prestige did not, since the eleventh prime minister of the Hungarian Kingdom, Dezső Bánffy became the president of the Casino (Novák).

The destruction of the Casino started with World War II. Most of the members were deported and taken to labor or death camps, from where a lot of them never returned. Most of those who survived the occupation of the capital and the Arrow Cross movement, left the country. The Casino was confiscated by the owners, and in 1951, the Ministry of Internal Affairs got it and it became the home of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Club.

The Casino of Lipótváros gives a perfect example of the heritage management of the area. It was an important institution, its presence in the context of the given time and political situation has a special meaning, however today it is barely remembered. Even if it is, its Jewishness, the reasoning behind its origins, the importance of the Jewish origins of its presidents and members is absolutely forgotten and not presented. It is peculiar why it is so, there could be some theories, which could explain it, and however, there is no official reasoning behind it. Nevertheless, leaving out such a crucial part, which could explain a lot about the Casino, paints a false picture of the institution and its history.



Figure 13: *Café house life in Budapest. Borsszem Jankó 20 July 1890. Source: Gluck, Mary. The Invisible Jewish Budapest: Metropolitan Culture at the Fin de Siècle. (George L. Mosse Series in Modern European Cultural and Intellectual History.) Madison: University*

As a contrast to the elitist Casino, several famous coffee houses offered more egalitarian spaces of social gathering for the Jews of Lipótváros (Ráday I, 103-108). The Gresham Palace, which can be found at Széchenyi Square 5-6, housed the famous ‘Gresham Venezia’ café (Ráday I., 279-284). The Gresham Palace was built in 1907, by two Jewish architects, Zsigmond Quittner and József Vágó. It became an outstanding example of the Hungarian Art Nouveau. It was the headquarters of the Gresham insurance company. The owner of the café was Mór Salczer, who made the café well-known (urbface.hu). Starting from 1924, twice a week, the so called ‘Gresham circle’ met here. The members of the circle were writers, artists, poets and collectors,

such as Aurél Bernáth or Béla Czóbel. The Gresham circle started a series of publications called *Ars Hungarica*, which presented new branches of arts. Jewish intellectuals, such as Béla Balázs, György Lukács, Károly Mannheim, jointly with non-Jewish artists like Kodály, often visited the café, which served as a meeting point for them (Bauer 1985 22). Another famous café was the Elysée, next to the Parliament, which was reopened in 2015, and it had Jewish owners in the 1930s (Bolla 2016). Many famous intellectuals visited the café back in the twentieth century, Géza Ottlik in his memoirs remembers how much time they spent there.



Figure 14: The Elysée Café in the 1930s. Source: <https://welovebudapest.com/2015/08/28/elysee-bistro-es-kavehaz-a-30-as-evек-budapestje-ujrahangolva/> Last access: 28.05.2018

1.5 The art of Lipótváros

1.5.1 Music

As it was already mentioned before, the Casino of Lipótváros often organized artistic performances and along with that, regularly gave out opera tenders as well. Béla Bartók, the

well-known composer of Hungary, once applied to one of the tenders of the Casino, with his opera, called *A Kékszakállú herceg vára* (Bluebeard's Castle) (Novák 7). The music of this mystery play was composed by Bartók and the lyrics was written by a Jewish writer, Béla Balázs (Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 355). The artistic atmosphere of the early years of the twentieth century was characterized by spleen and the *weltschmerz* (world pain). The artistic creations often advocated loneliness and pain, the poetry of Endre Ady, one of the most famous poets of the twentieth century of Hungary, for example, affected the other arts as well along with the international influences of French symbolism, the philosophy of Nietzsche and the research of Freud. The character of the Prince existed in real life, his name was Gilles de Rais, and he was the marshal of France and was sentenced to death by the inquisition. The protagonist of the opera became the embodiment of loneliness, who is not able to be together with his love (<http://operakalauz.wrm.hu>). As it was already said, Bartók applied for the tender with this opera in 1911, but it was rejected bluntly by the jury, saying it is unpresentable (Novák 7). It was first shown seven years later, in 1918, at the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The reactions were mixed and biased, many of which complimented the music of Bartók, but criticized the lyrics by Balázs. After eight shows it was taken off from the repertoire and only became celebrated and loved by the audience in a new production later, in 1936 (operakalauz.wrm.hu).

1.5.2 Visual arts

In 1906, the new building of the National Salon was built by the Vágó brothers in the Fifth district, on Erzsébet Square (Déry 205). The National Salon was established in 1894 and was an association of artists and Maecenas (urbface.com). Its first headquarters was in József körút, than it moved to a building on the corner of Semmelweis Street and Hatvani (today's Kossuth Lajos) Street. The presidents were Jenő Zichy and György Vastagh, who organized important and influential exhibitions. One of these exhibitions introduced the works of the group called the Nyolcak (The Eights), a well-known group of avant-garde painters, four of whom had

Jewish origins² (library.hungaricana.hu). This event, which was accompanied by other programs featuring contemporary music and literature, had a huge impact on the Hungarian art scene. One member of the group, Béla Czóbel lived at 3 Október 6 Street, in the courtyard of which today stands the artist's bust made by Imre Varga (Török 134) (Déry 236).

1.5.3 Literature

Lajos Hatvany, a writer and art historian, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was an influential figure of Lipótváros. He is known today as the 'last Maecenas' (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon). He came from a wealthy family, interested in trade and business, who were great supporters of art. There is more information about the whole family in the third chapter of the research. Hatvany studied in Hungary and in Germany, and in 1908, he founded one of Hungary's most important literary journals *Nyugat* (West) together with Hugó Ignotus, writer, journalist and poet and Miksa Fenyő, writer and intellectual, Endre Ady's mentor, the president of GYOSZ (Hungarian Federation of Industrialists) and member of Parliament. The first office of *Nyugat* was hosted by Hatvany and was in Mérleg Street 9, in Lipótváros (Ráday, II 121).

The press was also present in the district, different important newspapers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were published here and the whole area of Lipótváros was well-represented in these papers.

2 The people of Lipótváros

The district's Jewishness cannot be understood without examining its society. For this purpose, two journals have been chosen from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *Egyenlőség* (Equality) and *Borsszem Jankó* (Johnny Peppercorn). To be able to draw a conclusion based

² Berény Róbert, Czigány Dezső, Czóbel Béla, Kernstok Károly, Márffy Ödön, Orbán Dezső, Pór Bertalan, Tihanyi Lajos

on the study of these journals, there should be a connection made with today's media. The fin-de-siècle was an important period in shaping the history of the area and its Jewish characteristics. The contemporary media review reflects one of the arguments, that is, that the Jewishness of Lipótváros was forgotten and is not presented at all. The media overview is carried out on the satirical journals and those papers which are in connection with the Jewish community. It focuses on the role of the Casino of Lipótváros, on the social situation of the area, the political life, the religious questions, Magyarization and the opinion of the inhabitants of Lipótváros. The latter two could have played a key role in the process of Jews leaving Lipótváros; and because of the ghetto during the Second World War and the Great Synagogue, the Jewish heritage today is connected to the so-called Jewish Quarter. Also, as it was mentioned before, there is no religious heritage present in Lipótváros, so other prestigious buildings, such as the Basilica and the Parliament cover the layer of Jewish heritage.

2.1 The genre of *élclap*

One of the genres of the journals, which influences its writing style and purpose as well, is a special one. The articles and contents of the journal, *Borsszem Jankó* (Johnny Peppercorn) were written in a certain satirical style, which might even seem rude, or anti-Semitic, but comes from the specifics of this genre.

The Hungarian name *élclap* would translate into English as satirical paper. This genre was born quite late, in the 19th century, when the time was right for it. Society needed to reach a point when the bourgeois became independent and strong enough, their income was stable enough and the technological background of printing was developed enough to be able to produce these papers (Buzinkay 1983 6-7). In 1848, *Dongó*, the Hungarian *Charivari* was founded; however, it existed only for half a year. In 1858, Jókai established *Üstökös*, which created the genre of

élclap (Buzinkay p. 8-11). The political papers started to appear in 1860-61, but only one of them survived the stabilization of absolutism.

The weekly journals, which aimed to address a wider public, have always used a simpler language which is easy to understand for everyone regardless their level of education and use references which are based on common knowledge. The two journals I am relying on are *Borsszem Jankó* (Johnny Peppercorn), a satirical weekly, and *Egyenlőség* (Equality), a Jewish weekly publication.

2.2 Borsszem Jankó and Egyenlőség

The birth of Hungarian political satirical journals came with the foundation of *Borsszem Jankó* (1886), which gained inspiration from the structure of the German journals and from the style of caricatures of the French ones. Adolf Ágai, journalist and creator of the journal, who wrote under different pennames, was the editor of the literary weekly *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* (Hungary and the Wide World) for almost a decade, and in 1868, he established *Borsszem Jankó*. Ágai lived in Lipótváros, and the editorial headquarters of the journal was also there.

Besides Ágai, many important figures of the Hungarian literary life edited the weekly, such as Jenő Heltai, Ádám Lipcsey, and Jenő Molnár, and János Arany, one of the most famous poets of Hungary, was also among its authors. Ágai was famous for his great organizational skills and although he did not create the genre in Hungary, he was the one to make it really popular (Buzinkai 11). One of the significant features of the journal was that they used some permanent characters, who had their very own personality and wrote in their ‘own’ style. These characters were great caricatures of the different types of Budapest society.

Egyenlőség was a Jewish weekly, established by Mór Bogdányi in 1881, mainly because of the Tiszaeszlár blood libel case (Gluck 47). During the trial, the paper came out daily and reported

on the latest news. *Egyenlőség* fought a lot during this period against the false stories, which interpreted the incident as a barbaric blood libel, and managed to help calm the people and restore the reputation of the Jewry. On the pages of the journal, a lot of famous and important Hungarian thinkers, writers and politicians fought for Jewish emancipation in both political and social ways, and against Orthodoxy. Later another important issue for *Egyenlőség* campaigned against scientific anti-Semitism and was a counterpoint of the Zionists movement.

2.2.1 The gender aspect

Another group referred to frequently was the Jewish ladies of Lipótváros (*Borsszem* 17 January 1869 26). They were described as very wealthy, more powerful than other Jewish women, who got a lot of attention from gentlemen, and organized many social events. The articles admire and mock these women at the same time. It is a peculiar detail, that when presenting the people of Lipótváros, the men are usually mentioned because of their achievements, women are usually shown as the mirror of well-being, wealth, which surrounds the citizens of Lipótváros. They were portrayed as the very fashionable Jewish ladies, who have an easy life since their husbands earn fortunes, they just have to enjoy the benefits. According to *Borsszem Jankó*, they did not do anything by themselves, had servants and helpers in their city palaces, only spent their time buying new goods every day for themselves, and with this activity they became the biggest supporters of capitalism and consumerism. *Borsszem Jankó* often mocked their behavior and suggested that they were false role models for the non-Jewish women of Pest, since their lifestyle was very appealing to the ‘decent Hungarian women’ whose husbands did not earn as much as the Jewish bankers or tradesmen.

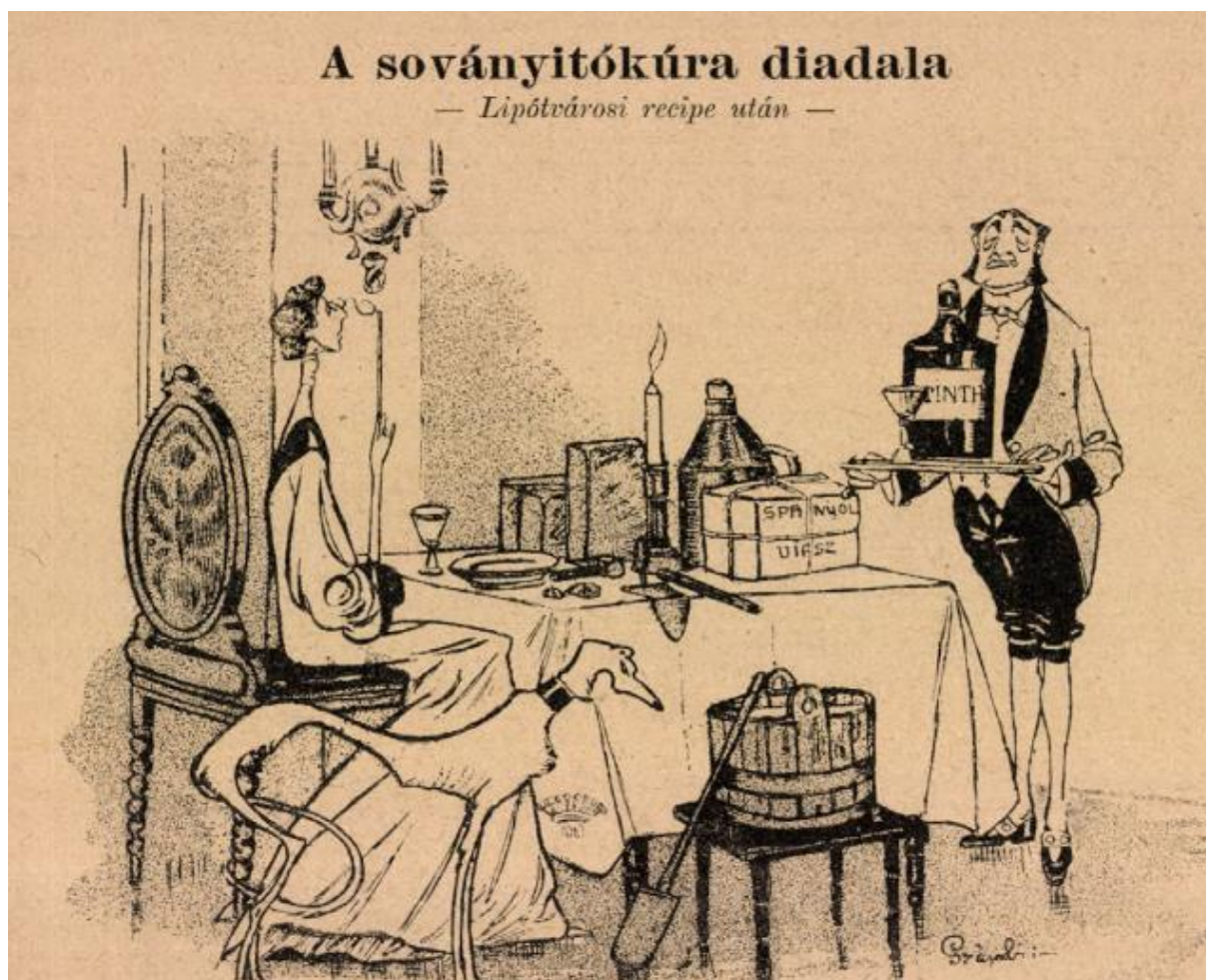


Figure 15: The triumph of the slimming cure, a recipe from Lipótváros. Source: *Borsszem Jankó* 13 February 1897

2.2.2 The Casino of Lipótváros and the fin-de-siècle

The Casino was already mentioned and introduced in the first chapter, however, its importance in the given era becomes clearer, when looking at the issues of both publications from the years of their establishment. The journals had a crucial role in forming the public opinion, and the way of their presentation of certain issues influenced the common picture of events, institutions and figures. This was the case of the Casino of Lipótváros as well. Not only was its establishment an exciting topic for the journals, at least for *Borsszem Jankó*, which approached the topic very sarcastically, but the president changes, the events and the members provided recurring topics for it. The turn-of-the-century brought changes for the Jewish

community in Budapest. The anti-Semitic voices strengthened; however, by this point the Jewry of Hungary reached an important position. Lipótvárosi Kaszinó (the “Casino of Lipótváros”) was founded and became a strong institution (*Borsszem* 23 March 1902 5). The golden area in the life of the Casino was when Dezső Bánffy, who was a Hungarian politician and prime minister (1895-99), was elected president. *Borsszem Jankó* wrote about it extensively (*Borsszem* 6 April 1902 3). Bánffy was not in the best health when he became the president - according to one article, when he was elected, he could not walk into the building by himself but was carried by Károly Légrády³ (*Borsszem* 1 March 1903 9). The weekly ridiculed the new president in a few short notes, referring to the fact that Bánffy came from a landowning gentry family, which makes the Casino ‘rural’, probably meaning that the president was not an emancipated bourgeois intellectual (*Borsszem* 15 March 1903 9).

The controversy about the person of the new president was followed by other issues, such as the protest, which took place in Parliament. The anti-Semitic voices were stronger in this case, Róbert Zselénszky, a liberal grandee stated that the Jews were responsible for the protest, and his comrade, Buzáth said that the Kaszinó itself was the place where the protest was organized to put their president, Bánffy, into the prime minister’s seat (*Borsszem* 29 March 1903 2). From this short article it is evident that the Kaszinó was seen significantly Jewish, and behind Buzáth’s attack different personal reasons could be found, such as the fact that he had not been invited to one of the events.

Bánffy was also associated with other issues - according to gossip he was the one who financed some affray in Croatia (*Borsszem* 24 May 1903 p.6). It is obvious that his role changed the preconceptions about the Casino and affected the way in which the institution was perceived. It even appears that his being the president changed the attitude of the members of the Casino,

³ Károly Légrády (1834-1903) editor, publisher and deputy

who seemed to have become arrogant, at least according to those who were not members. When talking about how the prices of food, such as the price of sugar and bread inflated, it is mentioned that only the member of the Casino of Lipótváros could afford eating goulash anymore (*Borsszem* 13 September 1903 13). From 1904 on, the Casino is always mentioned in a negative way, how the non-Jewish notable personalities backed off from working together with the Casino and the Jews (at this point the Casino more overtly means Jews). One of these actions, which the aristocracy did not want to get involved in, was initiated by the Casino of Lipótváros. According to the suggestion, all the casinos of Hungary should join forces to establish a foundation which would allow Hungarians living on the border to get a loan without interest for 20 years (*Borsszem* 17 January 1904 5-7). However, it was believed that the Jews should not be taking steps in this case, because starting an action like this should be the job of the aristocracy. The writer of the small article draws the conclusion that the constitution does not like the Jews but prefers the money of the aristocracy.

2.2.3 The privilege of living in Lipótváros

In 1903, being an inhabitant of Lipótváros was not only a geographic or social status, it was much more, a privilege. From a short sarcastic anecdote about a conversation between a bad student and the teacher, it is clear that the fact that the student's father is a distributor in Lipótváros means that the student can do anything and stand above the teacher. In this dialogue, the teacher cannot use physical punishment with the student since his father has more power and can fire the teacher (*Borsszem* 13 September 1903 11).

A LIPÓTVÁROSBÓL.



Kóbi. Gatt! . . .
 Czili. Az istenért, mi történt?
 Kóbi. Az lehetetlen!
 Czili. Beszélj hát, min rémülsz meg?
 Kóbi. Mitül rémülek? Hogy ne rémüljem el magamat, mikor máma az ójságba egy bank-igazgatóról
 sincs besz, hogy defraudirozta!

Figure 16: From Lipótváros. Source: Borsszem Jankó 2nd January 1876

*Kóbi: God! Czili: For God's sake, what happened? Kóbi: That is impossible! Czili: Speak now, what scared you? Kóbi: What scared me? How would I not be scared when in today's paper there is no mention of a bank director who defrauded!*⁴

Also, anti-Semitic voices were heard because, according to them, the Jews always 'showed off', for example it was not enough for them to have St. Stephen's Day, who is the patron saint of Lipótváros, but they organized a celebration on the day of St. Leopold too. Since *Egyenlőség* was established mostly because of the Tiszaeszlár blood libel case, in the early years of the paper, this was in the focus of its attention. Lipótváros is mentioned in the first few years only a very few times but the most interesting piece was published in the April issue of 1884. According to the story, a group of young gentlemen had an idea to fool around a little

bit. One of them, a law student wrote a letter to the newspaper *Függetlenség* (Independence) writing about another horrifying ritual murder executed by the Jews in Lipótváros (*Egyenlőség* 20 April 1884 5). In this letter, the student wrote that since he is very poor he has to live in the stinky ghetto of Budapest, Lipótváros, and overheard a story from two workers who talked about the weird sounds and screams one week before the 'Jewish Easter'. In this piece the student wrote that this happened in the house where Mór Wahrmann, the 'king of the Jews' lives so this makes the story even more exciting. This little prank was taken very seriously by *Függetlenség* and the next day they published a short article about how probably a young girl was murdered again by the Jews and the police should check if no girl was missing.

In the 1880s and in the 1990s, the Lipótváros references in *Egyenlőség* are not very frequent but always refer to the fact that this district was Jewish, and not only the Jews but the anti-Semites also associated Lipótváros with Jews. In 1869, the *Pester Loyd* was established, Mór Wahrmann's name became well-known, so Lipótváros was mentioned more often in different articles which pondered about the chances of different political parties and delegates. By the 1870s, Lipótváros had often been referred to as a cosmopolitan area and gained a lot of attention because of the building of the Basilica, which offered a lot of sarcastic remarks about the attitude of the Jewish population to the Basilica on the pages of the journal (*Borsszem* 16 January 1870) (*Borsszem* 20 February 1870 9).

2.2.4 Political questions of Lipótváros

Among the issues of the year 1904, the newly established party, Bánffy's Jogpárt (Law party) also got a lot of attention. Most of the articles referring to it emphasize that Bánffy relies too much on the Jews and he will see that the Jews are not helpful and will always stay on the side of the government regardless what they promise and in the end the Law Party will become a Goy party (*Borsszem* 7 February 1904 3). Goy, which is originally a Hebrew Biblical term for

nation, has been used for a long time for someone who is not Jewish, and here the use of this word, sheds light on the issue well.

By the time of the Tiszaeszlár years, starting from 1882, being Jewish and wealthy merged with the district (*Borsszem* 31 January 1869 44). Mór Wahrmann's figure was important for the magazine, and Lipótváros was associated with the attitude of young, rich, powerful and self-confident gentlemen who like to have fun and earn money (*Borsszem* 28 February 85, 90, 92). Lipótváros in the presentation of the journal, became a carefree, trouble-free area, where most people wanted to live and be 'spoilt' by the good quality of life and the developments of the district (*Borsszem* 25 January 1871 5). However, since most of them could not afford it, it was a target of mockery and believed that everything was better there (*Borsszem* 20 July 1884 2).

2.2.5 The religiosity of Lipótváros

In the year 1904, many articles dealt with religious issues, such as the fact that the Catholic congregation in Lipótváros asked for more chaplains because the Catholic population of the area was growing day by day (*Borsszem* 17 June 1904 3). The journal sarcastically adds that they know that this growing Catholic population is different, it is enough to take a look at their noses and it will become clear that they have not been Catholic for a long time. These small references show that conversion became more and more popular. Another article mentions that all these conversions are just plain water waste since the amount of water used for this purpose is not enough even to wash off the word Jew, just to discolor the person with the phrase "converted Jew". Since *Egyenlőség* was a serious publication full of important news, of course, the plans to build a Jewish temple in Lipótváros was given proper attention, and in small articles they kept up with the latest news about the planning phase. However, the journalists did not write so extensively about the establishment of the Kaszinó. Another important issue which

was only dealt with in *Egyenlőség*, in its December issue of 1896, was the situation of the Jewish schools in Budapest (*Egyenlőség* 6 December 1896 4). The article argues that Lipótváros does not need a school but a temple. Only the poor Jews living in the outer districts of the city, who could not afford tuition fees, food, and clothes for their children, needed a school. The new Jewish school should be an institution of humanity and culture as well, which, according to the author, would be a mistake to establish in Lipótváros. The idea of building a temple in Lipótváros occurred in 1908. According to the authors of *Egyenlőség*, the religious adherence of the Jewry in Budapest was declining, just like attendance and the number of people practicing the customs (*Egyenlőség* 3 April 1909 6). The Dohány street synagogue was far enough for the citizens to visit it regularly, so a temple in the district would have been useful. Nevertheless, the temple was never built. In a poem entitled “Lipótvárosi harangok” (The bells of Lipótváros) written by Jenő Kálmán, it becomes clear that many of the Jews who had converted visited the Basilica to confess. “Blum-Baum, Blum-Baum, Blum-Baum: the sound forces its way because it carries double confidence” (*Borsszem* 25 January 1914 12)⁵.

2.2.6 Magyarization, before the war

By 1913, *Borsszem Jankó* actually reports the fact that Lipótváros lost its distinctive Jewishness through magyarization, and the Jewry of Lipótváros changed their names to Hungarian ones, bought different titles and the author jokes how they should change the name of the district as well into something more Hungarian than Lipót (*Borsszem* 20 April 1913 12). From 1910-14 Lipótváros was mentioned even less than before, but when it was, it was usually used as a synonym for assimilation. Right at the beginning of the war, the anti-Jewish voices became louder, especially against those who assimilated and tried to get accepted by the majority Hungarian society, and sometimes they were referred to as the traitors of Judea (*Borsszem* 17

⁵“Blum-Baum, Blum-Baum, Blum-Baum: Tör a hang utat, Mivel benne van a dupla öntudat“

December 1914 5). This idea of assimilation was associated with Lipótváros since it was quite clear that the Jewry of Lipótváros tried very hard to fit in.

2.2.7 The linguistic aspect

Another exciting detail which can be observed throughout the years is that before the turn of the century in most of the jokes and satirical stories about the Jews of Lipótváros the Hungarian text was mixed with German phrases; however it changed, and by the 1910s, the classy and wealthy Jews of Lipótváros used English terms in their everyday life as well (*Borsszem* 27 July 1913). The period under examination ends with the beginning of the war in 1914. In this year's issues all the sarcastic stories and poems mostly refer to Lipótváros as an emancipated, self-confident district, where the Jews tried to assimilate by changing their names, converting, mixing English expressions in their everyday conversations.

2.3 The conclusion of the media research

From these two contemporary journals, it becomes clear that Lipótváros was understood as a significant Jewish space in Budapest. Its inhabitants were wealthy Jews, many of whom were bankers, wholesalers and intellectuals who wanted to be accepted by Hungarian society. So, they started to change their names, picked up Hungarian habits, left their religious customs more and more behind as time passed. In both sources it is often mentioned how 'spoilt' this district was, and that its habitants lived a better life than others. The significance of the Jews of Lipótváros cannot be forgotten or underestimated: their economic, political and cultural roles were huge in this time period as the journals also prove it.

Borsszem Jankó, being a satirical publication, emphasized the special, fortunate position of the Jews of Lipótváros, and also made fun of them for trying too hard, but whenever anything happened, such as the election, or the change in the leadership of the Kaszinó, it was important

to talk about it and report on what was happening. In *Egyenlőség*, other issues were mentioned as well, such as the question of the temple or anti-Semitic issues. However, what is definitely similar in them is the way both journals turned against assimilation and any efforts made to be accepted by the Hungarian majority society, and that all of this was embodied by the Jewry of Lipótváros for them.

Finally, it is obvious from this research who Lipótváros was associated with, and how the dichotomy between the building of the Basilica and the growth of the Jewish population of Lipótváros emerged. The Jewish spirit and the heritage of Lipótváros, even if it is not visible anymore, is very much alive and has made Lipótváros the place that we still know today. While Lipótváros was first associated with financial activities which involved Jews, with the construction of the Parliament and the Basilica it became a power center that tended to exclude them.

After 1914, the leftist culture among Jews and non-Jews was rising, while the aggressive anti-Semitic propaganda started in 1919. With the approach of World War II, it became stronger, and the laws restricting Jews, such as *numerus clausus* were created, and the ghettoization and deportation started. During the Communist era, the Holocaust was handled as a taboo, so the tragedy and the trauma could not be processed by society. After the change of regime, in 1989, the situation of the Jews improved, the community became stronger, but since 2011, the anti-Semitic voices have strengthened again⁶.

2.4 Media review

As it has become clear, Lipótváros served both as a phenomenon and an area of the city in the contemporary media of the fin-de-siècle. The connection between Lipótváros and the Jews was

⁶ See more about the topic in the introduction of the paper

always present and strong. Based on the result of the investigation of the contemporary sources, it becomes important to research the presence of Lipótváros in the recent, modern media. It is intriguing to see, how it is presented, which articles mention it and how much it is associated with Jewishness. This can help us understand why and how the Jewish heritage is so much hidden and invisible in the touristic presentation of Lipótváros.

Lipótváros in today's media is not reflected as something distinctive at all, the articles mentioning or dealing with the area usually highlight its importance as being the center of the city, or because its municipality and its decisions. It is believed to be a tourist attraction, well kept, rather clean and as far as real estate prices go, it is considered a very expensive area of the city. Even the anti-Semitic, far-right blogs and websites, such as 888.hu, alfahir.hu or pestisracok.hu do not use Lipótváros as a synonym for Jewishness, as it was used before. It is probably "too historical" today to mention this and, of course, the Jewish population of Lipótváros is not significant anymore. The spatial synonym for Jewishness is another district of Budapest, Újlipótváros. Only one website, kurucinfo.hu, uses Lipótváros in a rather offensive, even in an anti-Semitic way. This is a far-right site, which supports Jobbik and goes very much against the government. Most of these articles deal with the issue of the Memorial to the Victims of the German Invasion and the Living Memorial. According to the articles, the memorial is rightful and done perfectly but the dissatisfied liberals and Jews of Hungary protest against it without any reason (kurucinfo.hu). According to kurucinfo.hu, the Living Memorial should be taken away since it contains only trash, which is placed there unlawfully. They often attack Orbán, the prime minister of Hungary, for being weak in this case as well, since he did not defend himself or his government from these protestors.

The other issue, which has come up, are the stumbling stones (small concrete cobblestones on the pavements with a brass plate on them, with the name and life dates of victims of the

Holocaust), which again are criticized by the site for being unlawful and useless, and which only commemorate the Jewish victims, but the victims of the Soviet times are not remembered at all. The general argument is that Jewish people of Hungary always turn every possible opportunity into remembering their misery and loss, which, according to many articles on the website, might not even be true. On one occasion, when a stumbling stone was placed in Lipótváros, the argument came up again in an article, mentioning that Lipótváros is already a Jewish place, so putting stumbling stones here makes even less sense, since Jews believe their own stories.

There was only one article, which uses Lipótváros as metaphor for Jewishness, just like as it was used in *Borsszem Jankó* in many cases. A common habit of the site is to cite liberal, or leftist media articles and make fun of them. Balázs Lenhardt was a member of the far-right political party, Jobbik, and was famous for his rude, very often anti-Semitic and racist comments, interviews and speeches, but finally he was banned from the party on ethical grounds. One of his harshest and most criticized attack in the Parliament was aimed at a Hungarian football club, MTK, in 2011. He said that there was reason to be happy for all Hungarian football fans because MTK dropped out of the National Premier League. "I must say, that regardless which club one supports, this news generated happiness in Hungarian football fans, since the pride of Lipótváros, which is a foreign body on the national field, never has been a fan's favorite."⁷ Later, when he was criticized for this, he wrote a response letter, which was published on the site of kurucinfo.hu. He said that MTK was a Jewish football club, and everybody has the right not to like them or root for them. He stated that MTK is not only Jewish because of its origins and traditions but the owner and the current president are Jewish

⁷A zsinóros mentében szónokló Dr.Lenhardt azt találta mondani: "Ne legyünk azonban szűkkeblűek, volt oka a magyar futbalszerető társadalomnak egyéb szinten is az örömrre. Kiesett ugyanis az NB I-ből az MTK csapata. S meg kell mondjam, hogy ez klubhovatartozástól függetlenül a magyar futbalszurkolókban osztatlan örömet váltott ki, mert Lipótváros büszkesége, amely a hazai mezőnyben egyébként egy idegen testet képez, sosem volt az átlagszurkoló kedvence." Kurucinfo.hu 2011

as well. It is clear that Lenhardt used Lipótváros here as a metaphor for Jewishness, even though MTK does not have current relations with the district, they do not train or have their club headquarters there. It is possible that he used Lipótváros because the team was established in the early 20th century and wanted to use a contemporary reference.

The conclusion, as it has been demonstrated by the survey of contemporary media coverage of Lipótváros in two different periods, is that in the twenty-first century it is not obvious, even for the far-right media, who tend to write more about the Jewishness of Budapest and also use a more specific vocabulary, to refer to Lipótváros as something very Jewish. The population of the area is not associated with its Jewish origins anymore as it used to be in the nineteenth century, and it is not even remembered as a space, which was distinctively Jewish. Partly, it can be due the fact that the Jewish presence and their impact on this part of the city lacks presentation, not only by touristic but educational means as well. Another reason can be that Újlipótváros and the Seventh district's Jewish quarter are in the focus of both the anti-Semitic and the non- anti-Semitic media.

3 Jewish alternative heritage tourism

Jewish tourism has many different forms, from mass tourism, such as the tourism to Holocaust sites or concentration camps, to alternative tourism, such as walking tours in Jewish quarters to a very specific and niche type of tourism such as the Hasidic pilgrimages. The heritage of Lipótváros could be interesting for those who are particularly interested in Jewish heritage, or urban heritage, or also for the locals of Budapest. However, when looking at the existing Jewish heritage presentation of Budapest, it is clear that the tours and applications mostly focus on the Jewish quarter in the Seventh district, and the presentations which deal with other areas of Budapest are less popular or in many cases just available for some school groups as an additional learning experience (Török 302).

During my research, I analyzed different international and national examples. Based on them, I want to present a solution which could be realized in order to introduce the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros to a wider audience.

3.1 The international examples

There are many different examples all over Europe. For my research, I focused on Berlin, which has two important phone applications related to the Jewish life there, which I had a chance to examine during my field trip.

One of them is called '*Orte jüdischen Lebens in Berlin 1933-1945*' (Sites of Jewish life in Berlin 1933-1945) (<http://ojl.beuth-hochschule.de/de>). It deals with different places of life, where Jews, who either identified themselves as Jewish, or were identified by the Nazis as such, were living and working during the given time period. The project aims to show these sites and tell different stories about how Jews experienced the evolving persecution against

them. The project developers created a phone application and an associated web site, which marks the sites on a map, contains the important data and information and even offers different tours, depending on which route the user would like to take. The sites are very diverse, ranging from public institutions such as schools, religious institutions such as synagogues and cultural ones, for example, libraries and coffeehouses. Another important feature of the application is that not only does it allow to search by sites but also by people, which makes it possible to identify the crucial Jewish figures of this time and their homes and workplaces. The creators produced nine different tours. Two of them are route-based, one going to the east side of the city, the other one to the west. The other tours are based on specific topics, such as gender (“Jewish Women in Berlin”), or religious life (“The Synagogues”), commemorating and explaining the route to the Holocaust (“Paths to Deportation”), or more novel ones, such as, for instance, “The Fashion Houses”. The app and the associated website work very well, give a great amount of short but detailed information, show older pictures of the sites as well and offer many interesting frameworks and aspects of explanation. They are very popular and useful, work both in German and in English and the feedbacks are all over good about this type of application.

The other project, also based in Berlin, is to some extent different from the ‘*Orte jüdischen Lebens in Berlin*’; it is called “Jewish (Hi)Stories in Prenzlauer Berg” (http://hipobil.net/index_en.htm). It presents an audio tour, also with an associated website, concentrating on a certain area of Berlin, the Prenzlauer Berg, around Kollwitz Platz. The audio material is based on interviews and stories of Jewish people living in this area around the 1920s and 1930s. The stories are about everyday life and experiences of Jewish people living, working or going to school here. All of them reflect well the anti-Jewish atmosphere that was increasing from the 1920s on in this part of the city and all over Berlin. The stories are broken down to nineteen points of interest, where the user would be informed from the relevant audio

file and look around, identify the buildings through the stories. The length of the audio files differs but they are usually two minutes long and share an interesting, important or tragic story of a family or of a certain person who was associated with a certain street, house or institution. The area that the application covers, is not so big, the places are close to each other, within walking distance, not as far from each other as in the case of the “Orte jüdischen Lebens” application. In this sense, the “Jewish (Hi)Stories in Prenzlauer Berg” is closer to my project in the sense that it specifically focuses on a smaller area of a big city. However, while showing only the neighborhood, the information and stories reflect the whole history of Jewish life in Berlin during these years. The application works on the phone only with internet access, which can be a problem, but the map and the audio files can be downloaded from the website. This way, it can be still used without the internet, however, it loses then its navigating function. The sites vary just as in the case of the aforementioned application; there are institutions listed, religious sites, homes of important persons, shops and a sports club. All materials can be found on the website both in English and in German.

Both phone applications and websites are similar to my project since they focus on presenting the Jewish heritage of a city, showing the everyday life of the Jewish inhabitants of Berlin, telling their stories, showing their importance in the life of the city. However, these applications just focus on a certain time, around World War II. The stories and information, which the apps introduce reflect this period, showing how the anti-Jewish voices emerged, how persecution spread and how the Jewish community of Berlin reacted to these events. The Holocaust and the persecution of Jews by the Nazi government is a very important topic in Germany, with a never-ending relevance, which explains why the applications focus on this topic. However, the Lipótváros project should not necessarily focus on a certain period, but rather give an overview of the whole Jewish history of the area, with the different sites from different eras. Also, since

the sites, as a specific type of heritage of Lipótváros, have never been presented, it needs a framework for correct presentation.

3.2 The Hungarian examples

One of the important Hungarian applications, which serves as an example for my work is called Peripatos, whose motto is: 'Learning by moving' (<https://peripatos-app.com/>). It was developed by a team: an IT developer, a project manager and two professionals who created the content. They believe that not only the conventional tools of education can help people to learn more about the world, but also moving out from the classroom and exploring can be seen as an efficient way of studying and getting new experiences. Their mission is to make the learning process exciting and efficient for both the educators and the learners. To achieve this mission, they created an application, called "Peripatos", which can be downloaded from Google Play and from the Apple Store to a mobile phone. The application offers different audio guide materials for different cities and sites, and the possibility of creating one's own content. Different maps are downloadable with an audio guide on different topics, such as "Cultural Opposition under Socialism" in Budapest. There is even suitable material for train journeys, through which the guide introduces the different important sites near the railways. This is a very novel approach, taking the whole idea to an advanced level. Their main target audience are secondary school and university students. For creating one's own content, data should be gathered and written down in short texts, which the program can turn into speech material and, with the coordinates of the sites, create a map. They have offered the contents to the Hungarian Academy of Science and work on international guided tours. The advantage of "Peripatos" is that they did not only create a platform for audio guided tours, but they also developed a whole program, which creates the tours and they are willing to share their method. It is also a big advantage of Peripatos that it does not focus just on the capital but is suitable for tours all

around Hungary, and even across the borders, since it has been developed with the help of V4 funds.

Another important Hungarian project is the IWalks by the Zachor Foundation (<http://zachor.hu/seta>). There is a phone application downloadable for all kinds of smartphones, called IWalks Shoah for free. The Zachor Foundation offers guided tours and walks around Budapest and in other cities of Hungary for groups, mostly for students, since the material of the walks is easily adaptable into the school education material. The IWalk was developed by the Shoah Foundation of the University of Southern California as an education program, which was realized for Hungary by the Zachor Foundation (<https://sfi.usc.edu/education/iwalk>). The focus of the walks is the visual materials of the Visual Historical Archive of the Shoah Foundation (USC), which contains many different video interviews with Holocaust survivors. When downloading the application, the user can choose from four countries: Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and Romania. When choosing Hungary there are eight different cities for which walks can be found (Budapest, Békéscsaba, Kecskemét, Bácsalmás, Kisvárd, Győr, Nagykanizsa, and Hódmezővásárhely). There are two tours in Budapest; the tour of the Jewish quarter, in the seventh district and a tour in Zugló, the fourteenth district of Budapest. The Jewish quarter tour has seven stops and each stop has an info sheet, an audio material introducing the sites and a video material with a three to five minute long interview with a Holocaust survivor, who was born in or had memories about the area. The Jewish quarter tour is very close in the means of presentation and in the means of the collected sites to the usual guided tours of the area, but the video material helps to make it more personal and bring it closer to the visitor. The Zugló walk is rather special since it introduces certain institutions, which are not presented well as part of the Jewish heritage of Budapest. This is definitely an important highlight of the application. The other huge advantage of the project is that it has a

broader focus; not only Budapest, but also other important locations of Jewish heritage are presented.

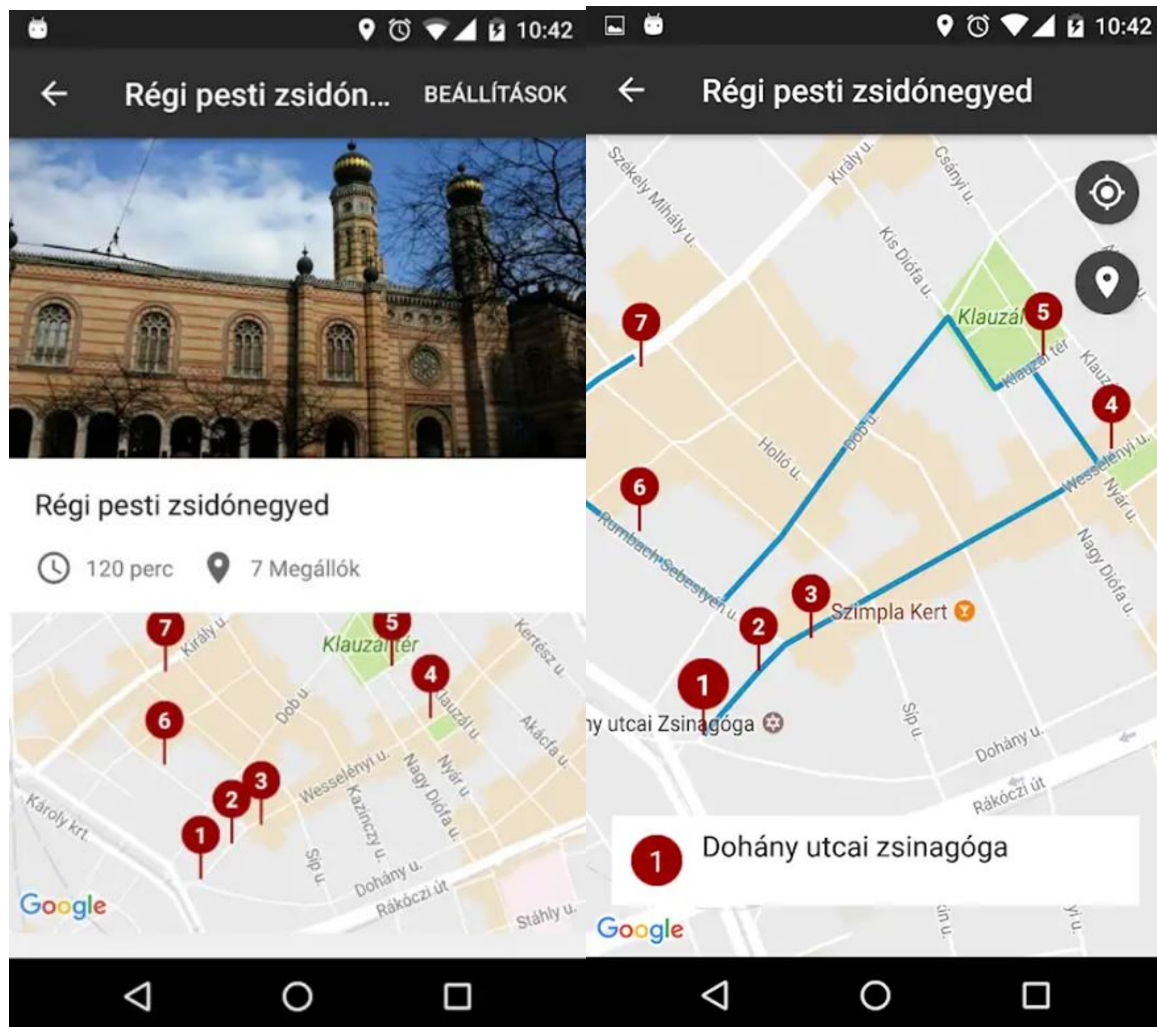




Figure 17: Screenshots from the iWalk Shoah application, to give an idea about the planned application. Source: from the iWalk Shoah application

4 The plan of a smartphone application for Lipótváros

After looking at the historical background and the people of Lipótváros throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it became obvious how the Jewish population formed and influenced the quickly developing area. However, their contribution has been largely forgotten, at least it does not appear on the level of touristic presentation. Using the aforementioned international and Hungarian examples, I came up with a plan of a smartphone application, which aims to familiarize locals and tourists with the hidden Jewish heritage of Lipótváros. The data are based on the research and the proposed sites have been arranged in a way so that the tour should go from the most well-known sites to those which are mostly forgotten or have never been revealed to the public, but all of which have connections with the Jewry.

4.1 The smartphone application for the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros

The application itself would be suitable for all type of smartphones via the different application stores of brands for free. The gratuitousness is important; hence, the application would serve educational purposes and charging for the use would exclude possible users. After downloading, the application would offer a map with the sites marked on the map and when turning on the GPS on the smartphone, the map, just as Google Maps, would navigate the user to certain points of the tour. When clicking on the numbered icon on the map, an info sheet of the site would pop up, offering brief data about the history of the site and showing archive pictures, if available, of the building or memorial. The info sheet should not be long but include all the important details to make it possible for the user to get an overview. The info sheets would be integrated in a way that they make sense on their own as well but refer to other sites as well, offering a framework of understanding the history and the importance of the whole

area. The tour would take about 1-1,5 hours depending on the user, but it does not necessarily have to be walked through all at once, it could be broken down to smaller walking sections, depending on the user's preference. It could even be used as an additional material to other self-organized tours, which visit some of the sights from the tour that the application offers. Since the sites included in the tour differ and vary from religious, political, historical sites to places of commemoration, the application could serve a wider target audience, who would be interested, for more reasons. The application is both for individuals, and for groups, even with a tour guide, where the guide's work would be helped by all the information provided by the application. Another important way of using the application could be the more specific educational purpose for school groups. It would be suitable for secondary students, but mostly for university students, who are interested in history, cultural heritage, Jewish studies or urban studies specifically. It could be used as alternative, additional material to classes and lectures.

4.2 Justification

As I have argued in the previous chapters of this thesis, the history of Lipótváros and the Jews of Lipótváros was a very important part of the development of the city of Budapest; however, the heritage of these times is not well presented. Many of the sites listed in the applications are monuments and hence protected but they lack involvement in tourism. Some events or people are commemorated in the area, which are not necessarily the most obvious choices to commemorate, at least would not be the first choice. One of the clearest example for the strange phenomenon of obliquely alluding to the Jewish aspects of places and personalities is the fact that Miksa Falk, important Hungarian politician and writer is not commemorated anywhere in the street that was named after him (Török 152). However, Peter Falk ("Colombo"), the American TV actor, got a statue after he passed away in 2014 (Zubreczki 2014). Peter Falk had Hungarian ancestors, and legend has it that he was even related to Miksa Falk, but this still seems to be a rather weak explanation why it was more important to commemorate him before

his well-known, and, for the Hungarian history, more relevant forefather. This example reflects how confused and to some extent misleading the presentation and commemoration of the heritage of Lipótváros is. The area is protected and kept well by the municipality, both on the local and on the international level, since it is the buffer zone of the Budapest World Heritage site; but many parts of the area lack the framework of a proper touristic approach. There is more to the heritage of Lipótváros than the Basilica, Liberty Square and the Shoe Memorial on the Danube Bank. Missing the chance to get to know it is a mistake, especially because there are certain possible ways to do so. This gives an explanation and justification why the project I propose is important and how this application would fill a hole in the heritage presentation of Budapest.

4.3 Feasibility

The project's feasibility depends on the possible cooperation and funding. The topic of Jewish heritage and the method of using a phone application seem to be rather popular. The data have been gathered during the research; thus, the other main part of the project would be the creation and development of the application and an associated website. However, IT developments require a huge amount of funding and it is not only the creation but also the maintenance of the site and the application that both need human and financial resources. The option which seems to solve the problem that might come up when realizing the project is to cooperate with an already existing project in the field and use their framework and technical background. With this solution, the beginnings would be easier and the project would become feasible. The project could be formed into different types of tours: audio guided tour, guided tour, educational guided tour, and so on. This way it could be put in many different frameworks and be used in many different cooperation, even on an international level.

4.4 The target audience

The target audience of the phone application is quite wide since both the topic and the method could be interesting and suitable for many people. It could be important for those tourists who are interested in Jewish heritage, history or Holocaust commemoration. These are culture tourists, who are specifically interested in Jewish heritage, either because of their own heritage and roots, which leads them back to Hungary and Budapest and that they are keen on discovering it, or because they would like to visit sites of commemoration of the Holocaust, which in most of the cases has a personal reason as well. The sites in the tour offer different types of heritage, historical, political and Holocaust related ones as well. The tourists who would use the application are between thirty and seventy years old, from Western European countries, the United States of America, or Israel, who speak English and spend at least five days in Budapest. The location of the sites is central; in a usual scenario, tourists spend a lot of their time in the city center but there are a lot of competing sites in the area, which tend to be very popular among the tourists, such as the Basilica (Török 134-135). Some sites which are included in the application are already well-known and well-visited, such as the Victims of the German Occupation-monument on Liberty square, or the shoe memorial on the Danube Bank. However, these sites are floating in the area without a context or explanation of its importance, so the contextualization and putting it into a framework would offer a new approach. If a group of tourists spend more than four or five days in Budapest, the most popular sites can be visited in that period, and more alternative options can come up with such phone applications.

The other target group are the locals, the citizens of Budapest. The trend of local tourism, ‘be a tourist in your city’-concept became popular around the 2000s in Budapest (Conselman 2014). The walking tour company ‘Beyond Budapest’, which wanted to present a new face of the city, the eighth district, in a new, fresh way, first used this slogan (<https://beyondbudapest.hu>). The walking tours and phone applications offer a framework, a concept, which is new and unknown

even for those who have lived in the city for their entire lifetime. The locations are familiar for the locals, they have certain connotations, ideas, even stereotypes; but the sites these frameworks offer might be unknown for the locals as well as the framework itself. It has become popular to create a storyline along with a tour, in an attempt to involve and engage the audience as much as possible to make it more interesting. The certain frameworks can vary from places and institutions to getting to know minority heritage. Usually they emphasize the fact that heritage is all around the city, and it is impossible not to find something new to discover. The phone application offers a way to understand important historical details of the city center of Budapest; to get to know a part of the heritage of Budapest which is not represented and understand the role of the Jewry of Lipótváros. The locals, who could be interested in using the application, are either students, since the application could be used as a tool of education, or those who already tried different thematic walking tours or phone applications. Because of the audience, the application should be both in English and in Hungarian, so all the mentioned target groups could enjoy it.

Using both the visual and the technical experiences after testing and analyzing these smartphone applications, it gave a direction and ideas to the research what to include in the plan of the project and how to do so.

4.5 The sites of the planned application

During my research, I listed all the sites which should be included in the phone application as stops on the tour. The sites chosen were selected based on their importance as part of Jewish heritage, their representation of the Jewishness of the area, the availability of sufficient amount of material, data and sources, and the variety of the sites, so that the tour would represent the richness and diversity of the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros. And finally, it was also important that the site should be connected to a memorial, monument or a building, thus it would be easier for the user to understand the content. The expectations are that the diversity of the tour would appeal to a wider audience.

For presentation purposes I decided to introduce them by starting with the most visited and well-known sites and then mention those, which are popular but not associated with Jewish heritage, and then finally list the sites, which are forgotten or not presented in tourism at all.

The Shoes on the Danube Bank memorial (Budapest, Id. Antall József rkp) 2.

The Shoe Memorial is a well-known and often-visited site of Budapest, however, leaving it out from the tour would make no sense since it is an important site of commemoration and fits into the framework of the tour. The memorial was erected in 2005, created by the sculptor Gyula Pauer, to honour the people who were killed by Arrow Cross militiamen during World War II. Before they were shot into the Danube, they had to take their shoes off, hence the presentation of the memorial. Pauer chose this special way of commemoration, which is outstanding on the list of the Hungarian memorials of the Holocaust. It commemorates 3,500 victims, 800 of whom were Jewish.

Memorial to the Victims of the German Invasion (Budapest, Liberty Square) 4.

This memorial has become one of the most famous cases of Holocaust commemoration in Hungary in the last couple of years. It is famous for the controversy it has created. The idea behind this memorial is not very new, the preamble of the new constitution of Hungary, accepted in 2011, states that the Hungarian nation's sovereignty was destroyed when the German troops occupied the country (Kovács-Steiner 2015 11). The memorial is the work of Péter Raab Párkányi and was erected in 2014 (kozterkep.hu). In the middle of the composition stands Gabriel, the archangel, holding the orb in his right hand. The memorial depicts the symbolic moment when the Nazi imperial eagle attacks him, with a ring on its right leg with the caption '1944'. The scene is placed on a 7-meter-high platform, with 13 columns in the background, not all of them complete. On one of the columns there is a writing, saying 'in memory of the victims' in Hungarian, in English, in German, in Russian and as well as in Hebrew. However, the Hebrew translation is not entirely correct, it was investigated and turned out that even if the translation is right, the order of the sentence got mixed up (Kálmán 2014).

The Living Memorial (Budapest, Liberty Square) 5.

It was established on 23rd of March 2014 with the first personal artefacts as a way of protest; this counter-memorial is the most stable result of the opposition (Eröss, 2016 239). It is literally a living memorial, meaning that it contains flowers and plants, and anyone can add anything, like photos, pictures or stones (hungarianfreepress.com 2016). Many quotations refer to the symbols of the memorial, 'thanking' Gabriel for their lost family members. Not only does the Living memory give place for expression of the grief and pain of the survivors or the people who lost a family member during this period, but also created a new social hub, a space for open discussion, civic happenings (Zöldi 2014). It is a grassroots movement, which has worked

very well, being one of the longest ongoing protests in the history of Hungary since the change of regime.

The Glass House/ Üvegház: (Budapest, Vadász Street 29) 1.

The building close to the Basilica and the Parliament used to be a glass factory. It was built in the 1930s by Lajos Kozma and was owned by the Weiss-family (uveghaz.hu). However, the owners were banned from commerce due to their Jewish origins. During the Holocaust, it was used by a Swiss diplomat, Carl Lutz, who helped the Jews of Budapest. Lutz saved the lives of 62,000 Jews by issuing safe-conduct documents and protective letters to them and arranged the transport of 10,000 Jewish children to Palestine when he was appointed the vice-consul of Switzerland in Budapest in 1942. The importance of the Glass House is high since it was not only used to accommodate hiding Jews but was also the headquarters of the Jewish youth underground. The building functions now as a museum, documenting the life and the heroic actions of Carl Lutz. There is a memorial plaque, erected in 1991 for Lutz at the entrance wall of the old ghetto, in the Seventh district.

The Stumbling Stones (Budapest, Október 6. Street 11. 13. 14) 6.

Stumbling stones, originally called Stolperstein in German, is a cobble-stone style concrete cube with a brass plate on it, where the name and the life date of the victims of Nazi extermination or persecution can be found (stolpersteine.eu). The project was initiated by a German artist, Gunter Demnig in 1992. It is a special way of commemoration, the stolperstein is usually located near the home or the workplace of the victim, before the Nazis would interfere with their life. It is an ongoing and by now became the world's largest decentralized memorial, since over 67,000 stolpersteine have been laid in 22 countries all over the world.

There are eleven stumbling stones in the Fifth district⁸, four of them can be found in the Október 6 Street, and since being close to the other points of the tour it would make sense to include them in the tour, as a way of commemoration in this street (Ráday 224-225).

Carl Lutz memorial (Budapest, Liberty Square) 3.

There are different Lutz memorials in Budapest, one of them can be found on Liberty Square. The memorial is an open book, and on the left page, there is the portrait of Lutz and on the opposite page, we can read the story of Lutz's life and heroic activities both in English and in Hungarian. It was erected by the Embassy of the United States in 2006 (kulturkor.hu 2012).

Duna Palota (Zrínyi Street 5.) (19)

The history of the Lipótvárosi Kaszinó has been already elaborated on. This building was one of the starting points of the research, its cultural and social importance is very important, however its history is underrepresented. It is mentioned in certain sources but by the current owners or the general touristic representation of Lipótváros, it is largely forgotten. It was built by Vilmos Freud in 1894 (Déry 415).

The Synagogue of Lipótváros (Markó Street 25) (26)

The synagogue, which was never actually built, is the most important and the only religious site of Lipótváros. The story of the unrealized plan was already elaborated on in the first chapter of the present paper. The building, which stands on this plot today was built in 1913-14 and

⁸ Bertalan Aczél, Reáltanoda Street 19; Ignác Adler, Október 6. Street 11; Béla Bérczi, Báthori Street 24; Károly Fillenz and his wife, Akadémia Street 7; Pál Heller, Falk Miksa utca 24-26; Endre Pollatschick, Gerlőczy Street 1; Béla Rechnitz and Zoltán Rechnitz, Aulich Street 3.; Mihály Rónai and his wife, Alkotmány Street 21; Gyula Sándor and his wife, Október 6. Street 13; Kati Schwarz, Arany János Street 27; László Sugár, Október 6. Street 14.

designed by Sándor Fellner (Déry 200). When the user reaches this point, it might come as a surprise that there is no actual site but its story definitely needs to be included.

Stock market / Tőzsdepalota (Liberty Square 17) (23)

There is a clear reason why the stock market is on the list of the locations of the tour. Its significance and importance for Lipótváros and for Pest as well became clear already from the historical overview of the first chapter. It was designed by Ignác Alpár and built in 1905 (Déry 305) (Ráday 338-343) (Ráday 356-360).

Lloyd Palota (Széchenyi Square 2) (22)

It is one of the most important sites of the area, due to the many functions it has served over the years⁹. In 1858 the first stock exchange of Pest was established here, while on the first floor the editorial center of the famous Pester Lloyd, Lloyd Café and the National Casino were situated. The most beautiful Classicist palace of its time in Pest was designed by József Hild in 1826 and was built between 1828 and 1830 (Ráday II, 272)

Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank (József Attila Street 2-4) (24)

/Possible starting point of the tour/

It was the main office of the Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank (The Hungarian Commerce Bank of Pest), the first modern bank in Hungary, founded in 1840 by Móric Ullmann and other Jewish businessmen with the support of Széchenyi, Kossuth, and the Rothschilds (Déry 127). Between 1881 and 1938 the bank's presidents were of Jewish origin, Leó Lánczy and Fülöp Weiss. Lánczy was very successful, he was elected the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Trade of Budapest in 1893 (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 521). Weiss was active in the textile

⁹ More about the Lloyd Palace in the first chapter of the research

business, and served also as the president of the Hungarian Textile Makers Association and of the Hungarian Association of Manufacturing Industrialists (Arcanum.hu). Its executive director Samu Stern was made the president of "Judenrat", the Zsidó tanács (The Jewish Council) by the Nazis in 1944 (holokauszmagyarorszagon.hu). Stern was the leader of the Neology movement in Hungary and the president of the Jewish community in Pest. It was believed that all the members of the Jewish Council were neolog, and patriotic Hungarians who were committed to their government. However, the institution could not decide anything, since the policy was to follow the German orders, so the Jewish Council basically acted on the orders of Eichmann. The Council was supposed to serve as a mediator between the collaborating authorities and the Jewish population and the government hoped that the whole process of ghettoization and the deportations would go smoother this way. Stern died soon after the war, and the Communist Party started show trials against his colleagues in the Council.

Magyar Általános Hitelbank (Nádor Street 12.) (20)

At 12 Nádor Street, one of the buildings of the Hungarian Credit Bank, established in 1867, was situated (mnl.gov.hu) (Déry 219). It was one of the most important banks of Hungary and stopping at the building gives a great opportunity to talk about the banks of Lipótváros. The building's original name was Döring House, since before the Bank would move in, József Döring, a wholesale dealer, lived here. The house was designed by József Hild and was finished in 1834 (Déry 220).

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection (Széchenyi István Square 9)_(25)

The impressive collection of David Kaufmann is kept here, which he bought from the fortune of his in-laws. David Kaufmann was a well-versed theologian, invited to Budapest to teach in the Rabbinical Seminary (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 456). He was not only an outstanding scholar but was well-known for his powerful speeches. He had an exceptional eye for collecting

important and special manuscripts. After his death his collection was acquired by the Hungarian Academy of Science, the catalogue of which was composed by Miksa Weisz, a rabbi, theologian and also a professor at the Rabbinical Seminary (Ráday 285- 289). The Kaufmann collection contains 594 manuscripts and 1092 printed books. This is the most important site of premodern Jewish heritage in Hungary.

Falk Miksa Street 7.

Miksa Falk (1828-1908) was a famous Hungarian writer, politician, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Member of Parliament (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 255-256). He came from an impoverished Hungarian Jewish family, achieving his first successes as a journalist. He was a friend of Mór Wahrmann, and through him, he was invited to be the chief editor of the Pester Lloyd. His style was very enjoyable, witty and humorous, he was extremely popular at the time, and his works were even translated to German. He was competing against Mór Wahrmann in Lipótváros for the seat in Parliament, but he withdrew in favour of Wahrmann on Ferenc Deák's request. The street evolved in the second half of the nineteenth century and was named after Falk in 1910. It was renamed in 1943 Juhász Andor Street, then after 1945 to Néphadsereg Street, but today it is known as Falk Miksa Street (Déry 85).

Falk Miksa Street 24-26 8.

The building was designed by Miklós and Ernő Román and built around 1910 (Déry 87). Ágnes Heller (1929), the well-known Hungarian philosopher, aesthete and university professor was born into a Jewish family and lived there before the deportations (helleragnes.hu). After World War II, the family got back their property but lived in poverty, so finally her mother decided to put her into a Jewish orphanage in Szeged. Her father, Pál Heller was deported in 1944 and taken to Auschwitz and he never returned (szombat.hu 2015). . In 2015, a stumble stone was placed in front of the house, to commemorate him.

Kossuth Square 16. (9)

George Soros, born as George Schwartz, a philanthropist, businessman, and economist, and his family used to live in an apartment on Kossuth square (georgesoros.com) It was designed by Sámuel Révész and Lajos Kollár and built in 1911 (Déry 68). His father, Tivadar Schwartz, owned the property. Tivadar Schwartz studied law in Heidelberg, and when he volunteered to serve in World War I, he learned Esperanto from one of his comrades. (Ráday 77) He was captured, and as a prisoner of war he was taken with the trans-Siberian line to Siberia, where he was elected into the Esperanto association's committee. Later, on his return, he published a book about his experiences entitled *Modernaj Robinzonoj*, in Esperanto. In 1947 he traveled to the International Esperanto Congress, where he took his son, George with him, who never returned to Hungary. Tivadar emigrated with his wife in 1956, first to Vienna, then to New York, where they stayed until the end of their lives. In his memoirs he recalls the day when the law forcing Jews to wear a yellow star was created. He took his son, George with him to travel around the city on a tram and made him understand how this law disrespected and violated human rights, which had a huge effect on George Soros and his later activities.

Október 6 Street 2. (10)

Joseph Pulitzer (1841-1911), American newspaper publisher, was born into a Jewish merchant family in Makó, then he was educated in Budapest but left the country in 1864. His importance is undeniable, and he even kept in touch with his Hungarian heritage, when he helped organize Munkácsy's¹⁰ visit to the United States (Ráday 210) (Brian 2001). In 2012, the statue of a newsboy, the *Rikkancsfíú*, was erected close to Pulitzer's house on Hild square. The statue portrays a newsboy from the 1920s, the word on the newspaper he is holding, however, is the name of a present-day newspaper, *Blikk*, which was established in 1994. This issue caused an

¹⁰ Mihály Munkácsy was a famous Hungarian painter in the 19th century

outrage, since the sculptor, Lajos Szőke, and all the experts wanted to have the logo of *Est* on the paper, which was a contemporary paper. But the municipality of the Fifth district asked for the name of *Blikk*, so finally it became an advertisement forged into bronze. Another controversial issue relating the statue is the fact that the name or importance of Pulitzer was never mentioned, even though it would make sense, since his home is close.

Apáczai Csere János Street 12. (11)

Adolf Ágai's (1836-1916) figure is crucial for the present research, using the issues of *Borsszem Jankó* as a source. His character and figure reflects contemporary Lipótváros¹¹. He spent a lot of time in the area, since he lived in Tüköry Street 5 (archives.hungaricana.hu), and the editorial headquarters of *Borsszem Jankó* was in Apáczai Csere János Street (Déry 23). Now this building is owned by Hotel Intercontinental, which demonstrates how the different layers of heritage are changing¹². The journal and Ágai's figure are definitely worth mentioning, the primary sources would make an exciting addition to the application.

Tüköry Street 2. (12)

Ignác Hirschler (1823-1891) was a physician, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the head of the Israelite Congregation of Pest, founder of the Hungarian Israelite Association, and the leader of the Hungarian Israelite Party (Arcanum.hu). He was the uncle of Aurél Stein, who is commemorated here with a plaque, however Hirschler is not.

Akadémia Street 17 (13)

Mátyás Rákosi's fallout shelter was here, while the Headquarters of the Hungarian Workers' Party could be found also nearby (Déry 13). The secret fallout shelter, lies 39 meters below

¹¹ More about Ágai and the paper see the second chapter, "The society of Lipótváros"

¹² The building of the hotel was designed by József Finner and was built in 1969 (egykor.hu)

ground between Kossuth square and Liberty square, very close to the former Headquarters of the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP) (multkor.hu 2008). It was built by the order of the Central Directorate of the MDP in 1951 (Ráday 143-145). Including these two sites might seem surprising, but the Jewish origins of Rákosi, his importance in Hungary's Communist past, and his choice of setting the headquarters and the shelter in Lipótváros, all add important and interesting details to the tour, reflecting how this district had always been seen.

Arany János Street 32 (14)

Even though the Goldberger House, which was designed by Jónás and Dávid Zsigmond and was built in 1910-11, is located outside of the area, the application would include the Goldbergers rented office spaces in Arany János Street as well (osaarchivum.org) (Déry 28) (Török 138). Ferenc Goldberger established a blue-dyeing manufactory with his sons in 1784 in Óbuda, which expanded with time and finally became well-known internationally as well (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 317). The family was ennobled in 1867. The Goldberger family and the importance of the textile industry in the area should be incorporated in the tour and also since it is now the building of the Open Society Archives, it definitely needs to be included.

Akadémia Street 3 (15)

The Wahrmann family, especially Mór Wahrmann¹³ has a significant role in Lipótváros and since he lived in the Tánzer house, it makes sense to include it in the tour. The Tánzer house was designed by József Hild and was built between 1836 and 1837 (Attila Déry, 2005 10). The apartment in Akadémia Street was luxurious, Wahrmann kept his artwork collection here (Ráday 115-117).

¹³ See more on Mór Wahrmann in the first chapter

Nádor Street 3, Mérleg Street 9 (16)

Ferenc Hatvany was a painter, student of Adolf Fényes, and his brother, Lajos was a writer, journalist and a philologist (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 346-347). Lajos Hatvany fought for modern Hungarian literature in all his publications, both in German and in Hungarian. In 1919, he migrated to Vienna, but returned in 1927 and went to court because of an article which he wrote in Vienna, associated with nation-shaming. He spent four years in prison. Lajos was concerned about the situation of the Hungarian Jewry, wrote a lot on different issues, such as Zionism, conversions and assimilation. Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch was a businessman, established many different factories, but he finally became successful in the sugar business. He initiated the Hungarian Association of Manufacturing Industrialists (GYOSZ), and was its first president. He was well-known as a philanthropist as well, helped a lot in the building of the women's ward in the Jewish Hospital and he also played a role in the establishment of one of the famous theatres of Budapest, Vígszínház. The building on Nádor Street was designed by Ignác Brein and was built in 1820, but was demolished, but the ones on Mérleg Street are still there (Déry 216). The Mérleg building was originally built and designed by Mihály Pollack in 1834, but the flood destroyed it and in 1839 with the help of József Hild it was rebuilt (Déry 203). During 1910-1912, Lajos Hatvany hosted the offices of the first editorial center of the literary journal *Nyugat* here (Ráday 121).

Nádor Street 19 (17)

It is a lesser known fact that the Schossberger family, well-known for their castle in Tura¹⁴, used to own a property also in Nádor Street. The building was built by Simon Vilmos Schossberger and designed by József Hild in 1861 (Ráday 1988) (Déry 222). The Schossbergers

¹⁴ The Schossberger castle at Aszód is known as one of the most beautiful castle of the Hungarian castles. Its speciality is that it was built with the most modern techniques of the time by Gyula Bukovics.

were the first Jewish family to be ennobled in Hungary without having to convert in 1863 (Komoróczy 260). Zsigmond Schossberger was the board member of the Israelite Congregation of Pest (library.hungaricana.hu) and was the first Jewish deputy in the House of Lords. The family mausoleum in Aszód is today a protected monument. Zsigmond Schossberger's daughter, called Jenny married Lajos Hevesy¹⁵, another member of the Jewish nobility (geny.com). Jenny inherited the house under Nádor Street 19 and lived there, while her brother Nándor, lived at Nádor Street 30, and the other brother, Viktor at Nádor Street 17. His grandson George de Hevesy (Jenny's) earned the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1943.

Sas Street 14 (18)

The house was built by Ferenc Chorin, designed by Endre Weisenbacher, built between 1892-93 (Déry 286). Ferenc Chorin and his son, Ferenc Jr were both very influential businessmen of their time. Ferenc Chorin was the grandson of Áron Chorin, a well-known rabbi of Arad (Magyar Zsidó Lexikon 171). He was member of Parliament, but then he quit and devoted his time to business. Chorin was a mining entrepreneur, the founder and president of the Society of Industrialists together with Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch (magyarzsido.hu). His son, Ferenc Chorin Jr. became even more successful and as an interesting turn, he became the most important advisor of Admiral Horthy in banking issues. Later he gave his fortune to the Germans and with the Gestapo's help he left Hungary (Arcanum.hu)

Hotel Frohner (Nádor Street. 22) (21)

Today it is the building of the Office of the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights, but it used to be an important social hub (Déry 223). It was built by Antal Oszvald, hence it was referred to as the Oszvald House, and was designed by Frigyes Feszl (Alapvető Jogok Biztosa 2013 2-

¹⁵ Hevesy was journalist, writer and arthistorian. He was a founding member of Borsszem Jankó. (macse.hu)

3). It was built from 1846 to 1848, then in 1863, the Oszvald brothers, who were using the building, lent it to János Frohner, and it became the so-called Hotel Frohner. The hotel had 100 rooms, the restaurant and the café in the hotel became well-known, it served as the first editorial headquarters of *Borsszem Jankó*, and the Petőfi Company held their banquets at the hotel as well. At that time the young journalists and writers of *Borsszem Jankó*, Andor Kozma, Zoltán Ambrus, Ferenc Székely referred to themselves as the “Kagál” society. It comes from Győző Istóczy, politician, lawyer, member of Parliament and the founder of the Hungarian anti-Semitic Party, who used the phenomenon Kahal, in the form of Kagál to describe the way how the Jews try to rule the whole world (Komoróczy 333). There is an interesting detail about Istóczy: he debated a lot with Mór Wahrmann over their different political opinions, and in 1882, they fought a duel (Gluck 99-106).



Figure 18: The draft map of Lipótváros. Source: Map from Google Maps, marked by the author

This map only serves as a draft, just to see, how the sites are distributed in the area. The numbers on the map locate the sites with the same number next to them in the previous text.

The range of variety of the sites reflects well the different types of Jewish heritage, and show comparison between the Jewish Quarter in the seventh district and Lipótváros. As it is claimed by the research, the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros is indeed present, it is a well-layered, rich heritage, and however it is more hidden and even, though some sites are well-known and well-visited and are clearly related to Jewish heritage, there is no connections drawn amongst these sites and many others are missing.

Conclusion

Lipótváros, which has been the center of the city from the nineteenth century, was a quickly developing area that has been a vivid hub of Budapest and the focus point of economic, political, cultural and religious powers. It is highly popular with tourists, since many landmarks of Budapest can be found here, such as the Parliament or the Basilica. Although it is well-known and included in the touristic presentation of the capital, some aspects of the development of the area and different built heritage remained unknown and hidden. This research has aimed to discover the distinctive Jewishness of the area, which was well-known in the past but got forgotten by today. The other goal of the study was to come up with a plan to reveal this hidden Jewish heritage of Lipótváros; presenting the past of the area, the background to its history, the stories of different buildings and sites and possible ways to commemorate the Jewish presence of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century. The plan for the smartphone application advocates the importance of knowing the past and discovering the history of certain parts of Budapest with the most modern and developing technology of current alternative tourism.

The most important findings of the research were that Lipótváros was considered a Jewish space, just as Inner-Erzsébetváros in the Seventh district, although the population was not as big as there, but their role and social status were very important. While the Seventh district's inhabitants were poorer and belonged to the lower-middle class, the people of Lipótváros were all members of the bourgeoisie. From the beginning, their role in the business life of the city, in the development of the banking and trade industries was crucial, and they usually achieved a wealthy lifestyle, which gave them a more privileged position than other Jews enjoyed in Budapest. From the research of the contemporary press, it becomes clear that the Jews of

Lipótváros were envied, often mocked because of their lifestyle and influence. The intriguing aspect of Lipótváros was also presented in my study: namely, that the Jewish bourgeoisie lived together on the same space, even in the same streets with the non-Jewish aristocracy. This detail sheds a light on the Hungarian emancipation of Jews and to their assimilation processes as well.

The thesis has examined the built heritage of the area in order to understand why the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros became hidden and forgotten. The lack of buildings and institutions that are usually identified as Jewish heritage, such as synagogues or Jewish schools; the assimilation and magyarization of the Jewry of Lipótváros; the diversion of the visitors' attention to other well-known and important buildings, such as the Parliament are all reasons for this process. Related to this topic, the study also demonstrated an important aspect, the question of the different levels in the visibility of Jewish heritage. Some of the sites listed in the proposal for the application are commonly understood and well-known as part of Jewish heritage, as the sites commemorating the Holocaust. Some others are also associated with Jewish heritage, as the almost-built temple of Lipótváros, but there are some sites on the list, which would usually never be mentioned as part of Jewish heritage. It shows how diverse one's heritage is, how many different layers and background information are often forgotten or not mentioned, how well the official narrative of sites is canonized and in consequence, how many sites are left out from a touristic presentation.

The outlined plan offers a solution to the issues brought up and discussed in the research. It might not be the only possible way of presentation, however, it offers a feasible, contemporary and educational method to fill in this absence. The target audience analysis could help the project to find its main interest group and the test runs could perfect the plan, hence it would reach all the possible users and would offer a special and important experience of Lipótváros.

Since the feasibility of the smartphone application seems rather high, there are certain plans to realize it and to produce a real product based on the research. The cooperation with either the mentioned Hungarian or international examples, or with other application projects can solve financial and technical issues at the beginning. The first step for the realization of the project would be to introduce it in certain circles which deal with Jewish heritage, urban or alternative tourism and to get feedback and advice. The project is included in the Project Incubator program organized by Paidea, The European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden which will be carried out in the summer. This could help and add a great value to the project since it will be discussed and advised by professionals in the field of Jewish Studies. The plan of the application and the research behind it will be presented in Krakow as well in September, at the Urban Jewish Heritage | Presence and Absence conference, which again means a great international platform for the project to be heard and given opportunity for further cooperation or funding. However, there is a lot to do, not only with this specific project, but with the Jewish heritage of Lipótváros in general, which could be explored in more detail by further research.

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