

SHTETL HOUSES AND SYNAGOGUES: FROM THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE TO STORIES ABOUT ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS

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The scope of historical-architectural research in Judaica is defined in such a way that Jewish architectural heritage unconditionally includes only objects that were either constructed by order of the Jewish commune or were a part of religious rituals (e.g., synagogues, *mikva'ot*, *batei taharah*, or tombstones). Their architecture is usually seen as the expression of "social-political marks of Jewish history" and "ideas of religious and everyday character."¹ This can probably be explained by the fact that the value of such monuments was declared in research work focusing on the history of Jewish communes.²

Research of synagogue architecture, which formed a separate discipline within the framework of Judaica, focused for a long time on historical descriptions of the Jewish communes and their "religious rituals." For instance, Rachel Wischnitzer interpreted the "centralized Jewish concept of worship" that received its "adequate form" due to the "centralized plan of the synagogue" as the essence of achievements of synagogue architecture in sixteenth-century Poland.³ Wischnitzer found support for her conclusions in the concept of "characteristic features," which is formed during the process of comparing uniform constructions and connecting utilitarian and rhetorical-ideological dimensions to the functional purpose of an architectural object. Wischnitzer saw the "characteristic features" of synagogue architecture as an answer to the specific "Jewish demand," and ascribes "value" to it when it is associated with this "demand."

Wischnitzer undoubtedly interpreted synagogues situated on the territory of Poland in the context of Polish national architectural heritage only on the operational level, for she saw them as a "specific group, specific construction type in the history of Polish architecture."⁴ Her declaration that "the Jewish people possesses its own 'dialect' in architecture"⁵ looks like a response to Grigory Pavlutsky's attempt to present wooden synagogues in the Ukraine as part of the Russian national heritage due to their alleged similarity with the "halls of the Polish gentry" that existed in the past.⁶ While studying the influence of the architectural context on European synagogue architecture, Wischnitzer presented its history as an independent narrative with a history

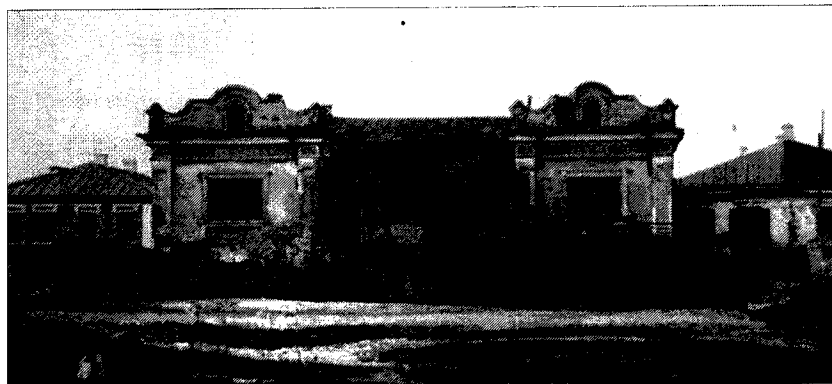
of borrowing that connected various architectural schools and “styles” at its core. Any newly discovered and hitherto “unregistered” synagogue or communal center wherever can be included in this “history.”

It should be observed that a narrative of this kind does not clarify all the complexities of communication between architectural objects and the local community, or which living space they form. Historians of synagogue architecture focus their attention on the correspondence concerning the architectural form of the building and its direct use, while only rarely addressing its social and symbolic functions. However, even if a synagogue building is nothing but a ruin, its symbolic status may be in demand by various communities, first of all, by former synagogue members and their descendents, including “nostalgic tourists.” Former synagogues serve local inhabitants for reconstructing spaces of memory, meaning both the pre-war Jewish past and “Jewish antiquity.”

Importantly enough, this symbolic meaning was not only applied to synagogue buildings, but also to town quarters where Jews formerly lived. Most probably, travelers first expressed an interest in objects of this kind. It was precisely in response to this interest in tourism, which enjoys state support in the majority of European countries, that “Jewish quarters,” especially those that were specifically allocated to Jews, were “museified.”

Local Jewish communities have long been aware of tourism, displaying objects to attract the tourists’ attention to their architectural heritage. As early as 1912, for instance, a state rabbi of Feodosia/Crimea, G. A. Farfel, considered it his duty to publish a book on the city’s *Crimchak* synagogue; he saw it as a “living monument of bygone times,” visited by “tourists from all countries and nations.”⁷ Farfel was concerned by the fact that synagogue congregation members “would be ashamed” if unable to answer the tourists’ questions about it.⁸ It is highly probable that this book, written in two Jewish languages (Hebrew and Yiddish), was addressed first and foremost to the members of his synagogue.

It would seem that the analysis of local accounts describing the communication paths between architectural objects and their users both in the past and/or in the present will reveal the reason why “Jewishness” was ascribed to the architecture of very diverse objects, foremost to synagogues, but also to Jewish quarters “museified” to a certain degree. This research traditionally focuses on documents that allow a connection to be drawn between the history of a particular construction of a quarter with the history of Jewish settlement and the creation of Jewish communes, but very rarely employs the theoretical approaches developed for the use of cultural studies of the *lieux de mémoire*.⁹



I Skvira (Kiev province), yeshivah (Photo by S. Yudovin, 1912, courtesy of the photo-archive of An-sky's Expeditions, collection of the Center "Petersburg Judaica" (CPJ))

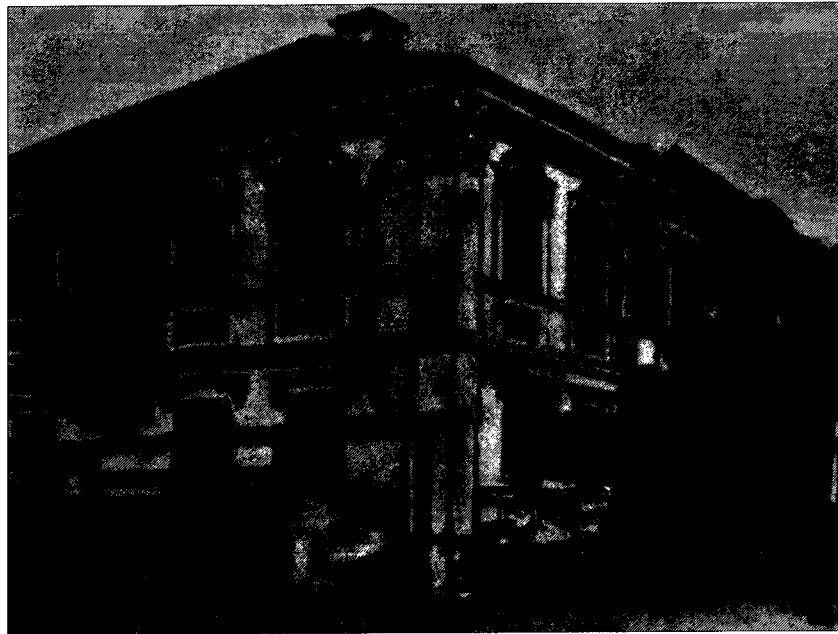
However, these approaches could indicate the process of accumulating, with the help of an architectural object, cultural resources (whether ethnic, religious, or social),¹⁰ which turn this object into a *lieu de mémoire* as well as reveal the connections of this process with ideas and practices of those who used these objects.

Communication between architectural objects and their users differs from the dialogue between "an architect and a client," on which many historical-architectural research works have focused. As is different from this dialogue, clarification of communication between all those who participated in the formation and transformation of local architectural and building traditions can only succeed if contacts between art criticism and both ethnography and folklore studies are resumed, as well as their connection with anthropology be established.

Exploration of the potential of interdisciplinary research seems to be particularly important if it focuses on the built environment that played a key role in creating the space of life that was not specifically involved in religious rituals.

Most probably, a dilapidated mansion that we see on a picture taken during the first historical-ethnographic expedition organized by Simeon Akimovich An-sky (Shlomo Z. Rappoport, 1863–1920) in 1912, may be placed into this category. The reverse side of this photograph bears the inscription "Yeshiva in Skvir." However, in the memoirs of Yuliy Engel, who accompanied An-sky on his first trip, the building is described as a mansion that once belonged to "the most famous member of the dynasty of Skvir zaddikim, Rebbe Isroel, who lived in the middle of the nineteenth century."¹¹ Engel tries to mentally reconstruct this building, where "the yeshiva was organized in the abomination of desolation." He writes: "[the view of] the house from the river, the Holy Ark on the other side," and

2 Township of Korostyshev (Radomysl region, Kiev province), "Rabbi's house" at the marketplace. Supposedly, this building was owned by Rabbi Moshe (1789–1866) the second son of Rabbi Mordekhay from Chernobyl, the founder of the dynasty of Chernobyl's Hasidim. (Drawing from life by Georgy Lukomsky (1918) with the following inscription: "Not far from Novograd-Volhynsky. The house of the rabbi"; G. K. Lukomsky, Volhynia Antiquity (Kiev, 1913))



observes that the living rooms faced the river. The prayer hall was situated on the other side of the building, facing the street; the hall was "huge, slightly smaller than that of the conservatory" and contained a Holy ark. Obviously, the hall was meant not only for "feasts and receptions," but for prayer rituals as well.

It would seem that Engel undertook this detailed examination and description of the building in order to visualize Rebbe Israel's way of life. Having noticed that the mansion, doomed to imminent collapse, was still called "*Hoyf*" (Yiddish for "yard", in this case—"Yard [of tsaddik]"), Engel probably wanted to emphasize that this building, which he himself saw as a notable site in Skvir, helped local inhabitants preserve their memory of "olden times." This is precisely what determines the value of this building's description, as well as the necessity to incorporate it into the body of Jewish architectural heritage.

The status of a "monument," conferred on an architectural object by power of collective memory, has long been considered legitimate. For instance, the building situated on the market square of a small township "near Novograd-Volynsky" was recognized as a "monument" by both the well-known art critic Georgy Lukomsky and by Simeon Akimovich An-sky, "the father of Jewish ethnography in Russia." The building was drawn by Lukomsky before being photographed by Solomon Yudovin, a participant in An-sky's ethnographic expeditions. Both of them were looking for



3 Township of Korostyshev
(Radomysl region, Kiev
province), "Rabbi's house"
at the marketplace (Photo
by Solomon Yudovin, 1913,
courtesy of the photo-archive
of An-sky's Expeditions,
Collection of the Center
"Petersburg Judaica")

monuments of "antiquity": Lukomsky—for any architectural ones, An-sky—for any Jewish ones.

One may assume that the name "Rabbi's house," which Lukomsky gave to his drawing,¹² was also used by local inhabitants. Only this kind of title could have drawn the attention of a traveling art critic, engaged in a "hunt"¹³ for ancient architectural attractions, to this building constructed in the second part of the nineteenth century.

Lukomsky was looking for "characteristic" features¹⁴ and "ethnic stylistic specificities"¹⁵ in architecture; in his interpretation, as well as in Wischnitzer's, the value of synagogal architecture was derived from its potential "recognizability."

While drawing the "Rabbi's house," Lukomsky must have been meticulously studying all elements of the façade and decorations in search of "ethnic stylistic specificity," while An-sky was certainly ready to include this building in the treasure of Jewish "architectural heritage" solely on the basis of its name, irrespective of the judgments on the specificity of its architecture.

The question whether the "Rabbi's house" is really part of Jewish architectural heritage may be left unanswered: it is not that important whether it contains one building more or less. I would like to resolve this question in relation to a multitude of "common" houses of the nineteenth to early twentieth century, still preserved in former district towns and townships in the Ukraine. I am going to talk about houses, to which travelers and scholars tried to ascribe the status of Jewish "folk dwellings" in the nine-

teenth century. At that time only this status could have been used as a “pass” to ethnography, and through it to the international history of “folk architecture.”

An observation in Andrey Glagolev’s traveling essays on the “imprint of Asian architecture” that “Jews preserved in the construction of these houses, the same way as [in their dress],”¹⁶ is merely an attempt to define the “Jewish style” of the architecture of these houses. Glagolev mentioned that in spite of the severity of the climate, “they [the Jews] often opened their rooms ... to all four directions by means of high doors, as if to capture the breathing of winds from all four parts of the world.”¹⁷

This phrase needs to be explained in order to be able to recognize the “Jewish house” as a distinctive ethnic dwelling. Here one should not forget that in nineteenth century the idea of the determining influence of ethnic character or “psychology” on the specificities of “ethnic dwelling” was quite prevalent in public consciousness.

In the 1860–80s, authors of similar essays paid particular attention to “untidiness,” something allegedly characteristic to Jews. N. I. Zuts writes in his work *Description of the Town of Starokonstantinov* ...,¹⁸ although not noticing this himself, that street mud is considered a type of special Jewish construction material. He writes that it is not clay, but “slime, this real element of town streets,” that is so very suitable for “coating the walls of the Jewish houses, which ... with time even acquire qualities of well-plastered ones.”¹⁹ The author appears to be a connoisseur who discovered the mystery of the secret Jewish construction formula.²⁰ At the end of the nineteenth century, nothing less but the presentation of such “secrets” could be recognized as proof that the Jewish house-building tradition indeed existed.

In an essay written by Michael Karinsky, who made a trip to Podolia in the 1880s, one finds the conclusion that all Jewish houses in this region are “built according to one and the same architectural type.” Karinsky called it “Jewish *zaezd*” (a house with a hallway),²¹ and defined the layout principles of this type of house. The essential element of this house, in Yiddish called “*anfur*,” is a thorough passageway under the roof, connecting two parallel streets. The name of the passageway is the same as the actual house.²²

Having noticed that the sheltered courtyard of this house, situated at the side of the rear façade, is strewn with “all kinds of slops and kitchen leftovers, as it takes longer to get them out to the street,”²³ Karinsky made sure that his readers recognize an ethnographic description of a distinctive “Jewish dwelling” in his observations. These statements enabled him to show that the architecture of a typical “Jewish house” was determined

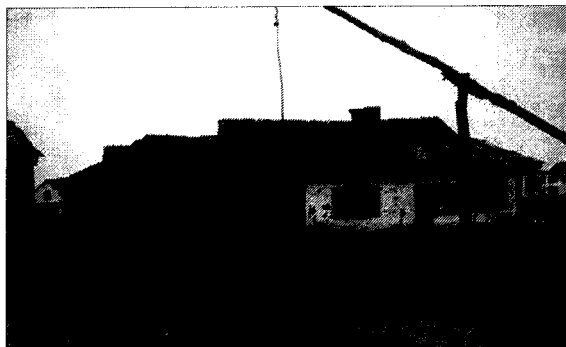
by the specificities of the Jewish “ethnic character” and this gave him the right to use the term “dwelling” in his travelogues.

In his essays on architectural monuments of Volhynia, Lukomsky did not pay any special attention to “wretched Jewish houses with a hallway”: he saw them as an inherent part of the “sad picture of the town landscape”, where “peasant houses with their straw roofs covered with moss give way to wooden, out-and-out rotten awnings on wobbly poles.”²⁴

One can see houses with just such awnings on photographs taken during An-sky’s expeditions. An-sky might have been looking not so much for models of ancient Jewish “folk dwellings” as for “Jewish antiquity.” Information on “folk dwellings,” including photographs of the exemplary houses, was considered an unalienable part of a wholesome ethnographic description of the “folk,” which was what An-sky was aiming at.

Photographs of houses in Kozyn are taken in such a way as to capture architectural specificities of the buildings, erected in a primitive non-professional way and using local construction material. One of the pictures stresses the contrast between a traditional *anfur* and a neighboring building, facing the square with its longer façade, the way landowners’ halls were usually positioned. The first building bears the imprint of “tradition,” whereas the second one features elements of “modernization”—its roof, for instance, has been carried out in the fashionable “Austrian style.”

Leading Ukrainian historians of architecture Danila Shcherbakovsky and Sergei Taranushchenko²⁵ took careful note of Karinsky’s detailed description of the *anfur*’s architectural and planning design. In his expedition report of 1926, Shcherbakovsky observed that “all various types of township buildings bear a strong imprint of West-European culture.”²⁶ He was probably ready to grant the status of “Jewish folk dwelling” to certain types of houses²⁷, yet the arguments used by Glagolev, Zuts, or Karinsky were already considered obsolete by the 1920s.



4–6 Kozyn (Volyn’ oblast), houses (Photos by S. Yudovin, 1913, courtesy of the photo-archive of An-sky’s expeditions, Collection of the Center “Petersburg Judaica”)

At that time it was still believed that “traditions of folk architecture,” the term used to define “folk dwelling,” were usually “wrapped up” for preservation and passed on to the next generations. This process of “wrapping up,” i.e., the sacralization of craftsmen’s skills, was invariably connected with the territory, or “soil,” seen as the “cradle of folk culture.” None of those researchers interested in Jewish architectural monuments in Eastern Europe wanted to transfer this “cradle” there from Judaea—or at least nobody succeeded in doing so. And everybody probably agreed with the famous art critic Vladimir Stasov, who, while attempting to make Russian Jews aware of the treasures of their own architectural heritage, placed this “cradle” in Judaea.²⁸

The idea expressed in 1861 by Moisei Berlin that Jewish dwellings “do not essentially differ from the local [dwellings] of the region, where they [Jews] live,”²⁹ was not shattered by the amateur interpretation of the “nature” of architectural distinctiveness of Jewish houses. For instance, in the *Short Jewish Encyclopedia* the following conclusion about “Jewish architecture in the diaspora” can be found: „Jewish homes did not differ externally from the dwellings of the indigenous population even where the Jewish commune existed in relative isolation in the course of long periods of time, as, for instance, in...townships in 16th–19th century.”³⁰

Eventually, houses typical of the ordinary town blocks in trade-and-commerce centers of townships were denied the status of monuments of Jewish “folk architecture.” They had been built in a primitive non-professional way using local construction material, and were thus presented as a vernacular architectural phenomenon.³¹ And it was considered by omission that they were part of the national architectural heritage of the country within which they were situated, e.g., Ukraine.³²

Scholars working within the frame of history of “folk architecture” were not undertaking any attempts to clarify the social and symbolic functions of these houses, although they placed the process of their construction in the category of “folk” cultural forms. This, so it would seem, should have made them at least define the community, the culture of which they studied—yet this was not done.

Meanwhile, the traditional “Jewish house” found its place in research dedicated to the culture of Jews who lived in innumerable small trade centers of Eastern Europe. Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, who studied them on the basis of the stories narrated by American Jews, who were immigrants from Eastern Europe, used the term *shtetl* in their book for labeling these trade centers.³³

There is no place for interpretation of the architectural phenomena connected with reminiscences on the *shtetl*, in the “classical” history of architecture—the same way as there is no place for the term *shtetl* in historical research works focusing on Jewish communal institutes within the territory of Eastern Europe. For instance, Leon Shapiro preferred to do without the notion of the *shtetl* because of its “sociological connotation” that appeared to him “not clearly defined” and “often confusing [for] the readers.”³⁴ However, the notion of the *shtetl* turned out to be indispensable in the studies of Jewish memory, e.g., in the work by David Roskies on the Jewish search of a “usable past.”³⁵

Architectural objects belong to the exemplary kind of *lieux de mémoire*, for they give this memory an incomparable object-and-space dimension. *Shtetl* as a specific architectural space, and the *shtetthouse* as a specific architectural type of house on ordinary town blocks—these are the key *lieux de mémoire* of Eastern-European Jewry on “antiquity.”

The *shtetl* constructed by Zborowski and Herzog acquired a spatial layout resembling the product of a traveler’s architectural fantasy, saturated with impressions from a thousand “real Jewish townships,” indistinguishable one from the other. The authors did not intend to reveal local specificity in the various portraits of their “*klein shtetele*,” their home places, drawn by people from various regions of Eastern Europe. Having observed the lack of need for architectural esthetics among the “town poor,”³⁶ and having denied, on this basis, the existence of “Jewish architecture” as such, Zborowski and Herzog built their *shtetl* as a “castle in the air,” suitable to describe any architectural reality.

And yet research aiming for an interpretation of Jewish architectural heritage in small town settlements of Eastern Europe, cannot do without the concept of the *shtetl*. Many architectural insights can be used in a mental reconstruction of the *shtetl*. Local dwellers, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, are capable of erecting these mental structures on the basis of their own personal memories as well as on local collective memory.³⁷ This is not only limited to local dwellers but can also include visitors engaged in this type of reconstruction as well, mainly based on Jewish literature and memoirs, but also with the help of local dwellers.

In many small town settlements of Ukraine the architectural image of the *shtetl* is recognized not so much in architectural objects, such as those found in big towns (e.g., synagogue buildings, their ruins, Jewish cemeteries, etc.), but in the look of a certain type of ordinary town blocks. It is not unusual to discover traces of “antiquity” in the houses built primarily of



7 Shargorod (Vinnica oblast, Ukraine), shtetthouse in the former township (Photo by author, 2005)

8 Tulchin (Vinnica oblast, Ukraine), shtetthouse in the former township (Photo by author, 2005)

materials no longer used in construction. In multi-ethnic cultural spaces architectural object of this type, or their significant elements, are usually defined as “ethnic.” It is among “ancient” buildings that people usually look for “Jewish” houses. This category usually consists of houses without a layout which were not built during Soviet times and were considered obsolete as they catered to the needs of small-scale domestic industry and home-based services. Centers for trade and commerce, with an architectural environment formed by this “Jewish” type of home, were considered outdated themselves. Today, these houses often stand empty or have become dilapidated, but they still remind the local inhabitants of the true “*klein shtetle*,” stored in the memory of a *shtetl*:

obsolete

INF. 1:³⁸ Here, along this [street], which you took, on it you see, all these houses, they were [owned by Jews]. All this is not here any longer, only Russians and Ukrainians live there. And it used to be—half a meter, or a meter away—where there is a lane, and a building right away, a lane and a building, tons of them.

Coll.: Why was it so cramped?

INF. 1: Well, because they used to build one and then another ...

...

INF. 2: Old wooden houses,... maybe, somewhere, in townships [you can] see ... there are still old houses [there]” (Tul_05_60. KLSH, b. 1925. J.; KEU, b. 1928. J. What is this???)

The study of *shtetl* houses, synagogues and architectural space in general required that attention be directed not only to the vernacular specificities of architectural object, but also to ideas and practices connected with their social or symbolic functioning. Further on, I will try to focus primarily on the ties between the results of architectural and construction activity as well as cultural practices, enabling conclusions to be drawn on the nature of the *shtetthouse*-building tradition. That is why, aside from measurements



and photographs of the houses local inhabitants considered to be “ancient Jewish” ones, I have recorded a number of such interviews.

INF.: There were those houses, ancient, but very comfortable ... and all of them [were built] almost according to the same ... the same project.... You enter, and—here is a hall, a big room.... There was the first [room], and to the side there always was a room for sleeping, and then the kitchen, and one more room necessarily close to the kitchen.

COLL.: What for?

Inf.: This was for the elderly, or for the children, but [it was customary] to have one room close to the kitchen, and there was also a shed. (Mog_04_03. LV, b. Ozarintsy; 1925. J.)

9+10 Ozarintsy (Vinnica oblast, Ukraine), shtetlhouse in the former township, view of the side façade and view of the street façade (Photos by the author, 1995)

Such descriptions, often connected with childhood memories, do not contain any information that would allow one to judge on the architectural and construction practice of the time, when these houses were built. However, distinctive features of arrangement of the “Jewish house,” mentioned in interviews, made it possible to interpret the layout of the examined houses.³⁹

People who came from villages, and who found themselves in the situation of “conquering” / “appropriating” the unusual “town” or “Jewish” living space, turn out to be the best “experts” on the architecture of “Jewish” houses. These new “town-dwellers” use all accessible information about Jews, usually coming from locally-born people, for getting adjusted to the non-habitual houses.

COLL.: Can one tell, looking at your house, that it was built by Jews?

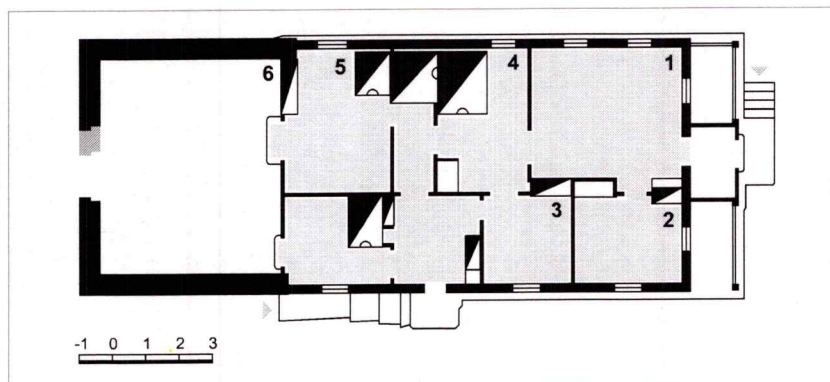
INF.: Yes, one can.

COLL.: And how?

INF.: It's a very old house. Of old construction.

11 Ozarintsy (Vinnica oblast, Ukraine), shtetthouse in the former township, ground plan (Drawing by author)

- (1) hall;
- (2) sleeping room;
- (3) room for the elderly;
- (4,5) kitchens;
- (6) shed (inner courtyard)



COLL.: Like, how old?

INF.: Over a hundred years.

...

COLL.: So, does this mean that Jews lived here prior to Ukrainians—if they have the oldest houses?

INF.: No, Ukrainians lived, you see, but there were very many Jews.... Very many ... very. Here, this whole lane of ours, there were Jews.

COLL.: And do you have any old Ukrainian houses here? Like, is there an Ukrainian house that would be one hundred years?

INF.: No. All houses here are Jewish.

...

COLL.: So, if [the houses] are old, they have to be Jewish?

INF.: Yes,... and the Jewish houses, you see, they were so long, so big.... Because Ukrainians, they built such small [houses], and the long houses, those were built by them [Jews] for two or three families at once.... They had ... many entrances and exits—two, three, four of them, and Ukrainians didn't have that—those entrances and exits.... Maybe that's the only difference. Here, for instance, my [house] has three entrances and exits. Over there, over there, and over there—such an exit through which you can run away, see...

COLL.: And why would they have to run away?

INF.: Well, you see, what it was about the Jews, whether they were so clever that they made such passages for themselves, so that in case of necessity.... Usually, they were constantly persecuted.... This was probably because of that, that they built houses like this for themselves, so that one could ... [run away] by a different exit, and nobody would know.... This way. And Ukrainians [had] one exit.

COLL.: So, Ukrainians were not afraid of anybody?

INF.: No, it is just so. Well, may be that it.... It was the Jews, who were mostly afraid for their life, because they it was them who mostly possessed gold... (Tul_05_090. ShAT, b. 1943. U.)

The reviling of the architectural key features of the examined houses⁴⁰ with the help of vernacular-oriented architectural research allowed defining them as buildings typical for the town blocks in trade-and-commerce centers of the region in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. This was the first step towards including them in the category of architectural heritage of the East-European Jewry. The key argument for this decision was the “consent” of local inhabitants, both Jewish and non-Jewish, by employing methods of cultural anthropology. It seems that only due to the combination of vernacular-oriented architectural research and methods of cultural anthropology I succeeded in revealing the “Jewish” character of ordinary town blocks in small trade-and-commerce centers of the region studied.

Comprehending the width of the gap between the past and the present, formed as a result of tragic events in the twentieth century, leads to the recognition on the part of the local community or its leaders, of the symbolic value of “ancient” buildings,⁴¹ including those that appear to be quite ordinary from their own point of view.⁴² In this connection, the notion of architectural heritage acquires a deeper meaning, comparable to that related to ideas on architectural monuments as unique masterpieces of “folk architecture”.

Architectural *lieux de mémoire*, both those still used and those now almost forgotten, could still be “reanimated” and require the attention of scholars. The studying of local communities’ practices, tied up with the physical, social, and symbolic use of architectural objects, cannot be severed from the research of their architectural specificities and the monitoring of their destruction or reconstruction.

From my point of view, the aim of studying Jewish architectural heritage consists not only of forming expert evaluation of architectural objects, lost or preserved, but in working out the conception of preservation and representation of those of them, which were recognized as valuable. The study of them is necessary, and not only because of either one’s respect to “antiquity” or the preservation of “all the colors” of the East-European architectural environment. The researcher of architectural *lieux de mémoire* can understand what they are “talking about” and represent this understanding to everyone whom this may concern.

- ¹ Rachel Bernstein (Wischnitzer), "Synagogal Architecture," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 14 (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 265–73.
- ² In his "Historical Note on Synagogues and Jewish Prayer Houses," A. Y. Hakavy almost never mentions the architecture of these buildings: his interest in them was limited by the facts immediately related to the history of Jewish communes (Avraam Yakovlevich Harkavy, "Historical Note on Synagogues and Jewish Prayer-Houses in Russia Before the Reign of Alexander II," *Voskhod* 3 (1894), pp. 54–76).
- ³ Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*, (Philadelphia, 1964), p. xxviii.
- ⁴ Rachel Bernstein-Wischnitzer, "Jewish Art in Poland and Lithuania," in *History of the Jewish People*, ed. A. Braudo, M. Wischnitzer, and Yu. Gessen, vol. 11. *History of the Jews in Russia*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1914), pp. 390–405, especially: p. 401.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ [Grigory G. Pavlutsky], "Ancient Wooden Synagogues in the Ukraine," in *History of Russian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Igor Grabar (Moscow, 1911), pp. 377–82, especially: p. 382.
- ⁷ Quoted from: Ilya Lurje, "Synagogue in Feodosia: A Scholarly Essay," *Rassvet*, no. 17, (1913), pp. 40–43. In his text, Lurje described Farfel as a "common Jew, a *shokhet* from the city of Feodosia," and his publication as a book was meant for "the common, badly educated public." Lurje particularly stresses that an interest in such a monument as an ancient Crimchak synagogue would usually be typical of a "professional historian," or "a representative of Jewish educated intelligentsia", but it was here evoked in a "common Jew" (ibid.).
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ The notion of *lieux de mémoire* was introduced by Pierre Nora in 1984, in his work: Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vols. 1–7 (Paris, 1984–93).
- ¹⁰ Symbolic resource of former "Jewish" streets and houses in European cities is successfully used in contemporary "Jewish" architectural and artistic projects. Examination of these projects has already found its legitimate place in art criticism, incorporated in Jewish studies. See, for example: James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Image of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven, 2000).
- ¹¹ Yuliy Engel, "Jewish Folk Song. Ethnographic Trip," in *Parallels: Russian-Jewish Almanac for History, Literature, and Bibliography*, vol. 4–5, ed. Konstantin Burmistrov, (Moscow, 2004), pp. 285–305, especially: p. 296.
- ¹² Lukomsky named his drawing "Not far from Novograd-Volhynsky: The House of the Rabbi (Drawing from Life)" (Georgy K. Lukomsky, *Volhynia Antiquity* (Kiev, 1913), inset after p. 30).
- ¹³ Aleksandr Benua described Lukomsky's activity for "searching and 'imprinting' ever new architectural monuments" as a "hunt" for "the new in the old" (Aleksandr Benua (Alexander Benois), "Artistic Letters of 1930–1936," in *Chudožestvennye pis'ma: 1930–1936; gazeta "Poslednie novosti," Pariž* (Moscow, 1997), p. 176).
- ¹⁴ Lukomsky saw all the synagogues of Zaslav, including "the oldest one," with the "baroque front" as "very characteristic due to the specific features of their architecture" (Lukomsky, *Volhynia Antiquity*, p. 29).
- ¹⁵ Among the synagogues of Galicia, "the greater number of which [were built] in the spirit of the Polish Renaissance," Lukomsky discovered "examples of wonderful constructions, even though deprived of clear ethnic stylistic traits, but still very peculiar" (Georgy K. Lukomsky, *Galicia in Its Antiquity: Essays on the History of Architecture, 12th–18th Century* (Petrograd, 1915), p. 96).
- ¹⁶ Aleksandr Glagolev, *Essays of a Russian Traveler, 1823–1827, Part I, Russia, Austria* (St. Petersburg, 1837), p. 130.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ N. I. Zuts, *Description of the Town of Starokonstantinov from the Beginning of Its Foundation till the Present Day* (Starokonstantinov, 1884).
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 36.
- ²⁰ The reader not only learns the details of the process of coating the walls with "mud," but also about the fact that "...usually thick oak posts are put into the corners and in the middle, 4–5 sazhen' [around 1,8 m,—A. S.] away from one other, fastened below by thick oak beams...", "tie-beams are installed on the top.... and principals are fastened on those, and secured with slating and tailing buttons for the tile roof..." (ibid., pp. 35–36) вкновенно по углам ользовался этим правом и а быныс ле и этнического, ния—свидательство.
- ²¹ K. M. (Michael Karinsky), "Traveller's Essays: Podolia," *Kievskaya starina* [Kievan Antiquity], (1884) no. 7, pp. 359–91, especially: pp. 364–65.
- ²² Due to the fact that in this type of house often several rooms were set aside for lodging, the word *anfūr* (*zazezd* in Russian) was frequently used as the name of an inn.
- ²³ K. M., "Traveller's Essays: Podolia," p. 365.

- ²⁴ Lukomsky, *Volhynia Antiquity*, p. 42.
- ²⁵ Sergei Taranushchenko entered a number of extracts from Karinsky's essays into his notebook (Central Scholarly Library (Kiev), Manuscript Department, Fund 278 (Fund of S. A. Taranushchenko), files no. 63–71).
- ²⁶ Danila Shcherbakovsky wrote that "the influence of a German town is strongly felt in the character of buildings in a right-bank township..." (Danila Shcherbakovsky, "Monuments of Art on the Right Bank of the Dnepr," in *Short Notes on the 1926 All-Ukrainian Archeological Committee* (Kiev, 1927), pp. 192–207, especially: pp. 192–95). There is no doubt that Shcherbakovsky limited the area of influence by the boundaries of the trade-and-commerce center, i.e., the territory of compact habitation of the Jewish population.
- ²⁷ Inscriptions "Jewish house," found on some of photographs, prove that Shcherbakovsky saw these houses as examples of Jewish ethnic dwellings. The photographs are preserved in f. 9 (fond of Shcherbakovsky) at the Archives of the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine in Kiev.
- ²⁸ Vladimir Stasov, "Concerning the Construction of the Synagogue," *Evreiskaia biblioteka [Jewish Library]*, vol. II (1889), pp. 435–54, especially: p. 443.
- ²⁹ Moisei Berlin, *Ethnographic Essay on Jewish Population of Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 9.
- ³⁰ "Architecture" in *Short Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1996 [1975]), pp. 223–24. Administrative term township, used in Russia mainly for such settlements within the pale, also proved to be useful to define their cultural space. In this text it is represented as "relatively isolated," or, more precisely, possessing clear-cut borders.
- ³¹ See, for example: Kazimierz Wejchert, *Polish Country Towns as a Problem of Town and Country Planning* (Warszawa, 1947).
- ³² Zoya. S. Gudchenko, "Some Specific Architectural Features of Townships in Ukraine (end of XVIII–beginning of XX cc.)," in *Soviet Ethnography* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 109–18, especially: p. 112; Olga Plamenitskaya, "Specific Features of Architecture of Podolian Towns and Townships," in *Architectural Heritage of Ukraine* (Kiev, 1996), pp. 189–98.
- ³³ Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, *Life is with the People: The Culture of the Shtetl* (New York, 1995).
- ³⁴ Leon Shapiro, *The History of ORT: A Jewish Movement for a Social Change* (New York, 1980), p. 363.
- ³⁵ David G. Roskies, *The Jewish Search for a Usable Past* (Bloomington, 1999).
- ³⁶ Cf. "There is no 'Jewish' architecture. The characteristic features of the buildings are their age and their shabbiness. Comparison of their state with the better grooming of the peasant houses is a reminder of the usual contrast between urban and rural dwellings in poverty-stricken areas of Eastern Europe. The poorest peasant spends his spare time puttering about his home, repairing the door, the fence, the whitewashed walls. The impoverished city dweller accepts the condition of his house as part of the state of things, beyond his jurisdiction." (Zborowski and Herzog, *Life is with the People*, pp. 61–62).
- ³⁷ Contemporary approaches in memory studies are based on the works of Moris Halbwachs on the social frames of memory (Moris Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925)), that are understood as "a common set of texts and artifacts" (William G. Rosenberg, "Is Social Memory a 'Useful Category of Historical Analysis?'" in *Historical Memory and Russian Imperial and Soviet Society (1860–1939)*, ed. Boris I. Kolonitskii (St. Petersburg, 2007).
- ³⁸ In citations of field materials the following abbreviations are used: "Inf."—"Informant," "Coll."—"Collector"; Tul—Tulchin (Vinnica oblast), Mog—Mogilev-Podol'sky (Vinnica oblast), year of the recording (last two figures), number of the recording, informants' initials, and their date of birth; place of birth; J—Jewish, U—Ukrainian. Peculiarities of informants' speech are preserved wherever possible.
- ³⁹ Measurements and photography were taken in 1995.
- ⁴⁰ In 1995–2004, the author examined 160 *shtetl*houses in Podolia (Ukraine).
- ⁴¹ Cf. the case of the old center of Warsaw, discussed by Kevin Lynch, when the restoration of the symbolically significant center of public life, destroyed during World War II, became the main national priority (Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Moscow, 1984), p. 150).
- ⁴² Ways of representations of such houses employed by the Jews who consider themselves natives of the *shtetl* were examined in my article: "Jewish sights: Exoticization of Places and Objects as a Way of Presenting Local 'Jewish Antiquity' by the Inhabitants of Little Towns," in *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History*, ed. Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė and Larisa Lempertienė (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 261–80.

