

The Łódź Denominational Melting Pot

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THE SYNAGOGUES
AND PRAYER HOUSES OF ŁÓDŹ
(TO 1939)

Translated from Polish by

Guy Russell Torr

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INTRODUCTION

Research into the history of Łódź as a city has hitherto usually avoided or marginalized the subject of Jewish religious institutions and their history. The first information concerning the nineteenth-century history of Łódź's synagogues was published during the inter-war period within the works of Jewish historians from Łódź: Filip Friedman, Aron Alperin and Hersz Banner. The period of the Polish People's Republic was not a good one for this kind of subject matter. The situation was to change with the arrival of 1989. Initially publications based on pre-Second World War research appeared, while in 1995 the art historian Krzysztof Stefański published his book *The Sacral Architecture of Łódź During the Industrial Development of the City (1821-1974)* where he devoted a lot of space to the architecture of Łódź's synagogues, although he was unable to find all the designs and plans for Jewish religious premises in the city. This said work on Łódź's synagogues is, by national standards, still noticeably backward¹. Łódź's Jewish houses of prayer, despite the sizeable amount of documentation available, have so far failed to attract the attention of researchers.

Due to the fact that there still exists a shortfall by way of a work presenting not only the architectural aspects, but equally the history of Łódź's synagogues and prayer houses, the subject has been incorporated within the research of the Interdisciplinary Team for Religious Research at the University of Łódź and the State Archive in Łódź; the result of which is the present volume.

The work *The Synagogues and Prayer Houses of Łódź* is actually based, because of the destruction caused by the Nazis during the Second World War of Warsaw archives, on archival materials and the Łódź press. What has been utilised here are foremostly the collections of the State Archive in Łódź (Łódź City Records, the Police Superintendent in Łódź, the Łódź Jewish Denominational Community, Piotrków Provincial Government – the Administrative and Building Departments) as well as notary publics' acts. Useful have also turned out to be the mortgage and property registration records stored in the Regional Court Archive in Łódź². Less useful turned out to be the archival collections of the Łódź Provincial Office, the Łódź Credit Society and the Presidential Chancellery of the Piotrków Provincial Government.

¹ Cf. for instance M. and K. Piechotkowie, *Bramy nieba. Bóżnica murowane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 436, 441, where the synagogue at Kościuszko Street is referred to, unexpectedly, in Łódź sources by the term 'Italian'.

² Unfortunately several, extremely important documents have not been located.

The work is made up of seven chapters: the first six deal with particular Łódź synagogues, the last tackles the question of houses of prayer. At the end are located, besides the list of archival material used, annexes: 1) a list of prayer houses compiled on the basis of existing archival material, 2) the original unabridged text of the notary public act of 1879, which constitutes in a sense 'the foundation act' for the Łódź progressive synagogue, 3) illustrations-reproductions of documents, designs, illustrations and photographs on the subject of Łódź's synagogues and prayer houses.

Because of the difficulties that arose in finding a clearly distinctive line between a synagogue and a prayer house, the basic criteria that has been adopted in inclusion, besides the existence of more significant quantities of archival material, has been the role that a given religious object played in the history of Łódź Jewry up until 1939. This has meant that in the final count synagogues include: the old communal synagogues from the first half of the nineteenth century, the communal synagogue at Wolborska Street, the private 'progressive' synagogue at Spacerowa (at present Kościuszko) Street, the private synagogues at Zachodnia and Wólczńska Streets as well as the Zionist synagogue at Gdańska Street. Amongst houses of prayer were to be found only the presently existing Jewish sacral building on the former property of Wolf Reicher, and the purpose-build religious premises at Średnia Street 17. One needs to state, however, that the existing materials have allowed for a relatively detailed presentation of the history of the two synagogues which have played the most important role in the history of Jews in Łódź – the synagogues at Wolborska and Spacerowa (Kościuszko) Streets. While in the case of the remaining, and in particular of the prayer houses, painstaking additional research may result in the uncovering of information that will compliment, and enhance the material and conclusions contained in the present study.

The territorial limit of the work is that covered by the inter-war boundaries of the city of Łódź, which represents the area contained within the line drawn (with a certain approximation) by the encircling railways. While chronologically it covers the period from the start of the existence of a separate Jewish community right up until the year 1939 – closing with the burning down, in the autumn of 1939, of the majority of Łódź's synagogues. The question of religious life in the Łódź ghetto and the existence within it, for a certain time, of houses of prayer has been omitted as a subject for it requires separate research. The subject of houses of prayer and the small synagogue that existed in Łódź in the post war period has also been left untouched due to the overly short period of time for historical purposes, and the inaccessibility of a part of the documents.

The present volume is the first book to be published jointly by the State Archive in Łódź and the Interdisciplinary Team for Religious Research within the series 'The Łódź Denominational Melting Pot'. Its realisation would have been impossible without the kind help and support which has been shown to the

concept of a separate work on Łódź's synagogues and prayer houses by both the Director of the State Archive in Łódź, Mrs Urszula Zarzycka-Sutter, and the head of the Interdisciplinary Team for Religious Research Professor Andrzej de Lazari. Of great help were the specialist comments of Professor Kazimierz Badziak regarding the contents, which have resulted in many alterations to the information the work contains. The author would also like to take the opportunity to thank all those who have helped him during archival research, especially the employees of the State Archive in Łódź: Maciej Janik, Julian Baranowski, Maciej Wilmański (at present the head of the PKO Archive in Łódź) and Agnieszka Szymczak, along with the director from the City Office in Łódź, Zdzisław Szambelan. A separate thanks is due to those who have taken care of the linguistic aspects of both versions – Bożena Szczerbiak, a member of the Łódź religious studies team, for the editing of the Polish text and Guy Russell Torr of the Jagiellonian University, the author of the English translation *Synagogues and Prayer Houses*, and to cover designer, Łukasz Chmielewski.

I. THE FIRST SYNAGOGUE AT WOLBORSKA STREET

The first synagogue in Łódź was founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century at a street then known as Dworska (later Wolborska) near to the south-eastern corner of the town square (the present day Stary Rynek), the shingle roofed building was erected by the newly formed Łódź Kehillah (Jewish Community) independent of the Lutomiersk Kehillah, in 1809, when Łódź was still a sleepy agricultural small town, inhabited by 430 inhabitants¹ (of whom 98 were Jewish²). The building site was purchased for 168 Polish zloty from Józef Aufschlag, a lieutenant in the National Guard, a former mayor (from Prussian days). As the legend that circulated amongst Łódź's Jewry goes, still in the inter-war period, the owner of the land agreed to sell the plots upon the condition that on the building of the future synagogue there be placed a plaque commemorating him and his wife – Marianna Aufschlag nee Popielawska³.

The building mentioned was not big: its length was 24 ells, width 15 ells i.e. corresponding to 14 by 8.5 metres. Along one of its sides was a gallery for women⁴; it is possible that during one of the renovations the attic was also adapted for women⁵.

In accordance with custom a part of the benches in the synagogue were leased out for a payment. As results from the minutes of the adjunct supervisor of the towns of the Łęczycki District Zawadzki drawn up on the 17th of February 1821 on the occasion of the dismantling of the Łódź Kehillah and the formation in its place of the Synagogical Supervisory Board, this income, collected at the time from 13 pews, according to the unsubstantiated statements of members of the community authorities disbanded, was a constant, from the moment the synagogue was founded, 30 Polish zloty annually and was allocated for the renovation

¹ B. Baranowski, *Łódź i okolice na przełomie XVIII i XIX w. (1793-1820/1823)*, [in:] *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, ed. by R. Rosin, vol. 1: *Do 1918 r.*, ed. by B. Baranowski, J. Fijałek, Warszawa 1980, p. 135.

² These were the members of 24 families: for a list of names cf.: A. Alperin, *Żydzi w Łodzi. Początki gminy żydowskiej 1780-1822*, 'Rocznik Łódzki' vol.1, 1928, pp. 155-159. Ibidem, pp. 153, 160-165 on the formation of the Łódź Jewish Community.

³ A. Alperin, *Pierwszy cmentarz żydowski w Łodzi*, [in:] *Stary cmentarz żydowski w Łodzi. Dzieje i zabytki*, ed. by F. Friedman, Łódź 1938, p. 19.

⁴ H. Banner, *Gmina żydowska w Łodzi. Krótki zarys dziejów ustrojowo-gospodarczych*, Łódź 1938, p. 11; K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta, 1821-1914*, Łódź 1995, pp. 15-16, 46; W. Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi w latach zaborów 1793-1914*, Łódź 1998, p. 163.

⁵ The State Archive in Łódź (later: SAL), Łódź City Records (later LCR) 1561, pp. 180-181.

of the building, payments for fire insurance as well as support for the poor⁶. In the 1820s (the budget for the years 1827-1829) the income from the leasing out of pews rose a little – from 36 to 38 Polish zloty annually⁷. In 1841 it was planned to give up on the leasing and to sell pews in order to generating the means to build a new ritual baths (mikvah). It was intended to auction off 36 pews for men and 24 pews for women in 'the choir' and 45 in 'the attic'⁸. The matter lasted for quite a long time due to the lack of a decision by the authorities. In 1844 it turned out that there were no takers for the pews: finally they were able to sell 17 pews under the threat of the bailiffs at the end of 1844 or at the beginning of next year⁹. In 1849 33 pews for men and 58 pews for women became the property of the community; they were leased – together with the benches 'in the school' by Szmul Saltzman for 31 silver roubles a year¹⁰.

Another source of income connected with the synagogue's activities was payment for the right to read the Torah on a Saturday (the payment 'for the Pentateuch rolls'). The initial information that can be found about them comes from the community budget estimate for 1822 – it was planned then to make 103.15 Polish zloty; in actual fact the lessee, Juda Koplowicz, paid 150 Polish zloty¹¹. For the years 1826-1829 a higher figure was calculated – 170 Polish zloty¹². In the budget for the years 1829-1831, in connection with the rise in the number of people of the Jewish faith, and chiefly – with the increase in the rabbi's salary¹³, the income 'from the Pentateuch rolls' was envisaged to be 351 Polish zloty. This income was a basic item that underwent increase in the new budget. The amount caused protests on the part of Wigdor Kochański, Zalman Odeski and Abraham Bronowski who claimed that Łódź's Jews would not be able to manage such a high financial burden and offered to find another (cheaper) candidate¹⁴. This is probably why for the years 1832-1834 only 310.15 zloty was envisaged

⁶ The adjunct supervisor of the towns wrote: 'They produce no evidence or records with this aim in mind and hence the checking of the claims of Orthodox Jews is extremely difficult, the more the case when several were employed to do the collection, they changed each year and kept no records' – A. Alperin, *Żydzi...*, p. 167.

⁷ SAL, LCR 1568, card 50v; H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 14.

⁸ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 180-181.

⁹ Cf.: SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 180-181, 243, 269, 288; LCR 1565, pp. 94-95; LCR 1566, pp. 129-130.

¹⁰ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 242, 254-257.

¹¹ SAL, LCR 1568, card 45v, 50v.

¹² H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 14.

¹³ For the years 1826-1827 this was Mendel Jerozolimski; after which Hillel Hakohen was employed, the son of the Lutomierski rabbi (with an annual salary in excess of his predecessor's – 800 Polish zloty) – H. Banner, *Gmina...*, pp. 14-15; F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi od początków osadnictwa Żydów do r. 1863. Stosunki ludnościowe, życie gospodarcze, stosunki społeczne*, Łódź 1935, p. 272.

¹⁴ H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 15. In actual fact in 1831 the post of rabbi was vacant so the Synagogue Supervisory Board saved the whole salary for the year.

from this source¹⁵. At the turn of the 1850s the income from the leasing out of the Pentateuch rolls was already a lot more – 135 silver roubles (900 Polish złoty), its leasing out did not, however, always bring in the expected profit¹⁶. From at least 1832¹⁷ onwards this also covered all of Łódź's houses of prayer that possessed Pentateuch rolls, and it is difficult to determine what part the communal synagogue played in it¹⁸.

There was in the synagogue – in accordance with custom – a money box for small donations. This brought in a small income; for example in 1849 Sz. Saltzman leased it for 19 silver roubles¹⁹.

In 1825 the interior fittings of the synagogue were as follows: 16 pews, the Pentateuch roll with covers, two silver money boxes, 'a horn' (shofar) and 'silver plate'²⁰. The poor and non-numerous Łódź Jewish community was unable to afford more at the time²¹. By the end of 1829 another Pentateuch roll with covers had appeared, 2 service books and 2 silver pointers²². For the subsequent years up to 1852 the synagogue's inventory remained almost unchanged²³.

The building after several years was in danger of collapse. In 1819 the mayor of the time, Antoni Czarkowski, forbade the holding of services in the building:

The Mayor having been personally convinced together with the carpenter that one wall in the synagogue could collapse in on itself because of winds as it is already severely leaning inwards, and wanting to prevent an accident which the Orthodox could suffer in [!], quickly recommended the elder Kahal of the town here to speedily repair the said, and since two weeks have already passed, and to date they have not thought of such repairs, he has forbidden the holding of services and entrance to the synagogue²⁴.

We do not know the details of the work carried out at the time. In 1828 the carpenter Gottlieb Jakobi again repaired the synagogue, while the amount, although unknown, had to be negotiated with the Synagogical Supervisory Board²⁵. The Board, against whom the mayor Karol Tangermann directed the

¹⁵ The lessee was Dawid Mrzygłód – SAL, LCR 1586, p. 114.

¹⁶ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 74. By the end of the 1840s this income was almost identical – 140 silver roubles – SAL, LCR 1566, p. 222.

¹⁷ SAL, LCR 1586, p. 15.

¹⁸ Cf. the chapters III and VII.

¹⁹ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 254.

²⁰ H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 13.

²¹ In 1820 259 Jews lived in Łódź, in 1825 – 342, in 1830 – about 350: F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi...*, p. 32; J. Janczak, *Łódź przemysłowa 1820-1914*, Łódź 1982, pp. 108, 110.

²² SAL, LCR 1631, unnumbered.

²³ Cf.: SAL, The Anterior of the Piotrków Provincial Government (later: PPG-Ant.) 2534, p. 216.

²⁴ SAL, LCR 1561, p. 18.

²⁵ About Synagogue Supervisory Boards cf.: Z. Stankiewicz, *Królestwo Polskie 1815-1863*, [w:] *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, pod red. J. Bardacha, t. 3: *Od rozbiorów do uwłaszczenia*, pod red. J. Bardacha i M. Senkowskiej - Gluck, Warszawa 1981, s. 413.

process to extract the money owed to Jakobi, claimed that 'the district building inspector was to view the work, yet such an inspection had not taken place, while the carpenter Jakobi had still to finish certain details of the renovation work for the sum agreed upon'. Jakobi received, however, a certain additional payment, for finally at the end of July 1828 the mayor informed the Łęczycki District Commissioner that Jakobi 'for the renovation work on the Jewish synagogue in recent years has been paid by the Synagogical Supervisory Board and has presented them with a receipt'²⁶.

The physical state of the building, however, was far from pleasing. In 1839 general repair work was undertaken – for the sum of 680 Polish zloty – by the publican and merchant Jakub Wołk Sonnenberg, appearing here in the role of contractor and organiser of the work of craftsmen of various specialities. Besides the renovation of the building he built at the time (for 83.18 Polish zloty) a fence around the synagogue plot²⁷.

In the mid 1840s there was a building catastrophe at the synagogue, overfilled with faithful²⁸ on the day before the holiday of the Day of Expiation, which led to the death of several people²⁹. Equally in the 1840s there was a fire, extinguished, 'during the Orthodox holy days'³⁰. These events brought about, despite the poor financial situation the denominational community³¹ found itself in, the subsequent renovation of the building around 1851³². Already in the course of the Synagogical Supervisory Board's attempts to gain permission for the repair work the Łódź Municipal Authorities had come out in favour of the erection of a new walled synagogue³³. The funds accumulated happened sluggishly partly because of the conflict between the Orthodox majority and adherents of reformist Judaism³⁴.

²⁶ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 23-24.

²⁷ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 108-109; F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi...*, p. 177, 201. J. W. Sonnenberg was one of the last Jewish publicans in Łódź when the authorities of the time managed finally to remove members of the Jewish faith from the profession: for details cf.: A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 158-164. From 1833 Sonnenberg was also a merchant of 'spices and home produced cotton haberdashery goods' (i.e. for sure a retailer) – *Początki rozwoju kapitalistycznego miasta Łodzi (1820-1864)*. Źródła, ed. by A. Rynkowska, Warszawa 1960, p. 217.

²⁸ In 1846 there were 1,500 adherents of the Jewish faith amongst the inhabitants of the city, which meant that Łódź had at least 15 times as many Jews as when the building was constructed – cf. J. Janczak, op. cit., p. 108.

²⁹ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 47.

³⁰ SAL, LCR 1566, p. 452.

³¹ In 1849 the Synagogue Supervisory Board asked for incomes from fines imposed for the wearing of traditional Jewish dress to be designated for the purposes of renovation, as it itself did not possess the relevant funds – H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 20.

³² SAL, LCR 1562, p. 15.

³³ This was connected with the intention withdrawn by the Synagogue Supervisory Board to combine the renovation and extension work (SAL, LCR 1566, pp. 451-452); the author has been, however, unable to establish whether such extension work was carried out.

³⁴ In December 1857 it was written that the members of the 'German-Jewish Association do not want to contribute to the erection of the synagogue and are breaking away from our grouping, at the head of which is Mr [Manes] Goldrath' – SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, p. 696.

The radical solution was the building of a new synagogue, for which the Synagogical Supervisory Board started to exert itself probably in 1858, drawing the authorities attention to the meagreness, age and poor physical state of the existing synagogue. At the beginning of 1858, and again in 1859³⁵, the building was temporarily taken out of use (initially only the first floor, leaving the possibility to utilise the men's part); the faithful ripped off the seals, however, and prayed as they wanted in the building. Services held over the new year festival period were only allowed³⁶. The instigation of building work upon the new synagogue, burdening the Łódź community with significant costs, brought about the end of restoration work upon the old synagogue, as a result of which the physical state of the building steadily deteriorated. In September 1861 the old synagogue was finally closed because of the danger it constituted for those worshipping in it³⁷.

The growth in the number of Jews and the appearance of Hasids, the followers of tzaddiks from various towns, meant that the existing synagogue building was insufficient to satisfy the needs of all the inhabitants of Łódź who held the Jewish faith. The Synagogical Supervisory Board turned to the authorities for permission to build, on the model of surrounding towns, 'teaching houses' (Beth ha-Midrash). In the face of indifference to the matter on the part of the relevant official – the adjunct supervisor of the towns – in the years 1834-1836 the premises for the first Łódź 'Beth ha-Midrash' were built – without the required permission of the administrative authorities, although on the basis of a plan sanctioned by the building district. It contained equally a room for the rabbi for 'the community on the strength of the contract agreed with the rabbi is obliged to give the rabbi funds for accommodation, this was usually not accepted if incorporated in the budget, hence year in year out the community was forced to rent a room to the rabbi³⁸, and for such pay dear'. The funds for the building work came from donations collected from among residents (391.13 Polish zloty) and from the sale of pews in the prayer house under construction (3,241.13 Polish zloty)³⁹.

The building work was directed by J. W. Sonnenberg, Sz. Saltzman, Mojżesz Fajtlowicz, M. Orbach and Jakub Tobiasz⁴⁰; they collected also donations and or-

³⁵ Cf. SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, p. 832.

³⁶ SAL, LCR 1562, p. 15; LCR 1566, pp. 960, 962-963.

³⁷ SAL, PPG-Ant. 2535, p. 259.

³⁸ The Łódź rabbi at the time (from the 1st of October 1832) was the dogmatic Chaskiel Nomberg, who was always at odds with town society – cf. H. Banner, *Gmina...*, p. 16; F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi...*, p. 272.

³⁹ Among the purchasers were: J. W. Sonnenberg, Sz. Saltzman, Dawid Rosenblatt, Lejzer Berger, Lewek Zajdler, Jakub Hamburgski, Mendel Orbach, Lewek Bronowski, Kalman Poznański, Icek Bławat, Lewek Pilgrym and Jakub Wiązowski – SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 86-89.

⁴⁰ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 58-60, 73-84; LCR 1586, p. 294.

ganised the sale of pews. The building work was coordinated by the carpenter Heidemann, with whom a dispute arose that was settled in court⁴¹.

When news of the synagogue's construction reached the authorities of the II instance (The Łęczyca District Commissioner) in 1838 it turned out that the donations had been collected without the permission of the authorities. The inhabitants of Łódź mentioned above claimed:

In writing we do not have permission to collect money and spend it on the construction of a teaching house and house for the rabbi, as it was only orally given to us by the mass of inhabitants, in which we call upon the most eminent of inhabitants i.e. Abram Bronowski, Lewek Bronowski, Jakub Hamburski, Lejzer Berger, Icek Bławat, Lewek Zaydler, Joel Brzeziński, Dawid Rosenblat, Kalman Poznański, Jakub Horyńczyk (Toruńczyk?), Szmul Grosman, Abram Szefer, Hersz Blachman⁴².

[...]

There was no other reason for the building of the teaching house and the accommodation for the rabbi than the city's growth and the numerous merchants who came from various parts, who during severe winter temperatures were unable to attend the synagogue and had nowhere to worship, besides which the constructed building is an asset to the city built as it is on an unattractive derelict plot. The circumstances that inclined the community to build the said house without the obtaining of permission from the authorities were none other than those motivated by a need for matters to be speeded up, which should not lead to the laying of blame⁴³.

This position enjoyed the support of the vast majority of those Łódź Jews called to give a statement by the mayor⁴⁴, it met with, however, the opposition of the provincial authorities. In May 1839 after long consideration mayor was declared

that in what ever way [...] the collection of voluntary donations for use for the common good of the community was justified orally by the whole of the Orthodox inhabitants it still was undertaken independently and without the authorisation of the government in as far as this, according to the mechanisms contained within the Provincial Gazette No. 333, is punishable,

and Warsaw authorities took the decision to severely reprimand the Synagogical Supervisory Board and to announce in the synagogue that 'the Synagogical Supervisory Board will be held totally responsible in the likelihood of a repetition of this independent collection of donations for whatever purpose at all without official authorisation.' The punishing of the mayor K. Tangermann for inactivity, upon whom the responsibility for regulating the ownership of the synagogue in the name of the Synagogical Supervisory Board had fallen, was also mentioned⁴⁵. In 1841 there was planned the sale of an additional 11 pews 'in

⁴¹ SAL, LCR 1561, p. 90.

⁴² SAL, LCR 1561, p. 76.

⁴³ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 78-80.

⁴⁴ In fact those 15 whom the creators of the 'Beth ha-Midrash' had quoted – SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁵ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 96-97. This penalty was waived by the Mazowiecki Provincial Government 'in respect to his devotion to the well being of the city and its factory owners' – SAL,

the teaching house⁴⁶. It is difficult to say whether this transaction was realised or not, for in 1849 the community still had in its possession 38 pews⁴⁷.

The value of the newly built building was estimated (for the purposes of insurance) at 3,000 Polish zloty. The building was marked with the number 41⁴⁸. It contained:

two lodging rooms for the rabbi, one large room for the school and two rooms at the top for worship⁴⁹, there was also one room at the top for Hivit [Hasidic] prayer, for which the said donated books for study worth three hundred zloty⁵⁰.

The Hasids mentioned are the well-known and extremely wealthy Łódź Jews: Sz. Saltzman, J. W. Sonnenberg, Załkind Orbach, J. Hamburski, L. Berger, I. Bławat, Mejlech Dobrzyński, Abraham Bronowski and Joel Brzeziński. Their most valuable donation was the fourteen-volume Babylonian Talmud⁵¹. As one may ascertain on the basis of the information presented by Filip Friedman⁵², they were Kock Hasids, adherents of the tzaddik Menachem Mendel Morgenstern of Kock (1787-1859), an eminent Talmud scholar, an extremely controversial character, even tragic, the most popular tzaddik of the first half of the nineteenth century⁵³.

The building 'of the teaching house and house for the rabbi' did not last long; it was demolished probably in the 1860s (there is an absence of information about its existence for the later period).

LCR 1561, pp. 199-200. The real estate register of property 'as of institutionalised ownership, remaining under the protection of the government' was to be closed – SAL, LCR 1561, p. 226.

⁴⁶ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 180-181.

⁴⁷ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 242.

⁴⁸ SAL, LCR 1561, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁹ These rooms were also probably referred to as 'the new teaching house' for the prayers in it were conducted by Lejzer Krohn, about whom we learn in connection with his attempts to be granted a religious post – cf.: SAL, PPG-Ant., pp. 223-227. The preserved documents are however unclear and it is possible that the Synagogue Board for a short time owned rooms for prayer in yet another building although this appears unlikely.

⁵⁰ SAL, LCR 1561, p. 91.

⁵¹ SAL, LCR 1561, p. 85.

⁵² 'adherents of Hasidism from Kock had in the Łódź community a definite advantage; and the Łódź rabbi, Ch. Nomborg, was equally a Kock Hasid (this may explain the location of the Hasid *Shitl* next to the rabbi's lodgings) – F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi...*, pp. 274, 272.

⁵³ M.M. Morgenstern was the pupil of Jakub Icchak of Przysucha and Jakub Izaak Horowic of Lublin. His teachings had an enormous influence on the later Hasidic courts in Góra Kalwaria and Aleksandrów Łódzki. The tradition of the Gera (Góra Kalwaria) derives to a large degree from Kock, while the founder of that dynasty, Icic Majer Alter studied in his youth together with Morgenstern in Przysucha. For more cf.: J. Frenkel, *Rozwój chasydyzmu wśród Żydów w Polsce poroborowej (1795-1918)*, [in:] *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, ed. by I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Haffika, Warszawa [1933], p. 516; M. Wodziński, *Groby cadyków w Polsce. O chasydzkiej literaturze nagrobnej i jej kontekstach*, Wrocław 1998, p. 195; A. Grupańska, *Najtrudniej jest spotkać Lilit. Opowieści chasydek*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 60-61.

II. THE COMMUNAL SYNAGOGUE AT WOLBORSKA STREET 20

The previous communal synagogue¹ had been too small and neglected for it to have served as the Jewish Synagogue of worship in a developing town where the number of Jews was constantly on the increase – even the plot upon which it was located was too small for it to house an adequately proportioned building². The Synagogical Supervisors began the process of purchasing a suitable site, although, due to the laws in force at the time concerning the settlement of Jews, such a property could only be situated within the borders of the so-called 'Jewish district' (the area of the city in which they had the right to settle)³. On the 24th of June/6th of July 1858 'the synagogue representatives [!] of the Orthodox district': Mojżesz Lipszyc, Szmul Saltzman, Lejzer Berger, Enoch Goldberg and Jakub Dobranicki acquired for 11,000 Polish zloty (1,650 silver roubles) from a certain Grzegorz Zakrzewski, by an act drawn up by the Łódź notary public Kajetan Szczawiński, 'a house with a built-up square, bordering on the parish gardens and Mrs Suchecka square leading from Wolborska Street to the border of Saltzman's square located then at number 35, at present 202 Wolborska Street in the old town of Łódź'⁴. The square mentioned was located in an area whose inclusion within the district had been decided upon already in 1841, yet the matter was still, however, being looked into by the Warsaw authorities⁵. For those persons, however, signing the notary public's act it belonged already in fact to the district⁶. Behind the concept of 'synagogue representatives' there probably lay an informal building committee for the synagogue, as there was a different composition of the Synagogical Supervisors at that time. We become partly acquainted with it from the deed of donation drawn up two days earlier at that self same notary public's in which 'Mojżesz Lipszyc the rabbi of the local synagogue, Jakub Boehm, Moryc Zund [Zand] merchants, the Synagogue Supervisors' accept from Sz. Saltzman the donation of a part of the square 'of an empty building site with a garden at Wolborska Street situated in the Orthodox district [...] between Sebastian Kozulski ground and the parish grounds' for 'the construction of a Jewish

¹ Cf. chapter I.

² K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta*, Łódź 1995, p. 47.

³ For more details cf. F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi od początków osadnictwa Żydów do r. 1863. Stosunki ludnościowe, życie gospodarcze, stosunki społeczne*, Łódź 1935, pp. 43-70.

⁴ The Regional Court Archive in Łódź (further: RCL), XX Real Estate Registers Department (further: RERD), repertory number 6528, brief of documents no 1.

⁵ F. Friedman, *Dzieje...*, pp. 55-56.

⁶ RCL, XX RERD, repertory number 6528, brief of documents no. 1.

house of prayer⁷. The matter of the renouncement on the part of the married couple Szulim and Dwojra Reichenbach of a part of ground measuring 'ninety ell by the new Polish measure [...] of a width of two houses' for the building of the synagogue is unclear, for the notary public's act relating to the aforementioned renouncement, though preserved in the body of the Łódź Jewish Community⁸, is not mentioned in later sources. We do not know, therefore, whether the deed of donation was finally confirmed, and whether it reached finalization.

The plots obtained were later to receive the joint mortgage registration number 202. A register of mortgages⁹ was quickly opened for them.

At the same time the district started a collection for donations for the building of the synagogue, as well as ordering Jan Karol Mertsching, the district architect, to draw up plans and building costs, which was a result of the haste needed because of the deteriorating state of the synagogue and the lack of anywhere to hold services¹⁰. When on the 16th of February 1859 there took place a meeting of the Łódź Municipal Authorities and the Synagogical Supervisors concerning the matter of the building of the new synagogue¹¹, the Supervisors already possessed a significant sum which had come from voluntary donations as well as design documentation: three tables of drawings and an estimate of costs based on 25,553.43 and three quarters silver roubles. The construction was to be carried out by 'administrative means' without the taking place of a bid for tender by private industrialists, under the direction of a specially selected and inaugurated building committee. Funds for the building were intended to be forthcoming from: 1. deposits in the Polish Bank (1,700 silver roubles¹²), 2. voluntary donations collected (5,614.45 silver roubles)¹³, 3. the gift of donation from the heirs of Icek Seideman (1,350 silver roubles), 4. 'the expected sale of pews in the synagogue' (4,500 silver roubles). The 12,388 silver roubles lacking from the estimated costs quoted were expected to be raised from 'other voluntary donations or through estimated repartition of the contribution to the community'¹⁴. The

⁷ RCL, XX RERD, repertory number 6528, brief of documents no 2.

⁸ The State Archive in Łódź (SAL), the Łódź Jewish Denominational Community (LJDC) 138, pp. 6-8.

⁹ It was given the mortgage registration number 238. Cf.: RCL, XX RERD, repertory number 6528, brief of documents nos. 3 and 4.

¹⁰ This led to the Supervisory Board deciding to use the buildings situated within the ground purchased from G. Zakrzewski as a temporary meeting place for worship – SAL, Łódź City Records (later: LCR) 1566, p. 958.

¹¹ Cf.: *Protokół konferencji Magistratu m. Łodzi i Dozoru Bożniczego w sprawie budowy nowej bóżnicy przy ul. Wolborskiej nr 202, 16.02.1859*, [in:] *Początki rozwoju kapitalistycznego Łodzi (1820-1864)*. Źródła, Edited by A. Rynkowska, Warszawa 1960, pp. 455-456.

¹² This deposit came from synagogue donations, intentionally raised above current needs, cf.: SAL, The Anterior of the Piotrków Provincial Government (later: PPG-Ant.) 2534, pp. 72-75, 103-106, 109-112, 135-136, 159. It was designated for building purposes at the turn of 1860 – SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, pp. 863-864, 868; SAL, PPG-Ant. 2535.

¹³ Cf. equally: SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, pp. 851-852.

¹⁴ *Protokół...*, p. 456.

members of the Synagogue Building Committee were: Sz. Saltzman, Dawid Dembiński, Józef Zand, Samuel Lande, Icek Weyland, Lewek Eksztein, Lewek Sejdler (Zajdler)¹⁵.

On the 6th of June 1859 the design, together with the estimation of costs, was officially presented by the Warsaw Provincial Authorities to the Governmental Commission for Internal and Religious Affairs¹⁶. The designs reached the Department of Industry and Craft of the self same Ruling Commission on the 14th of June 1859. The matter was read by a member of the General Construction Committee Adolf Loewe; including next to the main entrance two emergency exits were introduced into the side naves, the spiral staircase without landings was replaced by stairs broken by landings, the area of the nave was to be increased at the expense of the vestibule, the windows in two storeys to be replaced by high windows in one level, the removal of windows in the east-facing wall, a shortening of the length of the gallery for women. The building maintained, however, its stylised Byzantine-Moorish character, emphasising the linkage of Jews with the culture of the Near East¹⁷.

The construction of the synagogue was started more than probably in the autumn of 1859. The walls were put up in the spring of the following year. During this period¹⁸ numerous synagogue pews were sold. Pew no 1 – as a gift – was assigned to the rabbi, there occurred a fierce struggle for pew no 2, a struggle in which S. Lande¹⁹ emerged victorious ('it cost' him 223 silver roubles). An even more intense struggle surrounded the next pew, the result of which saw Bernard Ginsberg obtaining it for 225 silver roubles. The fourth pew was bought by J. Zand for 217 silver roubles. The fifth was bought by L. Zajdler, who beat Izrael Poznański to it (at that time at the start of his career), for 215 silver roubles. The sixth M. Lipszyc bought for 203 silver roubles, the seventh Jakub Frenkel for 220 silver roubles, the eighth, for the self same sum, was purchased by Salomon Sajdeman (Seideman).

For certain from September 1861, i.e. from the moment of the final closure of the former synagogue, services took place in the new, still incomplete, building²⁰. The large increase in the cost of cotton, brought about by the Civil War in the United States ('cotton starvation'), which had brought about an industrial crisis in Łódź, reflected equally upon the possibilities of financing the further building of the synagogue (the poor state of the building was the cause of the

¹⁵ SAL, Łódź City Records (later: LCR) 1562, pp. 21-23.

¹⁶ The Central Archive of Historical Records (later CAHR), the Central Denominational Authorities (later: CDA) 1712, pp. 124-127. The estimation of costs is a supplement to the design and is found on pp. 127-135.

¹⁷ CAHR, CDA 1712, pp. 136-138; K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁸ Cf.: SAL, LCR 1562, pp. 610-620.

¹⁹ S. Przygodzki has recently provided a lot of information on S. Lande, his father, in an article devoted to him, *Dawid Lande 1796-1858. Kupiec i przemysłowiec. Szkic do portretu polskiego bourgeoisie*, 'Rocznik Łódzki' vol. 44, pp. 119, 125-127, 130-133.

²⁰ In the building there were still no pews, cf.: SAL, PPG-Ant. 2535, pp. 282-287; H. Banner *Gmina żydowska w Łodzi: Krótki zarys dziejów ustrojowo-gospodarczych*, Łódź 1938, p. 22.

tragedy during the Rosh Hashanah New Year celebrations in 1863 as a result of panic 11 women were killed and almost 30 people were injured). In 1863 all funds were already exhausted and the Building Committee obtained finally in the June of the year finally permission from the Warsaw authorities to finance the undertaking from the Supervisory Board's budget surpluses²¹.

Building problems did not cease with the return of a favourable economic situation in 1865²² – their chief reason being the abolition of the district.

The Building Committee wrote in a report to the Municipal Authorities:

Out of the kindness of the merciful authorities Orthodox inhabitants have been allowed to move from the district to live in various parts of the city about 6 versts; who have established themselves in private houses of prayer and as a consequence do not need to purchase pews in a large expensive synagogue, therefore the Committee does not possess the funds to complete the synagogue, this all the more being the case as the synagogue has to answer for the burdening debts incurred for the materials to construct the synagogue – consequently it has the honour to ask his Eminence the Mayor for the merciful obtainment from higher authorities of permission for the formulation of repartition on those inhabitants who have separated from purchasing pews in the synagogue in comparison to their laws e.g. Christians who consider that donations for the construction of a church are to be provided [!]²³.

Only in 1871 was the building considered to be finally completed, although it had still to be plastered, while the joinery and pews were of a temporary nature. This state was to persist until extensive renovation work was undertaken in 1897²⁴.

The synagogue functioned normally for the whole period. Services were conducted in it as bear witness, for example, the sizeable outgoings on lighting and heating²⁵. The leasing of 30 pews in the synagogue (together with the franchising of the income from burials at the cemetery) gave an income for the end of the 1870s of 70.22 roubles; the lessee was at the time August Baruch²⁶ (in the 1890s this income was leased by the less well known Mendel Kon²⁷).

At this time the income generated by the Pentateuch rolls was 502 roubles²⁸. It was given to the lessee who charged for the reading of the Pentateuch roll in

²¹ This was almost 454 roubles cf.: SAL, PPG-Ant. 2535 pp. 197-200, 205, 207-208.

²² The years 1865-1873 were a period of fervent development for Łódź industry, cf.: K. Badiak, W. Puś, *Gospodarka Łodzi w okresie kapitalistycznym (do 1918 r.)*, [in:] *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, edited by R. Rosin, vol. 1, *Do 1918 r.*, edited by B. Baranowski, J. Fijałek, Warszawa 1980, pp. 244, 264; I. Ichnatowicz, *Przemysł łódzki w latach 1860-1900*, Wrocław 1965, p. 22.

²³ SAL, LCR 1562, pp. 606-607, 662.

²⁴ SAL, LJDC 473.

²⁵ In 1875 the Synagogue Supervisors estimated that for the lighting and heating of the synagogue and school at Wolborska Street it was needed to assign 5 *свечи* of pine and 10 of oak as well as 650 pounds of *стеровые* candles and 1000 pounds of *саловые*, SAL, LCR 7143, card 118.

²⁶ SAL, LCR 7144, unnumbered. For more details about A. Baruch see the chapter III.

²⁷ SAL, LCR 7157, unnumbered.

²⁸ SAL, LCR 7143, card 119. In the 1870s the incomes from houses of prayer were set out in detail in the leasehold agreement, cf.: SAL, LCR 7144, unnumbered.

the synagogue, in Beth ha-Midrash as well – up until the 1880s – in private houses of prayer. The detailed resolutions of the contracts entered upon determined that the reading of the Pentateuch roll was divided into 8 parts (places). The rabbi was especially privileged having the right to a free reading of the third place every Saturday. Besides which during the holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur there were to be found two free places at the disposition of the Synagogical Supervisors 'for individuals outstanding in prayer'. For the remaining places the lessee charged a fee – from 4 kopecks for the first place and up to 10 kopecks for the eighth²⁹.

At the beginning of 1876 the Supervisors employed a second cantor – Izrael Chałów – at an annual salary of 200 roubles and 100 roubles for the renting of accommodation³⁰. In 1882 the cantors received an increased salary: the first cantor – 465, the second – 300 roubles as well as each receiving 150 roubles for accommodation³¹. In 1896 their salaries increased again: the first cantor received 678, the second – 450 as well as each receiving 150 roubles for accommodation³². A special synagogue caretaker was also employed. In the 1870s the post was held by Dawid Bornszejn, and following his death in 1873 by his son Szlama³³.

In 1887 the Warsaw craftsmen Zygmunt and Julian Klauzenberg produced an Aron ha-Kodesh, funded by Dawid Izraelowicz, an inhabitant of Łódź, for the synagogue. The contract signed with the producers described the gift in the following way:

The Holy Ark should be raised two ell seventeen inches above the floor and the width of the pine pedestal should be four ells and one inch, and the depth of the pedestal should be, besides the width of the steps, three ell, steps divided into two parts should lead to the ark between which there will be the pulpit for the cantor, around the steps on four sides will be a gallery with ash railings, and decorative cast iron banisters – the steps and gallery should be in proportion to the whole of the ark and pedestal – besides being ornate the pedestal should be equipped firmly and appropriately with its purpose.

The Holy Ark will be of the measurements: the central part from the pedestal to the final crown will be ten ell long, the width three ell and twelve inches, the side parts on both sides will be three ell wide and seven ell high – each will be accurately produced according to the signed plan by both contractors, the body will be of pine with the relief carvings of lime, the parts marked on the drawing in yellow should be gilded with real gold; in general both in relation to the sculpture as the gilding Messrs Klauzenbergs should keep strictly to the drawing. On the plaque above which is situated the Crown of the Ten Commandments are to be engraved on the relief in Hebrew in gold letters which Messrs Klauzenberg will inscribe according to the instructions of the Rabbi for the City of Łódź. The doors should be in proportion to the ark and the inside should be inscribed in Hebrew.

²⁹ Cf. for example: SAL, LCR 7147, card 17-18. In the 1880s the conditions of leasing, including the price for a reading of the Pentateuch roll, did not change, cf.: SAL, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

³⁰ SAL, LCR 7145, card 100; SAL, LCR 7145, card 92.

³¹ SAL, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

³² SAL, LCR 7157, unnumbered.

³³ SAL, LCR 7142, unnumbered; SAL, LCR 7143, card 27.

Messrs Klauzenberg will paint the interior of the ark with oil paint a light blue *himmelblau* – and are obliged internally to make a compartment so that the Pentateuch rolls can be placed in two compartments, upper and lower³⁴.

The growth in the number of private houses of prayer led to a fall off in incomes for the communal synagogue making its completion impossible. The Synagogical Supervisors applied to have existing private houses of prayer limited or even closed down, in order to increase the income for the neglected communal synagogue³⁵, about which 'Dziennik Łódzki' wrote:

It is difficult to conceive the neglect in which the synagogue on the Stary Rynek finds itself in. The building itself is very beautiful, especially the interior, yet the present state of things destroys the whole effect. For twenty years since its erection the discussed synagogue has still to be plastered. Its interior was redone a few years ago, but even so its walls, from the top to the floor, are dirty and desperately in need of renovation. Both the main doors, as well as the side doors, are poorly matched, dirty and through the cracks in them the divine world can be seen [...]. The pews inside are nailed together from rough planks³⁶.

It was chiefly representatives of the lowest layers of Jewish society³⁷ living in the Old Town who attended the unfinished synagogue (F. Guesnet's view that the building was not used until the end of the nineteenth century³⁸ is therefore incorrect).

Łódź's Jewish community realised the importance of completing the building and particularly the complete renovation of the building structure. The local authorities were also of a similar view. At the turn of 1880 preparations for collections amongst the Jews of Łódź, for this purpose, were well advanced. It is known, among other things, that at the head of the committee for collecting contributions, that had been confirmed by the provincial authorities, were to stand: Herman Konsztadt, J. Dobranicki and A. Prussak³⁹. The initiative was lost however, more than likely as a result of the heightening internal conflicts within Łódź's Jewish community (between Orthodox Jews and adherents of reformed Judaism⁴⁰, and also between the followers of specific Hasidic groupings), which revealed itself in attendance at separate houses of prayer and not at the commu-

³⁴ SAŁ, ŁJDC 4, pp. 218-220. According to the agreement I. Poznański (at the time a member of the Synagogue Supervisors) was to oversee the realization of the contract with the two craftsmen, and was even entrusted to change its settlement. It is therefore possible that the funds for the Aron ha-kodesh came from illegal contributions given by the faithful whose representative was D. Izraelowicz. This matter – given the lack of sources – is surely now impossible to ultimately determine.

³⁵ For more details see the chapter VII.

³⁶ *Kronika Łódzka*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1885, no. 200, p.2.

³⁷ SAŁ, LCR 7152, unnumbered; SAŁ, ŁJDC 4, p. 117.

³⁸ F. Guesnet, *Żydowskie i niemieckie organizacje w Łodzi XIX wieku: typy i stosunki*, [in:] *Polacy-Niemcy-Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX i XX w. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy*, edited by P. Samusia, Łódź 1997, p. 171.

³⁹ SAŁ, LCR 7148, card 11-1v; SAŁ, LCR 7148, card 3-3v.

⁴⁰ Cf. the chapter III.

nal synagogue. Such acts on the part of Łódź's Jews, according to the Synagogue Supervisor authorities, led to a significant reduction in the synagogue's income and the inability to raise sufficient funds for its renovation⁴¹.

At the beginning of the 1890s serious thought was again given to the renovation of the synagogue. In the drafting of the budget for the years 1891-1893 it was decided 'in the current year, with the aim of bringing the Jewish communal synagogue to an acceptable state, to carry out major renovation work and to plaster it, with the making of pews and other necessities'. Due to the fact that the architect Adolf Zeligson initially evaluated the costs at approximately 10,000 silver roubles, the representatives of the Jewish bourgeois, I. Poznański, H. Konstadt and others agreed to cover the costs in advance while the Synagogical Supervisors were to pay them the invested sum in payments of 1,500 silver roubles annually. On the 19th of June the Piotrków Provincial Government instructed that preparations be undertaken and that site inspections be carried out (together with the city architect), followed by the subsequent drawing up of provisional costs⁴². For the budget for the years 1893-1895 provision was made – in accordance with the proposition described above – for 1,500 roubles for renovation work on the synagogue. In the Budget for 1896-1899 this figure had already risen to 3,000 roubles⁴³.

The renovation work took on a pace only in 1895 when preparations for the realisation of the renovation plan were made. The Synagogical Supervisors, together with the architect A. Zeligson, worked out a plan of the work only slightly differing from the final costs and the actual period of renovation. The cost of renovating the building was to be 59,930.24 roubles. As it turned out the offer by the great factory owners of Łódź already referred to did not reach fruition for the above mentioned sum was planned to be covered in the following way: 5,000 roubles from sources gathered for this aim in the course of the four preceding years through the location in the community budget of the appropriate entry; 15,000 from budget incomes over the course of the next five years; 15,000 from the sale of men's and women's places in the renovated synagogue; the remainder from 'voluntary contributions'⁴⁴. In actual fact the shortfall had to be covered by way of an additional contribution placed on Łódź's Jews collected over the course of two years⁴⁵. More than likely in 1897, in order to speed up the inflow of funds, the Synagogical Supervisors turned, with an appeal to the contributors to present the contributions owing as 'voluntary contributions', directly to the Synagogue's office or to Pinkus Hamburski who is entrusted to collect contributions⁴⁶.

⁴¹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 1-3. For more cf. the chapter VII.

⁴² SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 215-216; K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 132.

⁴³ SAL, LCR 7157, unnumbered.

⁴⁴ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 174-177.

⁴⁵ SAL, the Piotrków Provincial Government, Administrative Department (further: PPG-Adm.) 9044, unnumbered.

⁴⁶ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 113-114.

On the 16th of October 1895 the community authorities presented the Mayor of Łódź with a inventory of the existing state of things and the plan for the general renovation work on the synagogue, together with the estimated costs and a request for permission to sell pews in the synagogue as well as the collecting of 'voluntary gifts' to cover the costs of the renovation work. The Synagogue Supervising Body asked equally for permission to pay A. Zeligson 1,152.50 roubles⁴⁷. The Piotrków Provincial Government confirmed the plans and estimated costs of 60,506.49 silver roubles on the 13th of November 1896, and also, as results from the later course of the renovation work, gave permission for the work to be conducted in an 'economic way' without recourse to tendering, to be under the control of the Renovation Committee. The plan foresaw:

- the building of two additional stairwells from the east side, for 'during holidays, when the public from the women's galleries leave the building it becomes severely crowded and the existing stairs are insufficient';
- the provision of a second entrance in the men's part for safety reasons;
- the introduction of gas lighting to replace the hitherto used candles;
- the installation of a central heating system⁴⁸, where 'up to now the synagogue was not heated, which meant that during cold periods of the year the faithful could not visit the synagogue without risking their health'. the boiler was to be situated in the rear of the building, in the basement between the two planned stairwells. Above it was located the office and the caretaker's living quarters;
- the replacement of the rusted roof covering with galvanised sheeting
- the plastering of the synagogue with a cement mortar;
- the construction of a new Aron ha-Kodesh and bimah;
- the painting of the entire interior of the building untouched for 15 years;
- the making of new pews (the existing ones being of unplanned board);
- the replacement of the floors in the vestibules and prayer hall, the laying of tessellated floors;
- the replacement of the floors in the stairwells for non-flammable ones;
- the replacement of the floors in the women's galleries;
- the replacement of the entrance doors.

Besides which it was envisaged that a ground-floor passage building – separate for men and women – would be erected⁴⁹.

The tsarist authorities instructed that an election to the Synagogue Renovation Committee be carried out (The Construction Committee for the Restoration of

⁴⁷ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 170-171.

⁴⁸ The heating functioned – as far as one can surmise from the surviving plans – in a very modern way through the help of pipes located in the floor (Cf.: SAL, LJDC 4, p.82).

⁴⁹ SAL, LJDC 427, unnumbered; SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 43-74; SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 188-190.

the Communal Synagogue⁵⁰). The Synagogical Supervisors designated the composition of the Committee on the 20th of January 1897. It was chaired by Rabbi Elias Chaim Majzel, the members being: Ezra Szykier, Moszek Szmul Sonnenberg, Jakub Majerowicz, S. Lande, Wolf Landau, Wolf Neufeld and Izrael Olsher. The committee was equally to supervise the course of building work along with taking care of the accumulation of additional funds⁵¹. On the 5th of May 1897 the Committee's composition was confirmed by the Piotrków governor⁵², and on the 21st of May the Committee took up its duties, started accumulating building materials as well as employing workers and foremen. Initially it was unable, however, as a result of bureaucratic intransigence, to utilise the sum of 12,000 silver roubles located in the Synagogical Supervisory Board's account from the entries for the renovation of the communal synagogue situated in previous budgets (from 1891). The use of the sum, kept in a separate account of the Łódź branch of the State Bank, was reserved for the decision of the provincial authorities, which provoked the special intervention of the Synagogical Supervisory Board in the matter⁵³, supported in turn by the municipal authorities⁵⁴.

The basic part of the repair work, and in particular the reconstruction of the synagogue, was completed in the years 1897-1900 according to the plans drawn up by A. Zeligson at a cost of 80,000 roubles⁵⁵, therefore a third more than had initially been envisaged. At this same time measurement of the boundaries of the property was undertaken; undoubtedly connected with the preparation of a new city map (the so-called Starzyński map). In the 1890s these boundaries underwent certain changes which was, among other things, the result of the purchase by the Synagogue Renovation Committee of additional land. As a result the property possessing at the time a surface area of '14,365 new Polish ells square' took on the characteristic, untypical shape for maps of the twentieth century⁵⁶.

⁵⁰ Cf. footnote 53.

⁵¹ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 123, 125-126.

⁵² SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 264-265.

⁵³ As a result of the blocking of the mentioned sum the Synagogue Renovation Committee was unable to pay the suppliers of materials and those doing the work which placed it in an 'impasse', SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 119-120.

⁵⁴ SAL, PGP-Adm., 9044, unnumbered.

⁵⁵ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, pp. 46-52.

⁵⁶ Due to the lack of source data it has been so far impossible to find the notary public acts from the 1890s mentioned in the Minutes describing the boundaries of properties from the 27th of August 1898 (SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 22-24). These acts were not drawn up in accordance with the primary regulation of land registry; instead of which the then Board of the Jewish Community provided a Certification of the Municipal Building Department for Łódź as to the area of the real estate of 26.08.1931 and Certification of the Municipal Authorities in Łódź about the property registration issued on the 15.07.1932 – cf. RCL-RERD, repertory number 6528 brief of documents nos. 3 and

At the same time the Committee tried to gain help from sponsors, including Łódź Gas Works⁵⁷ as well as the Credit Society of the City of Łódź⁵⁸, which in turn gave – on the basis of the decision of the General Meeting of Members of the 16th/28th of April 1898 – a grant of 2,000 silver roubles⁵⁹. It is worth emphasising that this decision was not influenced by the conflict between a group of Christian and Jewish property owners (the latter being for a more liberal credit policy which obviously could lead to the quick development of the city but also was potentially dangerous for the credit reputability of the Society)⁶⁰.

After the concluding of the basic renovation work there still remained completion work for which a sizeable sum was allocated, within the region of 3,000 roubles annually⁶¹ – lasting right up until 1914⁶². The slow pace of work was a result of the existence of many private synagogues and houses of prayer (headed, with total independence of the Synagogical Supervisory Board, by the 'progressive' synagogue at Kościuszko Street). Such 'competition' on the part of houses of prayer (often Hasidic) was at that time a widespread process in the Polish lands that fell under Russian partition, as equally in that part of Poland under Austrian control⁶³. The mayor of Łódź claimed in 1901 that 'Jews congregating in private houses of prayer do not attend the communal synagogue and are not at all interested in its well being, and as a consequence the work, started over ten years ago, can not be completed because of a lack of money' and proposed that 'the matter of examining the issuing of permission for private houses of prayer [...] should be frozen until a time when Łódź's Jews are able to raise sufficient donations to complete the work on the communal synagogue and leave it in a fitting state'⁶⁴.

4. Compare equally SAL, LJDC 4, p. 264. As for the shape of the plot cf. the map attached to the mentioned Minutes describing the boundaries...

⁵⁷ It here indicated that 'the Israelite inhabitants of the local districts [i.e. the Old Town – J.W.] act all the time to increase the gas works income' and request a money gift or a reduction in the payments associated with the introduction of gas lighting. SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 240-241. It has been impossible to establish the outcome of the request.

⁵⁸ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 117-118.

⁵⁹ SAL, LJDC 4, p. 115, 116. The Society was at that time enjoying the best period in its history which is borne out by the high rate of its letters of charge – cf.: L. Gajewicz, *Towarzystwo Kredytowe miasta Łodzi. Sześćdziesiąt lat na posterunku pracy obywatelskiej i pomocy dla własności nieruchomości miejskiej*, Łódź 1932, pp. 47-48.

⁶⁰ Cf. in more detail: K. Badziak, *Instytucje finansowo-kredytowe w Łodzi do I wojny światowej*, 'Rocznik Łódzki' Vol. 25, 1977, pp. 98-99; W. Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi w latach zaborów. 1793-1914*, Łódź 1998, pp. 64-65; S. Pytlas, *Łódzka burżuazja przemysłowa w latach 1864-1914*, Łódź 1994, pp. 106-107.

⁶¹ Cf. e.g.: SAL, LCR 7165, unnumbered.

⁶² For these works in detail see: SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 269-279. For a representative statement of work carried out during a single financial year cf.: SAL, LJDC 4, p. 289.

⁶³ Cf. e.g.: A. Żbikowski, *Żydzi krakowscy i ich gmina w latach 1869-1919*, 2nd edition, Warszawa 1995, p. 189.

⁶⁴ SAL, PGP-Adm. 9507, unnumbered.

According to statistics for the turn of 1914 93,702.85 silver roubles had been spent on renovation work, while 93,705.41 silver roubles had been received – of which 59,394.58 from the community budget, while 34,310.83 from ‘voluntary contributions’. The renovation work was carried out by, among others, the companies: the building firm ‘Olszer and Szczeciński’, the masons Broder, the joiners Klinger, Sztiller, Weissblat, Lismann, the carpenters Szejnzilber and Feldmark, the painters Wizner, Szwarcbart, Dimant, Pomeranc and Kaliński, the glaziers Berger, M. Bauer and Walczak, the ironmonger K. Krempf, the paver Weinbaum, the electricians Rubinsztejn and Landau, the gas installers Bornsztejn and Lubiński. The duration the work took was longer than had been envisaged partly because of the installation of electricity and three electric generators for the ventilation system⁶⁵.

A historian of architecture has given the following description of the renovated synagogue:

The object was situated on a rectangular plan with a separate frontal part from the west, with a square porch in the centre that slightly projects out, flanked by two rectangular stairwells leading to the gallery. In the prayer hall on the eastern wall was the Aron ha-Kodesh preceded by a podium with steps, in the centre a square bimah. From the east a low annex with a rectangular room in the centre and two square stairwells at the sides was attached to the main mass of the building. The building was of a uniform mass with a slightly raised break in the section of the central facade. Its architecture stylistically being Moresque in form. The exterior is decorated with white and dark bands, the windows are covered with semi-circular arches, the corners lined with pilasters, while the whole was crowned by a balustraded parapet. The central part of the facade has been especially richly worked on: a portal shielded the main entrance topped with a semi-circular arch above which was a multipartite window with *oculi* in the recess, the corner pilasters were decorated with reliefs, while the entirety was crowned with tablets with the ten commandments⁶⁶.

In this form, as bear witness the photographs preserved from the inter-war period⁶⁷ as well as the lack of sizeable additional building work (besides minor repairs which often involved merely the painting of the facade), the synagogue survived right up until 1939. In the opinion of Krzysztof Stefański:

This synagogue, constituting the heart of the Old Town Jewish district, was its adornment and one of the most imposing of city buildings. And through the colourful ‘Moresque’ architectural clothing the indigenous Orthodox Jews emphasised their attachment to a religious and cultural tradition whose roots lie in the Near East, opposing the assimilative tendencies of the ‘progressive’ Jews concentrated around the synagogue in Spacerowa Street⁶⁸.

In the renovated synagogue new increased charges for the hire of pews were introduced (although this income was still leased out). The pews were divided, in accordance with the distance they were situated from the Pentateuch rolls, into

⁶⁵ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 269-279.

⁶⁶ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 133.

⁶⁷ Cf. K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, illus. 55. The photograph from the inter-war years from the Mechanised Documentation Archive, I-U-3892.

⁶⁸ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 133.

five classes: class I (1-3 rows from the Pentateuch rolls) 'cost' 90 kopecks a year, class five (the twelfth and further rows) – 30 kopecks⁶⁹. The level of payment indicated that those who made up the congregation at the communal synagogue still were far from the best social layers of Jewish society. There were besides leased-out pews also places that could be bought outright; their owners had to their disposition not only a pew in the men's part, but its corresponding place in the gallery, in the women's part⁷⁰. The pay of the synagogue staff also rose, chiefly that of the 1st cantor who received 1,000 roubles plus 250 roubles for accommodation. The 2nd cantor, Hilel Alterman, received, however, 450 roubles plus 150 for accommodation (his duties were probably chiefly carried out in the reformed synagogue at Promenadowa-Spacerowa Street)⁷¹.

It appears that from the start of the twentieth century the Synagogue Committee had direct control over, and administration of, the communal synagogue, being made up of individuals called 'the synagogue elders' (*gabaim*)⁷². The synagogue budget at this time was apportioned from the general community budget⁷³; it still was enriched by the voluntary donations of those who attended the communal synagogue – which generated annually several thousand roubles (4,339.42 roubles in 1912, 5,037.2 in 1913). The synagogue employed its own cashier, additionally paid a cantor, choir, shammas, and also covered running costs and minor repairs⁷⁴.

During the Battle of Łódź in November 1914 as a result of German artillery bombardment together with the dismantlement of the wooden fence by people looking for fuel, the property made a loss of 2,639 roubles. The front facade was damaged, the roof was holed, panes broken⁷⁵.

Following the defeat suffered by the Russian forces in the Battle of Łódź, the city found itself under German occupation. The new authorities had different plans concerning the Jews than the Russians had had – including the idea of winning them over for German policy in Poland⁷⁶. In the area of the Congress

⁶⁹ SAL, LCR 7161, unnumbered; SAL, LCR 7165, unnumbered.

⁷⁰ SAL, LCR 7162, unnumbered. This was in accordance with the custom that operated in other parts of the Congress Kingdom cf.: SAL, LCR 7162, unnumbered.

⁷¹ SAL, LCR 7165, unnumbered. On the role of H. Alterman and the reasons for his employment on a Synagogue Supervisory Board contract cf. the chapter on the synagogue at Kościuszko Street 2.

⁷² SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 333-334. It is possible that it arose in the course of the gradual transformation and expansion of the Synagogue Renovation Committee's duties, for an institution with such a name continued in contacts with the Russian authorities (SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 16-17).

⁷³ This led to misgivings on the part of the Russian authorities which led, in 1913, to the decision by the Synagogue Supervisors to once again incorporate the synagogues incomes and expenses within the general community budget, cf.: SAL, LJDC 4, p. 337.

⁷⁴ SAL, LJDC 4, pp. 293-294.

⁷⁵ Cf. for more details: SAL, The Municipal Appraisal Committee, 1307, unnumbered; SAL, LJDC 102, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶ P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, [in:] *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie (do 1950 roku)*, edited by J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1993, pp. 121-126.

Kingdom occupied by the Central Powers there were eased, in comparison to the pre-war period, restrictions on social activities – many political parties were able to develop and function legally. The composition of the Jewish community authorities also changed, the role played by assimilators rose⁷⁷. The community started to function according to new models, although still not able to believe in the actual end of Russian rule in Łódź. The best example of which is the recommendation by the Board of the Orthodox Community directed to the Synagogue Committee of June 1917:

We kindly request that the prayers for the emperor in Russian and Hebrew be removed from the synagogue wall and carefully stored⁷⁸.

Clearly visible was the aim on the part of the Synagogue Committee⁷⁹ to introduce concrete regulations for the use of the synagogue by its Orthodox congregation. From the 1st of May 1916 the following rules were introduced:

- 1 a) on Saturdays worship takes place: mornings from 5 to 12, evenings from 6-10
- 1 b) on weekdays: mornings from 5 to 9, evenings from 6 – 10;
- 2) The faithful are asked to behave accordingly in the synagogue as well as keeping the building clean;
- 3) Synagogue staff must act according to each instruction issued by members of the Synagogue Committee; the faithful must act in accordance with all decrees of the Members of the Committee as well as the synagogue shammes;
- 4) In the case of violation of the above the faithful will be made responsible and the synagogue will be closed⁸⁰.

At the same time the Synagogue Committee approached the Community Board to embark upon steps necessary for sanitary reasons: the termination of the sale of herrings in the 'synagogue square' and the removal of the lavatories situated opposite the synagogue. One should suppose that these radical actions directed against the habits of the majority of hitherto users of the Synagogue led to conflict between them and those advocating a modernisation of the way the synagogue functioned⁸¹.

An expression of the new order was the conferment on the Synagogue Committee in 1917 of regulations modelled partly on the *Regulations and Elec-*

⁷⁷ Cf.: *Sprawozdanie Zarządu Łódzkiej Gminy Starozakonnych za czas od listopada 1914 r. do 31 grudnia 1915 r.*, Łódź 1916, pp. 2-6.

⁷⁸ SAL, LJDC 104, p. 16.

⁷⁹ The then make-up of the Committee: E. Szykier (chairman), Zygmunt lande, Abram S. Freund (delegates of the Community Board), M. Warszawski, Sz. Z. Sender, B. Abramowicz, M. L. Lubochiński, M. Zaleman – *Sprawozdanie Zarządu Łódzkiej Gminy Starozakonnych za 1916 rok*, Łódź 1917, p. 4.

⁸⁰ SAL, LJDC 104, pp. 1-2.

⁸¹ Cf. e.g.: SAL, LJDC 104, p. 40.

*toral Ordination for Synagogues Being the Property of the Israelite Community in Cracow*⁸². It resolved⁸³ that the Committee's task is 'supervision of the synagogue's internal order, economic functioning and the conducting of prayers in accordance with ritual regulations'. With the approbation of the Community Board the committee could employ and dismiss those employed 'completely': the cantor's assistant, choir and synagogue staff. The following came within the range of the Committee's duties:

- a) vigilance over the order of prayer;
- b) vigilance over the 'the torahs' together with the silver ornaments and the synagogue's contents according to the relevant invoice;
- c) taking care that dignity, in keeping with a Synagogue, was maintained within the synagogue premises;
- d) the charging for places in the synagogue;
- e) the charging of 'mitzvot' with the issuing of the said;
- f) the supervision of the lighting in the synagogue.

The Community Board was responsible for decisions on matters of all kinds of 'alterations and changes in the buildings'. The Committee did its own accounts and receipts, controlled, however, by the Community Board. The regulations also envisaged the existence (besides the Committee) of the position of guardian delegate of the Community Board⁸⁴ and his deputies who possessed the exclusive right to call sittings of the organ.

From autumn 1917 to spring 1918 an open conflict lasted between the representatives of the religious Zionists ('Mizrachi') and other groups of Orthodox Jews, trying to force control over the synagogue authorities, and the authorities of the Łódź district, the beginnings of which was the undemocratic election, conducted by the Community Board, of members of the Synagogue Committee from amongst the 20 candidates put forward by the self same Committee that was stepping down⁸⁵.

On the 2nd of February 1918, without informing the district authorities⁸⁶, 95 people (a figure constituting even 8% of all those praying in the synagogue) chose at a meeting, headed by the Orthodox city councillor Majer Karpf, seven members to make up the composition of the Synagogue Board ('Verwaltung'): the property owner Josele Cecemski, the merchants M. Warszawski, Uszer Bornstein, Emanuel Sieradzki, Kalman Heber and Mendel Buchweitz as well as

⁸² The text of the regulations was preserved in the acts of the Łódź community – SAL, LJDC 52, pp. 1-4. On the way the Cracow synagogues were administered cf.: A Żbikowski, op. cit., p. 184, 187-188.

⁸³ SAL, LJDC 140, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁴ This function was fulfilled at the beginning of 1918 by E. Szykier – cf.: SAL, LJDC 140, p. 16.

⁸⁵ SAL, LJDC 104, p. 19. The new Committee took over the synagogue on the 11th of October 1917 and was composed of the following individuals: S. Berko, Sz. Fein, D. Hendeles, J. Kohn, J. Widawski, C. Wolkowicz, H. Wróblewski, A. Sender, L. Urbach, H. Zytner – *Sprawozdanie Zarządu Łódzkiej Gminy Starozakonnych za 1917 rok*, Łódź 1918, p. 4.

⁸⁶ They were protesting against the plans to conduct elections at which the initiators of the idea finally gained the permission of the occupying powers – cf.: SAL, LJDC 104, p. 52-54.

one of the representatives of the Orthodox in the City Council Chil Icek Berman, and also 6 deputies, a cashier, the manager and a three-person auditing committee, made up of city councillors (Mojżesz Helman of 'Mizrachi', M. Karpf and M. N. Russ – a Hasid tzaddik from Aleksandrów Łódzki)⁸⁷. It is characteristic that almost a half of the members of the elected authorities did not reside in the Old Town; and many represented well-situated individuals (e.g. the owners of tenement buildings). The composition of the synagogue authorities clearly differed from the class structure of the faithful.

The result of the elections brought forwards protests from: several participants unhappy with the outcome, including the Hasidic tzaddik from Góra Kalwaria (The Orthodox Association 'Agudas-ha-Ortodoksim'), the faithful praying in the synagogue, and first and foremostly the district authorities who argued that many of those who had taken part in the meeting and election did not attend the communal synagogue and did not possess purchased pews there, that the Synagogue itself was nobody's private property but rather belonged to the denominational community which had the right to administer it. The district authorities did not recognise the elected committee. An additional problem turned out to be the fact that the Committee that had been functioning until 1917 equally did not want to recognise the new authorities appointed by the Community. In a situation of 'three-way power' there were constantly disagreements in the synagogue, the voluntarily delivered speeches by adherents of Zionism more political in character than religious etc. Finally, with the aim of solving the delicate problem, on the 27th of May 1918 'including the representatives of all the groupings who pray in the synagogue at Wolborska Street there took place the election of a Committee comprised of 6 individuals; K. Heber, Mendel Zalcberg, Abraham Warszawski, Szoel Fein, Lejzer Urbach and Symche Berke⁸⁸.

During the First World War both ceremonies to mark Polish national holidays, chiefly the 3rd of May⁸⁹ as ceremonies organised by Zionists (the service to commemorate the anniversary of the death of the founder of the Zionist movement Teodor Herzl, or the funeral service for the dead member of the Zionist Organisation Jechiel Czlenów) were upheld⁹⁰.

The gaining by Poland of independence and the creation of new authorities in Łódź, as with every revolutionary event in history, was linked to a momentary weakening in public safety, as equally with the appearance of all sorts of rumours

⁸⁷ SAL, LJDC 104, p. 61.

⁸⁸ SAL, LJDC 140, p. 17, 23, 28, 58, 63-68, 70, 78-79.

⁸⁹ Cf., for example, the documentation contained in the preserved community acts: SAL, LJDC 87, *passim*; Here are several quotes: at Wolborska Street 'the guard of honour in the synagogue was the scouts and guides of the Tadeusz Kościuszko scout pack together with the Union of Polish Youth of Jewish Extraction (Zagiew). In front of the altar there was placed the guard of honour, at the ensigns – the Kościuszko pack.' Izidor Szwarcman 'in lofty words [...] he expressed the attachment and love of Jewish citizens for the Polish lands'. Cf. equally: SAL, LJDC 140, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Cf., for example: SAL, LJDC 140, p. 10, 36.

and suspicions about minority groups, especially Jews, accusing them of acting against the interests of Polish society and tendencies to gain special privileges at odds with the interests of the reborn state. More than likely on the basis of information about the creation of Jewish paramilitary formations, hostilely disposed towards the Polish state⁹¹, there took place a search for fire arms allegedly held by Jews. On the 14th of November 1918 at night (only a couple of days after the withdrawal of the invader from Łódź) an undefined number of individuals carried out a search of the synagogue and the house of prayer situated next to it. In the days that followed rumours appeared reporting on the successful conclusion to the search. In actual fact it turned out that in the conditions of chaos at the time rife in the city, the search had been of a usurpory character with the police and army authorities claiming that they had nothing to do with the matter at all⁹².

The relations of the new authorities to the activities of individual Jewish groups was characterised by a clear reserve (particularly the relationship towards Zionists, whose policies were considered to be at odds with the interests of the recreated Polish state)⁹³. The synagogue came under discreet police surveillance, and in May 1919 following the claim that 'during a service propaganda is disseminated, having nothing to do with religion, and having a political foundation' the police intervened in the Community Board⁹⁴. The Orthodox Community Board, having learnt by this experience, gave permission for the organisation of a service on the 18th of July 1919 to commemorate T. Herzl 'without, however, the propagation of agitating speeches'⁹⁵. At the same time, on the 3rd of May 1919, in keeping with the tradition that had arisen during the First World War there was held in the synagogue – with the participation of the head rabbi L. Treistman – a ceremonial service to mark the occasion of the state holiday⁹⁶.

In 1920 there arose a conflict between the cantor and the synagogue staff and the Synagogue Committee over pay⁹⁷. The faithful stood on the side of the cantor as a result of which the Committee met the demands of their employees re-

⁹¹ For more cf. C. Brzoza, *Próby utworzenia żydowskiej organizacji paramilitarnej w Krakowie w 1918r.*, 'Studia Historyczne' Vol. 32, 1989, fascicle 2, pp. 303-306.

⁹² SAL, LJDC 240, p. 1-2.

⁹³ Cf. J. Tomaszewski, *Niepodległa Rzeczpospolita*, [in:] *Najnowsze...*, pp. 154-156.

⁹⁴ SAL, LJDC 204, p. 7. Police anxiety was all the more understandable for at this time the result of the so-called small Versaille treaty was decided upon placing obligations on Poland in respect to the protection of minorities, cf.: W. Michowicz, *Walka dyplomacji polskiej przeciwko traktatowi mniejszościowemu w Lidze Narodów in 1934 r.*, Łódź 1963, pp. 11-13. Already in January 1919 the Community Board strove to establish control over the contents of sermons and speeches given in the synagogue, entrusting it to the head rabbi, L. Treistman, cf.: SAL, LJDC 204, p. 13.

⁹⁵ SAL, LJDC 204, p. 2.

⁹⁶ SAL, LJDC 204, p. 9.

⁹⁷ The cantor Perlmutter wrote on the 22nd of February 1920 to the Community Board 'the salary [...] I get (275 marks monthly) is insufficient to feed one person in the difficult conditions we are living through. I therefore kindly request that the Community Board graciously increase my salary to at least 1000 marks a month' – SAL, LJDC 281, unnumbered.

garding rises (it had been demanded that the cantor earned 250 Polish marks a week, the rest of the staff – 50 Polish marks⁹⁸). Requests for pay increases arose together with the growth of inflation – e.g. in August 1921 the cantor L. Perlmutter even asked for a 100% pay rise⁹⁹. There still existed – though to a less visible degree – a conflict between the Jews who prayed at the synagogue. This became inflamed in 1922 when the Synagogue Committee attempted to remove the hitherto shammas¹⁰⁰. More than likely once again elections had been announced without the knowledge and permission of the Community Board which removed from A. Warszawski, the possible leader of the group of opponents, the synagogue silver possessed by him and, as may be implied, threatened to have him removed from the make-up of the Committee in the event of a continuation of hitherto activities¹⁰¹.

Not much information about the Synagogue Committee's actions was preserved for later years. We know, however, that in 1928 it was subject to the community Synagogue Committee and Beth ha-Midrash, whose chairman was Lejzer H. Berger – the most powerful rival in later years to J. L. Minberg in the running of the district¹⁰², the vice-chairman – Sz Liberman, a member – Elias Karo¹⁰³. Within the composition of the Committee were: S. Berke, Sz. Fajn, M. L. Lubochiński, Sz. Z. Sender (manager), A. Warszawski (treasurer), L. Wetsztajn, I. Widawski, B. W. Wiązowski (auditor), H. Wróblewski (secretary) and M. Zalcberg¹⁰⁴ – to a large degree individuals active within it since the times of the First World War. In mid September 1929 there took place the subsequent elections to the Synagogue Committee. At that time the following entered into its structure: B. Wiązowski (chairman), S. Berke (vice-chairman), M. Pantel (secretary), Sz. Z. Sender (manager), L. Domb, G. Brenzel, M. Sz. Lubochiński, M. Zalcberg, A. Wetsztajn, H. Sochaczewski, B. Wolkowicz, H. Wróblewski, S. Drukier and Sz. Fajn¹⁰⁵. Attempts to discover the composition of the Committee in the 1930s have met with no success.

In the inter-war years the questions associated with the sale and leasing of pews in the synagogue were within the immediate responsibility of the Community Board. Pews were leased out for longer periods of time, or simply for

⁹⁸ SAL, LJDC 281, unnumbered.

⁹⁹ SAL, LJDC 307, unnumbered.

¹⁰⁰ SAL, LJDC 324, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ The said silver was: '4 silver trays, 2 silver crowns, 2 silver pointers for reading the Pentateuch rolls, 4 silver component parts of the Pentateuch rolls and 1 silver candelabrum for six candles' – SAL, LJDC 324, p. 15.

¹⁰² Cf., for example: SAL, Łódź Voivodeship 2507/k, pp. 488-489.

¹⁰³ *Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w 1928 r.*, Łódź 1929, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁵ *Nowy komitet synagogi gminnej*, 'Kronika Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Łodzi' 1929 nos. 2/3, p. 44.

holiday festivities¹⁰⁶. The Community Authorities also supervised the more important renovation work inspected by the Synagogue Committee¹⁰⁷, while the latter paid for the synagogue staff and minor repairs out of the donations collected in the Synagogue¹⁰⁸.

In accordance with the old town tradition 'during Jewish festive holidays, i.e. on the Day of Expiation and the last day of the Feast of the Tabernacles, women from time immemorial were not allowed into the Synagogue at Wolborska Street to avoid undesirable results, accidents and public disturbance'. In the 1920s this aroused the increasing opposition of women and the Community Board had to ask for a police company to keep order outside the synagogue¹⁰⁹. The police intervened equally in the matter of thefts carried out at the synagogue – in 1923 twice a sizeable number of 'electric lamps' disappeared, yet the perpetrators were not found¹¹⁰.

In 1928 the Community Board hired a 25 strong choir with the conductor I. Rubin¹¹¹. In 1929 Oszer Winograd, who has previously worked in Grodno, was employed following the death of the cantor Gerszon Joselewicz¹¹². In this period, despite the significant payments for pews, the synagogue was not a self financing institution. The budget for 1929 envisaged an expenditure of 36,740 zloty against an income of 21,600 zloty (of which 13,600 zloty was for 1,401 places in the synagogue payable at rates from 3 to 60 zloty). Expenditure was chiefly made up of the salaries for the synagogue staff (the cantor – 600 zloty a month), costs of fuel, electric and gas lighting, the maintaining of a choir¹¹³. Up until 1936 both incomes and expenditure fell, yet the deficit still remained¹¹⁴.

Only in 1934 did the Denominational Community Board proceed to the primary regulation of the mortgage of the entire property at Wolborska Street 20. On the 27th of March the representatives of the Board submitted the necessary documents. They did not supply, however, the mortgage acts which applied to the whole surface area of the real estate, based on the declaration of ownership by the then Synagogical Supervisors of a property of an identical shape made in 1897¹¹⁵. On the 21st of September 1934 the regulation of the mortgage was

¹⁰⁶ SAL, LJDC 281, unnumbered; ŚAL, LJDC 307, unnumbered.

¹⁰⁷ SAL, LJDC 324, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Cf., for example: SAL, LJDC 324, pp. 11-12; *Bilans Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Łodzi za 1928 rok*, [in:] *Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w 1928 r.*, Łódź 1929, unnumbered.

¹⁰⁹ SAL, LJDC 324, p. 25.

¹¹⁰ SAL, LJDC 341, p. 3; SAL, LJDC 341, p. 14.

¹¹¹ *Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w 1928 r.*, Łódź 1929, p. 43.

¹¹² *Nowy kantor*, 'Kronika Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Łodzi' 1929, no. 2/3, p. 44.

¹¹³ SAL, LJDC 437, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁴ SAL, LJDC 442.

¹¹⁵ The Regional Court in Łódź, Archive of the Real Estate Registers Department (later: RCL-RERD), repertory number 6528; RCL-RERD, repertory number 6528, brief of documents nos 3 and 4.

carried out and a description of the boundaries of the property along with the personal details of its owners was entered into the real-estate register – this was finally confirmed by the decision of the so-called Mortgage Higher authority (judge of Real Estate Registers Department) of the 26th of September 1934¹¹⁶.

Throughout the whole of the inter-war period the synagogue at Wolborska was the main communal synagogue¹¹⁷ (the second being the synagogue at Żurawia Street). Here equally the Jewish Denominational Community organised ceremonies to mark state holidays, for example on the 11th of November 1929 the chairman of the Community Board, J. L. Minberg¹¹⁸, gave a speech; on the 1st of February 1931 there took place a service to mark president Ignacy Mościcki's nameday, while on the 19th of March of the same year – to mark Marshal Józef Piłsudski's nameday¹¹⁹. There equally took place here the swearing in of the Jewish soldiers of the Łódź garrison¹²⁰.

In the 1930s there were 500 pews in the synagogue, 36 Torah scrolls as well as a lot of various silver synagogue artefacts, often of considerable artistic value¹²¹.

By the end of the 1930s the physical state of the building had deteriorated, with the external plaster coming off. The Jewish Community, forced by order of the Municipal Building Inspection Board, planned a major overhaul in renovation work for the year 1939 based on a design that had come via 'a special artistic-architectural competition'. The planned work began on the 22nd of May 1939; the work was done by the firm of Mordechaj Tener¹²².

In the inter-war period there existed within the territory of the property at Wolborska several buildings fulfilling an economic function which had appeared at an unspecified time and which were often in a very poor state of repair¹²³. It is possible that these buildings were connected with the use of the northern part of the property (located at Aleksandryjska Street 7) for trade purposes which is attested for the first half of the 1920s 'when a dozen or so members of the Łódź Branch of the Central Union of Small Traders, trading in 'linen and clothing' protested against their removal from this place promising 'according to the pointers made by the Jewish Community Board and the building authorities to fence off, at our own cost, the aforesaid square, closing off, in this way, all ac-

¹¹⁶ RCL-RERD, repertory number 6528.

¹¹⁷ S. Huberband *The Destruction of the Synagogue in Łódź*, [in:] *Łódź, Ghetto. Inside a Community under Siege* edited by A. Adelson, R. Lapides. New York 1989, p. 69.

¹¹⁸ *Przemówienie Prezesa Zarządu Gminy Żydowskiej J.L. Minberga wygłoszone w dniu 11 listopada 1929 r. w synagodze przy ul. Wolborskiej*, 'Kronika Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Łodzi' 1929, nos 2/3, pp. 34-36.

¹¹⁹ *Uroczystości i reprezentacje*, 'Kronika Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Łodzi' 1931 no. 1, p. 27. J. Minberg also gave a speech during the celebration of J. Piłsudski's nameday.

¹²⁰ SAL, LJDC 341, p. 8.

¹²¹ S. Huberband, op. cit., p. 69.

¹²² SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

¹²³ Cf.: SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

cess to the synagogue courtyard' and 'to maintain at one's own cost a caretaker, who would not allow access to anyone, except the mentioned 50-60 people trading in clothing, who might trade in anything else, particularly junk'¹²⁴. We do not know unfortunately the further outcome of the matter.

The property on which the synagogue was located was constantly watched over by a caretaker who lived in the neighbouring house (no 203) or on the property itself¹²⁵.

In November 1939 the communal synagogue at Wolborska Street 20 was burnt by the Nazis (on the 11th of November¹²⁶ or during the night of the 15th/16th of November¹²⁷). The state of the building after the fire, during which were burnt, amongst other things, the Pentateuch rolls kept in the synagogue¹²⁸, allowed for the saved external walls to be made safe and did not require immediate demolition. The city authorities took such a decision, however, on the 27th of December 1939¹²⁹. The demolition work took place the following spring¹³⁰.

There existed already in 1862 a new Beth ha-Midrash at the very constructed communal synagogue¹³¹; It is possible that Sz. Saltzman donated a part of his real estate just for the construction of this building¹³². The building was treated as a part of the Synagogical Supervisory Board's property; including the taking over of the contracts for the supply of lighting and fuel; materials¹³³.

Judging by the existing plans (the oldest coming from the end of the nineteenth century) the Beth ha-Midrash was situated to the north of the synagogue closer to Aleksandryjska Street (later Żydowska Street). In 1900 there was planned a renovation of the building; there is, however, a lack of information about the course of the renovation (particularly about the expenses incurred by the Board for that purpose), equally the state in which it was in the 1930s appears to contradict earlier modernisation¹³⁴. There have been preserved, however, the designs for the renovation of the Beth ha-Midrash, according to which it was to be a two-storey building (partly), with the horizontal facade rusticated and with sharply finialed windows, to a degree resembling in style Russian architecture. The gallery for women was to be situated in its front part, above several small

¹²⁴ SAL, LJD 331, unnumbered.

¹²⁵ The living conditions of the caretaker were not good. In 1928 the building authorities ruled that the lodgings occupied by him on the community's property (a room approx. 5 metres square) were not fit for habitation. Cf.: SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

¹²⁶ I. Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją*, London 1988, p. 172.

¹²⁷ S. Huberband, *The Destruction of the Synagogues in Łódź*, [in:] *Łódź Ghetto. Inside a Community under Siege*, ed. by A. Adelson, R. Lapides, New York 1989, p. 71.

¹²⁸ S. Huberband, *The Destruction...*, p. 71.

¹²⁹ SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

¹³⁰ S. Huberband, *The Destruction...*, p. 71.

¹³¹ Cf.: SAL, LCR 1567, p. 27.

¹³² Cf.: RCL-RERD, repertory number 6528, brief of documents no 2

¹³³ Cf. for example: LCR 7144, unnumbered.

¹³⁴ SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

rooms designed more than likely for schooling or as library facilities, while the rear, eastern part was to house the prayer hall¹³⁵.

From 1920 in the mentioned building there was located the 'Talmud-Torah' of the 'Ahawas Tora' association; where 150 poor children learned in 1923. It was planned at the time to build its own school¹³⁶. 'Talmud-Torah' arose in the future from the enlargement of the building, which although being situated on community land was initially the property of Szai Wiślicki (in 1889 he donated it to the Supervisory Board¹³⁷). This two-storey building was situated next to 'Beth ha-Midrash' and was the object of major extension work in the 1920s¹³⁸. In 1926 the 'Ahawas Tora' association in asking the Łódź Credit Society for a subsidy wrote that it was housed in 'its own building'¹³⁹.

In 1932/1933 there was general renovation work done on the 'Beth ha-Midrash', called at the time 'synagogue', linked with the building of a new reinforced concrete gallery, the building of new stair-wells and the raising of the building's roof. The facade was given a modernist look, with an important element being a large round window adorned with the Star of David that lit the gallery. The designer and construction overseer was the engineer Jerzy Berliner¹⁴⁰.

This building, like the building of 'Ahawas Tora' was burnt down by the Nazis in November 1939. The damage was so great that the building authorities ordered its immediate demolition¹⁴¹.

At present there does not even exist the real estate upon which the communal synagogue and the Beth ha-Midrash were located. In the 1950s new buildings were built on the plot, while Wolborska Street runs now in a different place.

¹³⁵ SAL, LJDC 427, unnumbered.

¹³⁶ SAL, LJDC 331, card 62.

¹³⁷ The information contained in the Board letter, preserved in one of the files of the Acts of Łódź's Municipal Authorities (SAL, LCR card 54) should be understood in this way, where it clearly talks of 'the house of prayer' as the property of S. Wiślicki property registration number 202, that was to have been presented to the Jewish Community, while the property numbered 202 had for many years been in the possession of the Synagogue Supervisory Board.

¹³⁸ Cf. SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

¹³⁹ Cf. SAL, Łódź Credit Society 182, card 193.

¹⁴⁰ SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

¹⁴¹ SAL, LCR 20364, unnumbered.

III. THE SYNAGOGUE AT PROMENADOWA (LATER KOŚCIUSZKO) STREET 2 AND ZIELONA STREET 8 – THE REFORMED SYNAGOGUE AND ITS PREDECESSORS

In the city of Łódź in the Congress Kingdom of the first half of the nineteenth century, as was the case in other towns, there appeared a group of 'progressive' Jews who had broken away from Orthodox tradition relating to both style of dress and customs, as well as the way services were conducted. The formation of this grouping, which was made up primarily of representatives of the richest social layers of Jewish society, was stimulated by the then existing regulations which allowed them to exercise many rights at that time denied to the Orthodox majority. Here is neither the time nor space to introduce detailed rules relating to the regulations which have been dealt with in relevant historic works anyway¹, one should, however, mention here the numerous nature, and primarily financial might of the above mentioned group in the period between the Polish uprisings of the nineteenth century.

The Orthodox population of Łódź treated this group of fellow adherents with apprehension, if not hostility, as those who had broken with the age old sacred tradition². This being far from sensational for a similar situation existed in Warsaw:

Women being constantly used to going everywhere and always on walks with their husbands, not being able because of the difference in dress to accompany them to those places [i.e. Christian quarters – J. W.] where men had the right to enter, they slowly accepted the inevitable and gradually replaced their ribbons and hair-like velvet for wigs as well as wearing mantles and hats. But it was not initially easy for these women with their European dress to go out and safely cross through the Jewish quarter, they had to put up with being hissed at, pointed at, laughed at as well as being teased with name calling, being threatened and sworn at until the point whereby many of them preferred to leave the house only in the evening, or to send a maid out with a concealed hat and toilettries to the arranged gateway in the street where they would formally change. And this is of no wonder for a Jew, in those times of darkness and backwardness, dressed in a European way, or as fellow

¹ One should mention firstly the works of A. Eisenbach *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1972, especially pp. 25-60; while more detailed information concerning this group in Łódź in the period to 1863 is contained in F. Friedman's book *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi od początków osadnictwa Żydów do r. 1863*, Łódź 1935, pp. 74-86, 269-271.

² F. Friedman writes on the attitude of Jewish Orthodox society in Łódź towards those breaking beyond the boundaries of tradition, not simply religious but professional (op. cit., p. 227) 'the apprehension and prejudice of Jewish society towards the textile trade played a significant role in hindering the spread of the weaving profession among Orthodox Jewish circles'.

believers referred in the German style, was considered an oddity, an innovator, a sight unknown for the backward masses³.

A conflict between a group calling themselves 'civilised' Jews and the Synagogical Supervisors had come about already in the 1840s. A wealthy merchant, Icek Zajdeman (Seideman, Sejdeman)⁴ acted there in the group's name, Częstochowa born (an area close to the border of Prussian Silesia – the part of the country where the process of breaking from Orthodoxy was rather advanced⁵) he was an organiser on a grand scale. At the beginning of the 1840s he was the second richest town merchant. A larger profit being made only by the company of Ludwik Mamroth and Dawid Lange, the owners of which were emancipated Jews (with only Karol Trenkler being better off amongst the Christians⁶). On the 13th of February 1848 I. Zajdeman, Moryc Zand (Sand), Ludwik Mamroth, Samuel Lande, Jakub Boehm, Dawid Lande, Dr. Manes Goldrath, Lomnitz, Józef Weyland and Józef Zand drew up a complaint to the central authorities in which they accused the Orthodox Synagogical Supervisors (Lejzer Berger, Icek Biren-cwajg and Jakub Horończyk⁷) of overly burdening progressive Jews with financial obligations, while the Hasids who attended synagogue⁸ were accused by him of 'numerous incidents of harassment and persecution resulting from the mentioned change of dress' into 'national costume', as well as a result of sending children to secondary schools⁹ i.e. referring to incidents that relate to H. Nusbaum's previous mention of Warsaw already cited. The result of the complaint was an investigation in November 1848 conducted at the scene by the administrative authorities – the Łódź Municipal Authorities. Many witnesses were heard (including Zajdeman, the dyer Adolf Litiernik, 'traders in domestic goods' M. Zand and Izrael Weyland, as well as the authorities of the Synagogical Supervisors who rejected the accusations¹⁰. On the basis of a written procedure the case of conflicts with the Hasids was 'dealt with by the punishment of the guilty on the part of the municipal authorities, which also in the future can happen by denunciation'¹¹.

³ H. Nusbaum, *Szkice historyczne z życia Żydów w Warszawie od pierwszych śladów pobytu ich w tym mieście do chwili obecnej*, Warszawa 1881, p. 61.

⁴ About I. Zajdeman cf. for example: G. Missalowa, *Studia nad powstaniem łódzkiego okręgu przemysłowego*, vol. I: *Przemysł*, Łódź 1964, p. 113; F. Friedman, op. cit., p. 57, 127.

⁵ Cf. for example: *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. by H. H. Ben-Sasson, Harvard 1976, pp. 830-831.

⁶ F. Friedman, op. cit., p. 142.

⁷ Cf.: State Archive in Łódź (later: SAL), Piotrków Provincial Government Anterior (further: PPG-Ant.), 2534, p. 97.

⁸ At the time it was a small wooden synagogue. The construction of a walled synagogue was started in 1859; cf. for more detail the chapter II.

⁹ The Central Archive of Historical Records (further: CAHR), Central Denominational Authorities (later: CDA) 1712 pp. 49-51. Cf. equally: SAL, Łódź City Records (later: LCR) 1565, p. 83.

¹⁰ Cf. the minutes of the hearings and other investigation materials, CAHR, CDA 1712, pp. 52-73.

¹¹ SAL, PPG-Ant., 2534, pp. 151-152.

The Orthodox Jews launched a counter offensive at the same time as Zajdeman's complaint. Firstly the new holder of the income 'from the Pentateuch Roll' (the reading out of the liturgical fragment of the Torah assigned to a particular week which customarily is the subject of emulation amidst the faithful¹²) Szmul Jechezkiel Saltzman (Zalcman) – a rich Jewish Hasid merchant¹³ demanded that he was paid for readings of the Torah in the house of prayer of 'civilised Jews', which took place at the same time as an action directed against other houses of prayer¹⁴, leading to the sealing of the Torah roll in the above mentioned location. M. Zand¹⁵ acting on behalf of the 'progressive Jews' concluded:

Driven by the persecution of other Orthodox Jews which all the civilised, or according to the authorities those 'dressed up' experience at the synagogue, particularly from the Hassidim sect, to avoid any further disagreement resulting from that we have set up a school in which worship with total freedom and decency could be celebrated. This has not shielded us totally from persecution and the burden of superstition, for in every aspect they persecute us with such.

For at present Saltzman, an important merchant, the local holder of consumptive profit, holding a meaningful position amongst the other Orthodox Jews has taken on the lease of the profit from the Pentateuch Roll [...] He tries to bother [us] in relation to the lease because despite the fact that at the beginning of the year Izrael Weyland met Saltzman, with the aim of arranging with him the payment or also in order to come and collect the income derived from a possible auction, he did not want to make any agreements with us, and it was on his demand that the Pentateuch Roll was at present sealed.

So such behaviour convinces one that the joining of all those prejudiced together in every aspect is to bother one.

For, as is known to the Authorities, we have already applied to higher bodies to keep our school, as equally in the synagogue due to its crampedness and layout [!] not all can fit in. We beg the

¹² For more cf. S. P. De Vries, *Obrzędy i obyczaje Żydów*, translated and edited by A. Borowski, Kraków 1999, pp. 38-41.

¹³ He was one of the most successful Łódź Jews of the time, the holder of incomes derived from the leasing of consumer incomes in the city. He also attempted to run a yarn store which brought him into conflict with the greatest Christian merchant in that branch, K. Trenkler. He was also engaged in equally intensive building activity creating among other things a street on his two personal land properties, called Saltzman Street (now Solna) and building a community *mikvah*. The story of his attempts to live in the 'extra district' proves that he had maintained his Orthodox dress and customs, otherwise he would not have been able to have been either a Hasid or the lease holder of synagogue incomes. For details cf. F. Friedman, op. cit., pp. 77-81. Regarding Saltzman's affiliation to a Hasid group, unclear which one though probably that of Kock, cf. p. 14.

¹⁴ This action was based on paragraph 6 of the as of then unratified (by the Warsaw Provincial Authorities – such ratification was not to occur until the 24.01/05.02.1849) leasehold agreement of 3/15.09.1848 which stated that the Pentateuch rolls being in the possession of a brotherhood, company or sect owning, or in the future owning, can not stay there. Therefore because of all the difficulties all the Pentateuch rolls will be collected in the synagogue and only there can they be read. If, however, the richer Orthodox Jews desire to use the Pentateuch roll in the school, they are first obliged to get in touch with the lease holder and pay in advance – SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 148, 150 (ratification).

¹⁵ M. Zand from Częstochowa, I. Zajdeman's son-in-law was a cloth dealer. In the period in question his annual turnover was about 20,000 roubles. From 1858 M. Zand had a wool spinning works. Cf.: F. Friedman, op. cit., p. 83, 143, 155, 166; W. Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi w latach zaborów 1793-1914*, Łódź 1998, pp. 54, 73, 78.

council to order the roll to be unsealed in our school. And what part of the financial gratification will be assigned to us either by agreement [!] as it has been for two years with the previous leaseholders, or so that they send their side to collect the income which may come from the auction¹⁶.

In reply to this request the mayor of the city decided to unseal the roll on the condition that payments were made to Saltzman, claiming that 'Saltzman on the basis of the lease of the Pentateuch Roll wants to bother them and by sealing the Pentateuch Roll, or taking it away, makes them join other Orthodox Jews and has them ridiculed again'¹⁷.

The capital authorities, following another of M. Zand's interventions issued directly to the Warsaw Provincial Government¹⁸, took the final decision, issuing an official agreement for them to open their own house of prayer although on the condition that it did not lessen Saltzman's income.

If the existing synagogue can truly not accommodate all the existing ones, and what is more by gathering in one point two sects there occur incidents and misunderstandings, the Warsaw Provincial Authorities in accordance with the opinion of the local authorities have allowed for the maintenance of a separate school for civilised Orthodox believers, not releasing them from the payment of the Pentateuch Roll which at services held belongs to the synagogue fund¹⁹.

The licence was given personally to I. Zajdeman²⁰ as in his house was the house of prayer²¹. This was not to end the quarrels with Saltzman who sent his plenipotentiary, Leon Szwajcer, to control the income. In September 1849 Saltzman accused the staff and those praying in the house of various acts of annoyance and of acting to his loss on purpose by not allowing higher amounts of money to be paid at the auction, as well as the summoning equally by M. Zand who was carrying out – without L. Szwajcer's permission – work upon the house of prayer for his father-in-law I. Zajdeman who was not resident in Łódź, as equally on the part of those more significant members of the synagogue like I. Weyland and Wigdor Wolf and of various other Jews including 'Warsaw merchants' not resident in Łódź. As a result of intervention on the part of the city authorities momentary consent was achieved, the parties to which being Saltzman and J. Boehm. The holder of the lease to synagogue income was to receive 18 roubles annually while the remaining income generated by the auction of the Pentateuch Roll was to be given to charitable causes²². The conflict abated, but only for a couple of years. When the representatives of the 'civilised' Jews (a

¹⁶ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 85-86, 91.

¹⁷ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 247-248.

¹⁹ SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, pp. 152-153; CAHR, CDA 1712, p. 39.

²⁰ SAL, PPG-Ant. 2534, p. 159.

²¹ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 247-248. The building was within the district, its exact address has not been established.

²² SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 264-266, 272-274.

member of the Synagogical Supervisors at the same time) I. Weyland co-ordinated the prayer, the fee was paid, but around the year 1855 the synagogue leaseholder stopped being paid. From the complaints²³ lodged after the ineffectively long wait for payment we can learn that the 'school' was already being managed by M. Zand with it being attended by the 'wealthiest merchants'. The leaseholder, faced with a lack of funds coming in, delegated at Shavuot a pupil to collect the payments which did not solve the situation, quite the reverse, it led to open conflict:

Ludwik Cohn²⁴ and Izrael Poznański²⁵, in running the school hindered the sale of prayers despite the school's willingness to auction them out and hence the first standing [!] personally by the Pentateuch Roll and whoever of the wealthiest liked it was called out²⁶.

In this conflict, which was no longer of a financial nature, the town authorities stood on the side of Sz. Saltzman and demanded – threatening to seal the Pentateuch Roll – to regulate a fixed fee for the leaseholder²⁷.

It is doubtful whether the services celebrated in the house of prayer were remarkably different in character from those of the Orthodox, for in the November of 1862 'Jutrzenka'²⁸ the organ of the Warsaw assimilationists wrote about Łódź's 'civilised' Jews:

They are organising separate premises as a new house of prayer, although they are involved in the construction of a new synagogue in the Old Town, where they are going to introduce reforms in the conducting of a service following the examples of two Warsaw synagogues: at Daniłowiczowska Street and in Nalewki Street²⁹.

²³ SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 431-432, 438-439, 458-459.

²⁴ L. Cohn (Kohn) came, like I. Zajdeman and M. Zand, from Częstochowa. In 1850 he moved to Łódź. His turnover was 15,000 roubles. Cf. F. Friedman, op. cit., p. 166; W. Puś, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁵ This is one of the first appearances in sources of the figure of I. Poznański. He was 23 at the time; in the context of the events under discussion it is worth mentioning that he had also for that time a high level of secular education (grammar school). Cf.: K. Badziak, *Wielkość i upadek fortuny Poznańskich*, [in:] *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820-1944. Wybrane problemy*, edited by W. Puś and S. Liszewski, Łódź 1991, p. 81.

²⁶ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 432.

²⁷ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 460. This summons was most probably successful for in later written documentation there are no documented references to the case.

²⁸ For more detail on the period cf.: M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska w Warszawie 1823-1939*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 47-61.

²⁹ Cf.: K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta, 1821-1914*, Łódź 1995, p. 52. These synagogues were the precursors of the reformed synagogue in Tłomackie; cf. for more detail: H. Nusbaum, op. cit., pp. 91-113.

In 1866 the reform was already fact. As the 'elders of the Israelites of the German Rite' J. Boehm and A. Likiernik wrote, as the followers of the reform were convinced around 150 families – about 1500 Jews who 'having been highly educated and brought up in a modern way and obeying strictly the rules of Law-giving Moses, form the Society of Israelites of the German Rite' have been attending a separate house of prayer employing someone 'to preach in German God's law announcing it from the pulpit'. Because of the lack of space in the existing place of worship, due to the influx of numerous new followers, they appealed to the town authorities to be given, for the purposes of constructing their own synagogue, the southern half of the square no. 335, 'stretching from Północna Street to Średnia Street'³⁰ (this being real estate on which the building that housed the Russian Government Girls' Grammar School was erected, at present the IV Grammar School at Pomorska Street 16). The town council in Łódź did not acknowledge this request, offering instead a property registered No. 307 in Północna³¹. As K. Stefański has noted 'probably the site allocated did not match up to the growing aspirations of the wealthy part of the Jewish population'³². It is possible that at the turn of the 1880s they realised their religious needs in the private synagogue at Zachodnia Street (register number 275E) which had been founded in the years 1875-1878³³.

At the end of the 1870s the need to build a new 'progressive' synagogue was becoming increasingly pressing. The matter accelerated after the signing of an agreement of partnership in the form of a notary public's act noted on the 29.10/10.11.1879³⁴ (corresponding to the present definition of an internal consortium) among the seven richest Jewish merchants, industrialists, and property owners: Izrael Poznański son of Kalman³⁵, Szymon Heyman son of Szymon³⁶,

³⁰ SAL, LCR 1562, pp. 396-397, 410-411

³¹ SAL, LCR 1562, p. 394. K. Stefański (*Architektura...*, p. 53) puts in doubt the existence of the property with the above mentioned register number; however in 1920 the register number 307 was assigned to the police number 21 in Północna Street (repertory 2480), and number 307 a,a (and so probably created from the primary division of number 307) police number 19 in the same street (rep. 3104).

³² K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 53.

³³ For more detail on this synagogue cf. the chapter IV.

³⁴ SAL, notary public R. Danielewicz 1879/2371

³⁵ I. Poznański from 1872 was the owner of a large modern weaving works producing cotton goods. The end of the 1870s beginning of the 1880s was a period of exceptionally high profits and the rapid expansion of the factory which led to I. Poznański upgrading among Łódź's industrialists. In 1879 I. Poznański's company owned 860 looms and thirty six thousand spindles. Cf. in detail: K. Badziak, *Wielkość...*, pp. 87-89; S. Pytlas, *Łódzka burżuazja przemysłowa w latach 1864-1914*, Łódź 1994, p. 41.

³⁶ Sz. Heyman was the owner of a medium-sized spinning mill, PPG-Administration Department (further: Adm.) and not as weaving plant as was incorrectly written by I. Ihnatowicz, *Przemysł łódzki w latach 1860-1900*, Wrocław 1965, p. 156.

Jakub Sachs son of Rafał, Hugo Wulfsohn son of Szymon³⁷, Izydor Birnbaum son of Abraham³⁸, August Baruch son of Mojżesz³⁹ and Joachim Silberstein son of Icek⁴⁰. The associates stated in it that:

because of the fact that the industrial and trade boom which had occurred in Łódź resulted in a notable increase in the number of rich, educated Jewish people, who due to their intellectual development do not share the example nor beliefs of their fanatical co-adherents, and not having the possibility to form a union with them, and being unable to influence the spread of fanaticism, there exists, as a result, no possibility for the educated class of the town of Łódź to celebrate their religious practices and act to realise their religious customs

have subsequently decided, acting to realise a joint goal⁴¹, to built from their own funds a separate synagogue in Łódź:

based on the rules and regulations upon which the synagogue in Warsaw at Daniłowiczowska Street was based, and with such rights which are given to the members of the same synagogue according to the statute to be found in the appendix to the decision of the former Administrative Council of the Polish Kingdom of the 28th of June/10th July 1855, no. 4333.

It was expected that at the synagogue there would function a school for religious education for those Jewish children who attended 'state Christian schools' i.e. grammar schools (primary schools found themselves under town administration). The seven richest industrialists to be found in the act, the founders of the

³⁷ H. Wulfsohn was a well-known merchant. He managed in association with Fajwl Grünfeld a mercantile company. He became an industrialist only in 1890 when he bought a property at Piotrkowska Street 80 where he set up a weaving and woollen processing plant (K. Badziak spoken account). In his case the assimilation was more German than Polish orientated. Cf.: S. Pytlaś, op. cit., p. 308-309.

³⁸ I. Birnbaum, *notabene* the son-in-law of the afore mentioned Sz. Saltzman had at the time in Łódź a large mercantile company which represented the interests of several foreign companies. It was outstanding in terms of profit made. At the end of the 1870s Birnbaum decided to undertake industrial activity, buying from Karol Scheibler a woollen spinning shop at Dzika Street 3. In the 1880s he had numerous business connections with mercantile and industrial companies from Moravia. Cf. for details: K. Badziak, *Aktywność ekonomiczna i społeczna rodziny Barcińskich w Łodzi (do 1939 r.)*, 'Rocznik Łódzki', vol. 46, 1999, pp. 109-110.

³⁹ A. Baruch was the joint owner of the Pabianice-Łódź company 'Baruch Bros' employing in 1879 about 200 workers. He dealt in the buying and selling of semi-manufactured products, the sale of finished goods from his Łódź warehouse, he was involved in funds and trade books. His brother's son, Maksymilian, by the 1880s was already totally polonized and published in 'Tygodnik' in Piotrków Trybunalski. Cf.: K. Badziak, *Obraz burżuazji w Pabianicach. Baruchowie, 'Pabianiciana'* vol. 1, 1992, pp. 89-91, 98-99.

⁴⁰ J. Silberstein was a merchant descended from the second – after the Poznański family – largest Jewish factory owning family in Łódź. He dealt in lumber and later speculation in Łódź real estate. Cf.: K. Badziak, J. Strzałkowski, *Silbersteinowie, Lichtenfeldowie, Birnbaumowie, Poznańscy, Eigerowie*, Łódź 1994, pp. 9, 25.

⁴¹ This is the basic feature of the particular partnership according to the then obliging regulations of Napoleon's Civil Code (article 1842); cf. M. Planioł, *O zobowiązaniach. Dowody. Nauka ogólna o zobowiązaniach. Umowy*, translated from the French under the editorship of J. Namitkiewicz, Warszawa 1928, pp. 428-429.

synagogue, committed themselves to the covering, from their private funds, of the cost of buying land and the raising of fourteen thousand roubles (that being two thousand a head). These sums were to be paid at the moment of the 'synagogue's acceptance by the authorities'. The remaining costs were to be covered from the profit raised by the selling of pews in the synagogue.

This initiative was supported by the mayor who in his letter to the governor stressed the fact that, according to the authors of the project, the main aim for the creation of a separate synagogue 'out of the control of the Łódź Synagogical Supervisors' was to be 'the reduction among the Jewish population of deeply-rooted fanaticism, whose fatal results are harmful to the population' and who at the same time expressed his desire to see the matter resolved positively⁴².

At this time an informal Building Committee was formed being made up – as may be suspected on the basis of articles written a few years later in 'Dziennik Łódzki' – of A. Baruch, I. Birnbaum and J. Sachs⁴³ and the collection of contributions was begun.

Due to the fact that the petition to have the synagogue accepted on the part of all the administrative levels was to last a long time, a group of the synagogue founders – mostly representatives of the upper circles of Łódź's middle class – had already by the 3rd/15th of March applied to the Mayor of Łódź to obtain permission to create a Temporary Committee for Collecting Contributions; into the ranks of which were to be included I. Poznański, Sz. Heyman, J. Sachs, A. Baruch, I. Birnbaum, J. Silberstein, H. Wulfsohn and Izidor Kempieński⁴⁴. The final composition of the Temporary Committee was ratified on the 19th of July 1880 (a slightly extended group as Jakub Graff was assigned to be its secretary) and it was able to officially start collecting contributions⁴⁵.

Worries concerning the slow pace at which the petition to ratify the statute was being considered did not turn out to be groundless. It was only on the 11th of April 1880 that the governor of Piotrków considered the matter to be beyond the powers entrusted in him and directed the affair to the Governor-General in Warsaw, giving a positive opinion of the case based on the statute for the synagogue at Daniłowiczowska Street in Warsaw, and stressing that the new synagogue 'may have a great influence on lowering the rate of fanaticism at present in existence among Jewish circles⁴⁶. The committee soon bought with the funds col-

⁴² SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 5-6.

⁴³ *Szczegóły budowy nowej synagogi*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1887, no. 210, 10th (22nd) September 1887, p. 2.

⁴⁴ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 12-15. The formation of the Committee is presented in a different way in the article quoted in 'Dziennik Łódzki' (*Szczegóły...*) according to which Sz. Heyman, I. Kempieński, J. Silberstein, H. Wulfsohn and J. Graff joined only in 1881.

⁴⁵ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 16-18.

⁴⁶ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 7-8. The Piotrków governor's actions were probably the result of knowledge that the authority ratifying the statute for the synagogue in Daniłowiczowska Street in

lected two neighbouring sites at the intersection of Cegielniana (at present Więckowski) and Wólczńska Streets⁴⁷.

In the meantime the new Warsaw Governor-General Albedynski admitted that the matter of the Łódź synagogue could be considered within the competence of the Piotrków province, which was competent enough to issue both the permission for the building of the synagogue to go ahead (according to article 258 of the then obliging building law), as well as to exempt it from the control of the Łódź Synagogical Supervisors (point III of article IV of the 'additional rules' of provincial government in the Polish Kingdom of the 29th of February 1868).

The matter of ratifying the individual statute⁴⁸ of the synagogue was considered by him to be too 'premature'⁴⁹. In giving himself the competence in this matter, while stressing at the same time that the matters connected with the about to be constructed synagogue's relations with the Synagogical Supervisors lay within the competence of the Governor, may certify that Albedynski considered it to be the statute of the society, being subject to the regulations of the Committee for Matters of the Polish Kingdom in the matter of regulating societies of private rural small-holdings, mutual insurance, bringing help or for another charitable purpose⁵⁰, requiring for their foundation the 'obtaining of his majesty's [i.e. the tsar's - J. W.] permission and in order to do so the obtaining of the opinion of the Warsaw authorities⁵¹ or it could be the result that the solution previously decided upon, used to ratify the Warsaw 'progressive' synagogue, was considered to be the correct one.

An evident improvement in the financial possibilities of the Committee brought about by I. Poznański's take-over of management, and the active incorporation into its work of many representatives of the middle class, gave impulse to the decision to change the site of the proposed synagogue. On the 31st of March 1881 I. Poznański as chairman of the still illegal Building Committee, acquired personally from Mr Dawid and Rywka Prussak, and the couple of Ieek and Rozalia Auerbach, a part of the real estate as follows registration number 785^a (ten thousand roubles) and 786^f (sixteen thousand roubles) situated at the corner of Promenadowa (today Kościuszko) and Zielona Streets. In the deed it

1855 was the Administrative Board (cf. H. Nusbaum, op. cit., pp. 100-101) whose rights to a significant degree were transferred as the result of reforms to the governor-general.

⁴⁷ *Szczegóły...*

⁴⁸ In Russian legal language the synonym for the Polish word 'statute' is *ymaa* which causes the mistake often made by non-professional Polish translators to give statutes in societies the status of an act. The word 'act' ('ustawa') in the Polish meaning statute was a Russianism spread in the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹ SAŁ, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 21-24.

⁵⁰ *Collection of obliging Rights. Decisions and Decrees in the Provinces of the Polish Kingdom, published after the annulment in 1871 of the Legal Gazette of the Polish Kingdom*, vol. II, edited by W. Wyziński, Warszawa 1875, p. 149.

⁵¹ Cf.: A. Okolski, *Wykład prawa administracyjnego oraz prawa administracyjnego obowiązującego w Królestwie Polskim*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1882, pp. 320-321.

was mentioned that the transaction was carried out for the benefit of 'the Synagogue Building Committee', but subsequently the name was changed into 'the Assembly of Synagogue Members', what was meant here was probably the aforementioned partnership created by the deed of 1879.

On the basis of the circumstances surrounding the transaction it results that for the founders the localisation of the synagogue in this particular part of the city was of great importance. Dawid Prussak in this same act gave Mr & Mrs Auerbach a part of the plot mortgage 785 which allowed for the creation from that given them, together with the remaining fragments of real estate, an area enabling the erection of a tenement building. At the same time Poznański demanded and subsequently obtained the right of ownership to the wall separating the acquired property from that of the Auerbachs preventing them in this way from placing a window there allowing a view onto the plot for the future synagogue⁵². The matter must have been prepared earlier for already by the 30th of March I. Poznański had made a commitment in the name of the Building Committee to carry out the construction work in accordance with the design and regulations, as well as not starting them on the basis of plans that had yet to be confirmed⁵³. The plans had also more than likely been submitted earlier for already on the 31st of March the Mayor of Łódź sent them to the Piotrkowski Provincial Authorities for approval⁵⁴. According to historians of architecture, despite the claim in the text of the letter that the author of the design was Hilary Majewski, in reality – as wrote 'Dziennik Łódzki'⁵⁵ – the plans were completed by Adolf Wolff from Stuttgart⁵⁶. K. Stefański presents the matter in the following way:

One may conjecture that the town architect, given the appropriate consultation with the initiators of the construction work, and the appropriate financial reward, produced a copy of the initial design in accordance with the demands put forward by the tsarist administration. At the same time to ensure quick acceptance he officially put himself forward as the creator of the plan, at a time when the confirmation of a design drawn up by a foreign architect could have met with difficulties⁵⁷.

There is no doubt, however, that he managed the construction and supervised the work as completed⁵⁸. The plans presented to the provincial authorities were

⁵² SAL, notary public Danielewicz, repertory 649/1881.

⁵³ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 28.

⁵⁴ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 26.

⁵⁵ *Szczegóły...*

⁵⁶ A. Wolff was the creator of a series of synagogues: in Stuttgart, Ulm, Heilbronn, Karlsbad and Nuremberg, as well as a church in Karlvarstadt. K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 154; J. Strzałkowski, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Łodzi do 1944*, Łódź 1997, pp. 131-132.

⁵⁷ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 127. J. Strzałkowski deals in detail with the question of buildings accredited to H. Majewski (the synagogue at Promenadowa Street was just one of many), *Architekci...*, pp. 8-10, 90-97, showing the physical impossibility of his being able to design so many buildings.

⁵⁸ SAL, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

confirmed by them on the 23rd of April⁵⁹, the first ground work was started on the 17th of May while the foundation stone was laid on the 5th of June. The carpentry work was directed by a Pole, Ignacy Piaskowski, the masonry by a German, Johann Orinol (Orinvol)⁶⁰. What is interesting is that the building project for the 'progressive' synagogue gained the support not only of wealthy Jews but also Christians – K. Scheibler⁶¹ the richest industrialist in Łódź gave the sum of fifteen thousand roubles shortly before his death in 1881 which was just after the work had commenced.

The initiation of building work on the new synagogue once again raised the need to establish the legal principles upon which it was to function. Therefore in addition to the information concerning the confirmation of the synagogue plans (and only copy of them) the Piotrkowski governor sent to Warsaw on the 5th of May 1881 the draft for 'the statute of the synagogue members'⁶². The correspondence turned up in Saint Petersburg. When, the already! confirmed design for the building was – on the demand for a minimal supplementation of documentation⁶³ – reconfirmed again the matter was on a totally different footing. The newly appointed minister for internal affairs, Count Dimitr Tolstoi (notabene, one of the chief reactionaries, the creator of the so-called counter-reform of the 1880s in Russia) claims that:

In not finding on the whole any reason why the wealthy Jews of Łódź should not build themselves, in accordance with the regulations in force, a house of prayer answering their religious needs and outlooks, he admits that the Ministry is unable to confirm and even proceed in the examination of the statute for such a place of worship. Everything that concerns the financial and economic side is a matter for the organiser's agreement, which may be confirmed by a deed executed by a notary public in as far as this is not at odds with the civil law in force⁶⁴.

The wording should be understood as an admittance by the Ministry for Internal Affairs that the matter was not legal and administrative by nature, but civil legal and should be regulated on the principles outlined by civil law.

For the law in force at the time allowed for the formation of a specific type of company (consortium) which had as its aim not only economic transactions but also the 'simple use of things', hence the running of a separate synagogue for its members allowed the Tsarist authorities to solve the difficult problem of draft of statute which they did not want to ratify, more probably in order not to repeat the

⁵⁹ SAŁ, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 32.

⁶⁰ SAŁ, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

⁶¹ *Szczegóły...*

⁶² SAŁ, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 32

⁶³ For details cf. SAŁ, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 34.

⁶⁴ SAŁ, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 42. The project for the statute was returned to the Mayor of Łódź, cf. SAŁ, LCR 7150 unnumbered.

precedence of the Warsaw 'progressive' synagogue and disable the appearance of similar demands from other towns, as well as equally avoiding entering into the internal conflicts of Jewish society⁶⁵. The general tone of the communiqué, and a knowledge of the reality of tsardom's policy towards the Jews in the 1880s, allows for the speculation that the attitude of the Russian authorities in Warsaw and Saint Petersburg towards the Łódź project were not favourable (suspicion was raised on the whole by the emancipatory and assimilationist aspirations of Jews within the Polish Kingdom – on account of their pro-Polish character⁶⁶).

In accordance with the recommendation of the Governor General of Warsaw the matter of the synagogue was to have been treated in an identical manner to other houses of prayer, that its members were obliged to submit to those regulations compulsory for Jews in relation to acts of registration⁶⁷ as well as the paying of contributions towards the general needs of the community⁶⁸. The Mayor of Łódź was presented with such a commitment by the six founders of the synagogue in the November of 1882⁶⁹.

The founders of the synagogue were informed officially on the 16th of November 1882 of the contents of the central authorities decision, although obliged to act in accordance with the instructions enclosed in it they still did not give up on their attempt to confirm their statute through the administrative authorities, clearly informing the Mayor of Łódź that they reserved the right 'at the appropriate time' (that is following the completion of construction) to raise requests for the confirmation of the synagogue statute⁷⁰.

The building work initially went ahead reasonably quickly⁷¹, but the crisis that hit Łódź industry at the beginning of the 1880s⁷² meant that around 1884

⁶⁵ This is shown clearly by the fragment of the quoted letter of the Warsaw Governor General's of the 24th of June 1882: 'as far as the question of the internal organisation of the planned synagogue is concerned the authorities can not and should not create its laws for it and present with this resolution something compulsory which could spiral out of their control, they do not match their aims and are not a subject of interest for them. [The authorities] should aspire simply in order that the prayer house organised in its own character and purpose not violating the interests of third parties or the requirements of the common good' – SAL, PPG-Adm., pp. 42-43. The matter of the legal character of the institution called 'the assemble of Synagogue members' arouses controversy at present among historians and historians of law; the author of this work presents here a solution which he feels to be the most likely, stipulating however clearly that there exist equally other propositions. The details associated with it, together with the discussion upon the arguments advanced by adherents of other solutions to this question, do not enter into the scope of the present work.

⁶⁶ Cf. S. Pytlas, op. cit., p. 295.

⁶⁷ These regulations defined the participation and jurisdiction of the district rabbi in the drawing up of acts of registration (including when the rabbi kept so-called pre-registration public registers, only the on the basis of which would the act of registration be drawn up) – cf. The resolution of the Administrative Council of the Polish Kingdom of the 7th of September 1830 ('Dziennik Praw', vol. XIII, p. 147) being in force in this form equally in the inter-war period.

⁶⁸ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 42-44.

⁶⁹ SAL, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

⁷⁰ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 55-58.

⁷¹ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, pp. 127-128.

there took place a halt in work which was to last for over two years: the building was completed on the outside, there was still no interior⁷². Within the Chief Committee there arose at that time a Help Committee comprised of Salomon Barciński, Maurycy Frenkel, Maurycy Heyman and Stanisław Pinkus; Herman Konsztadt and Izaak Hertz cooperated with it. 'the younger forces energetically set to work – and shortly had raised the fund of 40,000 roubles needed to complete the building' – in the form of bills of exchange for which it was planned to give their drawers shares later on⁷⁴ (this idea was not to reach fruition however). Equally I. Poznański committed himself to paying 40,000 roubles for the completion of the building work. From this moment work moved on apace⁷⁵ Support came in the form of gifts given by many Łódź and Warsaw notables: Poznański (lighting attachments), Adolf Goldfeder of Warsaw (the ark), M. Silberstein (the curtain), the Barciński and Birnbaum families (windows), M. Frenkel, J. Dobranicki, M. Schlossberg, M. Heyman, H. Konsztadt (Moorish barriers) and many others⁷⁶.

When the construction of the synagogue was in principle completed, the Synagogue Building Committee began the realisation of the announcement given in the autumn of 1882. On the 6th (18th) of March 1887 they presented the Piotrkowski governor, Nikolai Alekseevich Zinoviev with an application in which, after mentioning the hitherto attempts and correspondence, drew attention to the fact that:

The acquisition of land and the building of the temple itself has been realised from funds raised by the voluntary contributions of wealthy citizens under the condition of the eternal or temporary possession of places in the synagogue. In such conditions in order to safeguard the rights of the benefactors who should be considered the actual owners of the constructed synagogue, for the planning of funds for the further working of the synagogue in order to ensure its existence in the future when its founders will no longer be around it is imperative to draw up the means for its administration.

With this aim the committee applied to the governor for his approval to allow for a notary public's act to be drawn up regulating the organisational and financial side of the synagogue⁷⁷.

In the reply of the 8th of April 1887 the Piotrkowski Provincial Authorities directed a letter to the Mayor of Łódź in which it claimed that the founders should be informed that:

For the regulating of the financial and economic sides of matters relating to the new synagogue there may be created by the body of founders, at their meeting, a committee which should draw up a

⁷² For details cf. I. Ihnatowicz, op. cit., pp. 52-55.

⁷³ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 128.

⁷⁴ *Kronika Łódzka. Ruch budowlany – Nowa Synagoga*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1886, no. 91.

⁷⁵ *Kronika Łódzka – nowa synagoga*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1886, no. 91; *Szczegóły...*

⁷⁶ *Szczegóły...*

⁷⁷ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 64-66 (quote from pp. 65-66).

notary public's act on the bases presented in a copy of the letter of the Warsaw Governor-General no. 8309⁷⁸, and also that such an act which covers a private house of prayer, does not require ratification, although a copy should be presented to the Governor's Administration returning the application sent⁷⁹.

A copy of the letter from the Mayor of Łódź was received by I. Poznański⁸⁰. This was to serve him as one of the bases for three notary public acts drawn up on the 23rd of May/4th of June 1887.

With the first of these acts⁸¹ the 77 founder members of the synagogue, defined as an association (consortium) with the name 'The Meeting of Synagogue Members', whose property was the newly built synagogue gave right of attorney, for the drawing up of the notary public act defining the principles relating to the economic and financial side of the new synagogue and its administration, to the members of the chosen 'ad hoc' committee: I. Poznański, H. Konsztadt, I. Birnbaum, Szaja Rosenblatt, J. Sachs, Markus Silberstein and H. Wulfsohn – representatives of the Łódź bourgeois both industrial and mercantile. With the second, the most important act, the select committee set down the statute for the new synagogue⁸².

With the third act⁸³ the founder members of the synagogue confirmed the statute and committed themselves to compliance to its resolutions. In this document is also to be found the minutes for the election of the first Synagogue Committee which was to run its daily activities. Elected as members were: I. Poznański (chairman), H. Konsztadt (vice-chairman), I. Birnbaum, Sz. Rosenblatt, J. Sachs, M. Silberstein and H. Wulfsohn (a composition identical to the committee which drew up the synagogue statute). The following were selected as secondary members: M. Frenkel, I. Hertz, S. Barciński, M. Pinkus and Zygmunt-Lichtenfeld. The members of the auditory commission were: Stanisław Landau, M. Schlossberg and Jakub Hertz.

Due to the lack of funds to complete the building work the Meeting of Synagogue Members entrusted I. Poznański to take out loans, against the synagogue real estate, to the sum of 41,200 roubles (this loan was finally not contracted). At the same time the meeting decided to settle the matter of the ownership of the synagogue real estate in favour of the 'assembly of members of the synagogue in

⁷⁸ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 42.

⁷⁹ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 60-61.

⁸⁰ SAL, notary public Kamocki 1254/1887, supplement.

⁸¹ SAL, notary public Kamocki 1254/1887.

⁸² SAL, notary public Kamocki 1255/1887. Equally a printed text with an unofficial, at times inaccurate Polish translation – a booklet entitled *Drugi wypis z aktu urzędowego notariusza łódzkiego Jana syna Franciszka Kamockiego z r. 1887*. Registration no. 1255, [Łódź 1887] preserved in the acts of the Piotrków Provincial Government (SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, p. 91).

⁸³ SAL, notary public Kamocki 1256/1887.

Łódź at Promenadowa and Zielona Streets', in accordance with paragraph 1 of the statute⁸⁴. The statute clearly stated that:

The assembly of synagogue members, the task and aim of which is the maintenance of the synagogue and the holding of general prayers and religious services according to the Jewish religious rite, is composed at present of people who have taken part in the drawing up of the right of attorney [...] serving as the basis for the present act; in the future the number of new members entering the Assembly will grow and revive. Present participants are given the title of member of the Synagogue Assembly upon their declaration to either having had wholly or partly paid the money gifts declared, thanks to which the synagogue has been effectively built. In return for these contributions, members in as far as they have totally fulfilled their commitment are given the right to hereditary possession of places in the synagogue. In the future anyone who inherits or purchases a place in the synagogue will have the right to membership of the Synagogue Assembly on the basis of the rules generally in force concerning inheritance from a hereditary possessor of a place or by means of a long term leasing (not less than five years)⁸⁵.

From the wording it is clear that the synagogue founders adapted the statute to the recommendations of the tsarist authorities – to regulate the problem on the basis of civil law – creating a special type of company (consortium) having as its aim the already mentioned 'simple use of things based on their use in nature' acceptable by the law of the time⁸⁶. Participation in this is referred to as 'gifts' certainly due to the specific subject of the company, which results in this context in a wholly civil legal character not a philanthropic one in return for which one gained many rights⁸⁷ starting with the hereditary right to possess a bench in the synagogue through to the right to election, and participation in the synagogue authorities, in the General Assembly of Synagogue Members and the Synagogue Committee selected by it.

For the control of the rights of individual persons paragraph 26 of the statute foresaw the creation of a *quasi*-register of mortgages kept equally by the Synagogue Committee and the notary public:

In compliance with the internal plan for the administration of the synagogue, a book will be started according to the form that will be set, the stamp of the Chairman of the Committee for the registering of all owned places renounced with the exchange of number and category of place, the first name and surname of the owner as well as the sum which the place was bought for. The act of

⁸⁴ SAL, notary public Kamocki 1255/1887. The final mortgage regulation was carried out only in 1897 where the result of an inaccurate translation of the minutes of the assembly from Polish into Russian for the registers of mortgages resulted in the inclusion of a non-existent institution called *Obshchestwo Sinagogi* (even translated later as 'the Synagogue Association') instead of 'the Synagogue Assembly'.

⁸⁵ *Pierwszy wypis...*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁶ Cf. e.g.: M. Planiol, op. cit., pp. 428-429.

⁸⁷ Cf. e.g. § 19, 22, 25 statute (*Pierwszy wypis...*).

acquisition of a place will be registered in the above book at the sitting of the Committee and signed by all the members present at the sitting⁸⁸.

This book which could have been an interesting source both for the history of the synagogue itself, as equally of Łódź's Jewish middle class, has been unfortunately lost. In the collections of the History of Łódź Museum there are preserved only a copy of the extract from minutes of the Synagogue Committee in 1892 being the 'legal title for hereditary occupation' of two places in the synagogue and containing the information that the said 'real estate register' for the synagogue was at that time kept by the Łódź notary public Józef Grabowski⁸⁹. Similar ledgers sometimes unmistakably 'mortgage' were kept equally in district synagogues⁹⁰. The significant difference being the giving for safe keeping of a copy to a person of the 'general' faith – a Christian notary public. This possibly indicates that the right to a bench in the synagogue was a value more material⁹¹ than religious.

The completed building was exceptionally magnificent, with the press of the time rating its architectural merits above those of the reformist Warsaw synagogue at Tłomacki (the successor to the synagogue on Daniłowiczowska), upon which the creators of the Łódź community of 'progressive Jews'⁹² had modelled themselves. The new synagogue building is described thus by an art historian:

The synagogue [...] was composed as a three-nave pseudo basilica with a transept and breaks in the frontal part. From the east the nave has been finished with apses: a large semicircular one in the centre, on the outside with a three sided outline, and many-sided smaller closed ones on the sides. This compositional scheme of things clearly linked to French Romanesque basilicas. Equally the external form of the architecture linked to the Romanesque, chiefly of German origin. In the facade the break of the central section dominates with its double arched door opening, divided by a small column preceding the stairs. A little higher is situated a large arched closed window in a panel; the middle break closed up above the triangular summit. The frontal part was topped, somewhat set back, with a towering eight-sided dome. Small turrets with domes appear also on the corners of the central part of the facade as well as above the side breaks from the front, like in the rear part. In total the building is adorned with seven domes, to which gold bands add radiance. The elevation of the building is diversified by narrow buttresses, arcaded friezes in a semicircular way close the window openings, while moulding tops the building.

⁸⁸ *Pierwszy wypis...*, p. 14.

⁸⁹ This document has been reproduced several times, including in the album *Pałac Poznańskich w Łodzi*, Łódź 1995, p. 27 (here under the misleading title: *Druk Komitetu Synagogi*).

⁹⁰ In this way books of this type were still defined even at the start of the 1920s; cf. the Proclamation of the Synagogue Board in Kalisz of July 1922 (SAŁ, Łódź Jewish Denominational Community [further: LJDC] 324, p. 30): 'The synagogue Board in agreement with the Board for the Jewish Community informs that the mortgage registers for men's and women's places in the synagogue are not in order, and has decided as a consequence to carry out registration of the said'.

⁹¹ The price of a place in the synagogue at Promenadowa Street in 1896 was valued at 1000 roubles; places in the synagogue at Wolborska were ten times cheaper. Cf.: *Opis masy spadkowej Hermana Konstadta*, SAŁ, notary public Grabowski, repertory 351/1896

⁹² Cf.: K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 129.

The interior of the synagogue was richly decorated in an oriental manner with colourful wall paintings and mosaics covering the walls and the vaulting. The galleries for women running round the inside on three sides are supported on semicircular arcaded passageways. The *Aron Hakodesz*, situated in the recess of the main apse, has been richly set architecturally with a niche framed with a semicircular arch and crowned with a dome. Bimah situated on the axis at the barrier dividing the main nave from the raised stage in the apse part correspond to the choir of Christian churches⁹³.

At the beginning of September 1887 there took place the ceremonial opening of the new synagogue:

The marvellous building of the new synagogue received a holiday mood – exotic scrubs and flowers filled the square, and at the iron railings on elegant poles bunting and flags were hung around the temple.

At four in the afternoon all the places inside the synagogue intended for members of the public were taken, both in the stalls and the galleries. An hour later arrived the head of the province with the vice-governor and guests from Piotrków, representatives of the local authorities also came. The head of the province was welcomed at the main gate by the Building Committee, the president of which gave a speech presenting the governor with the keys to the synagogue on a velvet cushion. Following the opening of the doors behind the governor there entered other dignitaries and when they had taken their places the opening ceremony began which ended with Dr Klüger's Polish sermon and the national anthem sung by the synagogue choir accompanied by an orchestra. Following the end of the ceremonies those present, following the lead of the head of the province, signed the visitor's book.

[...]

Around seven o'clock in the evening, to mark the opening of the new synagogue, a dinner was given in the Fogl concert hall. The first toast was raised by the head of the province to the honour of His Majesty, the second raised by the vice-governor was to the health of His Excellency the commander-in-chief of the country, the third to the health of the head of the province was raised by the mayor of Łódź. Later there followed numerous toasts: to the health of the vice-governor, to the prosperity of the Jewish community, with thanks to the guests from Piotrków, to the chairman of the Building Committee I. K. Poznański, to the prosperity of the town, industry and many other toasts. His Excellency the head of the province sent a telegram for the occasion to His Excellency the commander-in-chief of the country.

The concert hall was decorated with flowers, as were the main stairs. On both side of the hall, on the main pillars were portraits of the demised Alexander II and His Majesty Alexander III.

There were around 180 people invited for the dinner. Besides the dignitaries from Piotrków there were at the evening the editors of the journals: 'Izraelita' and 'Hacelira' from Warsaw. The banquet lasted until ten in the evening: after which the representatives of the town authorities together with the members of the committee saw off the departing head of the province and the guests from Piotrków at the railway station⁹⁴.

In this deliberately cited extensive newspaper account there is no mention of participation by members of the Synagogical Supervisors, particularly strange being the absence of the 'official' Łódź rabbi, E. Ch. Majzel. As may be surmised the whole celebration, like the new synagogue, was treated by Łódź's

⁹³ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, pp. 129-130.

⁹⁴ *Inauguracja nowej synagogi*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1887, no. 206

Orthodox Jewish population, representing the majority of Łódź's Jews, unfavourably. Of especial annoyance must have been for them the participation in the religious celebrations of adherents of other faiths, especially Orthodoxy, and also the way the service was conducted with the giving of a sermon – on the model of other reformist synagogues – by a preacher in Polish.

'Dziennik Łódzki' commented on the opening of the synagogue thus:

It is undoubtedly a pleasing fact that the number of progressive Jews in Łódź is so significant that in their dignity they have seen the accomplishment of a work worthy of recognition. Twenty years ago one could have thrown stones at those daredevils who would have forced the introduction of reform in the way a service was conducted. Today those same crowds will praise the initiators and executors that the rites of their faith will be fulfilled with greater dignity and ceremony, that silence so conducive to spiritual contemplation will reign in the temple – henceforth being party to it in the same way as the temples of other creeds.

The Jewish temple consecrated yesterday at Spacerowa Street is moreover a fact of general social significance. In Łódź in relation to opinions on the religious rites of the Jews one could come across medieval notions [...] These preposterous views are giving way to more rational opinions. The non Jewish population will have an almost daily chance to be convinced that Jewish rites do not justify whatsoever the scorn and ridicule ingrained in prejudice brought about in part by the noisy behaviour of Jews in their houses of prayer.

Non believers, so apt to mock and deride the Jewish cult, will gain the conviction that this cult, equally like others, should be worthy of respect. We therefore hope that it will be possible from the pulpit of the new synagogue to hear talk which will elaborate not only for Jews but also those of other creed the significance of the ceremonies, that they will root out many prejudices and through this possibly generate sympathy for our fellow citizens different in creed yet equal to us in sense of humanity⁹⁵.

In 1888 the post of synagogue fund for the year 1888/1890 had to be confirmed. With the aim (as results from information from later sources)⁹⁶ of lessening the conflict between the cantor, of that synagogue, performing prayers beyond the synagogue at Spacerowa Street and Orthodox Jews, the members of the Synagogue Committee who were performing at the same time the function of members of the Synagogical Supervisors⁹⁷ decided to give the cantor of the reformed synagogue the character of 'administrative' thanks to employing him on a Supervisors position. In exchange the synagogue was supposed to be open on court holidays to all the Jewish inhabitants of Łódź. Yet such a solution was not accepted on the part of the authorities overseeing the Supervisors – the Mayor of Łódź who claimed that:

The new house of prayer opened last year in Spacerowa Street, the expenditure of which concerning the 600 roubles for the maintenance of a 3rd cantor placed in the project of placement, cov-

⁹⁵ *Otwarcie synagogi*, 'Dziennik Łódzki' 1887, no. 205, 4th/16th.09, p. 1.

⁹⁶ SAŁ, notary public Jonscher, repertory 1545/1897, supplement.

⁹⁷ In 1885 opponents of Orthodoxy managed, with I. Poznański at the head, to take control of the Temple Supervisors, thanks equally to the silent support of the city authorities.

ered from the general sum of contributions from the Jewish community, has been built by rich Jews exclusively for their use and in accordance with their religious outlook [...] Therefore I consider that it would be fair if the cost of 600 roubles to maintain the cantor fall squarely on the shoulders of the creators of this house [of prayer]⁹⁸.

A similar view was held by the provincial authorities⁹⁹ as a result of which the accepted project of budget for the Synagogical Supervisory Board did not contain this entry¹⁰⁰. Finally the project to partially pay the cantor through the Synagogical Supervisors was realised¹⁰¹ although the sum was not openly specified in the temple's accounts (this occurred in 1889 through the hiring of the synagogue cantor Hilel Alterman for the post of second synagogue cantor)¹⁰².

On the 4th of June 1888 the Mayor of Łódź made 'known' the copy of the notary public's act demanded by the provincial authorities¹⁰³, which ended all administrative activities connected with the construction of the synagogue. The Synagogue Committee attempted to have it recognised by the Russian authorities as equivalent to the main district synagogue at Wolborska. In 1894 the Committee approached the police superintendent in Łódź¹⁰⁴, in order to contact them directly in the matter of 'official religious ceremonies'¹⁰⁵ or the matter of the running of the registration ledgers. However the Piotrkowski governor (at the time Konstantin Miller) explained that although the synagogue is not under the control of the Synagogical Supervisors the acts of registration should be drawn up for its members – in a way similar for other members of other houses of prayer – with the joint participation of the official rabbī in Łódź¹⁰⁶.

In the subsequent years the synagogue carried out its activities completely independently of the Jewish community. The concern to maintain this independence is seen out by the fact that a part of the members of the Synagogue Assembly's fears were aroused by the assignment of 600 roubles for the cantor from temple funds. The members of the Synagogue Committee had to explain in detail that this was payment for the fact that 'during the courtly gala days' the synagogue was open 'for the whole of the Jewish community, and especially for young people studying' and that there was conducted in it 'a solemn service for

⁹⁸ SAL, LCR 7154, unnumbered

⁹⁹ SAL, LCR 7154, unnumbered

¹⁰⁰ SAL, LCR 7154, unnumbered

¹⁰¹ LCR, notary public Jonscher, repertory 1545/1897, supplement.

¹⁰² LCR 7154, unnumbered.

¹⁰³ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 62-63

¹⁰⁴ There took place at this time a reorganisation of the police authorities in Łódź. It was planned to transfer to the police superintendent: the running of the registers and the control of the movement of people, the running of the ledgers of non-Christian births and registration, the founding and running of a municipal address register – cf.: B. Pelka, *Akta rosyjskich władz policyjnych w Łodzi do roku 1914*, 'Archeion', vol. 75, 1983, p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁶ SAL, PPG-Adm. 8877, pp. 89-90.

the Almighty state and Imperial family', and not some indication of dependence on the authorities of the Jewish community¹⁰⁷. Complete separation of the synagogue from the Synagogical Supervisors was recognised by both the provincial authorities¹⁰⁸ and the Supervisors themselves who in 1904 clearly stated that the 'Synagogue Committee is in no way dependant on the Supervisors'¹⁰⁹.

The Assembly of Synagogue Members was also involved in philanthropic activities, totally independent of the Synagogical Supervisors. In 1888 it acquired with the contribution of its members – from Mr & Mrs Milker – a property in Zachodnia Street (mortgage registration no 36) with the aim of transferring the 'Talmud-Torah' religious school that was already in existence, there, as well as the eventual founding of other educational institutions for poor Jewish children¹¹⁰. For over ten years the Synagogue Committee looked after this school which quickly started to evolve in the direction of a vocational school¹¹¹. After creating the Łódź Jewish Charitable Society which was founded on the strength of the Minister of Internal Affairs' decision of the 22nd of June 1897 the synagogues authorities presented it with the property in Zachodnia Street 20 as well as supervision of the school. Its later fate falls outside the scope of this work¹¹².

The cantor of the synagogue from the moment of its founding was the earlier mentioned H. Alterman (1849-1934). He was born in Russia, before coming to Łódź he was a hazzan in Nikolaevsk. 'Hilel Alterman was gifted with a splendid baritone with a strong high A. He was a great expert on all the melodic patterns of Jewish liturgy and an outstanding interpreter of its texts'¹¹³.

With the beginning of the twentieth century Zionists started to have an influence in the 'reformed' synagogue, particularly from the moment when the preacher became one of the pioneers of Zionism in the area of Poland, Dr. Izrael Jelski. An external sign of the expression against assimilation in a Polish direction was, supported by the Łódź supporters of Zionism, misgivings concerning

¹⁰⁷ SAL, notary public Jonscher, repertory 1545/1897, supplement.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the official publication *Svedeniya o vseh gminnykh sudach, utshebnykh zavedeniyakh, rimsko-katolitskikh kostelakh [...] evreyskikh bozhnitsakh...*, Petrokov 1899, pp. 62-63, which shows the existence in Łódź of two separate synagogue circles. We can equally find out that in the synagogue there were employed preacher, 2 cantors, 7 synagogue staff and a secretariate (11 people), while at the old town synagogue at Wolborska Street there were only 9 people employed.

¹⁰⁹ SAL, LCR 7164, unnumbered.

¹¹⁰ SAL, notary public Kamocki, repertory 538/1888 and supplement.

¹¹¹ *Sprawozdanie z działalności Łódzkiej 'Talmud-Tory' i warsztatów rzemieślniczych za lata 1899/1900, 1900/1 and 1901/2...*, p. 5.

¹¹² The history of this institution has yet to be fully researched; for the period to 1914 cf.: W. Puś, op. cit., pp. 151-152, on the later history: K. Baranowski, *Żydowskie średnie szkoły ogólnokształcące w Łodzi*, 'Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytut Historycznego' 1981, no. 3, p. 27 and the pupils' chronicle book: *Szkoła Przemysłowa Towarzystwa Szerzenia Oświaty i Wiedzy Technicznej wśród Żydów w Łodzi*, Tel Aviv 1998, passim.

¹¹³ I. Fater, *Muzyka żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym*, translated from the Hebrew by E. Świdorska, Warszawa 1997, p. 229.

preaching in Polish¹¹⁴. I. Jelski in 1907 was one of the founders of the Jewish Territorial Zionist Society¹¹⁵.

In 1908 or 1909 Markus Braude was appointed preacher. In the synagogue's history he was the most prominent figure from amongst the people holding this position. Braude was born on the 14th of December 1869 as the descendant of an old rabbi family. The male line was descended from Abraham Braude, a rabbi in Czech-Moravian communities, and later in Frankfurt and Metz. His father Braude was a Lvov rabbi, as was his maternal grandfather, Hirs Ornstein. The genealogy of this family reaches back to the sixteenth century and encompassed over a dozen or so rabbis, amongst them the cabalistic Elias Bal Szem from Chelmno who was according to legend the creator of Golem who was brought to life by a piece of paper with a tetragram on it and Cwi Aszkenazy, a rabbi in Altona, Amsterdam and Lvov.

M. Braude received in Lvov a proper religious education. There he also finished grammar school, he had already then become associated with the Zionist movement then in creation. Later he studied philosophy in Berlin and Freiburg (including under Wilhelm Dilthey) and also completed the Azriel Hildesheimer rabbi seminary in Berlin. Later he returned to Galicia where he became actively involved in the creation of the Zionist organisation for Eastern Galicia. He took part in the first sessions of the 1st Zionist Congress in Basel (1897). In 1900 he became rabbi in Stanisławów¹¹⁶.

Following his arrival in Łódź the basic area of his activity became Jewish schooling. It was thanks to his initiative in 1912 that the Society of Jewish Secondary Schools was founded – an institution whose aim was to educate the Zionist elite¹¹⁷.

In 1914 during military manoeuvres a German shell hit the property, in Zielona Street 6, next to the synagogue, its shrapnel, and the power of the explosion caused, among other things, the breaking of the panes (including three that were stained glass), damage to the roof, plaster moulding as well as the 'main altar' and the plastering inside the building¹¹⁸.

During the First World War, at least from 1916, the chairman of the Synagogue Committee was Stanisław Jarociński¹¹⁹. From 1917 the Committee offi-

¹¹⁴ S. Pytlas, op. cit., s. 312.

¹¹⁵ P. Samuś, *Spółeczność żydowska w życiu politycznym Łodzi w latach 1865-1914*, [in:] *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820-1944. Wybrane problemy*, edited by W. Puś, S. Liszewski, Łódź 1991, p. 199.

¹¹⁶ *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, academic editor J. M. Majchrowski, Warszawa 1994, p. 500; P. Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnic. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, pp. 83-87.

¹¹⁷ For more detail see: J. Walicki, *Szkolnictwo i nauczyciele żydowscy w Łodzi w XIX-XX wieku*, [in:] *Rola nauczycieli łódzkich w tworzeniu dziedzictwa kulturowego Łodzi*, edited by S. Gala, Łódź 1998, pp. 223-225.

¹¹⁸ For details compare: SAL, the Urban Estimation Commission 4763, unnumbered.

¹¹⁹ SAL, the Urban Estimation Commission 4763, unnumbered, SAL, LJDC 270. unnumbered.

cially started to receive subsidies for its cantor from Jewish Community money. At the beginning it was 540 Polish Marks¹²⁰, in 1918 – 2,515 Polish Marks¹²¹, for the year 1919 1700 Polish Marks¹²² was assigned which did not, however, make up for the accumulated arrears¹²³. In exchange the Synagogue Committee celebrated services on the occasion of Polish national holidays, for example in 1917 'the synagogue preacher Mr Braude gave a fitting speech which was received with applause. At the end *Boże coś Polskę* was sung, and the Zionist choir performed Jewish songs'¹²⁴.

From the moment of Poland's gain of independence the Synagogue Committee set about ensuring that its preacher was authorised to give weddings – on the basis of the Warsaw synagogue¹²⁵. However Orthodox Jewish resistance was too strong for the matter to be passed. The rabbinate of the Jewish community was of the opinion that the issuing of such rights could 'cause bitterness and so worsen relations in our temporarily divided community'¹²⁶. This matter, despite being referred to a superior instance (the Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Education) was not resolved positively¹²⁷.

The total independence of the synagogue resulted in a lack of source material which would have allowed for a more detailed presentation of its history in the inter-war period (all the documentation was burnt together with the building in November 1939). We are only able therefore to state that the synagogue was run along existing lines; places were leased which were not the property of the hereditary owners, cantors were employed, individuals who did not have a purchased place were not allowed into the synagogue¹²⁸. The Synagogue Committee still also organised services to mark state occasions, equally for the young of school age¹²⁹. For example, on the 22nd of January 1938 there took place a celebration to mark the anniversary of the outbreak of the January Uprising, during

¹²⁰ *Sprawozdanie Zarządu Łódzkiej Gminy Starozakonnych za 1917 rok*, Łódź [1918], p. 16.

¹²¹ *Łódzka Gmina Starozakonnych. Sprawozdanie za 1918 rok*, SAL, LJD 193, p. 10. They were payments 'made on account of arrears for the years 1913-1917 as well as on account of the subsidy for 1918' – *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹²² SAL, LJCD 270, unnumbered

¹²³ SAL, LJDC 280. As one may speculate in connection with the general economic crisis and lack of larger incomes, the Synagogue Committee did not transfer immediately the amounts received to H. Alterman but rather designated them for the general purposes of the synagogue – SAL, LJDC 270, unnumbered.

¹²⁴ For a range of materials touching this matter see SAL, LJDC 87, *passim*.

¹²⁵ SAL, LJDD 286, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁶ SAL, LJDD 286, pp. 3-4.

¹²⁷ Cf. notes in the diary for 1920 (SAL, LJDD 432 and 433 unnumbered).

¹²⁸ Cf. press announcements, e.g. 'Głos Poranny' no. 231, of the 24th of September 1929, p. 11; 'Głos Poranny' no. 257, 17th of September 1933, p. 13; 'Głos Poranny' no. 103, 14th of April 1938, p. 9.

¹²⁹ *Uroczyste nabożeństwa w Wielkiej Synagodze*, 'Głos Poranny' no. 310, 10th of November 1938, p. 6.; *Uroczystwe nabożeństwo w Wielkiej Synagodze w rocznicę zgonu Marszałka Piłsudskiego*, 'Głos Poranny' no. 127, 10th May 1938, p. 8; P Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, p. 74.

which the preacher referred to the tradition of Polish-Jewish cooperation presenting it against the increasing wave of anti-Semitism¹³⁰.

Following the choirs' singing of the prayers, the rabbi, Dr. M. Braude, gave a fitting sermon. The speaker emphasised the high idealism and real patriotism of the rebels in 1863. Jews – explained the speaker – took an active part in the uprising, for Jews always aspire towards freedom and justice. And in liberated Poland these lofty principles will overcome slogans of hatred and extermination¹³¹.

More than likely the Jewish Community still contributed – at least partly – towards the costs of organising such a celebration. Hence one may interpret the sum documented in the community's budget paid out initially at 20 zloty monthly¹³², then later 35 zloty monthly to an individual, apparently identical to the cantor from the synagogue at Zielona Street¹³³.

For the whole of the time the owner of the property was the Assembly of Synagogue Members acting on existing principles, although in some sources the owner is referred to as the Synagogue Committee¹³⁴.

M. Braude fulfilled the function of synagogue preacher for the whole of the inter-war period, with his sermons, given in immaculate Polish, drawing wide numbers of faithful¹³⁵. Braude did also a lot of good service for the Institute of Judaic Sciences in Warsaw. He was always involved in the activities of the Zionist party, including being a member of the Polish Jewish delegation at the Peace conference in Paris in 1919, he belonged to its central power structure, and within its framework held the office of senator during the Senate of the first term of office (1922-1927)¹³⁶. He was also active in the Łódź lodge of the paramasonic organisation 'B'nei B'rith'¹³⁷, connected with the Zionist movement.

The synagogue itself still found itself within the influence of the circle of assimulators and Zionists. There were held services and celebrations organised by

¹³⁰ For manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Poland of the day c.f. E. Melzer, *No Way Out. The Politics of Polish Jewry 1955-1939*, Cincinnati 1997, pp. 39-94.

¹³¹ *Hold prochom powstańców złożyła wczoraj Łódź*, 'Głos Poranny' no. 22, 23rd of January 1938.

¹³² SAL, LJDD 436, p. 16.

¹³³ The cantor of the district synagogue, Oszer Winograd, earned then 600 zloty a month (SAL, LJDD 438, p. 21) was equivalent to the average salary of a bank manager. While the sum of 35 zloty is almost a third of the lowest pay in the Łódź textile industry – cleaners (char women) were earning then 92 zloty a month. Cf. 'Rocznik Statystyczny m. Łodzi' 1929, pp. 174, 175. It is not to be excluded however that the mentioned conjecture is false, brought about by a chance similarity in surnames.

¹³⁴ SAL, LCR 15751.

¹³⁵ M. Rogoziński, *Moje szczęśliwe życie*, Łódź 1994, p. 91.

¹³⁶ *Kto był...*, p. 500.

¹³⁷ P. Waingertner, *Stowarzyszenie humanitarne 'Montefiore – B'nei B'rith' w Łodzi (1926-1938)*, [in:] *Polacy-Niemcy-Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX-XX w. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy*, edited by P. Samuś, Łódź 1997, pp. 403, 404, 407.

the latter political groupings: for example, the 28th of July 1929 a special service of mourning to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Teodor Herzl¹³⁸, while on the 29th of August 1929 there was a service for the victims of Arab terror in Palestine¹³⁹.

A then inhabitant of Łódź, Karol Weksler, in the following way describes the activities of the synagogue:

It was a huge, beautiful synagogue. It distinguished itself not simply by its exterior. This was a progressive synagogue. There were no Jews here with ringlets and beards, here came only very progressive Jews, assimilated, the Jewish bourgeois, factory owners. There sermons were delivered not in Hebrew but simply in Polish. And this was a synagogue where the youth from Jewish schools came on Polish national holidays. On the 11th of November all the schools went to this synagogue. I was there several times. Once when Pilsudski died¹⁴⁰.

In 1939¹⁴¹ within the make up of the Synagogue Committee were: the chairman Ludwik Cukier, the owner of the house at Kościuszko Street 24, the secretary was the lawyer Stanisław Dobranicki (Cegielniana Street 45; he died at the beginning of 1940), members – the industrialists Jakub Kamiński (Nawrot Street 4) and Oskar Kon, the owner of Widzewska Manufaktura (Targowa Street 61)¹⁴².

With the taking of Łódź by the German army in October 1939, the synagogue along with all other Jewish places of worship and other Jewish organisations was joined to the Jewish community¹⁴³. However, already by November 1939 it had been burnt down by Germans¹⁴⁴. The burning of the synagogue is described by a night witness, a Polish worker:

I can't forget how the Germans burnt down the synagogue on Zielona Street. It was early, before seven. I set off as usual to work along Zachodnia Street. At Więckowski Street there stood a line of Gestapo who were directing pedestrians into the street. When somebody showed a document proving they lived on Zachodnia Street they let them go through. I was interested what was happening so I took my document and went straight towards the Gestapo. They didn't look carefully and so I was able to go with the others to Zielona lined with gendarmarie and military. I stopped, not believing my own eyes. The whole synagogue was in flames. From the depths of the walls came human wailing, it was not difficult to guess who was calling for mercy, and who was not showing

¹³⁸ *Rocznica zgonu Hercla*, 'Głos Poranny' no. 173, 28th July 1929, p. 9.

¹³⁹ *Wczorajsze demonstracje w Łodzi*, 'Głos Poranny' no. 205, 29th August 1929, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Cited from: P. Spodenkiewicz, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁴¹ SAL, Superior of the Seniority of Jews 9, p. 91.

¹⁴² 'Łódź Address Book' 1937-1939, book II, p. 73, 89, 202.

¹⁴³ I. Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją 1939-1945*, London 1988, p. 171.

¹⁴⁴ Various dates are given: J. Baranowski, *Łódzkie getto 1940-1944. Vademecum*, Łódź 1999, p. 27: 10th of November; I. Rubin, op. cit., p. 172, writes of the night of the 10th/11th of November, S. Huberband, *The Destruction of the Synagogues in Łódź*, [in:] *Łódź Ghetto. Inside a Community under Siege*, edited by A. Adelson, R. Lapides, New York 1989, p. 70, give the night of the 14th/15th of November as the night of its destruction, while T. Bojanowski, *Łódź pod okupacją niemiecką w latach II wojny światowej (1939-1945)*, Łódź 1992 p. 228, gives the date of the 15th of November.

it. At that moment I received a blow from a whip and not waiting for another I ran as fast as I could in the direction of Wólczańska Street. When I turned left I saw that I was already safe. On my back I only felt the still present pain of the blow¹⁴⁵.

The demolition of the building was finished in the spring of 1940. On the empty square there was dug at a later date anti-aircraft trenches (they existed for certain in November 1944)¹⁴⁶.

At present there is a parking lot on the site of the building.

¹⁴⁵ S. Baranowski, *Pamiętnik robotnika*, selected and edited by T. Mrozowski, Łódź 1974, p. 95.

¹⁴⁶ SAŁ, LCR 15751.

IV. THE SYNAGOGUE AT ZACHODNIA STREET 56*

In the 1870s there was constructed at Zachodnia Street a Jewish sacral building on real estate probably numbered in the register as 275c¹, lying between the then streets Cegielniana and Południowa. This was situated outside of the boundaries of the old Jewish district. It was a synagogue built – according to Krzysztof Stefański – by Daniel Dobranicki and Dawid Prussak². In actual fact – as may be ascertained from the documentation connected with the renovation and extension of the object in question in 1903 – D. Dobranicki was to build it himself³. It was not possible, however, to find the notary public's act confirming the purchase of this property with the aim of constructing a new religious building. Subsequent notary documents dealing with the said property also fail to mention it, which is not in accordance with the practice of the day. It is possible that as the purchase-sale agreement was concluded in the presence of the Mayor of Łódź a notary public's act was never, in fact, drawn up⁴. A record of landownership was never opened then either, or for a long period afterwards⁵.

The author of the building design, confirmed by the provincial authorities on the 27th of July 1875, is unknown⁶. There is equally a lack of exact data on the appearance of the exterior of the synagogue at the time. This is the result of a reconstruction made by a historian of architecture based on later plans and photos:

The synagogue at Zachodnia Street was built on a square ground plan. From the frontage there was situated a tripartite vestibule, the entrance to which was through either three or five sets of narrow doors. This was flanked by rectangular stairwells with geometrical stairs leading to a gallery that ran three sides of the prayer hall. The sides were four-axial, at the extreme western axes there were situated side entrance doors. The eastern side (the rear) along the sides by three windows enclosing the central part of the wall with the Aron ha-Kodesh. The nine-axial frontage of the synagogue was composed in a classical style: horizontally it was divided by wide moulded cornices

* At present Zachodnia Street 70.

¹ Later it was to be registered 274d and 2746 which resulted from the lack of landownership records until the mid 1930s, see below.

² K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta*, Łódź 1995, p. 53.

³ The State Archive in Łódź (further: SAL), Piotrków Provincial Government-Building Department (later: PPG-Bud.) 9658, unnumbered.

⁴ As Dr Maciej Janik of SAL ascertained such practices in the purchase and sale of real estate were common still in the 1860s and 1870s.

⁵ The Regional Court in Łódź, XX Real Estate Registers Department (later RCL-RERD) repertory number 6605, brief of documents no. 4.

⁶ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered; K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 53.

running between storeys, vertically by wide rustic work pilasters. The side two-storey sections of the facade were crowned by triangular half-peaks enclosing the raised central covered part with a triangular fronton. The windows and door openings 'thickly piercing' the facade as seen in photographs from our century are closed with semicircular arches, oriental in nature, which are at odds with the classical architectural composition of the whole building. This is the result of the rebuilding of the synagogue during the first years of the twentieth century. More than likely the initial openings were closed by arches⁷.

Immediately after it was built the synagogue was considered by the Synagogical Supervisory Board to be the second communal synagogue referred to as 'the New Town synagogue'. In 1875 the Supervisory Board wanted the costs of heating and lighting the building to be covered by the community budget – for this purpose 30 foot of pine wood and 60 foot of oak as well as 400 pounds of stearic and 600 pounds of tallow candles were allocated. As the Synagogical Supervisory Board was not the owner of the synagogue the municipal authorities in Łódź did not support the project. It increased, however, the amount of wood and candles allocated for the synagogue at Wolborska Street, allowing in this way, possibly, for a surplus to accumulate which could be used in the synagogue at Zachodnia Street⁸. Equally in the first half of the 1880s the synagogue was defined by the city authorities as a 'branch' of the communal synagogue at Wolborska Street. The Mayor of Łódź emphasised that the synagogue at Zachodnia Street was frequented chiefly by representatives of the middle and upper classes of Jewish society. While according to the representatives of the poorer Orthodox groups of Łódź's Jews the building was by nature a private synagogue (*частной синагоги*)⁹.

In the synagogue at Zachodnia Street there took place for the first time in 1884 the election of members of the Synagogical Supervisory Board (previously it had taken place in the synagogue at Wolborska). Two hitherto members of the Supervisory Board, Szymon Heyman and Moszek Wajs, did not take part in the election, while a third member – Jakub Dobranicki – did not attend as he was away from Łódź at the time¹⁰. As members of the Board there were elected (in a question of hours, not days as previously) representatives of the richest element of Łódź's Jewish bourgeois: Izrael Poznański, Szaja Rosenblatt and J. Dobranicki (in his absence!). The election result caused accusations on the part of the poorest sections who donated to the synagogue, they demanded the elections annulling so that the composition of the Board could be increased by a fourth member, a representative of their social element. This was encouraged by, among others, a former member of the Synagogical Supervisory Board, M. Wajs¹¹ – who had not been chosen for another term of office. They pointed out that:

⁷ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 53.

⁸ SAL, Łódź City Records ((later: LCR) 7143, card 118-118v, 119-119v.

⁹ SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹⁰ SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹¹ SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

- the election had not taken place in a communal synagogue but in a private one,
- it had taken place too quickly, and in addition during a market day when many poorer Jewish traders were unable to attend,
- the elected Synagogical Supervisory Board will not have the time, as a result of the other obligations of its members, to engage in the matters of the community,
- its members do not possess the relevant knowledge on matters of the living conditions and needs of the poorer sections of Łódź's Jewry.

The administrative authorities, both municipal and provincial stood on the side of the newly elected Board, recognising the accusations as ungrounded, and the course of the election as fair. The fairness of the election procedure was to be seen by the facts that the place where the election was to be held had been announced in newspapers, as well as having been announced by the rabbi in the synagogue at Wolborska Street: the said rabbi assisted during the course of the election; there participated representatives of the poorest sections of the population; the individuals elected enjoy the respect of city society.

On the 16th of January 1885 the composition of the Synagogical Supervisory Board was confirmed, and the new members took up office¹². From that moment onwards the synagogue at Zachodnia Street became the usual place for the holding of elections for members of the Board, and also – when such a function was introduced due to the rise in the population of the Łódź Jewish community – their deputies¹³. The synagogue was known amongst Łódź's Jews as 'Vilker shul' – from the name of the region of the city where it was located¹⁴ which had been in usage from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century.

At this same time the synagogue building was still to be completed – the shortfalls included the plastering, which for sure relatively quickly led to a deterioration in the physical state of the building, which already by 1885 had to be renovated¹⁵.

In 1903 D. Dobranicki and D. Prussak decided to undertake the extension of the synagogue and the construction of its own Beth ha-Midrash ('school'). On the 18th of April/1st of May of the same year they drew up a notary public act stating that the real estate registry number 274d is their property, and that the planned investment will be carried out at their cost¹⁶. Such a notary recognisance was an extremely untypical phenomenon and could indicate that in point of fact Dobranicki and Prussak were 'elders' of the synagogue which was maintained by the body of Jews who worshipped there. The notary public's act, attached to the building's documents, was to clear up any doubts on the part of the Russian authorities, to whom the design for the rebuilding of the synagogue was pre-

¹² SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹³ SAL, LCR 7161, unnumbered.

¹⁴ P. Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, p. 72.

¹⁵ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 55.

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¹² SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹³ SAL, LCR 7161, unnumbered.

¹⁴ P. Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, p. 72.

¹⁵ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p. 55.

¹⁶ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

sented¹⁷. This is confirmed in the wording contained in the leading letter of the Mayor of Łódź attached to the design sent for confirmation to the provincial authorities, in which he writes that the synagogue 'is in their [i.e. Dobranicki and Prussak's – J. W.] administration' (and not that it is their property). The provincial authorities recognised the whole matter as one of private investment not affecting Łódź's Jewish community as a whole. The building design was confirmed in Piotrków on the 27th of May 1903¹⁸.

The author of the design and the person in charge of the technical supervision of the building work was Gustaw Landau-Gutenteger. The building work was done by the mason I. Gec and the carpenter I. Feldmark¹⁹. The rebuilding and extension work of the synagogue has been thus described by a historian of architecture:

The object, initially built on a square plan, was increased extending the prayer hall eastwards and adding on from the rear an annex with stairs to the gallery. The main entrance from the west was also rebuilt. The eastern wall with the Aron ha-Kodesh: according to the design adopted was to be a portal with double pilasters decorated with the motif of the Star of David, at the top separated by an ornamental border was a large arcaded panel stucco ornamented with blind *oculi*. The central part was flanked by two high arched windows. In the side walls there was built an additional part of the prayer hall, two storey windows were fitted as well as a side opening ending in a semicircular arch which was one of the characteristic motifs of 'the Moresque style'. Similar arches were employed in the rebuilding of part of the facade.

Archive photographs of the synagogue at Zachodnia Street, only from the period of the Nazi occupation, show semicircular arches in all of the window openings for all the storeys of the facade. It is unlikely that such a finish to the windows existed prior to the extension work at the start of the century as it would have been at odds with the classical composition of the building's frontage. It is more likely that this was introduced during the extension work even though the initial plans did not envisage such a fundamental alteration of the facade's configuration²⁰.

The Beth ha-Midrash was built as a small annex situated along the northern boundary of the property. Its facade did not indicate the specific nature of the building. On the ground floor was an extensive prayer hall, while on the first floor there were several smaller rooms²¹.

In the subsequent years, following the deaths of D. Dobranicki (1908) and D. Prussak (1909) the synagogue was governed by successive 'elders' whose names, unfortunately, it has been impossible to establish. It is only known that in 1920

¹⁷ D. Dobranicki and D. Prussak also appear as the owners of the synagogue property in other documents connected with the rebuilding work, e.g. in *Zobowiązanie do prowadzenia prac budowlanych na nieruchomości przy ul. Zachodniej 56 zgodnie z przepisami*, SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

¹⁸ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

¹⁹ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

²⁰ K. Stefański, *Architektura...*, p.135.

²¹ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

this function was performed by a certain Mendel Rozenblum (resident at Dzielna Street 36a). The synagogue was still considered to be connected with the Jewish denominational community at the beginning of the 1920s, even though there arose neighbourly conflicts between its administration and the community²²

In the 1930s the synagogue was run by Gidel Radomski (resident at Zachodnia Street 51)²³. In 1933 the Synagogue Board was composed of the following: the chairman was Cudek Herszenberg, the vice-chairman Samuel Hochenberg, members of the board – Henryk Sachs, Salomon Tempel, Ikassel-Mojżesz Berman and Berek Szwarc. It was decided at that time to settle the matter of the ownership of the synagogue, which was more than likely connected with the ending of the 30-year term of prescription, calculated from the last information in administrative acts concerning ownership relations – the notary declaration of D. Dobranicki and D. Prussak²⁴. At the Board sitting of the 17th of September 1933

Chairman Cudek Herszenberg [...] declared that in Łódź at Zachodnia Street number 56 there existed a synagogue which is administered by the board present here. The property has been used as a synagogue for the faithful for 55 years. As the premises do not have a mortgage registration – it is necessary for the purpose of settling the status of ownership to call the property to primary mortgage settlement²⁵.

The Board recommended that the matter be handled by the former chairman Mozes Epstein (resident at Zielona Street 17), who was to settle the mortgage matter in the 'name' of 'the First Great Synagogue at Zachodnia Street'²⁶.

During the course of the initial process the property was surveyed, its boundaries established and it was granted a new real estate registration number (2746)²⁷. The date for the primary settlement of the registration was the 26th of June 1934; due to the non-appearance of those submitting for regulation the matter was finally settled at a third date of the 19th of December 1934. This delay was more than likely caused by disagreement over the course of the boundary between the synagogue and the property belonging to the denominational community²⁸. On the basis of M. Epstein's proposal as the basis for regulation the *Protokół ustalenia granic nieruchomości*²⁹ was accepted. The boundaries determined by the *Protokół* covered 1,912 square metres – as opposed to the area determined by the plan of 1934 which ran to 2,082 square metres. The difference

²² Cf.: SAL, Łódź Jewish Denominational Community (later: LJDC) 102, pp. 3-4; SAL, LJDC 12, pp. 12-13; SAL, LJDC 206, p. 12.

²³ SAL, LCR 16222, unnumbered.

²⁴ SAL, PPG-Bud. 9658, unnumbered.

²⁵ RCL-RERD, repertory number 6605, brief of documents no. 3

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ RCL-RERD, repertory number 6605, brief of documents no. 2; SAL, LCR 22934, card 103, 106.

²⁸ RCL-RERD, repertory number 6605.

²⁹ RCL-RERD, repertory number 6605, brief of documents no. 7

resulted from the different settlement of the boundary with the neighbouring property of the mikvah. On the 28th of December 1935 the Land Registration Department upheld the regulation³⁰.

In the inter-war period the Bet ha-Midrash that operated at the synagogue was an important centre for rabbinic studies:

The Vilker *shul* was attached to a *beys medresh* [Heb: house of study] which contained an extraordinary treasury of Hebrew books. It was the largest place of Torah study in the city. There was a time when study in the *beys medresh* proceeded uninterrupted for twenty-four hours a day. For this purpose, there were special *mishmorim* [Heb: study groups] which alternated periodically, to ensure that the place would not be without Torah study for a single second³¹.

According to Szloma Huberband the synagogue was not burnt down in November 1939. It was taken over instead for other purposes:

In early November, 1939, they summoned the representatives of the *kehillah*, returned to them the keys to the Vilker *shul* and ordered them to clean the *shul* and arrange services with a cantor, choir, Torah-reader, and *shofar* [Heb: the ram's horn blown at the New Year's service]-blower. The *kehillah* called upon the Jewish population to attend the service.

The event took place on Tuesday. The *shul* was packed with congregants wearing *taletsim* and *tefillin*. Cantor Winograd and his choir conducted the service. A large number of high-ranking German officers came and filmed the entire course of the service, immortalizing it on film.

Cantor Winograd sang with the choir a number of selections from the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur prayers. After that, the order was given to take out the Torah scroll and read from it. The Torah scroll was filmed in various poses-with the mantle covering it, with its belt on and off, open and closed. The Torah-reader, a clever Jew, called out in Hebrew before beginning to read the scroll: "Today is Tuesday." This was meant as a statement for posterity that they were forced to read the Torah, since the Torah is usually not read on Tuesdays³².

Pictures taken at the synagogue appear in the anti-Semitic propaganda film *Der Ewige Jude*. In the second half of 1940 the Germans burnt down the synagogue and the Beth ha-Midrash, destroying the book collection it contained. The Torah rolls were taken in an unknown direction³³, possibly to Prague where the Germans created an enormous Jewish museum collection.

³⁰ RCL-RERD. repertory number 6605.

³¹ S. Huberband, *The Destruction of the Synagogues in Lodz*, [In:] *Lodz Ghetto. Inside a Community under Siege*, ed. by A. Adelson, R. Lapides, New York 1989, p. 69

³² *Ibidem*, p. 70.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

V. THE 'EZRAS IZRAEL' ASSOCIATION (JEWISH AID) SYNAGOGUE AT WÓLCZAŃSKA STREET 6

The synagogue was situated on a plot at Wólczańska Street 6 and arose as a result of the division of real estate bought in 1899 by a group of Jewish merchants – Litvaks (Jews from Lithuania and Belarus) – from Paweł (the son of Otton Juliusz) Szulc for 10,000 roubles with the aim, as may be surmised, of building their own house of prayer. The purchasers were: Lejzer son of Chaim Magazanik, Mojżesz son of Gerszon Kaczanowski, Dawid Hersz son of Ilia Hirszał, Mordka Juda son of Szlama Lerner, Lejb son of Mojżesz Padwa, 'the important hereditary citizen' Józef Lejb son of Berk Szejner vel Szejzon, Mordechaj son of Hersz Helman, Lejb son of Tobiasz Gurland, Berek son of Jankiel Etkind, Szaja son of Dawid Rajchszajn, Mojżesz son of Mordechaj Helman (a later deputy and city councillor), Aron Abram son of Berk Magazanik¹.

The plot constituted the western part of the real estate registry no.275E² and had at that time a surface area of 610 square metres³. In June 1903 L. Magazanik, L. Padwa and Tenszel Basz bought out the other owners⁴, while on the 4th/17th of May 1904 the two remaining settled up with L. Magazanik⁵. In this way in 1905, at the moment of the start of the synagogue's activities, the owner of the property was L. Padwa and T. Basz⁶, the chief activists of an informal organisation controlling the synagogue and later referred to by the name of the 'Ezras Izrael' association⁷. They also became 'elders' of the synagogue 'in administrative-economic respects', for the Synagogical Supervisors recognised it, admittedly in statements for tax purposes, as 'a social synagogue'⁸. In 1911 officially 60 people⁹ attended the synagogue called 'Wolyńska' (the actual figure for the faithful was undoubtedly higher).

¹ The State Archive in Łódź (further: SAL) notary public Plachecki, repertory no 3458/1899.

² Cf.: The Regional Court in Łódź, Archive of the XX Real Estate Registers Department (later: RCL-RERD), repertory no 945. On the 'Plan of property No 275E Gecla Cygelberg in the district city of Łódź at Zachodnia Street comprising a surface area of square ellis 6919 [...], 02.1882' carried out by A. Stebelski the property goes as far as Wólczańska Street. The square on which later the synagogue was built is marked as a garden – SAL, the Łódź Credit Society (later: LCS) 933, card 55.

³ RCL-RERD, repertory no 945, section II, p. 5. In the 1930s as a result of border changes (for example cf.: SAL, notary public Trojanowski, repertory no 2933/1904) the plot's area rose to 795 square metres – SAL, Łódź City Records (later LCR) 16206, unnumbered.

⁴ SAL, notary public Plachecki, repertory no 2570/1903.

⁵ SAL, notary public Trojanowski, repertory no 2933/1904.

⁶ RCL-RERD, repertory no 4042, vol. 1.

⁷ In 1937 it was said that the association had actually owned the real estate on which its synagogue was located for 'a dozen years or so'. – SAL, notary public Wodziński, repertory no 1807/1937.

⁸ Łódź Jewish Denominational Community (later LJDC)

⁹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 334-335.

From the notary public's act drawn up in 1937¹⁰ it results that L. Padwa informally sold his half of the real estate to the association, which in fact was its owner, 'and only when alive did he fail to fulfil the formalities of transferring the title of ownership to the name of the created association' which in point of fact owned the real estate 'paying tax and other outgoings'. It was more than likely as follows that considering the fact that 'Ezras Izrael' up until 1927 did not possess – from a civil law point of view – the possibility to legal acts, and therefore equally to the possession of real estate, and therefore in these administrative matters L. Padwa and T. Basz played the roles of owners.

The synagogue building was constructed in the period 1899-1904. The synagogue was built according to Gustaw Landau-Gutenteger's design, which incidentally has not been preserved, sanctioned by the Piotrków Provincial Government on the 21st of September 1899, by a well-known Jewish building company 'Olszer and Szczeciński'. The site manager was Dawid Lande. The combined cost of the undertaking was to be 70,000 roubles¹¹. The complex, still not totally finished, was opened for the first time during the period of the autumn holidays of 1904 (27th of August to the 20th of September)¹².

The architecture of the building has been described in the following way by an art historian:

The object was put up in neo-Romanesque forms. It was simply designed being compact in form and constituted a regular-shaped rectangle. The elevations were divided by string-courses into three storeys with a frontage covered with belting rustication and filled in the two lower levels with high arched windows; the central storey is topped with an arched border. In the top storey the window space was occupied by a blind arched triforium. On the other frontal axis in the side elevations there was situated a shallow break crowned by a triangular peak: on the ground floor there were undoubtedly located side entrances, in the last storey there is a large triforic window. The corners of the building are finished with narrow buttresses. The frontal elevation was decorated in the central part with an elevated pseudo break in the wall, the lower part of which is filled with a double entrance crowned with a triangular top banded with an arcaded ornamental border. Higher up in the moulded niche a large rosette was placed. The break was crowned with a triangular peak with an arcaded ornamental border upon which on the axis was located a pinnacle and on the sides two mini towers with pseudo domes; little towers were situated on the corners. A lack of appropriate iconographic material leaves us with nothing to say concerning the rear, eastern section of the synagogue. We may merely conjecture that equally there as in the frontal part were to be found shallow breaks with buttresses and small towers on the corners¹³.

As results from the preserved plans¹⁴, the building had a cellar only in the front part. On the ground floor there was an extensive vestibule out of which

¹⁰ SAL, notary public Wodziński, repertory no 1807/1937.

¹¹ K. Stefański, *Budownictwo synagogałne Łodzi*, 'The Bulletin of the Jewish Institute of History' 1994, nos. 1/3, p. 17, K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta, 1821-1914*, Łódź 1995, p. 134; SAL, LCS 932, card 6v-7.

¹² SAL, LCS 932, card 6v-7.

¹³ K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta, 1821-1914*, Łódź 1995, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴ SAL, LCS 932, card 11-15.

were two entrances to the prayer hall. The hall was lit by four windows on every side. In the centre was to be found an octagonal bimah. Along the windows were situated two rows each of thirteen pew benches, six benches were to be found on the axis of the hall; five between the bimah and Aron ha-Kodesh, one in front of the bimah. Above the altar cupboard at the height of the second storey were two skylights facing east.

The building possessed two separate entrances for women leading directly to the stairwells from which entrance into the gallery was through the vestibule. In the gallery were situated thirty eight benches in two long rows along the side walls and in two short rows in the central part of the gallery. The synagogue was covered with a wooden roof crowned with a lamp.

According to the statement of the Łódź City Municipal Authorities of the 25th of January 1905¹⁵ in the territory of the said piece of real estate there was located: a synagogue worth 39,390 roubles, walled conveniences (390 roubles), a well (50 roubles). The buildings were insured, however, for only 5,000 roubles.

According to a sketch description of the building from the inter-war years the interior of the building consisted of: on the ground floor three halls, on the first one. In the basement there was a room for the building's caretaker¹⁶.

The investors had problems in raising the sum required to finish the investment, however the building company agreed to the mortgage security of the real estate for the shortfall – and this was partly paid thanks to the acquiring of a ten-thousand-rouble loan from Paweł Ribenzon. This was probably treated rather as a gift than a loan for up until 1939 it still encumbered the mortgage (the sum was at that time, after recalculation, four thousand zloty)¹⁷.

L. Padwa and T. Basz almost immediately after finishing the building of the synagogue attempted to raise a long-term loan from the Credit Society of the City of Łódź. They charged Abram Majer Kapłan with the matter, who, at the end of January – beginning of February 1905, had applied in their name for a loan of 28,000 roubles, submitting among other things that the 'house of prayer' brings in a income of 7,250 roubles from leasing. The Credit Society's Evaluation Commission admitted as possible an income of only 2,400 roubles¹⁸, however the Society's Directorate in March 1905 refused a loan stating that in the property was situated a house of prayer which was unable to bring in a regular income¹⁹.

¹⁵ SAL, LCS 932, card 5.

¹⁶ SAL, LCR 16206, unnumbered.

¹⁷ SAL, notary public Rybarski, repertory no 2812/1904, repertory no 3710/1905, repertory no 3988/1905; notary public Jonscher, repertory no 2928/1905; RCL-RERD, repertory no 4042, vol. 1, Chapter IV.

¹⁸ SAL, LCS 932, card 1, 3, 4.

¹⁹ SAL, LCS 932, card 28-28v.

The applicants appealed against the Directorate's decision, writing²⁰, among other things, that:

1) In such a large city as Łódź almost a third of the population is Jewish and there is a lack of houses of prayer, therefore it is necessary to make use of private ones, hence such a house will give far more guarantee than a mere dwelling,

2) As this real estate is private property and not council property – the income is greater which we can prove through the attached long term contract with the lessee Izaak Bornstein (an owner of real estate in Łódź) for 7,200 roubles annually²¹,

and 3) the house is insured for 40,000 roubles therefore the insurance covers twice the value of the loan.

Besides which they were obliged to

add the penalty in the III chapter of the Real Estate Register that until the time the Society's loan is paid the real estate can not be transferred to the Community but will remain in our hands²².

The appeal was successful for the Directorate of the Credit Society were allocated a loan of 12,000 roubles to be paid off in the course of 28 years (i.e. until 1933)²³. These payments, as one should assume, were not made regularly, for one reason because of the economic crisis, and were at times even divided into further parts²⁴.

Despite this L. Padwa and T. Basz at the end of 1911 applied to the Credit Society for a 12,000 rouble loan incorporated with the conversion of the unpaid sum of 10,600 roubles for a new period of remittance lasting 33 and a 1/3 years as well as a 12,000 rouble additional loan with reassessment – in total 24,000 roubles²⁵. From the attached extract of income it results that the synagogue earned 6,000 roubles annually through the leasing by Izrael Rorbach and Abraham Kaplun (Kaplan?)²⁶. However the Directorate of the Credit Society decided in January 1912 that 'except for the initial loan no additional one would be granted'²⁷ (the initial loan was finally paid off in 1922)²⁸.

²⁰ Considering the content of the above quoted statement by the Synagogical Supervisors (SAL, LJD 1, p. 331), this information appears contentious, for the leasing agreement, if it actually existed, was drawn up merely to show the creditor the security and size of the income from the property.

²¹ SAL, CSL 932, card 29-29v.

²² This ownership restriction was not, however, entered into the real estate register. cf.: SAL, LCS 932, card 46-49v.

²³ SAL, LCS 932, card 37.

²⁴ Cf. SAL, LCS 932, card 55 seq.

²⁵ SAL, LCS 932, card 65.

²⁶ SAL, LCS 932, card 66. This leasehold contract is also drawn up with the aim of indicating the amount of income from the synagogue.

²⁷ SAL, LCS 932, card 83v.

²⁸ RCL-RERD, repertory 4042, vol. 1, Chapter IV.

A change in the conditions by which the synagogue functioned after 1918 more than likely caused the decision to legalise the organisation running it. The legalisation took place in the second half of the 1920s, creating, in accordance with the regulations on associations then in force, an association possessing a legal identity under the name of 'Ezras Izrael'²⁹.

The organisational statute³⁰ confirmed in 1927 foresaw that its aim is 'the propagation and support of religious principles amongst members as well as the improvement in the lot of poor Jews'. The organisation was to open and maintain houses of prayer, look after the religious book collections they contained, 'organise talks and gatherings of a religious and moral content' as well as found religious schools. For the realisation of the above aims the association had the right to purchase effects and real estate. Besides which it was to provide 'moral and material' help for the children of its members as well as assist members and their families with aid 'in the case of sickness, death [...] as well as in incidences of temporary loss of employment or a total inability to work' (§3). A member of the organisation could be 'every legally aged Jew [...] of impeccable behaviour' – and therefore membership of the organisation was limited to male individuals of the Jewish faith (§4). The registration fee was 6 zloty (§6) while the subscription fee was dependant on the financial means of the member (maximum – 3 zloty a month). Among the association's incomes it was envisaged that there would be revenue 'from the organising of services' (§ 11). 'Ezras Izrael's' fortune, in the event of liquidation was to be transferred to the Jewish Community in Łódź (§ 17). The association's board enjoyed wide ranging powers, it could, for instance, independently 'buy and sell' real estate (§ 21).

The founders of the association were³¹:

the merchant Chaim Salomon Rozental, born in 1862 in Praszka, resident at the Cegielniana Street 55,

the merchant Kalman Lewenton, born in 1869, resident at the Cegielniana Street 26,

the industrialist and real estate owner Ber Etkind, born on the 15th of April 1864, resident in his own house at Piotrkowska Street 190.

As the organs of the political police stated the founders 'in both political and moral terms were exemplary. They were loyal in relations with the authorities and Polish society. They were not registered either in records of individuals suspected politically or in the files of the Investigation Office'.

²⁹ The association was entered into the register of associations on the 21st of April 1927 – The register of associations – the City of Łódź, SAŁ, Łódź Voivodeship (later: LV) 1142, p. 259.

³⁰ SAŁ, LV 1518, unnumbered.

³¹ Personal data based on the letter of the Brigade of the Vth Investigation Office in Łódź to the Government Commissariat for Łódź, 15.12.1926, SAŁ, LV 1518, unnumbered

The first information concerning the composition of the association's ruling body comes from 1933. On the 30th of April of that year the following were elected³²:

The Board: chairman Izrael Rubinsztajn (Cegielniana 3), vice-chairman Ber Etkind (Piotrkowska 190), treasurer (cashier) Józef Mikulicki (Cegielniana 38), secretary Uszer Strokowski (Gdańska 28), manager Zelig Nesis (Śródmiejska 40), members: Eliaz Piechowicz (Śródmiejska 18) and Izrael Menachem Barnsztajn (Południowa 6), associate members: Izaak Borensztajn (Cegielniana 18) and Lejb Basz (Cegielniana 17).

The Auditing commission: members – Aron Ryder (Piłsudskiego 29), Dawid Ślucky (Wólczańska 21) and Frojm Berger (Śródmiejska 16); associate members – Jakub Wizental (Cegielniana 15) and Abram Majer Baum (Al. 1 Maja 25).

On the basis of information coming from the years 1937³³ and 1939³⁴ one may recreate the composition of the association's board for the last years prior to the Second World War. The chairman was rabbi Lejzer Icyk Segal, resident at Kilińskiego Street 18, vice-chairman – the trader Dawid Ślucky, resident at Wólczańska Street 21, the treasurer – the industrialist Jakub Wajnberg (Cegielniana Street 83), the secretary – the industrialist Borys Ostrowski (Piotrkowska Street 54), the manager – the merchant Zelig Nesis (Śródmiejska Street 40)³⁵.

We possess information on 'Ezras Izrael' membership numbers only for 1933³⁶. There were at the time 65 'active' members, 5 honorary and 450 'supporting' members (what differentiated 'active' members from 'supporting' ones is unknown for the initial registering statute made no provision for such a division).

In the 1930s all members of the Board, and as one can assume equally the remaining membership of the association, were resident in an area between Gdańska Street to the west, Sterlinga Street to the east and Północna Street to the north and Legionów Street to the south. The exception being Ber Etkind who lived further to the south (Piotrkowska Street 190). It is still more than likely that, as before the First World War, their numbers were recruited from 'Litvak' (Jews originating from Lithuania and the lands of Belarus – G. T.) circles.

The death of the then official owners³⁷ of the real estate, on which the association's synagogue was located, forced it, particularly due to the significant inheritance taxation that fell on the sole heir of L. Padwa, his daughter, Dobrysz Berensztejnowa, resident in Łódź³⁸, to regulate the legal status of the synagogue.

³² LV 1518, unnumbered.

³³ RCL-RERD, repertory no 4042, vol. 1, doc. coll. card 85-86.

³⁴ SAL, LCR 16206.

³⁵ Professions established on the basis of the Address book for the City of Łódź 1937-1939, Chapter VI.

³⁶ SAL, LV 1518, unnumbered

³⁷ T. Basz died 5/18 of September 1912, L. Padwa – the 30th of May 1927 RCL-RERD repertory no. 4042, vol. 1.

³⁸ The matter of taxation, despite the transfer of ownership to 'Ezras Izrael', still continued for the real estate was

In 1937 D. Berensztajnowa submitted before the Łódź notary public Aleksandr Radziszlaw Wodziński a declaration claiming that her father had sold his part of the real estate before his death to the association 'Ezras Izrael' not fulfilling at the time, however, any legal formalities³⁹. On this basis 'Ezras Izrael' was entered into the register of real estate as the joint owner of half of the synagogue. While the matter concerning the second half, belonging once to T. Basz, was not to be finally regulated until 1939⁴⁰.

Following the occupation of Łódź by Hitler's forces the synagogue was burnt down (the night of the 10th to the 11th of November 1939⁴¹). The soldiers combined the destruction of the building with ill treatment of the Jewish clergy⁴². These events have been thus described by Iccak Kacnelson in the poem *The Song of the Murdered Jewish Nation*:

[...] And rabbi Josele....Where is our rabbi?
He's running around the bimah, while the German with a thick riding crop stands aside.

The rabbi is old, the rabbi is small, a little handicapped a little bit crooked,
Ugly, crippled...He bows low three times, runs, falls without a word!
The riding crop falls straight at the hump – the Germans around choke with laughter...

Rise, Rabbi, your radiant face, strike them with shame...No hide it, hide it!

Your scared face! A great radiating light glows from it!
Don't let the light fall on them, and let the sun lessen its brightness!
Let Heaven reject its holiness, let it shine for them together with the sun!
You are more beautiful Rabbi than the sun and brighter than the deceitful heavens!

Stop! stop my Rabbi...The German becomes angry, orders you to stop, not to run any more.
Orders you to open your mouth...And the shammes is supposed to spit into it, oh sacred rabbi!
The Rabbi has opened his mouth wide, and the shammes cries and folds his arms:
'How can I! How could I, master! How am I to do such a base thing!...'

Hurry up, quickly spit into his mouth! Stupid shammes, why are you so slow!
And the shammes falls at the German's feet: 'I can't! How can I act so basely!...
It's rabbi Josele...' cried out the rabbi: 'Spit! He's taken his aim, he'll shoot you!'
The shammes obeyed, pretended to spit...Till he is hit by the German with an almighty blow:

³⁹ SAL, notary public Wodziński, repertory no 1807/1937.

⁴⁰ RCL-RERD repertory no 4042, vol. 1, Chapter II. T. Basz was equally the owner of real estate mortgage no 1388 situated at Cegielniana Street, its mortgaging in the LCS raised 59,129 roubles – Cf. the Directorate of the Municipal Credit Society to the lawyer Adolf Kon, the plenipotentiary of Tenszel Basz's heirs, 6/19.08.1913. SAL, CSL 932, card 87v.

⁴¹ J. Poznański, *Pamiętnik z getta łódzkiego*, Łódź 1960, p. 15; P. Spondenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1997, p. 72.

⁴² Including rabbi Segal being ordered to tear up the Pentateuch rolls with his own hands – I. Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją 1939-1945*, London 1988, p. 172.

'Look, you filthy Jew, and learn! Look, how to spit, look quickly!'
 And the German coughed up, and spat out straight into the rabbi's mouth: 'Swallow immediately!'
 And the rabbi swallowed, the German turns to the shammes, pointing at the rabbi:
 'Do you see how obedient he is!' ... The measure hasn't filled up yet...

The bullet hit the shammes in the leg 'And now – away from here, Jew!'
 The shammes is leading the rabbi, he limps, but tries to walk faster...
 Yet the rabbi can only run around the bimah – and can barely walk.
 The shammes leads him to the cracks of the riding whip.... The measure hasn't filled up yet!

It hasn't been filled until they both have gone – look, in broad daylight
 Smoke goes straight up into the sky, the fire flashed with flame in the covers of smoke!
 The synagogue is burning! The house of God is on fire! Aron ha-kodesh! The Pentateuch rolls are
 burning!
 The rabbi looks, the shammes holds him: Oh the measure... the measure is already filled!⁴³

The last walls of the building were demolished in March 1940⁴⁴.

⁴³ I Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją, 1939-1945*, London 1988, p. 172; I. Kacenelson, *Pieśń o zamordowanym żydowskim narodzie*, translation, introduction and footnotes by J. Ficowski, Warszawa 1986, pp. 49-51.

⁴⁴ Real estate inventory card of the 12th of March 1930 SAL, LCR 16206.

VI. THE SYNAGOGUE AT DŁUGA (LATER GDAŃSKA) STREET 18

In Długa Street (property register number 54b – at present Gdańska Street 18) at the end of the 1890s there appeared a building which could be described rather as a small synagogue than a large prayer house, both because of the shape of its front wall, clearly different from the facades of dwelling houses, as well as the role it played in the history of one of Łódź's Jewish parties.

The real estate, on which the synagogue was built, changed owner many times during the final twenty years of the nineteenth century – its owners were Jews, Poles and Germans¹. On the 9th/21st of February 1892 the property was bought for 11,500 roubles by the Jedlickis, a married couple, – Wolf son of Jakub and Estera the daughter of Beniamin nee Nadel².

The first biggish building on the site was a brick outbuilding which appeared probably in the first half of the 1890s. A few years later the construction of a front tenement house was under way (it was still unfinished in 1898³ – such a sequence of building on a site was typical for Łódź at this most intense period of its development⁴). In the autumn of 1898, more than six years after the plot had been purchased, W. Jedlicki decided to build a small synagogue on it. The architectural plans were drawn up by Gustaw Landau-Gutenteger⁵, one of the best known Łódź architects of the time, who was, according to Jacek Strzałkowski, 'the best working architect, next to A. Zeligson, of the period prior to 1914, the creator of numerous tenement houses as well as the synagogue at Wólczańska Street 6, along with being the author of the design for the redevelopment of the synagogue in Zachodnia Street; though known first and foremost as the designer of Leopold Kindermann's modernist villa situated at Wólczańska Street 31/33'⁶. G. Landau-Gutenteger equally oversaw the building of the object under discussion.

¹ They were: Stanisław and Anna Kaszyński, Wilhelm and Paulina Frantz, Leon Chaim Michalski, Jan and Katarzyna Dzięgielewski, Ludwik and Estera Krykus, Icek Zytenfeld – Regional Court in Łódź, Archive of the XX Real Estate Registers Department (later: RCL-RERD), repertory no 983, Chapter II, card 4-5.

² RCL-RERD, repertory no 983, Chapter II, card 4-5.

³ The State Archive in Łódź (later: SAL), Piotrków Provincial Government – Building Department (later PPG-Bud.) 7302, unnumbered.

⁴ Outbuildings – in relation to the costs of their erection – yielded higher profits from the rental of living quarters than was the case with frontal houses. Cf. M. Koter, *Rozwój przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, [in:] *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, edited by R. Rosin, vol. 1: *Do 1918r.*, edited by B. Baranowski, J. Fijałek, Warszawa 1980, p. 183; I. Popławska, *Architektura mieszkalna Łodzi w XIX w.*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Łódzkiej*. Academic papers, Volume 46, 1982, pp. 22-25.

⁵ SAL, PPG-Bud., 7302, unnumbered.

⁶ JU. Strzałkowski, *Architekt i budowniczowie w Łodzi do 1944 roku*, Łódź 1997, pp. 80-81.

The synagogue building, located in the rear portion of the plot, was relatively imposing in size and neo-Renaissance in style. It was constructed on a rectangular plan, its walls being adorned with arched windows, and the facade crowned with a triangular tympanum. The entrances for men were located: one in a small ground-floor annex on the western wall of the building, the second, leading straight into the prayer hall, was situated in the southern wall. Women entered the gallery via a spacious vestibule located on the first floor of a single storey outbuilding next to the synagogue. Inside, on the eastern wall of the building, between two windows the height of both floors, was situated the Aron ha-Kodesh. The women's gallery ran the length of three sides of the prayer hall⁷. The synagogue building was gaslit, and the necessary air circulation was provided by four fans more than likely powered by electricity⁸.

The building work went quickly. Already by January 1899 W. Jedlicki, in accordance with the regulations then in force, approached the Rabbi for Łódź, Eliaz Chaim Majzel, for permission to 'take control' of the synagogue at Długa Street⁹. But it was only on the 31st of May 1899, the sanitary-building committee having decided that the building came up to regulation standards, that it was approved for use¹⁰. On the 30th of June the Police Superintendent for Łódź presented Piotrków with all the documentation (together with his positive evaluation of the case)¹¹, so that the 17th of August saw the governor of Piotrków give permission for the opening of 'a house of prayer for 100 people'¹².

There has been preserved a list of those attending the synagogue in Długa Street¹³, submitted during registration together with other necessary documents. The list consists of 101 people registered as resident in an area between Długa Street and Widzewska Street and incorporating the streets Konstantynowska, Zielona and Dzielna constituting the 'better part' of the Jewish district (inhabited by its richer sections). We find amongst those listed small scale manufacturers, merchants, 'private' officials, the owners of textile warehouses, property owners – though also a porter and a painter and decorator. Many of those who worshipped in the synagogue came from the adjacent neighbourhood, chiefly from the same district. On the list we also come across a few members of W. Jedlicki's wife's family – the Nadels.

We do not possess any further information on the pre-war history of the synagogue building. The next reference which has been preserved (from the years following the First World War) is data on the constant changes in the ownership

⁷ SAL, PPG-Bud, 7302, unnumbered.

⁸ SAL, PPG-Administrative Department (later: Adm) 9255, card 229-229v.

⁹ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 230.

¹⁰ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 229-229v.

¹¹ The superintendent especially emphasised the fact that 'the Jewish house of prayer' is to be located in purpose-built premises – SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 226.

¹² SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 245.

¹³ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 153-156.

of the real estate numbered 54b, resulting finally in it becoming the property of Lewek and Sura Pukacz. In the real estate register we read:

Wolf and Gitla Jedlicki sold the said property by means of a notary public's act in Łódź Korna of the 29th of May 1918 act number 1558 to Rafał and Estera Piotrkowski and Hersz and Bela Klüger in equal parts non-divisible between them, subsequently the Klügers sold the non-divisible half of their half, being one fourth of the total property by an act drawn up by the notary public Krzemieniewski in Łódź on the 19th of August 1921, act number 2764, to Szysza and Chaja Sura Pomeranc, then the Pomerancs, through an act of the 6th of July 1923 no. 5575 drawn up by the same notary public sold their one quarter non-divisible lot of the property to Wolf and Łaja Eizner, subsequently Rafał and Estera Ruchla Piotrkowski sold a half of their non-divisible half, that being one fourth of the whole property and Hersz and Bela Klüger sold their quarter of the property through an act of the 15th of September 1925 no. 10338 drawn up by the above mentioned notary public [...] to Mr & Mrs Pukacz for the valuation of fifty four thousand four hundred and twenty seven zloty, subsequently the Eizners sold their one fourth through the notary public Krzemieniewski in Łódź act no 509 of the 25th of January 1928 to Naftale Mojżesz Zylberberg, and he sold the quarter lot acquired from them via an act no. 1881 of the 1st of December 1928 drawn up by the notary public Karnawalski in Łódź to Estera Ruchla Piotrkowska, and finally Rafał and Estera Ruchla Piotrkowski sold [...] their non-divisible half of the property by act drawn up by the notary public Jeżewski on the 17th of January 1930 in Łódź to Lewek and Sura Pukacz for the valuation of ten thousand six hundred and eighty four US dollars and fifty cents, and twenty seven thousand three hundred and twenty five zloty¹⁴.

During the First World War the synagogue fell within the area of Zionist influence. It was referred to as 'Ohel Jakov' (Jacob's Tent) and was considered to be an institution part of the Łódź Organisation of Zionists. In 1920 the synagogue board, on behalf of this party, was made up of the following known activists: Józef Uryson, Sz. Sokołowski and Samuel Lew¹⁵.

In the inter-war period the synagogue acted under the Zionist slogan 'The Livelihood of the Nation, the rebuilding of the Country, and the rebirth of the Hebrew Language'. The previously mentioned 'Ohel Jakov' played an important role in the activities of Łódź's Zionists. The 'Golden Book' of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kajemmet LeIsrael) was kept there. The resident preacher was Aron Luboszycki, a writer, journalist and teacher, the author of textbooks in Hebrew, 'who always related in his sermons to contemporary problems of (i.e. Zionist) life'. Instruction was also given by: the unquestioned leader of Łódź's Zionists Dr Jerzy Rosenblatt, the editor Szaja Ugier, the editor Limon. The synagogue members, amongst whom were representatives of the Jewish bourgeois, actively took part in the activities of the Zionist Party, and gave generous donations to the Jewish National Fund (collected during services). They also supported other local Zionist institutions: like the 'Jabne' school, the 'Herclija'

¹⁴ DCL-RERD, repertory number 983, Chapter II, k 6-7.

¹⁵ 'Informator m. Łódź z kalendarzem na rok 1920' (A Łódź Guide with Calendar for 1920), Łódź 1919, p. 412.

nursery school, or the orphanage in Helenówek (run by Mordechaja Ch. Rumkowski, later the 'ruler' of the Łódź Ghetto). According to the evaluation of the board of the local Zionist organisation the synagogue was a model Jewish institution¹⁶.

In 1933 the synagogue celebrated its thirtieth year of existence [!]. At the head of the board was still S. Lew (resident at Cegielniana 4), the secretary was Markus Kacenelenbogen (resident at Śródmiejska 21), a member of the board was Szmul Reichman (resident at 11 Listopada 12)¹⁷.

As might be supposed from the existing – though far from exact – plans from the inter-war period, the synagogue building at the time did not have any major alterations done to it¹⁸. Following the death of L. Pukacz, however, his wife sold two fifths of the property on the 20th of December 1938 to Josek and Tauba Goldblum Lajmer¹⁹.

After Łódź was occupied by the Germans 'Ohel Jakov' shared the fate of other objects of Jewish worship. It was probably burnt down by the Germans in November 1939 and demolished the following year.

¹⁶ *Organizacja Syjonistyczna w Łodzi. Sprawozdanie za okres 1932-1934*, [Łódź 1935], p. 13; P. Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, pp. 59-60.

¹⁷ *Organizacja Syjonistyczna w Łodzi. Sprawozdanie za okres 1932-1934*, [Łódź 1935], p. 13; SAŁ, Łódź Provincial Authorities 2410, p. 37.

¹⁸ SAŁ, LCR 15644, unnumbered.

¹⁹ RCL-RERD, repertory number 983, Chapter II, card 7

VII. HOUSES OF PRAYER

In the religious life of Jews, particularly Hasids, an important role was played by houses of prayer, called *shtibl* or *kloyz*. They were more often than not simply converted living accommodation (in Łódź also industrial properties) in which the Aron ha-Kodesh was placed along with a temporary bimah. Usually the faithful sat at tables rather than on benches. Worship was conducted often by laymen. The adherents of various tzaddiks had their own houses of worship, which were places around which the lives of the Hasids was concentrated, they were their 'second home'. The Hasidic *shtibl* was not only a place of prayer – here rabbinical teachings were conducted¹. It was not only Hasids who worshipped in houses of prayer; they were equally founded by neighbourhood groups from several houses of the same street².

The first houses of prayer in Łódź were already in existence by at least the mid 1820s. This results from a contract struck in 1825 for the 'leasing of the Pentateuch rolls' in which it is stipulated that:

The lessee will not charge more for the Pentateuch rolls than is in accordance with the agreement, and announced by the local shammes in the synagogue, so this concerns [!] the performance of services in private houses, those without permission (with the approval of the lessee) can not be allowed³.

While the conditions for the auctioning of the 'so-called income from the Pentateuch rolls' of April 1832 in point four states:

No individuals either Hasids or equally those belonging to the brotherhood [funeral 'Chewr Kadish'] are excluded from using the Pentateuch rolls on the condition that they give more to the lessee than the given price, and that any other Pentateuch rolls possessed by the brotherhood or that may be possessed are not used in this way⁴.

More information on the subject of houses of prayer is preserved in records starting from when the leasing of the income from the 'Pentateuch rolls' is taken on by Szmul Saltzman. Besides the conflict at the end of the 1840s mentioned before, which is the best documented case, with a group of progressive Jews

¹ H. M. Rabinowicz, *The Legacy of Polish Jewry*, New York 1965, p. 129; A. Unterman, *Encyklopedia tradycji i legend żydowskich*, Warszawa 2000, p. 273.

² Cf. below, p.

³ The State Archive in Łódź (later: SAL), Łódź City Records (later: LCR) 1630, p. 116.

⁴ SAL, LCR 1586, pp. 16-17.

maintaining their own house of prayer⁵, Saltzman fought with lesser private houses of prayer, demanding that the Pentateuch rolls possessed by them be sealed.

In 1855 he informed the Łódź municipal authorities that:

In Mosiek Nogacz's flat the chop shop located there as well as the detainee's boarding house to where the most important traders from various districts come⁶ [and] do not go to the synagogue, services are simply conducted in his flat with the reading of the Pentateuch roll. Nogacz bought the rolls only for his own means [?] which is aimed at encouraging the needs of the merchants who stay with him – however this constitutes a considerable harm to the income derived from the Pentateuch rolls, and even more the case in the loss of donations given by wealthy donors during prayer when the Pentateuch rolls are being read.

Saltzman demanded that the rolls be sealed, however after a few days both sides came to an agreement and the lessee of the Pentateuch rolls withdrew his demands⁷.

A year later Saltzman demanded that the authorities intervene in the matter of the Pentateuch rolls being used without his permission in the Kock(?) and Warcek(?) Hasid *Shtibls* – in the documents preserved there is a lack of more detailed information about them⁸. While in 1858, on the demand of the Synagogical Supervisory Board, Pentateuch rolls held by 14 individuals were sealed: the flour trader Izrael Lewkowicz, Mordka Heber, the tailor Icek Fajtlowicz, the brazier Szulim Reibanbach, the capmaker Abram Mularski, the labourer Lewek Kiepski, the tailors Mordka Tobiasz and Hersz Pryntz, the cobbler Muniś Korpel, the barber Szlama Moskowicz, Szlama Bolesławski, the widow trader Rosenblatt, 'the chop-housers' Mošek Nogacz and Majer Henigsztok. The guilty were forbidden from holding services in the future⁹.

When in 1860 the lessee of the income from 'the Pentateuch rolls' became Daniel Kochański, he led to the sealing of Pentateuch rolls held also by the Hasids, with whom he eventually came to an agreement¹⁰, as with the previous lessee – Sz. Saltzman and M. Heber, Jakub Horończyk, Jakub (?) Hamburski and Zajnwel Fajnsylber¹¹. From at least 1864 the leasing of the Pentateuch rolls covered equally Bałuty; however initially the Łódź lessee (Wigdor Gutgold) had difficulties in executing his rights as the authorities of the Łęczycki district did not want to help him¹².

⁵ Cf. chapter III.

⁶ M. Nogacz owned the best Jewish inn which was situated in a one-storey brick building. All the remaining Jewish inns were 'very modest affairs' – F. F r i e d m a n, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi od początków osadnictwa Żydów do r. 1863*, Łódź 1935, pp. 177-178.

⁷ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 427.

⁸ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 430.

⁹ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 468. Cf. equally: W. P u ś, *Żydzi w Łodzi w latach zaborów 1793-1914*, Łódź 1998, p. 168.

¹⁰ Notabene, these Hasids immediately tore the official stamps from their Pentateuch rolls and instantly held worship. The Pentateuch rolls lessee had to once again turn to the municipal authorities to intervene – SAL, LCR 1565, pp. 471-472.

¹¹ SAL, LCR 1565, p. 473. After several days an agreement with the lessee was reached.

¹² SAL, Anterior of Piotrków Provincial Government (later PPG-Ant.) 2535, pp. 461-463.

The frequency of the lessees' charges and the appearance in them repeatedly of the same individuals shows that the struggle conducted for fiscal reasons with the private houses of prayer was already at that time condemned to failure. The demands of life were stronger. This was not only to do with the lack of places in the communal synagogue, but chiefly to do with small, but clear religious differences, dividing the various divisions of Hasidism, as well as the reformist tendencies of the richest adherents of Judaism.

In 1866 there were at least 10 houses of prayer in Łódź which had been granted previously permission to open by the Governmental Commission for Internal and Religious Affairs¹³.

In the years 1873-1874 there existed in Łódź 8 officially recognised houses of prayer¹⁴. Many other prayer houses (the numbers of which unfortunately we do not have information about) which did not possess official authorisation were closed during the period May-June 1875 within the general action being carried out in the Piotrków province to eliminate 'illegal' Jewish houses of prayer¹⁵. In the following years the number of private prayer houses officially reported to the mayor of Łódź had not increase¹⁶. The real situation was completely different. The Synagogical Supervisory Board claimed in mid 1884 that there were private houses of prayer active in Łódź¹⁷. While the register conducted by the police authorities in the autumn of 1884 showed 77 houses, the majority in operation without the permission of the authorities. Because the list contains properties where only a dozen or so people would meet, one may say that it contains exceptionally detailed information about all the houses of prayer in existence at the time¹⁸, and not only about houses of prayer confirmed by the authorities in the known lists from previous years. This list was more than likely connected with an action to legalise existing houses of prayer which, however, despite the submitting to the authorities of the appropriate documentation, had not achieved the desired result¹⁹.

Existing houses of prayer had to provide funds for the Synagogical Supervisory Board – pay a designated fee for the right to read the Pentateuch rolls of the lessee. The Synagogical Supervisory Board could also control the Pentateuch rolls of the houses of prayer, and even decide upon the actual number of them in the city²⁰. Failure to pay for the Pentateuch rolls reading was enforced by the

¹³ SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹⁴ SAL, LCR 7142, card 33v, card 166v.

¹⁵ SAL, LCR 7143, card 24-24v.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g.: SAL, LCR 7147, card 4v; SAL, LCR 7148, unnumbered.

¹⁷ 10 sanctioned by the Government Commission and 5 sanctioned in later years by the Police Superintendent of Łódź – SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹⁸ SAL, LCR 7152, unnumbered.

¹⁹ In 1891 the Łódź Police Superintendent writes about this. Łódź Police Superintendent (later: LPS) 579, unnumbered.

²⁰ Cf. e.g.: SAL, LCR 7147, card 17-18. For more on the contracts, including the tariff for reading the Pentateuch rolls cf. the chapter on the Communal Synagogue at Wolborska.

authorities, as is borne witness by the example of Kasriel Goldenrat who was fined 10 roubles for conducting a service in his house at Yom Kippur in 1879²¹. In February 1882 on demand, and in accordance with the conditions of the contract drawn up with the lessee of the income 'from the Pentateuch rolls', Abram Symcha Gutsztadt, a specially delegated government official sealed and brought to the communal synagogue those Pentateuch rolls which came from houses of prayer that had not paid the designated fee for the reading of the Pentateuch rolls²². The constant conflicts connected with this more than likely led, on the part of the Synagogical Supervisory Board, to the abandonment of this leasing out of the income in the mid 1880s; it was certainly not charged after 1885²³.

The existence of numerous houses of prayer together with the poor state of repair of the communal synagogue led to the appearance of initial calls for their closure²⁴, while in 1885 the Synagogical Supervisory Board's proposal placed before the Łódź city authorities concerned the taxing of existing houses of prayer (from 10 to 40 roubles) and the granting of permission for new houses of prayer to be exclusively dependant on the Synagogical Supervisory Board's opinion. The Board supported the expanded interpretation of the rescript of the Governmental Commission for Internal and Religious Affairs of the 23rd of January 1827. The income gained from taxation was to be spent on the communal synagogue's renovation, and then on maintaining religious schools²⁵. None of the proposals saw realisation²⁶, for reasons which included the lack of interest on the part of the municipal authorities to involve themselves in the matter²⁷. In the

²¹ Worship was allegedly held 'on its own' without the participation of merchants who had arrived from various parts of the Russian Empire. Cf.: SAL, LCR 7147, card 190-190v.

²² SAL, LCR 7150, unnumbered.

²³ Such an income is no longer shown containing also data from the budget for the years 1885-1887, *Projekt budżetu na lata 1888-1891*, SAL, LCR 7154, unnumbered. Cf. equally: SAL, LCR 7167, card 22-23; SAL, Łódź Jewish Denominational Community (later: LJDC) 1, pp. 1-3.

²⁴ For information about such a proposition cf.: SAL, LCR 7148, card 3-3v. The provincial authorities considered that the regulations in force (Rescript of the Governmental Commission for Internal Religious Affairs and Public Education of the 32.01.1827, number 553/86) allowed for the existence of private houses of prayer under the condition that they did not reduce the incomes for the Temple Supervisory Board. The requests by the authorities to have them closed down had, according to them, no legal standing. It has been impossible to locate the text of the said rescript – it is not located in later governmental collections of documents, like for instance: *Постановления относящиеся к действиям губернских правлений и уездных начальников. Ведомство Духовных Дел. Распоряжения относящиеся до римско-католического, евангелического и еврейского вероисповеданий и общия, относящиеся до всех вероисповеданий*, Варшава 1867, *passim*.

²⁵ Cf.: SAL, LCR 7167, card 22-23; SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 1-3.

²⁶ This is illustrated by the lack of items 'prayer house payments' in the subsequent budgets of the Board (cf. e.g.: SAL, LCR 7157, unnumbered) as equally the lack of documents in the acts of the Temple Supervisory Board concerning the ratification of houses of prayer by the Piotrków Governor – there are only located the attestation of the rabbi for Łódź (cf.: SAL, Piotrków Provincial Government, Administrative Department (further PPG-Adm. 9361, unnumbered).

²⁷ The municipal authorities were of the view that it followed firstly to list all the houses of prayer and the persons who attended them, while the matter of the closing down of those houses of

years 1895-1897 the Supervisory Board received no information whatsoever about houses of prayer confirmed by the Governor of Piotrków²⁸.

From time to time administrative action was still taken to close down illegal houses, as well as making life difficult for those houses of prayer registered yet not possessing the appropriate permission in writing²⁹. Such action was taken – on the consent of the Governor of Piotrków – in 1891 and led to wave of requests asking for the legalising of hitherto existing illegal houses of prayer, requests supported by the police superintendent for Łódź pointing to the severe lack of places for the entire male Jewish population of the city³⁰.

On the basis of the preserved documents examined one may state that the normal procedure for documentation with regards to the registration of a house of prayer was, at the turn of the twentieth century³¹ as follows:

1. The founder (founders) of the house of prayer would approach the official rabbi for a letter confirming that the future house of prayer will be under his control, attaching to the application a list of individuals who are going to attend the house of prayer;

2. Upon gaining a positive recommendation from the rabbi, the person applying took confirmation of his not ever having been convicted from the Łódź courts and the regional court, and subsequently put in his application to the local police authorities, or the police superintendent in Łódź, including with it: a) the rabbi's statement, b) the statement concerning no prior convictions, c) a plan of the building incorporating often also a cross-section and the calculated floorage and cubage of the property, d) a list of those individuals who are to attend the house of prayer;

3. The police superintendent in Łódź either a) instructed the appropriate officer and medical officer to carry out a site inspection³²; or also b) instructed a sanitary committee to meet to carry out the said inspection. Such a committee was composed of a) a chairing representative of the Mayor of Łódź, b) a representative of the police authorities, c) the relevant medical officer, d) the city architect, e) a representative of the Synagogical Supervisory Board³³. In both these cases the inspections were drawn up in a written report;

4. On the basis of the inspection report and the attached documents the police superintendent for Łódź would direct the report to the Piotrków Governor in

prayer in existence without permission is dependant on the decision of the provincial authorities which were more than likely unaware of the whole proposal Cf.: SAL, LCR 7167, card 21-22.

²⁸ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 50-51.

²⁹ SAL, LPS 579, unnumbered.

³⁰ SAL, LPS 579, unnumbered.

³¹ Already at the beginning of the 1890s the circulation for documentation was simpler, while the inspection of premises was carried out only by the city police; while the head of the district gendarmerie gave the political assessment of the founders cf.: SAL, LPS 579, *passim*.

³² Cf. e.g.: SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 82-82v.

³³ Cf. e.g.: SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 272.

which he would enumerate whether there existed reservations regarding the registration of the house of prayer³⁴;

5. The decision as to the granting of permission for the opening of a house of prayer was taken by the deputy governor, and confirmed by the governor³⁵;

6. The Administrative Department of the Provincial Government, making use of a special form (cf. over) informed the police superintendent for Łódź of the decision. With this the Provincial Government placed on the Łódź police authorities among other things the obligation to make sure that during services at the prayer house: only those persons listed in the document submitted gathered for worship; that no sects forbidden by law acted or came into being, that no inappropriate speeches were given, that outsiders did not assemble; that no 'irregularities in order' came about. At the same time the police authorities were to observe that the house of prayer was not moved to other premises, even within the self same building³⁶;

7. The police superintendent imparted the provincial authorities decision to those founding the house of prayer at the same time informing (not always) the Synagogical Supervisory Board of the said.

In the later period, as a consequence of the tendency within the Congress Kingdom to apply the principles in operation within the rest of the Russian Empire the procedure underwent change. This resulted from the fact that within the whole of the Congress Kingdom there had started to be applied – in fact contrary to point 3 of article 1299 of the act on alien creeds³⁷ – general state regulations concerning the foundation of houses of prayer. According to the judgements of the Senate of the 2nd of November 1893 and the 25th of January 1900.

The initiative to equip a house of prayer served there only the whole urban or rural Jewish district where the house of prayer was to be equipped, and not individual persons, or even a certain group of Jews – the inhabitants of a given town or village³⁸.

The regulations determined the quantity of houses of prayer that could be permitted – it could not exceed more than one for every thirty 'Jewish households' (article 1302 of the act on alien creeds). The literal application of these limits became the reason for the blocking in the registration of new houses of prayer, when the tsarist authorities did not want to recognise the impracticability of the application of a regulation designed for small towns, where there lived at most a handful of Jewish families, in relation to a large town built of tenement blocks in which there lived several dozen such families.

³⁴ Cf. e.g.: SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 82-82v.

³⁵ Cf. SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 83.

³⁶ Cf. e.g.: SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 197.

³⁷ *Свод учреждений и уставов управления духовных дел иностранных исповеданий христианских и иноверных*, изд. 1896 г., *Свод Законов*, т. XI, ч. I.

³⁸ J. K i r s z r o t, *Prawa Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1917, pp. 11-12.

On the 18th of January 1901 the police superintendent in a letter to the Provincial Government claimed that the number of Jewish houses of prayer in the town far exceeded the number envisaged by the regulations. On the other hand houses of prayer were concentrated in the centre of the city, while the suburbs were to a large extent wanting.

In taking the above into account, as well as bearing in mind 1) that in the suburbs of the city there lived a very large number of Jews, 2) that a large part of Jews lived in houses belonging to Christians, and 3) with the small number of synagogues and the severe limitation on the number of private houses of prayer it was possible to overfill the existing synagogues and private houses of prayer, which in terms of health, safety and fire risks can not be taken as a desirable state of affairs

The police superintendent came to the conclusion that

the further opening of houses of prayer can be allowed on the edges of the city and, besides which, in those fragments of the central part of the city which are inhabited chiefly by Jews, where in the vicinity there are no [existing] houses of prayer, with which the processing such or other applications would take place in accordance with local conditions and the actual need for such a house of prayer³⁹.

Several months later the request made by the Łódź rabbi Eliaż Majzel to the provincial authorities – supported by the police superintendent and the mayor of Łódź – to regulate specifically for a city the size of Łódź the interpretation of the concept 'Jewish household' – not as a building but as a family. The provincial authorities admitted that they were unqualified to deal with the matter (as concerned the settlement of the general interpretation of the law in force) and referred the matter to the Senate⁴⁰.

At the same time the rabbi requested that until such a time that the Senate had examined the question of the number of houses of prayer permitted by law, that the registration of new houses should be treated as 'temporary'. The provincial authorities agreed to this⁴¹ and in 1902 confirmed the status of many new houses of prayer according to these conditions⁴².

The matter was finally settled by the Senate pronouncement of the 24th of June 1905 which accepted the arguments presented by rabbi Majzel, claiming that the definition 'Jewish household' refers to every Jewish family in which the head pays the synagogue fee. The Senate adopted an even more liberal interpretation as far as the number of people who could open their own house of prayer is concerned, claiming that it can only be 12 individuals paying the fee, while the general number of houses of prayer can not exceed in a given place 1 for every 30

³⁹ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9361, card 167-168. Matters were similar in Warsaw, cf.: SAL, PPG-Adm. 9507, card 40-40v.

⁴⁰ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9507, card 1-3, 6-10v; card 41-42v.

⁴¹ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9507, card 43-44; SAL, LPS 1872, unnumbered.

⁴² For many examples cf.: LPS 1868, unnumbered.

'Jewish households'⁴³. In this way 'temporary' houses of prayer became automatically confirmed as permanent.

The matter of establishing the organ of Jewish self government empowered to enounce in the matter of the practicality of opening a new house of prayer appeared different however. Admittedly the provincial authorities recognised the Synagogical Supervisory Board as the representative of the community empowered to enounce in matters concerning the opening of houses of prayer; and in acts the Synagogical Supervisory Board's attestation appeared in place of the rabbi's, claiming that the Board 'as the representative of Jewish society, on the basis of right of attorney of the synagogue assembly (*божественного схода*)' reiterates that it has no misgivings as to the opening of a specific house of prayer⁴⁴.

This practice was not, however, widespread within the Congress Kingdom, and with time also ceased to be applied in the Piotrków Province. For example on the 1st of July 1909 the governor left unanswered Mowsza Gurin's, Mordka Berman and Aron-Lejb Łukin's request to found a house of prayer, on the basis that the sanctioning of Jewish houses of prayer, according to the pronouncements of the Senate of the 2nd of November 1893 and the 25th of January 1900, can only be requested by the whole Jewish community and not individuals⁴⁵. Already earlier on the 31st of March 1910 the self same governor had refused permission for the relocation (from Pańska Street 67 to Pańska Street 58) of Józef Przygurski's house of prayer as the applicant did not represent the views of the local Jewish community, hence the attestations of the rabbi and the Board were viewed as insufficient⁴⁶.

The diverse nature of administrative practice meant that at the beginning of 1911 the Warsaw governor-general approached the central authorities for them to clarify whether the recognition of the Synagogical Supervisory Board's right of attorney in the issuing of statements on the necessity to open a house of prayer could be accepted:

The Ministry of the Interior [...] in the proclamation to the governor-general of the 21st of February 1911 for no 1520 expressed the opinion that the laws on the managing of the spiritual affairs of Jews in force within the Congress Kingdom (the ukases of the 20th of December 1821 and the 7th of September 1830) did not grant the Synagogical Supervisory Board the right to apply (*ходатайствовати*) for the opening of new synagogues without the agreement of the Jewish community, and with which the leaving of the initiative in this matter to the synagogue boards would be a broadening of the laws serving them and would make it easier for Jews to manage the synagogues without a due guarantee as to their actual needs – with which for the running of a new house of prayer the agreement of the whole religious community is essential [...] and this principle should be strictly applied.⁴⁷

⁴³ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9507, card 56-59.

⁴⁴ Cf. SAL, LJDC I, p. 276.

⁴⁵ SAL, LPS 1877, unnumbered.

⁴⁶ SAL, LPS 1879, unnumbered.

⁴⁷ J. K i r s z r o t, *Prawa...*, p. 12. As is given by the author, it led to 'numerous misunderstandings' between those wanting to open the synagogue and the police authorities and the Board of the Orthodox Community in Warsaw.

As a result also the tsarist authorities in Łódź stopped the practice of granting permission for the opening of houses of prayer⁴⁸; this applied even to the relocation of existing houses of prayer to another address. When in 1911 the hitherto existing house of prayer at Cegielniana Street 27 was to be moved to Długa Street 22, the provincial authorities did not grant permission saying that their refusal was motivated by the fact that a decision to relocate should be taken by 'the whole Jewish population of the city'⁴⁹.

Such a situation must have brought about a reaction on the part of the Synagogical Supervisory Board. Admittedly it did not call for a general assembly of the Jewish community, as was suggested by a group of Łódź Jews, which was to back the Board with a permanent group to deal with matters connected with houses of prayer⁵⁰, but lodged a complaint to the Senate in which it demanded that it be accredited with the rights to apply for a) the opening in the city of Łódź of new Jewish houses of prayer, b) the relocation of such houses of prayer that exist with official approval to other buildings. Although the provincial authorities ultimately withdrew from their demand for 'the approval of the whole religious community' in the question of the relocation of houses of prayer (on the basis of the Senate ukaze of the 15th of October 1904), the fundamental matter – approval for new houses of prayer – was left unsettled until the outbreak of war in 1914⁵¹.

In the initial years of the twentieth century applications for the ratification of permanent houses of prayer were examined and ratified by the provincial authorities in two terms falling in the periods of Easter and the autumn feasts (Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukot)⁵², even though the applications were put in a lot earlier. The explanation put forward, though one impossible to prove, for this strange anomaly is the hypothesis that ratification often took place in exchange for the appropriate bribe the giving of which was speeded up by the approaching religious holidays and the desire to have the new house of prayer open before they started.

Another solution was the opening of houses of prayer without the permission required by law which meant however the bribing of low ranking police officers (for example in 1902 the house at Rokicińska Street 18 existed for a monthly payment of 3 roubles for the local bobby⁵³).

⁴⁸ On the 19th of July 1911 the Police Superintendent in Łódź sent a request to Piotrków for the house of prayer Cegielniana Street 56 to be opened, supported by the signatures of many merchants, members of the Temple Supervisory Board and the Rabbi. This did not reach ratification however, it is likely that the governor considered this not to be the consensus of the whole community – SAL, LPS 1879, unnumbered.

⁴⁹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 309-311. Another similar affair: SAL, LPS 1878, unnumbered.

⁵⁰ SAL, LJDC1, pp. 286-287.

⁵¹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 337-338.

⁵² F. G u e s n e t has earlier drawn attention to the matter, *Żydowskie i niemieckie organizacje w Łodzi XIX wieku: typy i stosunki*, [in:] *Polacy-Niemcy-Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX-XX w. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy*, edited by P. S a m u s i a, Łódź 1997, p. 192.

⁵³ SAL, LPS 1871, unnumbered.

Łódź houses of prayer – in a way similar to the situation in other towns – were located in small premises, chiefly living accommodation; a specific feature for the industrial city was the secondary use of factory buildings for religious purposes. Prayer houses usually consisted of a single room; if they had two rooms then the one would usually perform the function of a room for women. They were usually lit by oil lamps, more rarely by gas; extremely rarely does one read of the usage of a mechanical ventilation system.

It is exceptionally rare to come across information about houses of prayer located in purpose-built premises; this was the case with the property at Średnia Street 17. On the 27th of March 1897 Robert Karpf was granted permission to open a house of prayer for 75 people⁵⁴ in a separate building (not built in point of fact in accordance with the initially ratified plans of Adolf Zeligson) situated in the rear part of his property. The design envisaged a classical solution to the women's part in the form of a gallery running the length of three walls such as was seen in many synagogues⁵⁵.

Not often conversions of entire buildings for religious purposes were carried out. For example on the 3rd of July 1902 Wolf Reicher's house of prayer was ratified (for 42 people, at present the only existing synagogue in Łódź) at Południowa Street 28, which arose in a separate one-storey structure of a rear outbuilding. Following the conversion of the cantor's rooms that had been there before there was created on the ground floor a men's room with 8 windows and in the upper storey – a women's room with 10 windows.⁵⁶

Let us examine several other examples:

In Elias Majer Krawiecki's house of prayer opened on the 10th of March 1899 at Aleksandryjska Street 25 (for 30 people), the rectangular prayer hall, with one corner sharply truncated, of a surface area of 39.0 m² and a cubage of 96.88 m³, was located on the ground floor of a three-storey house; it possessed two windows, and was lit by paraffin lamps⁵⁷.

Jakub Oszkowski's and Michał Wrzonski's *shtibl* (Brzezińska Street 26 at Bałuty) was intended for 30 people (ratified on the 3rd of April 1899) and covered an area of 7.0 x 5.9 m (41.66 m²) with a cubage of 110 m³; it was heated by a stove located in the corner of the room, it was lit by two windows⁵⁸.

Herman Józef Gejnzler's house of prayer at Długa Street 68 which was ratified on the 1st of March 1898 to house 26 people had two rooms (one of which was more than likely designated for women), joined by a corridor and having in

⁵⁴ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered.

⁵⁵ SAL, Piotrków Provincial Government, Building Department (further: PPG-Bud.) 4335, unnumbered., PPG-Bud. 6147, unnumbered.; K. Stefański, *Architektura sakralna Łodzi w okresie przemysłowego rozwoju miasta, 1821-1914*, Łódź 1995, p. 136.

⁵⁶ SAL, LPS 1870, unnumbered.

⁵⁷ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 59v, 61, 80.

⁵⁸ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 112, 114, 115.

total four windows. These rooms were 5.2 by 4.8 m and 4.9 by 5.7 m in size (the floor area being respectively 24 and 27 m²)⁵⁹.

In Fiszal Lipski's house of prayer founded in 1898 at Jerozolimska Street 9 the prayer room was on the ground floor of a one-storey building and had three windows, the floor area was 28.2 m², cubage 96.5 m³⁶⁰.

Mordka Hejzman and Herszel Fejł's house of prayer at Kamienna Street 9, ratified for thirty people (although according to Gustaw Landau-Guntenteger, the architect who drew up the plan, there was room for fifty people) on the 10th of April 1899, was located in a greater number of rooms – in two larger rooms and two 'cloakrooms' in total comprising 5 windows and covering a floor area of 92.0 m² (cubage – 329.2 m³)⁶¹.

The house of prayer founded in 1899 by Lejzor Bursztynowicz for 30 people at Pieprzowa Street 16 on the property of Michał Caft, was situated on a ground floor wooden annex, in a single room with 42.9 m² of floor area, and a cubage of 120.6 m³, and had three windows⁶².

In 1899 Szymon Epsztejn, Hersz Siemiatycki and Zachariasz Herman, the owners of the real estate at Widzewska Street 27, transferred there the house of prayer from Nowy Rynek 7. It was located in an annex on the first floor of a two-storey building (initially an industrial building). The prayer hall was lit by a whole nine windows (the former shop floor) and was one of the biggest measuring 7.1 x 10 m (70.9 m²). Its cubage, due to the above average height of the room, over 3.9 m, was 281.2 m³. Behind the main prayer hall there was a much smaller room (3.7 x 4.2 m) of an unknown function⁶³.

Zalman Wolf Bibergal's and Majer Lichtensztejn's house of prayer for 30 people was located at Wschodnia Street 29 in four rooms (of which two were for women) on the ground floor of a three-storey annex building; the rooms were lit by gas, the women's part had a floor area of 38.7 m², the male part – 52.9 m². the total cubage was 363 m³. From the entrance hall a narrow corridor led to the women's prayer rooms, the men's area was directly linked to the outside⁶⁴.

The inhabitants of several neighbouring houses often attended houses of prayer in the second half of the nineteenth century – in the period which we have the most detailed data for. An example can be, for instance, the Bałucki house of Dawid Ofenbach already mentioned at Aleksandrowska Street 7. It was attended by at least 20 people who lived chiefly at the start of Aleksandrowska Street (from nos. 5 to 14); only one person lived at Kielma Street, and one at Fajfra

⁵⁹ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered.; SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 56-57.

⁶⁰ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 42-42v.

⁶¹ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 144, 146-146v, 149.

⁶² SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 164, 167-167v, 197.

⁶³ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 272-273, 275.

⁶⁴ SAL, PPG-Adm. 9255, card 207-207v, 223, 225; LJDC 1, p. 151.

Street.⁶⁵ This was similar in the case of Abram Józef Kon's house at Drewnowska Street 32. The majority of Jews who attended lived in the neighbouring properties at Drewnowska Street (8 in the same premises as the prayer house); the remainder at streets Aleksandryjska, Wolborska, Kielbacha (Bałuty) and Stodolna (Stodolniana)⁶⁶.

Eliakim Gliksam's house of prayer which was registered in 1899 and situated at Piotrkowska Street 43 was attended chiefly by the inhabitants of several tenement buildings on the same street (e.g. nos. 26, 31, 33, 41, 46, 58). These were, at least partly, rich merchants in as far as one can gauge on the basis of the company stamps that appear on the list (Jakub M. Kon, Wschodnia Street 72; Nechemia Finkelstein, Piotrkowska Street 26; Henoch Weiskohl, Piotrkowska Street 46; Motes Lipschitz, Piotrkowska Street 50; Chaskiel Finkel, Piotrkowska Street 58; Mendel Nachtstern, Piotrkowska Street 31)⁶⁷. Wolf Ber Szpigl's house of prayer at Piotrkowska Street 197 was designated for richer Orthodox Jews, the inhabitants of the streets neighbouring Piotrkowska Street (28 people) and Karola Street (3 people); here came, among others: the Icek Majer siblings, Izrael and Szmul Icek Wojdysławscy (Piotrkowska Street 197), Abraham and Józef Rapaport (Piotrkowska Street 197) as well as members of the Makower and Pomeranc families⁶⁸.

Moszek Icek Gamprecht's house of prayer was similar in character, situated at Piotrkowska Street 120 (plot registration number 538); here attended rich Jews who inhabited the southern part of Piotrkowska Street, also its southern edge (e.g. Leon Kalecki, Piotrkowska Street 238, or Jakub Hirsberg, Piotrkowska Street 233). They were chiefly, however, the inhabitants of the nearby tenements (e.g. Medel, Mojżesz and Józef Grawe, Piotrkowska Street 132)⁶⁹.

The house at Aleksandryjska Street 10 was attended by believers from various places; they lived at Aleksandryjska Street, Wolborska Street, Nowomiejska Street, Stary Rynek (Old Market) and other streets situated in the vicinity⁷⁰.

38 people attended Mojżesz Helman's house of prayer at Cegielniana Street 28 in 1900. They came from a wide area – from Widzewska Street to the east through to Pańska Street to the west and from the streets Nowomiejska, Konstantynowska and Średna to the north through to Benedykta Street in the south⁷¹. M.

⁶⁵ SAL, LJDC 1, p. 195.

⁶⁶ SAL, LJDC 1, p. 124.

⁶⁷ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 167-168.

⁶⁸ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 112-114.

⁶⁹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 199-200. The list of individuals attending this house of prayer is written – as one of the few – not in Russian but in German. Possibly the Jakub Hirsberg mentioned in it is one of the co-founders of the company 'Hirsberg and Wilczyński', established by German Jews.

⁷⁰ SAL, LJDC 1, p. 107.

⁷¹ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 229-230.

Helman's later biography (affiliation to the Zionist religious party 'Mizrachi'⁷²) allows one to conjecture that the first religious Zionists in Łódź assembled in his house of prayer.

The Jews who attended Benjamin Gostyński's house of prayer at Jakuba Street 3 came from a sizeable tract of the city from Wólczńska Street (120!) and Benedykta Street to the south up to Zgierska Street and Brzezińska Street to the north as well as from Benedykta Street 36 in the west to Smugowa Street in the east; the majority of them lived, however, within the area of the former Nowe Miasto (New Town)⁷³.

The differences in the distances that separated the members of individual houses of prayer from their homes in the majority of cases can not be ascertained on the basis of the documents preserved; one can at best speculate that those houses of prayer in which prayed the inhabitants of distant properties were Hasidic *shtetls* or premises attended by the members of varied, often informal religious organisations or political-religious organisations.

A separate group of requests concerns applications made for permission to hold religious services during the period of the autumn feasts (over a month) in premises which were not designated for this purpose during the remaining months of the year. Here prayed Jews who were less devout or for other reasons (age, disability) normally would not attend a synagogue or house of prayer⁷⁴. These were both residential properties often capable of housing a sizeable number of people (even up to 500) as commercial, for example the Łódź premises 'Talmud-Tory' (at Zachodnia Street 20), The Warsaw Hall⁷⁵, the 'Harmonia' hall (Lagiewnicka Street 2)⁷⁶. At least from the mid 1890s⁷⁷ permission for 'temporary' houses of prayer was granted by the Police Superintendent in Łódź on the basis of a general declaration obtained from the Piotrków governor⁷⁸. The excessive overfilling of existing synagogues and permanent houses of prayer was given as the justification for the opening of such temporary houses of prayer.⁷⁹

⁷² Cf.: J. Walicki, *Juden und Deutsche in der Lodzer Selbstverwaltung 1917-1939* [in:] *Polen, Deutsche und Juden in Lodz 1820-1939. Eine schwierige Nachbarschaft*, Hrsg. von J. Hensel, Osnabrück 1999, p. 227.

⁷³ SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁴ Cf. the justification for requests to open temporary houses of prayer for the holiday period: SAL, LPS 1864-1881, *passim*. Cf. also: P. Spodenciewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica. Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca*, Łódź 1998, pp. 77-78.

⁷⁵ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered.

⁷⁶ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered. The hall could hold 80 people.

⁷⁷ It has turned out to be impossible to locate earlier materials connected with this matter.

⁷⁸ An example of a document containing such a authorization for the year 1899 can be found in SAL, LPS 1886, unnumbered.

⁷⁹ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered. Also the original permission for Szymon Halpern of the 26.08.1896. Rabbi E. Majzel also wrote about the need to open temporary houses of prayer (SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered).

The basis for the granting of permission was the appropriate police recommendation⁸⁰. Refusals were on the basis of misgivings as to the size and state of the premises and the possible safety threat to the faithful praying there⁸¹; only in 1903 did the Police Superintendent force – upon the pretext of the actual surplus of places in synagogues and permanent houses of prayer – the limiting of the number of temporary houses of prayer that gained permission to function⁸².

In accordance with article 1301 of the act on alien creeds the authorities permission was needed even for the systematic gathering minyan (10 adult Jews over the age of thirteen) for praying for the deceased. Often this was treated by the Police Superintendent for Łódź as the opening of a new house of prayer⁸³.

Unfortunately there is little that can be written about houses of prayer post 1914. The documentary material, so rich for the prior period, has almost entirely been lost, although it is known that the administrative authorities still issued permission for the opening of houses of prayer and maintained their card indexes⁸⁴, while the denominational community confirmed the necessity for a new prayer house to be opened⁸⁵. On the basis of P. Spodenkiewicz's published accounts of old Jewish inhabitants of Łódź one may suppose that the procedure for founding, as well as the activities and functioning of the membership of houses of prayer differed little from the period prior to the First World War⁸⁶.

⁸⁰ SAL, LPS 1864, passim.

⁸¹ Cf. e.g.: SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered.

⁸² The Police Superintendent refers here to the lack of new applications for the opening of new houses of prayer which was to prove the covering of the needs for places to pray in. (SAL, LJDC 1, pp. 101-102), 'forgetting', that the processing of applications had been blocked because of the fact that the accepted number of houses of prayer had been exceeded (cf. above p.85).

⁸³ SAL, LPS 1864, unnumbered.

⁸⁴ Cf.: SAL, Provincial Office in Łódź 2512, pp. 32-38.

⁸⁵ Cf. SAL, LJDC 305/a, passim.

⁸⁶ P. S p o d e n k i e w i c z, *Zaginiona...*, pp. 76-78.

CONCLUSION

The history of Jewish sacral buildings in Łódź is strictly connected with the history of both the entire denominational community, as well as with the history of Jewish society in the city. It mirrors both the comparatively free – against the back cloth of the entire city – growth of this community in the first half of the nineteenth century as well as the stormy development in the period post enfranchisement, having its reflection first of all in the constant growth in the number of houses of prayer. The history of Łódź's synagogues has also been influenced by the constant conflict between the supporters of reformed Judaism and Orthodoxy, which resulted in the creation of the synagogue at Kościuszko Street. Its mark was also left upon the progressing differentiation in wealth levels, and most of all, in political differences resulting in the opening of prayer houses for not only various Hasidic currents, which is understandable, but also for parties and political leanings, the most remarkable example of which is the Zionist synagogue 'Ohel Jakow'.

The distribution of synagogues, and primarily houses of prayer, is territorially identical to the areas of dense Jewish habitation: the northern part, encompassing the area from Baluty to Anna Street and Główna Street, and the lesser known – the so-called 'Górny Rynek quarter', encompassing first of all the eastern boundary of present day Reymont Square as well as Zarzewska Street and Rzgowska Street.

At the same time the similarities concerning the history of synagogues and the groups of believers gathered around them, those which existed between Łódź and other towns of the Congress Kingdom and Galicia, should be pointed out. The most interesting phenomena is the parallel in the activities of the adherents of 'progressive' Judaism in Łódź and Kraków¹ (a similar conflict story with the Orthodox majority: the creating of a separate denominational community, made impossible in both cases by the legal administrative regulations, partial agreement with the Orthodox while maintaining the full independence of their own synagogues²).

¹ Despite the fact that the model for 'progressives' in Kraków came from Austria via Lvov (Cf. H. Kozińska-Witt, *Stowarzyszenie izraelitów postępowych w Krakowie 1864-1874*, 'Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego' 1999, no. 4 pp. 22-23), while in Łódź from Germany via Warsaw.

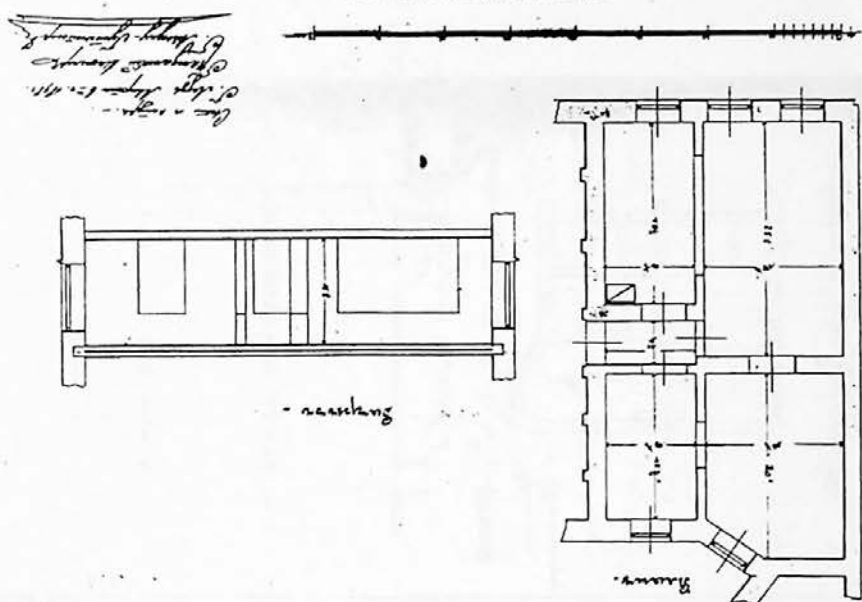
² Cf. H. Kozińska-Witt, *Stowarzyszenie...*, s. 19-23; A. Żbikowski, *Żydzi krakowscy i ich gmina w latach 1869-1919*, Warszawa 1995, s. 59.

The coming into existence and activity of Łódź synagogues and prayer houses did not occur without the knowledge and permission of the administrative authorities. The invasive Russian authorities, sceptical towards Jews, exercised strict control over them which, paradoxically, has given us today the possibility of producing the details of their actions. However the lessened interest on the part of the authorities of the Second Polish Republic, including the destruction during the war of a significant part of the documents, has meant that the inter-war period has been presented, out of necessity, more modestly.

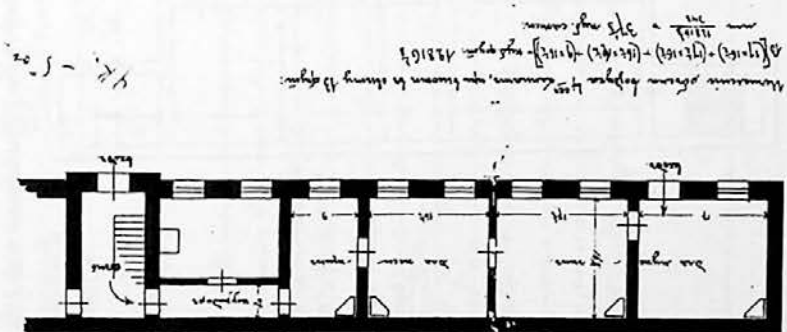
TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	5
I. THE FIRST SYNAGOGUE AT WOLBORSKA STREET	8
II. THE COMMUNAL SYNAGOGUE AT WOLBORSKA STREET 20	15
III. THE SYNAGOGUE AT PROMENADOWA (LATER KOŚCIUSZKO) STREET 2 AND ZIELONA STREET 8 – THE REFORMED SYNAGOGUE AND ITS PREDECESSORS	36
IV. THE SYNAGOGUE AT ZACHODNIA STREET 56.....	61
V. THE 'EZRAS IZRAEL' ASSOCIATION (JEWISH AID) SYNAGOGUE AT WÓLCZAŃSKA STREET 6.....	67
VI. THE SYNAGOGUE AT DŁUGA (LATER GDAŃSKA) STREET 18.....	75
VII. HOUSES OF PRAYER	79
CONCLUSION.....	93
LIST OF PRAYER HOUSES	polish part – p. I
'THE FOUNDATION ACT' FOR THE ŁÓDŹ PROGRESSIVE SYNAGOGUE	polish part – p. XIII
INDEX.....	polish part – p. XV
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	polish part – p. XXV

35. Plany domów modlitwy z końca XIX w.
35. Plans of houses of prayer from the end of the nineteenth century

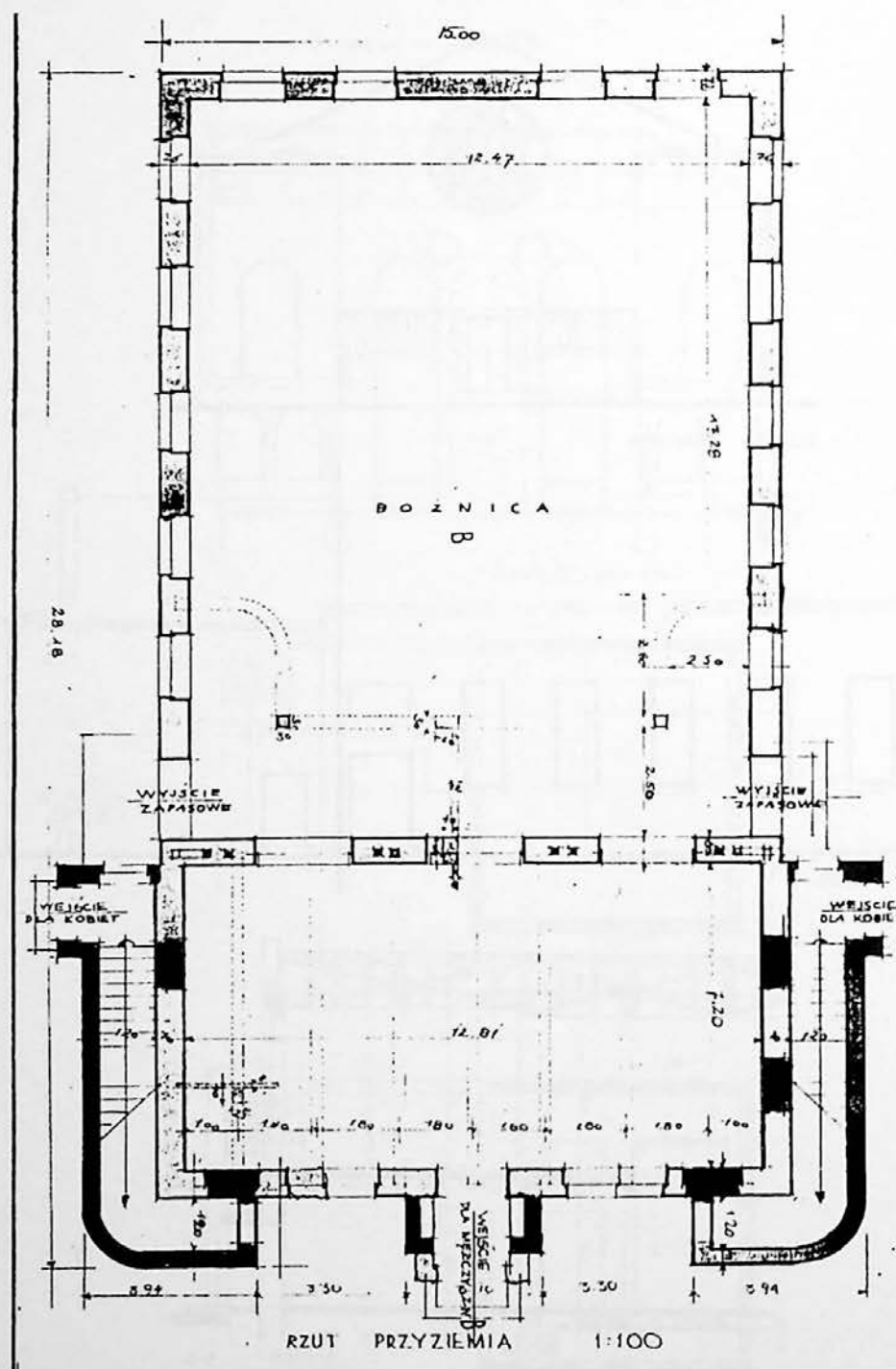


Plan domu modlitwy z końca XIX w. Widok z boku. Wymiary: długość 12,5 m, szerokość 3,5 m. Wnętrze: 12 pomieszczeń, w tym 8 cel, 2 kuchnie, 2 łazienki, 2 gabinety, 2 pokoje dla gości. Wokół: ogród, parking, plac zabaw.

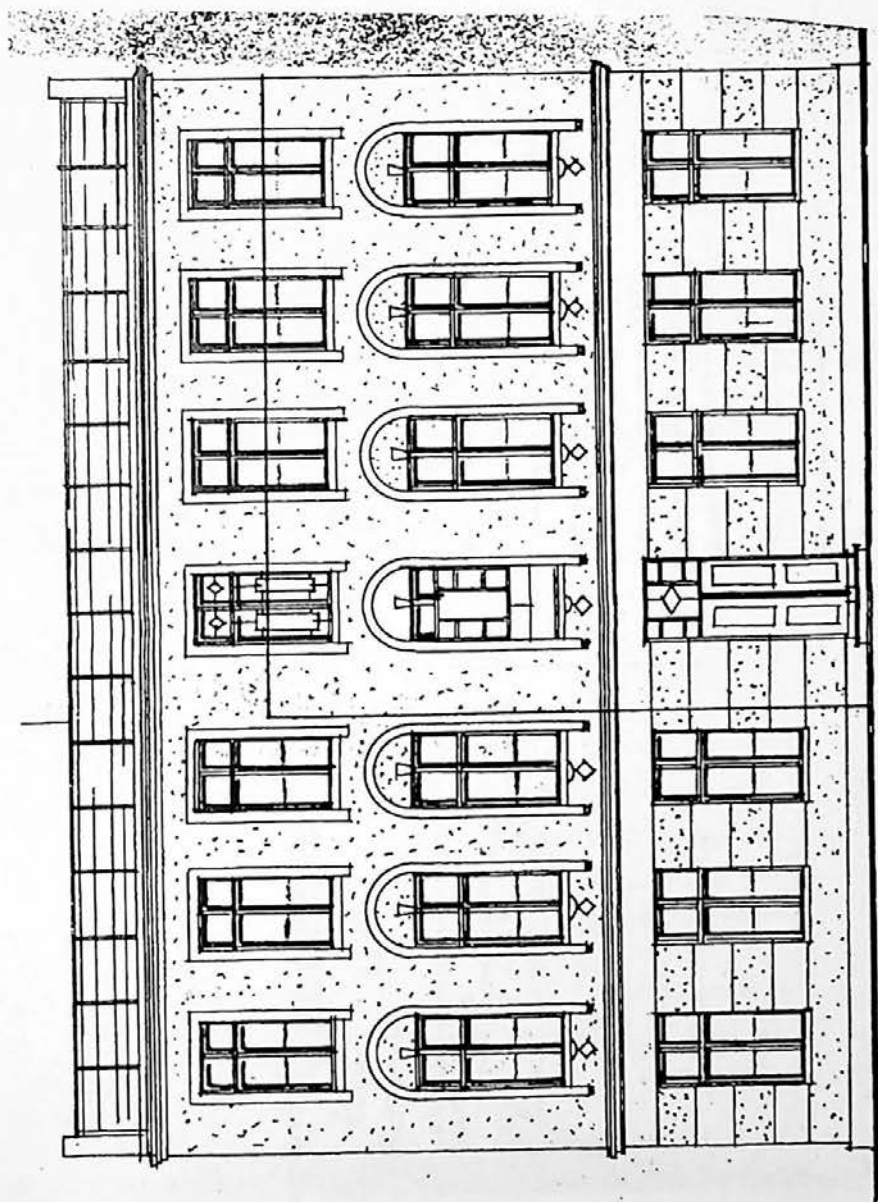


Plan domu modlitwy z końca XIX w. Widok z boku. Wymiary: długość 12,5 m, szerokość 3,5 m. Wnętrze: 12 pomieszczeń, w tym 8 cel, 2 kuchnie, 2 łazienki, 2 gabinety, 2 pokoje dla gości. Wokół: ogród, parking, plac zabaw.

-223-

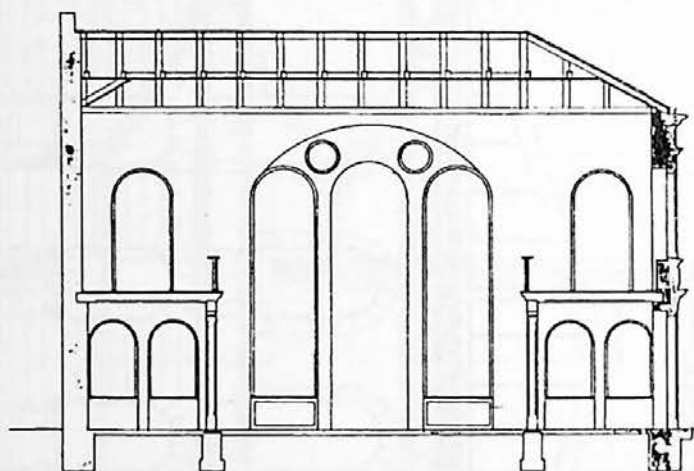


31. Beth ha-Midrash przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, plan parteru, 1933 r.
 31. The Beth ha-Midrash at Wolborska Street – renovation plans; ground floor plans
 1933

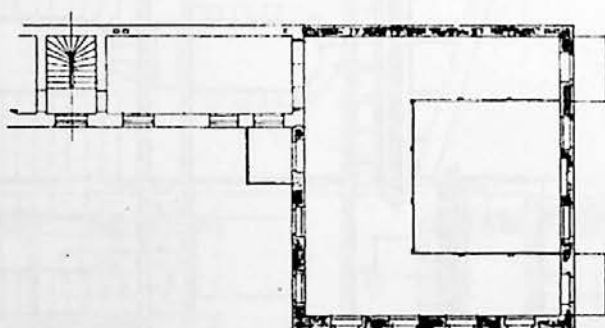


32. Budynek szkoły „Ahawas Tora” na posesji synagogi przy ul. Wolborskiej – plan rozbudowy, 1923 r.
 32 The ‘Ahawas Tora’ school building within the grounds of the Synagogue at Wolborska Street – reconstruction plans. 1923

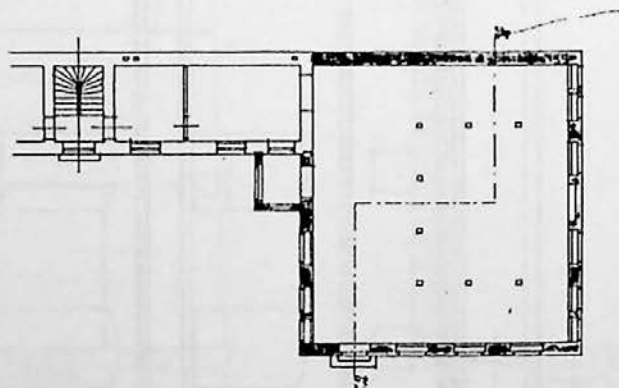
Przekrój w linii K-G.



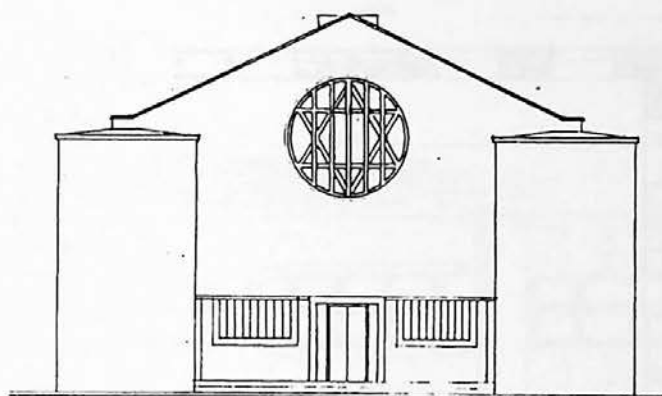
Sum. 1^o zmiernik.



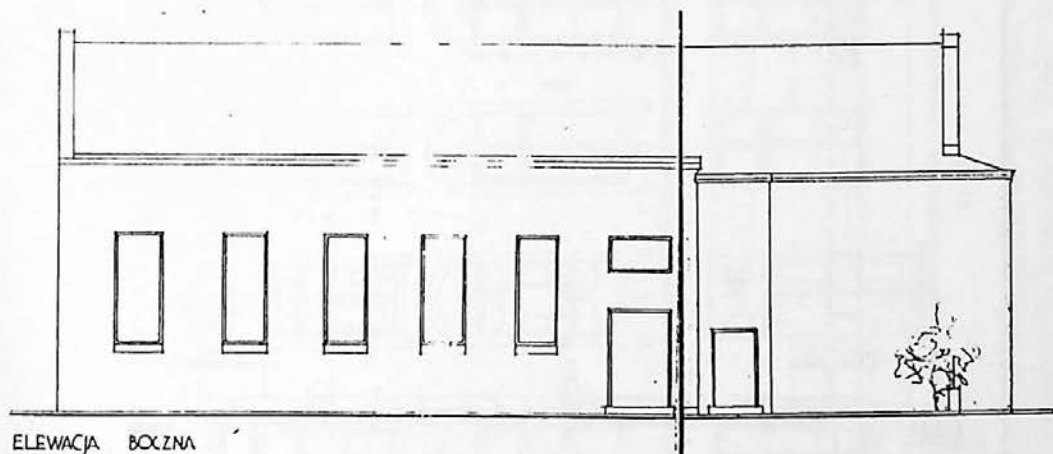
Sum. 1^o zmiernik.



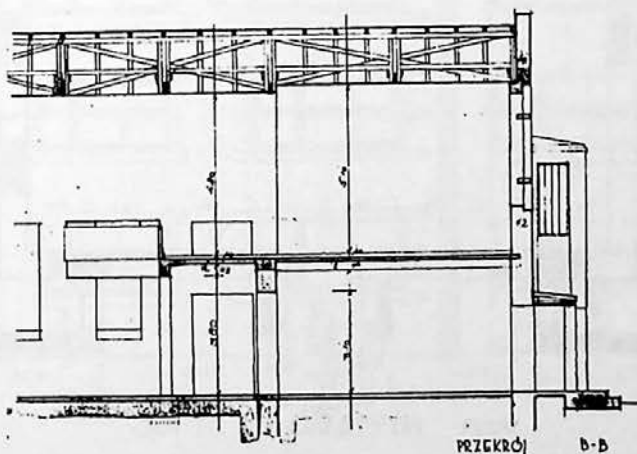
29. Synagoga przy ul. Gdańskiej – projekt. Przekrój i plan, 1898 r.
 29. The Synagogue at Gdańska Street – Section and plan, 1898



ELEWACJA FRONTOWA

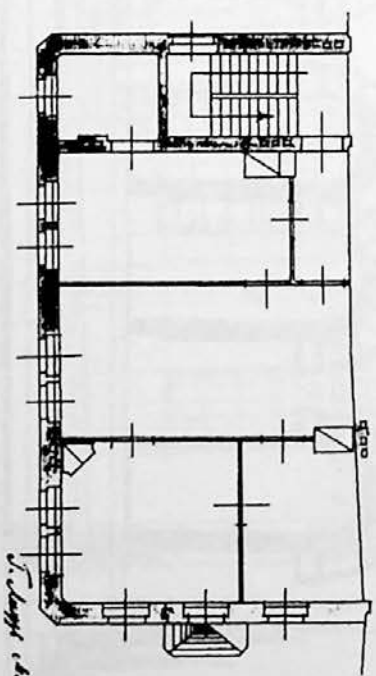
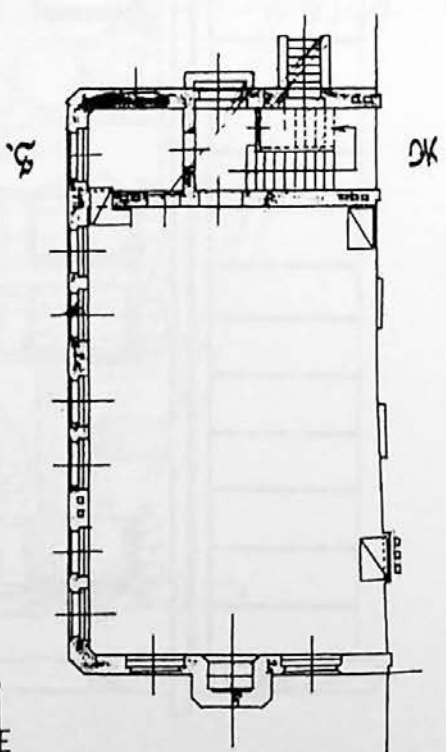
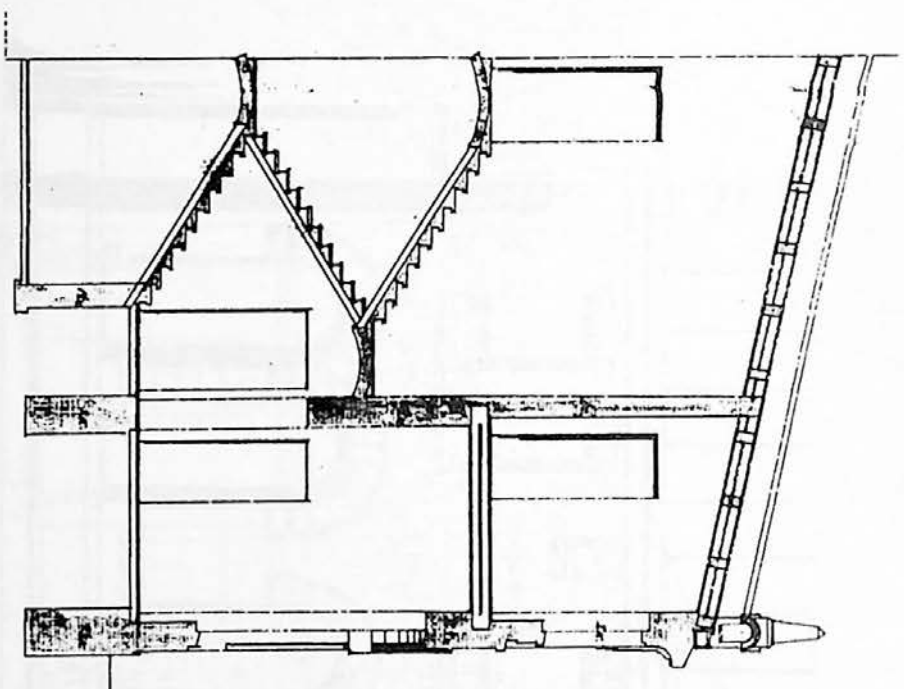


ELEWACJA BOCZNA



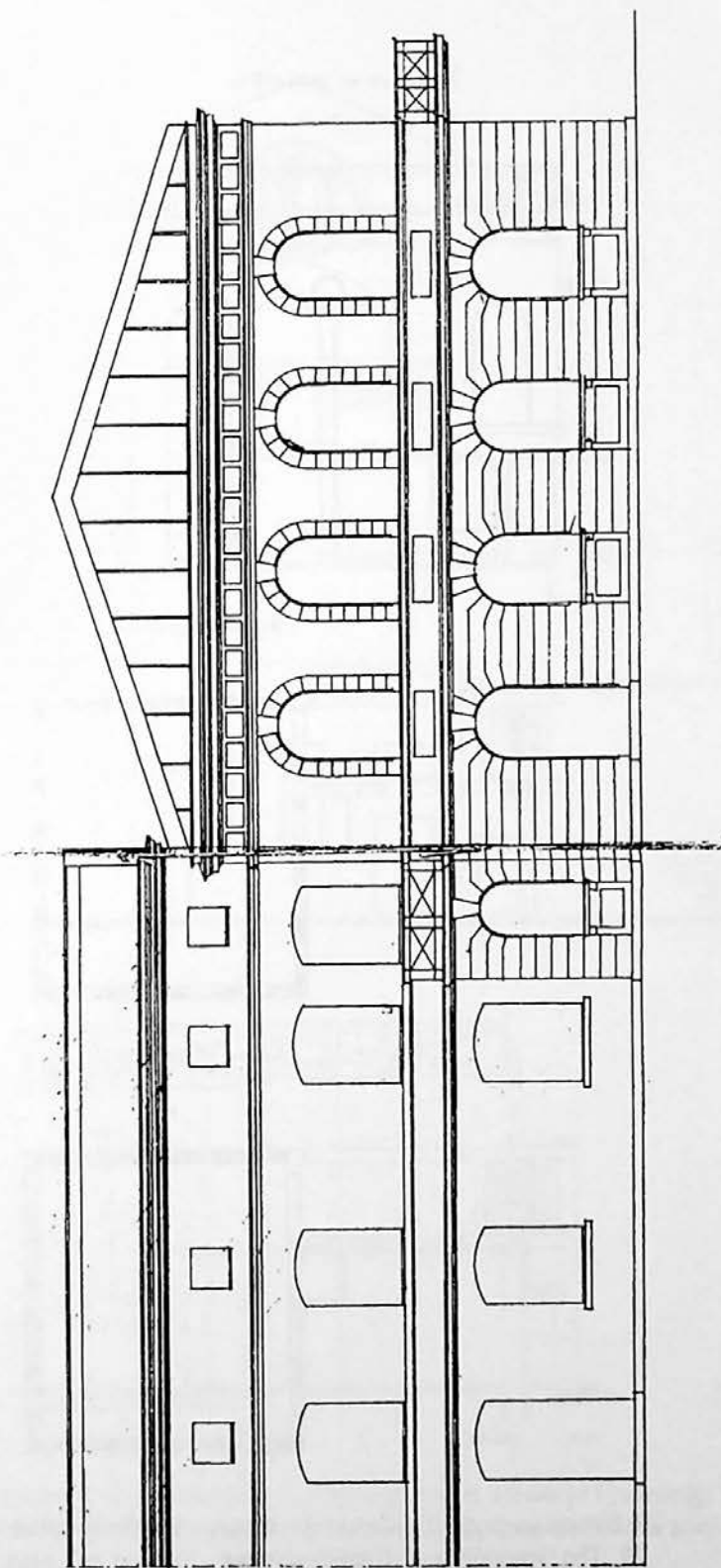
PRZEMÓJ B-B

30. Beth ha-Midrash przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, elewacje i przekrój, 1933 r.
30. The Beth ha-Midrash at Wolborska Street – renovation plans; elevations and cross-sections. 1933

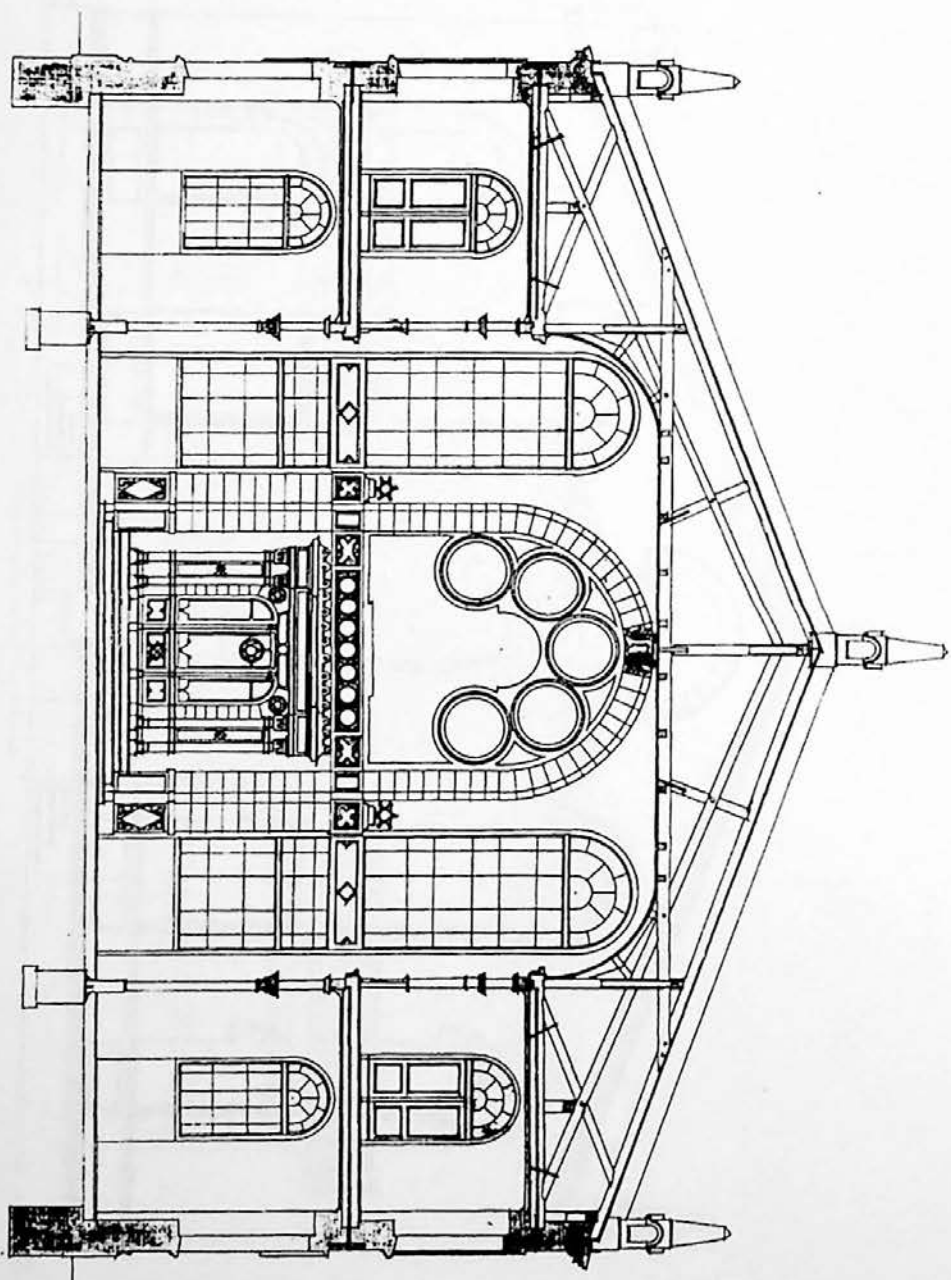


27. Beth ha-Midrash na posesji synagogi przy ul. Zachodniej – projekt, przekroje i plany piéter, 1903 r.
 27. The Beth ha-Midrash on the property of the Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – design, cross-sections and floor plans, 1903

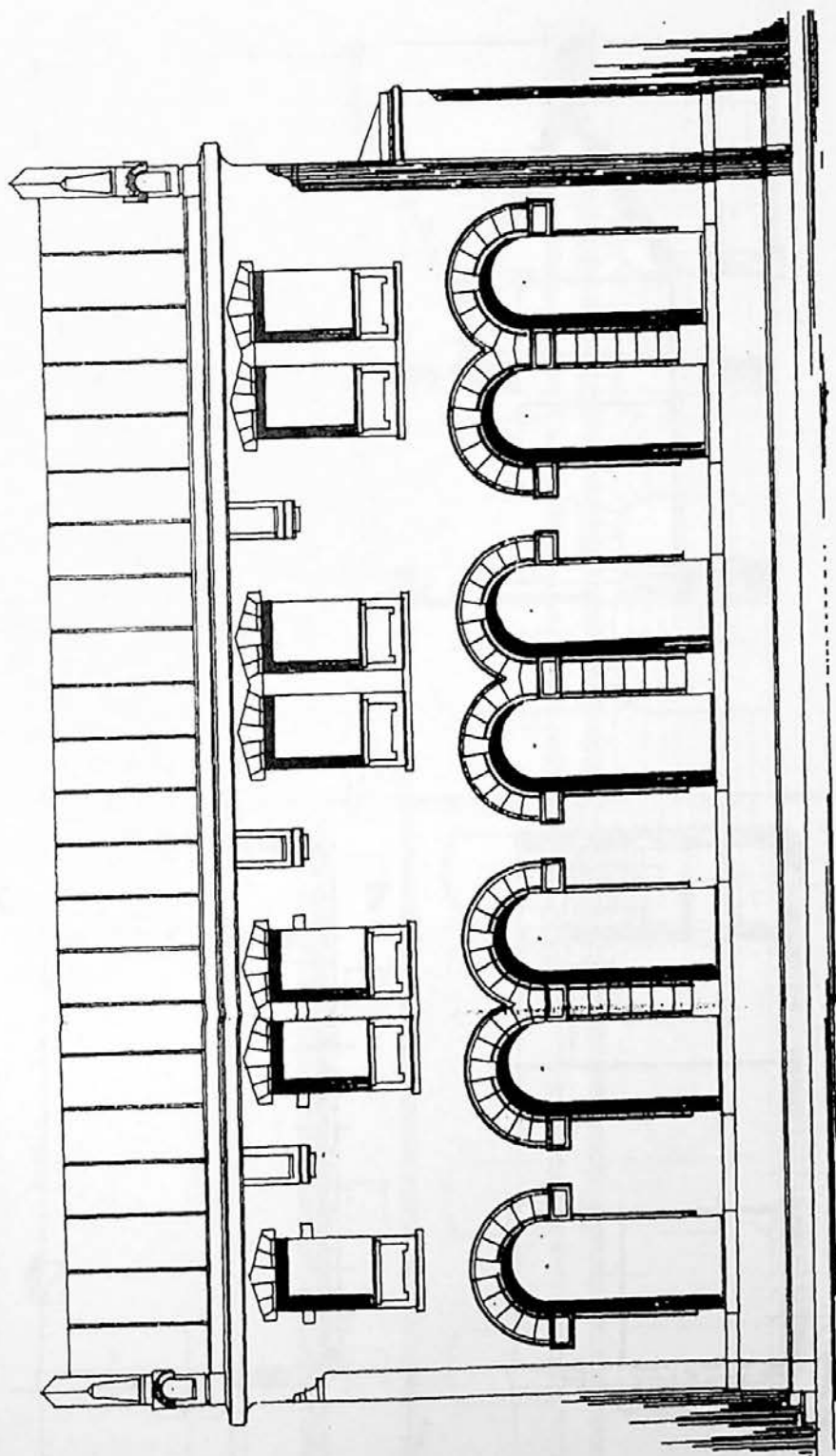
Фасада Мемориала



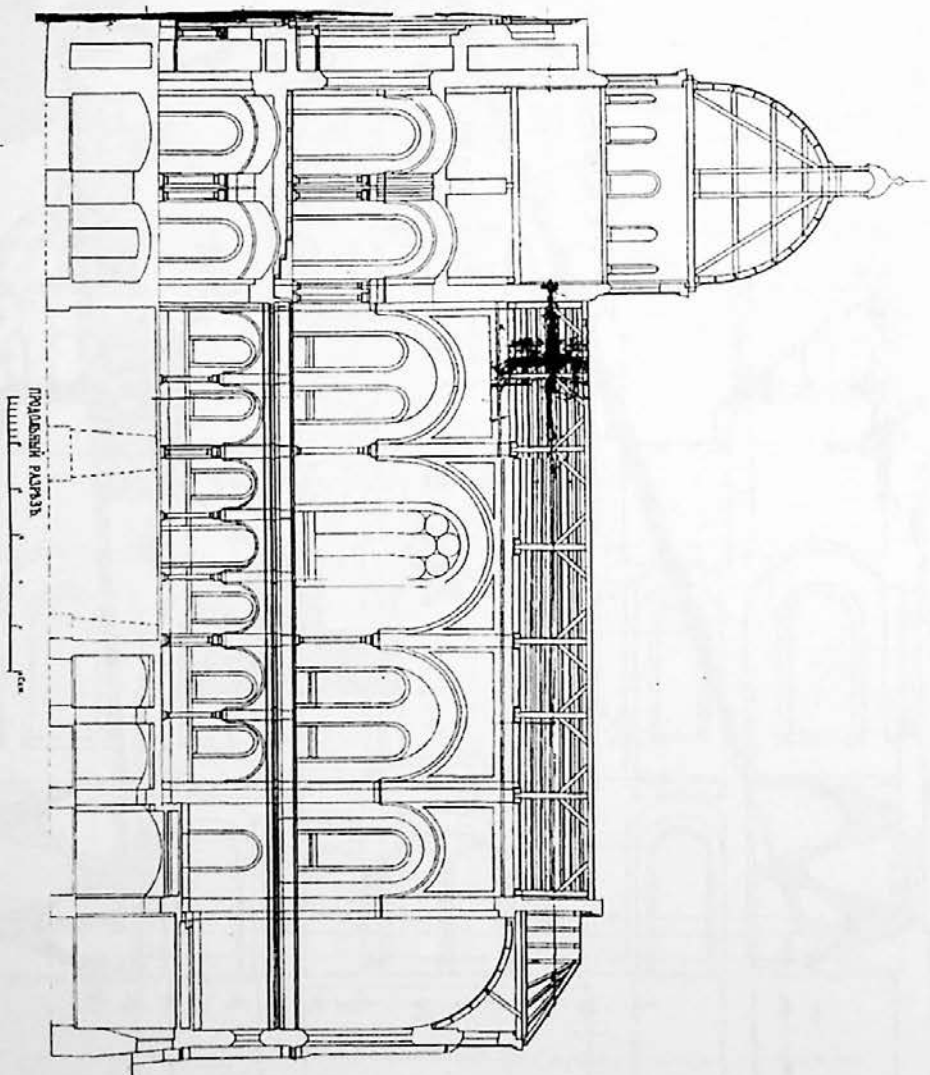
28. Synagoga przy ul. Gdańskiej – projekt. Fasada, 1898 r.
28. The Synagogue at Gdańska Street – design. facade. 1898



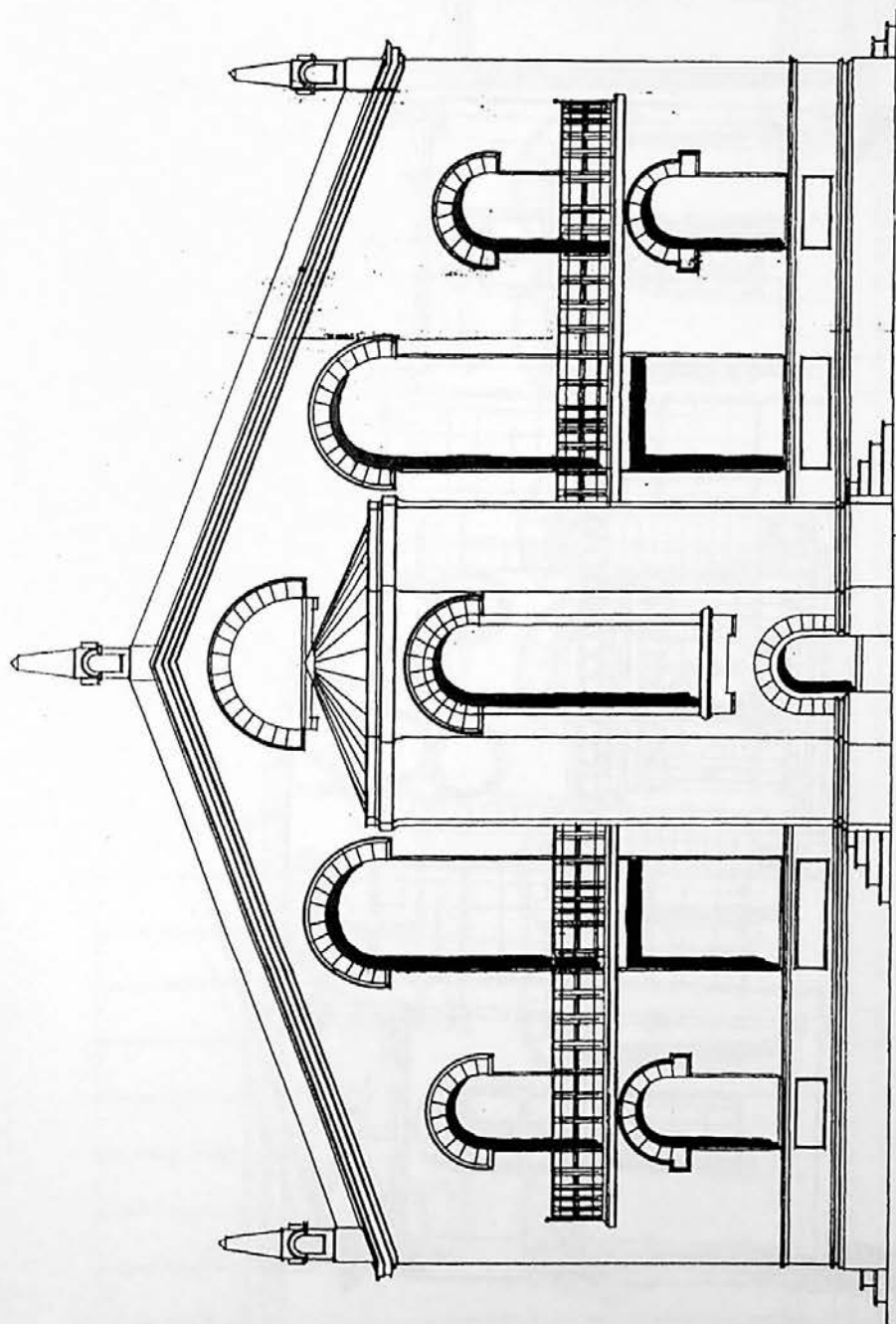
25. Synagoga przy ul. Zachodniej – projekt przebudowy. Przekrój poprzeczny, 1903 r.
 25. The Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – the reconstruction plans, cross-section 1903



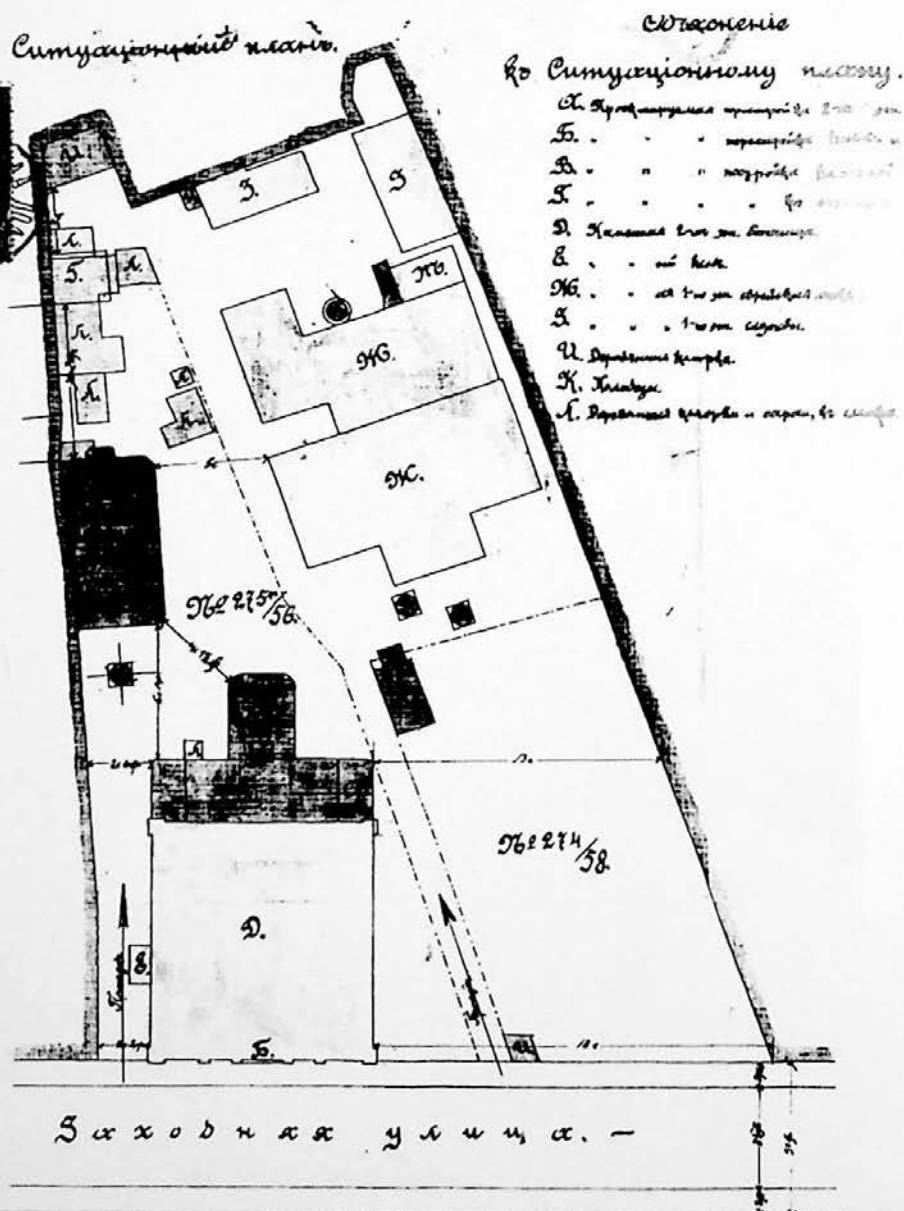
26. Beth ha-Midrash na posesji synagogi przy ul. Zachodniej – projekt fasady, 1903 r.
 26. The Beth ha-Midrash on the property of the Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – plan of the facade 1903



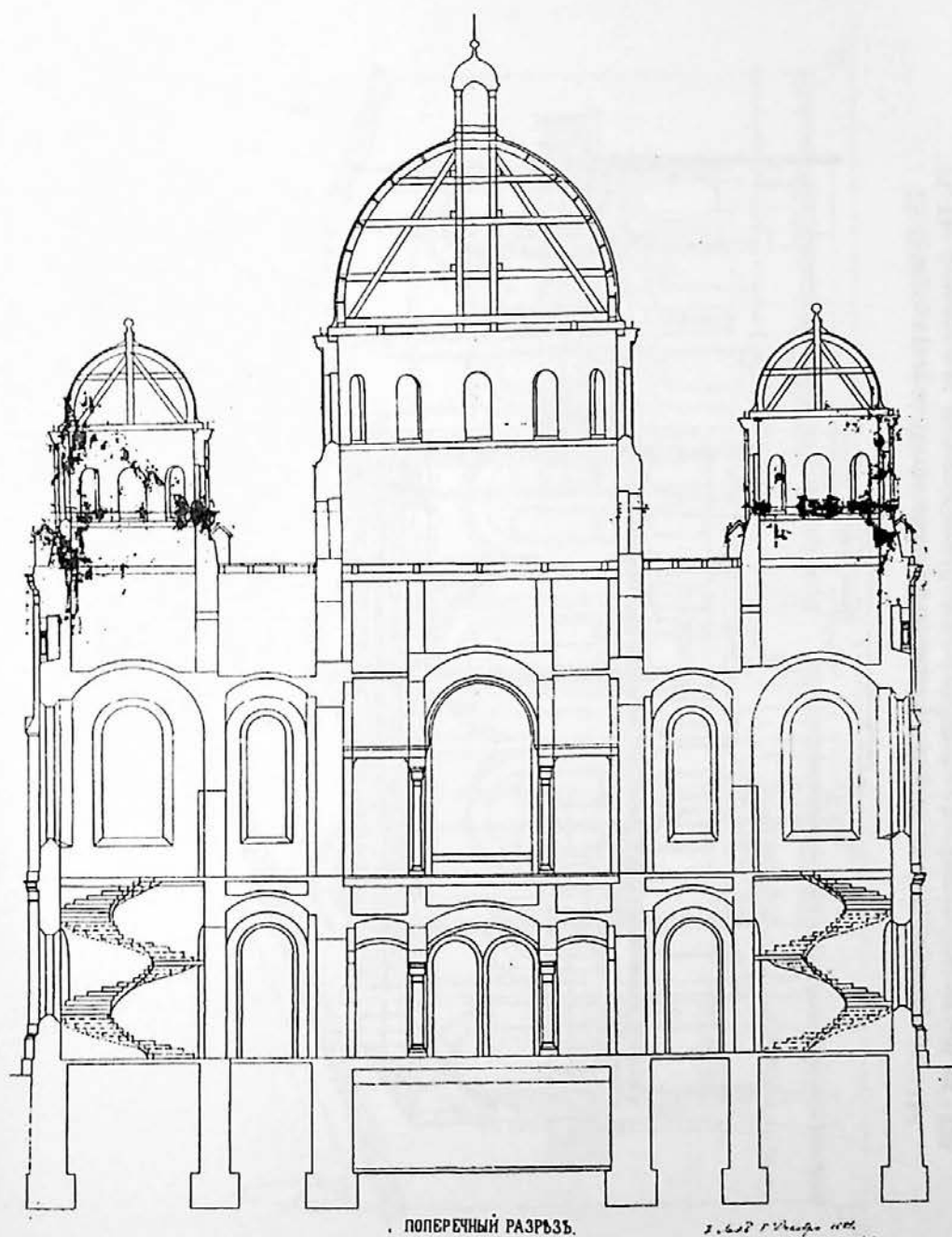
23. Synagoga przy ul. Promenadowej (Kościuszki) – projekt, przekrój podłużny, ok. 1886
 23. The Synagogue at Promenadowa (Kościuszko) Street – plan; longitudinal section, ca 1886



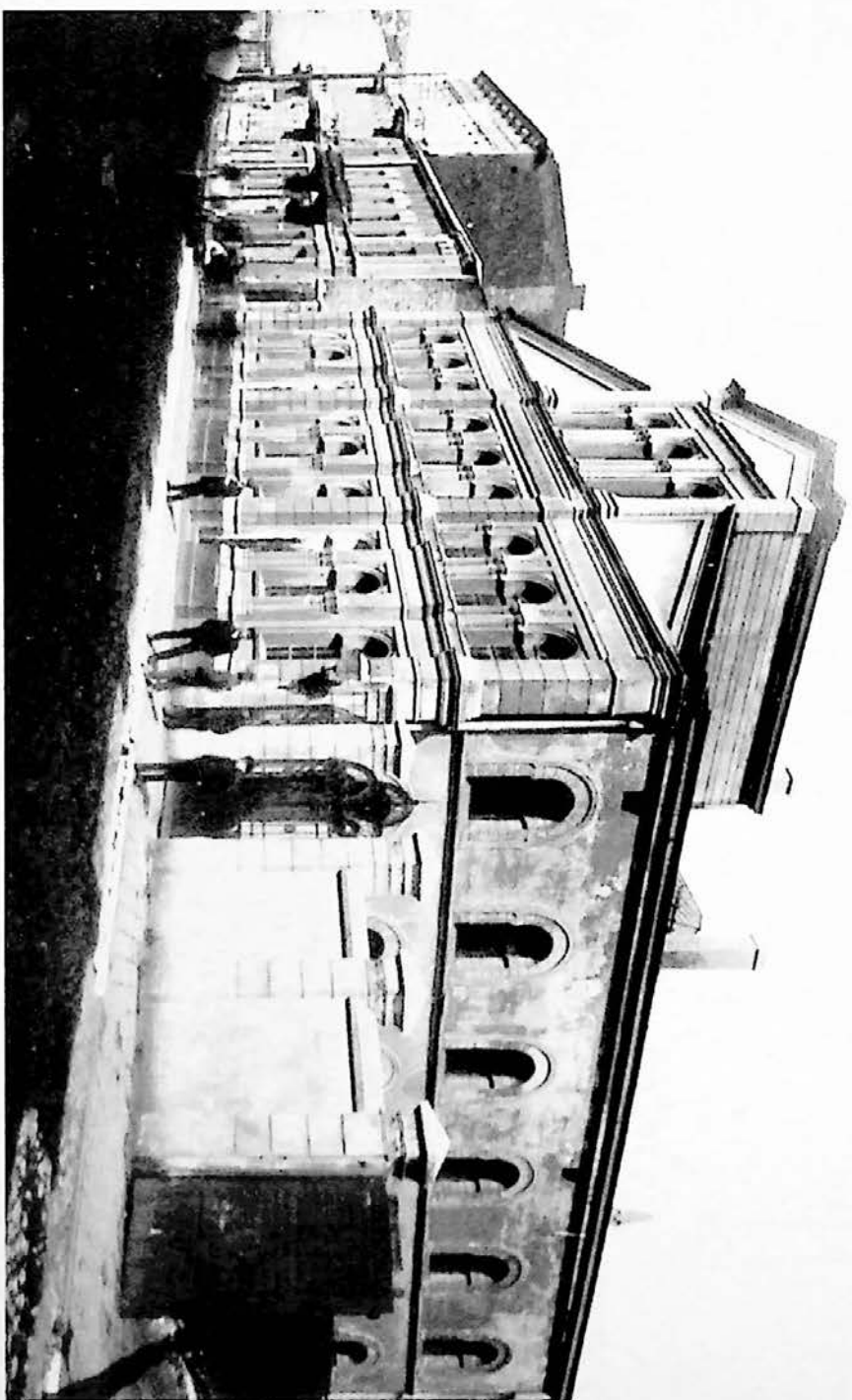
24. Synagoga przy ul. Zachodniej – projekt przebudowy. Elewacja tylna, 1903 r.
 24. The Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – the reconstruction plans, rear elevation 1903.



21. Plan dwu sąsiednich posesji: synagogi i mykwy przy ul. Zachodniej, 1903 r.
21. The plans of two neighbouring properties: the synagogue and mikvah at Zachodnia Street 1903



3. 6. 87 P. V. 1000
S. 1000
H. 1000



19. Synagoga przy ul. Zachodniej – zdjęcie sprzed 1914 r.
19. The Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – photograph pre-1914.



20. Budynek na posesji synagogi przy ul. Zachodniej – prawdopodobnie Beth-haMidrasz.
Zdjęcie z zimy 1939/1940

20. A building on the property of the Synagogue at Zachodnia Street – probably the Beth
ha-Midrash. Photograph from the winter of 1939/1940.



17. Synagoga przy ul. Wólczańskiej. Fotografia z okresu międzywojennego
17. The Synagogue at Wolczańska Street. Photograph from the inter-war years



18. Rozbiórka synagogi przy ul. Wólczańskiej – zima 1939/1940
18. The demolition of the Synagogue at Wolezańska Street – winter 1939/1940



15. Spalona synagoga przy al. Kościuszki
– zdjęcie z zimy 1939/1940

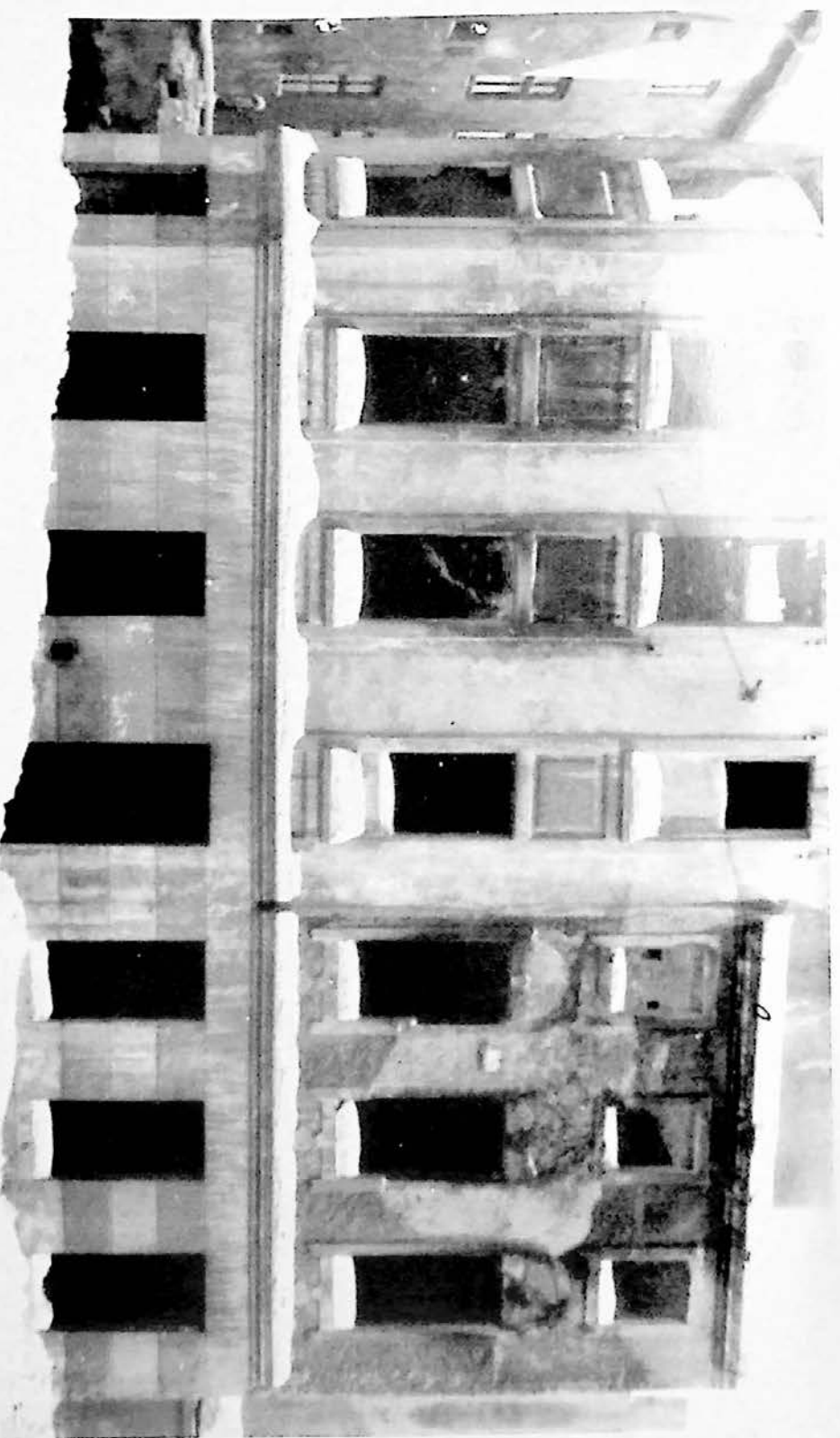
15. The burnt Synagogue at Kościuszki Street
– photograph from the winter of 1939/1940.



16. Synagoga przy ul. Wólczańskiej. Fotografia z pocz. XX w.

16. The Synagogue at Wólczajska Street.

Photograph from the beginning of the twentieth century.



13. Spalony budynek szkoły „Ahawas Torá” na posesji synagogi przy ul. Wołborskiej – zdjęcie z zimy 1939/1940

13. The burnt building of the 'Ahawas Torá' within the grounds of the Synagogue at Wołborska Street

– photograph from the winter of 1939/1940

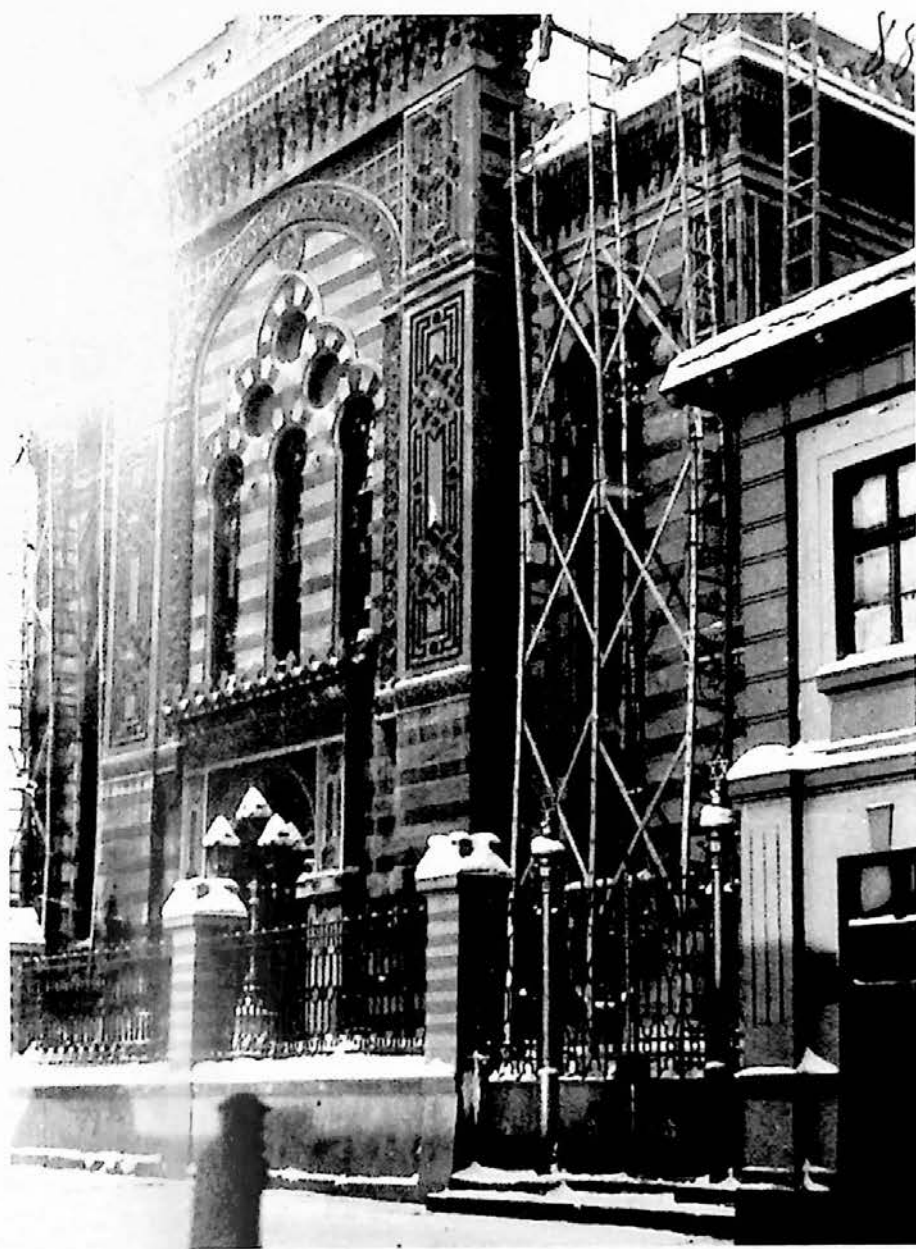


14. Synagoga przy ul. Promenadowej (Kościuszki) – projekt, fasada.
14. The Synagogue at Promenadowa (Kościuszko) Street – design, facade.



11. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej po pożarze w listopadzie 1939 r.
zdjęcie z zimy 1939/1940

11. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street after the fire of November 1939.
Photograph from the winter of 1939/1940

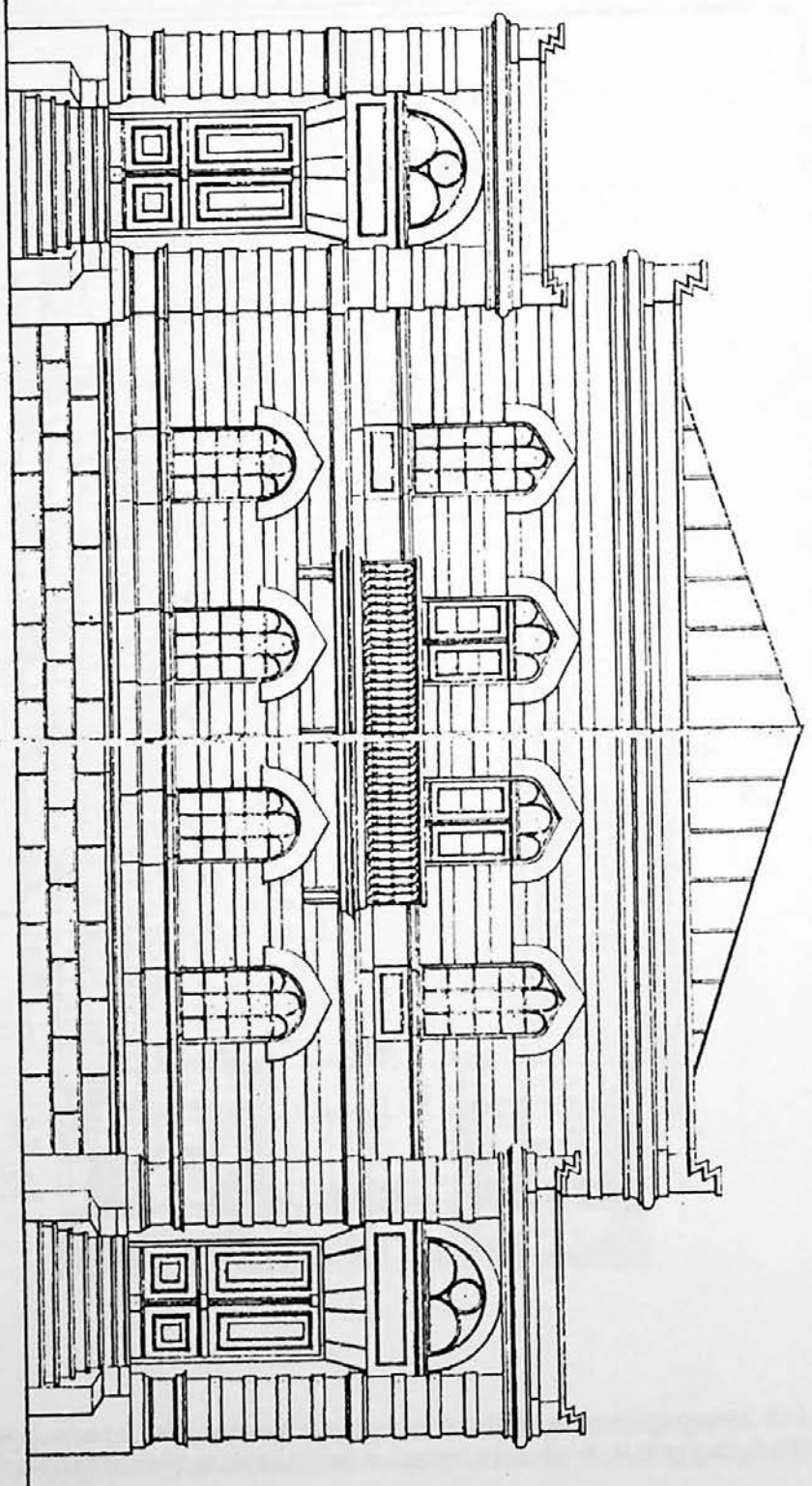


12. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej po pożarze w listopadzie 1939 r.
zdjęcie z zimy 1939/1940

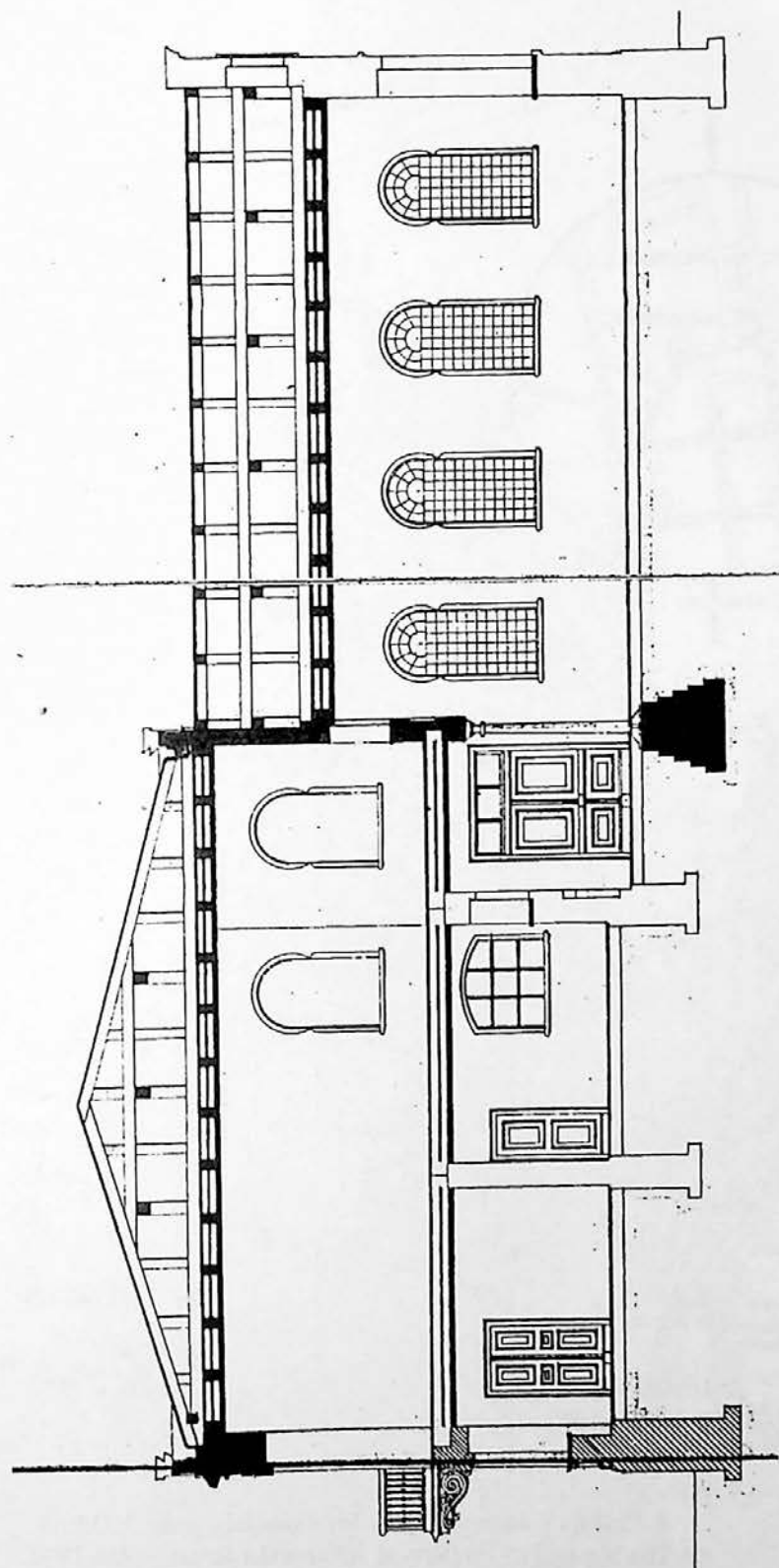
12. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street after the fire of November 1939.
Photograph from the winter of 1939/1940



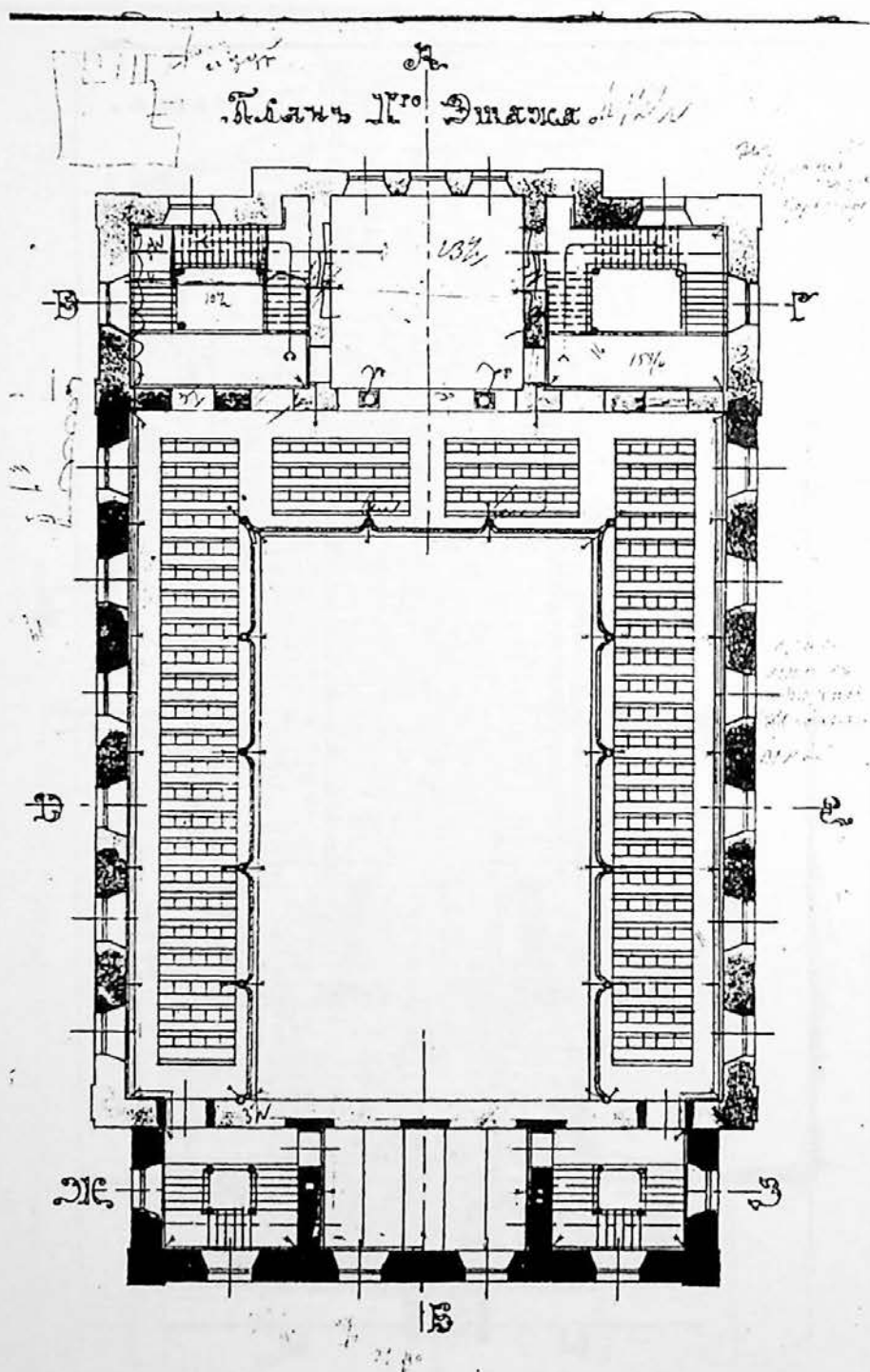
10. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – zdjęcie z lat 30. XX w.
10. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – a photograph from the 1930s.



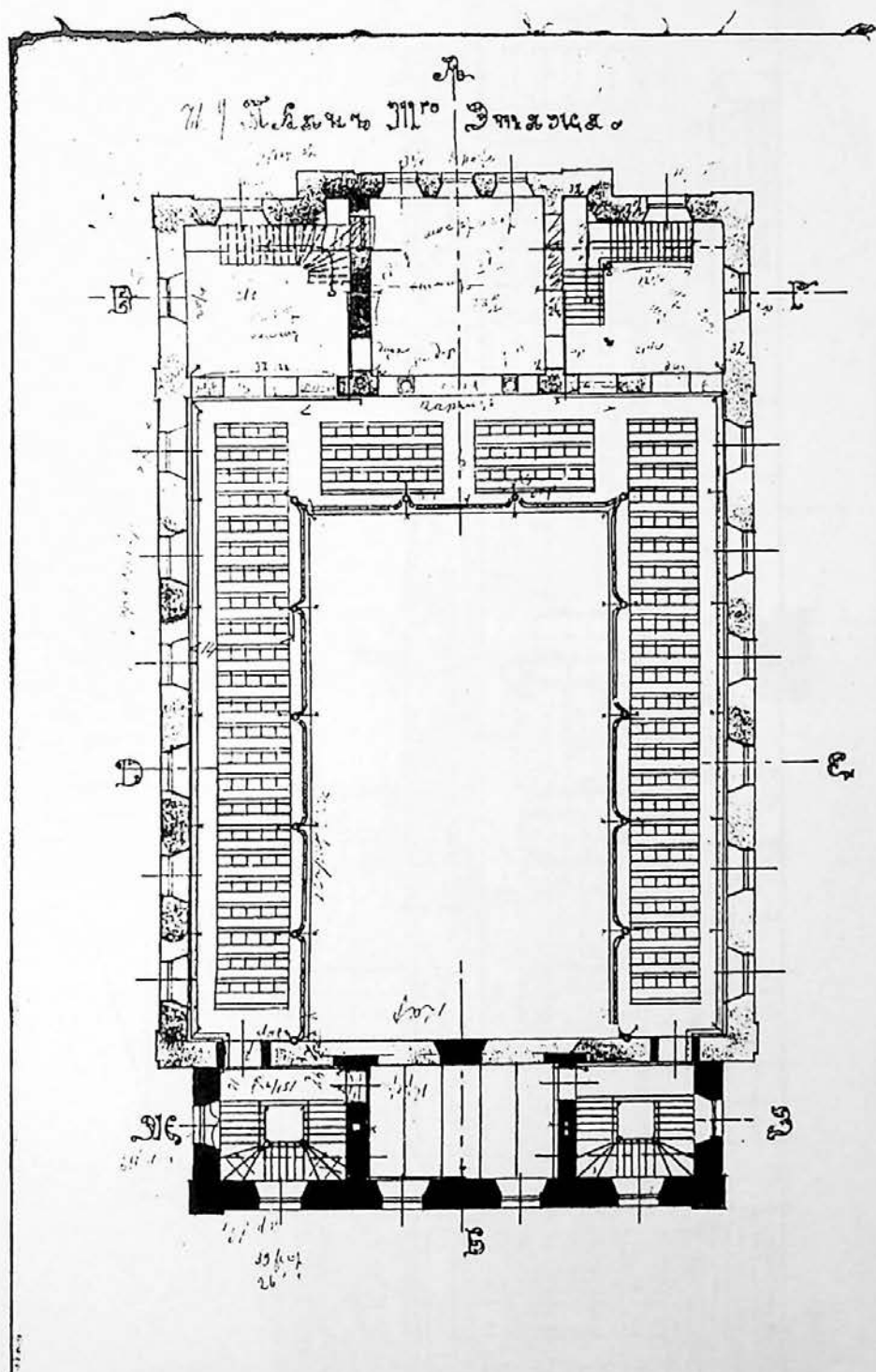
7. Beth-haMidrasz przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, fasada, 1900 r.
7. The Beth ha-Midrash at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, facade 1900



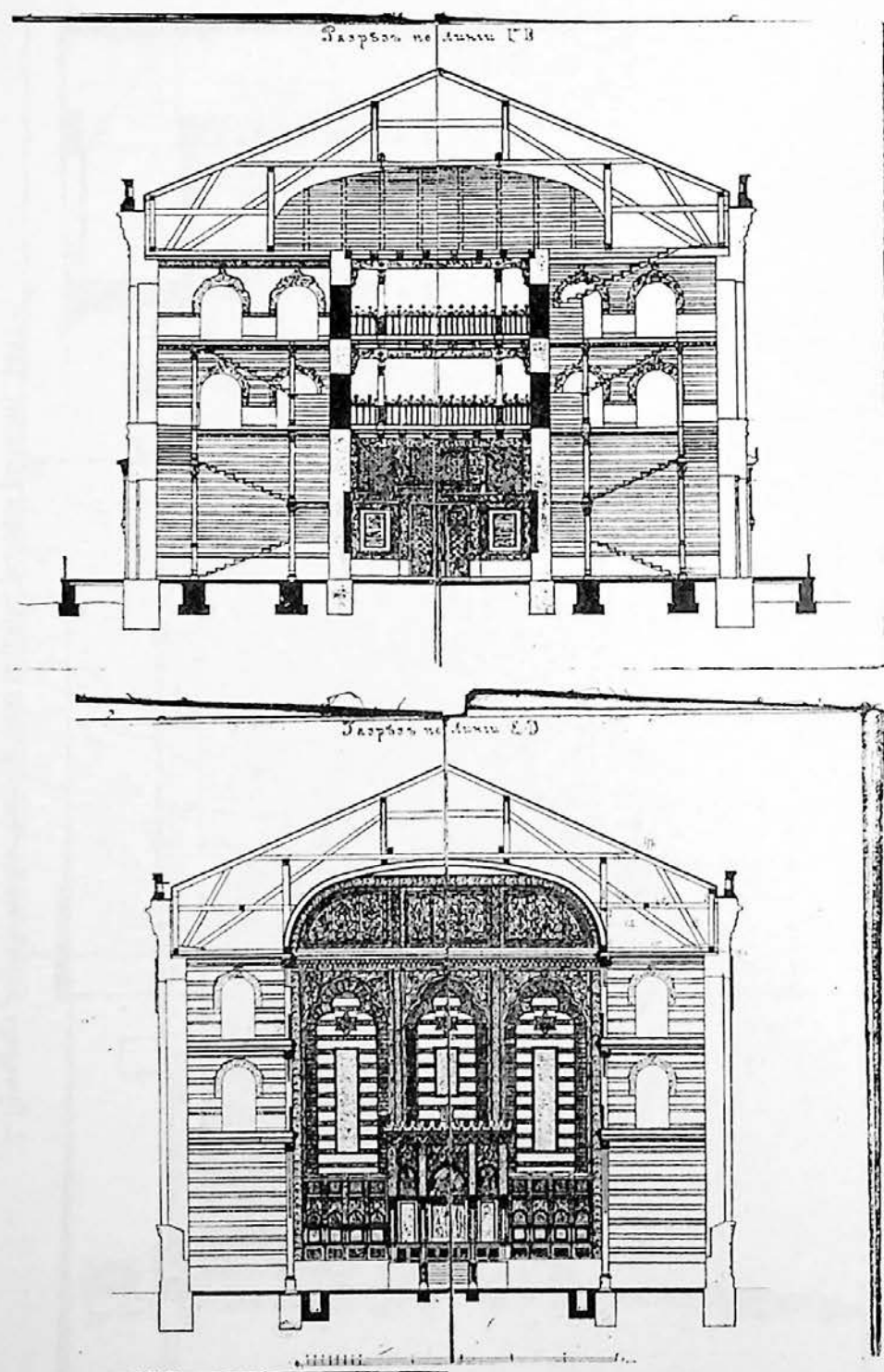
8. Beth-haMidrasz przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1900 r.
 8. The Beth ha-Midrash at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1900



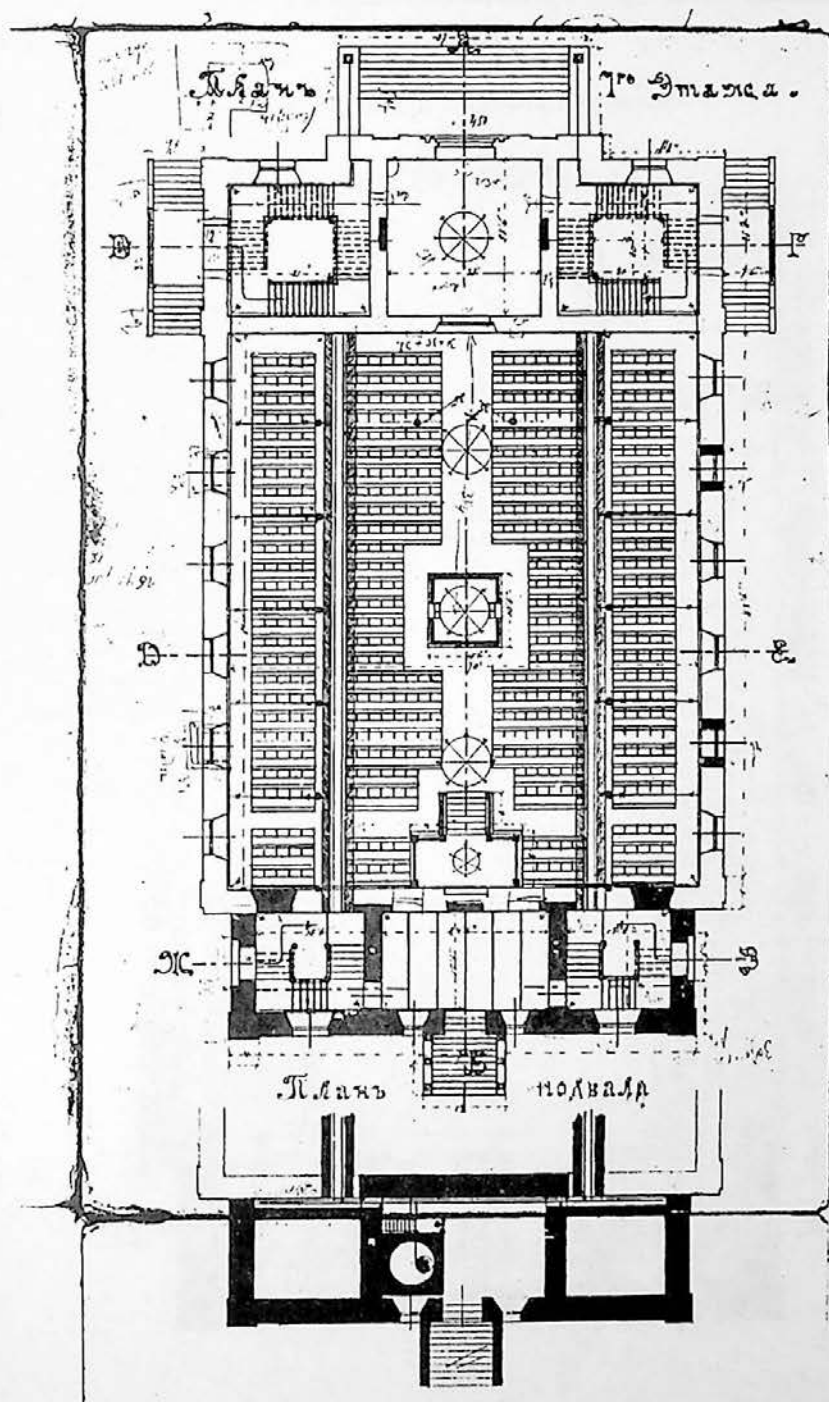
5. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, plan pierwszego piętra, 1897 r.
 5. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, plan of first floor 1897



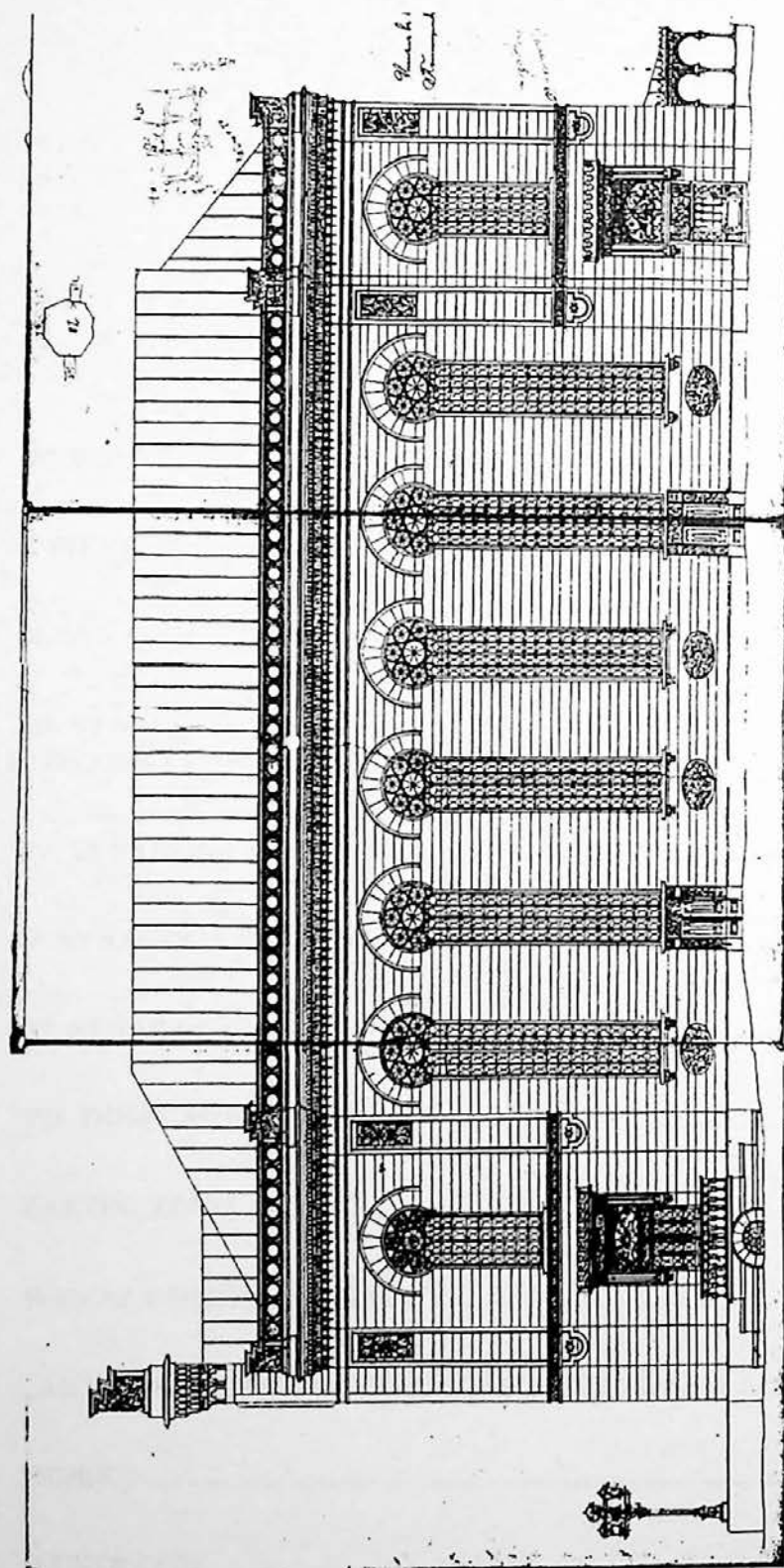
6. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, plan 2 piętra, 1897 r.
 6. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, plan of second floor 1897



3. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekroje poprzeczne, 1897 r.
 3. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, cross-section 1897

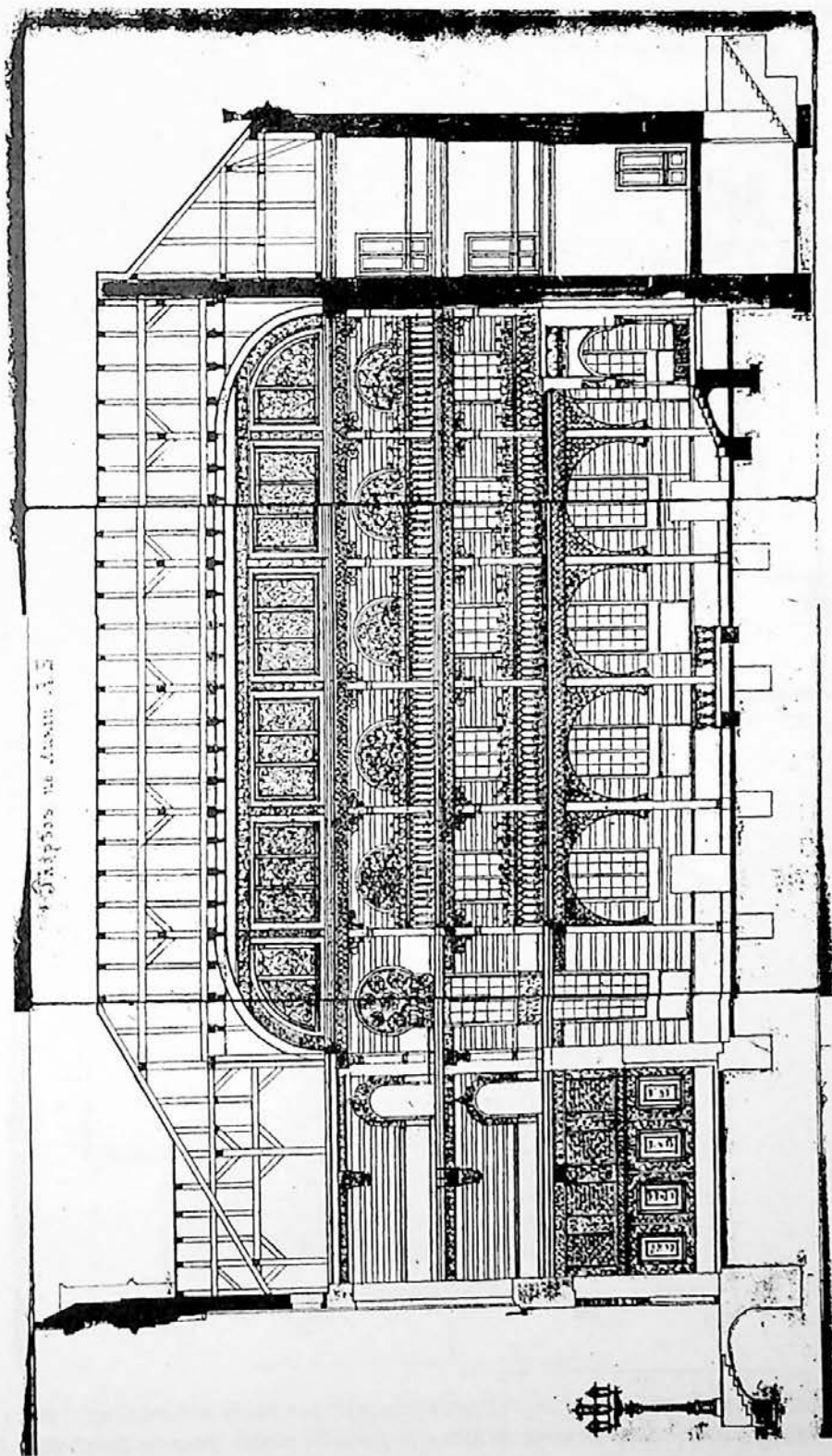


4. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, plan parteru, 1897 r.
 4. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, plan of ground floor 1897



1. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, elewacja boczna, 1897 r.

1. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, side elevation 1897



Powstawanie i działalność łódzkich synagog i domów modlitwy nie odbywało się bez wiedzy i zgody władz administracyjnych. Zaborcze władze rosyjskie, niechętnie nastawione do Żydów, sprawowały nad nimi ścisłą kontrolę, co – paradoksalnie – dało obecnie możliwość szczegółowego przedstawienia działalności żydowskich miejsc kultu. Natomiast mniejsze zainteresowanie tą kwestią władz II Rzeczypospolitej, wraz ze zniszczeniem w czasie działań wojennych znacznej części dokumentacji, spowodowało, iż okres międzywojenny przedstawiony został z konieczności w wielu wypadkach bardziej skrótowo.

ZAŁĄCZNIK 1. WYKAZ DOMÓW MODLITWY APPENDIX 1. LIST OF PRAYER HOUSES

Objaśnienie:

1. Wykaz sporządzono na podstawie przejranych niekompletnie zachowanych akt: gminy wyznaniowej, miejskich władz policyjnych i władz administracji ogólnej II instancji. Nie rości on sobie w żadnej mierze prawa do kompletności, choćby z tej racji, że zachowane do chwili obecnej materiały archiwalne zawierają dane niepełne lub wewnętrznie sprzeczne, a wyjaśnienie stwarzanych przez nie problemów – na podstawie innych, istniejących przekazów źródłowych, często niezwykle trudnych do pełnego wykorzystania (jak np. akta notarialne¹) – będzie możliwe dopiero po całkowitym opracowaniu historii Żydów łódzkich.
2. Poszczególne rubryki zawierają:
 - a) adres policyjny aktualny w czasie działalności domu modlitwy (w większości wypadków nie będzie zgodny z obecnym adresem nieruchomości²);
 - b) numer hipoteczny nieruchomości;
 - c) daty potwierdzonej źródłowo działalności domu modlitwy; za takie uważa się przede wszystkim daty zatwierdzenia przez władze administracyjne oraz daty innych dokumentów oficjalnych, dotyczących danego domu (do 1914 r. daty według kalendarza juliańskiego);
 - d) nazwiska starszych (*gaboim*) domu modlitwy w formie podanej w źródle;
 - e) liczbę osób, na jaką dom modlitwy został (lub miał zostać) zatwierdzony;
 - f) źródła informacji (podano tylko skrót nazwy zespołu, wszystkie zespoły z zasobu APL);
3. Dane dotyczące działalności domów modlitwy, co do których zatwierdzenia brak pozytywnej informacji (lecz można przypuszczać, że takowe nastąpiło), podane są kursywą.
4. Uzupełnienia danych źródłowych, dokonane przez autora niniejszej publikacji, co do których nie jest on w zupełności pewny swych przypuszczeń, podane są w nawiasach kwadratowych: []. Informacje, co do prawdziwości których autor niniejszego opracowania ma szczególne wątpliwości, oznaczone są dodatkowo znakiem zapytania: ?
5. Danych dotyczących domów modlitwy, na które odmówiono zatwierdzenia lub działały nielegalnie, nie umieszczono, chyba że zostały zatwierdzone później lub można przypuszczać, że zatwierdzenie takie nastąpiło.

Explanation:

1. The list is drawn up on the basis of the incomplete preserved files examined: of the denominational community, city police authorities, general administrative authorities of the II instance. It in no way claims the right to being complete and definitive, except in the fact that at the present moment archival materials contain data incomplete or internally contradictory,

¹ O możliwościach, a jednocześnie problemach, jakie stwarzają akta notarialne por.: J. W a - l i c k i, *Źródła do dziejów Żydów łódzkich w latach 1918-1939*, [w:] *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820-1944. Wybrane problemy*, pod red. W. P u s i a i S. L i s z e w s k i e g o, Łódź 1991, s. 238-239.

² Informacje o aktualnych nazwach ulic wymienionych w wykazie można znaleźć m.in. na stronie łódzkiej biblioteki publicznej (Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Marszałka J. Piłsudskiego w Łodzi): <http://www.wimbp.lodz.pl/>

while the explanation of the problems caused by this – on the basis of other existing source transfers, often unusually difficult to be utilised entirely (as for instance notary public acts³) – will be possible only after the complete work into the research upon Łódź's Jews has been done.

2. The particular columns contain:
 - a) the actual police address at the time of the house of prayer's activities (in the majority of cases this will not tally with the present address of the property⁴);
 - b) the real estate registration/mortgage number of the property;
 - c) the dates confirmed in sources as to the house of prayer's activities; for which are taken firstly dates confirmed by administrative authorities, as well as the dates of other official documents concerning the given house (up until 1914 in accordance with the Julian calendar);
 - d) the surnames of the elders (gaboim) of the house of prayer given in the source;
 - e) the number of people the house of prayer was (or was meant to be) registered for;
 - f) the source of information (given only as the abbreviation of the unit, all units are from the State Archive in Łódź (SAŁ);
3. Data concerning the activities of the houses of prayer, in the case of those where there is an absence of positive information (or one may assume that such was the case) the data is given in italics.
4. A supplementation of source data carried out by the author of the present work, where doubts remain as to its correctness the said is given in square brackets: []. Information that the present author feels is highly suspect is marked with an additional question mark: ?

Data concerning houses of prayer which were either refused registration or acted illegally is not included, except when the said house was later legalised or one may assume that process took place.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Police Address	Reg. no.	Date	Elders of House of Prayer	Persons	Sources
Aleksandrowska 4 (Bałuty)		29 IX 1904	Szpichler Henoch Zalma	30	PmŁ 1873, nlb. (unnumbered)
<i>Aleksandrowska 7 (Bałuty)</i>		<i>18 VI 1900</i>	<i>Dawid Ofenbach</i>	20	<i>ŁGWŻ 1, s. 194-195</i>
Aleksandrowska 8 (Bałuty)		18 VIII 1900	Izbicki Szlama Hersz	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 15v-16
Aleksandryjska 5		28 VIII 1903	Senderowicz Abram Ber, Poter vel Patora Abram Chaim	50	PmŁ 1872, nlb.
Aleksandryjska 6	188a	18 VII 1902	Miaskowski Abram	30	PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Aleksandryjska 8	188	1897	Rorman Mojżesz		PmŁ 1864, nlb.
<i>Aleksandryjska 10</i>	53	<i>3 VI 1898</i>	<i>Bialek Abram, Grynsztejn Hersz</i>	<i>>30</i>	<i>ŁGWŻ 1, s. 106.</i>
Aleksandryjska 11 ⁵	190	28 VI 1895	Lubochiński Juda Lejb, Milich Wolf	32	PmŁ 1863, nlb.; 1873, nlb.; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 98

³ On the possibilities as well as problems created by notary public's acts cf.: J. W a l i c k i, *Źródła do dziejów Żydów łódzkich w latach 1918-1939*, [in:] *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820-1944. Wybrane problemy*, edited by W. P u s i a i S. L i s z e w s k i e g o, Łódź 1991, pp. 238-239.

⁴ Information on the actual street names given in the list can be found on the Łódź public library website (The Marshal J. Piłsudski Łódź Provincial and Municipal Public Library): <http://www.wimbp.lodz.pl/>

⁵ W 1904 r. przeniesiony na Wolborską 28 / In 1904 moved to Wolborska Street 28.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Aleksandryjska 12	54	23 VI 1898	Najman Szulem Emanuel		PmŁ 1867, nlb.; ŁGWŻ I, s. 118, 120-121.
Aleksandryjska 12	54	13 IX 1902	Wald Dawid	80	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Aleksandryjska 14	55b	25 IX 1902	Wajsbeg Zelig	30	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Aleksandryjska 16	55	24 VIII 1895	Orenbach vel Orenbur Szmul Zandel	30	PmŁ 579, 1863, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 11v-12; ŁGWŻ I, s. 98
Aleksandryjska 24	60	10 VII 1896	Milich Wolf	30	PmŁ 1863, nlb.
Aleksandryjska 25	44	10 III 1899	Krawiecki Eliasz Majer	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 59v, 61, 62, 80; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 11v-12; PmŁ 1881, nlb.; ŁGWŻ I, s. 136-138
Aleksandryjska 34		7 VII 1900	Rodzyński Abram Lejb	34	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 11v-12; ŁGWŻ I, s. 186, 188-189
Benedykta 13		21 VI 1903	Lewszajn Józef	30	PmŁ 1872, nlb.
Benedykta 28		3 IX 1908	Rapaport Szmul Abram	26	PmŁ 1876, nlb.
Benedykta 45		7 VIII 1896	Lipski Moszek	31	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 30v-31
Brzezińska 13 (Baluty)		3 VI 1904	Sztejn Aleksander	30	PmŁ 1873, nlb.
Brzezińska 26 (Baluty)		3 IV 1899	Oszkowski Jakub, Wrzonski Michał	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 112, 114, 115; ŁGWŻ I, 172, 176
Cegielniana 6		1935	Dom Modlitwy i Nauki Talmudycznej im. b.p. Salomona Nusena Monata-Bajs Szlome		UWL 1208, nlb.
Cegielniana 7		26 VI 1902	Gilman Kadesz	111	PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Cegielniana 28	272b	4 IV 1902	Helman Mojżesz Lejb	38	PmŁ 1867, nlb. 1870, nlb.; ŁGWŻ I, s. 227, 229-230
Cegielniana 29		7 VII 1897	Kon Aron, Uberbaum Symcha, Winter Chaim Mendel		RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 20v-21
Cegielniana 36 lub 38		24 X 1895	Monat Salomon	30	PmŁ 1863, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 20v-21; ŁGWŻ I, s. 98
Cegielniana 46 ⁶	1402a	8 IV 1893	Szpejberg Hersz. Zaks Jakub		ŁGWŻ I, s. 146, 147
Cegielniana 48		29 I 1900	Berger Dydie	97	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 22v-23
Cegielniana 52		2 XI 1908	„Linat Hacholim”	60	PmŁ 1876, nlb.
Cegielniana 56 ⁷	2219	ok. 1900	[Uryson Josel?]	40	PmŁ 1881, nlb.; ŁGWŻ I, s. 319-320
Długa 14	320 I, I	4 IV 1902	Janowski Chaim	30	PmŁ 1870, nlb.; 1880, nlb.
Długa 22 ⁸		14 XII 1913	Uberbaum Symcha	30	PmŁ 1881, nlb.
Długa 68	796a	1 III 1898	Gejnzler Herman Józef	26	ŁGWŻ I, 56-57; PmŁ 1864, nlb.
Długa 76		22 XII 1897	Gejnzler Herman Józef	26	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 30v-31
Długa 76		8 I 1909	Goldberg Gerszon	25	PmŁ 1877, nlb.

⁶ W 1897 r. przeniesiony na ul. Widzewską 42 / In 1897 moved to Widzewska Street 42.

⁷ W 1913 r. przeniesiony na Zachodnią 66 / In 1913 moved to Zachodnia Street 66.

⁸ Przeniesiony z ul. Cegielnianej / Moved from Cegielniana Street.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Drewnowska 4	120	9 VII 1898	Rotman Izrael		RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 78
[Drewnowska 6?]	121	1891	Kaliński Jankiel, Zarzewski Jankiel		PmL 579, nlb.
Drewnowska 11	114a	10 III 1899	Rotman Izrael	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 12v-13
Drewnowska 11	114a	1898	Koplowicz Kopel		RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 76-77v
Drewnowska 11	114a	11 VIII 1906	Sendrowicz Peter		PmL 1875, nlb.
Drewnowska 15 lub 16	125? 126	13 VI 1893	Czośniak Jonas vel Leon	34	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 13v-14; LGWZ 1, s. 13-14, 146-147
Drewnowska 21	104	17 VIII 1895	Lewkowicz Jankiel, Milich Wolf	30	PmL 1863, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 13v-14; LGWZ 1, s. 98
Drewnowska 32	1366a	22 VIII 1898	Kon Abram Józef	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 13v-14; LGWZ 1, s. 122, 124
Dzielna 29 ⁹	1111	5 XI 1898	Łódzki vel Lidzki Elias, Topielewicz Dawid Lejb, Epel Szolom	30	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 163-164v; 9507, k. 20v-21
Dzielna 29 ¹⁰	1111	16 XII 1904	Nelkin Józef	50	PmL 1873, nlb.
Dzielna 29	1111	11 VI 1908	Lederman Szmul Fridrich Aron	49	PmL 1876, nlb.
Franciszkańska 22	[65]	3 VI 1900	Radziński Abram Lejb	35	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 95-98
Główna 41		20 X 1906	Grynberg Matys Szlama	35	PmL 1875, nlb.
Główna 41		19 VII 1909	„Chewrat-Miszmorim”	30	PmL 1877, nlb.
Główna 46 ¹¹	1091a	wiosna 1910	Abramowicz Icek Majer		LGWZ 1, s. 279
Główna 55	1175	2 XII 1897	Gutgold Moszek Isakowicz	20	LGWZ 1, s. 53-54; PmL 1864, nlb.
Główna 60		24 III 1906	Kryształ A., Okno T.		PmL 1875, nlb.
Jakuba 3	29	20 VIII 1893	Gostyński Beniamin	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 25v-26; LGWZ 1, s. 92, 93
Jakuba 7	27	1891	Direnheld Michal		PmL 579, nlb.
Jakuba 10	33	3 XI 1899	Grincwejt Mendel		LGWZ 1, s. 185
Jakuba 10	33	koniec XIX w.	Jakubowicz Michal Wigdor, Banasz Icek	30	LGWZ 1, s. 131
Jakuba 12		przed 1930	„Jeszubut Bajs Israel”		UWL 1238, s. 2-3
Jerozolimska 7	14	1898	Lipski Fiszel	25	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 42-43
Jerozolimska 7	14	10 VII 1898	Zander Hercyk	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 25v-26
Jerozolimska 9		6 III 1899	Halpern Icek	25	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 26v-27
Juliusza 3	1179a	26 V 1897	Moszkowicz Dawid, Mostowicz Berek Wolf	31	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 31v-32; PmL 1864, nlb.
Kamienna 6	1419b	14 VIII 1898	Lebental Szlama		LGWZ 1, s. 134
Kamienna 6	1419b	5 IX 1903	Binensztok Mordka	30	PmL 1872, nlb.

⁹ Przeniesiony z Kamiennej 20 / Moved from Kamienna Street 20.

¹⁰ Przeniesiony spod nieznanego adresu / Moved from unknown address.

¹¹ Przeniesiony z Targowej 65 / Moved from Tragowa Street 65.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Kamienna 9	1418d	10 IV 1899	Hejzman Mordka, Fejl Herszel	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 144-146, 149; 9507, k. 22v-23
Kamienna 13 ¹²	1418 f	20 VIII 1898	Rajbenbach Zelig	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 22v-23; PmŁ 1865, nlb.
Kamienna 13	1418 f	23 VIII 1900	Nelken Józef		ŁGWŻ 1, s. 231-233
Kamienna 17	1428 a	11 V 1898	Kaufman Moszek	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 22v-23; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 75-76; PmŁ 1865, nlb.
Kamienna 18		13 IX 1902	Tajch Izrael	40	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Kamienna 20	1427 a	31 V 1898	Łódzki vel Łucki Eliasza Topielewicz Dawid Lejb, Sudjan Lejb	30	ŁGWŻ 1, s. 70, 72-73
Kielma (Baluty)		1 IX 1900	Trejster Moszek	30	PmŁ 1867, nlb.
Konstantynowska 46	320 f	26 IV 1896	Bendet Mordka	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 17v-18; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 125, 127
Konstantynowska 65	321b, b,a	6 VI 1902	Gnatek Herszlik	30	PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Kościelny Plac 8	185/186	przełom XIX i XX w.	Lebental Szlama		ŁGWŻ 1, s. 135
Krótką 6		10 VII 1896	Paluch Majer	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 29v-30
Krótką 12 ¹³		2 X 1904	Paluch Majer	55	PmŁ 1873, nlb.
Krótką 12		11 I 1909	Walman Majer Chaskiel	30	PmŁ 1877, nlb.
Lutomierska 18	104	3 VII 1900	Lizman vel Lozman Gersz	30	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 121, 124; 9507, k. 13v-14
Lagiewnicka 6 (Baluty)		3 V 1900	Friszman vel Fiszman Szymon	30	PmŁ 579, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 15v-16; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 190
Mikołajewska 9	506a	przed 3 VII 1903	[Lichtenberg?]	30	PmŁ 1872, nlb.; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 103
Mikołajewska 64		23 IV 1895	Kac Icek Józef	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 31v-32
Mikołajewska 64		14 II 1909	Feder Gerszon	96	PmŁ 1877, nlb.
Mikołajewska 69	1093	1895		31	ŁGWŻ 1, s. 39-40
Nowomiejska 4		20 VII 1904	Kaplan Abram	110	PmŁ 1873, nlb.
Nowomiejska 6	10	27 V 1898	Landau vel Lande Moszek Mendel	35	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 18v-19; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 105
[Nowomiejska 11]	234	1891	Berman Wolf, Fannelberg Jakub, Marnowicz Abram		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Nowomiejska 15	232	16 VIII 1894	Lewkowicz Jakub	30	PmŁ 579, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 24v-25; ŁGWŻ 1, s. 146, 148
Nowomiejska 19	21a	1891	Fajtlowicz Fajwel, Bławat Motel, Grosfreid Pinkus		PmŁ 579, nlb.

¹² Przeniesiony spod nieznanego adresu / Moved from unknown adress.

¹³ Przeniesiony spod nieznanego adresu. W 1908 przeniesiony na ul. Piotrkowską 92 / Moved from unknown adress. In 1908 moved to Piotrkowska Street 92.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Nowomiejska 21 ¹⁴	21 aa	1 X 1899	Jakubowicz Wigdor, Banat vel Banan Icek vel Chaskiel	30	PmL 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 268, 270, 9507, k. 24v-25
Nowomiejska 26	20	8 IV 1893	Sierakowski Ezriel	34	PmL 1867, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 12v-13; LGWZ 1, s. 146-148
Nowo-Zarzewska 3	1069b	13 IX 1901	Engel Gabriel	60	PmL 1867, nlb.
Nowo-Zarzewska 6		3 II 1909	Wajnberg Elias	30	PmL 1877, nlb.
Nowo-Zarzewska 20		22 I 1937	Francuz Izrael		UWL 2512, s. 32, 35-36
Niska 18 ¹⁵	1276k	7 XI 1901	Here Mordka	100	PmL 1868, nlb.; 1870, nlb.; 1873, nlb.
Nowy Rynek 7	7	1891	Epsztejn Salo vel Szlama, Siemiatycki Hersz, German Zachar vel Zachariasz		PmL 579, nlb.; 1867, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 146
Nowy Rynek 10	240	4 VIII 1876	Baruch August (w 1891-1901)		PmL 579, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 146
Ogrodowa 10	287	1891	Hilenberg Lajbus Bławat Lajbus		PmL 579, nlb.
Ogrodowa 10	287	8 VII 1902	Bergman Aleksander		PmL 1867, nlb.; 1870, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 208
Ogrodowa 12	288	1891	Berger Abram		PmL 579, nlb.
Ogrodowa 12	288	? IX 1900	Perla Dawid Józef		RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 176; LGWZ 1, s. 203-204
Ogrodowa 12 (Bałuty)		28 IX 1898	Warszawski Wolf	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 13v-14; LGWZ 1, s. 110-111
Pańska 40		22 VII 1908	Laski Mordka Majer	22	PmL 1876, nlb.
Pańska 67		5 V 1908	Przygurski Józef Moszek	21	PmL 1880, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 329
Pieprzowa 14 ¹⁶ (Bałuty)		15 IX 1900	Bursztynowicz Lejzer	30	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 155, 157, 158, 177
Pieprzowa 16 (Bałuty)		16 II 1899	Bursztynowicz Lejzer	30	PmL 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 164, 167-167v; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 14v-15; LGWZ 1, s. 162
Pieprzowa 17 (Bałuty)		22 IV 1901	Rozenberg Abram		LGWZ 1, s. 251
Pieprzowa 21 (Bałuty)		12 III 1898	Dykierman Sender	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 13v-14; PmL 1865, nlb.
Piłsudskiego 25		3 XII 1936	Girtler Moszek Majer		UWL 2512, s. 32, 33-34
Piotrkowska 8	250	26 VI 1902	Dyszkin vel Dyszke Sender	30	PmL 1870, nlb.
Piotrkowska 12	252	15 VIII 1895	Senderowicz vel Sendrowicz Izrael	30	LGWZ 1, s. 35-36, 148
Piotrkowska 17	275	17 IX 1877	Bławat Chaim	33	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 19v-20;
Piotrkowska 17	275	1891	Cygielberg Lewi		PmL 579, nlb.

¹⁴ Przeniesiony ze Wschodniej 18 / Moved from Wschodnia Street 18.

¹⁵ W 1904 r. przeniesiony na Rokicińską 28 / Moved to Rokicińska Street 28.

¹⁶ Przeniesiony z Pieprzowej 16 / Moved from Pieprzowa Street 16.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Piotrkowska 19	274	16 VI 1895	Kon Salomon	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 19v-20; LGWŻ 1, s. 41-42, 146, 148
Piotrkowska 23 [?]	273	1873	Winter Chaim Uberbojm Symcha		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Piotrkowska 25		4 IX 1876	Belin Jakub	25	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 19v-20
Piotrkowska 29	271	1891	Szifowicz Rachmil		PmŁ 579, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 146
Piotrkowska 31 ¹⁷	270	1891	Kon Aron, Winter Chaim, Uberbaum Symcha		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Piotrkowska 33	269	od 1876	Winter Chaim (1891)		PmŁ 579, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 146
Piotrkowska 33	269	1891	Berger Dydie		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Piotrkowska 38	260	17 IX 1892	Grinszpán vel Grinsztajn Symeon vel Szymon	30	PmŁ 579, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 19v-20
Piotrkowska 42	261	26 IX 1898	Sroka Jakub	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 19v-20; LGWŻ 1, s. 89-91
Piotrkowska 43	265	8 VI 1899	Glikzman Eliakim, Jankielewicz Jakub	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 177, 179-180v; 9507, k. 20v-21; LGWŻ 1, s. 167-168
Piotrkowska 50	263	przed 1 X 1894			LGWŻ 1, s. 146
Piotrkowska 60		9 VII 1901	Majerowicz Izrael Wolf, Wolberg Izrael	31	PmŁ 1867, nlb.
Piotrkowska 81	769	4 II 1898	Herszberg Szmul Gilwan Kadet	50	PmŁ 1864, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 58-59
Piotrkowska 82		9 VIII 1896	Bławat Menasze, Muchnicki vel Michnicki Hersz	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 29v-30
Piotrkowska 83	768	6 IV 1893	Wiślicki Chaim Jakub	30	PmŁ 579, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 30v-31; LGWŻ 1, s. 4-5, 146-147
Piotrkowska 88	520	7 XII 1900	Pelc vel Plesner Chaskiel	81	PmŁ 1870, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 238
Piotrkowska 92		8 III 1908	Paluch Majer	55	PmŁ 1876, nlb.
Piotrkowska 107	756	1891	Lipszyc Berszt		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Piotrkowska 107	756	30 VIII 1895	Bryczkowski Henoch		PmŁ 1864, nlb.
Piotrkowska 117	751	31 III 1900	Kon Abram Moszek	15	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 73-77
Piotrkowska 118 ¹⁸	537	24 VIII 1895	Bryczkowski Henoch	31	PmŁ 1864, nlb.; PmŁ 1870, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 29v-30
Piotrkowska 120	538	14 VII 1900	Gamprecht Moszek Icek		LGWŻ 1, s. 198-200
Piotrkowska 120	538	24 V 1902	Galtricht Moszek	30	PmŁ 1870, nlb.

¹⁷ Przeniesiony z Piotrkowskiej 33 / Moved from Piotrkowska Street 33.

¹⁸ Przeniesiony z Piotrkowskiej 107 / Moved from Piotrkowska Street 107.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Piotrkowska 145	737	10 VI 1893	Jakubowicz Lewek	30	PmL 579, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 30v-31; LGWZ 1, s. 11-12, 146-147
Piotrkowska 197	711	5 VII 1898	Szpigiel vel Szligiel Wolf Ber	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 33v-34; LGWZ 1, s. 112-114
Piotrkowska 284	626	18 X 1900	Rotholz Michał	30	PmL 1867, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 221, 223, 236
Podrzeczna 5	134	24 V 1902	Nejman Szulim	75	PmL 1870, nlb.
Podrzeczna 8	28	1891	OrbachLejzer Moszek, Frenkel Chemia		PmL 579, nlb.
Podrzeczna 9	132a	11 V 1898	Szpigiel Józef	30	PmL 1865, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 12v-13; LGWZ 1, s. 62
[Podrzeczna 9 lub 12?]	132	1891	Terakowski Ezriel		PmL 579, nlb.
[Podrzeczna 9 lub 12?]	132	1891	Józefowicz Moszek		PmL 579, nlb.
[Podrzeczna 9 lub 12?]	132	1891	Lewek Lewkowicz		PmL 579, nlb.
Podrzeczna 11	[131]	3 IX 1902	Gociał Józef	41	PmL 1868, nlb.
Podrzeczna 12	132 [?]	20 VIII 1898	Karmińś Hersz	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 12v-13; LGWZ 1, s. 8-9
[Podrzeczna 21?]	74	1891	Szwajcar Lejb		PmL 579, nlb.
Południowa 2		15 VIII 1895	Sendrowicz Izrael	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 18v-19
Południowa 18	481	21 IV 1893	Finkelberg Jakub, Berman Wolf Majer, Markowicz Abram	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 23v-24; LGWZ 1, s. 8-9, 147
Południowa 18	481	13 IX 1902	Nelken Józef	30	PmL 1868, nlb.
Południowa 20	483	25 II 1897	Solomonowicz Zalman	20	PmL 1864, nlb.
Południowa 21 ¹⁹	1420	16 IX 1894	Rajbenbach Żelig	30	LGWZ 1, s. 25-26, 148
Południowa 22		26 II 1897	Solomonowicz Zalman	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 23v-24
Południowa 25		22 IV 1895	Lipsztein Hersz, Codyk Bernsztein	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 21v-22
Południowa 27 ²⁰	1423	29 X 1899	Kac Chaim Szlama		PmL 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 276-276v, 279-281; 9507, k. 23v-24
Południowa 28	486	3 VII 1902	Rajcher Wilhelm vel Wolf	42	PmL 1870, nlb.
Południowa 30	420 a	12 VIII 1895	Lewkowicz Abram Sucher	32	PmL 1863, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 23v-24; LGWZ 1, s. 98
Północna 5	313	18 IX 1902	Wajnberg Ire	40	PmL 1868, nlb.
Północna 6	298	1897	Kochański Moszek		LGWZ 1, s. 95
Północna 6	298	12 IX 1897	Zilbersztein Hersz	50	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 25v-26
Północna 7	312	7 VIII 1893	Zilbersztein Hersz	[50]	PmL 579, nlb.; LGWZ 1, s. 15-16, 146-147
Północna 7	312	9 VIII 1896	Michałowicz Moszek	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 17v-18

¹⁹ W 1898 r. przeniesiony na Kamienną 13 / In 1898 moved to Kamienna Street 13.

²⁰ Przeniesiony ze Wschodniej 33 / Moved from Wschodnia Street 33.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Północna 9	311	9 II 1896	Fajtlowicz Moszek	30	PmŁ 1863, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 99
[Północna 9]	311	1891	Wajngarten Zelig Wigdor		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Północna 10		11 IX 1902	Adesman Majer	30	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Północna 11	310	12 VI 1896	Helpen vel Halbpern Icek Lejb	25	PmŁ 1863, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 98
Północna 11	310	1891	Fridman Szmul, Szpiwak Issaak		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Północna 11	310	1891	Landau Rafał		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Północna 11	310	11 VI 1899	Landau Nusen Icek	40	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 195-196v, 199; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 17v-18; LGWŻ 1, s. 159, 160-161
Północna 21		13 XI 1896	Zilberman Lewek	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 24v-25
Północna 23	336a	1 VI 1902	Witelzon Abram	50	PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Północna 25	336B	3 VIII 1902	Frenkel Szymon	35	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Północna 25	336B	20 I 1909	Kirsbaum Majer	40	PmŁ 1877, nlb.
Północna 31	338a	11 IX 1902	Fajn Fiszal	38	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Rokicińska 6 ²¹	1276	1899	Gerc (Herz?) Mordka	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 200, 204-204v
Promenadna 34		28 VIII 1903	Paluch Majer	30	PmŁ 1872, nlb.
Rokicińska 8 ²²	560 b	1910		50	LGWŻ 1, s. 281-282, 284-285
Rokicińska 12 ²³	560 e,d,e,f	1898	Herc (Herz?) Mordka	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 204-204v
Rokicińska 20	1276	14 X 1898	Herc (Herz?) Mordka	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 33v-34
Rokicińska 28 ²⁴	675A	12 XI 1904	Herc (Herz?) Mordka		PmŁ 1873, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 283
Rokicińska 31	1276a ,b	12 VII 1899	Herc (Herz?) Mordka	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.
Rzgowska 2	627c, a	19 IV 1901	Grinberg Perec		LGWŻ 1, s. 253-254
Rzgowska 8	627G	23 I 1896	Ferszter Jakub vel Jankiel	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 33v-34; PmŁ 1867, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 49, 98
[Rzgowska 10?]	627c	1891	Krel Szmul Moszek Berger Moszek		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Składowa 13	1114	9 VII 1897	Maślanka Icek	30	PmŁ 1864, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 29v-30
Skwerowa 18	1384d	24 VII 1898	Kligier Chil	30	LGWŻ 1, s. 115-117
Solna 5 ²⁵	338B	22 IX 1905	Radzyner vel Radziner Dawid Berek vel Ber		PmŁ 1874, nlb.
Solna 8	337a, a	3 VI 1900	Radzyner vel Radziner Dawid Berek vel Ber	30	APL, RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 100, 119; 9507, k. 23v-24; LGWŻ 1, s. 178

²¹ Przeniesiony z Rokicińskiej 12 / Moved from Rokicińska Street 12.

²² Przeniesiony z Rokicińskiej 28 / Moved from Rokicińska Street 28.

²³ W 1899 r. przeniesiony na Rokicińską 6 / In 1899 moved to Rokicińska Street 6.

²⁴ Przeniesiony z Niskiej 28; w 1910 r. planowano przeniesienie na Rokicińską 8 / Moved from Niska Street 28; in 1910 planned move to Rokicińska Street 8.

²⁵ Przeniesiony z Solnej 8 / Moved from Solna Street 8.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Solna 11	338a	10 VI 1898	Frenkel Abram Icek	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 24v-25; LGWŻ 1, s. 108
Staro-Brzezińska 36		1901			PmŁ 1867, nlb.
Staro-Zarzewska 5	627	14 IX 1903	Fridman Szlama	40	PmŁ 1872, nlb.
Staro-Zarzewska 5	627	12 II 1901	Markus Mordka		LGWŻ 1, s. 249
Staro-Zarzewska 35		1903	Goldberg Moszek, Goldberg Chaim		PmŁ 1872, nlb.
Stary Rynek 2	228	17 IX 1899	Łódzki vel Łucki Henoch	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 262-263v; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 11v-12; LGWŻ 1, s. 169
Stary Rynek 6	224	1891	Frenkel Szymon Wolf, Orbach Jakub		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Stary Rynek 11	190	21 VII 1895	Lubochiński Juda, Joskowicz Lejb	32	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 12v-13; LGWŻ 1, s. 27-28, 98
Stary Rynek 13	181	1891	Latowicz Abram, Kaufepan Bombel		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Stary Rynek 14 ²⁶	180	24 III 1895	Rorman Moszek Majer	30	PmŁ 579, 1864, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 148
[Stary Rynek?]	193	1891	Berger Abram		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Stodolniana 7	126	1891	Czośniak Jonas		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Srednia 2	329	1891	Honigsztajn Jakub, Krul Majer		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Srednia 17	428	27 III 1897	Karpi Robert	75	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 23v-24; PmŁ 1864, nlb.
Srednia 44	355	5 II 1900	Krauskopf Szaja Ber	30	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 28-30; 9507, k. 26v-27
Targowa 10		24 V 1902	Frenkel Henoch	36	PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Targowa 65		1898	Abramowicz Icek Majer	40	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 35-35v, 39
Widzewska 27 ²⁷	1426	14 X 1899	Epsztajn Szymon vel Szolom, Siemiatycki Hersz, Herman Zachariasz	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 272-273, 275; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 21v-22
Widzewska 42 ²⁸	1434	9 I 1898	Sznejberg Hersz, Zaks Jakub I.	n. o.	PmŁ 1864, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 21v-22; LGWŻ 1, s. 52.
Widzewska 46 ²⁹		14 XII 1913	Wald Icze	40	PmŁ 1881, nlb.
[Widzewska 65?]	1110	1891	Sznejberg Hersz		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Widzewska 71		9 III 1900	Wieruszewski Mordka Mendel	31	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 52, 56; 9507, k. 29v-30
Widzewska 90	1128	1910	Birnbaum Chaim		LGWŻ 1, s. 302
Widzewska 119 lub 121	1094a	18 III 1899	Grosman Moszek Lejzer	35	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 94-97; 9507, k. 30v-31

²⁶ W 1897 r. przeniesiony na Aleksandryjską 8 / In 1897 moved to Aleksandryjska Street 8.

²⁷ Przeniesiony z Nowego Rynku 7 / Moved from Nowy Rynek (New Market) 7.

²⁸ Przeniesiony z Cegielnianej 46 / Moved from Cegielniana Street 46.

²⁹ Przeniesiony z Południowej 46 / Moved from Południowa Street 46.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
[Widzewska 121? lub Dzielna 62 lub 64?]		1891	Fajlowicz Fajwel, Bławat Motel, Grosfreid Pinkus		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wolborska 1	233	3 V 1898	Orbach Lejzer Moszek	30	PmŁ 1865, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 25v-26; LGWŻ 1, s. 80-82
Wolborska 3	222	21 VII 1898	Zelechowski vel Żelichow Nachman Nusyn	30	LGWŻ 1, s. 81-82, 84; PmŁ 1865, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 24v-25
Wolborska 18	201a	17 VII 1900	Kaczka Hercek		PmŁ 1867, nlb.
Wolborska 28 ³⁰		25 X 1904	Lubochiński Idel	32	PmŁ 1873, nlb.
Wolborska 32	[3]	17 VIII 1902	Libermensz Moszek	33	PmŁ 1868, nlb.
Wolborska 33	211B	11 IV 1899	Lajpciger Lejb, Pantel vel Bantel Elja	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 127-129; 9507, k. 25v-26; LGWŻ 1, s. 132-133
Wólczańska 137		4 II 1906	Szmerłowicz A.	35	PmŁ 1875, nlb.
Wschodnia 2	21m,a	1 VI 1902	Hamburski Chune		PmŁ 1867, nlb.; PmŁ 1870, nlb.
Wschodnia 10	465	1876	Kon Aron [?]		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wschodnia 15 ³¹		2 X 1904	Russak Aron	30	PmŁ 1873, nlb.
Wschodnia 18	469	24 VII 1898	Jakubowicz Michał Wigdor, Banasz Icek	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 17-18, 20; LGWŻ 1, s. 128-130
Wschodnia 24		29 VII 1899	Bibergal Chaim Zalman, Lichtensztejn Majer	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 18v-19
Wschodnia 25	457	1891	Rajbenbach Żelig		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wschodnia 25	457	29 VIII 1895	Czlenow Aron, Krenicer vel Krinicer Zalma	32	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 18v-19; LGWŻ 1, s. 33-34, 148
Wschodnia 29	455	27 VII 1899	Bibergal Zalman Wolf, Lichtensztejn Majer	30	PmŁ 1866, nlb.; RGP-adm. 9255, k. 207-207v, 223, 225; LGWŻ 1, s. 151
Wschodnia 33 ³²	452	18 V 1893	Kac Szlama Chaim	30	RGP-Adm. 9255, k. 277-277v; PmŁ 579, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 17-18, 146-147
Wschodnia [35?]	453	1891	Liberman Pinkus, Łódzki vel Lucki Elias, Pawłowski Gecel	31	PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wschodnia [41?]	1408	1891	Rokman Aron, Epsztejn Dawid		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wschodnia 43		17 IX 1892	Szlamowicz Szmul	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 20v-21
Wschodnia [49?]	1410	1891	Kestenberga Majer, Fuks Fiszal, Herberg Józef		PmŁ 579, nlb.
Wschodnia 53	1404	27 V 1898	Lipszyc Berek	30	PmŁ 1865, nlb.

³⁰ Przeniesiony z Aleksandryjskiej 11 // Moved from Aleksandryjska Street 11.

³¹ Przeniesiony spod nieznanego adresu / Moved from unknown address.

³² W 1899 r. przeniesiony na ul. Południową 27 / In 1899 moved to Południowa Street 27.

Adres policyjny	Nr hip.	Data/y	Starszy(i) domu modlitwy	Osób	Źródła
Wschodnia 53	1404	31 V 1898	Lipszyc Abram	30	PmL 1868, nlb.
Wschodnia 54 lub 50	[489 a?]	16 III 1893	Nejman Hersz Chaim, Obarzanek Szmul Ber, Klajd Kiwa	32	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 21v-22; PmL 1865, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 21-22, 146-147
Wschodnia 56		1898	Mowszowicz vel Moszkowicz Szlama Icek		PmL 1865, nlb.; 1871 nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 66
Wschodnia 58		5 II 1898	Lipszyc Abram Ber		LGWŻ 1, s. 30, 67
Wschodnia 64 lub 66	[1416 ?]	4 IV 1902	Krakowski Mordka Mendel	30	PmL 1867, 1870 nlb., LGWŻ 1, s. 215
Wschodnia 66	1418a	17 X 1892	Kissyn Bencjon		RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 22v-23; PmL 579, nlb.
Zachodnia 29	318	1897			LGWŻ 1, s. 55
Zachodnia 40 ³³	44	przed 1898	Działowski Chaskiel		
Zachodnia 40	44	20 VIII 1898	Berliner Icyk Majer	30	PmL 1865, nlb.; 1881, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 18v-19; LGWŻ 1, s. 60-62
Zachodnia 42		12 VII 1908	Czaryski Majer	40	PmL 1876, nlb.
Zachodnia 66	270E	30 X 1902	Uryson Josel	200	PmL 1868, nlb.; PmL 1881, nlb.
[Zagajnikowa ?]	489b	1891	Nejman Chaim Hersz, Klejd Kiwa Obarzanek Szmul Ber		PmL 579, nlb.
Zawadzka 21		4 VII 1912	Sztork vel Sztark Josif vel Majlech	30	PmL 1881, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 17v-18
Zawadzka 29 ³⁴	481	4 II 1898	Działowski Chaskiel	30	PmL 1864, nlb.; RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 17v-18
Zarzevska 5	627	4 IV 1902	Markus Mordka	30	PmL 1870, nlb.
Zarzevska 7	1069	22 VIII 1895	Ejlenberg Józef Majer	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 33v-34; PmL 1863, nlb.; LGWŻ 1, s. 98
Zarzevska 19	1063	26 I 1901	Ratner Aron	30	RGP-Adm. 9507, k. 33v-34; LGWŻ 1, s. 217, 219-220
Zgierska 21		20 II 1937	Rozencwajg Dawid, Feldman Abram Chil		UWL 2512, s. 32, 39-40
Zgierska 46 (Bałuty)		16 VI 1900	Szlamowicz Józef Lejb		PmL 1867, nlb.
Zgierska 76 (Bałuty)		19 VII 1900	Zimenfeld Icek		LGWŻ 1, s. 181
Zgierska 15 (Bałuty)		19 VII 1900	Falke Józef Aron	34	RGP-Adm. 9361, k. 144- 145; 9507, k. 14v-15
Zielona 34		23 VIII 1903	Bławat Jankiel	40	PmL 1872, nlb.
Zeromskiego 20		24 III 1937	Salamonczyk Lajb		UWL 2512, s. 32, 37-38
Zurawia 4 (Radogoszcz)		1911	Orzech Abram Icek		LGWŻ 1, s. 276
Zurawia 4 (Radogoszcz)		1933	dom modlitwy gminy wyznaniowej		LGWŻ 440, s. 1; 441, s. 1; 442 s. 1

³³ W 1898 r. przeniesiony na ul. Zawadzką 29 / In 1898 moved to Zawadzka Street 29.

³⁴ Przeniesiony z Zachodniej 40 / Moved from Zachodnia Street 40.

ZAŁĄCZNIK 2.
„AKT FUNDACYJNY” SYNAGOGI POSTĘPOWEJ W ŁODZI
APPENDIX 2.
‘THE FOUNDATION ACT’
FOR THE ŁÓDŹ PROGRESSIVE SYNAGOGUE

APL, Not. Kamocki, 2371/1879

Тысяча восемьсот семьдесят девятого года Октября двадцать девятого/Ноября десятого дня. Ко мне Лодзинскому Нотариусу Роману Петровичу Данелевичу в контору мою находящуюся в городе Лодзи под № 327 явились лично мне известные и к совершению актов законную правоспособность имеющие: 1. Израель Кальманов Познанский, 2. Семен Семенов Гайман, 3. Яков Рафалов Закс, 4. Гуго Шимонов Вульфзон, 5. Изидор Абрамов Бирнбаум, 6. Август Мойсеев Барух и 7. Иоахим Ицков Зильберштейн, владельцы недвижимостей, фабриканты и купцы в городе Лодзи проживающие, там же законное жительство избирающие и объявили, что так как оживленность города Лодзи в коммерческом и промышленном отношении, увеличивает в значительном количестве число зажитных и образованных лиц еврейского исповедания, которые соответственно своему умственному развитию, неследуя примеру и взгляду своих единоверцев фанатиков, и не имея возможности слиться с ними в одно целое, не могут с успехом повлиять на уменьшение распространяющегося в высшей степени фанатизма, а между тем сами лишены возможности отправлять в общественной синагоге богослужение и религиозные обряды по точному смыслу Моисеевого закона. В цели за сим достижения благополучного результата к уменьшению числа отсталых фанатиков, а главным образом предоставления возможности образованному классу города Лодзи еврейского исповедания исполнять свои религиозные обряды и отправлять богослужение с требуемым приличием и усовершенствованием, они явившиеся как владельцы недвижимостей, фабриканты и купцы в городе Лодзи постановляют своими собственными средствами построить здесь в городе Лодзи совершенно отдельную синагогу, на началах и основаниях по коим таковая же синагога учреждена была в городе Варшаве по Данелевической улице, с такими правами которые предоставлены членам означенной синагоги согласно составленному в приложении к постановлению бывшего Совета Управления Царства Польского от двадцать восьмого Июня/десятого Июля тысяча восемь-



2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897

сот пятьдесят пятого года за № 4333 уставу. Равным образом они обязываются купить или приобрести необходимый плац для воздвижения оной синагоги, при которой могла бы существовать школа для изучения закона Божьего, тех детей еврейского населения, которые посещают казенные христианские училища. На постройку вышесказанной особой синагоги явившиеся Израель Познанский, Семен Гайман, Яков Закс, Гуго Вульфзон, Изидор Бирнбаум, Август Барух и Иоахим Зильберштейн жертвуют каждый из них по два тысяча рублей серебром, что составит сумму четырнадцать тысяч рублей серебром, каковая-то сумма с доходом могущим выручиться от продажи и аренды мест в синагоге и других оброчных статей будет совершенно достаточную. Внос вышеозначенной суммы четырнадцать тысяч рублей серебром явившиеся принимают для себя обязательным и от такового вноса под никаким предлогом отказаться не смогут, при чем обязываются каждый по два тысяча рублей серебром тотчас представить наличными, как только постройка несколько раз упомянутой синагоги утверждена будет правительством. Выписи могут быть выданы заинтересованным лицам. Акт сей совершен в присутствии свидетелей имеющих требуемые законом качества Фридриха Богумилова Баера и Осипа Фомова Колясинского обывателей в городе Лодзи проживающих прочтен, понят, одобрен, принят и подписан. Гербовая бумага за пятнадцать копеек уничтожена, а сбора в доход города взыскано семь с половиною копеек. Оговариваемся, что на первой странице в восемнадцатой строке в слове „промышленном” зачеркнута буква „о” на второй странице в четырнадцатой и пятнадцатой строках зачеркнуто „мы они объявляющиеся” и на третьей странице в двадцать четвертой строке зачеркнуто „вз” тому верить на первой же странице в двенадцатой и тринадцатой строках вместо зачеркнутых слов „Маркус Иоахимов” сверху написано „Иоахим Ицков” и на третьей странице в тринадцатой строке зачеркнуто „Маркус” а сверху написано „Иоахим” тому можно верить.

INDEKS/INDEX

Abramowicz B., 27
 Abramowicz Icek Majer, IV; X
 Adelson Alan, 33; 59; 66
 Adesman Majer, IX
 Albedynski, general-gubernator, 44
 Aleksander II, car, 52
 Aleksander III, car, 52
 Alperin Aron, 5; 8; 9
 Alter Icie Majer, 14
 Alterman Hilel, 26; 54; 55; 57
 Aszkenazy Cwi, 56
 Auerbach Icek, 44; 45
 Auerbach Rozalia, 44; 45
 Auffschlag Józef, 8
 Auffschlag Marianna z d. Popielawska,
 8

 Badziak Kazimierz, 7; 18; 24; 40; 41;
 42
 Baer Friedrich, XIV
 Bal Szem Elias, 56
 Banasz Icek, IV; XI
 Banat vel Banan Icek vel Chaskiel, VI
 Banner Hersz, 5; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 17
 Baranowski Bohdan, 8; 18; 75
 Baranowski Julian, 7; 59
 Baranowski Krzysztof, 55
 Baranowski S., 60
 Barcińscy, rodzina, 42; 48
 Barciński Salomon, 48; 49
 Bardach Juliusz, 10
 Barnsztajn Izrael Menachem, 72
 Baruch August, 18; 42; 43; VI; XIII;
 XIV
 Baruch Maksymilian, 42

Baruchowie, rodzina, 42
 Basz Lejb, 72
 Basz Tenszel, 67; 69; 70; 72; 73
 Bauer M., szklarz, 25
 Baum Abraham Majer, 72
 Belin Jakub, VII
 Bendet Mordka, V
 Ben-Sasson Haim Hilel, 37
 Berensztejn Dobrysz, 72
 Berger Abram, VI; X
 Berger Dydie, III; VII
 Berger Frojm, 72
 Berger Lejzer, 12; 13; 14; 15; 37
 Berger Lejzer H., 31
 Berger Moszek, IX
 Berger, szklarz, 25
 Bergman Aleksander, VI
 Berke Symcha, 28; 29; 31
 Berliner Icyk Majer, XII
 Berliner Jerzy, 35
 Berman Chil Icek, 29
 Berman Ikassel Mojżesz, 65
 Berman Mordka, 86
 Berman Wolf, V
 Berman Wolf Majer, VIII
 Bialek Abram, II
 Bibergal Chaim Zalman, XI
 Bibergal Zalman Wolf, 89; XI
 Binensztok Mordka, IV
 Birencwajg Icek, 37
 Birnbaum Chaim, X
 Birnbaum Izydor, 42; 43; 49; XIII; XIV
 Birnbaumowie, rodzina, 42; 48
 Bławat Chaim, VI
 Bławat Icek, 12; 13; 14
 Bławat Jankiel, XII

2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
 2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897

Bławat Lajbuś, VI
 Bławat Menasze, VII
 Bławat Motel, V; XI
 Boehm Jakub, 15; 37; 39; 41
 Bojanowski Tadeusz, 59
 Boleśławski Szlama, 80
 Borensztajn Izaak, 72
 Bornstein Uszer, 28
 Bornsztejn Dawid, 19
 Bornsztejn Szlama, 19
 Bornsztejn, instalator gazowy, 25
 Borowski A., 38
 Braude Abraham, 56
 Braude Lajb, 56
 Braude Markus, 56; 57; 58
 Brenzel G., 31
 Broder Mojżesz, 25
 Bronowski Abraham, 9; 13; 14
 Bronowski Lewek, 12; 13
 Bryczkowski Henoch, VII
 Brzeziński Joel, 13; 14
 Brzoza Czesław, 30
 Buchweitz Mendel, 28
 Bursztynowicz Lejzer, 89; VI

Caft Michał, 89
 Cecemski Josele, 28
 Chałow Izrael, 19
 Chmielewski Łukasz, 7
 Codyk Bernsztejn, VIII
 Cohn Ludwik, 40
 Cukier Ludwik, 59
 Cygelberg Gecel, 67
 Cygielberg Lewi, VI
 Czarkowski Antoni, 10
 Czaryski Majer, XII
 Czlenow Aron, XI
 Czlenow Jechiel, 29
 Czośniak Jonas, X
 Czośniak Jonas vel Leon, IV

Danielewicz Roman, 41; XIII
 Dawid Ofenbach, II
 Dembiński Dawid, 17
 Diltthey Wilhelm, 56
 Dimant, malarz, 25

Direnheld Michał, IV
 Dobranicki Daniel, 61; 63; 64; 65
 Dobranicki Jakub, 15; 20; 48; 62
 Dobranicki Stanisław, 59
 Dobrzyński Mejjlech, 14
 Domb L., 31
 Drukier S., 31
 Dykierman Sender, VI
 Dyszkin vel Dyszke Sender, VI
 Działowski Chaskiel, XII
 Dzięgielewska Katarzyna, 75
 Dzięgielewski Jan, 75

Eigerowie, rodzina, 42
 Eisenbach Artur, 11; 36
 Eizner Laja, 77
 Eizner Wolf, 77
 Ejlenberg Józef Majer, XII
 Eksztejn Lewek, 17
 Engel Gabriel, VI
 Epel Szolom, IV
 Epstein Mozes, 65
 Epsztejn Dawid, XI
 Epsztejn Szymon, 89; VI; X
 Etkind Ber, 67; 71; 72

Fajn Fiszle, IX
 Fajn Szolom, 28; 29; 31
 Fajnsylber Zajnwel, 80
 Fajtlowicz Fajwel, V; XI
 Fajtlowicz Icek, 80
 Fajtlowicz Mojżesz, 12
 Fajtlowicz Moszek, IX
 Falke Józef Aron, XII
 Fannelberg Jakub, V
 Fater Icchak, 55
 Feder Gerszon, V
 Fejl Herszel, 89; V
 Feldman Abram Chil, XII
 Feldmark I., majster ciesielski, 25; 64
 Ferszter Jakub vel Jankiel, IX
 Ficowski Jerzy, 74
 Fijałek Jan, 8; 18; 75
 Finkel Chaskiel, 90
 Finkelberg Jakub, VIII
 Finkelstein Nechemia, 90

Francuz Izrael, VI
 Frantz Paulina, 75
 Frantz Wilhelm, 75
 Frenkel Abram Icek, X
 Frenkel Chemia, VIII
 Frenkel Henoch, X
 Frenkel Jakub, 17
 Frenkel Józef, 14
 Frenkel Maurycy, 48; 49
 Frenkel Szymon, IX
 Frenkel Szymon Wolf, X
 Freund Abraham Z., 27
 Fridman Szlama, X
 Fridman Szmul, IX
 Fridrich Aron, IV
 Friedman Filip, 5; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 14;
 15; 36; 37; 38; 40; 80
 Frizman vel Fizman Szymon, V
 Fuks Fiszal, XI
 Fuks M., 40

Gajewicz L., 24
 Gala Sławomir, 56
 Galtricht Moszek, VII
 Gamprecht Moszek Icek, 90; VII
 Gec I., majster murarski, 64
 Gejnzler Herman Józef, 88; III
 German Zachar vel Zachariasz, VI
 Gilman Kadesz, III
 Gilwan Kadet, VII
 Ginsberg Bernard, 17
 Girtler Moszek Majer, VI
 Gliksman Eliakim, 90; VII
 Gnatek Herszlik, V
 Gociał Józef, VIII
 Goldberg Chaim, X
 Goldberg Enoch, 15
 Goldberg Gerszon, III
 Goldberg Moszek, X
 Goldenrat Kasriel, 82
 Goldfeder Adolf, 48
 Goldrath Manes, 11; 37
 Gostyński Beniamin, 91; IV
 Grabowski Józef, 51
 Graff Jakub, 43
 Grawe Józef, 90

Grawe Mendel, 90
 Grawe Mojżesz, 90
 Grinberg Perec, IX
 Grincwejt Mendel, IV
 Grinszpán vel Grinsztajn Symeon vel
 Szymon, VII
 Grosfreid Pinkus, V; XI
 Grosman Moszek Lejzer, X
 Grosman Szmul, 13
 Grupańska Anka, 14
 Grynberg Matys Szlama, IV
 Grynsztejn Hersz, II
 Guesnet Francois, 20; 87
 Gurin Mowsza, 86
 Gurland Lejb, 67
 Gutgold Moszek Isakowicz, IV
 Gutgold Wigdor, 80
 Gutsztadt Abraham Symcha, 82

Haffka Aleksander, 14
 Hakohen Hilel, 9
 Halpern Icek, IV
 Halpern Szymon, 91
 Hamburski Chune, XI
 Hamburski Jakub, 12; 13; 14; 80
 Hamburski Pinkus, 21
 Heber Kalman, 28; 29
 Heber Mordka, 80
 Heidemann, cieśla, 13
 Hejzman Mordka, 89; V
 Helman Mojżesz, 29; 67; 90; III
 Helman Mordechaj, 67
 Helpert vel Halbpern Icek Lejb, IX
 Hendeles D., 28
 Henigsztok Majer, 80
 Hensel Jürgen, 91
 Herc (Herz?) Mordka, VI; IX
 Hercberg Józef, XI
 Herman Zachariasz, 89; X
 Herszberg Szmul, VII
 Herszenberg Cudek, 65
 Hertz Izaak, 48; 49
 Hertz Jakub, 49
 Herz (Herc?) Mordka, IX
 Herzl Teodor, 29; 30; 59
 Heyman Maurycy, 48



2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
 2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897

XVIII

Heyman Szymon, 41; 43; 62; XIII; XIV
 Hildesheimer Azriel, 56
 Hilenberg Lajbuś, VI
 Hirszburg Jakub, 90
 Hirszał Dawid Hersz, 67
 Hochenberg Samuel, 65
 Honigsztajn Jakub, X
 Horończyk Jakub, 37; 80
 Horowicz Jakub Izaak z Lublina, 14
 Horyńczyk (Torończyk?) Jakub, 13
 Huberband Szloma, 33; 34; 59; 66

Ihnatowicz Ireneusz, 18; 41; 48
 Izbiński Szloma Hersz, II
 Izraelowicz Dawid, 19; 20

Jakobi Gottlieb, 10; 11
 Jakub Icchak z Przysuchy, 14
 Jakubowicz Lewek, VIII
 Jakubowicz Michał Wigdor, IV; XI
 Jakubowicz Wigdor, VI
 Janczak Julian, 10; 11[†]
 Janik Maciej, 7; 61
 Jankielewicz Jakub, VII
 Janowski Chaim, III
 Jarociński Stanisław, 56
 Jedlicka Estera z d. Nadel, 75
 Jedlicka Sura, 77
 Jedlicki Wolf, 75; 76; 77
 Jelski Izrael, 55
 Jerozolimski Mendel, 9
 Jeżewski, notariusz, 77
 Joselewicz G., 32
 Joskowicz Lejb, X
 Józefowicz Moszek, VIII

Kac Chaim Szloma, VIII
 Kac Icek Józef, V
 Kac Szloma Chaim, XI
 Kacnelson Markus, 78
 Kacnelson Icchak, 73; 74
 Kaczanowski Mojżesz, 67
 Kaczka Hercek, XI
 Kalecki Leon, 90
 Kaliński Jankiel, IV
 Kaliński, malarz, 25

Kamiński Jakub, 59
 Kamocki Jan Franciszek, 49
 Kaplun (Kaplan?) Abraham, 70
 Kaplan Abraham Majer, 69
 Kaplan Abram, V
 Karmioł Hersz, VIII
 Karnawalski, notariusz, 77
 Karo Elias, 31
 Karpf Majer, 28
 Karpf Mojżesz, 29
 Karpf Robert, 88; X
 Kaszyńska Anna, 75
 Kaszyński Stanisław, 75
 Kaufepan Bombel, X
 Kaufman Moszek, V
 Kempieński Izidor, 43
 Kestenberg Majer, XI
 Kiepski Lewek, 80
 Kindermann Leopold, 75
 Kirszbaum Majer, IX
 Kirsztrot J., 84; 86
 Kissyn Bencjon, XII
 Klajd Kiwa, XII
 Klauzenberg Julian, 19
 Klauzenberg Zygmunt, 19
 Klejd Kiwa, XII
 Kligier Chil, IX
 Klinger, stolarz, 25
 Klüger Bela, 77
 Klüger Hersz, 77
 Klüger, kazodzieja, 52
 Kochański Daniel, 80
 Kochański Moszek, VIII
 Kochański Wigdor, 9
 Kohn J., 28
 Kolasiński Józef, XIV
 Kon Abraham Józef, 90; IV
 Kon Abram Moszek, VII
 Kon Aron, III; VII; XI
 Kon Jakub M., 90
 Kon Mendel, 18
 Kon Oskar, 59
 Kon Salomon, VII
 Konsztadt Herman, 20; 21; 48; 49
 Koplowicz Juda, 9
 Koplowicz Kopel, IV

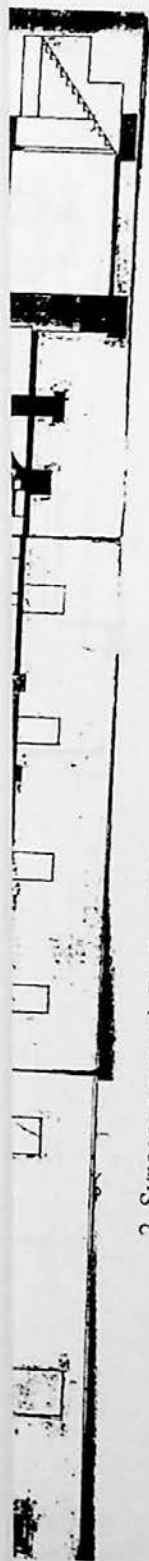
Korn, notariusz, 77
 Korpel Muniś, 80
 Kozińska-Witt Hanna, 93
 Kozulski Sebastian, 15
 Krakowski Mordka Mendel, XII
 Krauskopf Szaja Ber, X
 Krawiecki Elias Majer, 88; III
 Krel Szmul Moszek, IX
 Krempf K., kowal, 25
 Krenicer vel Krinicer Zalma, XI
 Krohn Lejzer, 14
 Krul Majer, X
 Krykus Estera, 75
 Krykus Ludwik, 75
 Kryształ A., IV
 Krzemieniewski, notariusz, 77

Lajmer Josek, 78
 Lajmer Tauba z d. Goldblum, 78
 Lajpciger Lejb, XI
 Landau Nusen Icek, IX
 Landau Rafał, IX
 Landau Stanisław, 49
 Landau vel Lande Moszek Mendel, V
 Landau Wolf, 23
 Landau, elektryk, 25
 Landau-Gutenteger Gustaw, 64; 68; 75;
 89
 Lande Dawid, 17; 37; 68
 Lande Samuel, 17; 23; 37
 Lande Zygmunt, 27
 Lapidés Robert, 33; 59; 66
 Latowicz Abram, X
 Lazari Andrzej de, 7
 Lebental Szlama, IV; V
 Lederman Szmul, IV
 Lerner Mordka Juda, 67
 Lew Samuel, 77; 78
 Lewenton Kalman, 71
 Lewkowicz Abram Sucher, VIII
 Lewkowicz Izrael, 80
 Lewkowicz Jakub, V
 Lewkowicz Jankiel, IV
 Lewsztajn Józef, III
 Liberman Pinkus, XI
 Liberman Sz., 31

Libermensz Moszek, XI
 Lichtenberg, V
 Lichtenfeld Zygmunt, 49
 Lichtenfeldowie, rodzina, 42
 Lichtensztejn Majer, 89; XI
 Likiernik Adolf, 37; 41
 Limon, działacz syjonistyczny, 77
 Lipschitz Motes, 90
 Lipski Fiszel, 89; IV
 Lipski Moszek, III
 Lipsztejn Hersz, VIII
 Lipszyc Abram, XII
 Lipszyc Abram Ber, XII
 Lipszyc Berek, XI
 Lipszyc Berszt, VII
 Lipszyc Mojżesz, 15; 17
 Lisman, stolarz, 25
 Liszewski Stanisław, 40; 56; I
 Lizman vel Lozman Gersz, V
 Loewe Adolf, 17
 Lomnitz, 37
 Lubiński, instalator gazowy, 25
 Lubochiński Idel, XI
 Lubochiński Juda, X
 Lubochiński Juda Lejb, II
 Lubochiński M. L., 27; 31
 Lubochiński M. Sz., 31
 Luboszycki Aron, 77

Łaski Mordka Majer, VI
 Łódzki vel Lidzki Elias, IV
 Łódzki vel Łucki Elias, V; XI
 Łódzki vel Łucki Henoch, X
 Łukin Aron Lejb, 86

Magazanik Aron Abraham, 67
 Magazanik Lejzer, 67
 Majchrowski Jacek M., 56
 Majerowicz Izrael Wolf, VII
 Majerowicz Jakub, 23
 Majewski Hilary, 45
 Majzel Elias Chaim, 23; 52; 76; 85; 91
 Makowerowie, rodzina, 90
 Mamroth Ludwik, 37
 Markowicz Abram, VIII
 Markus Mordka, X; XII



2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
 2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897

Marnowicz Abram, V
 Maślanka Icek, IX
 Melzer Emanuel, 58
 Mertsching Jan Karol, 16
 Miaskowski Abram, II
 Michalski Leon Chaim, 75
 Michałowicz Moszek, VIII
 Michowicz Waldemar, 30
 Mikulicki Józef, 72
 Milich Wolf, II; III; IV
 Milker, małżeństwo, 55
 Miller Konstantin, 54
 Mincberg J. L., 33
 Mincberg Jakub Lejb, 31; 33
 Missalowa Gryzelda, 37
 Monat Salomon Nusen, III
 Morgenstern Menachem Mendel, 14
 Moskowicz Szlama, 80
 Mostowicz Berek Wolf, IV
 Moszkowicz Dawid, IV
 Mościcki Ignacy, 33
 Mowszowicz vel Moszkowicz Szlama
 Icek, XII
 Mrozowski T., 60
 Mrzygłód Dawid, 10
 Muchnicki vel Michnicki Hersz, VII
 Mularski Abraham, 80

Nachstern Mendel, 90
 Nadlowie, rodzina, 76
 Najman Szulem Emanuel, III
 Namitkiewicz Jan, 42
 Nejman Hersz Chaim, XII
 Nejman Szulim, VIII
 Nelken Józef, V; VIII
 Nelkin Józef, IV
 Nesis Zelig, 72
 Neufeld Wolf, 23
 Nogacz Mojżesz, 80
 Nomberg Chaim, 14
 Nusbaum Hilary, 37; 40; 43

Obarzanek Szmul Ber, XII
 Odeski Zalman, 9
 Ofenbach Dawid, 89
 Okno T., IV

Okolski Antoni, 44
 Olszer Izrael, 23; 25; 68
 Orbach Jakub, X
 Orbach Lejzer Moszek, VIII; XI
 Orbach Mendel, 12
 Orbach Zalkind, 14
 Orenbach vel Orenbur Szmul Zandel,
 III
 Orinol (Orinvol) Johann, 46
 Ornstein Hirs, 56
 Orzech Abram Icek, XII
 Ostrowski Borys, 72
 Oszkowski Jakub, 88; III

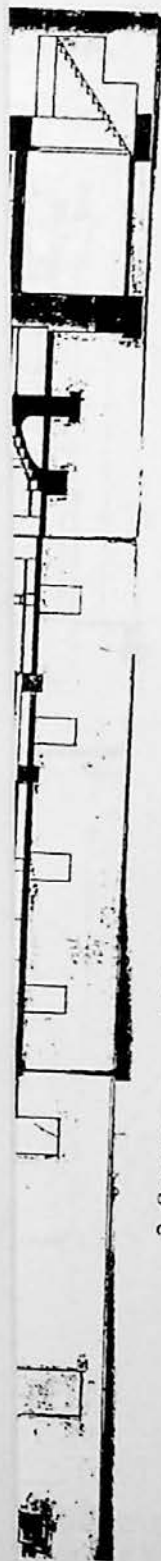
Padwa Lejb, 67; 68; 69; 70; 72
 Paluch Majer, V; IX
 Pantel M., 31
 Pantel vel Bantel Elja, XI
 Pawłowski Gecel, XI
 Pelc vel Plesner Chaskiel, VII
 Pelka B., 54
 Perlmutter L., 30; 31
 Perla Dawid Józef, VI
 Piaskowski Ignacy, 46
 Piechotka K., 5
 Piechotka M., 5
 Piechowicz Elias, 72
 Pilgrym Lewek, 12
 Piłsudski Józef, 33
 Pinkus M., 49
 Pinkus Stanisław, 48
 Piotrkowska Estera Ruchla, 77
 Piotrkowski Rafał, 77
 Planiol Maurice, 42; 50
 Pomeranc Chaja Sura, 77
 Pomeranc Symcha, 77
 Pomeranc, malarz, 25
 Pomerancowie, rodzina, 90
 Popławska Irena, 75
 Poter vel Patora Abram Chaim, II
 Poznańcy, rodzina, 42
 Poznański Izrael, 17; 20; 21; 40; 41; 43;
 44; 45; 48; 49; 52; 53; 62; XIII; XIV
 Poznański Jakub, 73
 Poznański Kalman, 12; 13
 Prussak Abraham, 20

Prussak Dawid, 44; 45; 61; 63; 64; 65
 Prussak Rywka, 44
 Pryntz Hersz, 80
 Przygodzki S., 17
 Przygurski Józef, 86; VI
 Pukacz Lewek, 77; 78
 Pukacz Sura, 77
 Puś Wiesław, 8; 18; 24; 38; 40; 55; 56;
 80; I
 Pytlas Stefan, 24; 41; 42; 47; 56

 Rabinowicz Harry M., 79
 Radomski Gidel, 65
 Radzinski Abram Lejb, IV
 Radzyner vel Radziner Dawid Berek vel
 Ber, IX
 Rajbenbach Zelig, V; VIII; XI
 Rajcher Wilhelm vel Wolf, VIII
 Rajchsztajn Szaja, 67
 Rapaport Abraham, 90
 Rapaport Józef, 90
 Rapaport Szmul Abram, III
 Ratner Aron, XII
 Reibanbach Szulim, 80
 Reichenbach Dwojra, 16
 Reichenbach Szulim, 16
 Reicher Wolf, 6; 88
 Reichman Szmul, 78
 Ribenzon Paweł, 69
 Rodzyński Abram Lejb, III
 Rogoziński Michał, 58
 Rokman Aron, XI
 Rorbach Izrael, 70
 Rorman Mojżesz, II
 Rorman Moszek Majer, X
 Rosenblatt Dawid, 12; 13
 Rosenblatt Jerzy, 77
 Rosenblatt Szaja, 49; 62
 Rosenblatt, wdowa, 80
 Rosin Ryszard, 8; 18; 75
 Rotholz Michał, VIII
 Rotman Izrael, IV
 Rozenberg Abram, VI
 Rozenblum Mendel, 65
 Rozencwajg Dawid, XII
 Rozental Chaim Salomon, 71

Rubin I., 34; 59; 73; 74
 Rubinsztajn Izrael, 72
 Rubinsztajn, elektryk, 25
 Rumkowski Mordechaj Chaim, 78
 Russ M. N., 29
 Russak Aron, XI
 Ryder Aron, 72
 Rynkowska Anna, 11; 16

 Sachs Henryk, 65
 Sachs Jakub, 41; 43; 49; XIII; XIV
 Sajdeman Salomon, 17
 Salamończyk Lajb, XII
 Saltzman Szmul, 9; 10; 12; 14; 15; 17;
 34; 38; 39; 40; 42; 79; 80
 Samuś Paweł, 20; 56; 58; 87
 Scheibler Karol, 42; 46
 Schiper Icchak, 14
 Schlossberg M., 48; 49
 Segal Lejzer Icyk, 72; 73
 Sender A., 28
 Sender Sz. Z., 27; 31
 Senderowicz Abram Ber, II
 Senderowicz vel Sendrowicz Izrael, VI
 Sendrowicz Izrael, VIII
 Sendrowicz Peter, IV
 Senkowska-Gluck Monika, 10
 Siemiatycki Hersz, 89; VI; X
 Sieradzki Emanuel, 28
 Sierakowski Ezriel, VI
 Silberstein Joachim, 42; 43; XIII; XIV
 Silberstein Markus, 48; 49
 Silbersteinowie, rodzina, 42
 Ślucky Dawid, 72
 Sochaczewski H., 31
 Sokołowski Sz., 77
 Solomonowicz Zalman, VIII
 Sonnenberg Jakub Wolk, 11; 12; 14
 Sonnenberg Moszek Szmul, 23
 Spodenkiewicz Paweł, 56; 57; 59; 63;
 73; 78; 91; 92
 Sroka Jakub, VII
 Stankiewicz Zbigniew, 10
 Stebelski A., 67



2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
 2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897

Stefański Krzysztof, 5; 8; 11; 15; 17;
21; 23; 25; 40; 41; 45; 47; 48; 51; 52;
61; 62; 63; 64; 68; 88

Strokowski Uszer, 72

Strzałkowski Jacek, 42; 45; 75

Suchecka, właścicielka nieruchomości,
15

Sudjan Lejb, V

Szambelan Zdzisław, 7

Szczawiński Kajetan, 15

Szczeciński, budowniczy, 25

Szczerbiak Bożena, 7

Szefner Abram, 13

Szejnzilber, cieśla, 25

Szifowicz Rachmil, VII

Szlamowicz Józef Lejb, XII

Szlamowicz Szmul, XI

Szmerłowicz A., XI

Sznejberg Hersz, X

Sznejer vel Szejnerzon Józef Lejb, 67

Szpejberg Hersz, III

Szpichler Henoch Zalma, II

Szpigel Józef, VIII

Szpigel vel Szligiel Wolf Ber, 90; VIII

Szpiwak Issaak, IX

Sztejn Aleksander, III

Sztiller, stolarz, 25

Sztork vel Sztark Josif vel Majlech, XII

Szulec Otton Juliusz, 67

Szulec Paweł, 67; 74

Szwajcar Lejb, VIII

Szwajcer Leon, 39

Szwarc Berek, 65

Szwarcbart, malarz, 25

Szwarcman Izidor, 29

Szykier Ezra, 23; 27; 28

Szymczak Agnieszka, 7

Świdorska E., 55

Tajch Izrael, V

Tangermann Karol, 10; 13

Tartakower Arje, 14

Tempel Salomon, 65

Tener Mordechaj, 33

Terakowski Ezriel, VIII

Tobias Jakub, 12

Tobiasz Mordka, 80

Tołstoj Dymitr hr., 46

Tomaszewski Jerzy, 26; 30

Topielewicz Dawid Lejb, IV; V

Torr Guy Russell, 7

Treistman Lejzer, 30

Trejster Moszek, V

Trenkler Karol, 38

Uberbaum Symcha, III; VII

Uberbojm Symcha, VII

Ugier Szaja, 77

Unterman Alan, 79

Urbach Lejzer, 28; 29

Uryson Josel, III; XII

Uryson Józef, 77

Vries S. P. de, 38

Waingertner Przemysław, 58

Wajnberg Elias, VI

Wajnberg Ire, VIII

Wajnberg Jakub, 72

Wajngarten Zelig Wigdor, IX

Wajs Moszek, 62

Wajsbeg Zelig, III

Walczak, szklarz, 25

Wald Dawid, III

Wald Icze, X

Walicki Jacek, 56; 91; I

Walman Majer Chaskiel, V

Warszawski Abraham, 29; 31

Warszawski M., 27; 28

Warszawski Wolf, VI

Weinbaum, brukarz, 25

Weiskohl Henoch, 90

Weissblat, stolarz, 25

Weksler Karol, 59

Wetsztajn A., 31

Wetsztajn L., 31

Weyland Icek, 17

Weyland Izrael, 37; 38; 39; 40

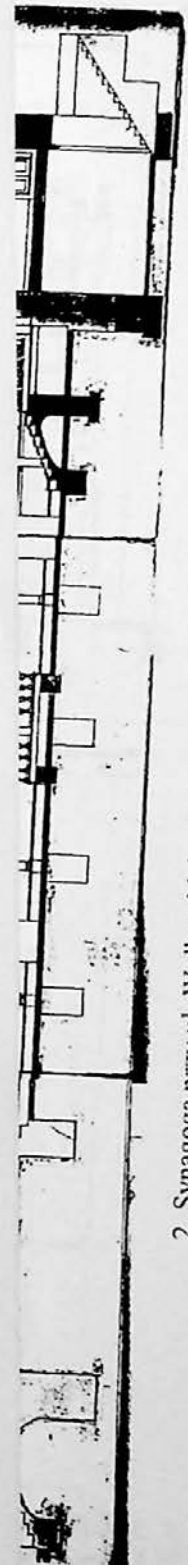
Weyland Józef, 37

Wiązowski B. W., 31

Wiązowski Jakub, 12

Widawski J., 28; 31
 Wieruszewski Mordka Mendel, X
 Wilmański Maciej, 7
 Winograd Oszer, 32; 58; 66
 Winter Chaim, VII
 Winter Chaim Mendel, III
 Wiślicki Chaim Jakub, VII
 Wiślicki Szaja, 35
 Witelzon Abram, IX
 Wizental Jakub, 72
 Wizner, malarz, 25
 Wodziński Aleksander Radziszaw, 73
 Wodziński Michał, 14
 Wojdysławski Icek Majer, 90
 Wojdysławski Izrael, 90
 Wojdysławski Szmul Icek, 90
 Wolberg Izrael, VII
 Wolf Wigdor, 39
 Wolff Adolf, 45
 Wolkowicz B., 31
 Wolkowicz C., 28
 Wróbel P., 26
 Wróblewski H., 28; 31
 Wrzonski Michał, 88; III
 Wulfsohn Hugo, 41; 43; 49; XIII; XIV
 Wyziński W., 44

Zajdeman Icek, 16; 37; 38; 39; 40
 Zajdler Lewek, 12; 13; 17
 Zakrzewski Grzegorz, 15
 Zaks Jakub, III
 Zaks Jakub I., X
 Zalcberg Mendel, 29; 31
 Zalcman M., 27
 Zand Józef, 17; 37
 Zand Mojżesz, 15; 37; 38; 39; 40
 Zander Hercyk, IV
 Zarzewski Jankiel, IV
 Zarzycka-Sutter Urszula, 7
 Zawadzki, adiunkt dozorczy miast, 8
 Zeligson Adolf, 21; 22; 23; 75; 88
 Zilberman Lewek, IX
 Zilbersztejn Hersz, VIII
 Zimenfeld Icek, XII
 Zinowjew Mikołaj Aleksiejewicz, 48
 Zylberberg Naftali Mojżesz, 77
 Zytenfeld Icek, 75
 Zytner H., 28
 Żbikowski A., 24; 28; 93
 Żelechowski vel Żelichow Nachman
 Nusyn, XI



2. Synagoga przy ul. Wolborskiej – projekt remontu, przekrój podłużny, 1897 r.
 2. The Synagogue at Wolborska Street – renovation plans, longitudinal section 1897