

# The Synagogue in Trenčín and Its Authors

*A Transformation of Architectural  
Traditions through Modernity*

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doi 10.31577/archandurb.2024.58.1-2.5



View from the northwest, before 1915,  
photo by Sándor Schwartz  
Source: Inv. No. F01.438, Hungarian  
Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest

The synagogue in Trenčín is one of the most important examples of synagogue or sacral architecture of the early 20th century in Slovakia, but also of the architecture of this period in the wider Central European region. As a result, it is mentioned in many texts, though its published information differs in many ways.<sup>1</sup> In turn, there are also still many questions posed by the building itself. In the context of its ongoing comprehensive renovation and restoration,<sup>2</sup> what suddenly emerges is a changed image of an architecture hitherto generally perceived in terms of a purist-modernist white austerity. The discovery of ornamental-coloured layers covering highly innovative steel-concrete load-bearing elements reveals that these structural aspects are suddenly just the carrier of another layer of meaning – a veneer of decoration referring to sources of oriental traditions in the modernist version. The aim of the present study is to develop a more complexly nuanced interpretation of the work through archival research methods, analysis of its art-historical context, as well as research into the specific historical circumstances and motivations leading to its creation. Major gaps and contradictions are no less present in our knowledge of the life stories and work of its creators (even to the extent that individual surnames or first names are known only as initials); therefore, the study also includes brief biographical profiles of these persons.

### *Jews in Trenčín and Their Oldest Prayer Houses*

The first written references to a Jewish presence in Trenčín date back to the beginning of the 14th century. Larger groups arrived especially after the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1663–1689, when refugees, most frequently from Uherský Brod in neighbouring Moravia, fled to this town in the Váh River region (Považie). The influx of immigrants intensified at the end of the 17th century, when Moravian Jews were allowed to settle permanently.<sup>3</sup> As the legal restrictions of the era prevented them from settling inside the city walls, but only outside them, the Jewish community became concentrated in the vicinity of the current Štúr Square or Hviezdoslavova Street. Initially, the Jews of Trenčín continued to be members of the religious community in Uherský Brod. Even after the establishment of an independent Jewish religious community in Trenčín in the 1830s, its members continued to belong to the local chief rabbinate, from which they separated in 1760, when an independent rabbinical office was established with its seat in Trenčín.<sup>4</sup>

A wooden synagogue stood by the Lower Town Gate as early as the beginning of 1781. Destroyed by fire in 1790,<sup>5</sup> its replacement, of the so-called nine-domed type,<sup>6</sup> was built in the same year with the support of the town. In 1873, the synagogue was enlarged and renovated.<sup>7</sup> After the split of Judaism in Hungary, which occurred after the Congress of Pest at the turn of 1868 and 1869, the local religious community joined the Status quo ante branch.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the 19th century, Trenčín was an important Jewish centre in western Slovakia:<sup>9</sup> as of 1900, 1,275 of its residents were Jewish, i.e., 21.8% of the town's population.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Process of Project Preparation:*

#### *High Ambitions of the Jewish Community*

Due to the growing number of Jewish inhabitants in the city, the old temple was increasingly proving too small. For the first time, the question of building a new synagogue was realistically addressed by the board of directors of the Jewish religious community at its meeting on 23 October 1905, in the wake of an order, after a police inspection, to carry out a number of modifications to the synagogue, in terms of both health and fire safety. The religious community considered that any “patching” would only help for a brief period and at very high expense, so it decided to build a new synagogue. Hence, at this meeting, they immediately appointed an expert committee to take care of the construction plans, the budget and other preparatory work. Immediately after their appointment, its members set to work and on 28 January of the following year they reported on the results achieved. They had a project for presentation, prepared by the local construction company Scholz and Materna, and at the same time proposed two alternatives for the location of the new building. It would be necessary either to acquire a building plot on a new site or to extend the land near the old synagogue. However, after the initial momentum, the commission's activity slowed down; it

was not until the end of 1910 that they reached the next stage of preparations for the construction of the new synagogue. On 28 December, at a public meeting held for the first time under the leadership of the new chairman of the Jewish religious community, Henrik Kátser, the community re-organised the building commission and appointed Béla Friedman, founder and director of the Trenčín Commercial and Industrial Bank, as its chairman. Thanks to his efforts, the work quickly took off. A fund-raising campaign for this purpose was also launched, attracting Hundreds of contributors. The city gave the largest sum, 20 thousand crowns; Baron Alexander Popper de Podhragy (1855–1923) from Vienna donated 15 thousand crowns and various textile ritual items, and the directorate of the local electricity company undertook to provide all the lighting for the future synagogue free of charge. In the same year, two architects from the metropolises of the monarchy – Lipót Baumhorn (1860–1932) from Budapest and Jakob Gartner (1861–1921) from Vienna, both with extensive experience in designing many synagogues in the Austro-Hungarian realm – were invited for a local inspection and were thus also appointed as advisors to the building committee. Later, Richard Scheibner was also invited from Berlin. These extensive efforts attest to the great ambitions of the representatives of the local Jewish community.

The question of the choice of the building plot was finally settled on 5 November 1911, when, on the basis of the building committee's proposal, the board of directors agreed that the new temple would be built on a site consecrated by centuries of worship; i.e. the same location as the old synagogue. To enlarge the site, it was necessary to purchase a part of István Lange's neighbouring plot of 28 x 7.9 m for 10 thousand crowns.<sup>11</sup>

The architect Lipót Baumhorn also drew up his own design for the new synagogue for Trenčín, where the new building would have loomed high above its surroundings. The complex massing used is typical of his preferred and established type of synagogue.<sup>12</sup> For some unknown reason, he clad it in very traditionalist garb, an imperial academicist idiom matching the Beaux-Arts spirit with a flamboyant neo-Baroque expression. Perhaps the conservatism of his design led to the municipal leadership's rejection, or perhaps to the reason was the higher costs of realising this monumental building. The preferred building plan was the one drawn up by the Berlin architects Richard Scheibner and Hugó Pál.

### *The Course of the Construction of the Synagogue*

The approved design was completed by the architects in February 1912.<sup>13</sup> Immediately, notices were published in both local and national newspapers announcing a tender for the construction work. Bids had to be submitted by 12 noon on 10 March in the hands of the chairman of the building committee, Béla Friedman, with 5% of the bid amount deposited in cash or in Hungarian state bonds in the Trenčín Bank of Commerce and Industry as the

necessary security. The bids were to be opened publicly at 3 p.m. on the same day. The congregation board reserved the right to a free choice of the submitted bids, regardless of the unit prices offered and the resulting amounts, and also to reject all bids if necessary, and to call for a new bid. The provisional amount of the total cost of construction was not to exceed 150 thousand crowns.<sup>14</sup> Bids were submitted by seven companies, mostly local.<sup>15</sup> Though the original firm Scholz and Materna submitted the cheapest bid for 127,853.53 crowns,<sup>16</sup> in the end the building and organizing committee entrusted the execution of the construction to the local construction firm of Béla Niegreisiz<sup>17</sup> and Albert Fuchs, who submitted a budget for the execution of the construction for 135,054 crowns.<sup>18</sup>

At a meeting on 10 March, the board of the religious community unanimously agreed that the demolition of the old synagogue would begin after Passover, and that the last services would take place there on 9 April.<sup>19</sup>

The town issued a building permit, on the condition that structural calculations of the central dome would be submitted to the authorities afterwards. In response, on 10 April, the Budapest-based concrete and steel-concrete construction firm N. Rella and Nephew (Rella N. és unokaöccse) supplied the necessary drawings and made the required structural calculations. After a short period of time, these were partially changed, and on 17 August they submitted new calculations and drawing to the relevant authorities for approval.<sup>20</sup>

During construction, the Jewish religious community leadership and its building committee observed and later directly supervised the painting, furnishing, and other interior work.<sup>21</sup> The water and sewage facilities were constructed by local businessman József Gottlieb.<sup>22</sup> At the end of the construction, stress tests of all load-bearing steel-concrete structures had to be carried out on 16 and 17 July 1913. As the structures had already been completed in the autumn and had been standing all winter, they proved their ability to withstand the pressure, including snow and wind loads. Great attention was paid to the steel-reinforced concrete emplacements, which were tested against both static and dynamic loads. As all the necessary tests were successful and no permanent changes were observed in the structure or visible cracks or non-standard changes in shape,<sup>23</sup> the relevant city supervisory authorities gave their approval for the use of the building.

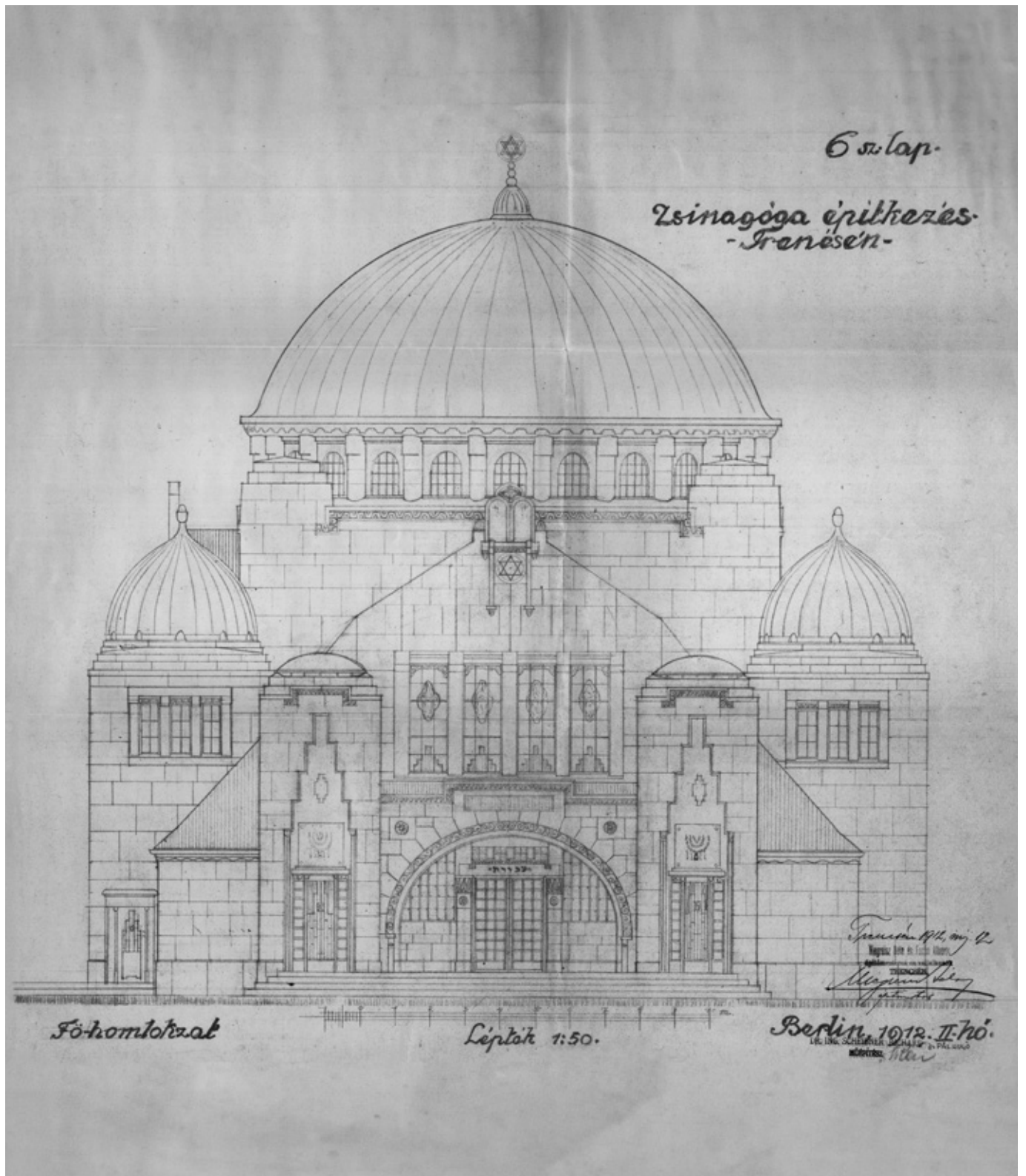
*Opening of the Synagogue – a Place for the  
“Harmonious Fusion of the Sacredness of  
Tradition with the Modern Spirit”*

Right as the Jewish religious community was beginning to prepare for the forthcoming opening ceremony of the synagogue, a false rumour began to spread around Trenčín: that Jews had murdered a young Christian girl in the Trenčín city forest of Brezina and mixed her blood with the mortar used to build the synagogue. Local Jews feared that on the day of the opening ceremony, there would be riots in the town because of the agitation of

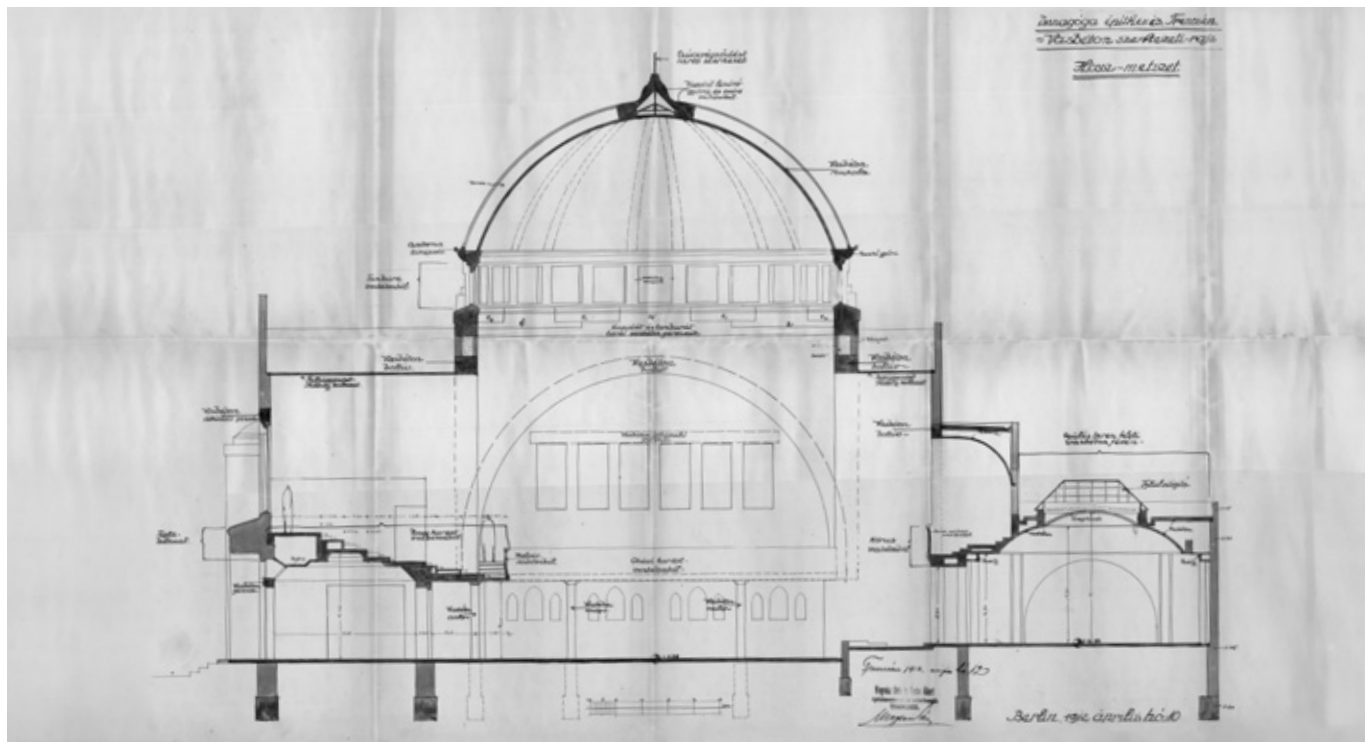
some priests and community leaders.<sup>24</sup> Once again, human stupidity gave birth to yet another anti-Semitic lie of Jewish ritual murder. Another conspiratorial rumour was that the blood of a murdered young girl was to be sprinkled on the synagogue before it was blessed.<sup>25</sup>

However, the inauguration of the new Jewish temple on Tuesday, September 23, 1913, became a holiday for the entire society of Trenčín. The first part of the ceremony took place in the courtyard of the new building, decorated for the ceremony with flags and flowers. Regardless of religion, the leadership of the town and the county arrived: county and district officials, judges, the officer corps of the local regiments, several members of the Roman Catholic and Evangelical churches and representatives of the Jewish religious community of Trnava, Nitra, Hlohovec and Nové Mesto nad Váhom, as well as almost the entire public of the town. The ceremony was opened by Béla Friedman, who in his speech presented the history of the building and expressed his appreciation to the architect Richard Scheibner, who “solved his artistic task in a truly magnificent way” and praised the work of the businessmen Béla Niegreisiz and Albert Fuchs, who “led and completed the project with the utmost precision, high professionalism and perfection.”<sup>26</sup> He then dedicated the synagogue to the care of the religious community. The synagogue was taken over as a new place of worship by its chairman, Henrik Kátser, who then asked the lord mayor, Gyula Szalavszky (1846–1936), to open the synagogue with a speech. Szalavszky spoke about the peace of the faiths and their importance to society, after which opened the main entrance of the synagogue with a key. The Chief Rabbi of Buda, Dr. Arnold Kiss (1869–1940), also gave an inaugural address.<sup>27</sup>

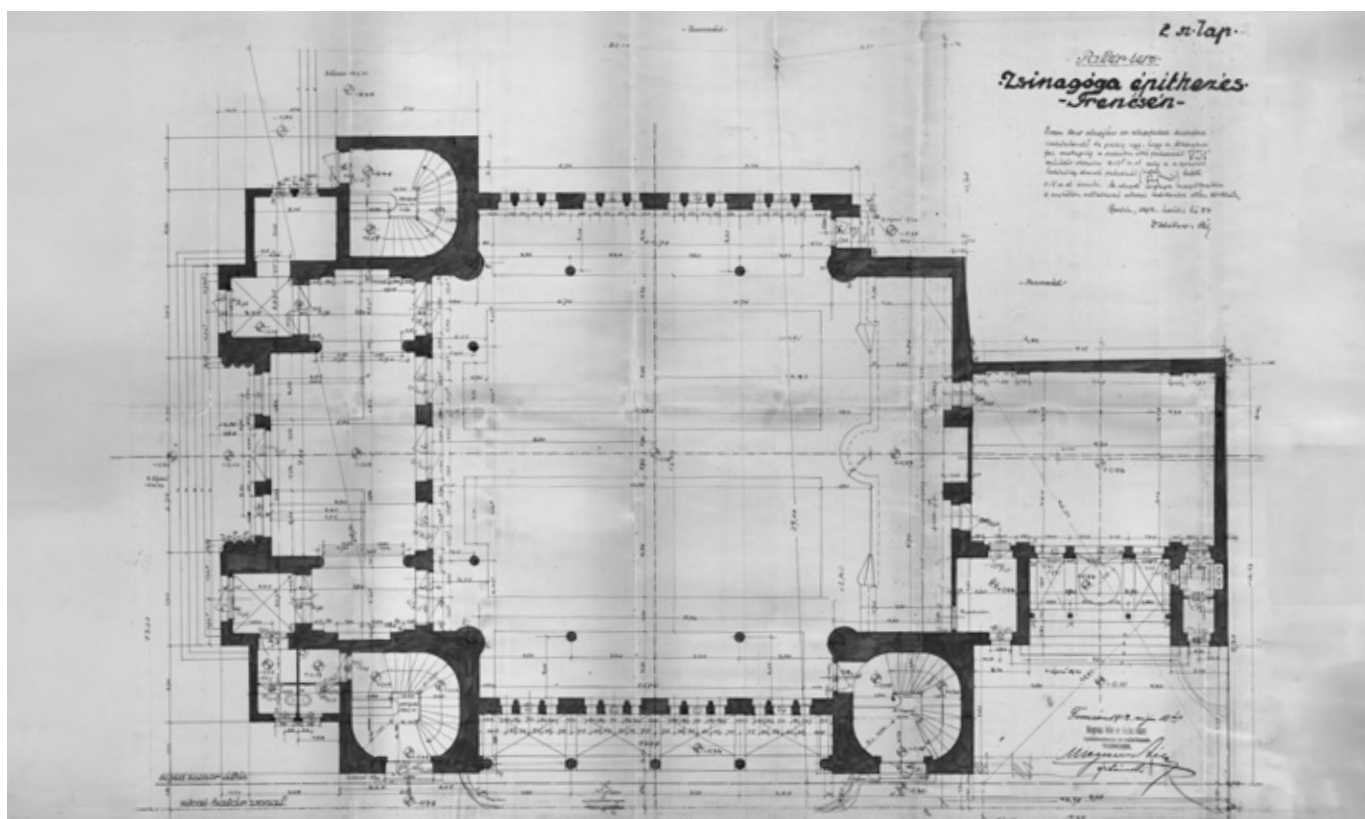
Prior to the ceremony, a social gathering was held at which Kátser concluded his speech with the following words: “The new synagogue, which rises on the centuries-sanctified site of the old temple, yet enlarged and raised from the depression to allow the warm rays of the sun and the refreshing air to penetrate freely, symbolizes the harmonious union of the sacredness of tradition with the modern spirit.” He concluded the solemn meeting with a prayerful request that the new shrine, built with God’s help, would be a permanent fortress of zeal for faith and patriotism and that in fulfilling this task it would magnify the most ardent desire for the glory of God, peace and harmony. Then, the secretary of the religious community, Adolf Groszmann, read the text of the extensive final document, whereupon it was signed by those present, sealed in a metal case<sup>28</sup> and placed in a niche of the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>29</sup> The document contains, among other things, the following text: “Almighty God, bless this new temple, so that at its altar the faith and love of the homeland may sound and be proclaimed for eternity to many generations to come, that we are alive, that we are Hungarians fighting in all difficult circumstances, and that we will rise from the dead in a thousand deaths.”<sup>30</sup>



Richard Scheibner - Hugó Pál:  
Plan of the northwest elevation,  
February 1912, print  
Source: Štátny archív v Bratislave,  
pobočka Trenčín



Richard Scheibner - Hugó Pál:  
 Longitudinal section,  
 10 April 1912, watercolor-tinted print  
 Source: Štátny archív v Bratislave,  
 pobočka Trenčín



Richard Scheibner - Hugó Pál:  
 Ground floor plan,  
 February 1912, watercolor-tinted print  
 Source: Štátny archív v Bratislave,  
 pobočka Trenčín

### *The Dispute over Authorship*

The first days of the new synagogue building were not only accompanied by anti-Semitic slander, but also by an authorship dispute. In fact, all the newspaper reports about the opening ceremony of the new synagogue (as well as the commemorative document) mentioned as the architect only Richard Scheibner, which of course did not please Hugo Pál, who had worked briefly with him in a joint architectural office in Berlin at the time. In response, Pál published the following announcement in several newspapers: “The newspapers of the capital, as well as the audience that attended the blessing ceremony of the Trenčín synagogue, were misled regarding the designer and chief architect of the synagogue, to wit, instead of the providing the name of the undersigned architect Hugó Pál, since the synagogue was built exclusively according to his designs and under his direction, it gave incorrectly and unlawfully the name of Richard Scheibner; though Scheibner did not work with the architect Hugó Pál at the time of the design: he was only a partner in his firm, and now he is no longer.”<sup>31</sup> These words are indicative of the sense of injustice that led Pál completely to invalidate the other’s authorship and attribute no credit for the project to Scheibner. The extant plans, however, are signed with the stamp “DR. ING. SCHEIBNER RICHARD / MŰÉPÍTÉS” (architect) and to this is added in handwriting “és [and] PÁL HUGÓ”, indicating that it was Scheibner who was the responsible author. In addition to these evident markings, the signature of Pál appears on the plans of the facades and the signature of Scheibner on the floor plans, from which we could draw the hypothesis that Richard Scheibner was responsible for the technical design of the project and that the artistic aspect is the work of Hugo Pál. However, Pál’s signature also appears on the cross-section (the

drawing with the longitudinal section is signed by neither of the authors). From this evidence, it is not possible to determine clearly the authorship share of the two architects. Another possibility, in view of the practice of the time, is that Scheibner was commissioned by the Jewish religious community of Trenčín to draw up the project and had it drawn up by Pál, or that Pál had a major share in the whole project and Scheibner contributed mainly to its covering.<sup>32</sup>

### *The Architects of the Trenčín Synagogue: a Career Civil Servant and an Artist*

Richard Scheibner (19 March 1880 Piešťany<sup>33</sup>–13 October 1945 Berlin-Charlottenburg<sup>34</sup>) gradually built up a career as a building official and architect in the German capital. However, he was born in the territory of present-day Slovakia in Piešťany, into the family of the landowner and brickyard owner Rudolf Scheibner (1851–1909) and Eveline, née Lóvi/Lówy (1853–1935). After completing his secondary education from the school year 1890/91 at the Royal Catholic Higher Secondary School in Bratislava,<sup>35</sup> he then, apparently at the instigation of his Berlin uncle Samuel Scheibner, the Prussian *Oberbaurat*,<sup>36</sup> studied architecture at the Royal Technical College in Berlin-Charlottenburg from 1903 to 1908.<sup>37</sup> The following year, he defended his doctoral thesis at the same institution.<sup>38</sup> In addition to his membership of the Society of Architects and Engineers in Berlin,<sup>39</sup> he became a member of the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects on 24 April 1914.<sup>40</sup> In Germany, he followed in his uncle’s footsteps into a career as a civil servant and gradually climbed the ladder of positions – first appointed government building adviser (*Regierungsbaumeister*), and in 1923 government and building adviser (*Regierungs- und Baurat*) at the Supreme Presidium (*Oberpräsidium*) in Berlin-Charlottenburg.<sup>41</sup> Later, he held the post of Chief Building Adviser (*Oberbaurat*) in that office. He worked as a director for the joint-stock company *Grosser & Klein*, also known as *die Berliner Kleinbau*, which gave rise to suspicions of a possible conflict of interest,<sup>42</sup> and later at the Prussian Construction and Finance Directorate in Berlin.<sup>43</sup> However, he did not lose contact with his hometown, for which he created several projects – for Adolf Becher’s residential and commercial complex (later the Slávia Hotel) at Winterova 24 (together with L. Scheibner, 1910–1911),<sup>44</sup> for the Lipa Hotel at Winterova 16 (1911–1912),<sup>45</sup> or for the reconstruction of the municipal office (now the Church United School) at Štefánikova 119 (together with Hugó Pál, 1911–1912).<sup>46</sup> In his second home, he participated in a competition for preliminary designs for an embassy building of the German Reich in Washington (together with Paul Engler (1875–?), where they won 4th place (1913) out of 272 submitted designs.<sup>47</sup>



Portrait of Richard Scheibner  
and his first wife Elfriede, 1917

Source: Family archive of  
Dr. med. Günter Langensiepen, Cologne

Most important among his late works is the functionalistic police building at Flatowallee 20 in Berlin-Charlottenburg (1930–1931). His last known work is the extension and rebuilding of the Berlin Police State Hospital (now the Berlin Military Hospital) at Scharnhorststraße 13–14 (1931–1932).<sup>48</sup> He was also a prolific author.<sup>49</sup>

His collaborator Hugó Pál (5 May 1881 Budapest<sup>50</sup>–29 August 1932 Budapest<sup>51</sup>) was born as Hugo Pollak<sup>52</sup> in the family of shoe merchant József Pollak and Sarolta née Brecher. In the school year 1891/92 he entered the higher secondary school in the Hungarian capitol's 5th district.<sup>53</sup> Where he received his architectural education is unknown.<sup>54</sup> Following an examination held on 26 January 1909 in Budapest, he was issued a certificate of qualification as a master builder.<sup>55</sup> At the same time as the synagogue, the Marmorhaus-Lichtspiele cinema at Kurfürstendamm 236 in Berlin (together with Richard Scheibner, 1912–1913) was built to his design while he was in the German capital and received wide media coverage.<sup>56</sup> Newspapers and the trade press enthusiastically reported on the building's modernity and its decorations "inspired by Futurist and Cubist art movements"<sup>57</sup> with an "Indo-Persian atmosphere".<sup>58</sup> In parallel, during the construction of the Trenčín synagogue, he prepared a project on the order of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Public Education and Cult for the completion of the premises of the Trenčín Royal Catholic Higher Gymnasium and the Piarist Convent (now the Jozef Branecký Piarist Gymnasium) in the neighbourhood, at Palackého 4 (design 1912,<sup>59</sup> realisation 1914–1919<sup>60</sup>) in the spirit of early modernism. Among his other works, which were few in number, are the villa at Ilka Street 46 in Budapest (1914),<sup>61</sup> the completion of the surroundings of the monument to Franciszek Smolka in Lviv (1915),<sup>62</sup> and the family house at Felső Zöldmáli Road 58 in Budapest (design 1926,<sup>63</sup> realisation 1927). His further architectural work consists mainly of unrealised competition designs. Among these is the winning design for a steam bath, announced by the landowner Pál Galó-Lipták in Békéscsaba (1917).<sup>64</sup> In another competition for the development of the grounds of the Joseph Boys' Orphanage with tenement houses on Üllői út in Budapest, his design was purchased (1917).<sup>65</sup> He won the 2nd prize for his design for the baths in Nagykőrös (1922).<sup>66</sup> Additionally created design for a beach bathing area by the Danube in Budapest-Lágymányos (1928),<sup>67</sup> for the urban design of the junction of Erzsébet Road (now Madách Imre Road) and Deák Ferenc tér and the new town hall in Budapest (1929)<sup>68</sup> and for the City Theatre in Győr (1929).<sup>69</sup> With the sculptor Károly Csero (1880–1965), he participated in the competition for the monument to Count István Tisza in Budapest (1929).<sup>70</sup> With the sculptor Károly Csero (1880–1965), he participated in the competition for the monument to Count István Tisza in Budapest (1929).<sup>70</sup> He was also active in writing, e.g. contributing articles to trade union periodicals.<sup>71</sup> Apart from architectural work, he also worked in interior and furniture design,<sup>72</sup> as well as in the visual arts – drawing, cartooning<sup>73</sup> and book illustration.

His architectural designs and realisations have a strong artistic emphasis and focus on artistic detail.

### *The Synagogue's Architecture*

The synagogue is incorporated into the fabric of the predominantly ground-floor terraced housing of Hviezdová Street and the adjacent Štúr Square, situated in the former suburb in front of the Lower Gate of the city fortifications, in the area of the demolished town walls. In the given urban situation, the requirement that the sanctuary be oriented toward the east could not be fully respected; therefore the building's longitudinal axis is directed to the south-east.

The building is dominant but fully visual and the most architecturally impressive are the north-western entrance and the longer south-western façade. The north-west facing elevation faces the former Jewish primary school; the significant connection between these two Jewish public buildings was accentuated and delimited by a brick fence with a decorative metal lattice. Intriguingly, its shape, using intersecting semicircles, can also be found on the first reinforced-concrete church in France: the Roman Catholic parish church of Saint-Jean de Montmartre, designed by the architect Anatole de Baudot between 1894 and 1904. The building turns toward Hviezdová Street its side façade containing the entrances to the women's galleries, as well as an overlying arcade enclosing a small courtyard in front of the community room. Its smaller volume connects seamlessly to the small development of surrounding single-storey houses. The mass of the synagogue is manifested externally mainly by the outline of the dome on the tambour, suggesting its spatial layout placing the central gathering space in the approximately square core. Framing this volume are the corner bays of the stair turrets, while the symmetrical layout is pragmatically disrupted by the absence of a fourth turret bay at the rear of the building. The synagogue domes contextually complete the image of the landscape of rooftops in contraposition with the onion domes of the paired towers and the sanctus-turret of the nearby early Baroque church of St. Francis Xavier.<sup>74</sup>

### *Exterior*

The main entrance façade is created by an inventive gradation of massing, culminating in a massive central dome set on a low tambour, framed at the sides by lower stepped turret buttresses terminating in small pointed Islamic domes. This composition is preceded by the mass of the narthex topped by a curving triangular canellated gable. Rising from its apex are the paired tablets of the Ten Commandments. The main entrance is centrally located in a semi-circular recessed niche that sits on low grouped columns. The shape of the main entrance represents a characteristic form popular in Secessionist aesthetics – a semicircular cut-out at the bottom narrowed by lateral "plinths". Framing the entrance are by pilasters ending in stylized capitals with a palm-leaf motif. Above the





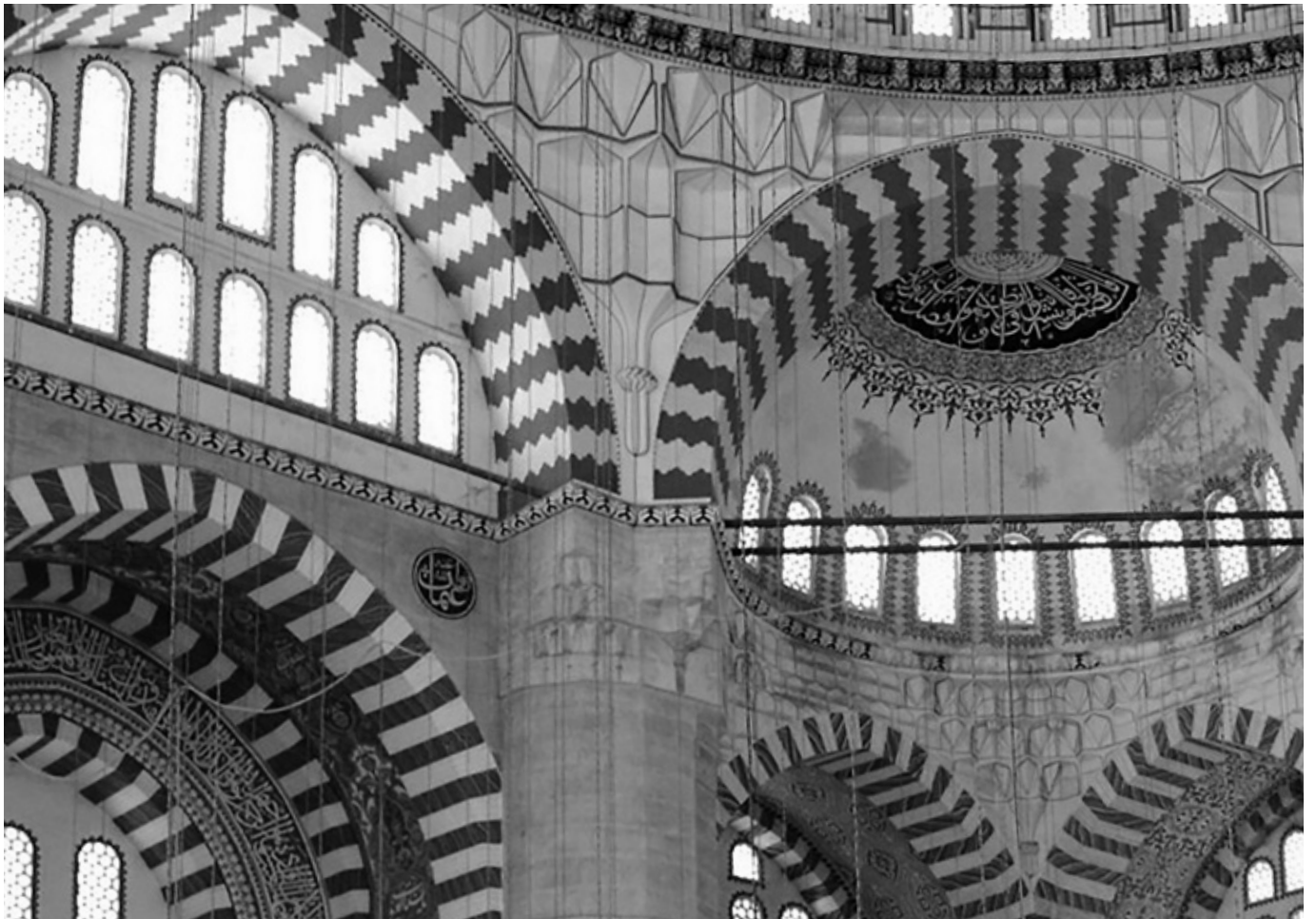
Entrance to the stair turret  
Photo: Maroš Semančík, 2024



Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa: Gateway to the courtyard of  
the Sultan Ahmed mosque, Istanbul, 1609-1616  
Photo: Giovanni Dall'Orto, 29 May 2006, available at: [https://  
commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DSC04728\\_Istanbul\\_-\\_La\\_  
Moschea\\_Blu\\_-\\_Foto\\_G.\\_Dall%27Orto\\_29-5-2006.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DSC04728_Istanbul_-_La_Moschea_Blu_-_Foto_G._Dall%27Orto_29-5-2006.jpg)



Interior, postcard: *Trecsén Zsinagóga belseje*.  
Trecsén and Trecsénteplicz and Wien:  
K. u. K. Hof-Photograph Stern M. és Fia cs. és kir.  
udvari fényképész, before 1914, No. 2940  
Source: Inv. No. F70.446, Hungarian  
Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest



Koca Mi'Mâr Sinân Âgâ: interior of the  
Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, 568-1574  
Source: Gerhard Huber, 3 July 2018, Available at:  
[https://global-geography.org/attach/Geography/Asia/  
Turkey/Pictures/Bursa\\_Edirne/Edirne\\_-\\_Selimiye\\_  
Mosque\\_Inside\\_5/WT0186\\_Selimiye\\_Cami\\_Edirne.jpg](https://global-geography.org/attach/Geography/Asia/Turkey/Pictures/Bursa_Edirne/Edirne_-_Selimiye_Mosque_Inside_5/WT0186_Selimiye_Cami_Edirne.jpg)

niche, the wall is pierced with a quartet of large rectangular windows. The central axis is flanked by two side narrower tower-like bays with side entrances, themselves sided by thin half-columns with tapered palmette capitals topped by recessed geometric panels using a stepped motif. Inspired by Islamic architecture, its origin nonetheless dates back further in history, to the period of ancient Mesopotamia, where it appeared as stepped battlements. Symbolically, it refers to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, yet at the same time it was a popular motif applied in secular European architecture, both in the late Historicism period with the wave of Orientalism,<sup>75</sup> but also in Art Nouveau and eventually Art Deco architecture by various authors (e.g. Jan Kotěra<sup>76</sup> or Béla Lajta<sup>77</sup>). The form of the buttresses of the Trenčín synagogue, however, was clearly inspired by the gateway to the courtyard of Istanbul's Sultan Ahmed Mosque, popularly known as the Blue Mosque, built between 1609 and 1616 to a design by the architect Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa.

The southwest-facing side facade is also determined by the two-tower arrangement recalling the entrance facade. Again, the motif appears once more of an angled triangular gable, enclosed by the corner masses of the tower's stairwells. Instead of the central entrance structure in front of the basic surface of the facade, there is an arcade with curved arches on columns with capitals in the shape of an inverted pyramid decorated with circular targets. On the opposite side, the wall of the arcade is broken by three-axis conjoined pointed-arched windows.

The articulated contour of the roof landscape is composed in a stepped rhythm, culminating in the dome as the dominant architectural element of the synagogue. As such, the silhouette of the temple has an oriental touch, reminiscent of the Ottoman mosques in Turkey – especially the Sultan Ahmed Mosque or the Süleymaniye Mosque, though its silhouette and mass composition also refer to the archetypes of Byzantine temples of the pentyrigion type.<sup>78</sup>

The external stucco work of the building uses the properties of optical illusion, imitating masonry of large blocks of carefully dressed sandstone, forms that lend the building the lapidary and ancient appearance of classical temples. The surfaces are finely decorated with relief ornamental components of the edging borders.

The solid material structure of the building is lightened by perforations of window and door openings, but also by the receding niches or lightened arcades in the lower zone of the building, just as the triple street arcade connects to the southwest facade.

#### *Interior*

The interior arrangement of the synagogue is closely related to the requirements of Jewish liturgy, the central part of which is the reading of the Torah. Hence its architectural solution is governed by the regulations and demands of religious tradition, enshrined in halakhah law. Prescribed areas of synagogue architecture include the vestibule, since tradition requires that believers enter the prayer hall through this intermediary space, not directly from the street.

Consequently, even in Trenčín, from the well-lit grey vestibule on the north-west side, there are several different entrances into the brightly coloured central space, which absorbs the viewer and worshipers with its refined decoration and exuberant ornamentation evoking an oriental atmosphere. This hall has an impressive monumental feel thanks to the square outline of the central space, covered by a central dome with a tambour resting on pendentives. The large supporting arches outlining this space are decorated with distinctive bands of red and white paint of a geometrizing cut-out shape, perhaps to achieve an illusory vibrating effect – a quotation of a motif from the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, Turkey, built between 1568 and 1574. The dome, as well as the entire interior, is dark blue in colour and is covered with ornamental decorative netting, the origins of which can be traced back to Islamic art. Opposite the entrance is the tabernacle (Aron ha-Kodesh), above which is a small emporium niche with a brick parapet, arched by a concha decorated with a starry sky – gilded stars on a dark blue background. Above it is painted the twinned tablets of the Ten Commandments set in golden rays. On the sides, the front wall is richly decorated with ornamental plant decor, which looks like an opulent precious fabric embroidered with coloured and golden threads. This painting supports the liturgical significance of the tabernacle and underlines its central position within the interior. As for the tabernacle itself, it is no less richly decorated with a “carpet” geometrizing ornamental painting on a gilded background. In front of it, there is the slightly raised area of the almemor stage (bima), originally defined by a balustrade railing, intended for reading the Torah and speaking. Such a situation is characteristic of Neologue synagogues – in Status quo ante and Orthodox synagogues, the almemor is located in the middle of the prayer hall.

The Talmud determines the division of the prayer room into the main hall, the men's hall and the women's area, which is here placed in the three galleries that surround the central space of the main men's hall. The amphitheatre-like rising floors, originally fitted with wooden benches providing an unobstructed view, are supported by concrete beam structures on piers. The dynamically shaped parapet of the women's galleries is decorated with a decoratively conceived art nouveau painting consisting of small geometric forms on a gilded background. Illumination for the interior is through windows originally containing stained-glass work using stylized plant motifs in the spirit of the new Art Deco decorative tendency with expressive and luminous colors, along with symbolic depictions of the holidays of the Jewish religious calendar.<sup>79</sup>

Most visually dominant in the prayer space is the massive brass chandelier, of a stepped outline with three successively diminishing hoops. The relief ornament applied to them, using a stepped battlement motif, has a historical precedent in the early Fatimid style.

Vertical communications between the ground floor and the galleries are mediated by spiral staircases with orange walls. Their black iron railings are decorated with

accents of green targets perforated with stylized motifs in the spirit of late Hungarian Secessionism.

Located behind the tabernacle is a social room, a well-lit space with its pointed-arched windows and glass doors, as well as an oval skylight in the ceiling. Its walls are covered with painted stencil patterning, the historical parallel of which can be found in the interior of the Rustem Pasha Mosque in Istanbul from 1561, where the walls are covered with ceramic tiles.

The most prominent component in the visual effect of the synagogue's interiors is the expressive paintwork – a medium that allows the implementation of ornamental patterns, or if necessary three-dimensional optical illusions. Its authors thus created a fairy-tale oriental world overlaying the building structure with a nod to Secessionist, Islamic, and art deco shapes and distinctive colouring.

### *Conclusion*

One of the most important projects realized by Richard Scheibner and Hugó Pál, the Trenčín synagogue represents the context of the culminating period of their oeuvre, when thanks to a socially and aesthetically thoughtful investor, they managed to realize a work in which they brought several current trends resonating in architectural and artistic centers (Berlin, Vienna and Budapest). It is worth noting that despite the proclaimed assimilationist tendency of the authorities of the local Jewish community, the leaders did not approach any of the Hungarian creators who designed synagogues in the spirit of the Hungarian Secession. The people of Trenčín even rejected the reliable and proven, but already outdated, Baumhorn in favour of two young progressive architects then active in Berlin.

The authors came up with a concept drawing upon several stylistic sources combined to formulate the artistic expression of the Trenčín synagogue. Declaring the result a masterpiece, the contemporary press found it a successful combination of Byzantine, Arab and Moorish styles.<sup>80</sup> In fact, its architectural and artistic form does not only have specific “Jewish”, or in other words oriental, features, but certain decorative and ornamental components also match with tendencies prevalent in European secular art around 1910. If the starting point of their design was historical Islamic architecture, especially Ottoman mosques, it was nonetheless transformed in a modern spirit. Equally, Byzantine sacral architecture represented a certain prototype and inspiration and was then popular not only for religious buildings.<sup>81</sup> One example is the competition design for the Palace of Peace in The Hague by the modernist Hendrik Petrus Berlage from 1906: in essence, a project that represents the closest contemporary analogy to the synagogue in Trenčín.<sup>82</sup>

The architects of the Trenčín synagogue relied on the historical and associative power of individual formal elements. In this way, they continued a kind of 19<sup>th</sup>-century understanding of architecture deploying archetypal patterns and connecting elements from key places of historical Jewish activity. The art of the Orient represented an allusion to the eastern origin of Judaism, so the authors

used references to this “other”, i.e., in the creation of the synagogue invoking a foreign cultural sphere. However, these various motifs were modernistically stylized and transformed in accordance with the intentions of contemporary aesthetic solutions, which fully reflects the characteristics of Hugó Pál's work at the time, a mixture of modernity and romanticism.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time, thanks to archaeological excavations in Mesopotamia and Egypt, a fashionable oriental wave reappeared in European art, especially its decorative forms, involving geometric Assyrian and ancient Egyptian motifs, which found further application in early Art Deco. For this reason, the same elements as in the Trenčín synagogue can also be found, for example, in the buildings of the entertainment industry – cinemas or night clubs. Moreover, one no less important source of inspiration for decorative work in late Secessionist aesthetics was also folk art, especially embroidery,<sup>84</sup> evident in the creation of the painted decoration of the wall surrounding the tabernacle of the synagogue in Trenčín.

The result of such a fusion of various stylistic, historical and contemporary designs is the multi-layered quality of the Trenčín synagogue, where a close connection is made and reinforced between the motifs of the freely interpreted Eastern, especially Islamic, tradition with elements of Western Euro-Atlantic modernity – whether late Hungarian Secessionism, the Viennese Modernism embodied in the works of the Wiener Werkstätte, or the decorative styles that later formed the Art Deco.

These decorative and ornamental layers, also carrying many symbolic meanings, form the skin of the building, which in turn envelops the building's inner structure, using modern innovative construction means and procedures drawing upon new materials and technical discoveries, such as reinforced concrete and Rabbitz netting.

In Trenčín, the Jewish religious community belonged to the Status quo ante lineage, which chose a more modern expression for the synagogue – an orientation more expected for the Hungarian Neolog tendency, not for one closer to Orthodoxy. However, in this instance apparently the correlation between religious orientation and choice of style does not apply. Another example could be the stylistically most modern Hungarian synagogue of the time, which was opened at the same time – the Great Orthodox Synagogue at Kazinczy utca 29–31 in Budapest by the brothers Sándor and Béla Löffler (1912–1913).

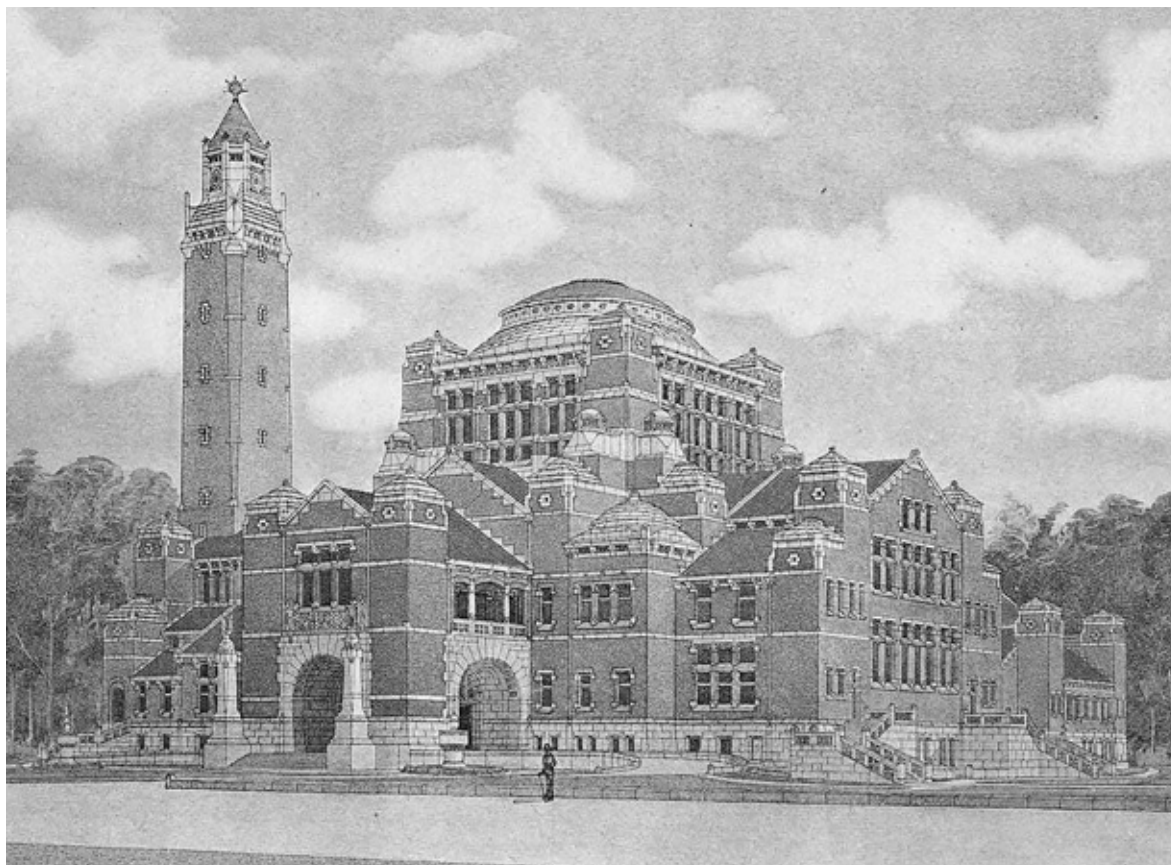
The Trenčín synagogue became an expression of the important position of the Jews in the seat of the Trenčín county. Neither its mass nor silhouette are calculated to make it stand out in the city panorama, like some large synagogues in other cities, yet its cultivated modernist form expresses the modern mindset of the leading representatives of the local religious community. Despite their proclaimed desire for assimilation, the building, with its aesthetic fluidity and non-traditional decoration, demonstrated the special self-expression of the Jewish community and voiced its newly acquired self-confidence.



Hugó Pál: Model with the unrealized Fountain of the Lions  
in front of the main entrance - a copy of the fountain  
(1362 to 1391) forming the central element of the Courtyard of  
the Lions in the Alhambra, Granada, photograph, 1912 or 1913  
Source: Inv. No. F70.447, Hungarian Jewish  
Museum and Archives, Budapest

This paper was supported in the form of  
a scholarship by the Slovak Arts Council.

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Hendrik Petrus Berlage: competition design for  
the Palace of Peace in the Hague, 1906

Source: *Internationale Prijsvraag der Carnegie-Stichting: het Vredespaleis te 's Gravenhage: de 6 door de jury bekroonde ontwerpen, benevens 40 andere, uitgekozen door de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst en onder haar toezicht gepubliceerd*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1906, plate 29.

1 E.g.: TORAN, Eduard. 1965. *Architektúra druhej polovice 19. storočia na Slovensku*. CSc. thesis. Kabinet teórie a dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenská akadémia vied v Bratislave, pp. 152–153; BABIČOVÁ, Katarína and HÁBL, Vlastimil. 1995. *História židovského svätostánku*. *Trenčianske noviny*, 5 December 1995, 51(50), p. 9; LUKÁČOVÁ, Elena et al. 1996. *Sakrálna architektúra na Slovensku*. Komárno: KT, p. 159; BOŘUTOVÁ, Dana. 1998. *Architektúra 1900 II. Niekoľko analýz*. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 32(3–4), pp. 71–90, 86–87, 90; KALINOVÁ, Michaela. 2002. *Neologická synagoga v Trenčíne*.

*Pamiatky & múzeá*, 51(2), pp. 18–20; DULLA, Matúš and MORAVČÍKOVÁ, Henrieta. 2002. *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí*. Bratislava: Slovart, pp. 24–25, 312; BORSKÝ, Maroš. 2007. *Synagogue Architecture in Slovakia. A Memorial Landscape of a Lost Community*. Bratislava: Jewish Heritage Foundation – Menorah, pp. 59, 70–71, 118; KLEIN, Rudolf. 2011. *Zsinagógák Magyarországon 1782 – 1918. Fejlődéstörténet, tipológia és építészeti jelentőség. Synagogues in Hunagary 1782 – 1918. Genealogy, Typology and Architectural Significance*. Budapest: Terc, pp. 366–373; KOVÁCS, Dániel. 2013. *Százéves modernizmus:*

*A trencsényi zsinagóga* [online]. Available at: <http://hg.hu/cikkek/design/15476-szazeves-modernizmus-a-trencseni-zsinagoga> (Accessed: 18 March 2020); PROKOP, Ursula. 2019. *Die Synagoge von Trenčín*. *David*, 30(120), pp. 52–53; KRIŠTOFOVÁ, Alica. 2021. *Stavba novej synagógy v Trenčíne na stránkach novin Vágvölgyi Lap*. *Trenčianske múzeum v Trenčíne* [online]. Available at: [www.muzeumtn.sk/stavba-novej-synagogy-v-trencine-na-strankach-novin-vagvolgyi-lap.html?page\\_id=7014](http://www.muzeumtn.sk/stavba-novej-synagogy-v-trencine-na-strankach-novin-vagvolgyi-lap.html?page_id=7014) (Accessed: 20 February 2022); KRIŠTOFOVÁ, Alica. 2023. *110. výročie vysvätenia a otvorenia trenčianskej*

*synagógy*. *Trenčianske múzeum v Trenčíne* [online]. Available at: [www.muzeumtn.sk/hlavna-stranka/blog/110.-vyrocie-vysvatenia-a-otvorenia-trencianskej-synagogy.html?page\\_id=19417](http://www.muzeumtn.sk/hlavna-stranka/blog/110.-vyrocie-vysvatenia-a-otvorenia-trencianskej-synagogy.html?page_id=19417) (Accessed: 24 April 2024).

2 PAMARCH is the general contractor for the restoration. The restoration work is being carried out in the course of 2023 and 2024 by the company Restau.Art under the leadership of Mgr. Art. Michal Pleidel, Mgr. Art. Andrej Krchňák and Mgr. Art. Tomáš Kružlík.

3 BÜCHLER, Róbert J. (ed.). 2012. *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí. 3. zväzok S – T*.



- Bratislava: SNM – Museum of Jewish Culture in cooperation with Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' And Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem, p. 238.
- 4 Büchler, R. J., 2012, p. 240.
- 5 BRABENEC, Vladimír. 1997. Židovstvo v Trenčíne. In: Šišmiš, M. (ed.). *Trenčín – vlastivedná monografia II*. Bratislava: Obzor, pp. 119–125, 121.
- 6 BÁRKÁNY, Eugen. 2017. *Židovské pamiatky na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Pamiatkový úrad SR, p. 108.
- 7 Büchler, R. J., 2012, p. 240.
- 8 Trenčín, Synagogue. 2023. *Slovak Jewish Heritage Route*. [online]. Available at: <https://www.slovak-jewish-heritage.org/route-sites/trencin-synagogue/> (Accessed: 20 February 2024).
- 9 Büchler, R. J., 2012, p. 240.
- 10 Büchler, R. J., 2012, p. 235.
- 11 Zárokó letéleli okmány, pp. [2–4], accession number TM SV 1980/00019. Trenčín Museum.
- 12 For example, the synagogues in Novi Sad (1905–1909) and Eger (1911–1913). OSZKÓ, Ágnes Ivett. 2020. *Baumhorn Lipót*. Budapest: Holnap Kiadó.
- 13 Ground floor and gallery plan, entrance façade. The transverse and longitudinal sections are dated 10 April 1912 and the side elevation May 1912. Period copies made from drawings on tracing paper. Fond: Magistrát mesta Trenčín, department: Administratívne spisy, 1913, Inv. No. 4410. Štátny archív v Bratislave, pobočka Trenčín.
- 14 Versenyártgatalási hird-etmény. 1912. *Pester Lloyd*, 20 February 1912, 59(43), p. 21; Versenyártgatalási hird-etmény. 1912. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 21 February 1912, 34(8), p. 24.
- 15 In addition to the two mentioned, these were: the firm of József Berta and Alfréd Kovács; Armin Singer as well as Károly Grün and Son from Žilina. In addition, József Walla from Budapest sent bids for artificial stone and tiling work, and the First Trenčín Furniture and Wooden Goods Factory sent bids for the supply or remodelling of benches. Der Trencséner Synagogenbau. 1912. *Vágvölgyi Lap*, 24 March 1912, 39(12), p. 4.
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- 17 The building master and entrepreneur Béla Niegreis had his residence on Palackého Street, i.e. near the synagogue. In 1910 he became a member of the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects. BRESZTOVSZKY, Béla (ed.). 1912. *A Magyar Mérnök-és Építész-Egylet 1912. évi évkönyve*, roč. 12. Budapest: Magyar könyvnyomda és kiadó-vállalat részvénytársaság, p. 107.
- 18 With wooden and steel construction. When using steel-concrete construction, they offered a 0.7% discount. Der Trencséner Synagogenbau. 1912. *Vágvölgyi Lap*, 24 March 1912, 39(12).
- 19 Zárokó letéleli okmány, p. [4], accession number TM SV 1980/00019. Trenčín Museum.
- 20 Request by Béla Niegreis and Albert Fuchs to the burgomaster's Office, 17 August 1912. Fond: Magistrát mesta Trenčín, department: Administratívne spisy, 1913, Inv. No. 4410, fol. 16. Štátny archív v Bratislave, pobočka Trenčín.
- 21 Zárokó letéleli okmány, p. [4], accession number TM SV 1980/00019. Trenčín Museum.
- 22 Request by József Gottlieb to the town council for permission to carry out works, 22 July 1913. Fond: Magistrát mesta Trenčín, department: Administratívne spisy, 1913, Inv. No. 4410, fol. 1. Štátny archív v Bratislave, pobočka Trenčín.
- 23 Test record of the load of steel-concrete structures of the Trenčín synagogue. Fond: Magistrát mesta Trenčín, department: Administratívne spisy, 1913, Inv. No. 4410, fol. 31–35. Štátny archív v Bratislave, pobočka Trenčín.
- 24 Vervádmese Trencsénben. 1913. *Népszava*, 24 July 1913, 41(172), p. 8.
- 25 Ritualmord-Märchen. 1913. *Vágvölgyi Lap*, 27 July 1913, 40(30), p. 4. Thanks for the notice to Alica Krištofová from Trenčín Museum.
- 26 Krištofová, A., 2023.
- 27 Háromtemplomavatas. 1913. *Egyenlőség*, 12 October 1913, 32(41–42), pp. 3, 4, 5 in the First Annex.
- 28 In 1980 it was discovered by workers of the state restoration firm Pamiatkovstav Žilina during the reconstruction of the synagogue. Today it is in the Trenčín Museum. Zárokó letéleli okmány. accession number TM SV 1980/00019.
- 29 Háromtemplomavatas. 1913. *Egyenlőség*, 12 October 1913, 32(41–42), p. 5.
- 30 Zárokó letéleli okmány, p. [5], accession number TM SV 1980/00019. Trenčín Museum. Translation from Hungarian Ing. Kristína Markušová.
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- 32 The plan of the synagogue, donated by his brother JUDr. Jenő Pál to the National Hungarian Jewish Museum, is not to be found at present in the successor, the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives. SZEMERE, Samu (ed.). 1933. *Évkönyv*. Budapest: Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat, p. 328.
- 33 Matrika narodených Židovskej náboženskej obce Piešťany, p. 31, No. 22, fond: Zbierka cirkevných matrik, Inv. No. 1756. Štátny archív v Bratislave.
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- 36 He even arranged the marriage of his daughter Elfriede Luise Helene (1891?–1928) in the Protestant Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin on 15 August 1917. Written information of the grandson of Dr. med. Günter Langensiepen from Cologne dated 18 June 2022.
- 37 Universitätsarchiv der Technischen Universität Berlin, Bestand 007 Matrikelbücher der Studierenden, Signatur 007 5 Matrikel TH Berlin, Band V (1899–1904), p. 299. Written information Dagmar Spies from Universitätsarchiv der Technischen Universität Berlin.
- 38 SCHEIBNER, Richard. 1909. *Duderstadt – Einbeck – Gandersheim. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Städtischen Bürgerhauses Niedersachsens*. Von der Technischen Hochschule in Charlottenburg zur Erlangung der Würde eines Doktor-Ingenieurs genehmigte Dissertation. Dresden: Gerhard Kühtmann; SCHEIBNER, Richard. 1910. *Das Städtische Bürgerhaus Niedersachsens. Duderstadt – Einbeck – Gandersheim*. Dresden: Gerhard Kühtmann.
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- 42 Amtlicher stenographischer Bericht über die außerordentliche Sitzung der Berliner Stadtverordnetenversammlung am 15. Dezember 1925. 5 (41.) Sitzung. 1926. *Stenographische Berichte über die öffentlichen Sitzungen der Stadtverordnetenversammlung der Stadt Berlin*, 41, pp. 811–829, p. 812.
- 43 Prokop, U., 2019, p. 53.
- 44 Plan dated 17th October 1910. Fond: Obvodný notársky úrad Piešťany 1825 – 1945, administratívne spisy, 1910, spis No. 4116/1910, Inv. No. 285, box 6. Štátny archív Tmava; MRŇA, Lubomír. 2020–2021. *Staviteľia Piešťan*. Piešťany: Balneologické múzeum Imricha Wintera, p. 36.
- 45 *Lázně Pišťany – první léčebna dny, revma, exsudatú*. [s. l.: s. n., 1912], p. 50; DUFFEK, Korneil. 2012. Hotel Lipa a Richard Scheibner. The Hotel Lipa and Richard Scheibner. Das Hotel „Lipa“ und Richard Scheibner. *Revue Piešťany*, 48(leto), pp. 28–32.

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- 48 SCHEIBNER, Richard. 1933. Staatskrankenhaus der Polizei in Berlin. Um- und Erweiterungsbauten – Erster Bauabschnitt. *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung vereinigt mit Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 14 March 1933, 53(14), pp. 157–167.
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- 50 Israelitische Kirche Budapest. Kirchengemeinde Budapest – Neolog. 14. Band. Geburtsregister 1881 – 1882, p. 57, No. 678. Sign. ISR 423/14, mikrofilm. Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest.
- 51 Budapest V. kerületi halotti anyakönyv, 1932.08.29. 254. fsz. (HU BFL, XV.20.1 (XXXIII.1.a), A563, 0255, p. 43, No. 254. mikrofilm. Budapest Főváros Levéltára.
- 52 As of 3 August 1898, he officially Magyarized his surname to Pál. Israelitische Kirche Budapest. Kirchengemeinde Budapest – Neolog. 14. Band. Geburtsregister 1881 – 1882, p. 57, No. 678. Sign. ISR 423/14, mikrofilm. Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest.
- 53 HOFER, Károly (ed.). 1892. *A budapesti V. kerületi állami főreáliskolának husadik évi értesítője. Az 1891 – 92 tanév végén.* Budapest: Légrády Testvérek, p. 72.
- 54 He did not study either at home in Hungary at the Emperor Joseph Royal Technical University in Budapest or at the Royal Technical University in Berlin-Charlottenburg. In any case, I assume that he must have received his professional education at a German university, since he first worked as an architect in Berlin.
- 55 Az építőmesteri képzettség megvizsgálására szervezett bizottság. 1909. *Építő Ipar*, 31 January 1909, 33(5), p. 42.
- 56 Egy új mozi-csoda Berlinben. 1913. *Pesti Hírlap*, 3 May 1913, 35(104), p. 5; *Berliner Leben*, August 1913, 16(8), p. [16]; BREUER, Robert. 1913. Ein neues Lichtspielhaus in Berlin. *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 32(12), pp. 433–435, illustrations pp. 436–447; illustrations. 1914. *Berliner Architekturwelt*, 16(7), pp. 295–298 (Il. 369–374); SCHLIEPMANN, Hans. 1914. *Lichtspieltheater. Eine Sammlung ausgeführter Kinohäuser in Gross-Berlin.* Berlin: Wasmuth, pp. 27–29, 77–82 (il. 82–87).
- 57 Egy új mozi-csoda Berlinben. 1913. *Pesti Hírlap*, 3 May 1913, 35(104), p. 5.
- 58 NÁDAI, Pál. 1917. Magyarok külföldön. 1. Pál Hugó. *Magyar Iparművészet*, 20(9–10), pp. 275–276, 277, 279–281, 275.
- 59 Plány. Fond: T 13 Vallás- és közoktatásügyi minisztériumi tervek (1830 – 1913), department: Kormányhatósági fondokból kiemelt tervek (17. sz. – 20. sz.), Tervtár, No. T 13 No 48/1 – 9. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár, Budapest.
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- 61 Budapest100. 2020. *Ilka Utca 46* [online]. Available at: <https://budapest100.hu/house/ilka-utca-46/> (Accessed: 16 June 2022).
- 62 The author of the monument from 1913 is the sculptor Tadeusz Blotnicki, the pictorial scenes were painted by Emil Pap. *Otoczenie pomnika Smolki.* 1915. *Kuryer Lwowski*, 25 August 1915, 33(276), p. 3.
- 63 Plans and building permission. ÉÜT, XV.17d.329 – 15484/3, fol. 1–3., 16. Budapest Főváros Levéltára.
- 64 Fülrdőtervezés Békéscsabán. 1917. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 28 March 1917, 38(13), p. 6; Fülrdőépítés Békéscsabán. 1917. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 25 April 1917, 38(17), p. 6. For Pál Galó-Lipták he created a design for a villa in 1913. Nádaï, P., 1917.
- 65 A József-füüárvaház tervpályázata. 1917. *Magyar Építőművészet*, 15(7–9), pp. 1–32.
- 66 Tervpályázati eredmények. 1923. *Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet*, 15 January 1923, 47(3–4), p. 12.
- 67 PÁL, Hugó. 1928. Óriási strandfülrdő a lágymányosi Dunaágon. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 26 September 1928, 49(39), p. 5.
- 68 KAFFKA, Péter. 1929. Az Erzsébet út torkolata. *Tér és Forma*, 2(7), pp. 255–261, p. 260; Az Erzsébet sugárút betorkolásának pályaterve. 1930. *Magyar Építőművészet*, 30(10–11), p. 10.
- 69 A györi városi színház tervpályázata (folytatás). 1930. *Magyar Építőművészet*, 30(2), pp. 4–15, 19–21.
- 70 KÉZDI-KOVÁCS, László. 1929. Gróf Tisza István szobra. *Pesti Hírlap*, 16 June 1929, 51(134), p. 7.
- 71 HUGÓ, Pál. 1926. A skatulya-ház. *Kő és Műkő Architectura*, 2(2), pp. 7–8; HUGÓ, Pál. 1927. A mai kor építkezése. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 26 January 1927, 48(4), p. 4; HUGÓ, Pál. 1928. A meg nem értett modern építész. *Vállalkozók Lapja*, 14 June 1928, 49(24), p. 5.
- 72 MAGYAR, Vilmos. 1932. Építész sors. *Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet*, 1 October 1932, 56(19–20), p. 74.
- 73 He published his work in a satirical magazine *Üstökös* (e.g.: *Üstökös*, 20 August 1905, 48(34), pp. 7, 8, 10; *Üstökös*, 16 November 1905, 48(47), pp. 4–5; *Üstökös*, 12 January 1906, 49(3), s. 4, 6, 16), for which he was also in court. A beporolt elezlap. 1905. *Az Újság*, 10 December 1905, 3(343), p. 20.
- 74 Inside the church there is a *trompe-l'oeil* dome painted by Christoph Tausch on the vault of the nave.
- 75 On the battlements of the Hall of the Iron, Metal and Building Industry (Adolf Lang, Antal Steinhardt, 1894–1896) and the Music Pavilion (Oskar Marmorek, 1896) at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest.
- 76 On the facade of the studio of Stanislav Sucharda's villa in Prague-Bubeneč (1904–1907), on the pillars with reliefs by Stanislav Sucharda of the National House in Prostějov (1905–1907), on the facade of the Pavilion of Trade and Industry at the Jubilee Exhibition of the Chamber of Commerce and Trades in Prague (1907–1908).
- 77 Parisiana nightclub on Paulay Ede utca 35 in Budapest (1907–1909).
- 78 The large central dome and the four smaller domes that surround it. Klein, R., 2011, p. 367.
- 79 A detailed description of the preserved stained-glass windows is given in the book: CÖNOVÁ, Ilona, GAJDOŠOVÁ, Ingrid and LACKOVÁ, Desana (eds.). 2006. *Vitráže na Slovensku.* Bratislava: Pamiatkový úrad SR, Slovart, pp. 107–108, 320–321.
- 80 Krištofová, A., 2023.
- 81 A very close contemporary parallel to the Trenčín synagogue can be found in the spatial design of the interior of the Calvinist church on Városligeti fasor in Budapest by Aladár Árkay from 1911–1913.
- 82 In contrast, the often-cited influence of German synagogues – in Westend in Frankfurt am Main (Franz Roeckle, 1908–1910) and in Essen (Edmund Körner, competition design 1908, realization 1911–1913) is very distant. E.g. Borský, M., 2007, p. 71; Klein, R., 2011, p. 367; Oszkó, Á., 2020, p. 81. Probably the only inspiration is the motif of the lion with the tablets of the Ten Commandments, which is drawn in the form of a circular relief on the gable of the design of the side façade, and the same motif in sculptural form is found in the gable of the Frankfurt-Westend Synagogue.
- 83 Nádaï, P., 1917, p. 276.
- 84 Metropolitan artists such as Josef Hoffman or Aladár Árkay also had Slovak folk embroideries in their collections.