

summary

Canada is not famous for its museums, rather for its wonderful natural endowments. With its mountains, lakes, rivers and fir trees, it has the effect of making you feel you are in another dimension, where nature dominates. For me it was the fauna and flora of the landscape which captivated me, but as an art historian I was also interested in the country's museum culture. In the Royal British Columbia Museum, in Victoria on the Pacific coast, while already standing in the queue, you can learn about the exhibitions with the help of several dozen high-standard brochures and modern-looking direction signs, as well as tablets. Since 1886 the museum has focussed on objects concerning man and nature, their research, preservation, display and presentation. The permanent collection is based on three pillars: the natural sciences, modern history and the story of indigenous peoples. I took part in a guided tour around the British Columbia Parliament, which was interesting from a museum education perspective. It was a free tour of the building in which there was an actor playing the role of its architect, Francis Mawson Rattenbury, dressed in 19th-century costume, as the building was constructed in 1893-97. There was an application of the living history method – using the first person singular, the architect described the history of the building and then mixed and spoke with visitors, such that the feeling was generated that he really was a figure from the past. The Museum of Vancouver presents the city's history exceedingly well. When I was there, the temporary exhibition, *All Together Now: Vancouver Collectors & Their Worlds*, involved a rather exciting and modern compilation in connection with the Canadians' passion for collecting. There were toy machines, fairy tale figures, posters, clothes, tins and robots. The permanent exhibition focuses on the lives of Vancouver people in the past. Canada has about one million lakes, among which Okanagan Lake is the most well-known. Kelowna lies beside the lake and is deservedly known as a typical Canadian city. In the past, native Indians lived here and today they still live on the outskirts. In Canada respect for nature and heritage protection play an important role, and thus there are numerous institutes relating to those themes. An outstanding example is Kelowna's Okanagan Heritage Museum. In terms of its space and collection, it is very small, covering a total of just 200 square metres. Yet in a truly gripping way, the museum's specialists recall Canada's indigenous animals and the life of native peoples. These descriptions perhaps give an idea of the important role played by museum education in Canada, given that exhibitions are made accessible for all with the use of different means and projects. To quote the words of Johann Joachim Winckelmann: "Art has two ultimate aims – to entertain and to educate."

PORTRAIT PAINTING IN THE LIGHT OF RESTORING
AN ENGLISH YOUTH BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST

by Ildikó Csala, restorer

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During reconstruction of the Museum of Fine arts, which began in 2015, the plan is to continue restoration work and art historical research more intensively. With that in mind, attention has focussed on one of the outstanding items in the museum's English collection, *An English Youth*, a portrait with the initials 'J.M.', an unknown 18th-century master. For three decades (1896-1925) the art historian Gábor Térey headed the National Picture Gallery and the Fine Arts Museum, and when the museum opened in 1906 it was thanks to his specialist work that the collection of English paintings, among others, could begin. The painting selected for restoration was first presented in Hungary in 1916 by the art historian Gyula Kaszab, as part of the estate of the German painter Paul Meyerheim, and thus initially it was attributed to a German master. In a note of 1967 it was mentioned as an English work by the museologist and art historian Andor Pigler (1899–1992), who compiled an illustrated catalogue of the Old Picture Gallery. It should be highlighted that although no signature can be seen on the painting, there does exist a pendant depicting a young girl (presumably the youth's sister) on which the initials 'J.M.' appear. Further art historical research is expected to result in this pendant being found. A detailed description of the painting can be read in the 1921 inventory records. The reason for restoring *English Youth* is that the entire painting was covered with a tainted varnish, which was turning yellow. By the head in the background there were several small, damaged parts, caused earlier and also by repairs. Hence the quality of the painting and its original colouring could not be appreciated. Moreover, its original dimensions are unknown, since the canvas was cut to a smaller size, which probably accounts for the missing signature. Photo-technical examinations produced results which were instructive and useful as regards restoration. Tests using UV light revealed the varnish, which in the photo can be seen as an opalescent layer, while earlier retouching appears as stains. With infrared reflectographic images, sketchings and pentimenti, namely the changes made by the artist himself, can be revealed. However, in this case there are no traces of such modifications. With the help of these examinations the extent of earlier repairs can be well judged using the UV and luminescent imaging. Apart from the possibility of being exhibited and loaned, it was important to restore this sensitive painting, which well reflects former painterly endeavours in order to enhance further the aforementioned research. There remains the task for the current curator of the Old Picture Gallery's English collection and the art historians of the museum to discover the sought-after pendant and for it to turn out whom 'J.M.' refers to, even if it involves a dramatic international investigation.

... thus wrote Amos and Fania Oz in their essay about the Jewish textual tradition. The references are to the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments, the Torah scroll containing the five books of Moses and the connection with modern computer language. Yet the 'connection' is not simply a play on words. It also reflects important links, which with the digital access of cultural heritage can signify a new era. The heritage of Judaism (texts, objects, sound and video recordings) are becoming digitally accessible across the world, involving a variety of purposes and methods. Some of these correspond to scholarly and museological norms, but there are also different applications. The fast reception of digital and internet technology has been facilitated by the methodology of browsing the internet and acquiring knowledge being similar to the traditional practice of learning Jewish texts. The Talmud, the foundation stone of Jewish tradition, like the internet, is a multi-dimensional text, not for reading in a linear manner, in which hyperlinks connect with bodies of texts and contents the reader can freely follow in accordance with individual interests. Traditionally this is facilitated by the text's specific columns, in a layout surrounding the main text. This 'linked open data' is made possible with the methodology of the 'digital humanities', which freely connects and jointly interprets the contents in different heritage institutes, and offers along with the displayed objects an interpretive experience following a method similar to the study of the Talmud. Perhaps it is also thanks to Judaism's strong textual tradition that while the digitization and online publication of Hebrew texts were among the first to take place, in the case of Judaica or objects of Jewish culture held in museums a breakthrough only came in recent years. We encounter the same delay in that the museum collection and scholarly analysis of the material part of Jewish heritage began at the end of the 19th century, long after its texts and books. It was after the establishment of the first Jewish museums – Vienna (1895), Frankfurt and Hamburg (1898), Prague (1906), Budapest (1909), etc. – that the infrastructure of scholarly fields relating to their interpretation was formed. The destruction caused by the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel opened up a new dimension in concepts relating to Jewish heritage. Digitization and internet publication are important for every group attaching great importance to its culture. The selection of contents to be digitized and the method of publication strongly indicate the identity of the group, its political and cultural ambitions. In the case of Diaspora cultures, there is also the possibility for at least virtually connecting the community and cultural heritage dispersed across the world but belonging to the same culture.



RENAISSANCE OF THE SALGÓTARJÁNI STREET JEWISH CEMETERY

by Prof. Rudolf Klein, architect, Szent István University,

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

- ¶ The first reference to Jewish funerary culture appears in the Old Testament when Abraham buried his wife Sarah (Genesis 23:1-20). However, that does not mark the beginning of Jewish funerary art, since due to its reluctance to visuality Judaism does not have a collective language of forms supported by ideas like the sacral art of other denominations. The depiction of the burial of Sarah by Gustav Doré is most likely erroneous. This visual representation was rendered on the basis of Christian art. Jewish fine arts – if it is at all possible to use this expression in this context – was most often born as a result of contacts with neighbouring peoples and cultures, and fairly often it was created by artists of those peoples. For example, Solomon's Temple was designed by Hiram, a Phoenician 'guest worker', although Jews also worked on the great edifice too.
- ¶ Yet the works that were created on the basis of outside influence were gradually codified and became part of Jewish culture. To put it more freely, it is possible to say that the fine art regarded as Jewish was born via Jewish-antique pagan, Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim dialogues. These dialogues involved not only reception but also response and selection. The alien elements which were unacceptable for Judaism were first separated then changed, and the works of art thus created became specific and harmonized with Judaism. Yet it is an exaggeration to refer to them as Jewish art because they do not represent positive Judaic contents – that would have been unacceptable with the image ban – but a collective treasure of forms and motifs born via a selecting and codifying mechanism evoked by Judaism. Thus I believe it is more correct to speak about Jewish cemetery culture rather than funerary art until the period of the Enlightenment and somewhere even later. In this context funerary culture is a more liberal and wider notion than funerary art, which is sacred and in close connection with faith.
- ¶ As the relationship and dialogue of the Jews with neighbouring cultures changed, so did their funerary culture. In the case of ancient Jewish graves, the separation of pagan elements was slight. The late Roman Jewish tomb in the Hungarian National Museum depicts the deceased on a relief, similarly to the pagan steles displayed next to it. The specific feature of ancient Jewish tombs is not manifested in terms of form or the way of depiction, but in Jewish symbols and Hebrew writing. However, when the situation of the Jews turned significantly worse in medieval Europe compared to that in ancient times, both synagogue architecture and funerary culture distanced themselves more from their Christian counterparts. Synagogues

abandoned the nave plus two isles arrangement of basilicas, while tombs dispensed with rendering human figures were abandoned, although the shape of the tombstone could remain similar to those of Christians, as can be seen in the tombstones of medieval Jewish cemeteries in Prague, Frankfurt and Worms. In the Middle Ages, human figures were only occasionally rendered on Ashkenazi Jewish tombs, for example in the Battonstrasse Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt, though only in a few cases. The depiction of animals (lions, bears, birds, deer, etc.) was an important element of high-standard Jewish tombs right up to the Age of Enlightenment. Unlike the German/Ashkenazi Jewish culture, the effect of the ban on images was not so strong in the case of Spanish or Sephardic Jewish culture, as can be seen in the Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

¶ Another period when Jewish and Christian tombstone art came somewhat closer was the age of the Renaissance and especially the Enlightenment. All this is important for us in order to understand synagogue architecture and Jewish tombstone art in 19th century Hungary, notably the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery. The above shows that the history of Jewish funerary culture looking back to nearly 4000 years was not uniform. Rather it was full of changes and the embodiment of prevailing effects of the surroundings. Interestingly, during those 4000 years cemetery art is remarkable not only for its age and long continuity, but also for being a field of Jewish material culture which can be most of all referred to as Jewish, since it includes writing and religious symbols as compared with architecture and painting, and to a smaller degree ritual objects. Thus in this genre the least had to be borrowed from neighbouring peoples and cultures.

¶ Unlike synagogues, which were methodically ruined in times of the persecutions of Jews during the past 2500 thousand years, thus making it relatively difficult to reconstruct them archaeologically, substantially more Jewish tombs exist, since they represented smaller targets (although graves were also vandalised) and the soil often protected them for future generations. After expelling Jews, Christians often used tombstones as building materials and thus they inadvertently protected them for future generations in still existing medieval walling. This must have also happened to some of the stones of ruined synagogues, but since they lacked Hebrew writing their history became more difficult to follow. In so far as an ancient, medieval or even an early modern Jewish cemetery still exists, its value as a source is outstanding.

19TH AND 20TH CENTURY JEWISH CEMETERIES – FROM THE GOLDEN AGE UP TO THE HOLOCAUST

¶ During the long 19th century, Jewish cemetery culture radically changed. Emancipation and assimilation created an independent tombstone art to a Christian pattern, yet the Jewish elements and contents survived and have an exceptional documentary value. Large 19th century Jewish cemeteries are like the pages of an enormous chronicle or the hand written pages

of the Scriptures, in which tombs are lined up as characters, and paths, little squares, bushes and trees represent the spaces between words and lines. It was a time when the narrow, strict order of traditional Jewish graves was succeeded by a subtle, looser and more talkative, sometimes park-like arrangement.

- ¶ The ground-plan arrangement, the shape and material of tombs, their relationship to one another, the language, content and typography of the inscriptions, the elements of the landscape – trees, bushes and small plants – and the lesser and larger play with the topography of the terrain in these cemeteries faithfully represent the consolidation of Jews within Christian society. This is the “text” which describes most spectacularly how the enclosed *communitas iudeorum*, i.e. the traditional “kehila” in the 19th century, opened up and turned into the “Jewish religious community”. The organic Jewish community which stood in front of God as one, in which knowledge of the Scriptures represented the greatest value, was replaced by a more liberal, socially more mobile and differentiated community, which adjusted itself to new values shared with Christians.
- ¶ Observing it on a historical scale, this process took place incredibly rapidly in altogether only a century – even faster in some places – especially in large European cities and their catchment areas, but the Jewry of farther away provincial towns also modernised gradually.

THE SALGÓTARJÁNI STREET JEWISH CEMETERY – THE BURIAL PLACE OF HUNGARIAN JEWISH ELITE

- ¶ In the above context, the significance of the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery regarding its artistic values, its sociographic power and its Jewish and local historical role is exceptional. In this it is arguably among the first in the world. The year of its establishment – 1874, a year after the unification of Pest, Buda and Old Buda – is symbolic. It was the first large Jewish burial place of the developing metropolis, in which the newer, larger tombs towering in front of the old tombstones clearly represent emancipation, its desires and dreams, as well as its pitfalls.
- ¶ A further unique feature of the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery is that the artistic language of assimilation experienced a turnaround already during the age of Art Nouveau. Not only did Jews adopt Christian forms, but Béla Lajta and his followers revived the matzevah tradition of Jewish tombstone art (a simple tombstone with a semi-circular top), revived Hebrew typography and Jewish iconography, which had generally been forgotten in the heat of 19th century assimilation. This partial return reappeared in the Jewish cemeteries of Germany in the 1920s, as shown by the tombs of Bin Chorin and Hermann Cohen in Berlin’s Weissensee Jewish Cemetery. At that time the Jews rather withdrew and secluded themselves in the Hungarian Kingdom following the Numerus Clausus of 1920. The German Nazis came to the fore only in 1933.

- ¶ Important industrial magnates and families which became prominent in the *Gründerzeit* in Hungary, such as Mandfréd Weiss, Baron Hatvany-Deutsch, Knight Ignác Wechselmann and others, are buried in the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery. In addition, the mortal remains of outstanding figures of Hungarian Jewish cultural life and rabbinic studies can also be found here.
- ¶ The art historical significance of the cemetery is also exceptional. Great figures of Hungarian architectural history designed tombs and mausoleums here, including Béla Lajta, Emil Vidor and Ignác Alpár. Lajta is the most significant architect in the world history of funerary architecture. His 45 tombs and mausoleums comprise several stylistic periods between 1904 and 1918, and the artist integrates Hungarian folklore into his extremely original combinations of form.
- ¶ The Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery is also special in the context of monument protection. It is one of the few European Jewish graveyards which has almost perfectly preserved its original condition, for only a few tombstones were built after the 1920s and only family members were buried in the already existing ones. Disregarding the ravages of time, looting and ruination, there has not been any architectural or really significant horticultural intervention. In the cemetery there is opulent, mostly spontaneously growing vegetation, which also contributes to the remarkable aesthetic effect.
- ¶ In addition to the cemetery's tombs, its entrance section represents a special value in art and cultural history. The narrow, tall, stone covered gate building with the caretaker's lodge recalling a medieval castle gate and basically Scandinavian national romantic tradition was designed by Béla Lajta, as was the early modern ceremonial building enriched with Oriental references, between the forecourt and the sector of honorary graves. While the architecture of the gate building is unique in the history of Jewish funerary architecture, the ceremonial building connects, on the one hand, with the new orientalism of the Holy Land and, on the other, with early modernism in Europe.

TOMBS DESIGNED BY BÉLA LAJTA

- ¶ Several designs by the most significant Hungarian architect of the period connecting Art Nouveau and early Modernism can be found here. These tombs are very original and innovative regarding their composition, motifs and typography. Taking a short walk in the cemetery the visitor can see the most important stages of Lajta's entire oeuvre and experience the changes in forms of expression and their historical reference points, as well as their connections with contemporary fine arts.
- ¶ In Lajta's basically surface sensitive funerary art, his classicizing interlude peters out gradually and the world of decorative forms of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Wiener Werkstätte

appears, i.e. gravity of ancient architecture is gradually replaced by elegance. In the master's oeuvre the transition between Classicizing and pre-Modern periods is not as sudden as between Art Nouveau and Classicizing periods, but tectonics as a main force of expression gradually gives place to the surface and its decoration. The ornamentation of surfaces, however, is essentially different from that of the Art Nouveau period. In the pre-Modern period the individual motifs were stylized, their integrity of form was lost and they became subordinated to an overarching geometry. This geometrization was gradual, being initially limited to the joints between the stones. Later it became the organising principle of ornamentation.

- ¶ The most important developmental tendency from a semiotic viewpoint is presented by the transformation from image to symbol and then from symbol to sign in the more or less one and a half decades of Lajta's tombstone design. We can talk about some kind of re-Judaisation, which runs in parallel with the abstraction of Modernism. Naturalistic representations appear on the art nouveau Schmidl Mausoleum – cherub wings, a Levite jug, etc. – later the visual rendering becomes strongly stylized, such as a chalice-like tulip shape, menorah-tree of life-bush; symbols often with several meanings and possible interpretations. In his last designs signs (written characters), from time to time a symbol used as a character (i.e. both Hungarian and Hebrew writing) gradually assume the leading role. This procedure is clearly a textualization, a return to the intentions of the Jewish heritage and represents a U-turn in post-Enlightenment and post-haskala Jewish funerary culture.
- ¶ Besides reviving Jewish traditions, Lajta remained Hungarian and for him this double identity was the cultural basis which became the vital element of his artistic career. His greatness lies in exactly this duality, the promotion of the opportunity for cultures enriching one another, in a deep belief and not in a superficial and frivolous manner, as was the case with some of his contemporaries. Most of his work was also modern in the sense of the word that it corresponded to contemporary tendencies. Lajta's synthesizing ability to forge identities perhaps did not appear anywhere as beautifully as in his tombs, which are outstanding stages in the many thousand year old Jewish funerary culture.

AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

- ¶ The concentration camps, forced labour and Second World War atrocities decimated Hungarian Jewry. Budapest Jewry – which suffered a smaller loss compared to Jews living in the provinces – diminished during the war, as it did to a lesser extent in 1948 when the state of Israel was founded, and there was a larger loss after the 1956 revolution. The material legacy of the minority formerly comprising one million people in the lands of the Hungarian Kingdom is preserved by town houses, mansions, synagogues and, most of all, by the more than one thousand Jewish cemeteries.

- ¶ After World War II the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery was taken away from the Jewish community by the state and passed into the ownership of the Budapest Funeral Institute Plc. (and its legal predecessors), remaining like that until May 2016. The Budapest Jewish Community was only its maintaining body, but since June 2016 it has not even been that. The strongly centralised “socialist state” was not a good master and the graveyard suffered incredible damage. The Budapest Jewish Community has been able to somewhat relieve the situation in recent years: to repair the decrepit wall and employ a skilled caretaker after several graves were looted and several tombs fell down or collapsed. The cemetery is in a sad state of affairs. The ramifying trees and branches deform or destroy the tombs. Many tombs should be urgently strengthened and repaired so that they can be rescued for future generations.
- ¶ Not only public administration has been harsh to the cemetery so far, so has monument protection, which has not been concerned until recently. Historians have not been involved much either, although it is a close, albeit smaller, ‘over the wall’ neighbour of the Fiumei Road National Graveyard and is similar to it with regard to age and compilations of forms and message. It also promotes the understanding and tolerance of the accepting nation. The wonderful cemetery has not been nominated for the World Heritage List.

THE EXPECTED REBIRTH OF THE CEMETERY

- ¶ In the 21st century the Salgótarjáni Street Jewish Cemetery has gradually started to become known in the Jewish community and among architects. In the international professional literature Fredric Bedoire, a Swedish protestant historian, wrote about it in 1998. It seemed to me that the cemetery could only be satisfactorily promoted if foreign partners were found. I hoped that publicity would help the profession wake up in Hungary and that further deterioration of the cemetery’s condition would be halted. There were not only tactical reasons for this. The most mobile element of Hungarian modernisation was the Jews who represented links within European culture not only in modern arts and literature, but also in the world of graveyards. Many such metropolitan Jewish cemeteries reinforce one another and they tell a great deal about the history of the Jews and Europe.
- ¶ The endeavour was successful. A delegation of the Berlin Office for Historic Buildings and Monuments visited Budapest and raised the issue of opportunities for a serial nomination to UNESCO’s World Heritage List together with the Weißensee Cemetery in Berlin and the Wrocka Street Cemetery in Lodz. The German ICOMOS Committee also organised scholarly conferences (in Berlin and Fürth) where European specialists met. In 2014 I was commissioned by the Berlin Office for Monument Preservation to prepare a comprehensive study about the 15-20 similar large Jewish cemeteries of the last third of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century still existing in Europe, which would help the three most exciting

19th century Jewish cemeteries become part of the UNESCO World Heritage. (This material extended in a book format will be published in Berlin in 2017.)

¶ Meanwhile interest has swollen in Hungary. Not only an increasing number of volunteers have visited the cemetery and helped the caretaker clean individual tombs, but the architecture profession has also paid special attention to the cemetery. For the first time I 'officially' guided Hungarian visitors around the cemetery two years ago. They were Ph.D. architecture students and lecturers of the Budapest University of Technology and Economics. One result was an extremely exciting diploma project for the renovation of the liturgical building designed by Béla Lajta, undertaken by Sarolta Hüttl under the supervision of Professor Mihály Balázs. Another was that a survey started in 2015, the idea for which goes back some time. An inter-university multidisciplinary research project involving the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Szent István University, Budapest University of Technology, Eötvös Loránd University, Corvinus University and the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design was outlined as early as in 2014. The students and lecturers of these universities conducted pilot research in the summer of 2015.

¶ In September 2015 the National Heritage Institute expressed its intention to acquire the right of ownership of the cemetery from the Municipal Cemetery Company in order to renovate it. In May 2016 the endeavour was successful. A comprehensive geodetic survey was conducted in autumn 2016 and the gradual renovation of tombs can be expected in 2017. Besides its role of reverence, the cemetery will have educational, cultural and touristic goals, together but not united with the National Graveyard. Thus it may be possible to make up the lost ground of 70 years compared with similar European Jewish cemeteries, which, although not as outstanding with regard to art history, are better explored and maintained, and being mostly in Jewish community ownership, were more easily able to obtain donations from families and international sponsors.

GLITTERING DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS IN THE SHADOW OF THE RED STAR

Ecclesiastical Collections During the Kádár era

By Marianna Berényi

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In the 1980s when, with state support and the cooperation of different churches, new ecclesiastical art exhibitions were continuously being opened, no one brought up the past – the former liquidation of institutional networks, the nationalisation of schools, the dissolution of religious orders, the seizure and sometimes destruction of the collections they held, the persecution of priests and believers, and the restriction of their religious life. The arts, the monuments and the notion of cultural values became a key which opened the door to cooperation between the Church and the party-state, including the allocation of financial sources. The churches were able to retain their treasures and unlike in other socialist countries ecclesiastical collections were displayed as public treasures. The state was able to show how tolerant it was in relation to the churches. The Christian Museum in Esztergom opened in 1953 and was modernised in 1973. At that time it was regarded as one of Hungary's richest fine and applied arts museums. 1966 saw the beginnings of the Ecclesiastical Collection in Buda Castle's Matthias Church, then the following year the Ministry of Culture gave the green light to the church history and ecclesiastical art collection in Sárospatak, along with related museum, library, archive and documentation activities. In 1972 a Calvinist museum opened in Pápa, and in 1973 organisation began for the National Lutheran Museum. In Sopron in 1970 there was the idea of establishing a permanent ecclesiastical art exhibition with works held in the museum storeroom and treasures from local churches. The plan was realised in 1983 with the Sopron Collection of Catholic Ecclesiastical Art. In the same year a Calvinist museum opened in Kecskemét and in Nyíregyháza the Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art Collection was established. In 1984 the permanent exhibition of the Hungarian Jewish Museum opened in Budapest, and in 1986 the Hungarian Orthodox Church Museum was established in Miskolc. 1988 saw the opening of the Treasury in Saint Stephen's Basilica, and the ecclesiastical art objects in Kalocsa held in the Archbishop's Treasury opened to the public. The Diocesan Treasury and Library in Győr was established in 1989. In 1969 the Roman Catholic Church established the still functioning National Catholic Collecting Centre. Its founding statutes speak about the protection of 'treasures' in general, which have to be carefully looked after, whichever branch of the arts they belong to. The Calvinist Collecting Council and the Lutheran Collecting Council were set up with similar aims. The museums thus created have proved to be both unique and long-lasting. In recent decades their new exhibitions and new museum spaces have sometimes received Exhibition of the Year and Museum of the Year awards. Yet even today they cannot exist without state and professional support.

JEWISH MEMORIALS IN TERÉZVÁROS

– Museums Established During the Kádár era due to Non-governmental Initiative

by Beatrix Basics

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In the 1840s the Jewish population of Pest doubled, mainly due to a law making settlement easier, and by 1848 the figure was already above 15,000. About 75% of those moving to Pest were from elsewhere in Hungary, while others came from Czech and Moravian territories of the Habsburg Empire and, to a smaller extent, from Austrian-German provinces. From the early 19th century the great majority of Pest Jews lived in the Terézváros (Theresa Town) district, and that situation remained during the 1840–1880 period, when across the whole city the number of Jewish citizens rose from 10,000 to 71,000. Up to 1841 Jews lived in tenements and lodging houses since they couldn't own their own property, even though they could enjoy the rights of Christian traders. In 1873, when Budapest was united, Terézváros with 73,760 residents was the city's most populous district. Due to its size and population density, it was divided into two – north of Király Street remained Terézváros, while to the south it was called Erzsébetváros (Elizabeth Town). In many places in Europe Jewish migration to cities resulted in entire areas becoming Jewish. These historical Jewish quarters are usually highly protected, as in Paris, Berlin, Rome, Prague, Cracow and Warsaw. Pest's Jewish quarter is also among them and since 2002 has been on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Among the edifices in the two districts about half (in some areas more) were built for Jews and designed by Jewish architects. According to the ÓVÁS! association, if you exclude official institutes, churches, empty lots and buildings constructed after 1945, the proportion is much larger. As they unfortunately but aptly put it in 2011: "... the old Pest Jewish Quarter is no longer protected, rather it must be considered a seriously endangered heritage." Since then the situation has deteriorated. With the spread of 'ruin pubs', run-down buildings are increasingly in demand, and their transformation into 'party spots' has frankly not promoted their renovation – just the opposite. The demolition process continues with the 'strategy' of buildings in a bad condition being emptied and then with boarded up windows and padlocked doors they await utter dilapidation. The complete demolition of buildings which are listed monuments has stopped to a certain extent, albeit due to the property market crisis, rather than UNESCO protection. The required permission for demolishing listed buildings and others in the World Heritage's protected zone can be obtained in a 'tricky' manner if their condition is deemed to have become life-threatening. Unfortunately Anna Perczel is right when she says that today old buildings are already unusual among the newly built edifices. She has highlighted the fact, as established by research, that there is no other major city in Europe where the Jewish contribution to its formation has been so extensive.

THE KARSKI HERITAGE

Three Institutes of Contemporary Polish Political Memory

by Gréta Süveges

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Jan Karski, a prominent figure in the Polish resistance movement and the post-war examination of the past, died in Washington in 2000. Immediately after the start of World War II he was held as a Soviet prisoner of war, but he managed to escape and join the resistance. He acted as a contact with the Polish government in exile until the Gestapo captured and brutally tortured him. His reports, for example about the ghetto, reached the highest levels in Britain and America, but the information was greeted with incredulity or indifference. Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann were among the first to appreciate Karski's significance and even while he was still alive spoke up about the sidelined witness. **POLIN (WARSAW)** POLIN is known as one of Europe's 'star museums'. The building was completed in 2013 and the permanent exhibition about the past 1000 years of Polish Jewish History opened in October 2014. That had been preceded by 22 years of research and raising donations. Interestingly, the display includes hardly any original objects. Traditionally, for most museums the ideal of authenticity was based on the notion that reality could only be presented by means of original objects. However, as POLIN aims to show, the earliest finds of the thousand-year past can in effect no longer be discovered, while later relics have been completely destroyed or survive in an incomplete form. **EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY CENTRE (GDAŃSK)** In 1998 Paweł Adamowicz, leader of the Gdańsk municipal council, and the historian Jerzy Kukliński jointly decided to establish a museum about the Solidarity movement. Thus was born the Polish Roads to Freedom Solidarity Museum Project. The tender for its design, the results of which were announced in December 2007, was supported by the municipality of Gdańsk and the Ministry of Culture's Department for Cultural Heritage of the Polish Republic. Having been open for just one year the European Solidarity Centre was awarded the Council of Europe Museum Prize for 2016. **THE EMIGRATION MUSEUM (GDYNIA)** The Emigration Museum focuses on Polish emigration in a broad historical perspective. The museum opened in 2015 in a port building constructed in Modern style in 1933, which witnessed the arrival and departure of millions. Reconstruction and transformation into a museum of what was used to be one of Europe's ultra-modern buildings was undertaken in the framework of the JESSICA project, thanks to the work of the Arsa Design Studio. The result is outstanding. The exhibition follows a linear timeline presenting the period of the Great Emigration (1831-1870), the industrial revolution from the 1770s to the 1850s, mass migration to the USA at the beginning of the 20th century, the settlement of Polish agricultural labourers in South America, World War II and the years of the Polish People's Republic, as well as the period connected with joining the European Union.

A CONCEPTUAL MUSEUM¹ – AN EERIE PLACE*Jewish Museum, Vienna*

by Péter György

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“Auschwitz werden uns die Deutschen niemals verzeihen!”

According to a post-war “saying” – which can be referred to as ironic only with reservation – the Germans would never forgive the Jews for Auschwitz. “What has remained after Auschwitz is anti-Semitism, because of Auschwitz.”² It is all rather relevant: let us just think of the not particularly fine or overcoded anti-Semitism supported by a multi-party consensus in Austria, which after 1945 for decades defined itself as Hitler’s first victim.³ As a result, the survivors of the former Jewish community, who despite everything remained in Austria, were left outside contemporary Austrian cultural public life and existed in a marginalised condition, in an enclave, just like after 1938.⁴ It is a fact that in the end the Austrian political elite was forced by the largest post-war scandal in the Republic – the sham existence (*Lebenslüge*) to use the expression in Ibsen’s *The Wild Duck*, i.e. the Waldheim affair in 1986 and other embarrassing events occurring for years, such as the lengthy trial about the ownership of Egon Schiele’s *Portrait of Wally* held by the Leopold Museum – to accept the IKG (Israelistische Kulturgemeinde) and the Jewish community, including several secular Russian and Iranian émigrés with different cultural approaches, in contemporary society’s public life and, as a result, after decades to provide it with a museum, with a budget allocated by the municipality, which could be interpreted as part of the European network of museums.

The establishment and contemporary activity of the Freud Museum, which can be regarded as the prefiguration of the Jewish Museum *from several aspects*, point at the prehistory of this belated change. By now it has become a small yet important and accepted memorial place, as well as a public museum in Vienna, which, unlike the Jewish Museum, has *fully* preserved the sharp and critical approach, which after the removal of its chief curator, Felicitas Heilmann-Jelinek, in 2010, the latter had to give up, if not fully as a result of the pressure partly from the state and the city, and partly from the religious Viennese Jewish community. *Due to different reasons and under different circumstances, nevertheless the inevitably metaphorical and critical ‘nature’ of a conceptual museum can be referred to in both cases.* Perhaps it is not mere chance that the logic and aesthetic norms of these institutes were created and enforced by the reconstruction of partly the same great and suppressed story in the same city.

The disappearance of Freud’s life in Vienna, namely his memory in Austria during 1950s and 60s – from the city he thought he could regard as his own – is largely connected with the marginalization of the Jewish community as a whole, although it is also true that the narrow reception of psychoanalysis during the Anschluss and after the war also played a particular role.

(Setting up Freud's memorial in 1985 and the establishment of the Jewish Museum were due to the same mayor, Helmuth Zilk.)

- ¶ Freud, his wife, sister-in-law and youngest child, Anna Freud, left Vienna on 4 June 1938. As Freud wrote, he went to die in freedom and indeed he died in his Hampstead home at 20 Maresfield Gardens on 23 September 1939. His personal effects, which were formerly kept at 19 Berggasse, can be seen today in the museum established in his London house: his collection of antique sculpture, items of furniture, books, his desk and, last but not least, his legendary couch covered with the Oriental rug, which has become an object of fetish.⁵
- ¶ After Anna Freud's first visit to Vienna after 1938, in 1971, she returned a few items of furniture and books to the then completely empty museum, which made its position even more embarrassing. The Nazis first used the Freud family's home as a "Jewish communal" apartment. Then it stood empty for some time, similarly to the other flats in the building from 1941 (after the Jews had been forced into the ghetto). Later, families of non-Jewish origin and Wehrmacht soldiers moved into the flat, which was classified as a *Reichsmietwohnung*.⁶ Freud and his family had first moved into flat No. 5, then they bought the next-door flat No. 6 on the same floor.⁷ They were compelled to emigrate from those, hence after 1938 only the spirit of the original residence remained in Vienna. Edmund Engelman took photographs of the apartment in the days immediately before their emigration and emptying the flat.⁸ The original condition could be reconstructed with the help of the photographs taken behind pulled down blinds in the city already ruled by the SS. Thus their life-size copies have been displayed at appropriate locations in the museum/flat.⁹ So the museum has become a medial copy of the former residence in the original place. It is a fact that the museum is still mainly empty, thus it has become a place that can be fitted into the interpretational frame of concept art and location-specific art, which can be seen as eerie. Lydia Marinelli, the research director of the museum who died tragically at a young age, very precisely recorded the history of emptiness, the path that led to the present condition, in connection with Vera Frenkel's conceptual film shown in the museum.
- ¶ "[after 1938] New tenants move into his Vienna apartment. The rooms become the setting for new stories of which carries beyond the apartment walls, some parts of the apartment are occupied by these tenants until the mid 1980s. [...] One of those who visited Freud's house at Berggasse 19 in the 1960s and found to his disappointment nothing but a shabby and locked door, was Jacques Lacan. What he had hoped to see but a house, plain and simple.... An authentic atmosphere is conserved here as in a time capsule by reducing history to one very specific temporal plane. A historically distant becomes sensory close, everyday mundanities are charges with the particular characteristics of a represented subject. It is precisely this function of reassurance that the Vienna Museum cannot fulfill. The expectation of finding certain traces of individual, a particular history, is frustrated."¹⁰
- ¶ The empty museum space and the eeriness of a narrative without objects are based on disappointment, frustration and the unquenchable expectations bound to the "original place":

doubting the self-evidence of the continuous past can mostly be and is to be connected with the (museum) question, which was Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek's concept defining the Jewish Museum and which is the reason why concrete historical, i.e. Holocaust historical parallels and analogies, can be seen between the two museums. What is even more important is that *the aesthetic and political answers given to their position were close to one another or nearly identical*.¹¹ The concept of the chief curator of the Jewish Museum, which has existed again since 1990 in the Palais Eskeles in the middle of Dorotheergasse, a quiet side street in the city centre, and which has been altered several times in the past decades ("The return to the old classical museum tradition is not possible after Auschwitz. Above all, the main interest of a post-1945 European Jewish Museum should be to motivate its visitors to ask themselves the right questions."),¹² appears to be an illustration of the mediatized memory politics and methodology of psychoanalysis.

¶ It is noteworthy, even if in one case it concerned the establishment of conceptual museology by compulsion and in the other involved a museum philosophical and intellectual decision historicizing its own collection. The history of the Freud Museum can be seen and interpreted as a series of conscious reflections about emptiness and the homelessness of those being at home. As Matti Bunzl states with reason, in the case of the Jewish Museum (which after decades got back a large part of its objects stolen by the Nazis) the aim was to emphasise the break that occurred in the historical time, i.e. to make it clear that a Jewish Museum *cannot* exhibit its objects representing Judaica as if the irrevocable had not happened.

¶ "Working in a cultural context in which the oppression of Jews looms large from the past, the museum's curators face complex challenges of representation. The critical question for them is how to represent the complexity of the Jewish past and present without reverting to an *essentialization of Jewish existence*." (italics added – P. Gy.)¹³

¶ It is important to see that the basic issue and problem for the museum, which opened in 1895 and focused on presenting Judaism, more precisely related Judaica objects, involved the manner of how Jewry can be included into and represented in modern, contemporary society.¹⁴ Yet the *border lines* of scientific classification, namely specifying strategies at the end of the century, that is the anthropological and ethnological (biological and social in today's sense) fields, were positioned elsewhere from today and implicitly the aversion and dread of the post-National Socialist world regarding racial theory and biological distinctions, along with its reservation corresponding to the extent of the trauma, were not always present.¹⁵ The "difference" of the eastern Jews included simultaneously ritual and religious differences, cultural norms connected to them and finally physical anthropological concepts and observations. The far-reaching work of Samuel Weissenberg, a Jewish Russian physician, anthropologist and ethnographer, is a good example of the original state of by now already historical examination. His study *Zur Antropologie der Deutschen Juden* published in 1911 documents this transition, similarly to his *Jüdische Museen und Jüdisches in Museen, Reiseindrücke* of 1907.

¶ Implicitly the Jewish Museum in Vienna could not represent anything else in the Monarchy than the history and self-image of Jewish communities who became socialised in western and eastern ways of life and social contexts. The assimilated, Arad-born Isidor Kaufmann's painting played an important part in creating that self-image, which presented Galician Jewry in an idyllic retro-Biedermeier¹⁶ style. It was popular in his own time and later became a source of cultural history. The visual representation of eastern Jews, namely its interpretation for western reception was Kaufmann's opportunity, role as well as indisputable achievement. The presentation of Ashkenazi Jewry according to the standards and traditions of western art history, which was also mythicized by Martin Buber, was an indisputably successful product of the museum and the Jewish community. At the same time, besides his painting Kaufmann did much to have romantic pathos and anthropological and ethnographic authenticity enforce one another. The total installation – a concept used by contemporary art – called *Die Gute Stube* (Shabbat Room) created for the museum by the painter in 1899, i.e. a documentary reconstruction of Jewish life compiled from objects considered authentic, served the sensory evidence of the significance of the Sabbath. The significant issue involved the appearance of historical authenticity and genuineness in line with current historical scientific and ethnographic standards, according to which the literal use of *Die Gute Stube* is not self-evident.

¶ “Kaufman was very much an artist of his time. From all the rooms he saw, for whatever reason, he developed an ideal one and based it on the overall artistic impression, like his colleague Jost Schiffmann in Salzburg. He created an imagined platform, as Schubiger described the period rooms around 1900: in a suggestive production, living becomes a media event and room an unused display object, an empty space.”¹⁷

¶ Looking at and being in the total installation, western Jews were presented with the everyday life of their eastern ancestors and contemporaries, as well as the reconstruction by objects of the ritual of keeping the Sabbath. It was the experience of the directness of objects, i.e. the use of the self-evident as a museum tool, whose *contemporary invalidity* was referred to by Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek in her previously quoted sentence. After the closure, the appropriation, theft and disappearance of the Museum in Malzgasse, which existed between 1911 and 1938, the presentation of Judaica, i.e. objects which have meaning in themselves, has not been suitable for the purposes of Jewish museology, because after 1944 they did not remain individual elements of Kaufmann's nostalgic paintings and his “period room”, but became the representation of a mistaken and false illusion. They exist in opposition to the historical truth independently of their literal genuineness and their exhibitors' indisputable well-meaning. After all, unintentionally they are forgeries. *The fundamental issue for Jewish museology is the joint presence of its evident commitment to Judaism and the inevitable reflection on Judaica, i.e. on the existence of the Holocaust-created abyss that cannot be ignored and which exists, and the meaning of object culture.*¹⁸

¶ This abyss can be penetrated by the eerie adaptation of *Die Gute Stube*, created by a contemporary Israeli artist, Maya Zack, with fascinating precision, awareness and sensory force. It has

a particularly important role in an important room (*Stadt Immigrantinnen und Wien um 1900*) of the new permanent exhibition the *Unsere Stadt' Jüdisches Wien bis heute'*, which opened in 2013. The four digital paintings exhibited as an independent installation, which give the impression of black and white photographs depicting the virtual space, create the history, collapse and consequent life of the illusion of ahistorical permanence with unprecedented force. The installation, which reconstructs the former period room on the basis of photographs, demonstrates the issue of abyss with dramatic force and has the image of the glass cabinet on the third floor of the museum displaying ten surviving objects, which turned up in the Viennese Museum of Ethnography after the war, inserted in the virtual (3D) space that recreates the original. The second image recalls the first version of *Die Gute Stube*, which was presented at the International Exhibition of Hygiene held in Dresden's Museum of Hygiene in 1911. The third reconstructs Isidor Kaufman's studio with poetic imagination, taken in Daguerre's own studio and inserting the collection of plaster copies in the picture. The fourth work (*Mystical Shabbat*) provides the recollection of the spiritual experience of western Jews as presumed and hoped for by Kaufmann. The recollection of the former illusion and its impossibility is thus the aesthetic fundamental problem of the *conceptual installation*. And it is a fact that this island creates some contradiction in the permanent collection, since according to the careful critical spirit of historical Judaica hundreds of original objects can be seen close by, whose physical existence allows the visitor to step out from the traumatic perception of the post-Holocaust paradigm. That is, the apparently short current history of the museum has not merely presented the experience of eeriness, but has itself become eerie. The situation today is that visitors can see only parts and traces of the museum's period between 1993 and 2010 when in the concept of the museum, Judaica, the presentation of ritual and historical objects, and the history of the Holocaust, i.e. a certain kind of essentialist and immanent Jewish narrative and its critical self-reflexion, that is the representational traps of the discontinuity of traumatic history, were inseparable from one another. They kept permeating it and strongly influenced one another. Thus the permanent exhibitions, which opened in 1996, and the series of museum spaces were arranged accordingly. The aforementioned first temporary exhibition, *Hier hat Teitelbaum gewohnt*, already corresponded to the reconstruction of contexts, i.e. to the approach involving eeriness for critical reservation.

At the same time, Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek's truly radical permanent exhibition, which Matti Bunzl called an "anti-exhibition" with reason, did not present objects but their holograms, i.e. the emptiness of the exhibition space was as remarkable as it was thought-provoking in its technology evoking illusion and sensory disappointment, creating virtual spaces with the holograms and forcing the viewer towards activity and movement, in which the static character of vanished objects and works of art, i.e. the concept of viewpoint, lost sense and meaning. Making Judaic objects virtual precisely corresponded to the fundamental issue of post-Holocaust Jewish museology: the crisis or search in connection with the presentation of Jewish identity, which irrevocably broke down and lost its evidence.

¶ It seems to me that Heimann-Jelinek's attitude cannot be misunderstood, but what I am writing is obviously a further interpretation of an interpretation. Yet the question indeed is whether the Holocaust is considered a tragic, i.e. horrible chapter of Jewish history from the perspective of Judaism, or it is presumed that it irrevocably rewrote public thinking about Jewry because its memory traces are present at every moment and every phase, and *in this respect* it does not matter at all whether Jews or, so to say, "non Jews" talk about Jews, because the *universal nature* of what happened is indisputable. The replacement of objects with holograms cannot be indeed interpreted differently than a technique of continuously enforcing the historical reflection related to everyone. But why was all this unavoidable? The answer is connected with the mission of the museum and determining its target audience. The eerie holograms, which were on the borderline of visibility and non-visibility and were in an almost obscure relationship with colours and spaces were suitable for "non-Jewish" visitors not to feel a distance between Judaism and their own world and for them to be able to understand the community of homelessness. Thus the universality of the Holocaust, the experience created by the museum, signalled its *inevitability*.¹⁹ All this coincided with the way of presentation of Judaica, objects which were deprived of their individuality and privilege by the Holocaust – the ritual meaning and horrified death, the hero of Viktor Ullmann's opera are present simultaneously. Nor can the opera, which was performed in Theresienstadt, *The Emperor of Atlantis*, involving death unable to cope with the pace dictated by the Nazis, be separated from the scene of its performance.²⁰

¶ The dismantling (under scandalous circumstances according to different reports) of the room displaying the holograms and its replacement with the new permanent exhibition, however, does not mean that the pre-2010 period would have ceased to fully exist, since its traces can be seen in the room applying the principles of an open storage (Schaudepot) on the third floor. The curator's attitude regarding the original objects can be demonstrated by two still visible examples. On the one hand, the presentation of the Schlaff Collection, the compilation of ceramics consisting of anti-Semitic caricature, must be recalled. According to the principle of open storage, each of the several dozens of statuettes has been displayed in the cabinets, however with their back to the viewer so that their front can be seen in the mirror behind them. The language is truly scanty so any comment or description of the effect mechanism seems nonsensical. We know only a few self-evident examples of museum interpretation beginning when its description is merely a scanty and awkward translation.

¶ The other example points at the significance of the history of the objects. A cardboard box with personal effects with a clear-cut inscription "Dr. Franz und Anna Bial /am 27 Mai 1942 abtransportiert/" was moved from the storeroom of the IKG to the collection of the museum in 1992. The couple were executed in Minsk on 27 May 1942. Their daughter Lilly Bial, who was born in 1926, went to England with a children's transport in 1939. For decades she did not have any connection with her childhood and Vienna, hence she did not know about the objects displayed in the museum, which *were meant to reach her*. As it turned out from the website of

AJR (Association of Jewish Refugees), Lilly Bial was out of reach for years. "A Kindertransportee to UK in 1939 at age of around 13, worked as nurse in Bexley Heath before 1960s. No trace of her since then. The Jüdisches Museum Wien still retains some possessions of hers and would like to return these to her or to her heirs. Any information, please contact Austrian Embassy, London." Finally the Swiss essayist Katharina Geiser traced Lilly Bial and received a reply to her letter. "Yes, I am Lilli Bial and my parents were Anni and Franz Bial. I arrived in England on the 27th of April 1939 and lived at Bexleyheath for nearly 10 years. I then moved to Dorking, in Surrey and finally arrived in..."²¹ In the end she saw her legacy at the age of 78 and left most of it to the Jewish Museum.

- ¶ All in all, the Viennese situation still seems favourable. At worst the Jewish Museum in Vienna made only half a turn and although the new exhibition is a step backwards compared to the original, truly avant-garde strategy, within this framework the present situation can also be evaluated, several superb temporary exhibitions explore the issue of Jewish cultural existence, as for example, the rather innovative exhibition about women artists in the autumn of 2016.²² And there is the monument on Judenplatz, the inside-out library in commemoration of 65,000 Austrian Jews who were killed, designed by Rachel Whiteread and erected in 2000. Jewish culture after all is returning to Vienna. The necessary sum for the restoration of the recently discovered and to be quickly preserved silent film *Stadt ohne Juden* of 1924 was gathered by public subscription and indeed the fate of the film became the object of public attention.
- ¶ Our heart can be gripped if meanwhile we think of our own city. There is still no public Holocaust monument in Budapest, either *Denkmal* or *Mahnmal*. There is no space for remembrance or joint thinking. What exists is the political nightmare of the kitschy angel erected in Szabadság Square. The Holocaust Museum drifts from one crisis to another in an absurd location outside the former ghetto. The foundation and the threateningly empty building of the House of Fates museum, which has been left unfinished, is an involuntary monument of the catastrophe of Hungarian remembrance politics. The museum to be established in place of that, in the synagogue designed by Otto Wagner in Rumbach Sebestyén Street, is far from reality. It is perhaps only the Jewish Museum which seems to carefully follow the Viennese example. The new permanent exhibition *100 Objects* is really clever and wisely self-reflective, balancing between historical documents and Judaica which can be interpreted as such. It takes a stand concerning the real issue in no uncertain terms: Jewry has survived a horrible episode of its history, the Holocaust. I cannot and in fact I have no right to take a stand in all this, but still I am inclined to take the relevant part of *Occidental Eschatology* by Jacob Taubes seriously "Precisely because man is the shadow of God he is able to succumb to this idea and, more crucially, to succeed in making himself into the measure of all things. The shadow is the serpent beguiling man into misrecognizing himself as god-like... ultimately as God - and God as only a shadow of himself."²³ And yet both happened with the Jews and the Christians. The possibilities and tasks of Jewish museology are defined by its traces.

- [1] Cf. Joanne Morra, 'Seemingly Empty: Freud at Berggasse 19. A Conceptual Museum in Vienna', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 2013, vol. 12, 1, pp. 89-127.
- [2] "What remains after Auschwitz, is antisemitism, because of Auschwitz" [...] "The Germans will never forgive us for Auschwitz". Kurt Grünberg, *Love after Auschwitz: The Second Generation in Germany. Jewish of Survivors of the Nazi Persecution in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 2006, transcript Verlag, Bielefeld p. 67, and Henryk Broder, *Der ewige Antisemit. Über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen*.
- [3] Lisa Silverman, 'Repossessing the Past? Property, Memory and Austrian Jewish Narrative Histories', *Austrian Studies*, Col. 11, 'Hitler's First Victim?' *Memory and Representation in Post-War Austria*, 2003, pp. 138-153.
- [4] Gustav Jellinek: Heinz P. Wassermann, ed. *Antisemitismus in Österreich nach 1945: Ergebnisse, Positionen und Perspektiven der Forschung*, Innsbruck, Studien Verlag, 2002.
 'Die Geschichte der Österreichischen Wiedergutmachung', in: *The Jews of Austria, Essays on their Life, History and Destruction*, edited by Josef Fraenkel, London, Vallentine, Mitchell, 1967, pp. 395-426.
 "After all, during the first decades of Austria's Second Republic, the state and its various apparatuses had gone to great lengths to bar Jews from the country's public sphere. As embodied critics of Austria's victim myth, Jews threatened to undermine the postwar nation-state, necessitating their structural exclusion from the imagined community. Austria's Jews continued to figure in opposition to the country's fiction of collective victimization, but by the late 1990s, this no longer represented an impediment to their integration into the national sphere." Matti Bunzl, *Symptoms of Modernity, Jews and Queers in Late-Twentieth-Century Vienna*, University of California Press, 1999, pp. 157-158.
- [5] The exhibition *Die Couch, Vom Denken im Liegen* held on the anniversary of Freud's 150th birthday in Vienna in 2006. It was one of Lydia Marinelli's last works, a fascinating example of creating a conceptual exhibition, a radical and minimalist concept, which is impossible to forget. The place of remembrance, the lack of personal effects and the work of recalling Freud's activity, i.e. the memories, all created a complicated pattern as with the Oriental rug itself in London, a virtual version of which was one of the elements of the concept.
- [6] Cf. Joanne Morra, op. cit., p. 97.
- [7] Cf. Péter György, 'Oidipusz Kolonoszban, Freud (múzeum) száműzetésben (A cancelled German, a German Jew)', in: *A hely szelleme*, Magvető, Budapest, 2007, pp. 79-98.
- [8] Edmund Engelman, *Sigmund Freud: Berggasse 19*, Vienna, 1998, *Universe, London*. In March 2003 one of the exhibitions in the reopened Albertina presented Robert Longo's drawings based on Engelman's photographs with the title *Freud Cycle*.
- [9] In 1968 the museum consisted of one part of flat No. 6, then in 1971 at the time of Anna Freud's visit to Vienna the museum occupied the whole flat. Flat No. 5 has been used as part of the museum since 1986.
- [10] Lydia Marinelli, "Body Missing" at Berggasse 19', *American Imago*, Vol. 66, No. 2, Summer, 2009, pp. 161-167.
- [11] Two exhibitions showing an identical pattern present a good example of the parallelism. The exhibition *Hier hat Teitelbaum gewohnt, Ein Gang durch das jüdische Wien in Zeit und Raum* was held in 1993-1994 which

– visibly so many years later – corresponded to Felicitás Heimann-Jelinek’s conceptual, intermedial, critical methodology. The objects of the exhibition reconstructing the chronotopos of disappeared lives were displayed as documents of a strong concept corresponding to the reconstruction of Vienna interpreted as the city of western, assimilated Jews. Simultaneously with the opening of the Albertina, the exhibition *Freuds verschwundene Nachbarn* staged in the Freud Museum between March and September 2003 reconstructed the story of the other residents of 19 Berggasse, who were killed. The exhibition of the Jewish Museum in Budapest, *Rosenthal Lived Here* pays tribute to *Hier hat Teitelbaum gewohnt* and at the same time is a variation of it.

- [12] Reese Greenberg, ‘The holographic Paradigm for the History and the Holocaust’, p. 14, in: *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, ed. Shelly Hornstein, Florence Jacobowitz.
- [13] Matti Bunzl: ‘Of Holograms and Storage Areas: Modernity and Postmodernity at Vienna’s Jewish Museum’, *Cultural Anthropology*, 2003, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 345-368.
- [14] “The non-racial statement” about Judaism conformed with the socio-political aspirations of the members of the Museum Society. They sought to integrate into and acculturate to the society at large and to gain full social acceptance, all the prevalent anti-Semitic notions of the Jews’ racially determined incapacity to become equal citizens notwithstanding.” Klaus Höld, ‘The Turning to History of Viennese Jews’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 3.1.2004, pp. 17-32.
- [15] Cf. Veronika Lipphardt, ‘Isolates and Crosses in Human Population Genetics, or a Contextualization of German Race Science’, *Current Anthropology*, No. 53. S5, 2012, pp. 69-82.
- [16] Werner Hanak-Lettner, ‘From Kaufmann’s Gute Stube to Zack’s The Shabbat Room, Two Period Rooms from Jablonov to Vienna and Tel Aviv’, in: Maya Zack, *The Shabbat Room*, Herausgegeben von Daniella Spera und Werner Hanak-Lettner im Auftrag des Jüdischen Museums Wien, p. 16.
- [17] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- [18] Here I can only make a mention of the period rooms created by Josef Polak in Prague’s Jewish Museum. The museum, which was also closed down immediately after the German occupation, was redefined by the Nazis in 1942 and the institution called the Central Jewish Museum had a double function. Partly it stored the Judaica gathered from the synagogues of the Czech-Moravian Protectorate (see the concept of the Schaudepot in the Jewish Museum, Vienna), and partly it had non-public exhibitions staged, whose designers in the main did not survive the war. The total installations of a Jewish kitchen and living room in the Klausen Jewish Museum remained in the Jewish Museum, which reopened after the war. (The fate of the Jewish Museum in Prague demands a separate study and I am afraid that the approximately satisfactory recollection of the bibliography far exceeds the present framework.) Cf. *The Man Who Never Gave Up*, Zidovske Muzeum v. Praze, 2005. Text by Magda Veselska. Cf. ‘A Prágai Zsidó Múzeum (Prague’s Jewish Museum)’, *Európai Utas*, 2007/1, pp. 43-46, and Hana Volavkova, *A Story of the Jewish Museum in Prague*, Artia, Prague, 1968.
- [19] After 1938 the Naturhistorische Museum in Vienna ordered plaster masks from the Posen concentration camp for its exhibition about anthropology, i.e. races. In 1987 when this horrible collection finally became public it was exhibited in Buchenwald where the majority of the subjects of the masks were killed. At the

same time, the Naturhistorisches Museum's masks got to the Jüdisches Museum in a strongly disputable way, where they were presented at the exhibition *Masken, Versuch über die Schoa* in 1997. According to Heimann-Jelinek's medial concept, they were not displayed simply and in their defencelessness, but in the context of a live video recording of visitors and masks together, which presented a real challenge for the viewers. "The exhibition focuses on the human dignity and the relativity of ethical standards. It is an attempt to bring up what the shoah was in the end: just villain murder. Moreover it is an attempt examine our own attitude toward these murders, towards the objects of these murders: they are 'specimens' having been human beings once". (catalogue text)

- [20] The issue of concentration camps and ghettos, as well as collections and museums maintained or accepted by the Nazis and works that were created there, point at the fact that the Holocaust cannot be separated and detached from Jewish museology. A contemporary Hungarian example well represents the complexity of the situation. In his writing *Zsidóság és emlékezés, Kortárs múzeumok Közép-Európában* (Jewry and Remembrance, Contemporary Museums in Central Europe) Rudolf Klein argues against establishing Jewish historical sparkling and glittering Disneylands. He mentions the change of directors in Vienna in this context: "The content and character of Jewish museums changed clearly at the beginning of the 21st century. It was probably embodied most crudely in the incident in Vienna in 2010. The mayor was dissatisfied with the thought-provoking, very original exhibition which could be interpreted in several ways and with the highly qualified chief curator of vision who staged it. Instead he replaced her with a journalist who looked good on TV..." Independently of the fact that the conditions of Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek's removal were in all probability scandalous, in the given case it was an anti-exhibition and not an exhibition, rather its overwriting. And when Klein remarks resignedly at the end of his article "by today Jewish museums and remembrance have turned into a colourful bustle – there is an attempt to present culture that was formerly based on words with a deluge of images, colours and light effects" he criticizes Heimann-Jelinek's concept of museology, *even if unwillingly* but quite obviously. (Szombat, 2016, November, XXIII, Vol. 9, pp. 22-27) Indeed, Jewish museums, their installations and architectural solutions at the beginning of the 21st century all bear the mark of the crisis that is signified by the state of the post-Holocaust world and from which there is no return to the presentation of self-evident Judaica, because that would be nothing other than an exact echo of 'Die Gute Stube', i.e. making it a museum.
- [21] Katharina Geiser, *Vorübergehend Wien*, Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2006, Wien, p. 271, and " ... Lilly Bial eruiert und die Schachtel in der Folge durch VertererInnen des Jüdischen Museums Wien an sie übergeben werden. Bias beschloss einige Dinge zu behalten, den Grossteil der Objekte samt Schachtel aber dem Museum zu überlassen. Dies macht das museale Erbe leichter, relativiert jedoch nicht die Schwierigkeit des Umgangs mit Erinnerung. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, 'Anna, Franz und Lill Bial', in: *Recollecting, Raub und Restitution*, ed. Alexandra Reiningaus, 2009. (The exhibition was staged in MAK between 3 March 2008 and 15 February 2009.)
- [22] *Die Bessere Hälfte, Jüdische Künstlerinnen bis 1938*. November 2016 – May 2017.
- [23] Jacob Taubes, *Occidental Eschatology*, tr. David Ratmoko, Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 212.

RENEWAL OF A RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION IN SÁROSPATAK

by Tünde Sipos

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What happens to items of an oeuvre donated to a public collection in the provinces? At best, they are used to stage an exhibition. At worst, they are shifted from one storeroom to another. Perhaps they feature as part of a permanent exhibition. But what would be the ideal way to make them known and to display them? Surely if existing concepts were occasionally reconsidered and the approach to collections were updated. One good example is a project at the Sárospatak Picture Gallery, where the highlight of 2016 was the renewal of its exhibition of János Andrassy Kurta's works held by the Gallery. **THE INSTITUTE** The history of the Sárospatak Picture Gallery dates back almost 50 years. Its works of art can be classified in five groups comprising mostly donated items. Its foundation is linked to the name of the singer Ferenc Béres. His collection was housed in the Rákóczi Castle. Béres's gifts inspired other collectors and artists to follow suit. The gallery's two other major sections are similarly based on donations, one comprising works of the painter József Domján, the other works by the sculptor Andrassy Kurta. The large increase in volume justified the creation of an independent institute for their display and thus the building of the former Roman Catholic Modern School became the home of the Sárospatak Picture Gallery. The other significant cornerstone of the gallery is the József Klinkó collection, comprising neo-avant-garde and conceptualist works of the 1970s. **THE OEUVRE OF JÁNOS ANDRÁSSY KURTA** Andrassy Kurta donated his entire oeuvre to Sárospatak in 1976. The majority of items are made mainly from limestone, bronze and plaster, but there are also numerous works of graphic art, as well as paintings. János Andrassy Kurta was born in 1911. More than 50 of his public statues are known. In 1981 he was made an honorary citizen of Sárospatak. Alongside the gallery, his works are looked after and archived by his son Bálint Andrási. **THE REGENERATED EXHIBITION** The reconceptualisation and installation of the exhibition of Andrassy Kurta's oeuvre was based on the joint work of the municipality and the gallery. Sárospatak submitted a tender application to the Ágoston Kubinyi Project, which offers professional state support for museums. Development of the exhibition's concept and a museum education project were entrusted to external trustees and the present writer. Coordination of the different viewpoints lasted for several months. The rehabilitation of hidden treasures in the collections of provincial museums and the promotion of their significance would be extremely useful for both the profession and the public. One example: in the rich collection of the Sárospatak Picture Gallery there is a work by Dóra Maurer, a related item of which entered the collection of the Tate Modern in 2015. The work in Sárospatak is not on display – at least for the time being.

The Kunsthalle in Budapest is marking the 120th anniversary of its opening with a special exhibition. It showcases the masterpieces of the period when the exhibition hall was inaugurated, the era of prosperity in the Dual Monarchy. A key concept in selecting the displayed works was that a significant number of their artists were in the past represented in the institute. The importance of the monarch is reflected in the material and structure. After all, the theme pinpoints “painting in the era of Franz Joseph” and this primarily involves the period from the time when he was crowned king to the end of his reign. The organising institution of artistic life at the time was the National Hungarian Fine Arts Society, established in 1861. The connoisseur and art collector András Gyula was its president until 1866. He was followed by Ferenc Pulszky, the director of the National Museum. The history of the Society and the Kunsthalle reflects an era’s art history, more precisely the presentation of one layer and interpretation of the arts in the era – the paintings, the exhibition texts as well as the studies in the catalogue represent this. Art sponsorship by cultural policy, which was manifested from the time of the establishment of the National Hungarian Fine Arts Society, was based on the recognition attributed to József Eötvös, according to which art was a power for the state to utilise. Analysing Eötvös’s art policy, Béla Lázár recalled how, in 1914 when visiting the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Eötvös realized that the arts had a feature “reinforcing the state”. This primarily meant that the state had to educate artists and the masses. The Kunsthalle, “the consecrated temple of the arts”, was built for the 1896 Millenary celebrations. A large exhibition encompassing the history of Hungarian painting opened presenting 1276 works by 267 Hungarian artists. Critics had their reservations. According to its curator, the exhibition was characterised by “high quality and a rich pluralism of styles”. Undoubtedly, visitors saw a varied compilation of artworks – and why could have anyone expected to see anything other than the selected works? What is the aim of this exhibition? To remember the history of an institution by presenting an era, celebrating an anniversary? “The era of Franz Joseph’s reign was a real golden age for the arts, including painting. Such works were created in the national schools of painting, which are outstanding in the era’s European art, even by international standards. The age was the star clock of Central European painting, which must be rediscovered from time to time,” writes the curator. Yes, the above characterised the era and its painting, as did many other things, too. For the Kunsthalle with its exhibition it was understandably to be presented. If an institution wants to pay respects to its own past, it cannot deny itself.

László Rajk

by Jankó Judit

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László Rajk is a Kossuth Prize-winning architect, a film production designer and a former member of the opposition who became an MP. He was involved in graphic art and designed covers for samizdat publications. We spoke about how his name was connected with Hungary's first Holocaust exhibition at the Budapest History Museum in 1994, and in 2004 the National Museum's permanent exhibition in the museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau, *The Citizen Betrayed: A Remembrance of Holocaust Victims from Hungary*. His works are characteristic and unmistakable, but he also stresses the importance of team work, trust and joint thinking. According to Rajk, politics and power usually permeate architecture. Many architects assert there is no political architecture, while for others it is always present. Politics and power are involved in the use of architecture, which has good and bad outcomes. You have to see who is uses it, and for what. The realisation through architecture of a political world view clearly shows the nature of a given political power, in fact it is also revealing in terms of who is providing the finance. When Rajk became an architect, architectural patronage was increasingly becoming the responsibility of local authorities, not only in the then socialist countries but everywhere in the world. Around the 1970s, imposing, image-creating buildings, which previously relied on private patronage, moved towards a different type of financing, when those in power realised that to a certain degree architecture could be their flagship of philosophical, ideological and political concepts, albeit indirectly. When he was involved in politics professionally, he realised quickly that architecture involved a bigger challenge than politics, so he returned to architecture, although the two are similar in many ways. In the 1970s Rajk studied architecture at McGill University in Canada. While there he became familiar with Russian Constructivism, a trend forgotten for many decades. In the 1970s in Hungary it had virtually no trace, while it was all the rage in Western Europe and North America. While still studying he became a stage designer by helping to create designs for friends and acquaintances at the College of Dramatic Arts, and later when they became directors in a theatre or film studio they again offered him work. He always wanted to avoid fields of architecture dominated by politics, therefore he became a set designer and for the same reason worked at Iparterv designing factories. In the 1970s the scholar Mór Korach returned from Italy to Hungary and when asked for his observations he replied that it was a country of naysayers. The first reaction to everything was "No", then the justification itself showed how smarter it was than the question. The maximum attainable in Hungary with a new approach is a pat on the back after the "No", and: "Don't bother my friend, go ahead."

“AMONG ART HISTORIANS I WAS A SOCIOLOGIST,
AMONG SOCIOLOGISTS AN ART HISTORIAN”

Katalin S. Nagy

by Emőke Gréczi

p. 215

IKatalin S. Nagy was open-minded about both manual and intellectual work. She undertook research in psychology and sociological surveys. She curated numerous exhibitions, wrote studies and finally chose teaching as her main career. Thanks to her openness, she was able to be effective as an outsider and to be accepted by hard-to-please professionals. In 1967 the Young Artists' Club organised a group visit to Moscow and Leningrad for artists, poets and writers, during which she met a young sculptor who suggested she get involved with the fine arts and visit various studios. Tibor Tóth, the head of the Rákosliget Friends of the Arts Circle, once said she should organise the next exhibition, displaying work by a young artist called Lili Ország. They went to visit her at home and the meeting decided her fate. She got work as an assistant editor for the Encyclopaedia of World Literature and that determined her future in that she finally chose a professional career. Through Lili Ország she quickly made contact with others in the arts world. She met Lajos Németh, who accepted her as a student and encouraged her to return to university. In 1974–75 she mainly organised unofficial exhibitions and visited artists and studios. She decided to become a teacher twice after seven years of research in different institutes, since the results were always the same. It was clear to her that as long as she made surveys in museums and with exhibitions she would always hear the same from the same narrow circle of people. Then she realised that she should visit homes and see what a painting meant to different people. In summer 1976 she finally became a sociologist. Among art historians she was a sociologist, among sociologists an art historian. She had a lot to thank for all her research, but she had had enough of it always becoming evident that Hungary was a feudal country, with no middle class in the western sense, that people lived an eclectic, troubled life with a mixed-up scale of values. Barely a whiff of modernity reached the majority. Meanwhile, she continued to teach the sociology of the arts, cultural sociology and visual communication at the Applied Arts College and the University of Economics. Then in 1987 she became a full-time teacher. She gained all the necessary papers to become a university lecturer, qualified, became a doctor of the Academy of Sciences and a head of department. With that she lost her uniqueness, though she considered herself a good teacher. Katalin S. Nagy was born in 1944 in the Nagykanizsa ghetto. She survived thanks to her mother's first husband and her father. Later she was baptised and confirmed, in line with her mother's wishes. Yet others made sure she would know about her Jewishness. She asked her grandfather what it meant to be Jewish. He answered it was a matter of decision. She thinks it should be like that, but it never will be.

Anna Perczel

by Ágnes Karácsony

p. 227

After graduating as an architect in 1967, Anna Perczel worked at the Budapest Urban Planning Institute up to 2002, then in the VÁTI Research and Listed Monuments Office. Since 1996 she has been involved with the architectural treasures of the Jewish quarter in Pest. In 2004 she was one of the founders of the ÓVÁS! Association. The contribution of Jews to the transformation of Budapest into a metropolis is well known. However, the latest research of ÓVÁS! – Who lived Here? Who Built It? – reveals, building by building, edifices (initially in the 6th and 7th districts) built by Jews and designed by Jewish architects. The project, headed by Anna Perczel, can be followed on a website. The latest results will be announced at an international conference in Budapest on 23 February. Officially the old Jewish quarter of Pest – as it features on UNESCO’s World Heritage List – covers the area of the Kazinczy, Rumbach and Dohány Street synagogues up to Klauzál Square. It doesn’t include the entire territory of the former ghetto. The Hungarian state pressed for Andrassy Avenue to be included in the Heritage List. When a thoroughfare or area is protected it always has a so-called protected zone. Thus the state also requested that the old Jewish quarter would be included. Since 2002 it has been protected on the basis of the World Heritage perspective – but not according to Hungarian laws. When ÓVÁS! was formed and it became clear what was happening, an approach was made to Kálmán Varga, head of the Office for Cultural Protection with the request that not individual buildings be protected, but the entire area. On the basis of Hungarian monument protection regulations, he declared the quarter as well as the entire protected zone to be of a listed nature. Two years later he was removed from office. When the association realised that the law and the protection were in vain and that demolition was underway, in 2005 a request was made to the World Heritage Committee to visit Budapest to see what was happening. UNESCO representatives last came in 2013. Widespread demolition in the quarter could begin since the district authority offered many buildings to investors with the assurance that they could be pulled down. The residents were moved out. Thanks to ÓVÁS!, demolition of many buildings could be halted. So-called ruin pubs have appeared in the empty buildings, bringing life back to the neighbourhood. However, it has all become pure business. When in 2013 the UNESCO delegation recognised that not only demolition but also all kinds of architectural activity were illegitimate, it suggested that as long as there was no district development plan, the Hungarian state should ban alterations, but that didn’t happen. There is no plan, nor is there anyone to prepare one, since there is no monument protection organisation. Anything can happen. Everything depends on chance.



I1888. augusztus 8. reggel 8 óra – ekkor nyitotta meg kapuját a Frankel Zsinagóga. Az immár 128 esztendőös imaházat bizonyára sok budapesti látta és látja most is akár nap mint nap, jó néhányan azonban valószínűleg nem is sejtik, milyen színes közösségi és kulturális élet zajlik a zsinagóga falai közt. Az MFB Magyar Fejlesztési Bank Zrt. által is támogatott Frankel Zsinagóga Alapítvány nemcsak az épület fenntartásáért felel, de hozzá tartozik a működtetés is: a zsinagógában folyó hitélet szervezése, annak folyamatos fejlesztése, azoknak a lehetőségeknek a bővítése, amelyek révén a zsidó kultúra megismerése lehetővé válik nemcsak a hívők, de a judaizmus iránt érdeklődők számára is. Az alapítvány fontos szerepet vállal a közösség építésében. Újságot adnak ki, összejöveteleket szerveznek, táboroztatnak. Segítenek az idősek ellátásában, a betegek ápolásában, a szociálisan rászorulókat támogatásában. Nagy hangsúlyt fektetnek a kicsik oktatására, hogy aki szeretné, vallásos nevelést biztosíthasson gyermekeinek.

¶ A hagyományok, értékek átadására, a zsidó ünnepek megismerésére született meg a „Zsidongó”, amely nem csupán ismeretterjesztő gyerekkönyveket jelent, hanem kreatív anyagokat, oktatási segédletet és mindent, amellyel a kisgyermekes családok számára elérhetőbbé, érthetőbbé válik a zsidó vallás, illetve a zsidó közösség működése. Több mint tíz éve működik a Frankel Baráti Kör, a tagok csütörtök esténként terített asztal mellett beszélgetnek, kártyáznak.

¶ Az alapítvány segítségével lehetőség nyílik kulturális programok szervezésére. Koncertezett már itt Bíró Eszter, Lukács Miklós és Szirtes Edina Mókus vagy éppen a bécsi főkantor, Shmuel Barzilai, mint ahogy az épület helyt adott a *Világszlágerek a zsinagógában* elnevezésű nemzetközi kántorkoncertnek is.

¶ Akik pedig szívesen ismerkednének a bérházak között megbúvó épület történetével, építészeti sajátosságaival és a több mint egy évszázadot felölelő működésének érdekességeivel, titkaival, részt vehetnek a *Láthatatlan zsinagóga* címet viselő bejáráson.

(x)

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