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Constructed Jewish Spaces. Exploring Traces in 19th Century Moldavia

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The theme and historiography of Jewish communities in Romania is a topic which has been widely researched, beginning with the 19th century¹ and, up until today, is still an ongoing inquiry.² Usually depicted by historians, the subject, however, lacks an architectural and urban overview of the phenomenon in terms of analyzing the relationship between Jewish constructed spaces and their developing urban context – the city. As an ongoing research, this paper does not intend to offer peremptory conclusions for the spatial layout of Jewish communities inside Romanian cities³, but merely explores a common ground and certain general traits which could have served Jewish communities in creating their local variations of constructed spaces.

Furthermore, we do not want to illustrate a representative portraiture of Jewish architecture or urban space, but simply convey a few spatial patterns which could be considered common when dealing with Jewish habitation, “a mosaic of possible Jewish and non-Jewish spatial practices, spatial debates and spatial constructions in various urban contexts”.⁴ The question of Jewish living typologies arises in contemporary research; Frederic Bedoire⁵ considers that one cannot demonstrate the existence of Jewish architecture, while Felix Heinert regards the intent to offer a typological overview upon Jewish urban space to be misleading⁶ and Rudolf Klein, however, considers the use of *templates* to be suitable in analyzing Jewish urban space and architecture.

In terms of similar research methodology, architect Rudolf Klein⁷ advocates for a more general approach in understanding Jewish space in Hungary — with an emphasis on synagogue architecture —, by suggesting the use of architectural and urban *templates* in defining the position of the synagogue inside the city and by relating it to its local urban context. His book, *Synagogues in Hungary 1782-1918*, presents a research matrix based on urban morphology and space syntax, without insisting on stylistic elements of art history or on the precise evolution of every local Jewish community; thus, he identifies main synagogue types, mapping their evolution and integration into the urban context of Hungarian cities. A similar research for Romanian Jewish habitats has not been tackled yet.

Seen as a constantly marginalized group throughout history, the living patterns of Jewish communities were the result of the overlapping of religious and civil laws, from inside the

1 Mainly by Romanian Jewish historians like Elias Schwarzfeld, Avram Meir Halevy a. o but also Romanian historians like Nicolae Iorga a. o.

2 Mihai - Răzvan Ungureanu, Andrei Oișteanu, Victor Neumann, Liviu Rotman, Anca Tudorancea Ciuciu, Felicia Waldman, Harry Kuller a. o.

3 The theoretical debate between historians, concerning the difference between *cities* (large urban centers) and *towns* (merchant towns, representing small settlements with the Romanian equivalent *târg*) is not yet solved. In order to avoid confusion, throughout the article the term *city* will describe big urban settlements and smaller settlements, as well.

4 Heinert, “Jews of This World – Historicizing Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context. Blueprint for a Historiographical Thesis”, in *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, ed. Alina Gromova et. al. (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015), 34.

5 Frederic Bedoire, trad. R. Tanner, *The Jewish contribution to modern architecture 1830-1930* (Jersey City: Ktav Publishing House, 2004), 507.

6 Heinert, “Jews of This World”, 34.

7 Rudolf Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary 1782-1918* (Budapest: TERC, 2011), 556-557.

community, or local and state, thereby raising many questions concerning the Jewish implication and contribution in the urban development of cities, and an increasing interest in researching them. Commonly accepted as a population living mostly in urban contexts,⁸ Jewish Diaspora⁹ living patterns (the Jewish ghetto, the Jewish quarter, the *shtetl*) show the complex relationship between time (history) and space (geography), thereby deconstructing the de-spatialized image of migration, usually depicted in pre-modern times.¹⁰

Following Andrei Oișteanu's idea that Jewish existence in Diaspora presumes the notion of *difference*¹¹ in defining Jewish space, this research will take into account the specific context in which the communities settled — the relationship between Jews and Gentiles and their specific, local manner of living. The Romanian Principalities have always been at the crossroads of socio-cultural, political and religious influences of different empires (Tsarist Russia, The Ottoman Empire, The Habsburg Empire), where the Sephardi (coming from Constantinople, Thessaloniki, etc.) and the Ashkenazi Jews (from Galitia) coexisted in the same geographical space, with separate community associations (*kehillah*), synagogues, ritual baths and cemeteries.¹² Although most historians consider that small Jewish communities have always inhabited the area, it was only until the beginning of the 19th century that the number of Jews started to increase exponentially, in both Wallachia and Moldavia, thus establishing a wide network of Jewish settlements. (Fig. 01) Moldavia, however, shows a more visible Jewish presence due to the attempt of the Moldavian nobility at inviting merchant communities to settle down in the Romanian principality at the beginning of the 19th century. The paper, therefore, tries to explore the notions of Jewish habitation and to establish a relationship with the local geographical context, by showing a few such manifestations in 19th century Moldavian cities. In this respect, the research will make use of a wide range of urban analysis instruments: firstly, the utmost necessary architectural and urban understanding of Jewish habitats in a broader, more general context, followed by a zoom in the Moldavian Jewish settlements by means of cartographic, toponymic, historical and geographical approaches, all combined to lead to a comprehensive urban analysis, for which to establish the proper spatial limits (from territorial to local scale) ensures the legibility of the phenomenon and improves the morphological reading.

Constructed spaces and Jewish heritage

Defining *Jewish urban space* is a key issue to be tackled in order to further understand Jewish living patterns inside the city. New approaches highlight the social perception of former Jewish living spaces in contemporary Europe — generally established as the *Jewish Quarter* or the *Jewish Ghetto* —, managing to create a stereotypical overview of *Jewish urban space*, but lacking an actual definition in terms of urban morphology or community framework. Overcharged with “Jewishness”, certain areas inside the city once inhabited by Jews become a *construct* of remembrance in contemporary Europe, a culturally romanticized and commercial product of current tourism for Jews and Non-Jews alike:

“On examining the special literature and research dealing with the cultural and architectural reconstruction of Jewish quarters, there seems to exist some kind of consensus about what the phrase ‘Jewish quarter’ covers. In texts advertising the tourist signs of certain cities and also in the narrative of debates on architectural and heritage protection issues, this phrase appears again and again. Sometimes it occurs in a historical dimension, sometimes it is associated with a *shtetl*-image, or in other cases it means the same as *ghetto*. Still, on comparing the various

8 Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Shtetl. New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 35.

9 A term which initially referred to the scattered settlements of Jews outside Palestine. Contemporary meaning has a broader understanding, implying the migration of people away from their homeland.

10 Felix Heinert, “Jews of This World”, 31-32.

11 Andrei Oișteanu, *Imaginea evreului în cultura română [The Jew's Image in Romanian Culture]* (Bucharest: Polirom, 2012), 12.

12 Andrei Oișteanu, „De ce sunt evreii din România altfel” [Why are Romanian Jews different], http://www.romlit.ro/de_ce_sunt_evreii_din_romnia_altfel (accessed April 11, 2017).

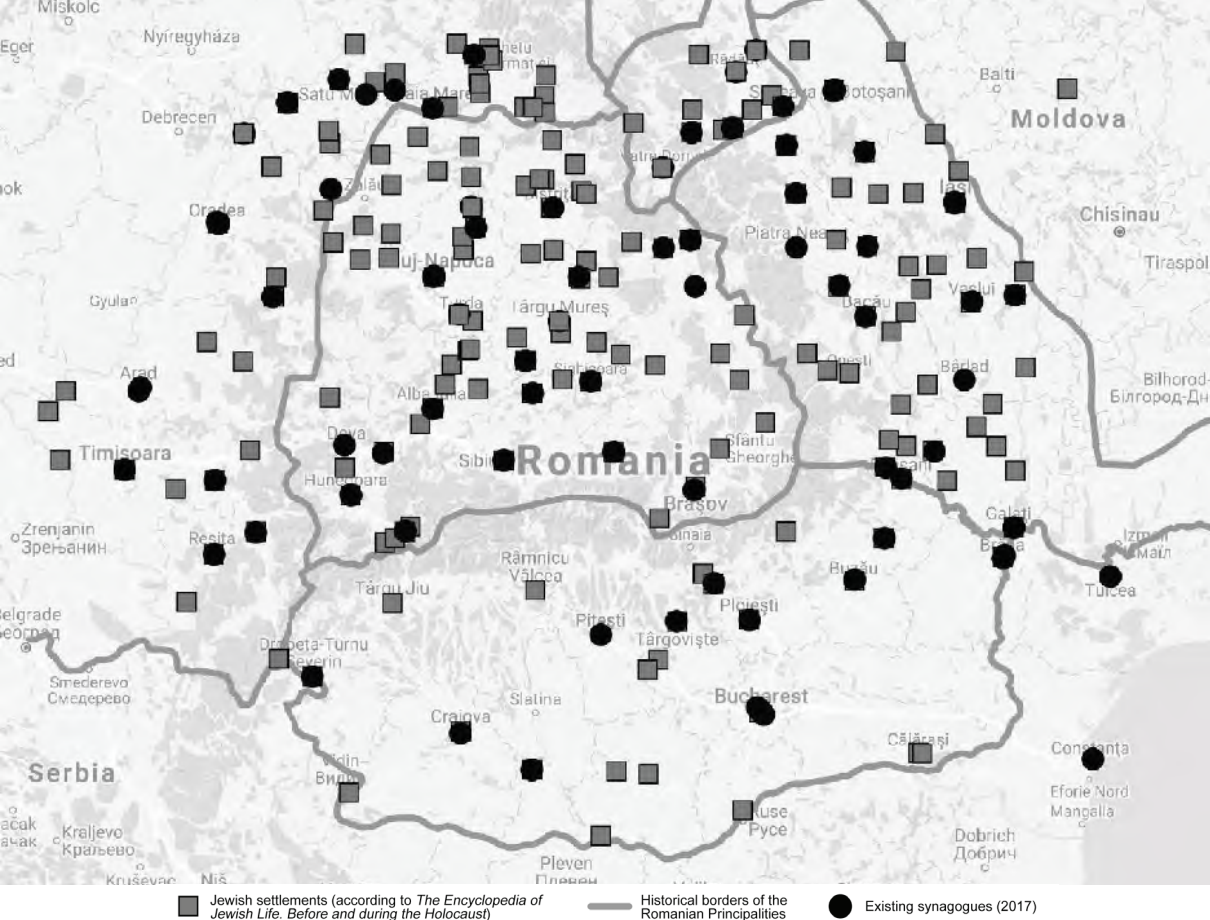


Fig. 01: Information gathered by the author. The criteria used in mapping Jewish settlements in modern day Romania are based on corroborating the presence of Jewish built heritage – synagogues, cemeteries -, the National Register of Historical Monuments in Romania (2015) and the list of Jewish towns in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life. Before and during the Holocaust*, vol I-III, Shumel Spector (ed.), (New York: New York University Press, 2001) Source map: Google Maps.

uses and interpretations of the phrase, there is certainly one common point: the ‘Jewish nature’, the Jewishness of the Jewish quarter is determined by the Jewish population (that used to exist or is presently existing), which is apparently different in appearance¹³.

The term *construct*¹⁴ is intended to display its two meanings: on the one hand a conceptual idea based on subjective interpretations and, on the other hand, a physically built object. Historian Eszter Gantner presents the contemporary Jewish quarter as an *urban tableaux*,¹⁵ underlining the importance of memory — mental (re)construction — and connecting it to the visibly built remains of Jewish living. The city thereby shows physically and mentally constructed spaces, standing between imaginary and physical grounds.¹⁶ However, the Jewish built heritage (housing, synagogues, *shuls*, ritual baths, cemeteries,¹⁷ etc.) sometimes remains the only visible trace in determining and mapping Jewish presence and community’s nucleus inside the city. Reading the city from another point of view, by highlighting the Jewish trace and its involvement in the development of the city’s urban form, could further reveal an image of specific urban configurations, determined by urban morphology and space syntax.

13 Eszter Gantner, “Jewish Quarters as Urban Tableaux”, in *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, ed. Alina Gromova et. al. (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015), 198.

14 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/construct> (accessed May 15, 2017)

15 Gantner, “Jewish Quarters as Urban Tableaux”, 205.

16 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

17 Gantner, “Jewish Quarters as Urban Tableaux”, 202.

Historically acknowledged Jewish living patterns. Resolving common confusions of concepts and terms

“It seems evident that processes of inclusion and exclusion have influenced Jewish and non-Jewish ‘identity politics’ in urban spaces in various epochs and areas. Furthermore, urban space itself can be understood only in relation to adjacent semi-urban and rural environments, which must be taken into account when dealing with the notion of urban space. Hence, space must be understood not just as a physical entity or territoriality, but as a concept constructed and shaped by the discourses surrounding it as well as by the human beings living in it. Spaces are not just physical and geographical, but also symbolical, mental and social — all aspects which must be analyzed in order to obtain a complete picture of the relevance of space in Jewish and non-Jewish experience”.¹⁸

Jews have always encompassed a community with a *different habitat* from the rest of the Gentile population¹⁹ — a micro-organism inside a developing urban configuration. Living in Diaspora has been defined by a dichotomic legislation; on the one hand by religious law – from within the community – and, on the other hand, by exterior laws of urban development, established by the host state or city legislation (Fig. 02):

Inside the community

Self-segregation/ protection of values

Nucleus – community life

Community/ religious law – community growth

Outside the community

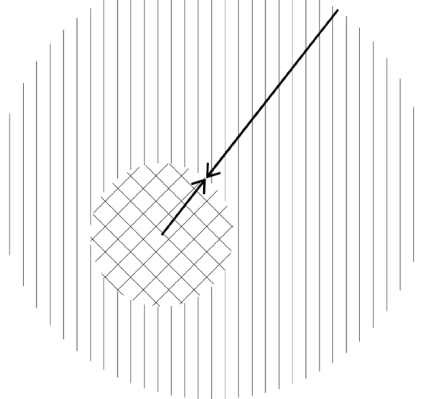
Segregation/ discrimination

Limit – the city

Civil law and urban development

Architect Leon Krier²⁰ links the development of quarters and their urban form to administrative legislation exercised on a specific geographical space. The Jewish living patterns become urbanistically distinctive when legislation, be it religious or civil, manifests itself more evidently, leading in times of strong political mandates to a visible delimitation (the walled ghetto), the organization of a distinct Jewish city quarter (with a nucleus defined by community buildings and diffuse, geometrical limits in relation to the rest of the city²¹, voluntarily inhabited by Jews), or even to the formation of majority Jewish settlements – the *shtetl*.

Fig. 02: Spatial manifestation of dichotomic legislation in an urban quarter: Jewish community laws vs. exterior legislation of urban development.



18 Alina Gromova, Felix Heinert and Sebastian Voigt (eds.), *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context* (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015): 13.

19 Gabriel Asandului, *Istoria evreilor (1866-1938) [The History of Jews (1866-1938)]*, (Iași: Institutul European, 2004), 26.

20 Leon Krier, “The City within the City”, *A+U*, Special Issue (Nov. 1977): 69-152.

21 Lewis Mumford, “The neighborhood and the neighborhood unit”, *The Town Planning Review* 24, 4 (Jan 1954): 256-270.

Inside the community

“Talmudic (or rabbinical) Judaism includes copious deliberations and regulations regarding the ways ordinary Jewish people could build and use space of habitation, work and worship anywhere. [...] Torah is to be humanity’s guide for all the practices, including building and dwelling.”²²

By extracting a few aspects of religious and community life, we intend to highlight certain spatial patterns which can be considered as defining the architectural and urban traits of Jewish spaces. Life of Diaspora Jews²³ is strongly determined by several written codes of law,²⁴ serving as models to be followed by the community in re-creating their specific habitat: by means of architectural and spatial separations, the *eruv* line (a delimitation between sacred and profane spaces) and through the presence of community gathering places, the synagogue.²⁵ Encyclopaedia Judaica defines the *eruv line* as a:

“term applied to various symbolical acts which facilitate the accomplishment of the otherwise forbidden acts on the Sabbath and festivals. The literal meaning of *eruv* is ‘mixing’ and it probably connotes the insertion of the forbidden into the sphere of the permissible. Thus, though it is forbidden [...] to walk further than 2000 cubits from one’s town on the Sabbath or festivals, one may ‘mix’ the forbidden and the permitted areas by establishing an *eruv tehumim* (boundary *eruv*). [...] To facilitate such carrying, a loaf of bread (called *eruv hazerot*) owned by all the residents is placed in one of the houses, thereby symbolically creating mutual ownership of all the dwellings. The houses and courtyard are thereby ‘mixed’ together into one private domain. [...] To ‘mix’ private and public domains in order that an individual may carry from one to the other or within the latter, an *eruv* is erected around a given settled district. [...] The accepted practice among Jewish communities for generations has been to erect such an *eruv* by connecting poles (of the required height) with iron wires.”²⁶

By imagining or building a boundary inside the city and around the Jewish community, the *limit* — and any enclosure could have functioned as an *eruv*, the limit of a courtyard or even the ghetto wall²⁷ — becomes the community’s spatial boundary between the sacred space aimed for celebration, which is the urban *nucleus* of the Jewish district, and the exterior space of the city, where Jewish socio-religious laws do not apply. The extension of private space, from the unity of the dwelling into the public space of the city, is an important feature of Jewish communities in Diaspora, which requires not only a physical neighborhood, but also a particular social, political and cultural framework. Furthermore, the synagogue has an important religious and social role, becoming the most vital center for the coagulation of the Jewish community and being the element which defines the urban *nucleus* inside Jewish urban space. Its multifunctional character is determined by a few other denominations, like *bet ha-tefila* (prayer houses), *bet ha-kneset* (assembly houses) and *bet ha-midrash* (study houses) and even *shul* (the Yiddish word for school). During the 18th-20th centuries, the architectural program of the synagogue began to develop by grouping annexed buildings with ritual, cultural, philanthropic and even lucrative

22 Mitchell Schwarzer, “The Architecture of the Talmud”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, 4 (2001): 474-476.

23 *Ibid.*, 475, “In this sense, it is fair to say that the Talmud reconstituted the Temple’s elevated walls and sanctuary as a series of temporal cutouts; holiness no longer lay in a single pivotal place but was carved into the rhythms of daily life.”

24 The Talmud is the first written code of laws for Diaspora Jews intended to regulate Jewish living outside of Jerusalem, replacing the Lost Temple, reconsidering many of its boundaries through rules and laws. Jewish religion has an architectural and spatial perspective. The Talmud encompasses specifications on building materials, construction techniques and spatial typologies which clearly delimit sacred spaces from profane spaces in the urban realm (e.g. Sukkah).

25 Schwarzer, “The Architecture of the Talmud”, 475.

26 Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Second Edition*, vol. 6 (Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 484.

27 Dan-Ionuț Julean and Dana Pop, “The Monument: From Real to Virtual Space. A case study of Jewish Heritage”, *Acta Technica Napocensis: Civil Engineering & Architecture* 58, 4 (2015): 156-163.

functions, thereby generating a complex ensemble which could also provide financial support for community life.²⁸ During the 19th century, along with the Jewish emancipation movement, a new name is being used for defining the newly built places of worship – the *temple*.²⁹

Outside the community and inside the city

The history of Jews in Europe is limited to a continuous geographical movement, constantly depending on the legislation of the states in which they migrate and settle. European historiography outlines two major spaces for Jewish Diaspora: the formation of two large Jewish families in Europe: the Ashkenazi³⁰ and the Sephardi.³¹ Tendencies of segregation regarding these communities developed differently throughout history, depending primarily on geography, specific urban fabric types and local politics, thereby resulting in multiple forms and patterns of Jewish living, within and outside the cities. The *Jewish ghetto*, the *Jewish quarter* or the *Jewish street* constitute such patterns of living inside the cities. Jewish community life, the necessity of maintaining prayer quorum and the need for providing mutual assistance to the community are all elements combined to make Jews concentrate in a particular street or neighborhood in Diaspora. At times, depending on local contexts, non-Jews also lived in the Jewish district, while Jews also lived outside it.

Furthermore, one should make a difference between the *Jewish ghetto* and the *Jewish quarter*, distinct in terms of freedom and rights enjoyed by the Jews within a city or territory. Encyclopaedia Judaica defines the *ghetto* as “an urban section serving as compulsory residential quarter for Jews”.³² Usually enclosed by a strong limit or a wall from the rest of the city, the ghetto limit represents the mark of segregation laws coming from outside the Jewish community. However, Jews often received privileges and had the opportunity to settle in certain cities where they could constitute voluntary Jewish neighborhoods — *quarters* described as “the existence of separate Jewish streets or quarters originated in the voluntary preference of the Jewish community to live in a way that would enable it to keep to its laws and customs”.³³ Legislative freedom contributed to the formation of diffuse Jewish urban centers, constituting places with an intense concentration of economic activities and with a strong presence of religious, cultural and educational functions (synagogues, *mykveh*, *yeshiva*, cemetery).³⁴ However, because of its *diffuse urban limit*, the Jewish quarter would sometimes involve difficulties in its being read and mapped as an urban micro-organism inside the city.

The purchase of real estate being forbidden to Jews, the community was organized in communal organizations in order to pay together their specific accommodation taxes to the city. However, the circumscription of a developing community in a restricted space — be it the ghetto wall or the urban development of the surrounding city — led to over-agglomeration, whereas housing became spatially limited. The lack of private space was compensated by the public, external space which was perceived as a place belonging to the entire community.³⁵ Both the *Jewish ghetto* and the *Jewish quarter* were economically and commercially integrated³⁶ into the city. The toponymy of Jewish streets in various European cities feature areas or street names such as Lat. *Judaeorum*, Sp. *Juderia*, Fr. *Juiverie*, It. *Giudecca*, Eng. *Jewry*, Ger. *Judengasse*, Pol. *Ulica Żydowska*, etc., usually having a central role and urban position in the city or even coinciding with the main commercial street.³⁷

28 Dan-Ionuț Julean, *Spațiul iudaic, un spațiu al comunității* [The Judaic Space, a Space Belonging to the Community], (Bucharest: Paideia, 2016), 44.

29 Jewish reformers considered that the emancipated Jewish citizen could no longer hope for the restoration of Jerusalem and of the Jerusalem temple.

30 *Ashkenazi* is a Hebrew word for “German”.

31 *Sephardi* is a Hebrew word for “Spanish”.

32 Skolnik and Berenbaum (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, 310-313.

33 *Ibid.*, vol. 7, 574-575.

34 Julean, *Spațiul iudaic*, 67.

35 Graham Holderness, *Shakespeare and Venice*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 43.

36 *Ibid.*, 44-45.

37 Skolnik and Berenbaum (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 7, 574-575.

Between rural and urban settlement — the *shtetl*. An urban settlement with a rural context

“For outsiders as well as later in the eyes of its descendants, the small town’s culture as well as its external appearance, language, manners, and life-style, became associated with what might be called *Yiddishkeit*, a form of authentic Jewishness as it was shaped in the economically and culturally backward parts of the Slavic lands. It was a Jewish culture that incorporated many local elements. The large number of shtetls, as well as their density created a unique Jewish space ...”.³⁸

Throughout the 16th century, Jewish communities (as well as Germans, Armenians, etc.³⁹) from Western Europe, with commercial and artisan expertise, were invited by nobility — by settling *in arenda*⁴⁰ — in the vicinity of Polish-Lithuanian cities, in order to develop economic and commercial relations with the local cities and the rest of Europe. As they had no right to settle in existing Polish-Lithuanian cities, many Jewish communities raised a great number of settlements on the outskirts — the so-called *shtetl* (Yiddish for market town) or *shtot* (Yiddish for city). It has to be said in this respect that Margaret Mead⁴¹ considers that the notion of *shtetl* is not related to geography or space, but rather to a social structure, which is defined from within the community by origin, language and religion, lives according to specific laws, and delimitates itself from the non-Jewish environment displaced in the same geographical space. Contrary to general knowledge, the *shtetl* was not always made up of a totally homogenous Jewish community, but there were other ethnic groups of artisans and craftsmen as well.

“The spatial relationship between the various ethnic and religious groups was conceptually one of separation but the reality of land ownership and development practices resulted in considerable overlapping between groups, including the Jewish community. These overlapping of boundaries are perhaps surprising to those familiar with the strict segregation of Jewish communities in the walled ghettos of medieval Europe, but there were no walled ghettos in the small-towns of Eastern Europe”.⁴²

Jewish communities kept contact with the European cities they would come from (e.g. Leipzig), thereby connecting the small, new settlements to European commercial routes. Economically and geographically, the *shtetl* would remain on the border between rural and urban,⁴³ with its developed trade standing in contrast to the regional economies of a small settlement.⁴⁴ However, the *shtetl* is more similar in terms of urban morphology and space syntax – considering spatial relationships between stores, dwellings, synagogue and the public space of the Jewish street – with an urban district belonging to a city (the *Jewish quarter*), but placed in a rural background.⁴⁵

According to architectural historian Thomas Hubka,⁴⁶ 18th and 19th century Jewish settlements in Poland-Lithuania present certain distinctive urban patterns. When settling in small cities, Jews would either „cluster themselves into loosely organized districts surrounding a town’s major market square”,⁴⁷ adjacent to the city’s defensive wall or to a source of water, because of the

38 Ben Cion Pinchuk, “Jewish Discourse and the Shtetl”, *Jewish History* 15, 2 (2001), 170.

39 Thomas Hubka, “The Shtetl in Context: The Spatial and Social Organization of Jewish Communities from the Small Towns of 18th Century Poland”, <http://fordham.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1021&context=emw> (accessed 1 April 2017).

40 The leasing of land.

41 Margaret Mead, “Introduction”, in *Life is the People: The Culture of the Shtetl*, Mark Zborowski and Elisabeth Herzog (New York: Schocken Books, 1995): 25.

42 Hubka, “The Shtetl in context”.

43 Yohana Petrovsky, *The Golden Age of Shtetl. A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 243.

44 Over time, nobility and town owners would entrust Jews with significant positions for the *shtetl* – tavern keeping, tax collection or land management.

45 S.T. Katz (ed.), Gershon David Hundert, *The Shtetl. New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 35.

46 Hubka, “The Shtetl in Context”.

47 *Ibid.*



Fig. 03: Marc Chagall's painting "House in Liozna" (1908) shows an image of a typical shtetl store and household.

need for fresh water for the ritual bath (*mykveh*). Concerning the urban morphology of Jewish settlements, site and building configuration was tightly packed — due to restrictions of land ownership and rules of tenancy — and displayed a traditionally built fabric alignment. The Jewish district, with stores, dwellings and synagogue was situated close to the city's main square or the main road; it usually encompassed a market/ courtyard, or was displaced along a secondary street of the city, generally named the *Jewish street*.

Along with the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1815) and the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), *shtetl* communities were divided according to geopolitical territories and developed separately (e.g. Galicia, Bohemia, Austria-Hungary, Bukovina, etc.). During the 19th century, anti-Jewish persecutions and economic limitations undermine *shtetl* lifestyle, becoming increasingly unadjusted for the life of younger generations.⁴⁸ *Shtetl*-born Jewish artists would later offer a glimpse of what once constituted *shtetl* architecture at the end of the 19th century (Fig. 03).

Constructed spaces and Jewish heritage in Moldavia

From the beginning of Jewish settlement in Moldavian cities and even during their historical evolution throughout the 19th and early 20th century, spatial segregation and the institution of a built limit around areas inhabited by Jews have never been an issue or a desire. That is why, although exhibiting numerous Jewish nuclei, as well as their diffuse spread in the urban structure, it is quite difficult to map the extent of the Jewish urban presence in Moldavian cities and *târguri*⁴⁹ (whose development is difficult to read in itself). In some cases, urban systematization carried out in the 20th century leaves us with urban voids in areas once inhabited by these communities, making it impossible to delineate the past configuration of the diffuse Jewish habitat. Current remains of built heritage, no more occupied by living Jewish communities, encompass synagogues, temples, sometimes even housing fronts along important streets, schools and cemeteries; they remain the only visible trace to help us in establishing former Jewish presence and the community's former nucleus.

48 Skolnik and Berenbaum, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 18, 524-525.

49 Small settlements in the Romanian Principalities, usually developing trade; market towns.

Sadly ironical, a useful tool in mapping former Jewish presence in Moldavian cities is provided by the cartographic and historical archives left from the 1940's, when Romania's political mandate intended to establish a segregation of Jewish living districts. On March 23rd 1941, the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided through Order no. 1813 that Romanian authorities should submit projects for the delimitation of urban quarters designated for exclusive Jewish housing for most urban and rural centers with Jewish population, thereby laying the grounds for spatial segregation and the creation of ghettos in Romanian cities. The proposals for establishing "Jewish quarters"⁵⁰ usually covered areas with existing Jewish constructions (synagogues, temples etc.), as well as areas densely populated with Jewish families recorded in the period census; in what concerned the Gentiles living in these quarters, they were proposed to be evacuated and replaced by Jews from the neighboring villages.⁵¹

For example, the Prut district prefecture issued a response to the Ministry's order (no. 687/ April, 10th 1941, signed by prefect Col. D. Captaru), including plans with the delineation of Jewish ghettos in the city of Iași⁵² and the nearby rural settlement of Podul Iloaiei.⁵³ The areas circumscribed for exclusive Jewish living were sectors with high density of Jewish population. However, the authors of the document considered the area determined to house Iași's Jewish community "quite insidious",⁵⁴ and that it needed further analysis and study in order to fully establish a well determined Jewish ghetto inside the city. (Fig. 04, 05)



Fig. 04: Proposal for delimitating a Jewish quarter in the city of Iași (1941).

50 The authors of the documents incorrectly used the term *Jewish quarter* (instead of Jewish ghetto) for describing the segregated areas, designated for exclusive Jewish living.

51 National Archives of Romania, fond *Oficiul de documentare și studii administrative 1933-1949* [Office for documentation and administrative studies 1933-1949], file 67/1941, vol. 2.

52 At the time, 51.200 Jews were documented in Iași. The city's overall population was determined at 105.000 inhabitants.

53 At the time, 1.550 Jews were documented in Podul Iloaiei. The city's overall population was determined at 10.600 inhabitants.

54 National Archives of Romania, fond *Oficiul de documentare și studii administrative 1933-1949*, file 67/1941, vol. 2.



Fig. 05: Proposal for delimitating a Jewish quarter in the town of Podul Iloaiei (1941).

Similarly, the prefect of the Putna district reacted to the Ministry's order by submitting two possible delimitations of the Jewish ghetto in Odobești:⁵⁵ the first response (May 4th, 1941) proposed the Jewish ghetto on a cleared land near the Viticulture School in Odobești, whereas the second proposal (May 30th, 1941) positioned the ghetto in the south peripheral part of the city (between Sergent Ioniță Street and the Milcov River bed), intending to replace the Jewish population living in the center with non-Jewish inhabitants from the periphery of Odobești.

Exploring traces in 19th century Moldavia

According to historical commercial acts, we find Jewish communities trading products between Byzantium (Constantinople), Russia and Poland, and crossing the Romanian Principalities ever since the Middle Ages. Jewish historian M.E. Halevy places the beginning of important Jewish trade in the area in the middle of the 16th century. During the 18th century, the area was already well connected to Europe's trading network; two commercial roads were linking Wallachia to Constantinople passing through Bosnia and Bulgaria, and Moldavia to Galicia, Silesia, Moravia and Brandenburg.⁵⁶ Nicolae Iorga points to a late 18th century massive migration of Galician

⁵⁵ At the time, 176 Jewish families / 400 Jewish inhabitants were documented in Odobești.

⁵⁶ Peter Mathias and Michael M. Postan (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, Vol. V: The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 217, "The East European routes were connected to the Polish compartment's link with Moldavia and Wallachia and to the Siebengebirge. Such commercial centres as Warsaw, Crakow,

Jews into the Romanian Principalities (a geographical space with few anti-Jewish laws) due to pogroms and worsening living conditions. They settled especially in Moldavia, having an important role in the commercial transit on the Moldavian road, between the Ottoman Empire and Poland, exporting cattle, raw skins, wax, wine, and importing foreign currency and textiles.⁵⁷ During the 18th and 19th centuries, Moldavian nobility followed the same pattern as the Polish aristocracy and invited — by royal charters (*brisov domnesc*) — Jewish communities to settle in the Moldavian Principality. Privileges granted by landlords favored the multiplication of Jewish settlements in existing Moldavian cities, and also the establishment of new trading towns, the so-called *târguri*.

During the Phanariot ruling (1711-1821), the Jewish communities benefited from auspicious legislation, enjoying cultural and religious freedom and total autonomy.⁵⁸ The leaders of the community, the *habambașa* and the *staroste*,⁵⁹ were confirmed by the ruling prince and enjoyed prerogatives and privileges, focusing on tax collection (*gabela*) from the “Jewish guild” and supervising the entire community. The “Jewish guild” — *bresla jidovească* — functioned in Moldavia according to a strict social structure, being responsible for organizing the members’ spiritual and economic life and having a political role as well; thus, the guild was the legal representative of the Jewish population. Due to successive immigrations, the growing Jewish population further generated specialized professional associations according to their crafts — guilds in the usual sense of the term. The communities (*kehillah*) enjoyed the right to build synagogues, schools, ritual baths and that of the ritual slaughtering of animals. However, certain anti-Jewish measures did exist; Jews could not own land and were only allowed to settle *in arenda*, being mostly prohibited from living in villages.

The beginning of the 19th century brings about political changes, influencing Jewish settlements in the Romanian Principalities, most of all in Moldavia. The annexation of Bessarabia (1812) to Tsarist Russia and the strong Russian legislation against Jews, the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1817) and the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), leading to a strong Russian political influence over the Romanian Principalities, resulted in the establishment of a series of written legislation codes dealing with regulations concerning foreign and Jewish settlers in the Romanian Principalities. In Moldavia, the Callimachi Code (1817) gave Jews the right to buy houses and shops inside the cities, however forbade the purchase of any property in the countryside. At this point, the Jewish population could have been divided in three groups: the native Jews (*pământeni*), living in the territory before the 18th century, the Jews settled by royal charter (*brisov domnesc*) and the foreign Jews (*sudiți*), subject to foreign protection.

Russian influence and tendencies of Jewish discrimination can be noticed in the Organic Regulations (*Regulamentele Organice*), semi-constitutional codes of law enforced in Wallachia in 1831 and in Moldavia in 1832, which contained a series of restrictive and discriminatory dispositions against Jews, such as: non-Christians could not benefit from civil and political rights, vagabond Jews were expelled and the *habambașa* institution and the Jewish guild were abolished, moving the economic and political organization of the Jewish community directly under Principality supervision. These changes catalyzed the apparition of multiple Jewish religious communities, organized in each city, spiritually guided by the local rabbi. Despite restrictive measures taken against Jews, their number increased throughout the 19th century, especially after the Treaty of Adrianople, when Western capital would penetrate the Romanian Principalities and

Lemberg (Lwow) and Czernowitz were situated along these lines. Furthermore, a network of routes ran westwards from the Polish ‘compartment’; one of the most important of them, the celebrated *Hohe Landstrasse*, led via Silesia and Saxony to Thuringia, passing through Leipzig, Breslau (Wrocław) in Silesia was a nodal point of two diagonals. The old *Bernsteinstrasse* from the south to the Baltic here met the route running from Flanders via Liegnitz, Breslau and Crakow to Lemberg and Kiev and on to the Black Sea.”

57 Jean Louis Carra, trad. Veronica-Loredana Grecu, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești* [The History of Moldavia and Wallachia] (Iași: Institutul European, 2011), 91-95.

58 Aristide Streja and Lucian Schwarz, *Sinagoga în România* [The Synagogue in Romania] (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2015), 26.

59 Jewish religious and administrative institution established in Moldavia by royal charter. The *habambașa* had its administrative seat in Iași and its influence would cover Moldavia and Wallachia as well.

Ottoman commercial monopoly would cease.⁶⁰ Prince Mihail Sturdza leads a policy of attracting Jews from the neighboring states, thereby greatly expanding their number in Moldavia – from 12,000 (in 1803) to 130,000 Jews (in 1859).⁶¹

Jewish communities played an important role in the (re)settlement of Moldavian cities and establishing *târguri* and *târğușoare*⁶². These *târguri* were in many senses the equivalent of the *shtetl* and the *shtot*, and a great deal of settlements with Jewish inhabitants display toponymic terms like *târg* (Târgul Cucului, Târgul Neamț, Târgul Frumos, etc.). Some others use the toponymic term of *pod* (meaning bridge, such as, Podul Iloaiei, Podul Turcului, etc.), since many Jewish settlements occupied areas in the vicinity of water streams crossings or road intersections.⁶³ In order to further avoid confusion, because of similar spatial relationship to surrounding contexts, Jewish living patterns in Moldavia will be further described as *Jewish quarters*, as they had no built limit to segregate the area from the rest of the settlement, be it urban or rural.

The capital of Moldavia, Iași, a city dating from the mid-14th century, displayed the biggest Jewish community throughout the Romanian Principalities.⁶⁴ The city's geographical position on the slopes of seven hills influenced its entire urban structure. Being the permanent or temporary residence of Moldovan Ruling Princes, with its Princely Court (*curtea domnească*), the city of Iași went through a long urbanization process since the mid-14th century; in the 15th century, the city became a major artisanal, commercial and economic center. The urban nucleus of the city was located on the southern terrace of the Bahlui River, at the intersection of two commercial roads.⁶⁵ Exterior trade was an important activity in the Moldavian capital, hosting markets connected to the main commercial routes of Europe, while local trade was covered by the nearby *târguri* — Podul Iloaiei and Târgul Frumos. The Princely Court generated a process of urbanization in the area, constituting, along with certain streets (such as, *Ulița Mare*, *Ulița Nouă*/*Ulița Golia-Rezovia* and *Ulița de Jos*/*Ulița Consulatului Ruses*⁶⁶) Iași's medieval urban nucleus. Around this area, a number of different areas or small settlements (*târguri* and *târğușoare*) would develop, which would later merge into a single urban center, due to population growth and urban development. Between the 16th and 17th centuries, once it became the Moldavian capital, Iași increased its urban territory and became the largest city in Moldavia.⁶⁷ (Fig. 06)

Beginning with the 16th century, the Jewish community had already built a synagogue and a cemetery in the area known as *Târgul Cucului*, known for its Jewish population living on *Apeduc*, *Ornescu*, *Cucului* or *Synagogue* streets.⁶⁸ Different ethnic groups settled in Iași, defining their own neighborhoods, as in other medieval cities of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, with urban dimensions depending on the community's scale and wealth. *Mahala*⁶⁹ or *uliță*⁷⁰ were the local terms used to designate such neighborhoods: *mabalaua armenească* (Armenian quarter), *mabalaua*

60 Cătălin Ion, "Tratatul de la Adrianopol, un prim pas spre independență" [The Treaty of Adrianople, a first step towards independence], https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/actualitate/articol/tratatul-de-la-adrianopol-un-prim-pas-spre-independenta#_ftn2 (accessed April 20, 2017).

61 Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)* [Between East and West. Romanian Countries at the Beginning of the Modern Age (1800-1848)] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2006), 55-56.

62 Diminutive form of *târg*.

63 Elias Schwarzfeld, *Din istoria evreilor. Împopularea, reîmpopularea și întemeierea târgurilor și a târğușoarelor din Moldova* [From the History of Jews. Populating, Repopulating and Setting up Towns in Moldavia] (Bucharest: Editura Evreilor Pământeni, 1914), 45.

64 Streja and Schwarz, *Sinagoga în România*, 26.

65 Andreea Grigorovschi and Mircea Grigorovschi, "Moldova/ Piețele publice ieșene factor structurant al spațiului urban" [Moldavia/ Public markets as structural factor of the urban space], <http://arhitectura-1906.ro/2012/10/pietele-publice-ieșene-factor-structurant-al-spatiului-urban/> (accessed April 25, 2017).

66 Slavic word for street or road.

67 Ibid.

68 Nicolae Andriescu Bogdan, *Orașul Iași, Monografie istorică și socială, ilustrată* [The City of Iași, Illustrated Historical and Social Monograph], ed. a II-a (Iași: Tehnopress, 1913-1915), 83.

69 Balkan word for city quarter / neighborhood, on the outskirts of the city's center.

70 Slavic word for street or road.

*jidovească*⁷¹ (Jewish quarter), etc. or *ulița unjurească* (Hungarian Street), *ulița nemțească* (German Street), etc. The Jewish quarter and its guilds (*breșla jidovească*⁷²) would develop over time, maintaining *Târgul Cucului* and The Big Synagogue⁷³ as focal point, but also using Iași's main streets as trade outlets.

Throughout the 19th century, with Iași's further urban development and population growth, Jewish urban presence becomes more diffuse and extends into the territory of the entire city by building synagogues, schools and even an Israeli hospital (1827). An interesting information about the city's Jewish customs is captured by two Scottish travelers⁷⁴ in 1839. During their visit in Iași, around the festivities of Yom Kippur, they learn that the city had around 200 synagogues, contained in a compact Jewish neighborhood. They also observe the existence and the use of the *eruv* line, meant to create a delimitation for the Jewish quarter during holiday and to recreate the imaginary Jerusalem wall.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the *eruv*'s spatial and geographical position inside the city of Iași is not mentioned.

Another element of toponymy which traces Jewish presence in Iași and which is also related to the necessity of water in the vicinity of the Jewish residence — for the ritual bath (*mykveh*) — is visible in the plan showing Iași's ghetto borders in 1941, overlaid on a 1936 – 1938 map of the city. In the Western part of Iași, along the course of the Bahlui River, the map shows a marking with *Israel pond* (*Iazul lui Israel în vechime Beldiman*).

In terms of delimitation and laws of segregation concerning Iași's Jewish quarter, a petition was addressed in 1847 to Prince Mihail Sturdza, complaining about the agglomeration of Jewish stores throughout the city center. This brought about one of the first spatial segregation measures of Iași's Jewish community: a ban on owning or renting dwellings or shops on the main streets of Iași (*Ulița Mare, Ulița Academiei, Ulița Consulatului Rusc, Ulița Curții Domnești, Ulița Teatrului, Ulița Golia-Rezovia*), which was eventually not applied.⁷⁶ City officials intended to carry out a general survey of shops and dwellings on the aforementioned streets and mark the buildings with information about ownership and physical status. Jewish owners were not allowed to use their properties and they would be forced to rent their buildings to the Christian population.

Along with the urban development during the 19th and 20th centuries comes the establishment of new and diverse Jewish nuclei, spread across the entire Moldavian capital. Although historical, cartographic, toponymic and archival studies offer the possibility of vaguely mapping the medieval nucleus of the Jewish quarter, the attempt of actually delimitating the urban evolution of the Jewish quarter in Iași is almost impossible, largely due to the diffuse disposition of Jewish habitat inside the entire area of the city. However, we can state that the attempt to delineate an area designated to function as a Jewish ghetto in 1941, although argued as being established in the most densely populated Jewish area, does not coincide with the historical Jewish nucleus and, thereby, does not encompass the oldest buildings belonging to the community. (Fig. 07)

Another smaller community of Jewish settlers, Podul Iloaiei, was founded through several royal charters (1810, 1818, 1823-1839), by unifying a number of estates belonging to different landlords: Totoești estate (hetman Constantin Palade), Scobântenii estate (steward Șarban Negel),

71 Jewish, word originating from the Slavic "zhidovin".

72 Bogdan, *Orașul Iași, Monografie*, 347.

73 Built in 1670-1671, the Big Synagogue is currently the oldest synagogue in Romania.

74 In 1839, two Scottish travelers from Edinburgh - Andrew A. Bonar and Robert M'Cheyne -, affiliated to the *Church of Scotland* and *The Glasgow Society of Promoting Christianity Among the Jews*, visited the Romanian Principalities in search of susceptible communities for conversion. During their visit, they also pass through Bucharest and Iași.

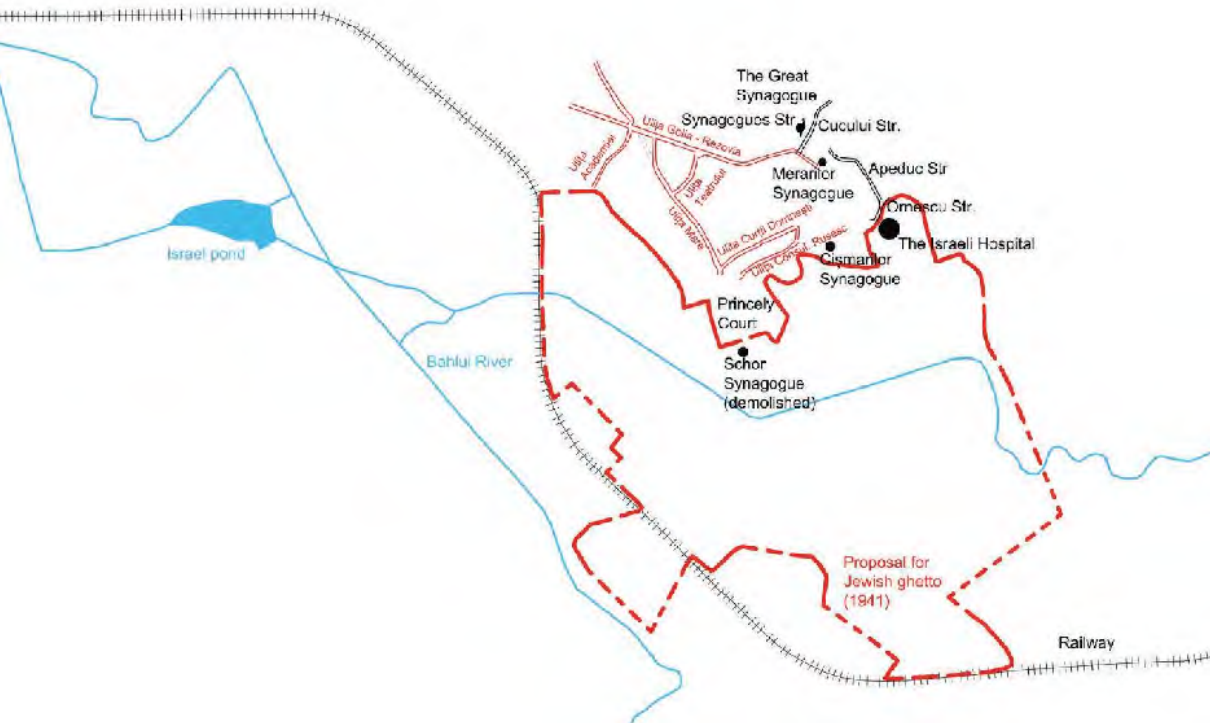
75 Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, *Convertire și integrare religioasă în Moldova la începutul epocii moderne [Conversion and Religious Integration in Moldavia at the Beginning of the Modern Period]*, (Iași: „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Press, 2004), 266.

76 Elias Schwarzfeld, "Evreii din Moldova sub Regulamentul Organic" [Jews in Moldavia under the Organic Regulation], *Evreii din România în texte istoriografice. Antologie [The Jews of Romania in Historiographical Texts. Anthology]*, Lya Benjamin (ed.), (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2004), 125-160.



Fig. 06: Historical map showing the urban tissue of the city of Iași (1908).

Fig. 07: Plan showing built markers and urban spatial syntax of Jewish habitation in Iași.



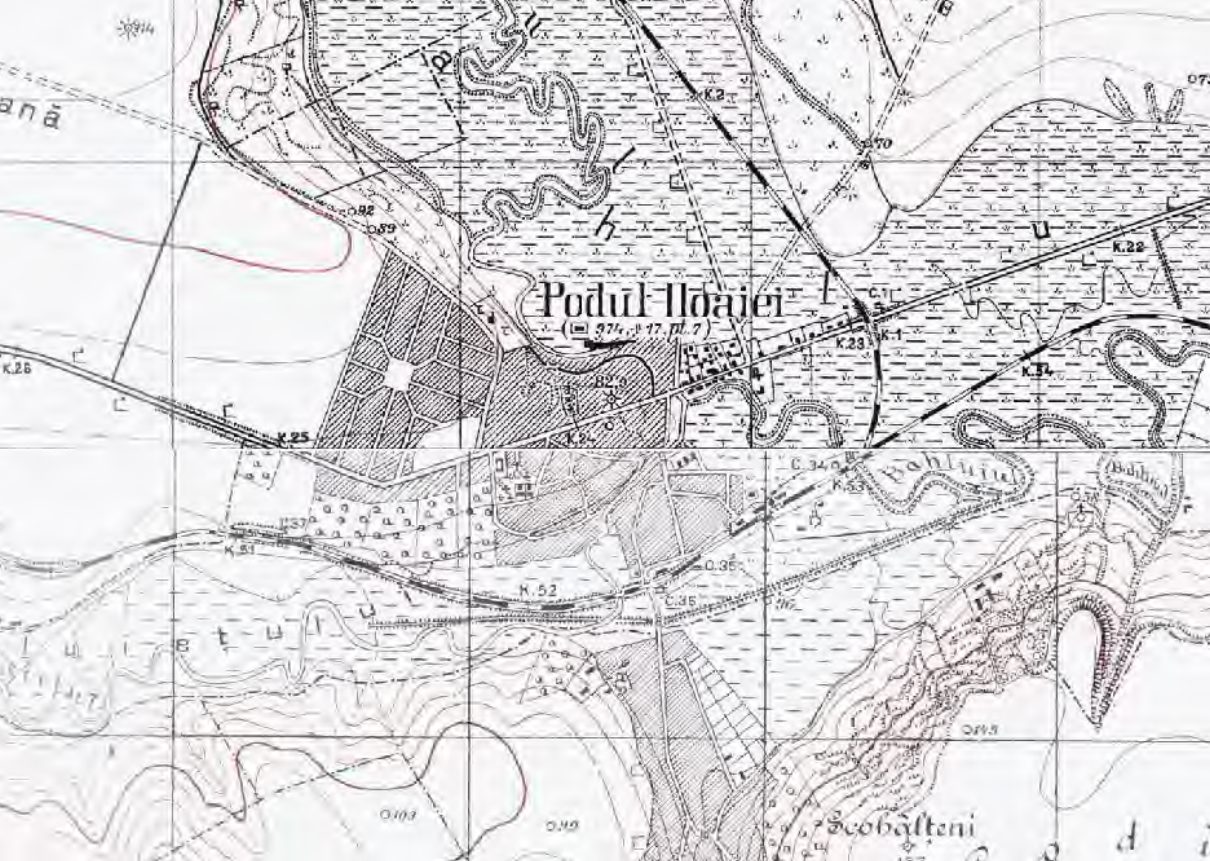
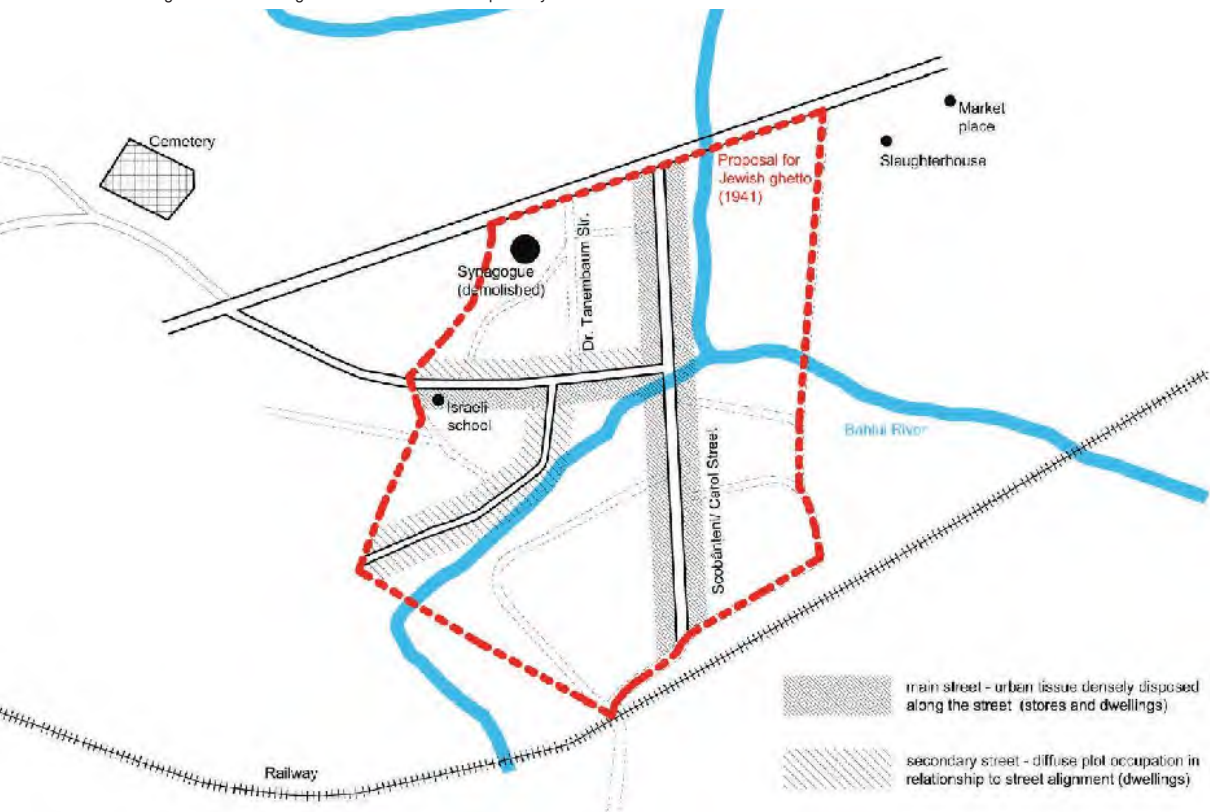


Fig. 08: Historical map showing the urban tissue of the town of Podul Iloaiei.

Fig. 09: Plan showing built markers and urban spatial syntax of Jewish habitation in Podul Iloaiei.



etc. As a response to the conditions imposed by the landlords (charging taxes for selling alcohol, cattle, etc.), the Jewish community which would populate the new *târg* signed on June 17th, 1824 a convention⁷⁷ expressing certain building requirements which would establish the specific urban morphology of Podul Iloaiei — common for other cities with Jewish quarters in Moldavia, as well. (Fig. 08)

Similar to modern-day urban regulations in terms of methodology, the Jewish community of Podul Iloaiei expresses clear urban requirements before settling:⁷⁸

Store and household	Lot	Declared intent to build rows of houses towards the street; Fixed annual tax per stângen for the length of the building's street façade/width of the lot (store); No tax perceived for the length of the lot (household).
	Construction	Shingle or timber roofing; Ownership of the building.
Community functions	Synagogue	Laid out behind the row of stores disposed along the street, the synagogue was not supposed to be in direct relationship with the street; No tax perceived for the allocated lot of 25x25 stâneni.
	Ritual bath	No tax perceived for the allocated lot of 15x15 stâneni;
	Cemetery	Disposed outside of the city; No tax perceived for the allocated lot of 50x50 stâneni.

The project developed in 1941 for the Jewish ghetto in Podul Iloaiei delineates the area disposed on the Southern side of the main road of the city (*Strada Națională*), linking the area to the city of Iași. Nevertheless, the map shows relevant information regarding Jewish toponymy and urban functions: *Tanenbaum* and *Scobânțeni* streets (referring to the former Scobânțeni estate), the position of the former synagogue (currently demolished), the slaughterhouse and the market. A densely built urban fabric running along Scobânțeni/ Carol Street, with former Jewish shops and dwellings, currently displays what had once been the main Jewish street. Secondary streets show a slightly more diffuse plot occupancy and street alignment. The secluded position of the former synagogue is located on the former *Tanenbaum* Street, not in direct relationship with the main commercial street, whereas the cemetery is located at a considerable distance from the Jewish quarter, originally placed outside of the city. The proximity of the Bahlui River displays the need of fresh water for the Jewish community, but without any notation referring to the ritual bath (*mykeveh*). (Fig. 09)

Odobești, a city disposed on the southern border of Moldavia, running along the Milcov River, is one of the oldest market towns in the area, already mentioned as a settlement in the 18th century. On the turn of the 18th century, a small Jewish community was already established in Odobești, further growing around 1880 due to Jewish migration from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Tsarist Russia because of political changes taking place in the Romanian Principalities (determined by The Berlin Peace Treaty and the issue of Romanian Jews' political emancipation). (Fig. 10)

The proposal for the Jewish ghetto in Odobești shows two options, both placed outside the existing Jewish quarter. The nowadays urban fabric along Odobești's main street (Libertății Street), parallel to the Milcov River, bears witness to the existence of a Jewish quarter towards the end of the 19th century. (Fig. 11-15)

⁷⁷ Schwarzfeld, *Din istoria evreilor*, 45-55.

⁷⁸ In the following table dimensions are expressed in stângen, the measurement unit used for length before the introduction of the metric system, 1 stângen varied from 1,96 m to 2,23 m..



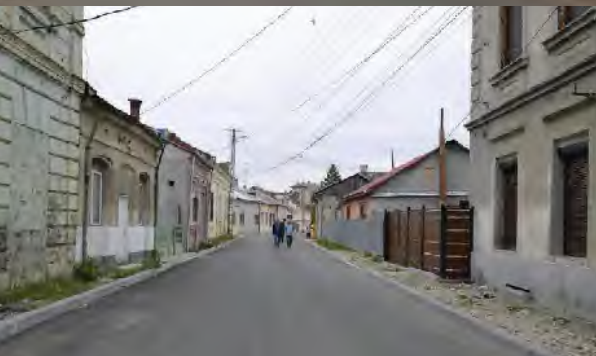
Fig. 10: Historical map showing the urban tissue of the town of Odobesti (1908).

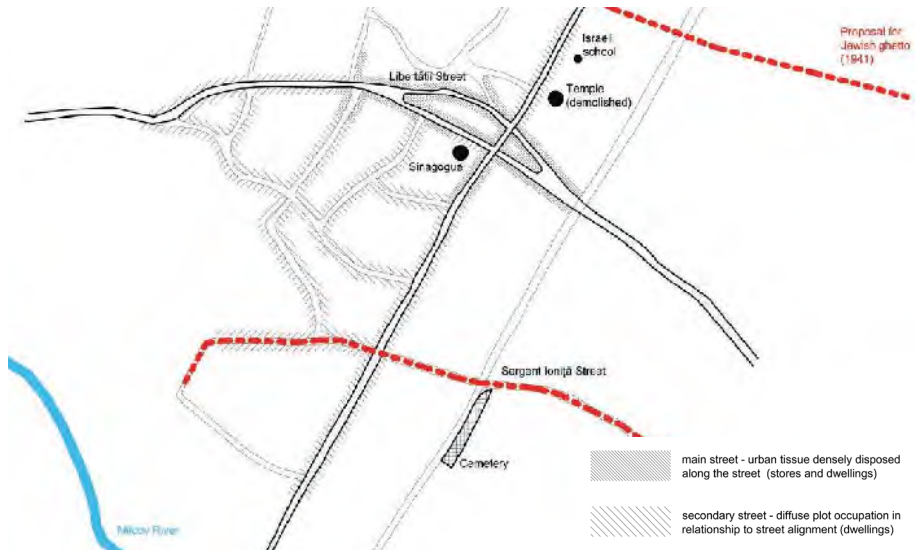
Fortunately, in this case, cartographic and historical evolution can be confronted with an existing built heritage and urban fabric, which can provide more information about the urban morphology and spatial syntax of a Jewish quarter in Moldavia. Libertății Street displays shops densely disposed along the street, with households at the back, whereas the secondary streets in the south of the area show a slightly more diffuse plot occupation in relationship to street alignment. The position of the synagogue is not related to the main street, but lies in the background, in a more private area of the quarter, whereas the cemetery is at a considerable distance from the urban nucleus (probably placed outside the *târg* at its origin). The proximity of the Milcov River displays the need of fresh water for the Jewish community, but without any notation referring to the ritual bath (*mykveh*). (Fig. 16)

General conclusions

The evolution of Jewish living patterns in Moldavia unveils the preservation of a dense building disposition along a commercial street or market space, with stores and dwellings, with a non-geometric, vernacular and diffuse spatial layout, depending merely on patterns of community growth and urban restrictions enforced upon the Jewish community. These traits stand in contrast with the more rational spatial organization of European city planning and their geometrical demarcation of Jewish quarters and ghettos. A few defining spatial relationships have been determined in analyzing Jewish habitation in different urban or rural contexts of Moldavia:

Limit. Lacking a strong built limit as ghetto wall, how can we delimitate a Jewish quarter from the rest of the city? Common for geographical spaces with strong Jewish segregation policies, the ghetto wall stands as a physical element inside the city, further determining its own urban form and the city's evolution, as well. Jewish living patterns became distinctive and more visible in terms of urban forms when legislation, be it religious or civil, manifests itself more evidently, leading in times of strong political mandates to a visible delimitation. Adding this type of confinement to a growing microorganism such as the Jewish quarter raises the question of the limit's *formal* character and the criteria standing behind its mapping. Regarded from the outside, these limits depended on administrative decisions (economic or political) to determine an area with a strong density of Jewish population, or to limit Jewish trade and commerce in the city center. On the other hand, attributing the *eruv* line to Jewish quarters generates new questions related to the community's own criteria in delimiting their public living space, which means the necessity to interrogate the physical mirroring of the *eruv* line of a diffuse Jewish quarter in the architectural and urban morphology.





opposite page:

Fig. 12: The synagogue in Odobești, Libertății Street no. 21 (2016), top, left.

Fig. 13: Jewish store and household on Libertății Street, Odobești, and detail showing the construction year 1896 and decorative metal fittings with the Star of David (2017), top, right.

Fig. 14: Jewish stores and households along Libertății Street, Odobești (2017), middle, left.

Fig. 15: Jewish stores and households along Libertății Street, Odobești (2016), bottom of page.

above:

Fig. 16: Plan showing built markers and urban spatial syntax of Jewish habitation in Odobești.

Nucleus. It is functionally defined by the presence of certain public building types (synagogue, *mykveh*, *shul*, etc.) specific to the Jewish community. Until now, it seems that their positioning displays certain similar features which are adapted to different geographical settings, be it the case of a *Jewish quarter* inside a strong urban center or the majority of a small *târg*, labeled as a *shtetl*. Combining trade with housing, the *Jewish street* would stand out as a manifestation of Jewish living, characterized as taking part of the public space (the store), but also developing the private aspect of dwelling in the background.

Geography, toponymy and urban functions. From a morphological standpoint, the *Jewish street* or the market place would stand out as the most dominant element in the urban composition of a Jewish quarter. *Synagogues* were placed near the *Jewish street*, but in a more private area of the district; the *mykveh* (ritual bath) were laid out in the vicinity of a river, whereas the cemetery would stand on the city outskirts. The Jewish built heritage (housing, synagogues, *shuls*, ritual baths, cemeteries,⁷⁹ etc.) remains in many cases the only visible trace in determining and mapping Jewish presence and the community's nucleus inside the city.

Determining units of Jewish living, both the urban *Jewish quarter* and the developing Jewish market towns placed in rural settings - commonly named *târguri* - act as growing microorganisms standing in direct relationship to their historical urban growth: depending on the general urban development of the surrounding territory, the Jewish community of a small settlement could have reached, in time, the spatial measures of a city's defined Jewish quarter, thereby constituting a *shtetl*.

Furthermore, perceiving Moldavia's Jewish settlements as a series of *urban tableaux*, as an impressive number of historically *constructed* "frames", could reconstitute manifestations of Jewish habitat (patterns and forms) in this specific geographical space, by using architectural and urban guidelines in defining, examining and operating with remaining built heritage. Concepts like city *nucleus* and *limit* should serve as methodological and analytic tools for reviewing these Jewish settlements and help to define them as historical urban areas.

79 Gantner, "Jewish Quarters as Urban Tableaux", 202.

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Fig. 1: Information gathered by the author; source map Google Maps.

Fig. 4: <https://www.wikiart.org/en/marc-chagall/a-house-in-liozna-1908> (accessed May 3rd, 2017)

Fig. 5, 6, 8: National Archives of Romania, "Oficiul de documentare și studii administrative 1933-1949" [Office for documentation and administrative studies 1933-1949], file 67/1941, vol. 2.

Fig. 7, 10, 12: The Geographical Institute of the Army, "Plan director de tragere", Files 4758, 4874, 4875, 4974, 4975, 1917-1958, <http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=ROMLCH020K> (accessed May 15th 2017).

Fig. 14, 15: photos Serioja Bocsock, 2016.

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