

Chapter 6

‘That Domed Feeling’: A Byzantine Synagogue in Cleveland

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Back then, no more than a century ago, European and American architects had at their disposal a rich language of European architecture from antiquity through the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century was the high-point of this architectural pluralism. Architects, clients and their publics understood these vocabularies of form, but then that repertory of style gradually disappeared, supplanted by the personal styles of architects or architectural movements. Historicist architecture came to be regarded as eclectic – a motley, disparate, even incoherent array of styles – as its architectural language or semantics of form ceased to be understood. The decades between the First and Second World Wars witnessed the confrontation between a nineteenth-century historicism that lingered into the inter-war period and a modernism that rejected the past. Since victors write history, an avant-garde architectural history arose that glorified the modernist revolution, provided enabling fictions for why the new was better than the old, and relegated what came before to historical oblivion. In America, modernism had become hegemonic by the 1960s, and its social and political offspring, urban renewal, purified cities of their now unfashionable older structures.

Without access to earlier styles, architects lost their ability to compose meaningful structures understood by the public.¹ Once, the classical orders had been employed for banks and governmental buildings to lend them the *gravitas* of antiquity, the Gothic became the standard idiom for Protestant churches, and Catholic churches imitated the Romanesque or varieties of Renaissance and Baroque architecture with special reference to churches in Rome. American synagogues constituted a special variant of this history. Jewish congregations embraced modernism more readily than did Christian denominations. In Germany, modernist synagogues were built from the 1910s, as seen, for example, in the 1914 Essen synagogue, so

massive and monumental that it defied Nazi plans to raze it.² For the most part, modernism appeared in American synagogues only in the 1950s, abetted by the immigration of German architects, as in the case of Eric Mendelsohn and his 1950 Park Synagogue in Cleveland Heights, Ohio.³

Historicist synagogues did not have a long history before this period. Prior to the nineteenth century, synagogues adopted inconspicuous local styles in order to blend into the prevailing built environment, just as Jews themselves assimilated into European and American society. First in Europe and then in America, nineteenth-century synagogues combined elements from Spanish Islamic architecture to create what are known as Moorish synagogues, the prime example in America being the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati, now the Isaac M. Wise Temple.⁴ From the later nineteenth century up until the Second World War, American synagogues also adopted a variety of styles, even the Gothic, but the classical was preferred during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, by the 1920s, new developments globally and locally led American rabbis and their congregations to represent the Palestinian roots of Judaism through early Byzantine architecture. These buildings constitute the last stages of nineteenth-century historicism. Their connection with Byzantine buildings, especially Hagia Sophia, is the focus of this chapter. That relationship can, in turn, aid us in understanding the fascinating afterlife of the church then mosque a decade before the Turkish Council of Ministers secularised it. In its decree, the Council acknowledged that the mosque of Aya Sofya was a ‘unique architectural monument of art’ and stated that by its action ‘humanity [will] gain a new institution of knowledge’, a culmination of the West’s long engagement with the building.⁵

Two synagogues dedicated in the fall of 1924 exemplify what has become known as the Byzantine synagogue. One, the Temple Isaiah in Chicago (presently KAM Isaiah Israel), was designed by Alfred Alschuler; I have discussed it elsewhere.⁶ For this reason, and because this chapter was first delivered as a paper at a conference held at Ohio State University, I want to consider the other synagogue, that of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Cleveland, Ohio, the larger of the two buildings (Figures 6.1–6.6, 6.10).⁷ Its architect was Charles R. Greco, who later built Byzantine synagogues in Miami Beach, Florida, Hartford, Connecticut and Erie, Pennsylvania, and a second one in Cleveland. Common to these Byzantine synagogues is a broad, low dome over the sanctuary that is modelled more or less faithfully on that of the great sixth-century cathedral of Constantinople.

In the following discussion of Tifereth Israel, also known as the Temple, I will examine the building and its connections with Hagia Sophia, explore the contributions of its rabbi, building committee and architect, and

conclude with local responses to the new Temple and the ‘domed feeling’ it created. As is inscribed on the façade today, the building has become the Maltz Performing Arts Center and a part of Case Western Reserve University.⁸ The transferral of ownership in 2010 was the culmination of the gradual withdrawal of the congregation from the city of Cleveland.

The Building, its Antecedents and Hagia Sophia

The circumstances that led to the dedication of the Temple of Tifereth Israel in 1924 are complex and not well-documented, but before that context is discussed, the building itself must be introduced. Its oddly-shaped triangular site was formed where the busy E. 105th Street and the quieter Ansel Road converged at an acute angle (Figure 6.3).⁹ Further back in the plot, the former street is twenty feet lower than the latter, a feature that Greco exploited to separate ancillary spaces from the sanctuary in front. Classrooms are entered from Ansel Road and an auditorium from E. 105th Street. Though challenging architecturally, the plot overlooks the bucolic Rockefeller Park on the other side of E. 105th Street and is near the Cleveland Museum of Art and Severance Hall, the home of the Cleveland Orchestra. Behind the Temple when it was built was Mt. Sinai Hospital, which the larger Jewish community supported; nearby were the homes of many congregation members. Today the hospital and other buildings in the area are no longer standing, and Ansel Road has been rerouted, hence the utility of older aerial photographs (Figure 6.3). Greco designed the new Temple so that its principal façade faced the convergence of the roads. The location recalls the aforementioned Essen synagogue, which was also built between converging streets and similarly located the social and educational sections of the complex behind the sanctuary. By choosing a seven-sided sanctuary, Greco managed to have a side parallel with each road.

The complex is a triangle with the apex excised to make a façade with flanking turrets for men’s and women’s restrooms (Figures 6.1, 6.2). Beyond the vestibule, the seven-sided sanctuary fans out to provide auditorium seating and then narrows to the bimah and ark, made of carved walnut (Figures 6.4, 6.5). Two sides of the heptagon, decorated with multiple arches, frame the bimah. Balconies, faced with quarter-sawed oak, jut through the arches of the four remaining sides (Figure 6.6). On their parapets are symbols of the twelve tribes of Israel. Around the sanctuary space, broad arches and tall, engaged corner columns unify the space (Figures 6.5, 6.6). At the top of each of the seven sides of the sanctuary, five narrow lancet windows afford some light; a central chandelier provides additional



Figure 6.1 Temple Tifereth Israel, Cleveland, main façade, 1924. Photo: author.

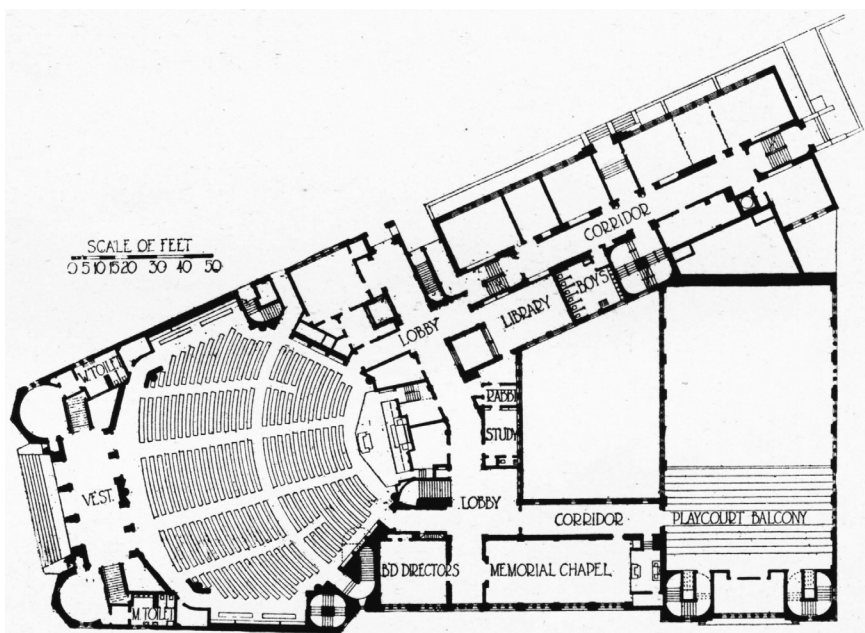


Figure 6.2 Temple Tifereth Israel, plan. Richard R. Stanwood, 'Temple Tifereth Israel, Cleveland, Charles R. Greco, Architect', *The Architectural Forum* 42, 5 (November 1925).

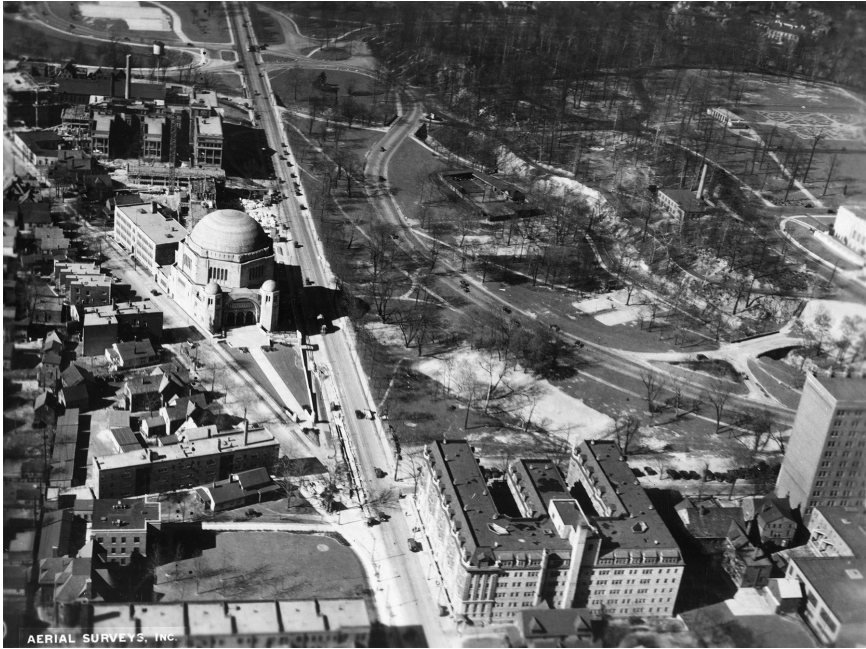


Figure 6.3 Temple Tifereth Israel, older aerial view. Photo: Archives of The Temple-Tifereth Israel, Beachwood, Ohio.



Figure 6.4 Temple Tifereth Israel, vestibule. Photo: author.



Figure 6.5 Temple Tifereth Israel, interior view to bimah. Photo: Archives of The Temple-Tifereth Israel, Beachwood, Ohio.

illumination. Each of the glazed lancets has a word, the five words of each side compose a sentence, and the seven sentences affirm fundamentals of the Jewish religion.¹⁰ Guastavino tile covers the interior and forms the thin inner surface of the double shell dome.

The heptagon shape of the sanctuary gives it properties not usually encountered in architecture. Unlike a polygon with an even number, a heptagon has no parallel sides. Thus, by orienting the sanctuary towards the bimah, there could be no corresponding entrance side parallel with it. The heptagon thus comes to a point at the engaged column in the middle of the entrance side and directly opposite the ark (Figure 6.6). The architect masked the odd space that results with a broad, richly decorated vestibule with stairs at each end (Figure 6.4). Walking through the main door, congregants saw a square outlined in red marble on the floor. Inside are four intertwined circles, a common device of Byzantine ornamental floors; a larger pattern with more circles, for example, is found at Hagia Sophia and the eleventh-century church of Hosios Loukas.¹¹ Intersecting circles also appear in the sanctuary windows and were described as Byzantine.¹² At the centre of the floor design is a bronze medallion with the Star of David. A rich array of coloured marble decorates the walls of the



Figure 6.6 Temple Tifereth Israel, interior view to entrance. Photo: author.

vestibule, as it does Hagia Sophia, but a Byzantine model closer to the Cleveland synagogue is the decoration of Hosios Loukas, as published in a two-page colour reproduction by Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Howard Barnsley.¹³

Above the entrance, the forward edge of the heptagonal sanctuary walls juts out like a ship's prow (Figure 6.1). Yet, because of the visual strength of the other elements of the façade, the projecting corner of the heptagon does not seem discordant. The flanking turrets with their small domes imitating the sanctuary dome are also seven-sided and similarly point outwards. In between the turrets, a broad arch spans the three entrance doors and an arcade above. The arches of the arcade anticipate the arches of the sanctuary walls and the arcade of the ark.

When introduced to Greco's original, even radical, creation, the congregation might have drawn some comfort from features comparable with those of their former temple on Willson, now E. 55th Street, presently the Friendship Baptist Church (Figure 6.7). That Richardsonian Romanesque building of 1894 also has flanking turrets and the standard three-arched entrances with a small corbel frieze of arches above. The church that purchased the building closed off the central tower, which was ringed by windows and would have been an important light source. That tower, modelled on Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston, must once have added grandeur and solemnity to the synagogue's sanctuary.¹⁴ The dome of what



Figure 6.7 Temple Tifereth Israel, 1894, currently Friendship Baptist Church, Cleveland. Photo: Cleveland Public Library.

became known as the University Circle Temple greatly enhanced that effect. The prior Romanesque temple resembled in style and plan nearby churches on E. 55th Street, thereby equating the Jewish and Christian congregations.¹⁵ The new synagogue and its great dome sought even greater distinction. It was, and is, a unique building, and its prominent location in Cleveland soon made it a civic landmark.

What distinguishes the synagogues of 1894 and 1924 is more than exterior surfaces. Above all, it is the difference between a tower and a dome. The later temple's dome envelops all within and offers unimpeded views of the service taking place on the bimah. Its low dome on a short drum contrasts with the high-pitched domes on tall drums which St Peter's Basilica in Rome inspired throughout Europe and America and which became the model for national and state capitols in the United States. Greco instead adopted the dome of Hagia Sophia, a structure that Charles Follen McKim of the celebrated firm McKim, Mead and White termed 'the most perfect dome in the world' (Figure 6.8).¹⁶ Low and high domes



Figure 6.8 Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, dome. Photo: author.

form different interior spaces. The former oversails the entire auditorium; the latter punches a large hole through the vault, and then rises high above it, as seen, for example, at the former B'nai Jeshurun Temple of 1906, also located on E. 55th Street, not far from the earlier synagogue of Tifereth Israel. What the low dome gives up in terms of the exterior visibility it makes up for in the internal coherence of the worship space.

In adapting the dome of Hagia Sophia for the synagogue, Greco kept the short buttresses between the windows of the Byzantine church and moved the windows down to the sides of the heptagon. The row of short, vertical projections that remains on the drum of the Byzantine dome is decorative, not structural, because the building's sturdy steel frame replaced the massive masonry buttresses of the sixth-century church.¹⁷ Elimination of the arched windows of Hagia Sophia has made the Temple's dome appear more severe and abstract, as befits a design that has many Art Deco elements. With these changes, the dome also resembles the higher-pitched domes of the nineteenth-century Tiferet Yisrael and Hurva synagogues in Jerusalem, as seen in an early twentieth-century photograph (Figure 6.9). Both were destroyed in 1948, but have recently been rebuilt. The Ottoman sultan's chief architect designed the Hurva Synagogue in an Ottoman or Byzantine style. The domes of both synagogues stemmed from Ottoman



Figure 6.9 Domes of the Tifaret Yisrael (left) and Hurva (right) synagogues, Jerusalem, c. 1900. Photo: J. F. Jarvis, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

mosques, themselves adapted from Hagia Sophia centuries earlier; domes in general then became a common sight in Jerusalem.¹⁸ Greco's dome thus refers simultaneously to Byzantine and Byzantine revival architecture, as well as to Jerusalem itself. As a multivalent symbol, Hagia Sophia and its replications served diverse, even contradictory, purposes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Connections with Hagia Sophia do not end with the dome. The columns on the façade of the University Circle Temple have modified Ionic capitals with corner volutes embedded in spikey acanthus leaves (Figure 6.10). The capitals imitate those of the great nave columns on the ground level of Hagia Sophia (Figure 6.11). An elegant knot at the centre of the synagogue capitals replaces the Greek monogram. The general carving style of these capitals resembles the abstracted naturalism of late antique capitals more generally, but the volutes and the central motif tie them back to specific Byzantine originals.

The surface treatment of the exterior limestone creates alternating bands of smooth and textured stone. This banding also makes reference to Hagia Sophia. Richard R. Stanwood, who published an article about the Temple shortly after it opened, wrote that the banding recalled 'Sancta Sophia and other buildings of the Near East'.¹⁹ What it resembles, however, is not the original Hagia Sophia, but the building as restored by the Fossati brothers in the mid-nineteenth century with stripes painted on the stucco cladding in the manner of the actual banded masonry of medieval Italian



Figure 6.10 Temple Tifereth Israel, façade capital. Photo: author.

churches. Yet this does not imply that Stanwood or Greco knew Hagia Sophia directly, because nineteenth-century photographs showed the striped restoration of Hagia Sophia.²⁰ Greco probably had seen the photos of Sébah and Joaillier in some form or another. They appeared in various general publications in the earlier decades of the twentieth century.²¹ Later repainting in a single colour eliminated the stripes. Both Stanwood and Greco were Boston architects, who must have known each other, because Stanwood's review appeared only months after the completion of the Temple and has information that only Greco could have provided.²² Thus, the article reads like a business review written by a friend of the owner.

References to Byzantine architecture continue in the interior. The heptangular auditorium has five windows on each side (Figures 6.5, 6.6). These emulate the ring of windows around the dome of Hagia Sophia (Figure 6.8). Beneath the broad arch of the sides that flank the bimah are two rows of arches (Figure 6.5). On the ground level these are blind arches, except for those that frame doorways. The five arches here repeat the same number of arches on the north and south sides of the nave of Hagia Sophia, albeit on a smaller scale. Above the ground-level arcade



Figure 6.11 Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, nave capital. Photo: author.

in the synagogue are thirteen narrow arches, three of which have lancet windows. The number of narrow arches also increases on the second level of the nave elevation of Hagia Sophia, but only to seven. By combining arches and windows, Greco merged the second and the third levels of the nave elevation of Hagia Sophia and made the arches narrower and more numerous, creating an abstract pattern.

At the back of the bimah is a double-storey *scaenae frons* (Figure 6.5). Here Greco may have been thinking of the iconostasis of an Orthodox Christian church, a feature not attested at Hagia Sophia due to its later life as a mosque, but commonly found in Orthodox churches in America. He may also have been referring to the bimah of the prior Temple on E. 55th Street, which was also made of wood and had a small arcade on

the balustrade of the choir balcony above the ark.²³ Nonetheless, Greco's bimah is finer and more elaborate with its two levels of arcades as found on the iconostasis.

The Rabbi and the Building Committee

The archives of the Temple and the papers of Abba Hillel Silver clarify the genesis of the University Circle Temple, the selection of Charles Greco of Boston as architect and the role of the new Rabbi. Since the later nineteenth century, two Cleveland Reform congregations, Tifereth Israel and Anshe Chesed, were regarded as the most prominent by virtue of social status, wealth and impressive buildings.²⁴ The latter had built a new brick synagogue in 1912 on the then fashionable Euclid Avenue. It had a low dome and Byzantine details here and there, such as a version of John Ruskin's lily capital from San Marco on a side entrance.²⁵ From 1914, Tifereth Israel had wanted to replace its E. 55th Street building because the congregation had outgrown it. However, it had failed to find a suitable property, according to the congregation president.²⁶ Nonetheless, pressure to build continued to grow, so that a subsequent president declared that while nothing could be done until the First World War ended, 'then we shall build a Temple that shall stand as a monument to Judaism and Peace'.²⁷ As promised, The Temple began searching for a building site after the War and secured a plot in 1920.²⁸

Three years earlier, Tifereth Israel had selected as its new leader Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, then presiding over a small congregation in Wheeling, West Virginia. Born in 1893, he emigrated in 1902 with his rabbi father and family to the Lower East Side of New York. He completed high school in 1911 and four years later college and seminary at the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College, respectively.²⁹ In hiring Silver, the Cleveland congregation made an audacious decision to call to a major pulpit someone two years out of seminary, a move that recalled their selection of their prior rabbi, Moses Gries, when he was twenty-four.³⁰ Silver was an immediate success, in part because of what newspapers described as his 'remarkable oratory' and his 'powerful, rich voice of vibrant quality'.³¹ When he arrived, Tifereth Israel had 725 families; within two years that number had grown to 916, and by 1924 to 1,200.³² In 1921 the appreciative congregation raised Silver's compensation from \$10,000 to \$12,000, and two years later to \$15,000 plus a Cadillac. By 1925 he was earning \$20,000, quite a raise from his initial salary of \$2,500 in West Virginia ten years prior.³³ Silver remained at Tifereth Israel until his death in 1963 and was succeeded by his son.

On 18 June 1920, Silver wrote to the chairman of the New Temple Building Committee, L. M. Wolf, to provide programmatic details for the new complex. He began by suggesting that it would be best if the style of the structure were left until

after we shall have seen some of the more representative Temple structures of the country. There is, as you know, no distinctive Jewish architecture. In most lands Temple architecture reacted to the general prevailing architectural style. We have in this country Temple[s] in the severe Classic style, Romanesque, Italian Renaissance and also in the Moorish. The Moorish, because of its Eastern flavor, approaches nearer, perhaps, to a characteristic Jewish type. However, few congregations have ventured in recent years to build in this style.³⁴

Silver continued that the size of the building should respond to current and future needs and should include a sanctuary for 2,000, a memorial chapel for 180–200, a boardroom, a choir room, a rabbi's study, ladies' and men's rooms, at least twenty-four classrooms each to accommodate thirty-five people, a multi-purpose assembly room for 1,000 people, a gymnasium, a library, a room for committee meetings that could also be used as a reading room, and executive offices. He got most of what he wanted, including the visits to other synagogues.

During the summer of 1920, he and the Building Committee toured East Coast synagogues. Back in Cleveland, the committee met on 23 September 1920 and heard reports about 'Temples in Philadelphia, Newark, 88th Street Temple in New York, the Temple in Boston, and the Jewish Center in New York'.³⁵ Excepting the synagogue or synagogues in Philadelphia, the others can readily be identified. Most were completed in the first two decades of the twentieth century and some only a few years before the committee's reconnaissance.

The Newark temple (1911–14) must have been the building designed by New York City architect Albert S. Gottlieb for B'nai Jeshurun. The brick structure still occupies a commanding position overlooking Newark, even if the congregation has long since moved to the suburbs.³⁶ A photo taken with a wide-angle lens shows a structure modelled on Hagia Sophia for its dome and San Marco, Venice, for the narrow balconies set between the supporting piers (Figures 6.12, 6.13). Of all the synagogues the Building Committee visited, Gottlieb's design offered the closest analogy with the broad unified interior of the University Circle Temple. Both buildings also have Guastavino tile on the interior. Initially concerned about its acoustics, Rabbi Silver wrote his counterpart in the Newark synagogue, who responded with high praise for its sound quality.³⁷

A Byzantine Synagogue in Cleveland



Figure 6.12 Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, view to apse. Photo: Walter Denny.



Figure 6.13 Newark, former B'nai Jeshuran, 1915. Photo: author.

At B'nai Jeshurun on W. 88th Street in Manhattan from 1917, the committee encountered a tall, heavily ornamented entry arch and a small dome of stained glass inside. The broad dome and centralised plan of the Cleveland temple were difficult to achieve in Manhattan because of

Manhattan's long, rectangular lots. A domed square or polygon would not be an efficient use of the valuable land, and hence New York synagogues and churches favoured rectangular buildings in the basilica tradition.

In Boston, the synagogue closest in style to Tifereth Israel is Temple Ohabei Shalom, which also has interesting references to Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. However, this synagogue, designed by Clarence Blackall, was dedicated a year after the Cleveland synagogue.³⁸ Instead, the Building Committee most likely visited the synagogue Blackall built for Adath Israel in 1907, for it had referred to itself as 'the Temple' since the nineteenth century.³⁹ This building, now part of Boston University, is a domed cube with geometric designs on the exterior. According to Blackall, it replicated the Temple in Jerusalem.⁴⁰

The 1918 Jewish centre on the Upper West Side of New York would have been of interest because it was an early example of a synagogue that provided more than worship space, or what is known as a synagogue centre or *Shul with Pool*, to quote the title of a book on the subject.⁴¹ Silver initially wanted a version of the synagogue centre; he asked for a gymnasium, although no pool, and he described the auditorium and classrooms as 'the Temple Center'.⁴² The gym was not built, and he later would write that Tifereth Israel had moved away from the synagogue centre model and was focusing on 'purely educational activities of a religious and specifically Jewish character'.⁴³

Plausible candidates for Philadelphia synagogues visited include the Henry S. Frank Memorial Synagogue, a small building designed by Arnold W. Brunner on the grounds of the Jewish Hospital, now the Albert Einstein Medical Center. Its architecture imitates recently published ancient synagogues of Palestine.⁴⁴ That connection might have led Rabbi Silver to visit it because of his strong interest in that region, but it was much too small for the Cleveland congregation. If personal connections, not architecture, were the determining factor, the committee would have visited the massive Renaissance revival temple of Keneseth Israel, a reform congregation, at 1717 North Broad Street in Philadelphia. Built in 1891, the temple was destroyed by fire in the 1950s save for an ancillary structure that was sold to Temple University. Old photographs of the synagogue show a high Renaissance dome and a tall bell tower modelled after the campanile of San Marco, Venice.⁴⁵ Abraham J. Feldman, a childhood friend of Abba Hillel Silver, was first associate, then acting rabbi of Keneseth Israel from 1920 to 1925. Afterwards, Feldman served until 1968 at Congregation Beth Israel in West Hartford, Connecticut. Charles Greco designed their new temple, completed in 1936.⁴⁶ Rabbi

A Byzantine Synagogue in Cleveland

Feldman must have known of Greco's work through his friendship with Silver.

After hearing reports about these synagogues, the Building Committee discussed the type of building they should commission and resolved that they would instruct the architects to follow Rabbi Silver's specifications that he had submitted the previous summer.⁴⁷ The question of the style of the new synagogue was apparently left to the architect chosen. By December 1920, the Committee had resolved to stage a competition and asked six architects to submit proposals, according to two documents in the archives of Tifereth Israel. One is a letter of 8 December 1920 inviting Charles R. Greco to design two buildings, a Temple and a Temple Meeting House, according to the programme that Silver had previously proposed to the Committee.⁴⁸ The total cost of both buildings should not be greater than \$800,000. We know the names of the other architects involved because of a second letter to the Temple from the secretary of the Cleveland chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). They rejected the Temple's competition:

After careful consideration of the subject, we regret to inform you that members of the Institute cannot participate in your competition, because, your program does not harmonize with the form of competition that the Institute considers to be for the best interests of both Owner and Architect.

Consequently, the secretary sent a copy of the letter to 'all the invited competitors' and listed them.⁴⁹

In addition to Greco, they were Cram and Ferguson of Boston, Albert S. Gottlieb of New York, Walker and Weeks in Cleveland, Geo. B. Post & Sons of New York and Hubbell & Benes in Cleveland. This was a diverse group, and some firms would appear to be more relevant than others. The range of architects chosen shows that the Building Committee and presumably Silver, one of its members, were still far from articulating the style of the new synagogue, but the list of competitors nonetheless demonstrates the congregation's ambitions. Most firms were well-known and had significant records of accomplishment.

Cram and Ferguson were the leading proponents of the Gothic revival in America, although they occasionally designed in a classical and even a quasi-Byzantine style. In Cleveland, they had designed the Church of the Covenant of 1907; they had no prior experience with synagogues.⁵⁰ Albert S. Gottlieb of New York built the Newark synagogue that the committee visited. In 1916, he had delivered a paper about the architecture of synagogues to a meeting of the Central Conference of American [Reform] Rabbis, so he was known in Jewish circles.⁵¹ Walker and Weeks had

clients in Cleveland and elsewhere in the Midwest and specialised in commercial and residential architecture. They had designed a few churches but no synagogues.⁵²

The sons of George B. Post had continued the New York firm after the death of its founder in 1913. Their Cleveland office designed the downtown Statler Hotel (1911–12), which Tifereth Israel often used for congregational meetings. Across the street from the Statler, at a prominent intersection, Post & Sons had built the grand Cleveland Trust Company Building (1905–8); its interior has an impressive circular atrium with a leaded glass dome. The firm's principal commissions were banks, hotels and other commercial structures, but they had built a few churches but apparently no synagogues.⁵³ Finally, Hubbell & Benes, a prominent Cleveland firm, had built a number of important public buildings in the city, but again few churches and evidently no synagogues.⁵⁴ Their specialty was the Classical Revival. In 1900, Benes had designed the classical Wade Memorial Chapel with exquisite stained glass windows and mosaics, and in 1916, the firm built the neo-classical Cleveland Museum of Art, located not far from the land bought for the new Temple. Hubbell & Benes was especially active after the First World War, the period of the Tifereth Israel commission.⁵⁵

Because of the aforementioned letter from the Cleveland AIA, all competitors withdrew except Charles Greco, who telegraphed that he would compete and 'would not be withdrawn by any third party'.⁵⁶ The Building Committee revised the terms of the competition to placate the AIA, to no avail.⁵⁷ Next, it sought another perspective from the Cleveland firm of Lehman & Schmitt.⁵⁸ Charles Morris of the firm submitted its proposal, which has not been found, but it can be surmised that it was in the grand Beaux-Arts style in which Morris had been trained. He initially came to Cleveland to work on the firm's Cuyahoga County Court House, completed in 1911, a major Beaux-Arts building in downtown Cleveland.⁵⁹ Lehman & Schmitt would have been a logical firm to approach because they had designed the synagogue's current building in 1894, when Israel Lehman was a member of the synagogue board.⁶⁰

Besides Morris, the Building Committee also rejected Alfred Alschuler, who was then designing Temple Isaiah, the aforementioned Byzantine synagogue in Chicago, which was also dedicated in the fall of 1924. In early December 1920, Alschuler had asked to join the competition.⁶¹ A couple of months after everything had been decided, Albert Kahn of Detroit inquired about the project through a letter from the rabbi of the Detroit Congregation Beth El to Silver.⁶² Kahn had previously built classical synagogues for that congregation in 1903 and 1922.⁶³ Silver

promptly responded that an architect had already been selected. It might be presumed that Alschuler and Kahn, both Jewish architects experienced in designing synagogues, might have had an advantage with the Building Committee. To their credit, its members were open to the best proposal no matter the religion of the architect, but it was a position that drew criticism. One member of the Congregation wrote to Silver complaining that the committee should only consider Jewish architects and correctly observed that for their churches, Catholics and Protestants chose architects of their own denominations.

The Architect

However, in selecting Charles R. Greco, a Catholic,⁶⁴ Tifereth Israel was just as adventuresome as it had been three years earlier in hiring Abba Hillel Silver. In terms of résumés, Greco's appears not to have been in the same league as his initial competitors, although his career has been difficult to investigate. I have not found any papers or designs by him other than what was published by local Jewish newspapers.⁶⁵ Only his numerous buildings appear to remain from a long career (1907–60). Born 15 October 1873 to Letterio Greco and Catherine Reggio, he attended Lawrence Scientific School, an applied science programme at Harvard University.⁶⁶ He began working for the Boston firms of Wait and Cutter and Peabody and Stearns before opening his own practice in 1907.⁶⁷

Prior to the commission from Tifereth Israel, Greco had designed schools, churches and numerous private houses in the Boston area. In the 1910s, he built the churches of the Blessed Sacrament in Jamaica Plain, Boston (1911–17), St Patrick's in Brockton, MA (1912) and St Mary's in Quincy, MA (1917), among others. In 1919, Greco was in competition to design the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, DC, the largest Catholic church in the Western hemisphere. The firm of Maginnis and Walsh secured the project instead, but the fact that Greco was considered attests to his standing at the time.⁶⁸

His work in Cleveland began in 1917 with the Moses Montefiore Home in Cleveland Heights.⁶⁹ The same year he designed several private homes in the area and established a branch office in Cleveland. The Montefiore Home must have brought him to the attention of the Building Committee of Tifereth Israel. In turn, his work there led to other local projects, especially a new synagogue for Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in Cleveland Heights that opened in 1926, not far from the Montefiore Home. Ground-breaking for that building took place in February 1924, as the Temple was being completed. The synagogue for B'nai Jeshurun also has Byzantine

elements, in particular a twelve-sided dome, modelled on that of the polygonal dome of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas in Greece.⁷⁰ It demonstrates that Greco continued to make good use of the book of Schultz and Barnsley.

After being awarded the commission for the Temple in April 1921, Charles Greco set to work elaborating the initial proposal that he had submitted the previous January.⁷¹ By the summer, he was sharing preliminary drawings with Rabbi Silver on vacation in New Hampshire.⁷² On 28 November 1921, Greco met with the Building Committee to show them the state of the project. He then must have presented renderings of the new building because one was published in the *Jewish Independent* for 16 December 1921. The latter wrote that the drawings for the Temple were 'practically completed'. That was not the case, as Greco submitted the final plans only at a meeting of the Building Committee the next May.⁷³

Construction bids were due 3 August 1922, and the next November, the congregation authorised spending \$1.2 million on the building and assuming a mortgage for \$400,000.⁷⁴ At that time, the *Jewish Independent* published a drawing of the façade.⁷⁵ Excavation began on 4 December 1922, and the cornerstone of the new Temple was laid the following May.⁷⁶ Construction continued through 1923 and into the next year. By April 1924, the façade and upper levels were completed, and attention turned to the interior.⁷⁷ The last service in the old temple was held on 15 June. The new synagogue was dedicated 19–21 September 1924 and finished at a cost of \$1,246,168.31.⁷⁸

Local Response

How was Greco's finest building received? Its first and primary audience was Rabbi Silver, who had seemed to have a good grasp of synagogue architecture in his previously cited proposal from 18 June 1920. Silver began with a discussion of Jewish architecture, correctly observing that Jews did not have their own architectural style and instead conformed to prevailing local styles. He then added that

our structure must in some way be distinctive. It should be readily distinguished from other religious structures. It must not look like a bank or a public library. It must subtly, but effectively, create a religious atmosphere, and in its symbolism at least bespeak a Jewish house of worship.⁷⁹

These criteria ruled out the classical façade with columns, as seen on banks or public libraries or in Albert Kahn's Beth El Temple in Detroit

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of 1922 and other classically inspired temples.⁸⁰ To be different from other religious buildings, the Temple should not adopt the Episcopalian Gothic or the Catholic Baroque styles. As noted above, Silver had also dismissed the Moorish style by proclaiming it outmoded. He would have had personal experience of it, because he had studied in Cincinnati, where the foremost Reform temple was the previously mentioned Plum Street synagogue of 1859, and his first post was in Wheeling, West Virginia at the Moorish Eoff Street Temple, no longer extant.⁸¹

In his unpublished autobiography written towards the end of this life, Rabbi Silver described the new Temple as ‘a beautiful structure in a modified Byzantine style’, then quoted from the Stanwood article before continuing in his own words:

[The Temple] has been described as ‘a building which is not only architecturally satisfying, but which expresses in itself the deeply religious spirit and essential unity of the Jewish faith.’ It was built before the vogue developed to build *functional* structures.

I have always had strong reservations on the trends in contemporary church architecture . . . A church design which is merely untraditional, which deliberately startles by its feats of novelty, which embodies abstractions in constant need of commentary, or which attempts to make the religious edifice ‘functional’ in the mechanical sense of the term . . . misses . . . the very unique and redemptive contribution which a house of worship can make to the beset and troubled spirit of modern man . . .

When a man enters a church or synagogue to pray . . . he should be moved to exclaim not ‘How modern! How functional! How sensorially different!’ but, ‘This is none other than a house of God and this is a gate to heaven’.⁸²

Such is the sum total of his architectural commentary on the new building.

Thus, it is necessary to turn back to Stanwood’s review of the building, for he writes with an insider’s knowledge in addressing the building’s Byzantine elements:

The architect and the committee felt from the beginning that the architectural treatment of the new building should not be based on any of the usual styles, but should rather be developed from the basic forms of those regions where the Jewish race passed the period of its national existence, taking only such motifs from various sources as could be welded into a harmonious entity. The outcome has been a type which is, perhaps, more Byzantine than anything else, but which is still not too oriental in feeling to prevent a transition without undue shock from the mass of the temple to the more modern and practical regularity of the school and other everyday portions of the group of buildings.⁸³

In the creation of the University Circle Temple, the rabbi, Building Committee and architect came to agree about form and meaning. The result is a distinguished building unlike other religious architecture in Cleveland or anywhere else in America at the time. In the years that followed, the Temple influenced other synagogues by various means, including a rabbi network.⁸⁴ Its fame was due to others appreciating what Silver and Stanwood, and by extension Greco, regarded as its success in conveying ‘the essential unity of the Jewish faith’. The low dome of Hagia Sophia played no small part in this effect. Ruth Dancyger, temple historian and long-time member of Tifereth Israel, spoke about the sanctuary’s ‘vastness, that domed feeling’, which ‘bowled over’ those that saw it for the first time,⁸⁵ just as the Great Church of Constantinople was, in the words of the sixth-century historian Procopius, ‘stupendous to those who see it and altogether incredible to those who hear of it’.⁸⁶

Notes

1. For a more sympathetic treatment of modernist religious architecture, see the essays in Anat Geva (ed.), *Modernism and American Mid-20th Century Sacred Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 2019). This study would not have been possible without the generous aid in Cleveland of Arnie Berger, Jane Rothstein, Sean Martin and many others. I am grateful for their introductions to the city and its archives.
2. Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1985), 285–8.
3. Walter C. Leedy Jr, *Eric Mendelsohn’s Park Synagogue: Architecture and Community* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2012).
4. For images at the important site, see *Synagogues 360*, <https://synagogues360.bh.org.il/gallery/isaac-m-wise-temple/> (accessed 27 July 2023).
5. Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 180.
6. Robert S. Nelson, ‘The Byzantine Synagogue of Alfred Alschuler’, *Images: A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture* 11 (2018): 5–42.
7. General accounts: Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 110, 113–14; Samuel Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 48–53. In what follows, frequent reference will be made to the archives of Tifereth Israel (ATI) and the papers of their rabbi Abba Hillel Silver (AHS Papers) at the Western Reserve Historical Society. For the latter, I have used a set of over 200 microfilm rolls of those papers at Yale University. I must acknowledge the generosity and support of people in Cleveland: Jane

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8. 'Photo Gallery'. *Maltz Performing Arts Center | Case Western Reserve University*, 7 May 2018, <https://case.edu/maltzcenter/about-center/photo-gallery> (accessed 5 March 2020).
9. The angle at which the two streets meet is less than 24 degrees, according to Richard R. Stanwood, 'Temple Tifereth Israel, Cleveland Charles R. Greco, Architect', *The Architectural Forum* 42/5 (November 1925): 257.
10. 'Description of The New Temple', in *Dedication Number, Twenty-fourth Annual of The Temple*, 1924–5. ATI.
11. Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), fig. 31–63. The marble floor of Hosios Loukas appeared in Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Howard Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, Near Skripou, in Bæotia* (London: Macmillan, 1901), fig. 19, pls 20–3, a book available at Harvard, where Greco studied.
12. Stanwood, 'Temple Tifereth Israel', 259.
13. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris*, pl. 41.
14. Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 104.
15. Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture, 1876–1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1996), 53–4.
16. Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture & Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 134.
17. As seen in the construction photograph in Greenberg, 'Cleveland Synagogues', at <https://www.clevelandjewishhistory.net/syn/ti-circle.htm> (accessed 15 March 2020).
18. See the photograph of Tiferet Yisrael, the Hurva, and other buildings with smaller domes in a report about the decision to rebuild it: http://elderofziyon.blogspot.com/2014/03/major-synagogue-destroyed-by-jordan-in.html#.U0fqP_IdV8E (accessed 29 March 2020).
19. Stanwood, 'Temple Tifereth Israel', 257.
20. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, figs 56–8, 72.
21. Ibid., fig. 77.
22. Richard R. Stanwood (b. 1884, Harvard 1906), from an old New England family, was eleven years younger than Greco and had graduated from Harvard with a BA and MA, presumably in architecture, because he was in 'the Scientific School', in which architecture was taught. For his position in the Stanwood family, see Ethel Stanwood Bolton, *A History of the Stanwood Family in America* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1899), 254.

- Stanwood's design for a brick house is illustrated in *The Brickbuilder* 23 (3 March 1914): 69.
23. As attested in old photographs in ATI. Minimal alterations were made to the back of the bimah in its conversion to a church.
 24. Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1987), 142.
 25. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, fig. 38.
 26. Document from long-serving Congregation President Martin Marks in ATI.
 27. ATI.
 28. ATI.
 29. Marc Lee Raphael, *Abba Hillel Silver: A Profile in American Judaism* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1989), 1–16.
 30. An observation I owe to Arnold Berger.
 31. Raphael, *Silver*, 27–8.
 32. Congregation Tifereth Israel, *The Temple 1850–1950* (Cleveland, 1950), 28; Raphael, *Silver*, 41.
 33. Ruth Dancyger, *Temple Tifereth Israel: One Hundred and Fifty Years 1850–2000* (Cleveland: R. Dancyger, 1999), 17, 24; Raphael, *Silver*, 17, 42–3.
 34. AHS Papers, microfilm 54.
 35. Ibid.
 36. William B. Helmreich, *The Enduring Community: The Jews of Newark and Metrowest* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 237–9.
 37. Rabbi Solomon Foster to AHS, 27 March 1923. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54.
 38. David Kaufman, 'Temples in the American Athens: A History of the Synagogues of Boston', in Jonathan D. Sarna et al. (eds), *The Jews of Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 203–5.
 39. Kaufman, 'Temples in the American Athens', 181.
 40. 602 Commonwealth Avenue, occupied 1906–26. The congregation would then erect a similarly severe classical structure and decades later abruptly join a modernist structure to it. See Kaufman, 'Temples in the American Athens', 184.
 41. David Kaufman, *Shul with a Pool: The 'Synagogue-Center' in American Jewish History* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999). Also see Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 161–8.
 42. See n. 32.
 43. AHS letter of 9 May 1927 to Leo C. Fuller of Temple Isaiah, St Louis. The letter had been written to seek advice about what type of temple they should build. AHS Papers, microfilm 54.
 44. Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12–21.
 45. Julian Preisler, *Historic Synagogues of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), 70–2; Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 94–5.

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46. Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 114.
47. See n. 34.
48. Ibid.
49. AHS Papers, microfilm 54. On such competitions and the evolving position of the AIA, see Sarah Bradford Landau, 'Coming to Terms: Architecture Competitions in America and the Emerging Profession, 1789–1922', in Hélène Lipstadt (ed.), *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competition in Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989), 53–78. I owe this reference to my colleague Craig Buckley.
50. The firm's project list through 1920 has no synagogues, according to Ethan Anthony, *The Architecture of Ralph Adams Cram and his Office* (New York: Norton, 2007), 241–3.
51. Albert S. Gottlieb, 'Synagogue and Sunday School Architecture', reprint of a paper read before the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Wildwood, NJ, 3 July 1916, <https://archive.org/details/synagoguesundays00gott/page/n1> (accessed 6 March 2020). He repeated material from the latter in 'Synagogue Architecture: Past and Future', in *The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger*, 11 April 1919.
52. A listing of the firm's commissions through 1920 can be found in Eric Johannesen, *A Cleveland Legacy: The Architecture of Walker and Weeks* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1999), 143–62.
53. Sarah Bradford Landau, *George B. Post, Architect: Picturesque Designer and Determined Realist* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), 151–7.
54. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/h/hubbell-benes> (accessed 6 March 2020). See also <http://planning.city.cleveland.oh.us/landmark/arch/archDetail.php?afil=&archID=285&sk=death&sd=ASC> (accessed 6 March 2020). The Wikipedia listing of their work contains commercial and civic building, residences and two churches, but no synagogues: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hubbell_%26_Benes (accessed 6 March 2020).
55. Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture*, 122–6.
56. 'Memorandum of Work on The Temple', 19 April 1921. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54.
57. Ibid. 'Mr. Koblitz [of Tifereth Israel] told Mr. Reed and Mr. Mayer of . . . [our Cleveland] office that the Committee was trying to work out some scheme which would be acceptable to the Institute and suggested that they were considering paying each competitor for sketches with the hope that this would satisfy the requirements or that they might possibly yet employ an Advisor.'
58. Ibid. Here Greco implies the existence of another competitor, who is confirmed and identified in a letter from Herman Moss to AHS, 30 April 1921: AHS Papers, microfilm 54.
59. 'Lehman and Schmitt', *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/l/lehman-and-schmitt> (accessed 6 March 2020).
60. Dancyger, *Temple Tifereth Israel*, 9.

61. Letter of L. M. Wolf, chair of the Building Committee, to AHS, 8 December 1920, wanting to know what to write to 'Mr. Alschuler, of Chicago, concerning his desire to enter the competition of architects for presentation of plans for the new temple'. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54.
62. Letter from Rabbi Leo M. Franklin to AHS, 1 June 1921. Silver replied on 3 June. AHS Papers, microfilm 54.
63. On these buildings and a later Byzantine synagogue that Kahn designed for Congregation Shaaray Zedek in Detroit, see Samuel Gruber, 'Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art & Monuments: Albert Kahn's Other Synagogue: Shaaray Zedek', *Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art & Monuments*, 21 July 2012, <http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.com/2012/07/albert-kahns-other-synagogue-shaaray.html>. (accessed 6 March 2020).
64. Greco was a member of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic fraternal organization: *Cambridge Sentinel* 18/44 (31 December 1921): 14. <https://cambridge.dlconsulting.com/cgi-bin/cambridge?a=d&d=Sentinel19211231-01&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-----> (accessed 6 March 2020).
65. *The Jewish Independent*, 16 December 1921, 10 November 1922.
66. In spite of several major donations, the Lawrence Scientific School was not a success at Harvard and was dissolved in 1906. See Bruce Sinclair, 'Harvard, MIT, and the Ideal Technical Education', in Clark A. Elliott and Margaret W. Rossiter (eds), *Science at Harvard University: Historical Perspectives* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1992), 76–95.
67. Accessed 6 March 2020. Also Greco's obituary in *The Boston Globe* (23 February 1963), 18.
68. Geraldine M. Rohling, 'The Blessing of the Land', *Mary's Shrine* 80/2 (Fall/Winter 2019), not paginated, available at <https://www.nationalshrine.org/wp-content/uploads/Basilica-Marys-Shrine-Fall-Winter-2019.pdf> (last accessed 6 March 2020). At the 21 February 1919 meeting of the Trustees of the Catholic University of America, the committee on the National Shrine reported that it had met on 8 January 1919 and discussed possible architects, including Greco. However, the committee unanimously recommended the architect Charles Maginnis of Boston, and that the church be in the Romanesque style. I thank Dr Geraldine M. Rohling, the Archivist-Curator of the National Shrine, for this information.
69. Sir Moses Montefiore Home for the Aged & Infirm Israelites, a residential complex in a Georgian style. See *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/m/montefiore-home> (accessed 6 March 2020). The home later moved, and the building on Mayfield Road was torn down. Illustrations and ground plans can be found in Charles R. Greco, 'Montefiore Home, Cleveland Heights, Ohio', *Architectural Forum* 33 (November 1920): pls. 67–9.
70. Illustrated in Marian J. Morton, *Cleveland Heights: The Making of an Urban Suburb* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2002), 105. The latter has a good discussion of Jewish immigration to the area: 104–22. The dome of Hosios Loukas

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was available to Greco in Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis*, pl. 2.

71. From Charles R. Greco, 'Memorandum of Work on The Temple', 19 April 1921. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54.
72. Letter of Greco to AHS, 4 August 1921. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54.
73. AHS telegram to Wolf on 11 May 1922. 'Greco will arrive Tuesday morning with completed plans and specifications. Advise calling meeting of the Building Committee Tuesday evening.' The next Tuesday was 16 May. AHS Papers, microfilm 54.
74. 'Schedule Specifications for the Temple and Temple Meeting House', minutes of Special Meeting of the Congregation, 5 November 1922. ATI.
75. See note 64.
76. *The Temple 1850–1950*, 33.
77. Construction photographs. ATI.
78. *Jewish Review and Observer*, 13 June 1924, 'Farewell to the Old Temple', *The Temple 1850–1950*, 33; *Dedication Number, Twenty-fourth Annual of The Temple East 105th Street at Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio 1924–25*, 14. ATI.
79. See n. 34.
80. Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 95–103.
81. Temple Shalom, 'History'. <http://www.templeshalomwv.com/history.html> (accessed 27 July 2023).
82. Abba Hillel Silver, (unpublished) *Autobiography*, book 1. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 211. (Emphasis in the original.)
83. Stanwood, 'Temple Tifereth Israel', 260. Silver's spirituality and mission, well conveyed here, are also apparent in the non-standard cornerstone inscription: 'Dedicated to the service of one God, the fellowship of all His children and the prophetic mission of His people Israel. Congregation Tifereth Israel 1923 · 5683.' See <https://www.clevelandjewishhistory.net/syn/ti-circle-photos.htm#pic2> (accessed 27 July 2023). I thank Arnold Berger for this information.
84. On 24 November 1924, Rabbi Samuel R. Shillman of Mizpah Congregation in Chattanooga, TN wrote Silver asking for 'pictures and some plans', as his congregation was planning a new building. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54. However, the Georgian structure that was built has no relation to the Temple in Cleveland. On 29 December 1924, Rabbi Ephraim Frisch of Temple Beth-El in San Antonio, TX wrote Silver to introduce the architect of the new synagogue they were planning and to ask if the architect could 'inspect your temple'. AHS Papers, microfilm roll 54. The San Antonio congregation would build a centralised Byzantine synagogue, decorated, however, with Spanish ornament befitting its location. See Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture*, 117, fig. 87.
85. 'Walking into Sanctuary', <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/40> (accessed 7 March 2020): 'When people come, particularly people who are

not Jewish, they are *bowled over* with that sanctuary. Part of it [is] . . . its vastness that domed feeling . . . [t]he reaction to that sanctuary is *totally* emotional, and people *adore* coming in there' (emphasis hers), interview from 2 July 2008. On the same site, listen also to the interview with Sue Koletsky about the spiritual quality of the sanctuary, 'A Very Spiritual Feeling', <https://clevelandhistorical.org/files/show/409> (accessed 27 July 2023).

86. Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 72, 74.