the Royal Lieutenancy rather surprisingly
approved the municipality’s demand to
concentrate Jewish residence exclusively
in the Terézváros (Theresienstadt) district.
Jews objected to this undeserved mea-
sure, pointing out that “in no other trad-
ing city in Europe is commerce so pro-
moted by Jewish merchants as in Pest.”
Cracks began to show in the united front
against Jews as the merit of this argu-
ment was recognized even by some of the
Christian citizenry. Nothing came of this
proposed ghetto, but Jewish residential
segregation remained an ever-present, if
not constant, feature of the city.

Largely excluded from the inner city,
Jews settled in the new districts that
formed a ring about it. The first area
of Jewish settlement was the Orczy House,
one of the largest building complexes in
the city owned by the eponymous aristo-
cratic family. It was situated on what
came to be the inner ring of the city, the
Landstrasse (Országút), and faced a large
plaza, the Kohlplatz or Kohlmarkt (cab-
bage market), dubbed at times the “Jewish
market.” The apartments of the Orczy
House ("Judenhof" ["Jewish courtyard")
lodged hundreds of Jews and many of the
communal institutions. It was also a bus-
tling bazaar, a center of the leather trade,
also as a labor exchange, where even
private tutors could be hired. Billiards,
cards, and later, Jewish newspapers, were
available at the popular Orczy Café.

Jewish settlement expanded from the
Orczy House along Király Street, then
throughout the rest of Terézváros. This
was by far the city’s most populous dis-
trict until split in the 1880s from the
southern (more Jewish) half, designated
Erzsébetváros. It was a lower middle-class
to middle-class neighborhood shared in
the first half of the century mainly with
Magyar inhabitants, unusual for the
largely German Pest. While never constit-
tuating its majority, Jews did largely popu-
late certain streets of Terézváros, justifying
its identification as the city’s Jewish
quarter. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

Already at the end of the eighteenth
century, the wealthier elements moved to
Lipótváros, an elegant quarter that in
time also came to serve as the home of
the main financial and commercial insti-
tutions of the city. From the turn of the
century until the census of 1857, about
95 percent of Pest’s Jews lived in these
two districts. Later, a working-class neigh-
borhood developed in the Józsefváros dis-
trict around Vásártér adjacent to Erzsébet-
város, while the upper classes lined the
mansions along the Sugárút (Andrássy
Avenue), the Budapest equivalent of New
York’s Park Avenue, toward the end of the
nineteenth century. Finally, after World
War I, New Lipótváros became a favored
neighborhood of Jewish professionals, a
sort of New York Upper West Side. From
the time of its unification with Buda, Pest
was the residence of roughly 90 percent
of the Jewish population of the capital.
(See Tables 4 and 5.)

One can compare the degree of urban
residential segregation in Pest and later
Budapest with other cities by using the
index of dissimilarity, a standard mea-
surement relating to the percentage of
the total Jewish and non-Jewish popula-
tion in each administrative unit. The
number of units affects the outcome,
which might explain the sudden rise in
1930. (See Table 6.)

**Occupations**

The predominant source of livelihood
of Pest Jews was trade. The quarter of a
century of French Wars (1792–1815) pro-
vided entrepreneurs with unusual eco-
nomic opportunities, and many supplied
the army in one form or another. By the
end of the 1820s a substantial layer of
prosperous merchants had come into ex-
itence. By 1833, when 716 traders were
listed, Jews had achieved a dominant pos-
sition in the overall economy of Pest.
While the crafts and retail trade remained
largely in Christian hands (only 12 of the
276 shopkeepers were Jewish), most of
the wholesale merchants in 1833—64 of
94—were Jewish, as were the overwhelm-
ing majority of street peddlers. Sizable
fortunes were made in the grain, wool,
and tobacco trade by Moritz Ullmann
and Sámuel Wodianer (both later con-
verted) who went on to play major eco-
nomic roles in the history of Pest. Their
large apartment houses were landmarks
in the city. By the 1830s, businessmen
such as Joseph L. Boskowitz, M. L. Kanitz,
Jacob Kern, and Jonas Kunewalder had
solidly established themselves and went

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### Table 2. Percentage of Population that Was Jewish by District: Pest, 1820–1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1857</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belváros</td>
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<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lipótváros</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>33.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terézváros</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>37.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferencváros</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 3. Distribution of Jews by District: Pest, 1820–1857 (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1857</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferencváros</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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