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B'nai B'rith

Gavro Schwartz, Hrvatska

Časopis za židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju i povijest.
Godina 7, broj 28, Zagreb, studeni 2022. Izlazi četiri puta godišnje.



**TEMA BROJA:
SINAGOGE JUGOISTOČNE
EUROPE**

**THEME OF THE ISSUE:
SYNAGOGUES OF
SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

THE VOICE

of B'nai B'rith



Gavro Schwartz, Croatia

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Časopis *Glasnik B'nai B'rith* pokrenut je 2016. godine kao digitalni časopis s fokusom na židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju, povijest, kao i aktivnosti židovskih zajednica i pojedinaca te udruge B'nai B'rith u Hrvatskoj. Časopis izlazi četiri puta godišnje u dvojezičnom formatu, na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, a svi su brojevi dostupni na <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. Svrha časopisa je ukazati na doprinos židovstva u razvoju hrvatske te europske kulture i civilizacije, povezati židovsku i opću javnost, kao i osigurati kontinuitet komunikacije između židovskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu. Današnji suradnici uključuju judaiste, izraeliste, povjesničare, teoretičare umjetnosti i stručnjake za različita područja iz Hrvatske, Austrije, Indije, Izraela, Amerike, Poljske, Brazila i drugih zemalja.

The Voice of B'nai B'rith was started in 2016 as a digital magazine focusing on Jewish culture, civilization, history, as well as the activities of Jewish communities and individuals and the B'nai B'rith association in Croatia. The magazine is published four times a year in bilingual format, in Croatian and English, and all issues are available at <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. The main objective is to point out the contribution of Judaism in the development of Croatian and European culture and civilization, to connect the Jewish and general public, as well as to ensure the continuity of communication between Jewish communities in Croatia and abroad. Today's contributors include scholars from areas of Jewish Studies, Israel Studies, historians, art theorists and experts in various fields from Croatia, Austria, India, Israel, America, Poland, Brazil and other countries.

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Paula Rem, urednica

Uz dvadeset osmi broj **Glasnika B'nai B'rith**



Poštovani čitatelji, poštovane čitateljice,

dolazimo i do dvadeset osmog broja *Glasnika B'nai B'rith*, časopisa koji je tijekom sedam godina uređivao njegov pokretač, prof. Darko Fischer, koji do daljnjeg ostaje važnim suradnikom. Svaki tekstualni doprinos – ali i povratne informacije – veoma su nam važne, stoga se ne ustručavajte slati komentare, ideje i prijedloge.

Dvadeset i osmi broj posvećen je sinagogama, mjestima namijenjenima odvijanju židovskog religijskog života. Premda su sinagoge izvorno bile mjesta obrazovanja, a Jeruzalemski hram mjesto molitve, nakon razrušenja Prvog i zatim Drugog hrama, važnost sinagoga raste. Na mjesto dotadašnjeg prinošenja žrtve, dolazi molitva; na mjesto nekadašnjih židovskih svećenika (Aronovih nasljednika), koji su živjeli i djelovali u okviru Hrama, sada dolaze rabini, učenjaci, čija je dotadašnja funkcija bila tumačenje Zakona (Tora). Premda je u židovstvu kultura pismenosti oduvijek bila važna, a stopa obrazovanih izuzetno visoka, budući da je pružanje obrazovanja djeci de facto religijska obveza, nakon nastupa tzv. rabinskog doba (1.

stoljeće n.e., nakon pada Drugog hrama), dolazi do eksplozije u žanrovima rabinske književnosti. Priče, tradicije i zakonske norme koje su se dotad prenosile usmenom predaju sada bivaju zapisane i tako nastaju Mišna, Gemara, Talmud i ostale relevantne knjige. Zahvaljujući književnoj djelatnosti rabina, sadržaji koji su se dotad isključivo učili napamet u učenjačkim krugovima bivaju zapisani i dostupniji široj javnosti. Padom Hrama, sinagoga zauzima centralnu važnost kao glavna obrazovno-religijska institucija, a rabini, uz funkciju pravnih stručnjaka, također preuzimaju na sebe obvezu održavanja liturgije.

Ovaj broj posvećen je prvenstveno sinagogama u Hrvatskoj i široj regionalnoj okolini, Srbiji i BiH. Naravno, obuhvaćen je tek malen dio sinagoga prisutnih u našim državama: tema ostaje otvorena i za buduća izdanja časopisa. Zbog velikog broja izravnih citata prisutnih u pojedinim tekstovima, u cilju bolje ilustracije sličnosti i razlika između priča vezanih uz hrvatske, srpske i bosanske sinagoge, ali i reafirmacije veza koje su postojale među južnoslavenskim općinama, u ovom broju tekstovi će biti objavljeni

na izvornom jeziku na kojem su pisani, tj. srpskom ili bosanskom, pored hrvatskog. Nažalost, mnoge od tih priča nemaju sretan završetak, pa je tako većina sinagoga devastirana u Drugom svjetskom ratu, nakon čega se židovske zajednice nikad više nisu vratile predratnim brojkama, zbog čega su mnoge sinagoge ostale uništene ili, nakon rekonstrukcije, više nisu u upotrebi. Pa ipak, nekoliko pozitivnih primjera može djelovati poticajno na naše zajednice koje su ostale i opstale, unatoč svemu. Usprkos svim teškoćama, mnoge židovske zajednice na području bivše Jugoslavije veoma su aktivne u kulturi svojih gradova i država, prvenstveno zahvaljujući motiviranosti, upornosti i me-

đusobnoj povezanosti svojih članova. Zbog prostorne ograničenosti, neke od tekstova namijenjenih za ovaj broj objavit ćemo u sljedećem. U sljedećem broju, doznajte pojedinosti vezane uz sinagoge u dalekoj Indiji, ali i daleko bližem Đakovu.

Osim temata, časopis uvijek nastoji uključiti i izvješća vezana uz aktualna zbivanja vezano uz naše židovske zajednice. Tako će ovo izdanje također uključiti izvješće o uspješno provedenom Mjesecu židovske kulture u Osijeku, koji broji čak 1200 posjetitelja, kao i prikaz knjige Drora Mišanija, izraelskog književnika, povodom njegovog gostovanja na Festivalu svjetske književnosti u Zagrebu.

Paula Rem, editor

Editorial to the 28th Issue of *The Voice of B'nai B'rith*



Dear readers,

we come to the twenty-eighth issue of our *Voice of B'nai B'rith*, which was edited for seven years by its initiator, prof. Darko Fischer, who remains an important collaborator. Every text contribution - as well as feedback - is very important to us, so don't hesitate to send comments, ideas and suggestions.

The twenty-eighth issue is dedicated to synagogues, places intended for Jewish religious life. Although synagogues were originally places of education, and the Jerusalem Temple a place of prayer, after the destruction of the First and then the Second Temple, the importance of synagogues grew. In place of the previous sacrifice, prayer comes; the former Jewish priests (Aaron's heirs), who lived and worked within the Temple, are now replaced by rabbis, scholars, whose previous function was the interpretation of the Law (Torah). Although the culture of literacy has always been important in Judaism, and the rate of educated people is extremely high, since providing education to children is a de facto religious obligation, af-

ter the appearance of the so-called rabbinical era (1st century AD, after the fall of the Second Temple), there is an explosion in the genres of rabbinical literature. Stories, traditions and legal norms that were previously passed down by word of mouth are now written down and thus the Mishnah, Gemara, Talmud and other relevant books are created. Thanks to the literary activity of the rabbis, contents that until then were exclusively learned by heart in scholarly circles are being written down and more accessible to the general public. With the fall of the Temple, the synagogue assumed central importance as the main educational and religious institution, and the rabbis, in addition to the function of legal experts, also took upon themselves the obligation to maintain the liturgy.

This issue is dedicated primarily to synagogues in Croatia and the wider regional environment, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, only a small part of the synagogues present in our countries is covered: the topic remains open for future editions of the magazine. Due to the large number of direct quotations

present in certain texts, in order to better illustrate the similarities and differences between the stories related to Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian synagogues, but also to reaffirm the ties that existed between the former Yugoslav communities, in this issue the texts will be published in the original language in which they were written, i.e. Serbian or Bosnian, and not translated to Croatian. Unfortunately, many of these stories do not have a happy ending, so most synagogues were devastated in World War II, after which the Jewish communities never returned to their pre-war numbers, which is why many synagogues remained destroyed or, after reconstruction, are no longer in use. And yet, a few positive examples can have a stimulating effect on our communities that have remained and survived, despite everything. Despite all the difficulties, many Jewish com-

munities in the territory of the former Yugoslavia are very active in the culture of their cities and countries, primarily thanks to the motivation, persistence and mutual connection of their members. Due to space limitations, we will publish some of the texts intended for this issue in the following. In the next issue, find out details about synagogues in distant India, but also much closer to Đakovo.

In addition to topics, the magazine always tries to include reports related to current events related to our Jewish communities. Thus, this edition will also include a report on the successfully conducted Month of Jewish Culture in Osijek, which has as many as 1,200 visitors, as well as a review of the book by Dror Mišani, an Israeli writer, on the occasion of his guest appearance at the Festival of World Literature in Zagreb.

Paula Rem

Drugi Mjesec židovske kulture u Osijeku

Prošli mjesec bacio je svojevrsnu “čaroliju” na stanovnike našeg grada, članove naše Općine, tijekom tog perioda bili smo odvojeni od uobičajenih svakodnevnih briga i ujedinjeni u zajedničkim aktivnostima. Tijekom tih mjesec dana, živjeli smo kao obitelj: nikad nismo govorili “zbogom”, jer smo znali da se odvajamo na svega nekoliko sati, a već sutra ponovno ćemo se vidjeti na programu. Tko je nazočio barem nekom od programa Židovske općine Osijek, mogao je okusiti dio te atmosfere, a naši članovi koji su cijeli mjesec dolazili na događanja, mogu posvjedočiti novoj

razini dubine naših komunikacija. Oko trideset programa ovogodišnjeg Mjeseca židovske kulture uspjeli su zadovoljiti visoke standarde koji su postavljeni prošle godine – i dodatno ih nadograditi. Brojevi posjetitelja svjedoče da u osječkoj javnosti postoji velik interes za židovsku kulturu i tradiciju. Organizatorica i koordinatorka Mjeseca židovske kulture Nives Beissmann bilježi ukupnu posjećenost od čak 1200 osoba: građana Osijeka različitih sociodemografskih karakteristika, kao i vanjskih gostiju. Mjesec židovske kulture u Osijeku kulturna je manifestacija po svom opsegu i slo-



Otvorenje Mjeseca židovske kulture koncertom klezmer glazbe

Izvor: Željko Beissmann

ženosti jedinstvena u Europi. Nakon cjelomjesečnog programa raznovrsnih događanja, u novu godinu 5783. ulazimo s novom aurom optimizma i zajedništva. Osijek je bio prvi hrvatski grad koji se uključio u obilježavanje Europskog dana židovske kulture, nakon čega su se pridružile i druge općine. Zbog izvrsne posjećenosti i medijske recepcije, manifestacija je u Osijeku narasla na Mjesec židovske kulture. Premda osječki Židovi čine malen postotak stanovništva grada, njihov doprinos kulturi ostaje velik i značajan.

Mjesec židovske kulture počeo je u nedjelju, 4. rujna 2022. u 19 sati, kada je u prostoru Kulturnog centra Osijek održan koncert Kontra kvarteta iz Maribora. Daniel Marinič na harmonici, Vesna Čobal na violini, Petar Marić na gitari, Branko Smrtnik na kontrabasu, Domen Marn na klarinetu transportirali su publiku u svijet klezmer glazbe, inspirirane tradicionalnim motivima glazbe Aškenaza. Posjećenost je bila veća nego što su prostorne okolnosti to predvidjele, pa se u uskom atriju Kulturnog centra okupilo čak sedamdesetak osoba, a donosili smo i dodatne stolce iz pozadinskih prostorija. Mjesec židovske kulture otvorio je predsjednik Židovske općine Osijek Damir Lajoš, a goste je pozdravila organizatorica i koordinatorica MŽK Nives Beissmann. Glazba nas je razveselila i rastužila, pokazala nam emocionalne širine koje smo sposobni osjetiti, idealno nas pripre-

majući za događaje idućih dana. Nakon emocionalnog iskustva uz Kontra kvartet, uslijedilo je predavanje dr. sc. Ljiljane Dobrovšak u ponedjeljak, 5. rujna 2022. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Osijeku. Na zanimljiv i poučan način, dr. sc. Dobrovšak govorila je o židovskom rodoslovlju na primjeru osječke obitelji Miskolczy-Vukelić, iz koje je potekla poznata književnica Vilma Vukelić (19./20. stoljeće). Bilo nam je izuzetno drago susresti dr. Dobrovšak, s kojom ŽO Osijek surađuje već dugi niz godina, a koja je autorica knjiga objavljenih u izdanju naše Općine. Prostor u kojem se predavanje odvijalo bilo nam je svojevrsni dom na nekoliko dana, budući da su tamo održana predavanja različitih predavača, a komentiranje kičastog dizajna Prostorije 39 na FFOS-u postalo je svakodnevna preokupacija: nekima se svidio taj pseudoantičkogrčki stil, a neki su povezali prostor sa znanstvenofantastičnom atmosferom filma Odiseja u svemiru. U srijedu, 7. rujna, riječki prae-doc asistent Lovro Kralj u ovom je prostoru govorio o trima nacističkim pokretima u Osijeku za vrijeme 2. svjetskog rata: mađarski strelasti križevi, njemački nacionalsocijalisti i hrvatski ustaše koegzistirali su, bili jedni drugima podrška, ali i konkurencija. Suprotno uobičajenom mišljenju kako je za nacističke zločine odgovoran mali broj ljudi, predavač je naglasio kako je mnoštvo građana Osijeka bilo aktivno uključeno u ta tri pokreta – ali i u pokret otpora.



Predavanje “Sinagoge u Hrvatskoj” prof. Fischera

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

Tjedan dana kasnije – u srijedu 14. rujna i petak 16. rujna – na istom su mjestu održana dva predavanja našeg počasnog predsjednika prof. Darka Fischera. Prof. Fischer publici je veoma jednostavno približio kompleksnu temu židovskog kalendara u srijedu, a u petak je govorio o sinagogama u Hrvatskoj. U četvrtak, 15. rujna, prof. Fischer posjetio je OŠ “Mladost” – školu koju sam i sama pohađala, ali mi je drago vidjeti da se u proteklih petnaest godina značajno promijenila – govoreći učenicima na lak i zanimljiv način o kiparu Oskaru Nemonu. U trenutku kad je nekoliko predstavnika Židovske općine Osijek pomislilo da je svečana dvorana konačno potpuno napunjena učenicima, došao je još jedan razred zainteresiranih učenika. Pa zatim još jedan. Sve dok i posljednja stolica nije bila skinuta s

hrpe i postavljena, a više se nije imalo gdje proći. Cijela je dvorana za priredbe bila ispunjena učenicima dobi 5.-8. razreda. Prof. Fischer anegdota je zabavio učenike svih uzrasta, dokazujući svoj talent komunikacije s mladim generacijama. Priču o Oskaru Nemonu ispričao je na zanimljiv i zabavan način, fokusirajući se na pojedinosti vezane uz Oskarov privatni život i doprinos Osijeku. Učenike je pogotovo nasmijala anegdota o tome da je Oskar dobio ime po konju, jer je rođen kada je vozač konjskog tramvaja ispod prozora sobe u kojoj je njegova majka rađala požurivao konja povikom: “Hajde, Oskare!” Čuvši taj povik, konj je krenuo – a maleni Oskar se rodio. Nadalje, prof. Fischer je učenicima pričao o Oskarovom djetinjstvu i studiju umjetnosti zajedno s poznatim slikarom Ivanom Reinom.



Gostovanje prof. Darka Fischera u prepunoj dvorani OŠ "Mladost"

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

Učenci su čuli priču o Oskarovoj obitelji uz vizualni prikaz obiteljskog stabla, kao i fotografije sa skupinom umjetnika. Oskar Nemon jedan je od najvažnijih osječkih kipara, koji je u inozemstvu ostvario zavidnu karijeru, a družio se s cijelim nizom politički i umjetnički važnih ličnosti, npr. s britanskim premijerom i kraljicom te američkim predsjednikom Eisenhowerom. Bilo nam je izuzetno drago pozdraviti i ugostiti prof. Fischera u Osijeku, a druženje se nastavilo kroz nekoliko dana i izvan programa Mjeseca židovske kulture.

Tijekom dva utorka – 6. rujna i 13. rujna – prošetali smo Osijekom uz vođenu turu nastavnika povijesti Tomislava Vukovića, koji već dugo godina podučava svoje učenike, ali i građane Osijeka, o kulturnom doprinosu osječkih Židova kroz povijest, njihovoj ulozi za izgradnju našeg grada, ali i progonu usmjerenom protiv njih

u vrijeme Holokausta. U četvrtak, 8. rujna, pohađali smo predavanje Andreje Šimičić u Muzeju Slavonije, gdje nas je ljubazno dočekaao ravnatelj Muzeja Denis Detling. Slušali smo o slici pod nazivom "Portret gospodina u naslonjaču", koja je bila u židovskom vlasništvu, a koja povezuje Osijek s europskim metropolama poput Berlina, Beča i Praga.

Drago mi je što sam, kao judaistica, i sama imala priliku doprinijeti Mjesecu židovske kulture: u petak, 9. rujna u Kulturnom centru održala sam predavanje "Od Mojsija do košera – elementi židovstva u hrvatskoj književnosti". Na početku i na kraju programa učenik Glazbene škole Franje Kuhača, Ivan Bulić, i njegov brat Marin Bulić uz klavirsku pratnju nastavnice glazbe Ivančice Hinek izveli su dvije pjesme: hebrejsku molitvu Avinu Malkeinu (Max Janovski, Raymond Goldstein) i brodvejski hit biblijske tematike Clo-

se Every Door (Andrew Lloyd Webber, Tim Rice). Današnji europski, slavenski, ali i hrvatski identiteti temeljeni su na judeokršćanskim vrijednostima, što je pokazano na primjerima iz suvremene hrvatske književnosti. Predstavljene su knjige proze “Balade o Josipu” i “Krucifiks” romanopisca i pjesnika Milorada Stojevića, ljubavni roman “Košer” Davora Špišića, metahistorijske proze “Vrijeme snova” i studija “Vjera Biller” Mirka Ćurića, jeruzalemski putopis “Peto evanđelje” akademkinje Dubravke Oraić-Tolić, borghesovska “Pamfilos ili pripovijesti dokonjaka” Alberta Goldsteina i punk-zbirka pjesama “Sibir” Stjepana Petea. Od srpske književnosti koja koristi židovske motive navedeni su romani “San o ljubavi i smrti” i “Kuća sećanja i zaborava” Filipa Davida te

Pekićeva dvotomna “Atlantida” i “Besnilo” te “1999”. Govorilo se i o višestruko hvaljenoj zbirci priča Darka Fischera “Crtice iz dijaspore”, inspiriranih stvarnim anegdotama iz života naše židovske zajednice. Također je bila riječ o metafori “obnove” u židovstvu, koje iščekuje “obnovu” društva u mesijansko doba - doba mira i jednakosti.

Tijekom tri subote – 10. rujna, 17. rujna i 24. rujna, održane su tri Žive knjižnice, programa u kojima su učenici osnovnih i srednjih škola, ali i drugi građani Osijeka, dobili priliku razgovarati s akterima izložbe Muzej osobnih priča i pripadnicima nacionalnih manjina. U programu su sudjelovale Sara i Nives Beissmann, Ana-Marija Pinter, Željko Beissmann, Darko Fisc-



Predavanje “Obnova u književnosti”

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

her, Romana Pavlov te Biljana Majnik ex Papo i Damir Lajoš uz dvoje predstavnika srpske nacionalne manjine, Nikicu Torbicu i Marijanu Radmilović. U razgovoru s pripadnicima manjina, učenici su dobili priliku izraziti stavove protiv diskriminacije, ali i naučiti ponešto o osnovama židovske kulture, što je svrha Mjeseca židovske kulture. Također su održane dvije likovne radionice: za umirovljenike (MLU, 13. rujna) i djecu (MLU, 17. rujna) te turnir u stolnom tenisu za pripadnike manjina (18. rujna) i turnir u šahu (17. rujna). Plesna radionica “Dijalog kroz ples nacionalnih manjina” (18. rujna) okupila je pripadnike nacionalnih manjina, koji su u prostoru Stare pekare učili nacionalne plesove drugih manjina. 4.-24. rujna od 17 do 21 sat posjetiteljima kina Urania svakodnevno je bila dostupna virtual-

na šetnja Izraelom uz inovativni VR sadržaj. Održane su dvije projekcije filmova u kulturnom osječkom kinu Urania: izraelska drama “Zaposlena žena” (2018.) donijela je katarzu, a komedija “Orkestar u gostima” (2007.) nasmijala nas je tjedan dana kasnije. Prva projekcija realizirana je u suradnji s Veleposlanstvom Države Izrael, a drugu su omogućili Kino Urania i Kinematografi Osijek. Projekcije su bile posve besplatne, tako da je svim posjetiteljima bio omogućen uvid u izraelsko društvo i kulturu.

11. rujna 2022. u nedjeljno prijepodne održana je promocija zbirke priča temeljene na stvarnim iskazima preživjelih Holokausta, “Pismo na šinama”, Novosađanke Marije Vasić. “Istražujući Holokaust nailazila sam na priče preživjelih od kojih zastaje



Radionica “Ples s nacionalnim manjinama”

Izvor: Željko Beissmann

dah”, napisala je autorica Marija Vasić u uvodniku svoje zbirke priča “Pismo na šinama”. Dakako, zastaje dah - jer sjećanje na Holokaust je nešto od čega treba zastati dah, trebamo stati, razmisliti, prisjetiti se. A to smo učinili i mi. Osim autorice, u programu je gostovala predsjednica Jevrejske opštine Sombor Sandra Fišer, koja je govorila o knjizi iz perspektive židovskih zajednica u Srbiji. U ulozi predstavljača knjige bio je predsjednik Židovske općine Osijek Damir Lajoš. Atmosfera je bila opuštена i prijateljska: osjećaj je više nalikovao obiteljskom druženju negoli službenom događaju. Židovska općina opet je bila homogena cjelina, a izbrisale su se granice između sudionika i publike, svi su bili ravnopravan dio programa. Unatoč ozbiljnoj temi - ali i mojoj tremi, jer sam prvi put imala priliku

moderirati književni program - ubrzo nakon početnih izlaganja, ostalo je samo neizmjereno zadovoljstvo zbog glatkoće komunikacije, novouspostavljenih i obnovljenih prijateljskih veza s našim srpskim kolegama. Složili smo se da sadržaj pisma Maksa Kasovica, stradalog u Aušvicu sadrži zapravo poantu knjige: “Mi smo dobro i svi smo zajedno, ali na putu za našu smrt, Aušvic”. Na promociji je naglašeno kako je, u nekom smislu, svatko na “putu za smrt”, pa ipak, u ovom trenutku smo svi zajedno, sjedimo pored nekog do kog nam je stalo, a ne znamo što će biti kad stignemo na odredište. Ali sada - je sve u redu. I takve momente treba cijeniti. Autorica je naglasila kako je iskustvo koncentracijskog logora trajno promijenilo ljude: naučili su da valja cijeniti male trenutke veselja, zajedništva, ostvariti



Promocija knjige “Pismo na šinama” Marije Vasić
Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal



Otvorenje izložbe “Papa Franjo u Izraelu”

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

karijeru kakvu žele i realizirati ljubavnu priču o kojoj maštaju, na koncu, u potpunosti iskoristiti život – jer svaki trenutak mogao bi biti posljednji. Druženje se nastavilo tijekom čitavog poslijepodneva, kada smo gošćama pokazali centar našeg grada i obećali nastaviti suradnju.

U ponedjeljak, 12. rujna, u Muzeju likovnih umjetnosti otvorena je izložba Papa Franjo u Izraelu. Programu su nazočili predstavnici Grada, nacionalnih i religijskih manjina, ali i mnoštvo novinara. Uz ravnatelja MLU Eduarda Hudolina, publiku je pozdravio predsjednik ŽO Damir Lajoš, a izložbu je otvorila Jasenka Crnković u ime gradonačelnika Ivana Radića. Osim

što prikazuje slike predivnog Izraela, izložba naglašava važnost tolerancije u međureligijskoj komunikaciji. Otvorenje je bilo odlično posjećeno i medijski popraćeno.

Još jedna izložba otvorena je 19. rujna, samo nekoliko dana kasnije, kada su predstavnici ŽO Osijek posjetili Belišće, grad s kojim njeguje izvrsnu suradnju. U Kazališnoj kavani Belišće uz suorganizaciju Centra za kulturu Sigmund Romberg otvorena je izložba “Jeruzalem – glavni grad Izraela”, koju su Osječani imali prilike vidjeti prethodne godine. Obje izložbe ostvarene su u suradnji s Veleposlanstvom Države Izrael u Hrvatskoj, a u Belišću nas je srdačno dočekala konzulica

Hadas Dolev, pomoćnica prethodnog Veleposlanika Ilana Mora, Plamenka Gordić-Špišić i pomoćnica za kulturu Iva Stipanov. Izložbi je nazočila i pročelnica upravnog odjela za društvene djelatnosti Antonija Andrašek Barić, dogradonačelnica Belišća Ljerka Vučković otvorila je izložbu, a otvorenje su uljepšale pjesme dvoje glazbenika: Valentina i Vjekoslav Pavlović. Bilo nam je posebno drago susresti našeg rabina Luciana Mošu Prelevića, koji nas je u neformalnom kontekstu proveo kroz fotografije, objašnjavajući značaj pojedinačnih jeruzalemskih lokacija. Nakon ugodnog programa, uslijedila je večera u Valpovu. Predstavnicima Židovske općine i Belišćani prisjećali su se dugogodišnje plodne suradnje, smijali anegdota iz prošlosti, ali i dogovarali buduće projekte.



Predstavnicima ŽO Osijek s rabinom Prelevićem na otvorenju izložbe u Belišću

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

19.-23. rujna bilo je razdoblje predviđeno za rad s učenicima u OŠ "Tin Ujević". Nives Beissmann održala je predavanje na temu židovskih tradicija i običaja, stupajući u dijalog s učenicima škole, a sljedeći dan su Sara i Nives Beissmann održale radionicu izraelskog plesa. Nekoliko nastavnika i školska knjižnica angažirali su se u radu s učenicima, a njihovi su rezultati bili izloženi 22. rujna 2022. Familijarna atmosfera ni ovaj put nije izostala, a predstavnici ŽO žustro su komentirali crteže i literarne radove učenika. Nives Beissmann istaknula je crtež drveta koje izrasta u obliku Davidove zvijezde, Damiru Lajošu svjedočala se precizna tehnika sjenčanja primijenjena na crtežu zvrka-dreidele, a Borisu Lichtenthalu najdraži je bio crtež ortodoksnog Židova u tehnici olovke. Osim navedenih aktivnosti, tijekom tjedna održano je još mnoštvo radionica koje su nastavnici proveli s učenicima.

Naknadno je u Mjesec židovske kulture – na veoma ugodno iznenađenje – uvršten jedan program suvremenog plesa. Riječ je o diplomskom radu Tanye Rute Grgić, studentice neverbalnog teatra na Akademiji za umjetnost i kulturu u Osijeku, pod vodstvom mentorice red. prof. art. Maje Đurinić i sumentora Matije Ferlina. 21. rujna 2022. u 20 sati u kulturnom prostoru Barutane, gdje se odvijaju mnogi underground umjetnički programi, izvedena je plesna predstava latinskog naslova *Sic transit gloria mundi*, u zna-



Plesna predstava Tanje Rute Grgić u Barutani

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

čenju *Tako prolazi slava svijeta*. Unatoč naslovu poganskog prizvuka, tema je inspirirana mnogim židovskim motivima i kulturološkim podrijetlom autorice. Uz Tanju Rutu Grgić, nastupio je kolumbijski plesač i koreograf Parsifal Plazas, koji je reflektirao njezine pokrete. U trenutku ulaska u stari vojni prostor Barutane, gledatelj se nalazi odsječenim iz vanjskog svijeta, u posebnoj dimenziji gdje postoji samo ples i glazba. Ova atmosfera nastala se kroz plesnu predstavu, temeljenu na dualnostima: svjetlo-tama, život-smrt, vidljivo-nevidljivo, stvarnost-sjenovitost. Koreografkinja, redateljica i dramaturginja plesne predstave Tanja Ruta Grgić navodi kako je njezin rad inspiriran knjigama Brune Schulza i doktorskim radom dr. Edith Stein, a također su prisutne reference na židovskog filozofa Martina Bubera i elementi transcendentalne fenomenologije Edmunda Husserla. Sonata

za čelo br. 8 Zoltana Kodalya izvrsno se uklopila, dajući određen etno-prizvuk, osjećaj ne toliko transcendencije, koliko imanencije, postojanja jedni u drugima. Neva Begović izvrsnim sviranjem uživo nastavila je u publici održavati osjećaje koji su već bili probuđeni zbog samog settinga i prostora. Tehnikom suvremenog plesa, autorica je prikazala trodijelnu priču o rođenju, životu i smrti.

Mjesec židovske kulture mogao je ovdje i završiti, jer je iskustvo plesne predstave osiguralo emotivno iskustvo posjetiteljima, pa ipak, atmosfera je nastavila rasti tijekom nekoliko idućih programa. U petak, 23. rujna, održana je promocija knjige Martine Globočnik, poznate hrvatske scenaristice, dokumentaristice i jedne od idejnih začetnica izložbe Muzej osobnih priča, s kojom sam razgovarala o njezinoj zbirci eseja "Snaga narativa". Teme su uključivale probleme naci-



Predstava "Gospođa Roza" u Osijeku

Izvor: Boris Lichtenthal

onalnih manjina poput netolerancije većinskog društva, ali i unutarne asimilacije. Dijalog o važnim temama nastavio se i idućeg dana, tijekom četverosatne Žive knjižnice. Uloge su se zamijenile, pa je tako razgovor s predstavnicima židovske i srpske nacionalne manjine moderirala Martina Globočnik, a o političkim temama nastavilo se vatreno diskutirati tijekom cijelog poslijepodneva, još dugo vremena nakon okončanja formalnog dijela programa.

Mjesec židovske kulture Osijek 2022. izvrsno je primljen od strane osječke javnosti, a o njemu su izvještavali mnogobrojni lokalni i nacionalni mediji, među kojima Glas Slavonije, HRT, Osječka TV, Slavonska TV i mnogi drugi. Mjesec židovske kulture zatvoren je u velikom stilu, predstavom *Gospođa Roza* po romanu Romaina Garyja, u režiji Stefana Sablića i izvedbu legendarne Jelisavete Seke

Sablić, održanom 24. rujna. U Dječjem kazalištu Branka Mihaljevića bila su zauzeta sva mjesta, što označava prisutnost nekoliko stotina osoba, na ovom velikom finalu našeg festivala. Uz besprijekornu Seku Sablić, glumili su Dorian Diallo, Mladen Andrejević i Bojan Dimitrijević, a predstava je stavila točku na "i" Mjeseca židovske kulture. 25. rujna mogli smo doista zadovoljni obilježiti Roš hašanu – i ući u novu godinu s novom energijom i optimizmom. Ovaj festival povezo nas je s osječkom javnošću, ali i jedne s drugima. Drugi cjelomjesečni festival židovske kulture u Osijeku uspješno je iza nas – i već sa žarom i nestrpljenjem iščekujemo sljedeći.

Paula Rem

Second Month of Jewish Culture in Osijek

In September, a kind of “spell” was cast on the residents of our city, the members of our Jewish Community: we were separated from the usual daily concerns and united in common activities, living as one family: we never said “goodbye”, because we knew that we were only separated for a few hours, and we would see each other again at tomorrow’s program. Anyone who attended at least one of the programs of the Jewish Community Osijek could taste part of that atmosphere, and our members who came to the events all month can testify to the new level of depth of our communications. About thirty programs of this year’s Month of Jewish Culture managed to meet the high standards that were set last year - and further upgrade them. The number of visitors shows that there is a great interest in Jewish culture and tradition among the Osijek public. The organizer and coordinator of the Month of Jewish Culture, Nives Beissmann, recorded a total attendance of as many as 1,200 people: citizens of Osijek with different socio-demographic characteristics, as well as external guests. The Month of Jewish Culture in Osijek is a cultural manifestation unique in

Europe in terms of its scope and complexity. After a month-long program of various events, we enter the new year 5783 with a new aura of optimism and togetherness. Osijek was the first Croatian city to participate in the celebration of the European Day of Jewish Culture, after which other communities also joined. Due to the excellent attendance and media reception, the event in Osijek grew into the Month of Jewish Culture. Although Osijek’s Jews make up a small percentage of the city’s population, their contribution to culture remains large and significant.

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Lecture by dr. Ljiljana Dobrovšak

Source: Boris Lichtenthal

The month of Jewish culture began on Sunday, September 4, 2022 at 7 p.m., when a concert by the Kontra Quartet from Maribor was held in the Osijek Cultural Center. Daniel Marinič on harmonica, Vesna Čobal on violin, Petar Marić on guitar, Branko Smrtnik on double bass, Domen Marn on clarinet transported the audience to the world of klezmer music, inspired by the traditional motifs of Ashkenazi music. The attendance was higher than the spatial circumstances predicted, so as many as seventy people gathered in the narrow atrium of the Cultural Center, and we also brought additional chairs from the back rooms. The month of Jewish culture was opened by the President of the Jewish Community Osijek, Damir Lajoš, and the guests were greeted by the organizer and coordinator of the Month of

Jewish Culture, Nives Beissmann. The music made us happy and sad, showed us the emotional breadths we are capable of feeling, ideally preparing us for the events of the coming days. And that's how it all started. After the emotional experience with the Kontra Quartet, there was a lecture by Dr. sc. Ljiljana Dobrovšak on Monday, September 5, 2022 at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek. In an interesting and informative way, dr. Dobrovšak spoke about Jewish genealogy using the example of the Miskolczy-Vukelić family from Osijek, from which the famous writer Vilma Vukelić (19th/20th century) came. We were extremely pleased to meet Dr. Dobrovšak, with whom Jewish Community Osijek has been cooperating for many years, and who is the author of books published by



Lecture "Synagogues in Croatia" by dr. Fischer

Source: Boris Lichtenthal

our Community. The space where the lecture took place was a kind of home for us for a few days, since lectures by different lecturers were held there, and commenting on the kitschy design of Room 39 at the Faculty became a daily preoccupation: some liked that pseudo-ancient Greek style, and some connected space with the sci-fi atmosphere of the film *A Space Odyssey*. On Wednesday, September 7, Rijeka prae-doc assistant Lovro Kralj spoke in this space about the three Nazi movements in Osijek during World War II: the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the German National Socialists and the Croatian Ustahas coexisted, supported each other, but and competition. Contrary to the common opinion that a small number of people are responsible for Nazi crimes, the lecturer emphasized that many citizens of Osijek were actively involved in those three movements - but also in the resistance movement.

A week later - on Wednesday, September 14 and Friday, September 16 - two lectures by our honorary president, prof. Darko Fischer, took place. Prof. Fischer brought the complex topic of the Jewish calendar to the audience very simply on Wednesday, and on Friday he spoke about synagogues in Croatia. On Thursday, September 15, prof. Fischer visited Elementary School "Mladost" - a school that I attended myself, but I am glad to see that it has changed significantly in the past fifteen years - speaking to the

students in an easy and interesting way about the sculptor Oskar Nemon. At the moment when several representatives of the Jewish Community Osijek thought that the ceremonial hall was finally completely filled with students, another class of interested students came. Then another one. Until the last chair was removed from the pile and placed, and there was nowhere left to pass. The entire performance hall was filled with students aged 5-8. class. Prof. Fischer entertained students of all ages with anecdotes, proving his talent for communication with young generations. He told the story of Oskar Nemon in an interesting and entertaining way, focusing on details related to Oskar's private life and contribution to Osijek. The students especially laughed at the anecdote about Oskar being named after a horse, because he was born when the driver of the horse-drawn tram rushed the horse under the window of the room where his mother was giving birth, shouting: "Come on, Oskar!" Hearing that cry, the horse started - and little Oskar was born. Furthermore, prof. Fischer told the students about Oskar's childhood and art studies together with the famous painter Ivan Rein. The students heard the story of Oskar's family along with a visual representation of the family tree, as well as photos with a group of artists. Oskar Nemon is one of the most important sculptors from Osijek, who achieved an enviable career abroad, and associated with a whole

series of politically and artistically important personalities, for example with the British Prime Minister and Queen and American President Truman. We were extremely pleased to welcome and host Prof. Fischer in Osijek, and the gathering continued for several days outside the program of the Month of Jewish Culture.



**Guided tour through Osijek
by Tomislav Vuković**
Source: Željko Beissmann

During two Tuesdays - September 6 and September 13 - we walked through Osijek with a guided tour by history teacher Tomislav Vuković, who has been teaching his students and the citizens of Osijek for many years about the cultural contribution of Osijek's Jews throughout history, their role in building our city, but also the persecution directed against them during the Holocaust. On Thurs-

day, September 8, we attended a lecture by Andreja Šimičić at the Museum of Slavonia, where we were kindly welcomed by the director of the Museum, Denis Detling. We heard about a painting called "Portrait of a Gentleman in an Armchair", which was owned by Jews, and which connects Osijek with European metropolises such as Berlin, Vienna and Prague.

I am glad that, as a Judaist, I myself had the opportunity to contribute to the Month of Jewish Culture: on Friday, September 9, at the Cultural Center, I held a lecture "From Moses to Kosher - Elements of Judaism in Croatian Literature". At the beginning and at the end of the program, the student of the Franje Kuhač Music School, Ivan Bulić, and his brother Marin Bulić, accompanied by music teacher Ivančica Hinek on the piano, performed two songs: a Hebrew prayer to Avin Malkein (Max Janovski, Raymond Goldstein) and a Broad-



Lecture at the Museum of Slavonia
Source: Željko Beissmann

way hit with a biblical theme Close Every Door (Andrew Lloyd Webber, Tim Rice). Today's European, Slavic, but also Croatian identities are based on Judeo-Christian values, which is demonstrated by examples from contemporary Croatian literature. The prose books "Ballad of Joseph" and "Crucifix" by the novelist and poet Milorad Stojević, the love novel "Košer" by Davor Špišić, the metahistorical prose "Time of Dreams" and the study "Vjera Biller" by Mirko Ćurić, the Jerusalem travelogue "The Fifth Gospel" by academician Dubravka were presented. Oraić-Tolić, the Borgheesian "Pamfilos or tales of idlers" by Albert Goldstein and the punk song collection "Sibir" by Stjepan Pete. From Serbian literature that uses Jewish motifs, the novels "Dream of Love and Death" and "House of Mem-

ory and Oblivion" by Filip David and Pekić's two-volume "Atlantida" and "Rabies" and "1999" are mentioned. There was also talk about Darko Fischer's multi-praised collection of stories "Sketches from the Diaspora", inspired by real anecdotes from the life of our Jewish community. It was also about the metaphor of "renewal" in Judaism, which awaits the "renewal" of society in the messianic age - the age of peace and equality.

During three Saturdays - September 10, September 17 and September 24, three Living Libraries were held, programs in which primary and secondary school students, as well as other citizens of Osijek, had the opportunity to talk with the actors of the Museum of Personal Stories exhibition and members of national minority. The



Living Library at the Museum of Personal Stories (Muzej osobnih priča)

Source: Muzej osobnih priča

program was attended by Sara and Nives Beissmann, Ana-Marija Pinter, Željko Beissmann, Darko Fischer, Romana Pavlov and Biljana Majnik ex Papo and Damir Lajoš along with two representatives of the Serbian national minority, Nikica Torbica and Marijana Radmilović. In the conversation with members of minorities, the students had the opportunity to express their views against discrimination, but also to learn something about the basics of Jewish culture, which is the purpose of the Month of Jewish Culture. Two art workshops were also held: for pensioners (MLU, September 13) and children (MLU, September 17), as well as a table tennis tournament for members of minorities (September 18) and a chess tournament (September 17). The dance workshop “Dialogue through dance of national minorities” (September 18) brought together members of national minorities, who learned national dances of other minorities in the space of the Old Bakery. 4.-24. From 17:00 to 21:00 on September 10, visitors to the Urania cinema were able to take a virtual walk through Israel with innovative VR content. Two film screenings were held in the iconic Urania cinema in Osijek: the Israeli drama “Employed Woman” (2018) brought catharsis, and the comedy “The Orchestra Away” (2007) made us laugh a week later. The first screening was realized in cooperation with the Embassy of the State of Israel, and the second was made possible by Kino

Urania and Cinematografi Osijek. The screenings were completely free of charge, so that all visitors were given an insight into Israeli society and culture.

On September 11, 2022, on Sunday morning, the promotion of a collection of stories based on the real statements of Holocaust survivors, “Letter on the Rails”, by Marija Vasić from Novi Sad, was held. “While researching the Holocaust, I came across stories of survivors that take my breath away,” wrote author Marija Vasić in the introduction to her collection of stories “Letter on the Rails”. Of course, it takes your breath away - because the memory of the Holocaust is something that should take your breath away, we should stop, think, remember. And that’s what we did too. In addition to the author, the program featured the president of the Jewish Community Sombor, Sandra Fišer, who spoke about the book from the perspective of the Jewish communities in Serbia. Damir Lajoš, president of the Jewish Community Osijek, acted as the presenter of the book. The atmosphere was relaxed and friendly: the feeling was more like a family gathering than an official event. The Jewish Community was once again a homogeneous whole, and the boundaries between the participants and the audience were erased, everyone was an equal part of the program. Despite the serious topic - but also my nervousness, because it was the first

time I moderated a literary program – when we started, all that remained was immense satisfaction due to the smoothness of communication, the newly established and renewed friendships with our Serbian colleagues. We agreed that the content of the letter from Maks Kasovic, who died in Auschwitz, actually contains the point of the book: “We are fine and we are all together, but on the way to our death, Auschwitz”. In the promotion, it was emphasized that, in some sense, everyone is on the “road to death”, and yet, at this moment, we are all together, sitting next to someone we care about, and we don’t know what will happen when we reach our destination. But now - everything is fine. And such moments should be appreciated. The author emphasized that the experience of the concentration camp permanently changed

people: they learned to appreciate small moments of joy and togetherness, to achieve the career they want and realize the love story they dream about, in the end, to make the most of life - because every moment could be the last. The socializing continued throughout the afternoon, when we showed the guests the center of our city and promised to continue cooperation.

On Monday, September 12, the Museum of Fine Arts opened the Pope Francis in Israel exhibition. The program was attended by representatives of the City, national and religious minorities, as well as many journalists. Along with MLU director Eduard Hudolin, the audience was greeted by ŽO President Damir Lajoš, and the exhibition was opened by Jasenka Crnković on behalf of Mayor Ivan Radić. In addition to showing images of beauti-

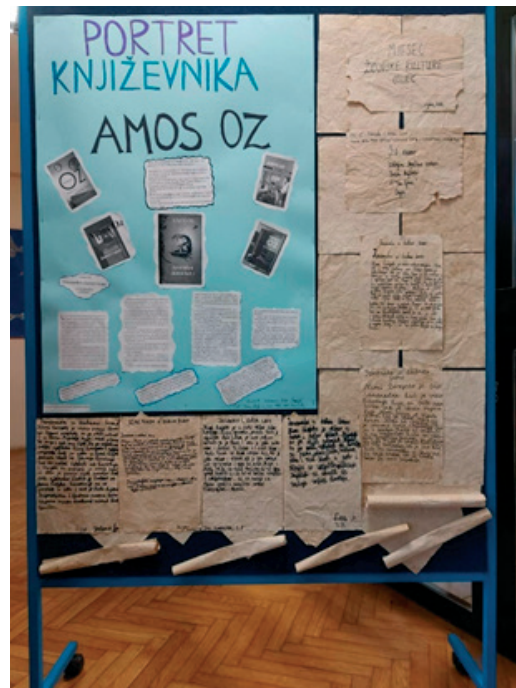


Opening of the exhibition “Jerusalem – the Capital of Israel” in Belišće

Source: Željko Beissmann

ful Israel, the exhibition emphasizes the importance of tolerance in inter-religious communication. The opening was well attended and covered by the media. Another exhibition was opened on September 19, just a few days later, when representatives of ŽO Osijek visited Belišće, a city with which it maintains excellent cooperation. The exhibition “Jerusalem – the capital of Israel” was opened in the Belišće Theater Cafe with the co-organization of the Sigmund Romberg Culture Center, which the people of Osijek had the opportunity to see the previous year. Both exhibitions were realized in cooperation with the Embassy of the State of Israel in Croatia, and in Belišće we were warmly welcomed by Consul Hadas Dolev, Assistant to the previous Ambassador Ilan Mora, Plamenka Gordić-Špišić and Assistant for Culture Iva Stipanov. The head of the administrative department for social activities Antonija Andrašek Barić attended the exhibition, the deputy mayor of Belišće Ljerka Vučković opened the exhibition, followed by the songs of two musicians: Valentina and Vjekoslav Pavlović. We were especially glad to meet our Rabbi Lucian Moša Prelević, who in an informal context took us through the photographs, explaining the significance of individual Jerusalem locations. After a pleasant program, dinner followed in Valpovo. The representatives of the Jewish Community and citizens of Belišće recalled their long-term fruitful cooperation,

laughed at anecdotes from the past, but also agreed on future projects.



Literary works by elementary school pupils inspired by Amos Oz

Source: Library of the school
“Tin Ujević Osijek”

19.-23. September was the period planned for working with students in Elementary School “Tin Ujević”. Nives Beissmann gave a lecture on Jewish traditions and customs, entering into a dialogue with the students of the school, and the next day Sara and Nives Beissmann held an Israeli dance workshop. Several teachers and the school library were engaged in working with the students, and their results were exhibited on September 22, 2022. The family atmosphere was not absent this time either, and the representatives of the ŽO enthusiastically commented on the

drawings and literary works of the students. Nives Beissmann highlighted the drawing of a tree growing in the shape of a Star of David, Damir Lajoš liked the precise shading technique applied to the drawing of a spinning top-dreidel, and Boris Lichtenthal's favorite was the drawing of an orthodox Jew in pencil technique. In addition to the aforementioned activities, many more workshops were held during the week, which the teachers conducted with the students.

Subsequently, a program of contemporary dance was included in the Month of Jewish Culture - to a very pleasant surprise. It is the graduation thesis of Tanja Ruta Grgić, a student of non-verbal theater at the Academy of Arts and Culture in Osijek, under the guidance of mentor ed. prof. art. Maja Đurinović and co-mentor Matija Ferlin. On September 21, 2022, at 8 p.m. in the iconic venue Barutana, where

many underground art programs take place, a dance performance with the Latin title *Sic transit gloria mundi*, meaning Thus passes the glory of the world, was performed. Despite the pagan-sounding title, the theme is inspired by many Jewish motifs and the author's cultural background. Along with Tanja Ruta Grgić, the Colombian dancer and choreographer Parsifal Plazas performed, reflecting her movements. At the moment of entering the old military premises of Barutana, the viewer finds himself cut off from the outside world, in a special dimension where there is only dance and music. This atmosphere continued through the dance performance, based on dualities: light-darkness, life-death, visible-invisible, reality-shadowiness. Choreographer, director and playwright of the dance show Tanja Ruta Grgić states that her work is inspired by the books of



Contemporary dance program of Tanja Ruta Grgić

Source: Boris Lichtenthal

Bruno Schulz and the doctoral work of Dr. Edith Stein, and there are also references to the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber and elements of Edmund Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. Sonata for cello no. Zoltana Kodalya's 8 fit in perfectly, giving a certain ethno-sound, a feeling not so much of transcendence, but of immanence, of being in each other. Neva Begović, with her excellent live performance, continued to maintain the feelings in the audience that were already awakened due to the setting and space itself. Using the technique of contemporary dance, the author presented a three-part story about birth, life and death.



**Presentation of the book by
Martina Globočnik**

Source: Željko Beissmann

The month of Jewish culture could have ended here, as the dance performance provided an emotional experience for the visitors, and yet, the atmosphere continued to grow dur-

ing the next few programs. On Friday, September 23, a book promotion was held by Martina Globočnik, a well-known Croatian screenwriter, documentarian and one of the initiators of the Museum of Personal Stories exhibition, with whom I spoke about her collection of essays "The Power of Narrative". The topics included the problems of national minorities such as the intolerance of the majority society, but also internal assimilation. The dialogue on important topics continued the next day, during the four-hour Living Library. The roles were reversed, so the conversation with representatives of the Jewish and Serbian national minorities was moderated by Martina Globočnik, and political topics continued to be heatedly discussed throughout the afternoon, long after the formal part of the program ended.

The Month of Jewish Culture Osijek 2022 was well received by the Osijek public, and was reported on by numerous local and national media, including Glas Slavonije, HRT, Osijek TV, Slavenska TV and many others. The month of Jewish culture was closed in style with the play Gospoda Roza based on Romain Gary's novel, directed by Stefan Sablić and performed by the legendary Jelisaveta Seka Sablić, held on September 24. All the seats in Branko Mihaljević's Children's Theater were occupied, which means the presence of several hundred people at this grand finale



The Month of Jewish Culture Osijek 2022 counts around 1200 visitors overall

Source: Boris Lichtenthal

of our festival. In addition to the impeccable Seka Sablić, Dorian Diallo, Mladen Andrejević and Bojan Dimitrijević starred, and the play put an end to the “i” of the Month of Jewish Culture. On September 25, we were able to celebrate Rosh Hashanah with great satisfaction - and enter the new

year with new energy and optimism. This festival connected us with the Osijek public, but also with each other. The second month-long festival of Jewish culture in Osijek is successfully behind us - and we are already looking forward to the next one with enthusiasm and impatience.

Narcisa Potežica

O krimiću “Nestao” izraelskog književnika Drora Mišanja

“Tik Ne’edar” (heb. original, Keter, Jeruzalem, 2011; hrv. prijevod “Nestao”, Lajla Šprajc, Fraktura, Zagreb, 2022.)

Mr. sc. Narcisa Potežica (*1947.) završila je studij hrvatskog jezika i književnosti te knjižničarstva. Od 1977. godine do umirovljenja 2012. radila je u Knjižnicama grada Zagreba. Bila je direktoricom Knjižnice Vjekoslava Majera i voditeljicom Knjižnice Novi Zagreb. Danas je aktivna na raznim područjima kulture te objavljuje književne osvrtne, eseje i članke u raznim časopisima. Također je osnivačica Čitateljskog kluba u Židovskoj općini Zagreb.

Biografija književnika

Dror Mišani izraelski je pisac pisac trilera, prevoditelj i znanstvenik specijaliziran za povijest detektivskih romana. Rođen je 1975. u Izraelu. Svoj prvi roman u nizu o policijskom inspektoru Avrahamu Avrahamu, neobično istog imena i prezimena, objavio je 2011. Ova je trilogija postala svjetskim bestselerom, prevedenim na više od dvadeset jezika. Poslije toga, 2018. objavio je roman “Tri”. Treba naglasiti da je Dror Mišani dobitnik Nagrade Bernstein za roman godine na hebrejskom. Osim toga je dobitnik Nagrade Martin Beck za najbolji kriminalistički roman preveden na švedski te nagrade književnih kritičara za najbolji kriminalistički roman preveden na francuski. Također je bio u užem izboru za više prestižnih nagrada, među kojima su Nagrada Sapier i francuski Grand Prix de littérature policière. Trenutno živi s obitelji u Tel Avivu gdje predaje na

sveučilištu, a usto surađuje na planiranim ekranizacijama svojih romana. Dror je poznat po umijeću “uvlačenja” čitatelja u priču. Dio atmosfere iz knjige prelijeva se i u naš život. Kao čitatelji, zajedno s njegovim likovima prolazimo ulicama, susrećemo se s ljudima, prisustvujemo kriminalističkim ispitivanjima, pitamo se pod kojim okolnostima se nešto dogodilo, sumnjamo i proučavamo različite mogućnosti. Na neki način, nalazimo se i sami u ulozi detektiva. Dio smo istraživačkog tima, a ne samo pasivni čitatelji – osim što pratimo postupke glavnog istražitelja, i sami pokušavamo dokučiti rješenje slučaja.

Dror Mišani u Zagrebu

Dror Mišani gostovao je u Zagrebu na desetom Festivalu svjetske književnosti. Od 4. do 9. rujna 2022., zagrebačka je publika imala priliku susresti više od trideset stranih i domaćih pisaca. Osim u takozvanoj “džamiji”



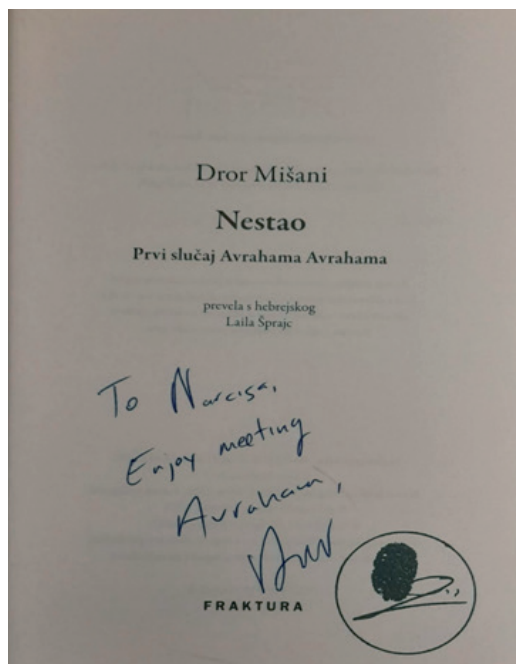
Dror Mišani na Festivalu svjetske književnosti u Zagrebu

Izvor: Narcisa Potežica

(velikoj okrugloj dvorani Doma HDLU u Meštrovićevom paviljonu), velik broj razgovora s piscima održan je u prostoru glavnog organizatora Festivala, Frakture, koja je bila proglašena najljepšom knjižarom u Hrvatskoj. Na zadnji dan Festivala, u sklopu tribine Dvostruki portret sudjelovala su dvojica pisaca kriminalističkih romana: Dror Mišani i Ivica Ivanišević, a razgovor je moderirao Andrija Škare. Dror Mišani ovaj je put predstavio svoj roman "Nestao", objavljen 2011. na hebrejskom, a 2022. na hrvatskom prijevodu Lajle Šprajc u nakladi Frakture. Kod nas je prethodno preveden njegov roman "Tri", neobično koncipirani krimić koji je naišao na velik interes publike. Andrija Škare razgovarao je s književnicima o procesu pisanja, kao i granici između krimića

i psihološkog romana. Književnici su naglasili da na književnost utječe aktualni društveni trenutak, "uronjenost u konkretno mjesto i vrijeme". Premda obojica krimi-autora, Dror Mišani i Ivica Ivanišević, koriste elemente psihološkog romana i slične strategije skrivanja motiva počinjenja kaznenog djela, njihov se proces pisanja romana znatno razlikuje. Dror Mišani naveo je da Izrael nema značajniju tradiciju krimi-romana jer je izraelska književnost bila – i još je – izrazito "nacionalna" te se uglavnom bavi "ozbiljnim" temama nacionalne tematike. Zbog zahtjevne državne situacije u kojoj se nalazi Država Izrael, njezina je književnost usmjerena na održavanje nacionalnog identiteta i priče o ratnim herojima, njihovoj ulozi u stvaranju izraelske države i

životima njihovih potomaka. Jedan od likova u romanu čak navodi kako u Izraelu nema “uzbudljivih” serijskih ubojstava, nasilnih otmica ni drugih spektakularnih zločina.



Posveta autora u knjizi
Izvor: Narcisa Potežica

O romanu “Nestao”

Detektivski roman “Nestao” prvi je dio nagrađivanog i na dvadesetak jezika prevedenog serijala o nesvakidašnjem istražitelju neobičnog imena Avrahamu Avrahamu. Zajedno s detektivom Avrahamom, mi čitatelji slijedimo tragove i slažemo kamenčiće raznih informacija, sklapajući mozaik. Dror je majstor u dočaravanju atmosfere uličnog života u Izraelu. Realističan i precizan opis ulica smješta nas u blizinu likova, čije živote pomno pratimo. Mjesto radnje je fiktivni grad Holon, “sivi satelitski gradić u orbiti Tel Aviva”. To je tipični

mirni izraelski gradić, potpuno atipično mjesto za kriminalistički roman, potpuno različito od uzbudljivog New Yorka, gdje neprestano odjekuje zvuk policijskih kola koja jure u potjeri za kriminalcima. Radnja prati detektiva Avrahama Avrahama, kojem je u romanu “Nestao” majka nestalog dječaka Oferu podnijela prijavu o sinovljevu nestanku. Premda istražitelj u početku nije previše zabrinut, govoreći da tinejdžeri često bježe od kuće, već drugog dana istrage situacija se mijenja. Potraga za Oferom postaje iz sata u sat sve zagonetnija. Nakon sprog početka, radnja se počne zapetljivati u različitim smjerovima. Posebno je zanimljiva prijava Oferovog susjeda i privatnog učitelja engleskog jezika, koji kao neostvareni pisac u iznenadnom nestanku svog učenika pronalazi spisateljsku inspiraciju. On piše pisma Oferovim roditeljima, ali oni o tome šute. Hoće li ovaj trag pomoći u razrješenju slučaja ili će sve dodatno zakomplicirati – istražitelj Avraham Avraham nije siguran. Roman također ima psihološku dimenziju, propitujući fenomen osobnog preispitivanja. Detektiv osjeća grižnju savjesti zbog toga što nije odmah reagirao na roditeljsku prijavu i počeo tražiti nestalog Oferu. Detektiva istraga odvodi čak u Bruxelles, gdje upoznaje policajku Marinku, koja je prije dvadeset godina kao djevojčica došla iz Slovenije, i to upravo iz Kopra, grada u koji brodom često odlazi otac nestalog. Kroz roman, upoznajemo sitne detalje iz svakodnevnog života u Izraelu.

Glavni lik posjećuje izraelske kafiće i restorane te naručuje tipična jela kao što su falafeli. Konačno razrješenje slučaja potpuno će nas šokirati i natjerati da preispitamo sve što smo uzimali zdravo za gotovo. Razmišljat ćemo o kategorijama nevinosti i krivnje, ali i načinima na koje nam istina izmiče – jer uvijek postoji samo jedna istina. Kao u svakom krimiću, nakon otkrivanja počinitelja, čitatelj se osjećá kao da je, zajedno s istražiteljem, prošao kroz “pakao” i na kraju stigao u “raj” jer je pravda zadovoljena.

Preporuka

Čak i nakon finalnog razrješenja, Dror Mišani ostavlja čitatelju jednu

otvorenu dilemu, koja će nas prisiliti da još danima razmišljamo, nastojeći pronaći odgovor. Neočekivani kraj nećemo otkriti, u nadi da će čitatelji i sami potražiti knjigu te se upustiti u istraživačku avanturu s detektivom Avrahamom, kako bi i sami dobili priliku sudjelovati u pronalaženju nestalog! Obožavateljima kriminalističkog žanra svakako preporučujem da pročitaju roman “Nestao”. Kroz psihološki višeslojnu karakterizaciju lika, Avraham nije samo fiktivni lik: kroz naše čitanje, on oživljava, postaje stvarnom osobom, našim kolegom suistražiteljem i dragim prijateljem, za kojeg želimo da je doista u našoj blizini.

Narcisa Potežica

About the crime novel “The Missing File” by the Israeli writer Dror Mišani

“Tik Ne’edar” (Hebrew original: Keter, Jerusalem, 2011. English translation by Steven Cohen: “The Missing File”, Quercus\Riverrun 2013. Croatian translation: “Nestao”, Lajla Šprajc, Fraktura, Zagreb, 2022)

Mr. sc. Narcisa Potežica graduated in Croatian language and literature and information science. From 1977 until retirement in 2012, she worked in the Libraries of the City of Zagreb. She was the director of the Vjekoslav Majer Library and the head of the Novi Zagreb Library. Today she is active in various fields of culture and publishes literary reviews, essays and articles in various journals. She is also the founder of the Readers’ Club in the Jewish Community of Zagreb.

Biography of the writer

Dror Mishani is an Israeli thriller writer, translator and scholar specializing in the history of detective novels. He was born in 1975 in Israel. He published his first novel in a series about the police inspector Avraham Avraham, oddly with the same first and last name, in 2011. This trilogy became a world bestseller, translated into more than twenty languages. After that, in 2018, he published the novel “Three”. It should be emphasized that Dror Mišani is the winner of the Bernstein Prize for the novel of the year in Hebrew. In addition, he won the Martin Beck Award for the best crime novel translated into Swedish and the literary critics’ award for the best crime novel translated into French. He was also shortlisted for several prestigious

awards, including the Sapier Prize and the French Grand Prix de littérature policière. He currently lives with his family in Tel Aviv, where he teaches at the university, and at the same time collaborates on the planned screen adaptations of his novels. Dror is known for his ability to “draw” the reader into the story. Part of the atmosphere from the book spills over into our lives. As readers, together with his characters, we pass through the streets, meet people, attend criminal investigations, wonder under what circumstances something happened, suspect and study different possibilities. In a way, we find ourselves in the role of detectives. We are part of the research team, not just passive readers - in addition to following the actions of the main investigator, we are also trying to figure out the solution to the case.



**Dror Mišani and Narcisa Potežica
in Zagreb.**

Source: Narcisa Potežica

Dror Mišani in Zagreb

Dror Mišani was a guest in Zagreb at the tenth World Literature Festival. From September 4 to 9, the Zagreb audience had the opportunity to meet more than thirty foreign and domestic writers. In addition to the so-called “mosque” (the large round hall of the HDLU House in Meštrović’s pavilion), conversations with writers also took place in the space of Fraktura, the main organizer of the Festival, which was declared the most beautiful bookstore in Croatia. On the last day of the Festival, two writers of crime novels participated in the Double Portrait panel: Dror Mišani and Ivica Ivanišević, and the conversation was moderated by Andrija Škara. This time, Dror Mišani presented his novel “The Missing File” (2011), translated

into Croatian by Lajla Šprajc and published by Fraktura in 2022. His novel “Three”, an unusually conceived crime story, was previously translated in our country, attracting great interest from the audience. Andrija Škare talked to writers about the writing process, as well as the border between a crime story and a psychological novel. Writers emphasized that literature is influenced by the current social moment, “immersion in a concrete place and time”. Although both crime authors, Dror Mišani and Ivica Ivanišević, use elements of a psychological novel and similar strategies to hide the motive for committing a crime, their process of writing a novel is significantly different. Dror Mišani stated that Israel does not have a significant tradition of crime novels because Israeli literature was - and still is - extremely “national” and mostly deals with “serious” national themes. Due to the demanding state situation in which the State of Israel finds itself, its literature is focused on maintaining national identity and stories about war heroes, their role in the creation of the State of Israel and the lives of their descendants. One of the characters in the novel even states that there are no “exciting” serial murders, violent kidnappings or other spectacular crimes in Israel.

About the novel “The Missing File”

The detective novel “The Missing File” is the first part of the award-winning

and translated into twenty languages series about an unusual investigator with an unusual name, Avraham Avraham. Together with the detective Avraham, we readers follow the clues and arrange the stones of various information, assembling a mosaic. Dror is a master at evoking the atmosphere of street life in Israel. The realistic and precise description of the streets places us close to the characters, whose lives we closely follow. The setting is the fictitious city of Holon, “a gray satellite town in the orbit of Tel Aviv”. It is a typical quiet Israeli town, a completely atypical place for a crime novel, completely different from exciting New York, where the sound of police cars chasing criminals constantly echoes. The plot follows the detective Avraham Avraham, to whom the mother of the missing boy Ofer filed a report about her son’s disappearance in the novel “The Missing File”. Although the investigator is not too worried at first, saying that teenagers often run away from home, on the second day of the investigation the situation changes. The search for Ofer is becoming more and more mysterious by the hour. After a slow start, the plot begins to twist in different directions. The application of Ofer’s neighbor and private English language teacher is particularly interesting, who as an unfulfilled writer finds inspiration as a writer in the sudden disappearance of his student. He writes letters to Ofer’s parents, but they keep quiet about it. Whether this

clue will help solve the case or complicate everything further – investigator Avraham Avraham is not sure. The novel also has a psychological dimension, questioning the phenomenon of personal self-examination. The detective feels remorse for not immediately reacting to the parents’ report and starting to look for the missing Ofer. The detective’s investigation takes him all the way to Brussels, where he meets the policewoman Marinka, who came from Slovenia as a girl twenty years ago, from Koper, the city where the father of the missing man often goes by boat. Through the novel, we get to know the small details of everyday life in Israel. The main character visits Israeli cafes and restaurants and orders typical dishes such as falafel. The final resolution of the case will completely shock us and make us reconsider everything we took for granted. We will think about the categories of innocence and guilt, but also the ways in which the truth eludes us - because there is always only one truth. As in any crime story, after discovering the perpetrator, the reader feels as if he, together with the investigator, went through “hell” and finally arrived in “heaven” because justice has been served.

Recommendation

Even after the resolution, Dror Mišani leaves the reader with an open dilemma, which will force us to think for days, trying to find an answer. We will not reveal the unexpected ending, in

the hope that the readers themselves will look for the book and embark on a research adventure with detective Avraham, so that they themselves will have the opportunity to participate in finding the missing person! I definitely recommend fans of the crime genre to read the novel “The Miss-

ing File”. Through the psychological multi-layered characterization of the character, Avraham is not just a fictitious character: through our reading, he comes alive, becomes a real person, our fellow co-investigator and a dear friend, who we wish was physically close to us.

Zlata Živaković-Kerže

Osijek: od grada s dvije sinagoge do grada bez sinagoge

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (*1953, Osijek) je u Zagrebu diplomirala povijest i arheologiju, te na istom zagrebačkom Sveučilištu magistrirala i doktorirala. Radila je za mnoge osječke kulturne i prosvjetne ustanove, uključujući današnji Državni arhiv u Osijeku i Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku. Više od dva desetljeća je radila u Podružnici za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest, u sklopu čega je vodila mnogobrojne projekte. Predavala je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Osijeku kao vanjska suradnica. Bavi se istraživanjem društveno-političkih prilika i gospodarskom hrvatskom povijesti u 19. i u 20. stoljeću, povijesti Židova grada Osijeka i crkvenom povijesti. Napisala je nekoliko knjiga te velik broj znanstvenih radova. Sudjeluje na mnogim znanstvenim i stručnim skupovima. Članica je uredništva mnogih domaćih i inozemnih časopisa za povijest.

Malo je gradova u Europi koji su do sredine 20. stoljeća imali dvije sinagoge. Među tim malobrojnim gradovima je grad Osijek, smješten na samoj međi između Slavonije i Baranje u pitoj slavonskoj ravnici, na povišenoj te-

rasi, na mjestu gdje se ona najviše približila desnoj obali rijeke Drave, 22 km od njezina ušća u Dunav. Topografskim smještajem tradicionalno je vezan uz južnu obalu Drave, dominantnom elementu geografske osnove sjevernog



Razglednica Osijeka s pogledom na sinagogu, početkom 20. stoljeća

Izvor: arhiv Židovske općine Osijek

dijela istočne Hrvatske. Na samom početku se svatko može zapitati zašto baš Osijek? No odgovor seže u povijesno razdoblje u odmaku od prohujala dva stoljeća.

Gospodarska snaga i utjecaj

Iako Židovi u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Dalmaciji, prema službenim popisima stanovništva (od 1851. do 1910.), nisu brojem činili neku veću snagu, ipak su značajan i važan čimbenik te nezaobilazni dio hrvatskoga društva. Sve to su imali svojim zvanjima, bogatstvom koje su posjedovali i utjecajem u gospodarskom, političkom i društvenom životu. Godine 1851. na području Banske Hrvatske živjelo je 3.914 Židova ili 0,45% ukupnog stanovništva. U narednim popisima se broj povećavao pa je 1857. godine 5.132 Židova ili 0,60% prema ostalom stanovništvu; 1869. je 8.551 židovskog stanovnika (1% sveukupnog stanovništva), a 1871. je 8.672 Židova (0,76%). Nakon pripojenja Vojne krajine na području Kraljevine Hrvatske i Slavonije je provedenim popisom 1880. godine Židova 13.488 (0,72% ukupnog stanovništva), a 1890. ih je 17.261 ili 0,79% ukupnoga hrvatskog stanovništva. Deset godina potom je u Hrvatskoj 20.032 Židova, a 1910. godine 21.162, što je činilo 0,81% cjelokupnoga hrvatskog stanovništva. Između 1850. i 1910. broj Židova je rastao ponajviše zahvaljujući imigraciji iz Ugarske (oko 76%), Austrije (oko 7%), iz Bosne i Hercegovine (oko 6%), Srbije (oko 5%) i Rumunjske (oko

1%). Nastanjeni su najvećim dijelom u većim hrvatskim gradovima i trgovištim (Osijek, Zagreb, Zemun itd.), ali je veći broj nastanjen i u županijama (napose Srijemskoj, Virovitičkoj, Požeškoj, Varaždinskoj). Na prijelazu u 20. stoljeće gotovo 42% Židova izjasnilo se da im je njemački materinski jezik, a 21% smatralo je to mađarski jezik. Židovi su po zvanju ponajviše trgovci, obrtnici, poduzetnici, ljekarnici, liječnici, novinari, odvjetnici, bankovni službenici i umjetnici. Najveći broj zaposlenoga židovskog stanovništva, više od jedne polovice, bavio se trgovinom, a oko 25% obrtom (uključujući i industriju). U *javnim službama i slobodnim zanimanjima*, tj. riječ je o službenicima različitih profila, radilo je oko 5%. U strukturi javnih bilježnika i odvjetnika u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji Židovi su činili više od 17%. Značajan je udio Židova u zdravstvenim službama: na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće liječnici Židovi čine 26,25% sveukupnoga broja liječnika u Hrvatskoj. Religijski običaji na kojima su ustrajavali činili su Židove relativno najobrazovanijim dijelom hrvatskog stanovništva. Gotovo da među njihovom djecom nije bilo onih koji ne pohađaju školu, dok su vlasti imale silne probleme s hrvatskim i osobito srpskim roditeljima oko redovitog slanja djece u školu. Među Židovima je broj nepismenih najmanji; 1880. godine 23,42% kod muškaraca i 33,94% kod žena. U isto vrijeme nepismenost u cijeloj Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji iznosila je oko 75%.

Stopljeni u multietničku sredinu

Osijek 19. i prve polovice 20. stoljeća i nadalje je multietnički grad. Židova je 1880. godine 1.493 (8,20% ukupnog stanovništva grada), 1890. ih je 1.585 (8,01%), deset godina potom 2.027 ili 8,80% stanovnika grada na Dravi, a 1910. godine 2.299. Dvadeset godina potom Židova je 2.455. Oni tu žive uz najbrojnije Hrvate, davno doseljene Nijemce iz Štajerske, Kranjske, Bavorske i Moravske, Mađare iz Ugarske, Srbe te ostale narodne skupine. To je vrijeme kada se dio osječkih Židova htio i doista smatrao Hrvatima *izraelitičkog* vjerozakona.

Zašto dvije sinagoge u jednom gradu?

Bitna odrednica gospodarskog razvoja grada izražena je u činjenici da je Osijek sve do prve polovice 20. stoljeća administrativno necjelovit. Iako je kao *Slobodni i kraljevski grad* činio jednu cjelinu, ipak je on u biti sastavljen od četiri zasebna, teritorijalno udaljena, dijela koja su činili Gornji grad, Tvrđa, Novi grad i Donji grad. Veći dio osječkih Židova bavio se tradicionalnim poslom – trgovinom i obrtom –, a početkom 20. stoljeća sve je više liječnika, odvjetnika, industrijalaca (posebice u prehrambenoj industriji), bankara, farmakologa, profesora, učitelja, arhitekata, graditelja, glazbenika i pripadnika drugih zvanja. Živjeli su u svim dijelovima grada, ali najviše

ih je u Gornjem gradu. Zbog tadašnje udaljenosti Gornjega grada od Donjega grada imali su dvije bogoštovne općine, dvije sinagoge i dva groblja.

Gornjogradska sinagoga

Povećanjem broja Židova u Osijeku postojeća gornjogradska židovska bogomolnica u Nemeckoj ulici (današnjoj Pejačevićevoj) postala je premala. Stoga je predstojništvo Židovske bogoštovne općine 10. veljače, 29. ožujka i 3. travnja 1869. zamolilo Gradsko poglavarstvo da im izda dozvolu za izgradnju velike i lijepe bogomolnice u Gornjem gradu na gradskom slobodnom kućištu na uglu Županijske i Ulice divljeg čovjeka (današnja Ulica Hrvatske Republike). Na temelju priložene građevne dozvole senator Ivan Stahuljak je 18. svibnja izvršio povjerenstveno izviđanje u kojem su uz Stahuljaka nazočni i gradski mjernik Aleksandar Lužinsky te predstavnici gornjogradske Židovske bogoštovne općine Josip Obersohn, općinski predstojnik, Salomon Schwartz i G. Lansinger. Budući da Židovska općina za gradnju nije imala potreban početni novčani iznos od 12.000 forinti zamolila je 29. travnja 1869. Namjesničko vijeće u Zagrebu da joj odobri izdavanje beskamatnog zajma u navedenom iznosu. Na temelju pozitivnog odgovora iz Zagreba traženi zajam je 12. lipnja odobrilo i Gradsko poglavarstvo. Općina je posuđeni novac vraćala u godišnjem iznosu od 600 forinti. Prema priloženom nacrtu sinagoga je građena vis-a-vis Županijske palače. Ukupna joj je površina iznosila 322 m². Dozvola za

gradnju odobrena je 22. svibnja 1869. godine. Međutim, morale su se izvršiti mali ispravci. Iako je zatraženo da se tornjevi uvuku za 21 palac (1 plac = 2,6 cm) i izbjegne njihova izbočenost glede zgrade kasina i kazališta, to u konačnici izgradnje ipak nije izvršeno. Prepravljena je jedino visina, koja je nakon izgradnje bila jednaka s ostalim novosazidanim zgradama u Županijskoj ulici. Kamen temeljac za gradnju sinagoge postavljen je 26. svibnja 1869. godine. Arhitekt je Teodor Stern, a graditelj Alois Flanbach. Svojim lijepim vanjskim izgledom i unutrašnjom ljepotom novoizgrađena židovska bogomolnica nadilazila je sve sinagoge po Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji.



Gornjogradska sinagoga

Izvor: arhiv Židovske općine Osijek

Sinagoga je činila dio fasade ulice, s dva prizemna člana bila je povezana sa susjednim kućama, pa se je tako smatrala verzijom promenadne sinagoge.

Glavna je fasada posjedovala gotovo sve crkvene attribute: dva tornja, zabat, rozetu, ali s veće udaljenosti, su se dobro uočavale i sinagogalne specifičnosti – oktogonalni tambur tornjeva i lukovičasti završeci. Obrada fasade sadržavala je neomaorske elemente pored uobičajenog Rundbogenstila. Iako je, naizgled, djelovala poput crkve, dubljom se analizom pojedinih dijelova uočavalo da je riječ o tzv. dvostrukom kodiranju arhitekture. Kompozicija glavnog obujma svjedočila je o sinagogalnom interijeru (s galerijama za žene), a ne o bazilikalnoj dispoziciji crkve. Sinagoga je bila značajno arhitektonsko i građevinsko dostignuće toga vremena, pa je izmijenila dotadašnji izgled Gornjega grada. Ona je pokazivala kako se židovska zajednica, smjestivši svoju bogomolju u središte Gornjega grada, u Županijsku ulicu, snažno i neposredno uklopila u život grada na Dravi.

Donjogradska sinagoga

U središtu Donjega grada, u Cvjetkovoju ulici izgrađena je 1902. druga osječka sinagoga. Unatoč novčanim poteškoćama najveći teret prikupljanja novca za izgradnju podnio je odvjetnik Oskar Kohlbach, pročelnik posebnog odbora za gradnju donjogradskog hrama. Njegovom je zaslugom potreban novac prikupljen, pa je u roku od 6 mjeseci sinagoga izgrađena i svečano otvorena 28. prosinca. Građevina s masivnim *crkvenim tornjevima* i sa sinagogalnim specifičnostima djelo je osječkog graditelja W. C. Hofbauera. Električnu rasvjetu dobila je 1928. kada su ugrađene i orgulje.



Pogled na Županijsku ulicu i gornjogradsku sinagogu, razglednica

Izvor: arhiv Židovske općine Osijek

Zašto grad bez sinagoga? - Uništenje gornjogradske sinagoge

Od ljeta 1941. diljem Nezavisne Države Hrvatske počela su pustošenja i razaranja židovskih hramova. U podmetanju požara te godine u gornjogradskom *templu*, kako su Osječani nazivali sinagogu u Županijskoj ulici, sudjelovali su pojedinci iz organizacije Deutsche Jugend i iz redova pripadnika Njemačke narodne skupine te ustaša. Vatra je podmetnuta pošto su iz sinagoge iznesene sve dragocjenosti. Dok je pred sinagogom okupljena *razularena rulja urlala* protiv Židova i promatrala sinagogu u plamenu, nekoliko vatrogasnih kola i vatrogasaca gornjogradskog i donjogradskog Do-

brovoljnog vatrogasnog društva stajalo je u blizini i budno pazilo da se požar ne proširi na okolne nežidovske zgrade. Pošto su njemački vojnici sprečavali gašenje požara simbol židovstva u gradu izgorio je gotovo do temelja na zaprepaštenje i tugu Židova, koji su iz obližnjih trgovina, tvornica i kuća kroz suze promatrali kako plameni jezici u nepovrat odnose, za Židove, temelj vjerskog i tradicijskog života. Sinagoga je posve izgorjela. Ostali su samo zidovi. Budući da je vatrogascima osječkih dobrovoljnih vatrogasnih društava bilo zabranjeno gašenje požara, bilo je očito da su vlasti bile obaviještene o *akciji podmetanja požara* te da je uništenje židovskog hrama bio naočiti znak da je

osječkoj židovskoj zajednici određeno potpuno uništenje. Ruševine spaljene sinagoge mogle su se vidjeti sve do početka 1953. kada su uklonjeni ostaci zidova i izvađeni temelji te je do kraja godine na tom mjestu iznikla stambeno–poslovna trokatnica.

Donjogradska sinagoga je u zlokobnom ratnom vihoru korištena djelomice kao konjušnica njemačke vojske, a djelomice je stradala u bombardiranju Donjega grada 1944. godine. Iako je Židovska općina sinagogu dobila povratom nacionalizirane imovine općina nije imala dovoljno novca za obnovu pa je općinska uprava odlučila 1978. prodati zgradu *Kristovoj pentekosnoj crkvenoj općini*, koja je zgradu obnovila. (Danas je evanđeoska Crkva Radosne vijesti u sklopu Evanđeosko-teološkog fakulteta u Cvjetkovoju ulici 30.)

Imaginarne sinagoge: trajni spomen stoljetne židovske tradicije

U rujnu 1993. uz prigodni koncert, a

povodom židovske Nove godine *Roš hašana*, u prostoriji bivše sinagoge u Donjem gradu postavljen je križ s Davidovom zvijezdom rad zagrebačke kiparice Vere Fischer. Postavljen je kao trajni spomen na značenje, suživot i snagu Židova grada Osijeka. Na samoj manifestaciji sudjelovali su i članovi *Crkve radosne vijesti*, koji koriste zgradu kao svoju bogomolju. Židovska općina Osijek, u suradnji s Gradskim poglavarstvom, potaknula je postavljanje spomen–ploče u Županijskoj ulici na mjestu spaljene i srušene gornjogradske sinagoge. Podršku toj inicijativi dao je i tadašnji dogradonačelnik Osijeka i član Općine prof. dr. sc. Vilim Herman. Prijedlog izgleda ploče, po sugestijama predsjednika Općine dr. sc. Darka Fischera, napravio je osječki arhitekt Josip Tešija. Na spomen–ploču je stavljen tekst na hrvatskom i hebrejskom jeziku koji je stavljen u okvir Davidove zvijezde. Otkrivanje ploče obavljeno je u travnju 1996. povodom Dana stradanja i junaštva.

Dr.sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže

Osijek: from a City with Two Synagogues to a City without a Synagogue

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (*1953, Osijek) graduated in history and archeology in Zagreb, and received her master's and doctoral degrees from the same University of Zagreb. She worked for many Osijek cultural and educational institutions, including today's State Archives in Osijek and the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek. For more than two decades she worked in the Branch for the History of Slavonia, Srijem and Baranja of the Croatian Institute of History, within which she led numerous projects. She lectured at the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek as an external associate. She researches socio-political circumstances and Croatian economic history in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the history of the Jews of the city of Osijek and church history. She has written several books and a large number of scientific papers. She participates in many scientific and professional conferences. She is a member of the editorial board of many history journals.

Only few cities in Europe had two synagogues until the middle of the 20th century. Among these few cities is Osijek, located on the very border between Slavonia and Baranja in the gentle Slavonian plain, on an elevated terrace, at the point where it came closest to the right bank of the river Drava, 22 km from its confluence with the Danube. Due to its topographic location, it is traditionally linked to the southern bank of the Drava, the dominant element of the geographical basis of the northern part of eastern Croatia. At the very beginning, everyone can ask themselves why Osijek? But the answer goes back to the historical period two centuries ago.

Economic power and influence

Although Jews in the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, accord-

ing to the official population censuses (from 1851 to 1910), did not constitute a significant force, they are nevertheless a significant and important factor and an indispensable part of Croatian society. They had all this with their titles, the wealth they possessed and their influence in economic, political and social life. In 1851, 3,914 Jews or 0.45% of the total population lived in Banska Hrvatska. In subsequent censuses, the number increased, so in 1857 there were 5,132 Jews or 0.60% of the rest of the population; In 1869, there were 8,551 Jewish inhabitants (1% of the total population), and in 1871, there were 8,672 Jews (0.76%). After the annexation of the Military Frontier in the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, according to the 1880 census, there were 13,488 Jews (0.72% of the total population), and in 1890 there were



Postcard with a view of the Upper Town Synagogue

Source: archive of the Jewish Community Osijek

17,261 or 0.79% of the total Croatian population. Ten years later, there were 20,032 Jews in Croatia, and in 1910, 21,162, which made up 0.81% of the entire Croatian population. Between 1850 and 1910, the number of Jews grew mainly due to immigration from Hungary (about 76%), Austria (about 7%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (about 6%), Serbia (about 5%) and Romania (about 1%). They mostly live in larger Croatian cities and towns (Osijek, Zagreb, Zemun, etc.), but a larger number also live in counties (especially Srijemska, Virovička, Požeška, Varaždinska). At the turn of the 20th century, almost 42% of Jews declared that German was their mother tongue, and 21% considered it to be Hungarian. By profession, Jews are mainly merchants, craftsmen,

entrepreneurs, pharmacists, doctors, journalists, lawyers, bank officials and artists. The largest number of the employed Jewish population, more than half, was engaged in trade, and about 25% in crafts (including industry). About 5% worked in public services and freelance professions, i.e. employees of various profiles. In the structure of notaries and lawyers in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Jews made up more than 17%. The share of Jews in the health services is significant: at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Jewish doctors made up 26.25% of the total number of doctors in Croatia. Since education is a religious necessity, the Jews were the most educated part of the Croatian population. There were almost no children among their chil-

dren who did not attend school, while the authorities had enormous problems with Croatian and especially Serbian parents about regularly sending their children to school. Among the Jews, the number of illiterates is the smallest; In 1880, 23.42% in men and 33.94% in women. At the same time, illiteracy in the entire Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was around 75%.



Upper Town Synagogue, interior.

Source: archive of the Jewish Community Osijek

Why two synagogues in one city?

An important determinant of the economic development of the city is expressed in the fact that Osijek was administratively incomplete until the first

half of the 20th century. Even though as a Free and royal city it formed a whole, it was essentially made up of four separate, territorially distant parts, which consisted of the Upper City, the Fortress, the New City and the Lower City. Most of Osijek's Jews were engaged in traditional business - trade and crafts - and at the beginning of the 20th century also doctors, lawyers, industrialists (especially in the food industry), bankers, pharmacologists, professors, teachers, architects, builders, musicians and members of other titles. They lived in all parts of the city, but most of them were in Upper Town. Due to the distance between the Upper Town and the Lower Town at the time, they had two parishes, two synagogues and two cemeteries.

Upper Town Synagogue

With the increase in the number of Jews in Osijek, the existing Upper Town Jewish synagogue in Nemecka Street (today's Pejačević Street) became too small. Therefore, on February 10, March 29, and April 3, 1869, the Presidium of the Jewish Religious Community asked the City Authority to issue a permit for the construction of a large and beautiful place of worship in Upper Town on a vacant city block at the corner of Županijska Street and today's Street of Republic. Based on the attached building permit, on May 18, Senator Ivan Stahuljak carried out a committee inspection in which, along with Stahuljak, city surveyor Aleksandar Lužinsky and representatives of

the Upper Town Jewish Community Josip Obersohn, the mayor, Salomon Schwartz and G. Lansinger were present. Since the Jewish Community for construction did not have the required initial amount of 12,000 forints, on April 29, 1869, it asked the Council of Governors in Zagreb to grant it an interest-free loan in the specified amount. Based on the positive response from Zagreb, the requested loan was approved by the City Council on June 12. The Community returned the borrowed money in the annual amount of 600 forints. According to the attached plan, the synagogue was built vis-a-vis the County Palace. Its total area was 322 m². The building permit was granted on May 22, 1869. However, small corrections had to be made. Although it was requested that the towers be retracted by 21 inches (1 plot = 2.6 cm) and avoid their protrusion in relation to the casino and theater building, this was not carried out in the end of the construction. Only the height was rebuilt, which after construction was the same as the other newly built buildings in Županiska Street. The foundation stone for the construction of the synagogue was laid on May 26, 1869. The architect is Teodor Stern, and the builder is Alois Flanbach. With its beautiful exterior and interior beauty, the newly built Jewish synagogue surpassed all synagogues in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.

The synagogue formed part of the facade of the street, with two ground

members it was connected to the neighboring houses, so it was considered a version of the promenade synagogue. The main facade possessed almost all the attributes of a church: two towers, a gable, a rosette, but from a greater distance, but the synagogal specifics were also clearly visible - the octagonal tambour of the towers and bulbous finials. The decoration of the facade contained neo-Maori elements in addition to the usual Rundbogenstil. Although, apparently, it acted like a church, a deeper analysis of individual parts revealed that it was a so-called double coding architecture. The composition of the main volume testified to the synagogal interior (with galleries for women) and not to the basilical disposition of the church. The synagogue was a significant architectural and construction achievement of that time, so it changed the appearance of the Upper Town. It showed how the Jewish community, by placing its place of worship in the center of Upper Town in Županijska Street, strongly and directly integrated into the life of the city on the Drava.

Lower Town Synagogue

The second Osijek synagogue was built in 1902 in the center of Lower Town, in Cvjetkova street. Despite the financial difficulties, the biggest burden of collecting money for the construction was borne by the lawyer Oskar Kohlbach, head of the special committee for the construction of the

Lower Town Temple. Thanks to him, the necessary money was collected, so within 6 months the synagogue was built and ceremonially opened on December 28. The building with massive church towers and synagogue features is the work of Osijek builder W. C. Hofbauer. It got electric lighting in 1928, when the organ was installed.

Why “the city with no synagogues”? - Destruction of the Upper Town Synagogue

From the summer of 1941, throughout the Independent State of Croatia, devastation and destruction of Jewish temples began. Individuals from the organization Deutsche Jugend and members of the German People's Group and Ustasha took part in setting the fire that year in the *Upper Town Temple*, as the people of Osijek called the synagogue in Županijska Street. The fire was set after all the valuables were taken out of the synagogue. While the riotous mob gathered in front of the synagogue roared against the Jews and watched the synagogue in flames, several fire trucks and firefighters from the Upper and Lower Town Voluntary Fire Brigades stood nearby and made sure that the fire did not spread to the surrounding non-Jewish buildings. Since the German soldiers prevented the fire from being extinguished, the symbol of Judaism in the city burned almost to the ground, to the astonishment and sadness of the Jews, who tearfully watched from nearby shops,

factories and houses as the tongues of flame destroyed, for the Jews, the foundation of religious and traditional life. The synagogue was completely burned down. Only the walls remain. Since the firefighters of the Osijek volunteer fire brigades were forbidden to put out the fire, it was obvious that the authorities were informed about the arson attack and that the destruction of the Jewish temple was a more obvious sign that the Osijek Jewish community was destined for complete destruction. The ruins of the burnt synagogue could be seen until the beginning of 1953, when the remains of the walls were removed and the foundations were taken out, and by the end of the year, a three-story residential-business building was built on that site.



Lower Town Synagogue
Source: Darko Fischer

Lower Town Synagogue

The Lower Town Synagogue was partly used as a stable for the German army in the ominous storm of war, and partly perished in the bombing of Lower City in 1944. Although the Jewish Community got the synagogue by returning nationalized property, the municipality did not have enough money for renovation, so the municipal administration decided in 1978 to sell the building to the *Christ Pentecostal Church Community*, which renovated the building. (Today, the Evangelical Pentecostal Church is part of the Faculty of Evangelical Theology at Cvjetkova street 30.)

Imaginary Synagogues: A permanent memorial to the centuries-old Jewish tradition

In September 1993, along with an appropriate concert, and on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, a cross with a Star of David, the work of Zagreb sculptor Vera Fischer, was placed in the room of the

former synagogue in the Lower Town. It was erected as a permanent memorial to the meaning, coexistence and strength of the Jews of the city of Osijek. Members of the Pentecostal Church, who use the building as their place of worship, also took part in the event itself. The Jewish Community Osijek, in cooperation with the City Osijek, encouraged the installation of a memorial plaque in Županijska Street at the site of the burned and demolished Upper Town Synagogue. The then deputy mayor of Osijek and member of the Jewish Community prof. Ph.D. William Herman supported the initiative. Proposal for the layout of the board, according to the suggestions of Darko Fischer, the President of the Jewish Community Osijek at the time, was built by Osijek architect Josip Tešija. On the memorial plaque there is a text in Croatian and Hebrew, which is placed in the frame of the Star of David. The plaque was unveiled in April 1996 on the occasion of the Day of Martyrdom and Heroism.

Darko Fischer

Drugi život Male sinagoge u Osijeku

Osim velike sinagoge u Županijskoj ulici, sagrađene 1869. godine, u Osijeku je postojala i sinagoga u Donjem gradu. Unatoč mnogim teškim vremenima, ta zgrada stoji još uvijek, premda trenutno ne služi kao sinagoga. Zgradu je 1903. godine sagradila osječka donjogradska Židovska općina. Zgrada je djelo poznatog osječkog graditelja Wilima Carla Hofbauera, čovjeka koji je gradio i zgradu židovske škole u današnjoj ulici Stjepana Radića, gdje je sjedište Židovske općine Osijek. Donjogradska sinagoga bila je po stilu slična velikoj sinagogi u Gornjem gradu, ali je po dimenzijama bila znatno manja, pa se tokom godina među Osječanima počeo koristiti naziv “Mala sinagoga”. Postojanje dviju sinagoga i dvije židovske općine u Osijeku do 1941. nije bila posljedica nesuglasica ili različitih svjetonazora Židova u Donjem gradu i Gornjem gradu, već je cijeli Donji grad zbog prostorne udaljenosti bio donekle odsječen od drugih osječkih naselja. Donji i Gornji grad (zajedno s Tvrđom) postali su jedna gradska cjelina tek 1786. godine. Iako je između tih udaljenih dijelova grada uveden konjski tramvaj već 1884., Židovima Donjeg grada očito je za religijske potrebe bilo pogodnije imati svoju op-

ćinu, rabina, sinagogu i groblje, pa tako nisu morali putovati do Gornjeg grada. Zbog toga Osijek još uvijek ima čak dva židovska groblja. Prema podacima iz 1926., donjogradska Židovska općina imala je samo 160 članova, a gornjogradska čak nekoliko tisuća. Dok je velika gornjogradska sinagoga zapaljena i devastirana vjerojatno već u travnju 1941. godine, donjogradska Mala sinagoga preživjela je Holokaust kao cjelovita zgrada, iako od 1941. godine više nije bila u funkciji sinagoge. Nema pouzdanih podataka ni svjedočenja o činjenici da je ova građevina, unatoč sveukupnom nastojanju ustaških vlasti da se uništi svaki spomen Židovima u Osijeku, ipak preživjela. Neka sjećanja stanovnika Donjeg grada govore u prilog činjenici da su u blizini sinagoge stanovali neki utjecajni ustaški časnici, koji su, iz straha da bi požar sinagoge zahvatio i njihove kuće, spriječili paljenje same sinagoge.

Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, Mala sinagoga prešla je u vlasništvo Židovske općine Osijek, pravne nasljednice donjogradske židovske općine. Zgrada nije nacionalizirana, jer po zakonu o nacionalizaciji toj mjeri nisu potpali sakralni objekti. Zgrada je, međutim,



Donjogradská sinagoga danas.

Izvor: Paula Rem

bila u krajnje lošem stanju, prijetilo je njeno urušavanje i bila je opasna za prolaznike. Židovska općina Osijek, bez sredstava da bilo što poduzme, prihvatila je ponudu da zgradu proda *Crkvi radosne vijesti*, vjerskoj zajednici protestanske orijentacije, koja je imala namjeru stvoriti obrazovni centar u Osijeku. U ugovoru iz 1978. godine o prodaji, stavljen je uvjet da novi vlasnik neće narušiti izgled zgrade te će na njoj i u njoj biti zadržana judaistička obilježja. Također je ugovoreno, da će *Crkva radosne vijesti* omogućiti, ako zatreba, Židovskoj općini korištenje sinagoge za vjerske i kulturne događaje. *Crkva radosne vijesti* obnovila je zgradu Male sinagoge, oko sinagoge izgrađene su zgrade Teološkog evanđeoskog učilišta, a u dobroj suradnji sa Židovskom općinom Osijek te prostorije povremeno je koristila Židov-

ska općina. Tako je započeo drugi život Male sinagoge. Prvi događaj u kojem je došlo do susreta većeg broja članova *Crkve radosne vijesti* i židovskih gostiju iz cijele bivše države – Jugoslavije, dogodio se u listopadu 1987. godine. Osječka židovska općina bila je organizator tradicionalnog skupa *Koordinacija ženskih sekcija tadašnjeg Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije*. U Osijek je stiglo oko 50 gostiju iz gradova u kojima je postojala značajnija židovska zajednica. Osječka Židovska općina organizirala je posjet Maloj sinagogi. Za vrijeme posjeta, u prostoriji sinagoge održavao se vjerski obred, ali je voditelj *Crkve radosne vijesti* prekinuo obred kako bi pozdravio goste, nakon čega je dao riječ predstavnicima gostiju, predsjedniku Saveza Lavoslavu Kadelburgu i članu upravnog odbora Židovske općine Osijek, Dar-

ku Fischeru. Nakon ovih formalnosti članovi obiju zajednica su zajedno zapjevali izraelske pjesme na biblijske teme. Svi gosti bili su neobično dirnuti ovakvim srdačnim prijemom i s najboljim utiscima napustili prostor Male sinagoge.



Darko Fischer u Maloj sinagogi.

Izvor: Darko Fischer

Kada je zgrada Židovske općine Osijek 1998. godine stradala u požaru, općina preko godinu dana nije imala prostorije za obavljanje svojih aktivnosti. U takvim prilikama, pomogla nam je *Crkva radosne vijesti*, dajući na raspolaganje prostorije Male sinagoge kao i prostorije u okolnim zgradama. Tako je Pesah 1999. godine proslavljen u prostorijama uz Malu sinagogu. Proslavi su sudjelovali brojni članovi Židovske općine Osijek, ali i članovi *Crkve radosne vijesti*. Iza toga održane su još tri značajne kulturne manifestacije Židovske općine Osijek u prostoru Male sinagoge. Potkraj 1990-ih godina, u Hrvatskoj je gostovao američki tenor židovskog porijekla, Mark Hornbacker. U organizaciji Židovske

općine priređen je njegov koncert. Prostor Male sinagoge bio je popunjen posjetiteljima koji su imali priliku poslušati vrhunske izvedbe židovskih, ali i drugih duhovnih pjesama. Uz tenora Marka Hornbackera, kao klavirska pratnja nastupala je Ljerka Pleslić Bjelinski, supruga poznatog židovskog kompozitora Brune Bjelinskog. Zagrebačka kiparica židovskog porijekla Vera Fischer (Zagreb 1925 – Zagreb 2009) u svojim humanitarnim nastojanjima doprinijela je svojim kiparskim radom razumijevanju i suradnji ljudi različitih konfesija. Napravila je jednostavni drveni križ sa žutom Davidovom zvijezdom na lijevoj strani vodoravne grede križa. Tako postavljen židovski simbol nazvala je "Isusovim srcem", a o svojoj inspiraciji za ovo djelo kiparica je napisala: *U proljeće 1989. godine sanjala sam ovaj križ s Davidovom zvijezdom na mjestu Isusovog srca. Začudila sam se svom snu. Ali i razumjela da je moj san simbol pomirenja kršćanstva i židovstva. Od tog vremena širim svijest o njemu u svakoj prilici, prihvaćam svaku mogućnost, svaku pruženu ruku, putovanje ili susret. Svaku sredinu, grad ili zemlju. Medije i izložbe. U međuvremenu simbol je ostao isti, ali su se okolnosti promijenile. Sada mi on govori više. Kaže: Ako se mi možemo pomiriti, možda ćemo se i mi onda pomiriti. Uz suradnju Židovske općine Osijek i Crkve radosne vijesti, ovo kiparsko djelo izloženo je u Maloj sinagogi a na postavljanju tog križa u sinagogi uz autoricu bio je prisutan znatan broj građana Osi-*

jeka. U toku 2017. godine, židovska udruga B'nai B'rith i njena loža *Gavro Schwartz* izložili su u nekoliko mjesta Hrvatske izložbu o Židovima i Izraelu. Na 24 panela, napravljenih u suradnji s jeruzalemskim muzejem *Yad Vashe-mom*, prikazana je povijest židovskog naroda. U suradnji s Židovskom općinom Osijek, ta izložba je postavljena i u Maloj sinagogi u Osijeku. Otvorenju izložbe prisustvovao je i tadašnji gradonačelnik Osijeka Ivica Vrkić. Kroz

izložbu, posjetitelji su mogli upoznati bogato kulturno nasljeđe židovskog naroda. Kulturne manifestacije koje su se održavale u Maloj sinagogi podsjećaju na povijesni značaj židovske zajednice u Osijeku. Danas, kada je ta zajednica brojem članova malena, njen doprinos gradu ostaje velik, a očuvana zgrada Male sinagoge svjedoči o trajnim vrijednostima židovske baštine.

Darko Fischer

The Second Life of the Small Synagogue in Osijek

In addition to the large synagogue, built in 1869 in Županijska street, Osijek also had a second synagogue in the Lower Town. Despite many difficult times, that building is still standing, although it is not currently used as a synagogue. The building was built in 1903 by the Osijek Jewish Community in the Lower Town. The building is the work of the famous Osijek builder Wilim Carl Hofbauer, the man who also built the Jewish school building in today's Stjepana Radić Street, where the seat of the Jewish Community Osijek is located. The Donjograd synagogue was similar in style to the large synagogue in Upper Town, but it was significantly smaller in size, so over the years the name "Small Synagogue" began to be used among the people of Osijek. The existence of two synagogues and two Jewish communities in Osijek until 1941 was not the result of disagreements or different worldviews of Jews in Upper Town and Lower Town, but the entire Lower Town was somewhat cut off from other Osijek settlements due to its spatial distance. Upper and Lower Town (together with the Fortress) became a single city unit only in 1786. Although a horse tramway was introduced between these distant

parts of the city in 1884, it was obviously more convenient for the Jews of the Lower Town to have their own community, rabbi, synagogue and cemetery for their religious needs. Osijek still has two Jewish cemeteries. According to data from 1926, the Jewish Community in the Lower Town had only 160 members, while the Jewish Community in the Upper Town had several thousand. While the large synagogue in Upper Town was set on fire and devastated probably already in April 1941, the Small Synagogue in Lower Town survived the Holocaust as a complete building, although it no longer functioned as a synagogue since 1941. There is no reliable information or testimony about the fact that this building, despite the overall effort of the Ustasha authorities to destroy every memorial to the Jews in Osijek, still survived. Some memories of the inhabitants of Lower Town support the fact that some influential Ustasha officers lived near the synagogue, who, fearing that the synagogue fire would spread to their houses, prevented the synagogue itself from burning down.

After the Second World War, the Small Synagogue became the property of the Jewish Community Osijek, the le-



The Small Synagogue in 1990s.

Source: Archive of the
Jewish Community Osijek

gal successor of the Jewish Community in Lower Town. The building was not nationalized, because according to the law on nationalization, religious buildings did not fall under that measure. The building, however, was in extremely bad condition, it threatened to collapse and was dangerous for passers-by. The Jewish Community Osijek, without the means to do anything, accepted the offer to sell the building to *Evangelical Pentecostal Church*, a Protestant religious community, which had the intention of creating an educational center in Osijek. In the contract from 1978 on the sale, a condition was set that the new owner would not damage the appearance of the building and that Judaic features would be retained on it and in it. It was also agreed that *Evangelical Pen-*

tecostal Church, will enable, if needed, the Jewish community to use the synagogue for religious and cultural events. *Evangelical Pentecostal Church*, renovated the building of the Small Synagogue, the buildings of the Theological Evangelical College were built around the synagogue, and in good cooperation with the Jewish Community Osijek, the premises were occasionally used by the Jewish Community. Thus began the second life of the Small Synagogue. The first event, in which a large number of members of the *Evangelical Pentecostal Church* and Jewish guests from entire Yugoslavia met, took place in October 1987. Jewish Community Osijek was the organizer of the traditional meeting of the *Coordination of Women's Sections of the Union of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia*. About 50 guests arrived in Osijek from cities where there was a significant Jewish community. Jewish Community Osijek organized a visit to the Small Synagogue. During the visit, a religious ritual was held, but the leader of the *Evangelical Pentecostal Church* interrupted the ceremony to greet the guests, after which he gave the floor to the representatives of the guests, the president of the Association, Lavoslav Kadelburg, and the member of the board of directors of the Jewish Community Osijek, Darko Fischer. After these formalities, members of both communities sang together Israeli songs on biblical themes. All the guests were unusually touched by such a warm reception and left the

premises of the Small Synagogue with the best impressions.



Panel of the exhibition about Israel.

Source: Darko Fischer

When the building of the Jewish Community Osijek was destroyed in a fire in 1998, the Community did not have premises to carry out its activities for over a year. On such occasions, *Evangelical Pentecostal Church* allowed us to use the Small Synagogue as well as the rooms in the surrounding buildings. That's how Pesach was celebrated in 1999 in the premises next to the Small Synagogue. The celebration was attended by many members of the Jewish Community Osijek, as well as members of the *Evangelical Pentecostal Church*. After that, three more significant cultural manifestations of the Jewish Community Osijek were held in the area of the Small Synagogue. At the end of the 1990s, the American

tenor of Jewish origin, Mark Hornbacher, visited Croatia. His concert was organized by the Jewish Community. The area of the Small Synagogue was filled with visitors who had the opportunity to listen to top performances of Jewish and other spiritual songs. Along with tenor Mark Hornbacher, Ljerka Pleslić Bjelinski, the wife of the famous Jewish composer Bruno Bjelinski, performed as piano accompaniment. The Zagreb sculptor of Jewish origin Vera Fischer (Zagreb 1925 – Zagreb 2009) in her humanitarian efforts contributed to the understanding and cooperation of people of different confessions with her sculptural work. She made a simple wooden cross with a yellow Star of David on the left side of the horizontal beam of the cross. She named the Jewish symbol thus placed “the heart of Jesus”, and the sculptor wrote about her inspiration for this work: In the spring of 1989, I dreamed of this cross with the Star of David in the place of the heart of Jesus. I was amazed at my dream. But she also understood that my dream was a symbol of the reconciliation of Christianity and Judaism. Since that time, I spread awareness of him at every opportunity, I accept every possibility, every extended hand, journey or encounter. Any environment, city or country. Media and exhibitions. Meanwhile, the symbol remained the same, but the circumstances changed. Now he tells me more. He says: If we can reconcile, maybe then we will too.

With the cooperation of the Jewish Community Osijek and the *Evangelical Pentecostal Church*, this sculptural work was exhibited in the Small Synagogue, and a considerable number of citizens of Osijek were present at the installation of the cross in the synagogue with the author. During 2017, the Jewish association *B'nai B'rith* and its lodge *Gavro Schwartz* exhibited in several places in Croatia an exhibition about Jews and Israel. The history of the Jewish people is shown on 24 panels, made in cooperation with the Jerusalem museum *Yad Vashem*. In cooperation with the Jewish Community Osijek, that exhibition was

also set up in the Small Synagogue in Osijek. The opening of the exhibition was also attended by the then mayor of Osijek, Ivica Vrkić. Through the exhibition, visitors could learn about the rich cultural heritage of the Jewish people. The cultural events held in the Small Synagogue remind us of the historical importance of the Jewish community Osijek. Today, when that community is small in number of members, its contribution to the city remains great, and the preserved building of the Small Synagogue testifies to the enduring values of Jewish heritage.

Tomislav Vuković

O sinagogi i židovskoj zajednici u Vinkovcima – od devetnaestog stoljeća do danas

Tomislav Vuković profesor je povijesti i engleskog jezika. Diplomirao je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Osijeku, a zaposlen je u Osnovnoj školi Dalj. Član je europske odgojno-obrazovne mreže RAN Youth & Education (Radicalisation Awareness Network) koju je osnovala Europska komisija. Honorarno radi kao turistički vodič za područje istočne Slavonije. Autor je i pokretač turističke ture „Židovski Osijek / Tragovima židovske baštine u Osijeku“ koju provodi od 2016. godine.

Sinagoga u Vinkovcima bila je među najvećim i najreprezentativnijim sinagogama na području Hrvatske. Stajala je na uglu današnjih ulica Kralja Zvonimira i Jurja Dalmatinca u središtu Vinkovaca. Bila je to kupolna sinagoga, izgrađena 1923. godine. Nažalost, na svome je mjestu stajala samo 18 godina, nakon čega je doživjela sustavno i barbarsko uništenje.

Židovska općina Vinkovci

Židovska općina Vinkovci osnovana je 1873. godine, ubrzo nakon dolaska prvih Židova u grad. Trinaest godina nakon što je Carskim patentom Židovima omogućeno posjedovanje zemlje i nekretnina za vlastite potrebe, Hrvatski sabor im je također priznao potpunu ravnopravnost. To je dalo poticaj gospodarskom i industrijskom razvoju Vinkovaca, tada gradića nedaleko od južne granice Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Prva sinagoga u Vinkovcima izgrađe-

na je 1880. godine. Bila je to skromna građevina, smještena na križanju današnje Glagoljaške i Reljkovićeve ulice, koje su se tada nazivale Švabića sokak i Čurlov sokak. Poznato je da su u dvorišnom dijelu te građevine postojale obredne ženske mikve, kao i stanovi za rabina i kantora. Zanimljivo je da je to bila prva namjenski izgrađena sinagoga u Vojnoj krajini, posebnoj habsburškoj pokrajini čiji je cilj bio obrana od mogućih napada iz Osmanskog Carstva.

Izgradnja sinagoge

Rast židovske zajednice u Vinkovcima ubrzo je prvu sinagogu učinio premalenom. Ona će biti srušena 1928. godine, iako se inicijativa za gradnju nove sinagoge pojavila puno ranije - 1911. godine. Gradnja je trebala započeti čim se dovrši financijska konstrukcija. U tu je svrhu 1914. godine osnovan građevinski odbor na čelu s R. Grossom. Planove o gradnji potom je

odgodio Prvi svjetski rat. Po završetku rata najvećim se problemom pokazalo financiranje. Zbog velike inflacije, Židovska općina nije mogla financirati gradnju isključivo na temelju doprinosa svojih članova, stoga je 1920. počelo dodatno prikupljanje sredstava. Tadašnja Židovska općina Vinkovci imala je oko 200 članova, od kojih je 150 živjelo u gradu, a 50 u okolnim selima. Izgradnja sinagoge konačno je započela sredinom 1922. godine, zahvaljujući upornosti i organizacijskim sposobnostima rabina Mavra Frankfurtera. Gradnju je značajno pomogao još jedan uglednik, a to je bio Jakob Schlesinger, bogati veletrgovac i vlasnik paromlina u Vinkovcima. Upravo je Schlesinger dao najveći financijski doprinos za novu sinagogu. Izgradnja je dovršena 1923. godine, a prvo bogoslužje održano je 9. prosinca, povodom blagdana Hanuke. Ukupni troškovi izgradnje iznosili su 4,5 milijuna kruna. Projekt je izradio istaknuti arhitekt Fran Funtak, građevinski inženjer iz obližnjeg Vukovara. On je dotad već stekao određeni ugled, stoga ne čudi što je izabran za glavnog projektanta, iako nije bio Židov. Pri izboru stilova za vinkovačku sinagogu Funtak je najviše bio sklon klasicizmu. Iako je taj stil dominirao, zgrada je imala i elemente arhitekture sinagoga iz 19. stoljeća, secesije te *art decoa*. Kupola je pak izgrađena u Mudéjar stilu (tipičnom za iberska kršćanska kraljevstva), dok su dvostruki prozori i trolistni gornji red prozora izgrađeni u *rundbogenstilu*, popular-



Vinkovačka sinagoga.

Izvor: Tomislav Vuković

nome u zemljama njemačkog govornog područja. Vinkovačka sinagoga imala je konstrukciju pravokutnog oblika. Funtak je stil kupole preuzeo od ranije izgrađene vukovarske sinagoge, a tripartitno pročelje odabrano je kao tradicionalni element arhitekture sinagoga. Vinkovačka sinagoga bila je rijedak primjer kupolne sinagoge u Hrvatskoj. Osim Vinkovaca, samo su sinagoge u Vukovaru i Rijeci bile u istom stilu. Kupolne sinagoge mogu se promatrati kao simbol potpuno emancipiranih židovskih zajednica, sa stilom koji se ovamo prelio iz bečkog i budimpeštanskog dizajna u razdoblju visokog historicizma.

Sinagoga je podignuta u jednoj od glavnih vinkovačkih ulica, Aleksandrovoj, koja je vodila prema Vukovaru. Ta je ulica više puta mijenjala imena, a danas je poznata kao Ulica kralja Zvoni-

mira. Poput drugih gradova u Hrvatskoj, i vinkovačka sinagoga nalazila se u trgovačkom središtu, u samoj jezgri grada. Osim toga, bila je prilično monumentalna. Osnovna konstrukcija bila je izrađena od armiranog betona (temelji, galerije, stupovi i lukovi), što je za to vrijeme bilo vrlo moderno. Na vanjštini sinagoge moglo se uočiti nekoliko tipičnih židovskih elemenata. Takav je bio hebrejski natpis iz Tore, koji je stajao iznad glavnog portala; stilizirani svitak Tore na vrhu zapadnog pročelja; te dvije Davidove zvijezde – jedna na vrhu kupole, a druga iznad glavnog portala. Unutrašnjost je pak bila prilagođena činjenici da je vinkovačka Židovska općina bila konzervativnog tipa. Zato su uređeni posebni ulazi za žene, sa stepenicama koje su vodile do ženskih galerija, dok su aron ha-kodesh (sveti ormar) i bima (uzdignuta propovjedaonica) bili smješteni uz istočni zid. Nažalost, od cjelokupnog inventara samo su jedna Tora i neke matične knjige preživjele Drugi svjetski rat. Sačuvana Tora danas je pohranjena u Židovskoj općini Osijek. Ubrzo nakon dovršetka sinagoge, gradsko područje oko nje također je doživjelo nekoliko poboljšanja. Primjerice, na skupštini u lipnju 1928. odlučeno je da se sruši stari stan rabina, jer je zaklanjao pogled na novu zgradu. U istom je razdoblju probijena nova ulica uz sjeverno pročelje sinagoge (današnja Ulica Jurja Dalmatina), čime je sinagoga pozicionirana kao uglovnica. Godine 1931. iza sinagoge podignut je i Židovski dom.

Uništenje

Napredak židovske zajednice, kao i samoga grada, naglo je prekinut izbijanjem Drugog svjetskog rata. U travnju 1941. Vinkovci ulaze u sastav marionetske i nacističke Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Nedugo nakon toga sinagoga će doživjeti devastaciju, slično kao i cjelokupna židovska zajednica. Neki od najistaknutijih članova te zajednice, poput rabina Mavra Frankfurtera, ili Ignjata Langa, predsjednika Židovske općine, deportirani su i potom ubijeni u logoru Jasenovac. Vinkovačka sinagoga srušena je 1941.-42. godine. Prvi čin rušenja izvršen je u jesen 1941., kada je njemačka organizacija Kulturbund organizirala skidanje bakra s krova sinagoge. Miniranje i odvoz građevinskog materijala uslijedili su 1942. Unatoč tome, ruševine sinagoge visoke 1,5 metar ostale su vidljive sve do 1946.-47. Godine 1948. Židovska općina Vinkovci prodala je to zemljište Narodnoj banci Jugoslavije. Temelji sinagoge ostali su, međutim, vidljivi sve do 1978. godine, kada je ondje podignuta nova zgrada – upravna zgrada PIK-a. Židovski dom koji se nalazio iza sinagoge imao je nešto drugačiju sudbinu. (Danas je to prazan prostor iza zgrade PIK-a). On nije doživio rušenje, budući da je služio kao zatvor. Nakon rata, 1945. godine, nove komunističke vlasti pretvorile su ga u Omladinski dom, sa svrhom održavanja plesova i koncerata. Devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, tijekom Domovinskog rata, zgradu

je koristila Hrvatska vojska, i to kao skladište streljiva. Usljed nepažnje, ondje se 1. ožujka 1992. dogodila velika eksplozija koja je zgradu uništila do temelja.

Posljedice

Može se reći da je loša sreća pratila i prostor nekadašnje sinagoge. Nasljednica na toj parceli – upravna zgrada PIK-a (poljoprivredno-industrijskog kombinata) izgorjela je u vrijeme Domovinskog rata. Najprije je oštećena s nekoliko stotina projektila, a onda je početkom 1992. pogođena zapaljivim bombama i potpuno izgorjela. Poslije toga je stajala u ruševinama sve do 2018., kada je konačno obnov-

ljena. Danas je u vlasništvu Hrvatskih šuma. Točno mjesto nekadašnje sinagoge danas se poklapa s popločanom, odnosno zelenom površinom ispred same zgrade. Potomci vinkovačkih Židova koji su nekoć zalazili u sinagogu danas uglavnom žive u dalekim zemljama poput Izraela i SAD-a. Mnogi koji su preživjeli Holokaust su se odlučili za emigraciju nakon 1948. Zato možda iznenađuje podatak da neki od tih potomaka još govore hrvatski jezik i pritom ga pomalo „razvlače“ po slavonski. Budući da je materijalna baština njihovih predaka uglavnom uništena, taj je govor često jedini podsjetnik na njihov nekadašnji grad i domovinu.

Tomislav Vuković

Synagogue and Jewish Community of Vinkovci since 19th Century til Today

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The synagogue in Vinkovci was among the largest and the most representative synagogues on the Croatian territory. It used to stand on the corner of King Zvonimir and Juraj Dalmatinac Streets in the Vinkovci town center. It was a domed synagogue, built in 1923. Unfortunately, it stood at its place for only 18 years, after which it suffered the systematic and barbaric destruction.

Jewish Community Vinkovci

The Jewish Community Vinkovci was established in 1873, soon after the arrival of the first Jews to the town. Thirteen years after the Imperial Patent allowed Jews to own land and real estate for their own use, the Croatian parliament also granted Jews complete equality. This gave impetus to the economic and industrial development of this town near the border of the mighty Austro-Hungarian Mon-

archy. The first synagogue in Vinkovci was built in 1880. It was a modest building, located at the crossroads of present-day Glagoljaška and Reljković Streets, which were known as Švabića sokak and Čurlov sokak back then. It is known that ritual women’s mikveh existed in the yard part, along with rabbi’s and cantor’s apartments. It’s interesting that it was the first purpose-built synagogue in the Military Frontier, the special Habsburg borderland whose aim was to serve as the *cordon sanitaire* against incursions from the Ottoman Empire.

Building of the Synagogue

The growth of the Jewish community in Vinkovci soon made the first synagogue too small. It would be demolished in 1928, although the first initiative for a new synagogue appeared a lot earlier - in 1911. The construction was scheduled to begin as soon as the

financial structure was completed. In 1914 a construction committee was established for that purpose, headed by R. Gross. Despite the plans, World War I postponed the construction. With the end of the war, financing turned out to be the largest problem. Due to the inflation, the Jewish community could not finance the construction solely from the contribution of its members. Therefore, the fundraising started in 1920. At that time the Jewish community of Vinkovci had about 200 members, of which 150 lived in the town and another 50 in the surrounding villages. The construction of the synagogue finally started in the mid-1922, thanks to the persistence and organizational capabilities of rabbi Mavro Frankfurter. Another prominent figure helped the construction significantly, and it was Jakob Schlesinger, a wealthy wholesaler and the owner of the steam mill in Vinkovci. It was Schlesinger who gave the largest financial contribution for the new synagogue. Its construction was completed in 1923, and the first service was organized on December 9th, on the occasion of Hanukkah. The total construction cost was 4.5 million kronas.

The project was carried out by a prominent architect Fran Funtak. Funtak had already been a respectable building engineer from the nearby town of Vukovar, so it's no wonder that he was picked as a chief designer, although he was a Gentile. When

choosing styles for the Vinkovci Synagogue, Funtak mostly turned to classicism. Although this style dominated, the building also had elements of the 19th-century synagogue architecture, as well as of Art Deco and Secession. The dome was built in Mudéjar style (typical for Iberian Christian kingdoms), while double windows and the trefoil upper row of windows were built in *rundbogenstil*, which was popular in German-speaking lands. The Vinkovci Synagogue had a longitudinal construction with a rectangular shape. Funtak took over the dome style from the earlier built Vukovar Synagogue. In addition, a tripartite front was a traditional element of the synagogue architecture. The Vinkovci synagogue was a rare domed synagogue example in Croatia. Aside from Vinkovci, only the synagogues in Vukovar and Rijeka used the same style. Domed synagogues can be viewed as a symbol of fully emancipated Jewish communities, with the style filtering down from Viennese and Budapest designs from the period of high historicism.

The synagogue was put up in one of the main streets, Aleksandar Street, which connected the towns of Vinkovci and Vukovar. As the street has changed its name several times, now it is known as King Zvonimir Street. Similarly to other towns in Croatia, the Vinkovci synagogue was located in the commercial center, in the very heart of the town. In addition, it was quite monu-

mental. The basic construction was made from ferroconcrete (the foundations, galleries, columns and arches), which was quite modern at the time. Regarding the exterior design, several Judaic elements could be found. Such were a Hebrew inscription from *Torah*, which stood above the main entrance; a stylized rotulus of *Torah* on top of the western façade; and two symbols of *magen David* – one on top of the dome and the other above the main entrance. When it comes to interior design, it was adapted to the fact that the Jewish community of Vinkovci was of conservative type. There were separate entrances for women, including stairs leading to women's galleries, whereas *aron ha-kodesh* (the ornamental chamber) and the *bimah* (the raised pulpit) were located next to the eastern wall. Unfortunately, out of all the inventory, only one *Torah* and some registry books survived World War II. The saved *Torah* is now kept at the Jewish community of Osijek. Soon after the completion of the synagogue, the area surrounding it faced several improvements. For instance, the assembly from June 1928 decided that the old rabbi's apartment should be demolished, as it was blocking the view of the new building. In the same period, a new street was established next to the north façade (the present-day Juraj Dalmatinac Street), which positioned the synagogue as a corner building. In 1931 a new Jewish community house was put up behind the synagogue.



Location of the former synagogue, today.

Source: Tomislav Vuković.

Destruction

The prosperity of the Jewish community and the town itself was suddenly abruptly with the outbreak of World War II. In April 1941 Vinkovci became a part of the Nazi puppet state called Independent State of Croatia. Soon after, the Synagogue would be devastated, and so would the entire Jewish community. Even the most prominent figures like the rabbi Mavro Frankfurter or Ignjat Lang, the president of the Jewish community, were deported and killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp. The demolition of the synagogue took place in 1941-42. The demolition was first organized in autumn 1941, when the German organization *Kulturbund* invited its members to remove copper from the synagogue roof. The blasting and the removal of construction material followed in 1942. Despite the demolition, the ruins of the synagogue with the height of 1.5 meters remained visible until 1946-47. In 1948, the Jewish community Vinkovci sold out the site

to the Yugoslav National Bank. The synagogue foundations remained visible even after that, until 1978, when a new building was put up at the place. The Jewish Community house which stood behind the synagogue had a slightly different fate. (Today it's the empty space behind the PIK building). It wasn't demolished, as it served as a prison. After the war, in 1945, the new communist administration decided they would turn it into a youth center, with the purpose of hosting dances and concerts. In 1990s, during the Croatian War of Independence, the Croatian army used the building as a warehouse for ammunition. Due to inattention, a huge explosion took place there on March 1st, 1992, which destroyed the building to the ground.

Aftermath

Bad luck also seemed to follow the former synagogue location. Its successor on the same lot – the popu-

lar PIK building (the administration building of the local agro-industrial combine) also burned down during the Croatian War of Independence. It was hit by several hundred projectiles, and then at the beginning of 1992, it burned down after being hit by incendiary bombs. The building remained in ruins until 2018, when it was finally reconstructed again. Today it is owned by the company Croatian Forests. The precise site of the former synagogue is in front of that building, where the green area is. The descendants of Vinkovci Jews, who had once attended the synagogue, now mostly live in countries like Israel and the USA. After 1948, many of those who survived the Holocaust opted for emigration. Surprisingly, some of them still speak Croatian language with eastern Slavonian dialect. With material heritage mostly wiped out, that dialect is often a sole reminder of their ancestors' homeland.

Nataša Pelja Tabori

Velika sefardska sinagoga u Sarajevu – istorija, značaj i budućnost. O etici rekonstrukcije kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa

Dr. tehn. Nataša Pelja Tabori, dipl. ing. arh. završila je studij arhitekture na Bezalel Akademiji u Jerusalemu 1999. godine. Magisterij stječe na La Sapienza Univerzitetu u Rimu 2002., a doktorat na Tehničkom univerzitetu u Beču 2021. Kao studentica radi u arhitektonskom birou Gutman Architects u Jerusalemu, poslije završtka studija u Sarajevu u birou Aide Daidžić, a zatim na projektu Ars Aevi - Muzej savremene umjetnosti u birou Renza Piano-a. Od 2000. radi u Zavodu za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo, te fokusom njenog rada i istraživanja postaje urbanizam i prostorno planiranje. Trenutno je šef Službe za prostorno planiranje. Sudjeluje na međunarodnim konferencijama, među kojima REAL CORP 2018, AESOP 2019, Sarajevo i svijet, te UN Sedmica međuvjerskog sklada u svijetu 2021. Objavljuje u domaćim i regionalnim časopisima. Prevela je Sarajevsku Hagadu sa hebrejskog na bosanski jezik 2008. godine u izdanju RABIC-a i stalni je sudski tumač za hebrejski jezik u BiH.

2022. godine nemoguće je na uličnoj fasadi Bosanskog kulturnog centra u Sarajevu prepoznati da je to nekad bila Velika sefardska sinagoga, najveća na Balkanu. Objekat je otvoren na jevrejsku Novu godinu ili Roš Hašana 14.09.1930. godine. Nakon drugog svjetskog rata u kome je sinagoga opljačkana i devastirana, a skoro 90% sarajevske jevrejske populacije ubijeno, Jevrejska opština u Sarajevu odlučila je pokloniti ovaj kompleks gradu na ime priznanja troškova rekonstrukcije. Početkom šezdesetih godina 20. vijeka objekat sinagoge i Jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda je prenamijenjen i rekonstruiran do neprepoznatljivosti. Od posljednjeg rata do danas objekat se nije mijenjao u odnosu na rekonstrukciju u vrijeme socijalizma,

osim natkrivanja atrija. Tokom posjete izraelskih studenata Bosni i Hercegovini u sklopu projekta „Putovanje u jevrejsku baštinu“ 2010. godine, u kojem je autorica ovog teksta sudjelovala, otkriveno je da je interijer kupole ostao netaknut, te se u sarajevskoj javnosti počelo nametati pitanje opravdanosti nove rekonstrukcije i njenog opsega. Ovaj članak preispituje historijsku, funkcionalnu, estetsku, pa i etičku slojevitost eventualnih budućih zahvata na ovom specifičnom objektu kulturno – historijskog naslijeđa.

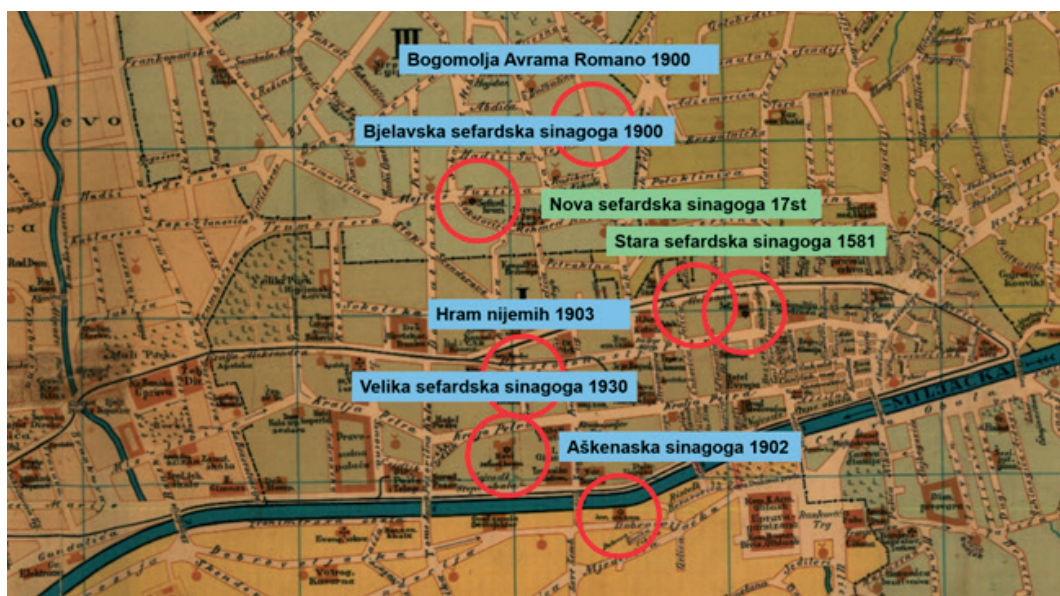
Uvod

Sefardi (britannica.com, pristupljeno 2022, prevod autorice), od hebrejskog Sefarad (ספרד) što u prevodu znači Španija, su potomci Jevreja koji su do 1492.

godine živjeli u Španiji kada su španski kralj i kraljica, Ferdinand i Izabela proglasili progon naredivši tako da svih 200.000 Jevreja Španije napuste zemlju u roku od tri mjeseca. Oko 70.000 protjeranih Jevreja našlo je utočište u susjednom Portugalu, da bi nakon pet godina 1497. godine i portugalski kralj Manuel I, po uzoru na špansku kraljicu Izabelu, sačinio sličan proglas i protjerao oko 100.000 Jevreja Portugala na osnovu različitosti njihove vjere (lawoffice.org.il, posjećeno 2022., prevod autorice). Sefardi u Sarajevu pominju se u pisanim dokumentima prvi put sredinom 16. vijeka (Gotovac, 1987). Sefardska zajednica nastanjena u bosanskom pašaluku rasla je i razvijala se sve do početka drugog svjetskog rata, od kada nestaje, kao i njeni običaji i judeo-španski jezik ili ladino. Sefardi u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu od 16. do 20. vijeka podižu brojne sinago-

ge, od kojih je do početka drugog svjetskog rata u Sarajevu postojalo njih pet: Stara sefardska sinagoga (Il kal grandi ili Il kal vježu), Nova sefardska sinagoga (Il kal muevu), Bjelavska sinagoga (Il kal di la Bilava), Hram nijemih (Il kal di lus mudus) i Bogomolja Avrama Romano (Il kal di tiju Mači Bohor).

Ovaj članak fokusirat će se na gradnju, sadašnje stanje i perspektivu kompleksa nekadašnjeg Velikog sefardskog hrama ili na ladinu Il Kal Grandi i Jevrejske sefardske opštine. Dvadesetih godina 20. vijeka javlja se ideja i potreba za gradnjom sinagoge koja bi odgovarala rastućoj jevrejskoj populaciji Sarajeva. „Pristalice gradnje su isticale da Sarajevo kao sefardski centar koji po važnosti dolazi odmah iza Soluna mora imati reprezentativan hram,“ (Gotovac, 1987) „koji će po svojoj spo- ljašnjosti, položajem i nutarnjim uređenjem biti jedna pravcata pesma,



Pozicija svih sinagoga u Sarajevu izgrađenih u periodu od 16. – 20. vijeka

Izvor: Zavod za planiranje razvoja kantona Sarajevo, prezentacija Nataša Pelja Tabori

isklesana sva u lepom i plemenitom mermeru...“ (Jevrejski život, 1925). Objekat je sagrađen, a „Svečanosti posvećenja hrama trajale su od 12.-14. septembra 1930. (Gotovac, 1987). Impozantna neomaurska građevina, sjedište sefardske opštine i sinagoga, pozicionirana u središtu grada neda-leko od Narodnog pozorišta uspjeće, za razliku od većine njenih korisnika, da preživi užase nacizma i fašizma. „Nažalost, nakon pustošenja u dru-gom svjetskom ratu i rekonstrukcije 1962. godine (izveo ju je arhitekta Ivan Štraus, u Sinagogi je danas Radnički univerzitet 'Đuro Đaković') nije osta-lo ništa, ili gotovo ništa od nekadašnje raskošne građevine“ (Gotovac, 1987). U bosanskohercegovačkoj javnosti od-nedavno postoji interes da se o istoriji objekta sazna više, pa se često pominje i nova rekonstrukcija ([facebook.com/ju.bkc.ks/posts](https://www.facebook.com/ju.bkc.ks/posts), 2019). Ovaj članak po-stavlja pitanje kako na etički prihvat-ljiv način izvršiti rekonstrukciju koja bi pokazala nekad vrijedan objekat jevrejskog kulturno-historijskog nasli-jeđa, koji je pretrpio ratnu destrukciju i devastaciju, rekonstrukciju u vrijeme socijalizma, ponovna ratna oštećenja, te parcijalne poslijeratne i tranzicijske preinake, a da ista bude izazov za arhi-tektonsku struku, ali i grad u kojem su Jevreji živjeli i stvarali.

Gradnja i destrukcija Velike sefardske sinagoge u Sarajevu

Sefardsko stanovništvo Sarajeva konti-nuirano je raslo i napredovalo od do-laska u Sarajevo iz svoje pradomovine

Španije, nakon progona 1492. godine, a poseban procvat u 20. vijeku name-će potrebu izgradnje bogomolje u ko-joj će mjesto naći svi tadašnji Jevreji i Jevrejke Sarajeva. Iako je zemljište za gradnju veoma brzo obezbijedeno kupnjom od Josefa Baruha (Jevrejski život 1924; Gotovac, 1987), na atraktiv-njoj lokaciji u blizini Narodnog pozo-rišta, materijalne poteškoće Jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda onemo-gučiće da gradnja počne odmah: „Tada je izabran vrlo sposoban i agiln Odbor za gradnju na čijem čelu je stajao pred-sjednik Jevrejske opštine Avram Majer Altarac“ (Spomenica Jevrejske vjerois-povijedne opštine sefardskog obreda u Sarajevu, 1930; Gotovac, 1987). Ipak, vrlo brzo biti će organiziran međuna-rodni arhitektonski natječaj, čiji su re-zultati bili slijedeći: „Javilo se 45 arhi-tekata; prva nagrada nije dodijeljena, a dvije druge nagrade dobili su Rudolf Lubynski iz Zagreba i Karlo Paržik iz Sarajeva ; prihvaćen je nešto pojedno-stavljeni projekt Lubynskog (Gotovac, 1987). Obje zajednice počele su pozi-vati svoje članove da daju dobrovolj-ne priloge za gradnju prvog hrama u petstogodišnjoj tradiciji u Sarajevu u kojem će se zajedno moliti Aškenazi i Sefardi. Kamen temeljac podignut je 1926. U objektu koji još nije bio u potpunosti izgrađen održana je Ha-nuka (jevrejski praznik svjetlosti kada se dan za danom u toku osam dana pale svjeće na osmokrakom svećnja-ku koji se zove hanukija) svečanost 4. decembra 1928 (Spomenica La lire, str.39; Gotovac, 1987). Hram je otvo-

ren 14.09.1930., a svečanosti otvorenja nazočila su čak tri rabina, nadržin Kraljevine Jugoslavije Dr. Isak Alkalaj, nadržin Jevrejske opštine sefardskog vjeroispovjednog obreda Dr. Moric Levi i nadržin Jevrejske opštine aškenaskog vjeroispovjednog obreda Dr. Hinko Urbah (Rajner, 2020).

Mirjam Rajner u svom diplomskom radu prenosi opis hrama arhitekta Rudolfa Lubynskog povodom otvorenja istog, a koji prenosimo u ovom članku u cjelosti radi usporedbe sa stanjem građevine danas: „Relativno usko, a dugačko zemljište (25x95 m) nametalo je naglašavanje dužinske osi građevine. Položaj je odredio i njenu orijentaciju, pa ovdje dolazi do odstupanja od uobičajenog smjera (sve sefardske sinagoge u Sarajevu imaju smjer sjever-jug (aron hakodeš), pa tako i Veliki sefardski hram, za razliku od Aškenaske sinagoge koja ima smjer zapad-istok (aron hakodeš), opaska autorice). Glavni ulaz iz ulice Kralja Petra (poslije ulica JNA, danas ulica Branilaca Sarajeva) bio je okrenut ka severu, dok se aron hakodeš (aron hakodeš ili sveta škrinja je prostor u kojem se čuvaju svici Tore) u unutrašnjosti građevine nalazio na južnoj strani prema obali. Na osnovu opisa, jer kompletan tlocrt prizemlja odnosno spratne konstrukcije hrama nije sačuvan, možemo zaključiti da se hram dužinski delio u tri dela: pravougaoni dio s peristilom i dodatnim prostorijama na severnoj strani, centralni molitveni prostor eliptičnog oblika i pravougaoni nastavak sa svetištem i dodatnim

prostorijama na južnoj strani. Spratna konstrukcija imala je nad centralnim molitvenim prostorom postavljenu galeriju koja je pratila eliptičnu liniju. Ulaskom kroz nadsvođeno predvorje sa severne strane nailazilo se na peristil okružen arkadama sa potkovičastim lukovima. Raspored prozora na gornjem spratu bio je usklađen sa razmacima lukova arkada. Ovaj peristil bio je pravougaonog oblika sa dužom osi u smeru sever-jug. S istočne strane nalazio se ulaz u predvorje dnevnog hrama iz kojeg se stepeništem dolazilo do galerije tog manjeg, verovatno pomoćnog molitvenog prostora. Uz stubište nalazile su se uredske i stambene prostorije Uprave opštine. Na južnoj strani peristila troja vrata su vodila u prolaz sa stepeništem za galeriju glavnog hrama, smeštenim na levoj i desnoj strani. Iz istog prolaza, krećući se dalje prema jugu, ulazilo se u predvorje. Sa zapadne strane predvorja nalazila se garderoba za muškarce, a sa istočnog dvorana za venčanje. Kroz južna vrata tog predvorja ulazilo se u eliptičnu dvoranu molitvenog prostora sinagoge. Prateći njenu zakrivljenu liniju oko dvorane je tekao hodnik, omogućujući vernicima nesmetan prolaz. 14 stubova pravougaonog preseka nosilo je galeriju na prvom spratu. U ovom donjem delu hrama namenjenom muškarcima, nalazilo se 686 sedišta. Na južnom kraju u izvučenom pravougaonom prostoru bila je smeštena konstrukcija arona hakodeša. Ovaj centralni prostor natkrivala je eliptična kupola koja se oslanjala na 28 stubova okruglog preseka u visini prvog sprata koji su se u

prizemlju spajali po dva i dobivali pravougaonu osnovu. Kupola je izvedena u armiranom betonu, a takođe i stubovi. Veća os kupole iznosila je 30,8 m, a kraća 22.3 m, te je ona svojom veličinom i oblikom predstavljala izuzetno arhitektonsko rešenje. Iza aron hakodeša smeštena je pravougaona prostorija za potrebe odlaganja predmeta korištenih pri bogoslužju. Sa leve i desne strane nalazila se po jedna prostorija za rabine i kantore. U ovom južnom delu hrama, na levoj i desnoj strani od svetišta nalazile su se stepenice kojima se uspinjalo do dela prvog sprata iza konstrukcije aron hakodeša, gde se nalazio prostor sa orguljama namenjen horu. Na južnoj strani okrenutoj ka Obali, bio je takođe dograđen peristil sa arkadama, poput onog sa severne strane građevine. Na prvi sprat uspinjalo se stepenište iz prolaza pred centralnim delom hrama. Tu je takođe bilo predvorje sa ulazom u galeriju. Galerija koja je svojim oblikom pratila elipsu centralnog prostora imala je 298 sedišta. U sklopu sinagoge nalazila se još dvorana za sednice sa bibliotekom, administrativne prostorije i arhiva. Zbog stešnjenosti između zgrada sa istočne i zapadne strane akcent je stavljen na severnu odnosno južnu fasadu. Ovde takođe možemo razlikovati vertikalnu podelu u tri dela. Središnji deo sa severne strane je povišen, dok su bočna krila niža. Sva tri dela su ravno završena, a nad bočnim krilima su bile male polukružne kupole. Sa južne strane peristil je otvoren, te je bilo moguće videti trodelnu fasadu same građevine, iznad koje se uzdizala velika centralna

kupola na eliptičnom tamburu. Potkovičasti lukovi fasadnih otvora i arkada kao i kupole ukazuju na uticaj islamske arhitekture, karakteristične za Sarajevo. U unutrašnjosti kombinacijom materijala (mermer, kamen, drvo, bronza) i izborom dekoracije izvedene u štuku i mozaiku, takođe se nastojalo približiti džamiji kao uzoru. Tome u prilog ide i naziv 'mošeja', ponekad upotrebljavan za ovu sinagogu. Ipak arhitekt Lubynski je određuje kao građevinu maurskog stila. Iako se ova sinagoga svojim stilskim izrazom vezuje više za vreme imitatorskih stilova u arhitekturi 19 veka, organizacija njenog unutrašnjeg prostora, smelo i potpuno novo unutrašnje rešenje centralnog molitvenog prostora, te primena savremenih materijala, određuju je kao delo blisko modernim shvatanjima“ (Spomenica Jevrejske vjeroispovijedne opštine sefardskog obreda u Sarajevu, 1930; Rajner, 1982).

Interijer sinagoge oslikao je poznati njemački umjetnik tog vremena Kemmerer, koji je za Jevrejski glas (1930) rekao slijedeće: „Ne želim mnogo šara, ni drečavih boja. Osnova mi je mavarska, ali dopuštam sebi nešto fantazije, u cilju slobode stilizacije. Želim da se u mirnoći kompozicije boja osjeti dostojanstvo hrama. Mir i veličajnost u boji i šari, i ništa više. Ne bježim od zlatnog, ako je potrebno u svodovima, kao i na galerijama, potrebno kao i ovim stubovima otvoreno-zeleni izgled mermera“ (Gotovac, 1987).

Velika sefardska sinagoga korištena je sve do 1942. godine, kada uslijed tra-

gedije drugog svjetskog rata i stradanja Jevreja prestaje sa radom. Hram je demoliran i opljačkan od strane okupatora i domaćih fašista. Godinu prije, 1941. u koncentracionom logoru u Grazu ubijen je nadržbin Jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda Dr Moric Levi, a iste godine na Vracama ubijen je i nadkantor Isak Altarac (Jevrejski pregled, 1971; Gotovac, 1987). Fotografije iz 1948. u posjedu autorice dokazuju da je i tri godine poslije rata sinagoga oštećena i opustošena. Jevrejska opština koja je nakon rata materijalno gotovo pa uništena i od čije populacije je preživjelo tek 10%, nije bila u mogućnosti obnoviti objekat, te ga u svojstvu pravnog sljedbenika Jevrejske sefardske opštine, poklanja Odjeljenju za kulturu i umjetnost Gradskog narodnog odbora u Sarajevu, uz uslov da bude korišten u svrhu kulture i da grad preuzme obavezu da finansira rekonstrukciju (Jevrejska opština Sarajevo, 1950).



Pogled odozgo sa sjevera na kompleks Velike sefardske sinagoge i Jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda 1948. godine

Izvor: Privatna kolekcija, Sarajevo

1951. godine raspisan je jugoslovenski konkurs za „izradu idejnih skica za re-

konstrukciju bivšeg jevrejskog hrama i urbanističkog rješenja prostora oko ovog objekta i Narodnog pozorišta u Sarajevu“ (NOG Sarajeva, 1951). Žiri u sastavu ing. Juraj Najdhard i ing. Muhamed Kadić zaprimio je 15 radova (Društvo arhitekata, 1951). Pobjednici konkursa bili su Zdravko Kovačević i Milivoj Peterčić. Do realizacije njihove ideje rekonstrukcije hrama i urbanističkog oblikovanja Pozorišnog trga nije došlo. Desetak godina poslije pristupilo se rekonstrukciji templa i atrija prema projektu arhitekata Ivana i Tihomira Štrausa, konstruktora Svetozara Bogunovića, reljefa u bakru Željka Marjanovića, a koju je izveo ŽGP. Radovi su završeni 1965. godine kada je objekat dat na upravljanje Radničkom univerzitetu „Đuro Đaković“. Vodeći se akustičkim projektom i proračunom koji su sačinili Prof. Dr. Havlicek i arhitekt Belobrk u sklopu preporuka za projekat adaptacije hrama, a koji je upućen Gradskom preduzeću za projektovanje Sarajevo, došlo se do rješenja kojim je dvorana podignuta na armiranobetonsku ploču, a ocjenjena kao „akustički nepovoljna (kurziv je naš) velika visina nad dvoranom smanjena je spuštanim stropom, dok se eliptični oblik dvorane, takođe akustički nepodesan nije mogao izmijeniti“ (Gradsko preduzeće za projektovanje, 1951). Ovdje valja ponoviti da je hram imao orgulje, te da su i nejevreji dolazili slušati nadkantara Isaka Altarca, koji je pjevanje studirao na bečkoj Muzičkoj akademiji. Altarac je svojevremeno



Pogled na zapadnu fasadu zgrade s Pozorišnog trga 1948.

osnovao hor dječaka , koji je petkom , subotom i praznicima pjevao liturgijske pjesme (Gotovac, 1987), pa se postavlja pitanje da li je moguće da akustika izvornog objekta bila toiko loše izvedena da nije omogućavala izvođenje molitvenih pjesama uz orgulje? Rješenjem Višeg privrednog suda u Sarajevu 1968. godine dio kompleksa u kojem su bile poslovne prostorije Jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda i stan rabina, uz tadašnju ulicu JNA (danas Branilaca Sarajeva) predat je na korištenje Urbanističkom zavodu grada Sarajeva, a uz obavezu adaptacije ovog dijela objekta. Ako uporedimo izgled današnjeg objekta Bosanskog kulturnog centra (BKC) i Zavoda za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo koji su praktički neizmijenjeni

u odnosu na rekonstrukciju iz 1965. zaključujemo slijedeće: Ulična sjeverna fasada objekta potpuno je izmijenjena, na način da lučno nadsvođena ulazna partija kojom se ulazilo u atrij više ne postoji. Ona je zazidana, a u presijeku u visini baze luka je podna ploča mezzanin sprata koji je dodan objektu. Izvorni ornamenta na sjevernoj fasadi, kao i fasadama atriya su uništen, izmijenjen je ritam otvora na sjevernoj fasadi. Urušene kupole na sjevernom dijelu objekta zamijenjene su ravnim krovom. Sva preostala vjerska obilježja i ornamentika objekta, poput starozavjetnih ploča i rozete na uličnoj fasadi, te rozete u atriju su uklonjena.

Sjeverni peristil je zazidan, a arkade su pretvorene u otvore pomoćnih pro-

storija u prizemlju objekta. Atrij koji je djelomično nadstvođen prilikom rekonstrukcije, u nedavnoj intervenciji je potpuno zatvoren. Dio detalja izvornog svoda i stubova u predprostoru izložbene dvorane i u atriju je nedavno otkriven. Nekadašnji molitveni prostor vertikalno je presječen armiranobetonskom pločom i podijeljen na koncertnu i izložbenu dvoranu. Južni peristil, kao i prostor koji se nalazio s istočne strane aron hakođeša više ne postoje. Rekonstrukcija koja se desila šezdesetih godina prošlog vijeka može biti posmatrana samo u kontekstu vremena socijalizma, jer analiza tog zahvata sa stanovišta arhitektonske struke i iz perspektive zaštite objekata kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa teško da može naći racionalno uporište za potpuno uništenje objekta Velikog sefardskog hrama koje je nakon razaranja i pustošenja objekta tokom drugog svjetskog rata zapravo zapečaćeno ovom rekonstrukcijom. Ipak, vremenski odmak i nove spoznaje u oblasti zaštite kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa o kojima govori slijedeće poglavlje možda otvore prostor za diskusiju o nekoj novoj rekonstrukciji kojom bi nepravda učinjena ovom objektu bila na neki način iskupljena.

Etika rekonstrukcije

Projekat Putovanje u jevrejsko naslijeđe 2010. godine sponzoriran od strane Zalman Shazar centra i fondacije Avi Chai iz Jerusalema doveo je grupu izraelskih studenata u Bosnu i Hercegovinu da istraže i dokumentuju po-

kretno i nepokretno jevrejsko kulturno-historijsko naslijeđe. Autorica ovog teksta sudjelovala je u tom projektu. Tada je otkriveno da su dekoracija i ornamenti u podkupalnom prostoru, kao i originalni stubovi očuvani, iako u jako lošem stanju. Sudionici projekta su bili iznenađeni i impresionirani kupolom koju nikad do tad nije bilo moguće vidjeti, jer je u prostoru koncertne dvorane BKC-a spuštenu strop od 1965. godine. Od tada sporadično se u sarajevskoj javnosti pojavljuje, pa jenjava ideja nove rekonstrukcije koncertne dvorane koja bi „otkrila“ izvornu kupolu objekta.

Rekonstrukcija u vrijeme socijalizma Velike sefardske sinagoge potvrđuje tezu da iako je Venecijanska povelja, u svom historijskom kontekstu donesena iza drugog svjetskog rata, bila isključivo protiv rekonstrukcije, praksa širom svijeta je dokazivala suprotno (ICOMOS, 1965). Dugo je rekonstrukcija smatrana skrnavljenjem kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa i na sarajevskom primjeru nekadašnjeg Radničkog univerziteta „Đuro Đaković“, a današnjeg BKC-a ta teza je dokazana. Ipak, može li rekonstrukcija napraviti nešto što se u jevrejskoj tradiciji naziva kapara (pomirenje, oprost od grijeha, iskupljenje, pokajanje)? “Rekonstruisati znači „sagraditi iznova“. Normalno, rekonstrukcija devastiranog mjesta bi se referirala na proces ponovne gradnje nečega što je uništeno ili izgubljeno, kao što se dogodi nakon prirodnih nepogoda, kao što su

zemljotres, ili oružani sukob. U tom slučaju, ponovna gradnja ne bi nužno značila ponovno stvaranje nečega tačno kako je bilo prije. Često, to bi rezultiralo novom gradnjom u stilu koji je relevantan za taj period iako prilagođenom naslijeđenom kontekstu” (Jokilehto, 2013, prevod autorice). O takvoj vrsti rekonstrukcije ne možemo govoriti u slučaju Velike sefardske sinagoge, jer se zapravo povratak u pređašnje stanje nikad nije ni desio. Objekat je dobio novu funkciju i stilski izričaj i uvjetno rečeno „zaboravio“ ili „sakrio“ svoj izvorni identitet i izgled. Johnatan Jones (2016) tvrdi da „nikada nije legitimno...rekonstruisati drevne spomenike korištenjem savremenih materijala kako bi se nadomjestili izgubljeni dijelovi- da ih se suštinski refabrikuje-iako današnja tehnologija čini da to izgleda praktično“ (Bülow and Thomas, 2020).

Zaključak

Odluka da se Velika sefardska sinagoga rekonstruiše nakon utvrđivanja stanja objekta 1948. godine rezultirala je potpunom destrukcijom vrijednog objekta jevrejske baštine. Ipak objekat nije srušen i nastavio je živjeti kao koncertna dvorana i upravna zgrada dvije gradske institucije. Pitanje nove rekonstrukcije u duhu suvremenog pristupa očuvanju kulturno-historijske baštine podrazumijevalo bi detaljnu analizu sadašnjeg stanja u kojem se objekat nalazi i sve raspoložive dokumentacije, a kako bi se došlo do realnih polazišta i osnova za eventu-

alno „otkrivanje“ izvornih dijelova građevine i ukazivanja na slojevitost i kompleksnost njene historije. Šta je moralno prihvatljiva rekonstrukcija?

Ako posmatramo samo estetiku objekta, ne možemo prihvatiti da je rekonstrukcija 1965. dala objektu dodatnu estetsku vrijednost, dapače, mnogi će se složiti da je izvorni objekat izgubio svoju estetsku vrijednost, primarno s deontološkog aspekta. Najproblematičnija moralna dilema ove rekonstrukcije je da se njom *prikrio* značajan događaj zbog kojeg je sinagoga bila uništena, a to je drugi svjetski rat i istrebljenje Jevreja. S druge strane, šta je bila alternativa? Restauracija objekta bi zasigurno bila prihvatljivija sa stanovišta zaštite kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa, ali u vremenu o kojem govorimo, a to su šezdesete godine prošlog vijeka pristup zaštiti kulturno-historijskog naslijeđa nije bio na tom nivou. Jedina vrijednost rekonstrukcije iz 1965. godine je da je udahnila neki novi život objektu, njegovim posjetiteljima i korisnicima na nivou lokalne zajednice, ipak „prenoseći im netačne informacije“ (Bülow W. and Thomas J.L., 2020) ili *prikrivajući istinu* o historijskim činjenicama o objektu (Janowski, 2011; Bülow W. and Thomas J.L., 2020). Ostaje dilema da li je stvarna vrijednost objekta ovom rekonstrukcijom umanjena ili povećana, ako uzmemo u obzir da je objekat bio razrušen i opustošen? Također ostaje pitanje jesmo li dužni *popraviti* ili *iskupiti* nepravdu učinje-

nu naslijeđu koje je na brutalan način opustošeno i uništeno, a čijih 90% korisnika su ubijeni? Janowski tvrdi da ukoliko moramo birati između ostavljanja zatečenog stanja ili pravljenja replike, treba odabrati ono prvo, jer bi ovo drugo bilo nedopustivo nepoštivanje. Možda je dio odgovora na moralnu dilemu u vezi neke nove rekonstrukcije Tempła barem dijelom dat u objašnjenju Janowskog.

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Nataša Pelja Tabori

The Great Sephardic Synagogue in Sarajevo - history, significance and future. On the ethics of reconstruction of cultural and historical heritage

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In 2022, it is impossible to recognize on the street facade of the Bosnian Cultural Center in Sarajevo that it was once the Great Sephardic Synagogue, the largest in the Balkans. The facility was opened on the Jewish New Year or Rosh Hashanah on September 14, 1930. years. After the Second World War, in which the synagogue was looted and devastated, and almost 90% of Sarajevo's Jewish population was killed, the Jewish Municipality in Sarajevo decided to donate this complex to the city in recognition of the reconstruction costs. At the beginning of the sixties of the 20th century, the building of the synagogue and the Jewish community of the Sephardic rite was repurposed and reconstructed beyond recognition. From the last war until today, the building has not

changed compared to the reconstruction during socialism, except for the covering of the atrium. During the visit of Israeli students to Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the "Journey to Jewish Heritage" project in 2010, in which the author of this text participated, it was discovered that the interior of the dome remained intact, and the Sarajevo public began to raise the question of the justification of the new reconstruction and its range. This article examines the historical, functional, aesthetic, and even ethical layering of possible future operations on this specific object of cultural-historical heritage.

Introduction

The Sephardim (britannica.com, accessed 2022, author's translation),

from the Hebrew Sefarad (ספרד) which means Spain, are the descendants of Jews who lived in Spain until 1492 when the Spanish King and Queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, declared exile by ordering so that all 200,000 Jews of Spain leave the country within three months. About 70,000 expelled Jews found refuge in neighboring Portugal, and five years later in 1497, King Manuel I of Portugal, following the example of Queen Isabella of Spain, made a similar proclamation and expelled about 100,000 Jews from Portugal on the basis of their religious differences (lawoffice.org .il, visited 2022, author's translation). Sephardim in Sarajevo are mentioned in written documents for the first time in the middle of the 16th century (Gotovac, 1987). The Se-

phardic community settled in the Bosnian Pashaluk grew and developed until the beginning of the Second World War, when it disappeared, as did its customs and the Judeo-Spanish language or Ladino.

The Sephardim in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from the 16th to the 20th century built numerous synagogues, of which there were five in Sarajevo until the beginning of the Second World War: the Old Sephardic Synagogue (Il kal grandi or Il kal vježu), the New Sephardic Synagogue (Il kal muevu), the Bjelava Synagogue (Il kal di la Bilava), the Temple of the Dumb (Il kal di lus mudus) and the Place of Worship of Avram Romano (Il kal di tiju Machi Bohor).



View of the northern facade of the building in 1948

Source: Private collection, Sarajevo



View of the southern facade of the building in 1948

Source: Private collection, Sarajevo

This article will focus on the construction, current state and perspective of the complex of the former Great Sephardic Temple or Ladina Il Cal Grandi and the Jewish Sephardic Municipality. In the twenties of the 20th century, the idea and need to build a synagogue that would correspond to the growing Jewish population of Sarajevo arose. “Supporters of the construction pointed out that Sarajevo, as a Sephardic center that comes just behind Thessaloniki in terms of importance, must have a representative temple,” (Gotovac, 1987) “which, in terms of its exterior, position and interior design, will be one straight poem, carved all in beautiful and noble marble...” (Jewish Life, 1925). The

building was built, and the “ceremony of the dedication of the temple lasted from the 12th to the 14th September 1930 (Gotovac, 1987). The imposing neo-Moorish building, seat of the Sephardic municipality and synagogue, located in the center of the city not far from the National Theater, will manage, unlike most of its users, to survive the horrors of Nazism and fascism. “Unfortunately, after the devastation in the Second World War and the reconstruction in 1962 (it was carried out by the architect Ivan Štraus, the Synagogue is now the Workers’ University Đuro Đaković) nothing, or almost nothing, remained of the former luxurious building” (Gotovac, 1987). The Bosnian public has recent-

ly shown an interest in learning more about the history of the building, so the new reconstruction is often mentioned ([facebook.com/ju.bkc.ks/](https://www.facebook.com/ju.bkc.ks/) posts, 2019). This article raises the question of how to carry out a reconstruction in an ethically acceptable manner that would show a once-valuable object of Jewish cultural and historical heritage, which suffered war destruction and devastation, reconstruction during socialism, repeated war damage, and partial post-war and transitional modifications, while at the same time will be a challenge for the architectural profession, but also a city where Jews lived and created.

Construction and destruction of the Great Sephardic Synagogue in Sarajevo

The Sephardic population of Sarajevo has continuously grown and progressed since arriving in Sarajevo from their ancestral homeland of Spain, after the persecution in 1492, and a special boom in the 20th century necessitated the construction of a place of worship where all the Jews of Sarajevo of that time would find a place. Although the land for construction was very quickly secured by the purchase from Josef Baruch (*Jewish Life* 1924; Gotovac, 1987), in an attractive location near the National Theater, the financial difficulties of the Jewish Municipality of the Sephardic rite will make it impossible for construction to



View of the eastern facade of the building in 1948

Source: Private collection, Sarajevo

begin immediately: “Then a very able and agile was chosen The building committee headed by the president of the Jewish community, Avram Majer Altarac” (Memorial of the Jewish community of the Sephardic rite in Sarajevo, 1930; Gotovac, 1987). Nevertheless, an international architectural competition will be organized very soon, the results of which were as follows: “45 architects applied; the first prize was not awarded, and two other prizes went to Rudolf Lubynski from Zagreb and Karlo Paržik from Sarajevo; a somewhat simplified project by Lubynski (Gotovac, 1987) was accepted. Both communities began to invite their members to make voluntary contributions for the construction of the first temple in the five-hundred-year tradition in Sarajevo, where Ashkenazis and Sephardim will pray together. The foundation stone was erected in 1926. The Hanukkah ceremony was held on December 4, 1928 in a building that was not yet fully built (La lire Memorial, p.39; Gotovac, 1987). The temple was opened on September 14, 1930, and the opening ceremony was attended by as many as three rabbis, the treasurer of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Dr. Isak Alkalaj, treasurer of the Jewish community of the Sephardic religious rite Dr. Moric Levi and chief dabbai of the Jewish community of the Ashkenazi religious rite Dr. Hinko Urbach (Reiner, 2020).

Mirjam Reiner in her graduation thesis describes the architect Rudolf Lu-

bynski’s description of the temple on the occasion of its opening, which we reproduce in this article in its entirety for comparison with the state of the building today: “The relatively narrow and long plot (25x95 m) imposed an emphasis on the longitudinal axis of the building. The position also determined its orientation, so here there is a deviation from the usual direction. The main entrance from Kralja Petra street (today JNA street) was facing north, while the aron hakodesh inside the building was located on the south side towards the coast. Based on the description, because the complete floor plan of the ground floor or floor structure of the temple has not been preserved, we can conclude that the temple was longitudinally divided into three parts: a rectangular part with a peristyle and additional rooms on the north side, a central prayer area of an elliptical shape and a rectangular extension with a sanctuary and additional rooms on the south side. The one-story structure had a gallery placed above the central prayer area, which followed an elliptical line. Entering through the vaulted vestibule from the north side, one encounters a peristyle surrounded by arcades with horseshoe arches. The arrangement of the windows on the upper floor was coordinated with the spacing of the arches of the arcades. This peristyle was rectangular in shape with a longer axis in the north-south direction. On the east side was the entrance to the vesti-

bule of the daily temple, from which a staircase led to the gallery of that smaller, probably auxiliary prayer space. Next to the staircase were the office and residential premises of the Municipality Administration. On the south side of the peristyle, three doors led to a passage with a staircase to the gallery of the main temple, located on the left and right sides. From the same passage, moving further south, one entered the vestibule. On the west side of the vestibule was the men's wardrobe, and on the east side was the wedding hall. Through the southern door of that vestibule, one entered the elliptical hall of the synagogue's prayer area. Following its curved line, a corridor ran around the hall, allowing the faithful to pass unhindered. 14 columns of rectangular section supported the gallery on the first floor. In this lower part of the temple intended for men, there were 686 seats. At the southern end, in the elongated rectangular space, the construction of the aron hakodesh was located. This central space was covered by an elliptical dome that rested on 28 pillars of round cross-section at the height of the first floor, which were connected two by two on the ground floor and received a rectangular base. The dome is made of reinforced concrete, and so are the pillars. The larger axis of the dome was 30.8 m, and the shorter axis was 22.3 m, and with its size and shape, it represented an exceptional architectural solution. Behind the aron hakodesh is

a rectangular room for storing items used in worship. On the left and right side there was a room each for rabbis and cantors. In this southern part of the temple, on the left and right sides of the sanctuary, there were stairs leading up to the part of the first floor behind the construction of the aron hakodesh, where there was a room with an organ intended for the choir. On the south side facing the coast, a peristyle with arcades was also added, like the one on the north side of the building. The first floor was reached by a staircase from the passage in front of the central part of the temple. There was also a lobby with an entrance to the gallery. The gallery, whose shape followed the ellipse of the central space, had 298 seats. As part of the synagogue, there was also a hall for meetings with a library, administrative rooms and an archive. Due to the narrowness between the buildings on the east and west sides, the accent was placed on the northern and southern facades. Here we can also distinguish a vertical division into three parts. The central part on the north side is elevated, while the side wings are lower. All three parts were finished flat, and there were small semicircular domes above the side wings. On the south side, the peristyle was open, and it was possible to see the three-part facade of the building itself, above which rose a large central dome on an elliptical tambour. The horseshoe arches of the facade openings and arcades as well

as the dome indicate the influence of Islamic architecture, characteristic of Sarajevo. In the interior, with the combination of materials (marble, stone, wood, bronze) and the choice of stucco and mosaic decoration, an effort was also made to approach the mosque as a model. This is supported by the name 'mosque', sometimes used for this synagogue. However, the architect Lubynski defines it as a Moorish style building. Although this synagogue's stylistic expression is related more to the period of imitative styles in the architecture of the 19th century, the organization of its interior space, the bold and completely new interior solution of the central prayer space, and the use of modern materials, determine it as a work close to modern understandings" (Jewish Religious Confession Memorial municipality of the Sephardic rite in Sarajevo, 1930; Rajner, 1982).

The interior of the synagogue was painted by the well-known German artist of the time, Kemmerer, who said the following for the Jewish Voice (1930): "I don't want a lot of patterns, or flashy colors." My basis is Moorish, but I allow myself some fantasy, in order to have freedom of styling. I want the dignity of the temple to be felt in the stillness of the color composition. Peace and majesty in color and pattern, and nothing more. I don't shy away from gold, if it is necessary in the vaults, as well as in the galleries, as well as these columns, the open-

green look of marble is needed" (Gotovac, 1987).

The Great Sephardic Synagogue was used until 1942, when, due to the tragedy of the Second World War and the suffering of Jews, it stopped working. The temple was demolished and looted by the occupiers and local fascists. A year before, in 1941, Dr. Moric Levi, head of the Jewish community of the Sephardic rite, was killed in the concentration camp in Graz, and in the same year in Vraca, archcantor Isak Altarac was also killed (Jewish review, 1971; Gotovac, 1987). Photos from 1948 in the author's possession prove that even three years after the war, the synagogue was damaged and destroyed. The Jewish municipality, which was materially almost destroyed after the war and of which only 10% of the population survived, was not able to restore the building, and as a legal successor of the Jewish Sephardic Municipality, donated it to the Department of Culture and Art of the City People's Committee in Sarajevo, with the condition that it be used for cultural purposes and that the city undertakes to finance the reconstruction (Jewish Municipality of Sarajevo, 1950).

In 1951, a Yugoslav competition was announced for the "production of conceptual sketches for the reconstruction of the former Jewish temple and the urban design of the area around this building and the National Theater in Sarajevo" (NOG Sarajevo, 1951).

The jury consisting of ing. Juraj Najdhard and Eng. Muhamed Kadić received 15 works (Society of Architects, 1951). The winners of the competition were Zdravko Kovačević and Milivoj Peterčić. Their idea of reconstruction of the temple and urban design of the Theater Square did not come to fruition. About ten years later, the reconstruction of the temple and atrium was started according to the project of architects Ivan and Tihomir Štraus, constructor Svetozar Bogunović, relief in copper by Željko Marjanović, and carried out by ŽGP. The works were completed in 1965, when the building was given over to the management of the “Đuro Đaković” Workers’ University. Guided by the acoustic project and calculations made by Prof. dr. Havelicek and architect Belobrk, as part of the recommendations for the temple adaptation project, which was sent to the Sarajevo City Design Company, a solution was reached whereby the hall was erected on a reinforced concrete slab, and assessed as “acoustically unfavorable (*italics ours*) the great height above the hall was reduced is a suspended ceiling, while the elliptical shape of the hall, also acoustically unsuitable, could not be changed” (City Planning Company, 1951). It should be repeated here that the temple had an organ, and that non-Jews also came to listen to the cantor Isak Altarc, who studied singing at the Vienna Academy of Music. Altarc once founded a choir of boys, which sang liturgical songs on Fridays, Saturdays and hol-

idays (Gotovac, 1987), so the question arises whether it is possible that the acoustics of the original building were so badly designed that it did not allow the performance of prayer songs with the organ? By the decision of the Higher Commercial Court in Sarajevo in 1968, a part of the complex that housed the business premises of the Sephardic Jewish Community and the rabbi’s apartment, along the then JNA Street (today Branilaca Sarajevo), was handed over to the Urban Planning Institute of the City of Sarajevo for use, with the obligation to adapt this part of the building . If we compare the appearance of today’s building of the Bosnian Cultural Center (BKC) and the Development Planning Institute of the Canton of Sarajevo, which are practically unchanged compared to the reconstruction from 1965, we can conclude the following: in the atrium no longer exists. It is walled, and in the section at the height of the base of the arch is the floor slab of the mezzanine floor that was added to the building. The original ornaments on the northern facade, as well as the facades of the atrium, were destroyed, the rhythm of the opening on the northern facade was changed. The collapsed domes on the northern part of the building were replaced by a flat roof. All remaining religious features and ornamentation of the building, such as Old Testament plaques and rosettes on the street facade, and rosettes in the atrium, have been removed.

The northern peristyle was walled up, and the arcades were turned into openings for auxiliary rooms on the ground floor of the building. The atrium, which was partially vaulted during the reconstruction, was completely closed in the recent intervention. Some of the details of the original vault and columns in the vestibule of the exhibition hall and in the atrium were recently discovered. The former prayer space was cut vertically by a reinforced concrete slab and divided into a concert hall and an exhibition hall.

The southern peristyle, as well as the area that was located on the eastern side of the aron hakodesh, no longer exist. The reconstruction that took place in the sixties of the last century can only be viewed in the context of the time of socialism, because the analysis of that intervention from the point of view of the architectural profession and from the perspective of the protection of objects of cultural and historical heritage can hardly find a rational basis for the complete destruction of the object of the Great Sephardic Temple, which after the destruction and devastation of the building during the Second World War was actually sealed by this reconstruction. Nevertheless, the passage of time and new findings in the field of cultural-historical heritage protection, which are discussed in the next chapter, may open up space for a discussion about a new reconstruction,

which would in some way redeem the injustice done to this object.

Ethics of reconstruction

The 2010 Jewish Heritage Journey project sponsored by the Zalman Shazar Center and the Avi Chai Foundation of Jerusalem brought a group of Israeli students to Bosnia and Herzegovina to explore and document movable and immovable Jewish cultural and historical heritage. The author of this text participated in that project. It was then discovered that the decoration and ornaments in the under-dome space, as well as the original columns, were preserved, although in very poor condition. The participants of the project were surprised and impressed by the dome, which had never been seen before, because the ceiling of the BKC concert hall had been lowered since 1965. Since then, the idea of a new reconstruction of the concert hall, which would “reveal” the original dome of the building, has appeared sporadically in the public eye of Sarajevo.

The reconstruction of the Great Sephardic Synagogue during socialism confirms the thesis that although The Venice Charter, passed after the Second World War, was exclusively against reconstruction, practice around the world proved the opposite (ICOMOS, 1965). For a long time, reconstruction was considered a desecration of cultural and historical heritage, and the Sarajevo example of

the former Workers' University "Đuro Đaković" and today's BKC proved that thesis. However, can reconstruction make something that in the Jewish tradition is called a down payment (הרפק) or atonement? To reconstruct means to "build again". Normally, the reconstruction of a devastated place would refer to the process of rebuilding something that has been destroyed or lost, such as occurs after a natural disaster, such as an earthquake, or an armed conflict. In that case, rebuilding would not necessarily mean recreating something exactly as it was before. Often, this would result in new construction in a style relevant to that period, albeit adapted to the inherited context" (Jokilehto, 2013). We cannot talk about this type of reconstruction in the case of the Great Sephardic Synagogue, because actually the return to the previous state never happened. The object received a new function and stylistic expression and, so to speak, "forgot" or "hid" its original identity and appearance. Jonathan Jones (2016) argues that "it is never legitimate...to reconstruct ancient monuments using modern materials to replace the lost parts - to essentially remanufacture them - even though today's technology makes it seem practical" (Bülow and Thomas, 2020).

Conclusion

The decision to reconstruct the Great Sephardic Synagogue after determining the condition of the building

in 1948 resulted in the complete destruction of a valuable object of Jewish heritage. However, the building was not demolished and continued to live as a concert hall and administrative building of two city institutions. The question of a new reconstruction in the spirit of a modern approach to the preservation of cultural and historical heritage would entail a detailed analysis of the current state in which the building is located and all available documentation, in order to arrive at a realistic starting point and basis for the possible "discovery" of the original parts of the building and pointing out the stratification and the complexity of its history. What is a morally acceptable reconstruction?

If we look only at the aesthetics of the building, we cannot accept that the reconstruction in 1965. gave the object additional aesthetic value, in fact, many will agree that the original object has lost its aesthetic value, primarily from the deontological aspect. The most problematic moral dilemma of this reconstruction is that it covered up a significant event due to which the synagogue was destroyed, namely the Second World War and the extermination of the Jews. On the other hand, what was the alternative? The restoration of the building would certainly be more acceptable from the point of view of the protection of the cultural-historical heritage, but in the time we are talking about, which is the sixties of the last century, the

approach to the protection of the cultural-historical heritage was not at that level. The only value of the 1965 reconstruction is that it breathed some new life into the facility, its visitors and users at the local community level, yet “conveying incorrect information to them” (Bülow W. and Thomas J.L., 2020) or concealing the truth about the historical facts about the facility (Janowski, 2011; Bülow W. and Thomas J.L., 2020). The dilemma remains whether the real value of the building was reduced or increased by this reconstruction, if we take into account that the building was destroyed and devastated? The question also re-

mains whether we are obliged to repair or atone for the injustice done to a heritage that was brutally devastated and destroyed, and 90% of its beneficiaries were killed? Janowski claims that if we have to choose between leaving the existing state or making a replica, we should choose the former, because the latter would be an unacceptable disrespect. Perhaps part of the answer to the moral dilemma regarding some new reconstruction of the Temple is at least partially given in Janowski’s explanation.

Literature: see original version of the Serbian text (above).

Kristina Švan

Sinagoga u Zrenjaninu

Kristina Švan (*1950, Zrenjanin) diplomirala je i magistrirala na Tehnološkom fakultetu, prehrambeni smjer, u Novom Sadu. Dva meseca nakon diplomiranja zaposlila se u Fabrici biljnih masti i margarina (kao rukovodilac proizvodnje margarina) u Kombinat „Servo Mihalj“ u Zrenjaninu. Zatim prelazi u Tehnološko-poljoprivredni institut, vila Viktora Eleka, (odjeljenje za ulja i masti a zatim rukovodilac odjeljenja za pesticide), također Kombinat „Servo Mihalj“ u Zrenjaninu. Nakon privatizacije Instituta prelazi u Srednju školu „Uroš Predić“ kao profesor prehrambene tehnologije – mljekarstvo i tu ostaje do mirovine.

Velikobečkerečka/petrovgradska sinagoga je naziv za jevrejski hram koji je postojao u Velikom Bečkereku i Petrovgradu od 1896. do 1941. godine. Nalazila se na uglu današnje Jevrejske i Sarajlijine ulice, u delu užeg gradskog jezgra koji se ranije nazivao „Čivutski sokak“ zbog brojne jevrejske populacije koja je tu živela. Građena je u periodu od 1894. do 1896. godine

prema nacrtima mađarskog arhitekta Lipota Baumhorna. Izvođač radova bio je Metod Kučera. Sinagoga je svečano osveštana 17. avgusta 1896, za 66. rođendan cara Franje Josifa. Bila je jedan od prvih objekata u gradu koji je imao električno osvetljenje. Srušena je u aprilu 1941. godine, na samom početku nemačke okupacije.



Bečkerečka sinagoga.

Izvor: Jevrejska opština Zrenjanin

Istorijat gradnje

Potreba za izgradnjom sinagoge javila se početkom devedesetih godina XIX veka, u vreme kada je prva velikobečkerečka sinagoga postala premala za potrebe lokalne jevrejske zajednice. Ona je srušena 1893/1894. godine, nakon što su već započete pripreme za izgradnju nove jevrejske bogomolje. U poslednjoj deceniji XIX veka u Velikom Bečkereku vladala je živa graditeljska delatnost. Na izgradnji nove sinagoge najviše su se angažovali predsednik Jevrejske opštine Mihalj Švarc i rabin Mor Klajn. Švarc je uspeo da stupi u kontakt sa mladim arhitektom Lipotom Baumhornom iz Budimpešte, koji će biti unajmljen da izradi projekat nove sinagoge. Švarc je dočekaio početak radova (1. april 1894), ali je preminuo 14. oktobra iste godine, ne doživевši završetak gradnje. U cilju prikupljanja sredstava za gradnju sinagoge, jevrejsko dobrotvorno društvo Maskil-el-dol priređivalo je zabave, priredbe i balove. Tako je npr. 24. februara 1894. priređena zabava na kojoj su priloge dali: Imre Ormodi (10 forinti), Isidor Vajs (5 forinti), Đula Daun (4 forinte), Oskar Štajner (3 forinte), Mihalj Švarc (2,5 forinte), Šamuel Kon (2,5 forinte), Imre Kurlender (2 forinte), Robert Imre (1 forinta), J. Šen (pola forinte), E. Hubert (pola forinte), J. L. Kiršner (pola forinte), ? Rozner (pola forinte), M. Ulman (pola forinte), Adolf Švan (pola forinte), Gedeon Kovač (pola forinte), dr Polak (pola forinte), A. Rot-

štajn (pola forinte). Sličan bal priređen je i 1. januara 1896, u vreme kada su radovi oko izgradnje sinagoge bili već u završnoj fazi. U cilju pribavljanja sredstava za okončanje građevinskih radova, ponovo je priređen bal na kom je prikupljeno 1260 forinti. Priloge su davali i nejevreji, a najviše novca donirali su grof Feliks Harnonkur iz Ečke, Isidor Vajs i udovica Mihalja Švarca (po 12 forinti).

Svečanost osveštanja

Nova sinagoga svečano je osveštana 17. avgusta 1896. godine, uoči 66. rođendana cara Franje Josifa. Cereemoniji su, pored pripadnika lokalne jevrejske zajednice, prisustvovali i predstavnici drugih veroispovesti, vlasti Torontalske županije, grada Velikog Bečkereka, vojske, kao i arhitekta Lipot Baumhorn i izvođač radova Metod Kučera. Novi predsednik jevrejske opštine, advokat dr Šamu Mangold, održao je prigodan govor u kom se osvrnuo na istorijat velikobečkerečkih Jevreja. Nakon toga je sekretar opštine pročitao sadržaj povelje o osnivanju, koju su potpisali predsednik opštine Mangold, torontalski veliki župan Jene Ronai, torontalski podžupan Lajoš Delimanić, glavni županijski beležnik baron Bertold Fajlić, glavni beležnik grada Velikog Bečkereka Zoltan Perišić, školski inspektor Antal Štajnbah, predstavnici vojnih krugova u gradu Matigejka i Olšvari, predstavnici Finansijske direkcije Agošton Kovač, dr. Pal Demko, dr Geza Pap i Franc Lang, te na-



Unutrašnjost sinagoge

Izvor: Jevrejska opština Zrenjanin

posletku, arhitekta Lipot Baumhorn, preduzimač radova Metod Kučera i M. Vinter. Nakon toga je povelja, u vidu „vremenske kapsule“, smeštena u udubljenje u zidu sinagoge, gde su je postavili veliki župan Ronai, rabin Klajn, Lipot Baumhorn, Metod Kučera, dr. Šamu Mangold i Isidor Vajs, potpredsednik jevrejske opštine.

Stilska obeležja

Bečkerečka sinagoga bila je prvi samostalni projekat arhitekta Lipota Baumhorna. Kao uzor mu je poslužila frankfurtska sinagoga, podignuta 1857. u vizantijskom stilu. Fasada građevine bila je izuzetno dekorativna, sa elementima mavarskog stila. Po preporuci arhitekta, u izgradnji je korišćen raznorodan i raznobojan

materijal. Tako je npr. upotrebljen kamen-peščar iz okoline Ostrogon, obojene cigle iz Segedina, a ostatak materijala dopremljen je iz Nađvара (današnja Rumunija). Po svojoj spoljašnjosti, ova sinagoga se razlikovala od kasnijih Baumhornovih projekata. Bila je osnove trobrodne bazilike sa predvorjem, iz čijeg se središta uzdizala kupola velikog raspona i višegaone osnove sa lanternom na vrhu, koja je bila nalik onima na pravoslavnim crkvama. Zapadno pročelje hrama izlazilo je na regulacionu liniju Jevrejske ulice, a bilo je raskošno obrađeno sa masivnim, raskošnim portalom i čipkastom kamenom rozetom iznad. Reprezentativnost su isticala dva stuba koja su se u zoni krova završavala tornjevima sa bakarnom kapom, a u sredini ose zabatom u obli-

ku dve starozavetne Mojsijeve ploče. Fasade su bile dekorativno obrađene i višebojne, sa površinama u žutoj fasadnoj opeci i omalterisanim zonama na kojima su bile smeštene bifore, trifore i rozete. Vertikalnost građevine bila je dodatno naznačena trapezastim polustubovima koji su naglašavali uglove i flankirali ulaze u hram, a protezali su se duž fasade i u zoni krova završavali bakarnim kuglama. Krov je bio razuđen i pokriven bakarnim limom.

Rušenje petrovgradske sinagoge

Po ulasku nemačkih okupacionih trupa u grad 1941, započeto je sistematsko pljačkanje, deportovanje i ubijanje jevrejskog življa. Novi predsednik opštine Jozef Gion i vođa nemačke narodnosne grupe u Banatu dr Sep Janko stali su iza inicijative krajskomandanta i SS-majora Jirgena Vagnera da se poruši sinagoga. Glavni rukovodioci pri samom rušenju bili su Jovan (Johan) Erenrajh, Jovan (Johan) Veber (šef gradskog tehničkog odeljenja) i Peter Bon (prema saznanjima Anketne komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača u Banatu). Zgrada je najpre demolirana, iz nje su izvučeni nameštaj i dragocenosti, sa zidova i poda skinute su mermerne pločice, da bi zatim bila minirana. Porušeni materijal delom su razvukli domaći Nemci, među kojima je najveći deo zapao Mihaelu Hasu, koji je od odvučene cigle saziđao sebi kuću u Beogradskoj ulici (današnja ulica Koče Kolarova),

dok je ostatak u vidu cigle i gvođenih konstrukcija bio upotrebljen za dogradnju fabrike čarapa. U literaturi se spominje i podatak da je neki Nemač u Čontikarskoj ulici od ostataka saziđao sebi svinjac. Prilikom rušenja, na ulični kolovoz su izbačene skupocene orgulje, koje su od nemačkih vlasti otkupili rukovodioci reformatske crkve. One su instalirane u Reformatskoj crkvi, gde se nalaze i danas.

Od porušene sinagoge nije ostalo očuvano mnogo toga. U literaturi se često navodi netačan podatak da su stare orgulje u reformatskoj crkvi jedini danas poznati ostatak nekadašnje sinagoge. Međutim, u Jevrejskoj opštini Zrenjanin čuvaju se dvokrilna vrata sa vitražnim staklom, kao i dva dekorativna vitražna stakla, koja predstavljaju delove većih dekorativnih celina enterijera. Takođe, u jesen 2011. godine u Narodnom muzeju Zrenjanin pronađene su tri ploče koje su nekada činile sastavni deo fasade, što se može utvrditi na osnovu rupa od šrafova ili sličnih pričvršćivača vidljivih u njihovim uglovima, dok njihov tekst na hebrejskom, mađarskom i srpskom jeziku sadrži podatke o nastanku bogomolje i pojedincima zaslužnim za njenu izgradnju. Sačuvana spomen-ploča sa sinagoge nalazi se u Narodnom muzeju Zrenjanin.

Natpisi na pločama

Natpis na prvoj ploči glasi (prevod sa mađarskog): „Slava Bogu! OVA BOŽJA KUĆA PODIGNUTA JE ŽRTVOM/

VELIKODUŠNOŠĆU (JEVREJSKE) OPŠTINE 1896. GODINE ZA GOSPODSTVA NJEGOVOG CARSKOG I KRALJEVSKOG APOSTOLSKOG VELIČANSTVA FRANJE JOSIFA I BARON DEŽE BANFI, PREDSEDNIK KRALJEVSKE MAĐARSKE VLADE JENE RONAI, VELIKI ŽUPAN TORONTALSKE ŽUPANIJE; JOVAN KRSTIĆ, GRADONAČELNIK; Dr MAVRO KLAJN, NADRABIN; MIHALJ ŠVARC, L. H. MANGOLD, Dr ŠAMU MANGOLD, PREDSEDNICI JEVREJSKE OPŠTINE I ISIDOR VAJS, POTPREDSIEDNIK OPŠTINE U VREME IZVRŠENJA RADOVA PO PROJEKTU ARHITEKTE LIPOTA BAUMHORN I GRADITELJA METODA KUČERE. Neka Gospod blagoslovi ovaj hram i zajednicu koja ga je sagradila.“



Spomen-ploča na mađarskom
Izvor: Kristina Švan

Na drugoj strani ploče nalazi se natpis sličnog sadržaja, na srpskom jeziku, latinicom: “U čast Bogu i svetoj veri podignut je ovaj velebni hram za vreme službovanja nadrabina Dr. MAVRA KLEINA, pretsednika opštine MIHAJLA ŠVARCA, po nacrtu slavnog arhitekta LEPOLDA BAUMHORN i graditelja METODIJE KUČERE 1896. godine”. Druga ploča posvećena je sećanju na predsednika Jevrejske opštine, koji je u velikoj meri doprineo izgradnji sinagoge. Tekst na obe strane sadrži jevrejsku varijantu i njen mađarski, odnosno srpski prevod sa sadržajem: “Večni pomen neka je imenu pretsednika opštine MIHAJLA ŠVARCA koji je mudrošću svojom i retkim požrtvovanjem pobudio srca članova naše jevrejske zajednice za gradnju ovog svetog doma na slavu i sjaj Boga Izraelovog godine 5657. / 1896.” Treća ploča, čiji je natpis u celosti na hebrejskom, bez ikakvog prevoda na drugoj strani, najverovatnije je takođe posvećena uspomeni na zaslužnog predsednika jevrejske opštine Mihalja Švarca.

Spomen-obeležje

Na mestu gde se nalazila sinagoga, posle rata podignut je restoran narodne ishrane. Na inicijativu Jevrejske opštine grada Zrenjanina, koja je 1994. godine obnovljena, na tom objektu je 1997. postavljeno spomen-obeležje sa sledećim natpisom: ”U SPOMEN 250 GODINA DOLASKA JEVREJA U OVE KRAJEVE, NJIHOVOG DOPRINOSA RAZVOJU NAŠEG GRADA, UČEŠĆA U

NARODNOOSLOBODILAČKOJ BORBI I 1260 ŽRTAVA KOJE DADOŠE U DRUGOM SVETSKOM RATU, OVU SPOMEN PLOČU PODIŽU SUGRAĐANI GRADA ZRENJANINA NA MESTU GDE JE STAJALA VELELEPNA SINAGOGA, DELO LEOPOLDA BAUMHORNINA, PODIGNUTA 1896, A NACISTI JE SRUŠILI 1941. GODINE. U ZRENJANINU, FEBRUAR 1997. JEVREJSKA OPŠTINA ZRENJANIN”. Spomen-ploča ostala je na istom mestu i nakon adaptacije zgrade 2007. godine. Na ovo spomen-obeležje se polažu veneci 27. januara svake godine, kada se obeležava Međunarodni dan sećanja na Holokaust. Spisak rabina u Velikom Bečkereku i Petrovgradu: Meir Fajn (?-1857), David Openhajm (1857-1876), Mor Klajn (1880-1915), Mor Niderman (1915-1938), Cvi Azarija (1940-1941).

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2022. Jevrejska opština Zrenjanin na mestu nekadašnje sinagoge postavila je novo spomen-obeležje zajedno s Gradom Zrenjaninom. Više o tome može se pročitati na stranici Grada Zrenjanina: <http://www.zrenjanin.rs/sr-lat/vesti/2022/06/postavljeno-novo-spomenu-obelezje-na-mestu-nekadashnje-sinagoge-nastavak-negovanja-kulture-secanja-na-nase-tragicno-stradale-sugradjane>

Kristina Švan

Synagogue in Zrenjanin

Kristina Švan (*1950, Zrenjanin) graduated from the Faculty of Technology, majoring in food, in Novi Sad. Two months after graduation, she got a job at the Vegetable Fat and Margarine Factory (as manager of margarine production) at the „Servo Mihalj“ Combine in Zrenjanin. Then he moved to the Technological-Agricultural Institute, villa of Viktor Elek, (department for oils and fats and then head of the department for pesticides), also Combine „Servo Mihalj“ in Zrenjanin. After the privatization of the Institute, he transferred to the Secondary School „Uroš Predić“ as a professor of food technology - dairying and remained there until his retirement.

Veliko Bečkerek / Petrovgrad Synagogue is the name of the Jewish temple that existed in Veliki Bečkerek and Petrovgrad from 1896 to 1941. It was located at the corner of today's Jevrejska and Sarajlijina Streets, in a part of the city center that was previously called „Čivutski Sokak“ because of the large Jewish population that lived there. It was built in the period from 1894 to 1896 according to the designs of the Hungarian architect Lipot Baumhorn. The contractor was Metod Kucera. The synagogue was ceremoniously consecrated on August 17, 1896, for the 66th birthday of Emperor Francis Joseph. It was one of the first buildings in the city that had electric lighting. It was demolished in April 1941, at the very beginning of the German occupation.

Construction history

The need to build a synagogue arose in the early nineties of the 19th century, at a time when the first Veliko Bečkerek synagogue became too

small for the needs of the local Jewish community. It was demolished in 1893/1894. year, after preparations had already begun for the construction of a new Jewish place of worship.



A photo from the beginning of the 20th century showing the Rabbi's house and part of the Synagogue

Source: Jewish Community Zrenjanin

In the last decade of the 19th century, there was a lively construction activity in Veliki Bečkerek. The president of the Jewish community Mihalj Schwartz and Rabbi Mor Klein were most involved in the construction of the new synagogue. Schwartz managed to get in touch with the young architect Lipot Baumhorn from Budapest, who would be hired to design the new synagogue. Schwartz saw the beginning of the works (April 1, 1894), but he died on October 14 of the same year, not having seen the completion of construction. In order to raise funds for the construction of the synagogue, the Jewish charity Maskil-el-dol organized parties, performances and balls. So, for example, On February 24, 1894, a party was held at which contributions were made by: Imre Ormodi (10 forints), Isidor Weiss (5 forints), Djula Daun (4 forints), Oskar Steiner (3 forints), Mihalj Schwartz (2.5 forints), Samuel Kohn (2.5 forints), Imre Kurlender (2 forints), Robert Imre (1 forint), J. Shen (half forint), E. Hubert (half forint), J.L. Kirschner (half forint), ? Rosner (half a forint), M. Ulman (half a forint), Adolf Schwan (half a forint), Gedeon Kovač (half a forint), Dr. Polak (half a forint), A. Rothstein (half a forint). A similar ball was organized on January 1, 1896, at a time when the work on the construction of the synagogue was already in its final phase. In order to obtain funds for the completion of construction works, a ball was organized again, at which 1260

forints were collected. Contributions were made by non-Jews, and the most money was donated by Count Felix Harnoncourt from Ečka, Isidor Weiss and the widow of Mihajlo Švarc (12 forints each).

Consecration ceremony

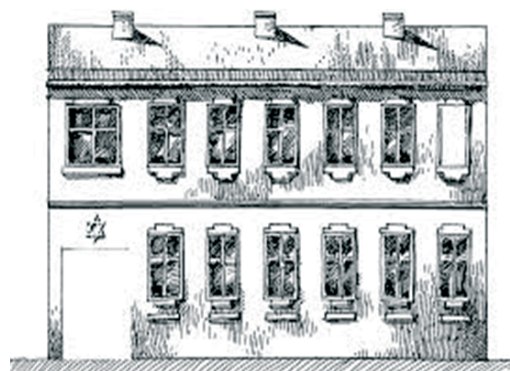
The new synagogue was ceremonially consecrated on August 17, 1896, on the eve of the 66th birthday of Emperor Francis Joseph. In addition to members of the local Jewish community, the ceremony was attended by representatives of other religions, the authorities of Toronto County, the city of Veliko Bečkerek, the military, as well as architect Lipot Baumhorn and contractor Metod Kucera. The new president of the Jewish community, lawyer Dr. Shamu Mangold, gave an appropriate speech in which he referred to the history of the Jews of Greater Vienna. After that, the secretary of the community read the content of the founding charter, which was signed by the mayor of Mangold, the mayor of Toronto, Jene Ronai, the deputy mayor of Toronto, Lajoš Delimanić, the chief county notary, Baron Bertold Fajlić, the chief notary of the city of Veliko Bečkerek, Zoltan Perišić, school inspector Antal Štejnbač, representatives military circles in the city of Matigejka and Olšvara, representatives of the Financial Directorate Agošton Kovač, Dr. Pal Demko, Dr. Geza Papp and Franz Lang, and finally, the architect Lipot Baumhorn, contractor Metod Kučera and M. Win-

ter. After that, the charter, in the form of a „time capsule“, was placed in a recess in the wall of the synagogue, where it was placed by Grand Prefect Ronai, Rabbi Klein, Lipot Baumhorn, Method Kucera, Dr. Shamu Mangold and Isidor Weiss, vice president of the Jewish community.

Style

The Bečkerek Synagogue was the first independent project of the architect Lipot Baumhorn. The Frankfurt synagogue, built in 1857 in the Byzantine style, served as his model. The facade of the building was extremely decorative, with elements of the Moorish style. As recommended by the architect, various and colorful materials were used in the construction. So, for example, used sandstone from around Ostrogon, colored bricks from Szeged, and the rest of the material was delivered from Nagvarad (today's Romania). In its exterior, this synagogue differed from Baumhorn's later projects. It was the basis of a three-nave basilica with a vestibule, from the center of which rose a dome with a large span and a polygonal base with a lantern on top, which was similar to those on Orthodox churches. The western front of the temple faced the regulation line of Jevrejska Street, and was lavishly finished with a massive, sumptuous portal and a lacy stone rosette above. The representativeness was highlighted by two pillars that ended in towers with a copper cap in the roof area, and in

the middle of the axis a pediment in the form of two Old Testament tablets of Moses. The facades were decorated decoratively and multi-colored, with surfaces in yellow facade brick and plastered areas where they were placed bifores, trifores and rosettes. The verticality of the building was additionally indicated by trapezoidal half-columns that emphasized the corners and flanked the entrances to the temple, and stretched along the facade and ended in copper spheres in the roof area. The roof was spread out and covered with copper sheet.



The building of the original
synagogue in Veliki Bečkerek

Source: Jewish Community Zrenjanin

Demolition of the Zrenjanin Synagogue

After the German occupation troops entered the city in 1941, the systematic looting, deportation and killing of the Jewish population began. The new mayor of the community, Josef Gion, and the leader of the German national group in Banat, Dr. Sepp Janko, supported the initiative of regional commander and SS-major Jürgen Wagner

to demolish the synagogue. The main managers during the demolition itself were Jovan (Johan) Ehrenreich, Jovan (Johan) Weber (head of the city's technical department) and Peter Bon (according to the findings of the Commission of Inquiry to determine the crimes of the occupiers and their helpers in Banat. The building was first demolished, the furniture and valuables were pulled out, the marble tiles were removed from the walls and floor, to be mined. The destroyed material was partly spread out by local Germans, among whom the largest part fell to Michael Haas, who built himself a house in Beogradska Street (today's Koče Kolarova Street), while the rest in the form of bricks and iron structures were used for the expansion of a sock factory. The literature also mentions the fact that a German in Čontikarska Street built a piggery from the remains. During the demolition, an expensive organ was thrown onto the street pavement, which were purchased from the German authorities by the leaders of the Reformed Church. They were installed in the Reformed Church, where they are still today.

Not much has been preserved from the destroyed synagogue. In the literature, the incorrect information is often given that the old organ in the Reformed church is the only remnant of the former synagogue known today. However, in the Jewish Community of Zrenjanin, a double door with stained

glass, as well as two decorative stained glass windows, which represent parts of larger decorative units of the interior, are preserved. Also, in the fall of 2011, in the National Museum of Zrenjanin, three plaques were found that once formed an integral part of the facade, which can be determined on the basis of screw holes or similar fasteners visible in their corners, while their text is in Hebrew, Hungarian and Serbian. contains information about the origin of the place of worship and the individuals responsible for its construction. Preserved memorial plaque from the synagogue is at the Zrenjanin National Museum.

Inscriptions on the plates

The inscription on the first plate reads, in Hungarian: „Glory to God! THIS HOUSE OF GOD WAS BUILT BY THE SACRIFICE/GENEROUSNESS OF THE (JEWISH) COMMUNITY IN 1896 FOR THE LORDSHIP OF HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY FRANCIS JOSEPH AND BARON DEŽE BANFI, PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT JENE RONAI, GRAND COUNTY OF TORONTO COUNTY, JOVAN KRSTČELIĆ, ; Dr. MAVRO KLAIN, NADRABIN; MIHALJ ŠVARTZ, L.H. MANGOLD, Dr. ŠAMU MANGOLD, PRESIDENTS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ISIDOR WEIS, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNITY DURING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PROJECT BY THE ARCHITECT LIPOT BAUMHORN AND THE BUILDERS METHOD KUČERA.

May God bless this temple and the community that built it. built.“ On the other side of the plaque, there is an inscription of similar content, in Serbian, in Latin: „In honor of God and the holy faith, this magnificent temple was built during the ministry of Nadrabin Dr. MAVRO KLEIN, the president of the community MIHAJLA ŠVARTA, according to the design of the famous architect LEPOLD BAUMHORN and the builder METODIJA KUČERA in 1896“. The second plaque is dedicated to the memory of the president of the Jewish community, who greatly contributed to the construction of the synagogue. The text on both sides contains the Jewish version and its Hungarian or Serbian translation: „Perpetual memorial be to the name of the president of the community, MIHAJLA ŠVARTA, who, with his wisdom and rare sacrifice, stirred the hearts of the members of our Jewish community for the construction of this holy home for the glory and splendor of the God of Israel in the year 5657 / 1896.“ The third plaque, whose inscription is entirely in Hebrew, without any translation on the other side, is most likely also dedicated to the memory of the honored president of the Jewish community, Mihajlo Švarc.

Memorial

After the war, a folk food restaurant was built on the site of the synagogue. On the initiative of the Jewish Community of the city of Zrenjanin, which



Demolition of the Zrenjanin Synagogue in 1941

Source: Jewish Community Zrenjanin

was renovated in 1994, a memorial was placed on that building in 1997 with the following inscription:

„IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 250 YEARS OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE JEWS IN THESE REGIONS, THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CITY, THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND THE 1260 SACRIFICES MADE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THIS MEMORIAL PLAQUE IS BEING ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF ZRENJANINA ON THE PLACE WHERE THE VELELEPHONA SYNAGOGUE WAS STANDING, THE WORKS OF LEOPOLD BAUMER BUILT IN 1896 AND DEMOLISHED BY THE NAZIS IN 1941. IN ZRENJANIN, FEBRUARY 1997. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY ZRENJANIN“.

The memorial plaque remained in the same place even after the renovation of

the building in 2007. Wreaths are laid at this memorial on January 27 every year, when International Holocaust Remembrance Day is observed. List of rabbis in Veliko Bečkerek and Petrovgrad: Meir Fine (?-1857), David Oppenheim (1857-1876), Mor Klein (1880-1915), Mor Niederman (1915-1938), Zvi Azaria (1940-1941). In 2022, the Jewish Community Zrenjanin erected a new memorial together with the City of Zrenjanin on the site of the former synagogue. You

can read more about it on the website of the City of Zrenjanin (in Serbian): <http://www.zrenjanin.rs/sr-lat/vesti/2022/06/postavlovne-novo-spomen-obelezje-na-mestu-nekadasnje-synagoge-nastavak-negovanja-cultures-of-commemoration-of-our-tragically-slain-fellow-citizens>

Literature: see original version of the Serbian text (above).

Marko Majnik

Subotička sinagoga, umjetničko djelo židovske moderne

Marko Majnik (*2002.) u Osijeku je završio osnovnu školu, a kasnije i Jezičnu gimnaziju. Trenutno studira logopediju na Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, a nakon završetka studija planira osnovati logopedski kabinet. U slobodno vrijeme, prati filmove i glazbu. Uz to bavi se glazbenom produkcijom te pisanjem poezije. Također bi volio svirati u vlastitom bendu.

U najsjevernijem gradu Republike Srbije, Subotici, skriva se jedna od najimpresivnijih, ali i iznimno unikatnih sinagoga u Europi. Ona svjedoči o važnosti židovske zajednice u Srbiji, kako kroz povijest, tako i danas. Subotička sinagoga smještena je na Trgu Komora i Jakaba br. 6., a zanimljivo je da nam adresa "slučajno" otkriva i njezine autore.

Europska secesija, mađarski folklor i židovska sakralna obilježja

Budimpeštanski arhitekti Marcel Komor i Deže Jakab početkom 20. stoljeća zamisli su sinagogu kao stilski, konstrukcijski i funkcionalno zaokruženo umjetničko djelo. 1902. godine započinje izgradnja, a 1909. sinagoga otvara svoja vrata tada velikoj subotičkoj ži-



Subotička sinagoga danas, nakon restauracije

Izvor: Jevrejska opština Subotica

dovskoj zajednici koju je činilo preko četiri tisuće ljudi. Komor i Jakob bili su suradnici Edena Lehnera, poznatog kao tvorca mađarske secesije. Stil koji karakterizira sinagogu mogao bi se opisati kao “židovska moderna”, koja spaja tadašnju popularnost secesije u Europi, dekorativne elemente mađarskog folklora, sakralna obilježja židovske sinagoge, ali i orgulje koje pokazuju utjecaj katoličanstva na cjelokupnu izvedbu. Upravo je zbog svih tih elemenata sinagoga imala velik značaj kao “kultura u malom” jer je odisala obilježjima naroda i religija koje su je okruživale. Ipak, ovaj “zlatni period” naišao je na svoj kraj početkom Drugoga svjetskog rata.

Svjetlo na kraju tunela: obnova sinagoge

Zbog Holokausta te poslijeratnog iseljenja u državu Izrael, broj Židova na području cijele Jugoslavije znatno opada, a samim time dolazi i do problema u sveukupnom funkcioniranju subotičke židovske zajednice. Takvo stanje odrazilo se i na održavanje same sinagoge koja je kao i zajedni-

ca kojoj je namijenjena dovedena do ruba egzistencije. Nakon silnih godina propadanja sinagoge, ipak se vidi svjetlo na kraju tunela. 1975. biva proglašena kulturnim dobrom, a 5 godina poslije javljaju se i prvi koraci prema restauraciji. U periodu od 1980. godine pa sve do 1993. dolazi do raznih restauratorskih radova, ali oni nažalost jenjavaju te je sinagoga ponovno ostavljena na propast. Ipak, zahvaljujući sve većem interesu okolne zajednice, ali i grada te države, 2002. godine obnova se reaktivirala. Naravno, kako to često ide, ona najbitnija, a i posljednja restauracija dogodila se tek u sljedećem desetljeću. 2017. godine počinje jednogodišnja sveobuhvatna restauracija koja je uz međunarodnu suradnju uspjela sinagogu vratiti u njezino izvorno stanje.

Stanje građevina - odraz stanja društva

Vjerski objekti, ali i građevine uopće spomenici su onoga što jesmo i onoga što predstavljamo. Kao što smo vidjeli iz primjera sinagoge, pozicija u kojoj se nalazi skupina ljudi direktno će se odraziti i na stanje objekata koje koristi. Upravo zbog toga bismo se trebali zapitati: brinemo li se o svojim građevinama, te zajednicama kojima su one namijenjene?



Interijer subotičke sinagoge nakon restauracije

Izvor: Jevrejska opština Subotica

Marko Majnik

Subotica Synagogue, a Work of Art of Jewish Modern

Marko Majnik (*2002) graduated from elementary school and II. Grammar High School in Osijek. He is currently studying speech therapy at the Faculty of Education and Rehabilitation in Zagreb, and after completing his studies he plans to establish a speech therapy office. His hobbies include music production and poetry. He likes movies and music, and would also like to form an own band.

In the northernmost city of the Republic of Serbia, Subotica, is hidden one of the most impressive, but also extremely unique synagogues in Europe. It testifies to the importance of the Jewish Community in Serbia, both throughout history and today. The Subotica synagogue is located on Square of Komor and Jakab no. 6., and

it is interesting that the address “accidentally” reveals its architects to us.

European Art Nouveau, Hungarian folklore and Jewish sacral features

At the beginning of the 20th century, Budapest architects Marcel Komor and Deže Jakab envisioned the syn-



Interior of the Subotica synagogue today, after restoration

Source: Jewish Community Subotica

agogue as a stylistically, structurally and functionally rounded work of art. In 1902, construction began, and in 1909, the synagogue opened its doors to the then large Jewish community of Subotica, which consisted of over four thousand people. Komor and Jakob were collaborators of Eden Lehner, known as the creator of Hungarian Art Nouveau. The style that characterizes the synagogue could be described as “Jewish modern”, which combines the popularity of art nouveau in Europe at the time, decorative elements of Hungarian folklore, sacred features of the Jewish synagogue, but also the organ that shows the influence of Catholicism on the overall performance. Precisely be-

cause of all these elements, the synagogue had great significance as a “culture in miniature” because it exuded the characteristics of the peoples and religions that surrounded it. However, this “golden period” came to an end at the beginning of World War II.

Light at the end of the tunnel: renovation of the synagogue

Due to the Holocaust and the post-war emigration to the state of Israel, the number of Jews in the territory of the whole of Yugoslavia decreased significantly, and this led to problems in the overall functioning of the Subotica Jewish community. Such a situation also affected the maintenance of the synagogue itself, which, like the



Subotica synagogue today, exterior
Source: Jewish Community Subotica

community for which it is intended, was brought to the brink of existence. After many years of the synagogue's decline, there is still light at the end of the tunnel. In 1975, it was declared cultural heritage, and 5 years later, the first steps towards restoration took place. In the period from 1980 until 1993, various restoration works were started, but unfortunately they subsided and the synagogue was again left to ruin. Nevertheless, thanks to the increasing interest of the surrounding community, but also of the city and the state, in 2002 the renovation was reactivated. Of course, as it often happens, the most important and the last restoration took place only in the following decade. In 2017, a one-year comprehensive restora-

tion began, which, with international cooperation, managed to return the synagogue to its original state.

The state of buildings - a reflection of the state of society

Religious buildings, but also buildings in general, are monuments of what we are and what we represent. From example of the synagogue in Subotica can be concluded that the position in which a group of people is located will directly affect the condition of the facilities it uses. This is precisely why we should ask ourselves: do we take care of our buildings and the communities these buildings are intended for?

Barbara Panić

Slučaj Levenzon: zamršena afera među beogradskim Jevrejima

Barbara Panić (*1973., Zemun), MA, je povjesničarka umjetnosti i kustosica Jevrejskog isto-rijskog muzeja u Beogradu. Autorica je niza izložbi vezanih uz židovsku tematiku, sudionica i predavačica na mnogobrojnim događanjima vezana uz židovsku kulturu u Srbiji. Koorganizatorica je svakotjednog “Zoom šabata”, u sklopu kojeg se odvijaju razna predavanja vezana uz židovstvo na području južnoslavenskih država i šire. Autorica je monografije “Spomeničko-memorijalni kompleks Jevrejskog groblja u Beogradu”, nekoliko priručnika vezanih uz židovske običaje te suradnica časopisa Jevrejski pregled.

Beogradski rabin Ignjat Šlang knjigu *Jevreji u Beogradu*, napisanu davne 1926. godine, započinje sledećim rečima: „Kod Jevreja u Beogradu održava se uverenje da su njihovi saplemenici u tome starodrevnom gradu živeli od prastarih vremena. Idući po tragovima ranijih pokoljenja u Beogradu, nailazimo na izvore, koji nam tu tradiciju potvrđuju, mada su pismeni dokazi iz starih vremena oskudni i nepotpuni.“ Uprkos činjenici da ima vrlo malo pisanih tragova o postojanju jevrejske zajednice iz vremena pre osvajanja Beograda od strane sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenog 1521. godine, zna se da su Aškenazi naseljavali Balkan još u vreme krstaških pohoda. Shodno tome, sasvim je sigurno da ih je bilo i u Beogradu. Njihov masovniji dolazak u grad zbio se sredinom 19. veka, za vreme vladavine kneza Miloša. Tada iz Vlaške u prestonicu Kneževine Srbije stiže izvesni Lazar Levenzon. Biva ubrzo primljen u srpsko podanstvo i postaje lični Milošev krojač. Prema kazivanu rabina Šlanga,

knez je voleo Jevreje i poveravao im je svoje liferacije. Za Lazara je govorio da „niko ne može tako da mu po volji izradi odelo kao on“. Podatak da je obučar Levenzon takođe bio knežev liferant, potvrđuje bliskost ove porodice sa srpskim dvorom.

Dalje se u sačuvanim dokumentima pominje trgovac Jakov Levenzon. Od 1901, pa u narednih nekoliko godina, on je bio na čelu beogradske Verois-povedne opštine aškenaskog obreda. Za njegovog mandata administracija u sinagogi i opštini počela je da se vodi na srpskom, umesto na nemačkom jeziku, a molitva koja se do tada izgovarala caru Franji Josifu zamenjena je molitvom za vladajućeg kralja Srbije. Jakov je takođe bio i jedan od osnivača Hevra kadiša. Žena mu se zvala Berta. U braku su dobili sinove Ludviga, Filipa, Adolfa, Ignjata i Hajnriha, i ćerku Ernestinu. Sin Ignjat, rođen 1878. godine, bio je ugledni prestonički apotekar. U njegovoj drogeriji *Embekus* mogli su da se nađu razni

lekovi, pre svega oni za reumatičare. Takođe je bio zastupnik za Jugoslaviju za uvoz radioaktivnog joda. Sa suprugom Helenom (Jelenom), koja je najverovatnije bila ćerka obučara Maksa Levenzona, imao je dvoje dece. Prvo im se 1910. godine rodila ćerka Lilika, a zatim deset godina kasnije sin Lazar. Kuću u kojoj su živeli, i u kojoj je bila apoteka, izgradili su 1928. godine u centru grada, u Resavskoj ulici na broju 67.



Ignjat Levenzon

Izvor: Barbara Panić

Sreća porodice Levenzon nije dugo trajala. Jelena umire 30. novembra 1932. godine i tog trenutka počinje mukotrpana borba da se telo pokojnice dostojno sahrani. O nemilom događaju danima je izveštavala beogradska štampa. U listu *Pravda*, od 3. decembra, pojavljuje se skandalozan naslov koji glasi „Leš koji ne može da se sahrani zbog duga – Jedna zamršena afera

među beogradskim Jevrejima“. Dalje u ovom novinskom članku piše da u kapeli na Aškenaskom groblju već nekoliko dana leži leš Jelene Levenzon, pošto njen muž Ignjat na ime poreza duguje Aškenaskoj opštini 15.000 dinara. U jevrejskim krugovima se čak šuškalalo da Levenzon nije izmirivao svoje obaveze punih 15 godina. Bilo je i onih koji su stali u odbranu drogeriste tvrdeći da to nije tačno i da je Ignjat uvek bio pošten čovek.

A ovako je sve počelo. Na dan Jelenine smrti u kuću Levenzona stiglo je jevrejsko pogrebno društvo kako bi telo prenelo u kapelu na Aškenaskom groblju. Ništa nije ukazivalo da će izbiti skandal koji je duboko potresao ne samo jevrejsku zajednicu, već i beogradsku čaršiju. Međutim, sutradan ujutru, neočekivano su kod Ignjata došli Miša Goldštajn i Markus Štajner, predstavnici Hevra kadiša, kako bi mu saopštili da mora da izmiri dug pre sahrane. Po njihovim rečima takvu odluku je doneo lično dr Fridrih Pops, tadašnji predsednik aškenaske zajednice. Nakon viščasovnih pregovora Ignjat pristaje da isplati određenu sumu novca, a sa blagajnikom Flajšerom je uređio da ostatak bude predat Opštini nakon ukopa. Nije ni slutio da neugodnostima tu nije kraj. Istog dana dobija obaveštenje da dr Pops ipak ne pristaje na postignutu nagodbu, već zahteva da se odmah namiri ceo dug ili da se potpiše menica. Smatrajući ovakav zahtev vrlo uvredljivim, Levenzon ne pristaje na predloženo. U dubokoj žalosti, na dan

zakazane sahrane, Ignjat je sa sinom Lazarom stigao na jevrejsko groblje. Tog jesenjeg popodneva, 2. decembra, pred aškenaskom kapelom okupio se veliki broj rodbine i prijatelja. U jednom novinskom tekstu navodi se da je bilo oko 1000 duša, što ne čudi jer je Levenzon bio cenjen i dobro poznat u celome gradu. Usledila je nova neprijatnost za porodicu. Ništa nije bilo pripremljeno za ukop, čak ni raka nije bila iskopana. Levenzon je, vidno uzrujan, prisutnima rekao da sahrane neće biti i uputio se ka svojoj kući. Kod kuće ga je dočekaio telefonski poziv u kojem je doznao da mora hitno da se javi nadležnima svoga kvarta. Kada je stigao u kancelariju uprave pročitana mu je predstava Aškenakse opštine u kojoj ga optužuju da je on lično doneo leš svoje žene u jevrejsku kapelu i tu ga ostavio rekavši da ga dalje ništa više ne zanima. Duboko razočaran ovakvom činom svoje jevrejske opštine, na čijem čelu je više godina bio i njegov otac, odlučio je da suprugu sahrani na pravoslavnom groblju i odmah je kupio grobnicu. Međutim, kada se doznalo da je Jelena mojsijeve vere stigla je urgentna zabrana, jer po pravilima Srpske pravoslavne crkve Jevreji ne mogu da se sahranjuju zajedno sa pravoslavnim hrišćanima. Na kraju je napravljen „ustupak“ i dozvoljeno je da se pokojnica ukopa na mestu za sa-moubice.


Pošto nije više znao šta mu je činiti, Ignjat odlučuje da lično piše patrijarhu Varnavi i moli za dozvolu za hita-

na prelazak u pravoslavlje. U subotu, 3. decembra, šalje u patrijaršiju u Sremske Karlovce telegram sledećeg sadržaja: „Molim sveti blagoslov i dozvolu Vaše Svetosti da sa svojim sinom Lazarom od 13 godina mogu preći iz Mojsijevske u Pravoslavnu veru. Prelazim iz ljubavi koju iz detinjstva osećam prema braći i prijateljima pravoslavne vere. Visoku odluku molim uputiti protojereju g. Petru Milojeviću, parohu Vaznesenske crkve, kao nadležnom, kome sam se već prijavio. Celiva svetu desnicu Ignjat Levenzon“.

Sutradan, 4. decembra, od patrijarha je stigao blagoslov i Levenzon se sa sinom uputio ka Vaznesenskoj crkvi gde je izvršen obred krštenja. Znao je da su sada sve prepreke otklonjene i pohitao je da odmah sahrani suprugu. Povorka sa telom pokojnice mirno i tiho je krenula iz aškenaske kapele ka pravoslavnom groblju. Već se spustio mrak. Put do rake osvetljavale su svetiljke sa drugih grobova. Kod Jeleninog groba su gorele samo dve sveće dok su joj telo spuštali u raku. Nije bilo ni sveštenika, ni opela. Sve je neobično brzo završeno i najzad je duša Jelene Levenzon mogla da nadje svoj dalji put. Na samom izlasku sa groblja Ignjat je svratio u grobljansku kancelariju kako bi platio sahranu. Prema kazivanju novinara *Pravde* samo je uzviknuo „Neverovatno, da li verujete samo 60 dinara su mi naplatili za sve!“.

I nakon sahrane Levenzonovi su bili jedna od glavnih tema u štampi. U *Vremenu*, od 6. decembra 1932, na

ОБУЋАРСКА РАДЊА
М. Ј. ЛЕВЕНЗОНА
КРАЉ. СРП. ДВОР. ЛИЦЕРАНТА
БЕОГРАД - ОБИЛАЗИТЕ БЕЖЕВАЦ Бр. 39.



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Ценима таксираним п. п. и т. г. г. официре, на најтајнији проглашаван „Евајант“, који сваку ланковану обућу, која је сјајност изгубила, претвори у нову.
Примам и сваку оправку. Велике отиравам да изгледају као да су нове.
За то се обраћа п. п. да се о свакој овоме извола уверити.

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Reklama za obućarsku trgovinu Maksa Levenzona

Izvor: Barbara Panić

samom početku članka piše: „Slučaj poznatog prestoničkog drogeriste gospodina Ignjata Levenzona posle izveštaja u dnevnim listovima izazvao je velike komentare u najširim slojevima. Gotovo uvek ti komentari bili su u korist gospodina Levenzona, a na štetu gospodina dr Fridriha Popsa. Gospodin Levenzon je imućan čovek, još više gospodin Levenzon je veoma imućan čovek i za njega bez sumnje 15000 din ne znače ništa. Dakle u pitanju nije novac, treba tražiti neki drugi razlog. Da možda nije u pitanju neka nesloga u redovima članova Jevrejske crkvene opštine. Možda netrpeljivost, neslaganje u mišljenju, neprijateljsko raspoloženje.“ Novinar *Narodnog blagostanja* još detaljnije i pomalo bizarno obrađuje ovu temu. On smatra da „ako je gospodinu Levenzonu bilo stalo do toga da ostane u sastavu svoje dotadašnje verske opštine, onda je on to mogao da postigne ... opština je bila dužna da sahrani njegovu ženu.

... da je imao strpljenja samo jedan dan kad bi zadah od pokojnice počeo da truje okolinu onda bi nadležni sanitet imao da kazni odnosnu opštinu što je dopustila da dođe do toga ... gospodin Levenzon je trebalo da dopusti da dodje do sudske rasprave u interesu svih ostalih koji nameravaju da umru, a duguju porez“.

U jevrejskoj štampi o ovom događaju nije pisano. Objavljen je samo jedan tekst u sarajevskom *Jevrejskom glasu*. Novinar tog članka oštro kritikuje jevrejska glasila jer ne pridaju značaj negativnom publicitetu koji je izazvao ovaj nemili događaj i kaže: „Potrebno je da i jevrejska štampa dade svoj komentar o ovakvoj aferi, pošto se uvek jevrejske afere uopštavaju i ono što u njima izgleda simptomatično naročito i negativno to se lansira kao značajno za celu jevrejsku rasu. Jevrejska štampa ima dužnost da nas u toj aferi ogradi od takve insinucije i

da osudi ono što je učinjeno, a što nije u skladu sa jevrejskim pojmovima o dužnosti, moralu, etici, religioznosti i pijetetu.“ Završnu reč u „slučaju Levenzon“, ponovo u *Jevrejskom glas*u, dala je 23. decembra 1932. godine beogradska Aškenaska opština, odnosno dr Pops. U saopštenju stoji sledeće: „Prikaz slučaja od strane beogradske štampe odgovara uglavnom stvarnom toku događaja. Opštinska uprava smatrala je za svoju dužnost da i ovom prilikom zastupa interese Opštine kako je u vekovnoj tradiciji obeju opština, sefardske i eškenaske, do sada čuvan i izvršavan. Međutim ona ne želi ponovo ulaziti u pojedinosti toga slučaja zbog toga što smatra da o tom predmetu prestaje svaka diskusija jer su se umešali faktori koji stoje van domašaja jevrejske zajednice.“

Ignjat je sa sinom Lazarom nastavio život u rodnom gradu. I dalje je uspešno vodio svoju apotekarsku radnju. Čerka Lili je već bila na studijama u Beču. Njeno poznanstvo sa Lovrom Matačićem, hrvatskim dirigentom i kompozitorom, krunisano je 1933. godine brakom. Venčanje je obavljeno u zagrebačkoj pravoslavnoj crkvi Svetog Preobraženja. Kada je 1941. godine us-

postavljena Nezavisna država Hrvatska, bračni par Matačić je iz Beograda, gde je Lovro bio vršilac dužnosti direktora i dirigent Beogradske filharmonije, prešao u Zagreb. Lili je tada tražila da zvanično pređe na katoličku veru i da joj se priznaju sva arijevska prava, što je i odobreno. Lovro je imenovan za nadzornika domobranskih glazbi, a 1943. dodeljen mu je čin dombranskog potpukovnika. Iste godine u Beogradu je Državna hipotekarna banka oglasila prodaju kuće Ignjata Levenzona. U tom trenutku on i njegov sin Lazar nisu bili među živima. Stradali su u jesen 1941. godine, ne kao pravoslavni hrišćani, već kao Jevreji. Tačno mesto njihovog pogubljenja do danas je ostalo nepoznanica. Nakon rata Lovro Matačić je osuđen zbog saradnje sa režimom NDH. Zahvaljujući upornoj intervenciji svoje supruge Lili Levenzon pomilovan je posle godinu dana. Po Titovom odobrenju dobio je 1954. jugoslovenski pasoš i tada se razvila njegova blistava međunarodna karijera. U skladu sa testamentom bračnog para Matačić u Zagrebu je 1987. godine osnovan Fond za stipendiranje mladih dirigenata „Lovro i Lili Matačić“.

Barbara Panić

The Levenzon case: a *Complicated Affair of the Belgrade Jews*

Barbara Panić (1973., Zemun), MA, is an art historian and curator of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade. She is the author of a series of exhibitions related to Jewish themes, a participant and lecturer at numerous events related to Jewish culture in Serbia. She is the co-organizer of the weekly “Zoom Shabbat”, which includes various lectures related to Judaism in the South Slavic countries and beyond. She is the author of the monograph “Memorial Complex of the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade”, several textbooks related to Jewish customs, and a contributor to the journal “Jevrejski pregled”.

Belgrade rabbi Ignjat Šlang begins his book *Jews in Belgrade*, written back in 1926, with the following words: *Jews in Belgrade maintain the belief that their ancestors have lived in that ancient city since ancient times. Following the traces of earlier generations in Belgrade, we come across sources that confirm this tradition, although the written evidence from ancient times is scarce and incomplete.* Despite the fact that there are very few written traces of the existence of the Jewish community from the time before the conquest of Belgrade by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1521, it is known that the Ashkenazis inhabited the Balkans as early as the time of the Crusades. Accordingly, it is quite certain that there were also in Belgrade. Their massive arrival in the city took place in the middle of the 19th century, during the reign of Prince Miloš. Then a certain Lazar Levenzon arrives from Wallachia to the capital of the Principality of Serbia. He was soon accepted into the Serbian vassalage and became

Miloš's personal tailor. According to Rabbi Šlang, the prince loved the Jews and entrusted them with his life. He said of Lazar that “no one could make a suit like he could”. The fact that the shoemaker Levenzon was also the duke's lifeguard confirms the closeness of this family to the Serbian court.

The merchant Jakov Levenzon is also mentioned in preserved documents. From 1901, and for the next few years, he was the head of the *Belgrade Religious Community of the Ashkenazi Rite*. During his mandate, administration in the synagogue and the community began to be conducted in Serbian, instead of German, and the prayer that had been said to Emperor Francis Joseph was replaced by a prayer for the reigning king of Serbia. Jakov was also one of the founders of Hevra Kaddish. His wife's name was Berta. In marriage, they had sons Ludvig, Filip, Adolf, Ignjat and Heinrich and a daughter Ernestina. Son Ignjat, born

in 1878, was a prominent pharmacist in the capital. In his Embekus drug store, one could find various medicines, primarily those for rheumatism. He was also a representative for Yugoslavia for the import of radioactive iodine. He had two children with his wife Helena (Jelena), who was most likely the daughter of shoemaker Max Levenzon. In 1910, a daughter, Lilika, was born, and ten years later, a son, Lazar. The house in which they lived, where there was a pharmacy, was built in 1928 in the city center, in Resavska Street at number 67.

The happiness of the Levenzon family did not last long. Jelena dies on November 30, 1932, and then begins the arduous struggle to bury the deceased's body with dignity. The Belgrade press reported on the unpleasant event for days. In the newspaper *Pravda*, from December 3, a scandalous headline appears that reads *A corpse that cannot be buried because of debt - A complicated affair of Belgrade Jews*. Further on in this newspaper article, it is written that the corpse of Jelena Levenzon has been lying in the chapel at the Ashkenazi cemetery for several days, since her husband Ignjat owes the Ashkenazi community 15,000 dinars in taxes. There were even rumors in Jewish circles that Levenzon had not paid his debts for a full 15 years. Many came to the defense of the pharmacist, claiming that this was not true because Ignjat was always an upright man.



Advertisement for Levenzon's Pharmacy
Embekus

Source: Barbara Panić

It all started when, on the day of Jelena's death, a Jewish funeral society arrived at the Levenzon house to transfer the body to the chapel at the Ashkenazi cemetery. There was no indication that a scandal would break out, which deeply shook not only the Jewish community, but also the Belgrade bazaar. However, the following morning, Miša Goldštajn and Markus Štajner, representatives of *Hevra Kadish*, unexpectedly came to Ignatius to tell him that he had to settle the debt before the funeral. According to them, such a decision was made personally by Dr. Fridrih Pops, the then president of the Ashkenazi community. After several hours of negotiations, Ignjat agreed to pay a certain amount of money, and he arranged with the treasurer Flajšer that the rest be handed over to the Community after the burial. He had no idea that the inconveniences did

not end there. On the same day, he receives a notification that Dr. Pops did not agree to the settlement, but demanded that the entire debt be settled immediately or that the promissory note be signed. Considering the request offensive, Levenzon refused. On the day of the scheduled funeral, Ignjat arrived at the Jewish cemetery with his son Lazar. That autumn afternoon, December 2, a large number of relatives and friends gathered in front of the Ashkenazi chapel. One newspaper article states that there were about 1,000 souls, which is not surprising because Levenzon was respected and well known throughout the city. A new inconvenience for the family followed: nothing had been prepared for the burial, not even a crab had been dug up. Levenzon, visibly upset, told those present that there would be no funeral and went home. At home, he was greeted by a phone call in which he learned that he had to urgently report to the authorities in his neighborhood. When he arrived at the administration office, he was read a petition from the Ashkenazic Community in which he is accused of personally bringing his wife's corpse to the Jewish chapel and leaving it there, saying that he was not interested in anything further. Deeply disappointed by this act of the Jewish community, headed by his father for many years, he decided to bury his wife in the Orthodox cemetery and immediately bought a tomb. However, when it became known that Jelena

was of the faith of Moses, an urgent ban was issued, because according to the rules of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Jews cannot be buried together with Christians. In the end, a "concession" was made and the deceased was allowed to be buried in a place set aside for suicides.

Not knowing what to do, Ignjat personally wrote to Patriarch Varnava, asking for permission to convert to Orthodoxy immediately. On Saturday, December 3, he sent a telegram to the patriarchate in Sremske Karlovci with the following content: *I am asking for the holy blessing and permission of Your Holiness so that I can convert from the Mosaic faith to the Orthodox Christian faith with my 13-year-old son Lazar. The reason is love I have felt for my brothers and friends of the Orthodox Christian faith since childhood. I would like to send the high decision to Archpriest Mr. Petar Milojević, parish priest of the Church of the Ascension, as the person in charge, to whom I have already applied. Kissing the hand of your Holiness, Ignjat Levenzon.* The next day, December 4, a blessing arrived from the patriarch and Levenzon went with his son to the Church of the Ascension, where the rite of baptism was performed. He knew that now all obstacles were removed and he hurried to bury his wife. The procession with the body of the deceased departed calmly and quietly from the Ashkenazi chapel to the Orthodox cemetery. Darkness has already fallen. The way to the grave

was lit by lamps from other graves. Only two candles were burning at Jelena's grave while her body was being lowered into the coffin. There was no priest, no drunkenness. Everything was finished unusually quickly and finally Jelena Levenzon's soul could find its way forward. On his way out of the cemetery, Ignjat stopped by the cemetery office to pay for the funeral. According to the report of the Pravda journalist, he just exclaimed: *Amazing, can you believe, they only charged me 60 dinars for everything!*

For a long time after the funeral, the Levenzons remained one of the main topics in the press. In the time of December 6, 1932. at the very beginning of the article he writes: *The case of the famous druggist from the capital Mr. Ignjat Levenzon, after the reports in the daily papers, caused great comments in the broadest strata. Almost always these comments were in favor of Mr. Levenzon, and to the detriment of Dr. Fridrih Pops. Mr. Levenzon is wealthy man, even more so, Mr. Levenzon is a very wealthy man, and for him, without a doubt, 15,000 dinars mean nothing. So it's not about money, you have to look for some other reason. That maybe it's not about some discord among the members of the Jewish Community. Maybe intolerance, disagreement in opinion, hostile mood.* The journalist of the People's Welfare covers this topic in even more detail and somewhat bizarrely. He believes that if Mr. Levenzon cared about remaining part of his previous

religious community, then he could have achieved it, as *the Community was obliged to bury his wife... if he had patience for just one day when the breath of the deceased would start to poison the surrounding otherwise, the competent health department would have to punish the respective Community for allowing it to happen ... Mr. Levenzon should have allowed a court hearing to happen in the interest of all others who intend to die and owe taxes.*

Jewish newspapers did not write about this event. Only one text was published in Sarajevo's *Jevrejska glas*. The journalist of that article strongly criticizes the Jewish media because they do not attach importance to the negative publicity caused by this unfortunate event: It is necessary for the Jewish press to give its own commentary on this kind of affair, since Jewish affairs are always generalized and what appears to be symptomatic in them is especially negative. is launched as significant for the entire Jewish race. The Jewish press has the duty to protect us from such insinuation in this affair and to condemn what was done, which is not in accordance with Jewish concepts of duty, morality, ethics, religiosity and piety. Dr. Pops gave the final word in the Levenzon case in *Jevrejski glas*, on December 23, 1932: *The presentation of the case by the Belgrade press corresponds mostly to the actual course of events. The Community considered it its duty to represent the interests of the com-*

munity on this occasion as it has been preserved and carried out in the centuries-old tradition of both communities, Sephardic and Ashkenazi. However, she does not want to go into the details of that case again, because she believes that any discussion on that subject ends because factors beyond the reach of the Jewish community intervened.

Ignjat continued to live in his hometown with his son Lazar. He continued to successfully run his pharmacy. Daughter Lili studied in Vienna, and her acquaintance with Lovro Matačić, Croatian conductor and composer, was crowned in 1933 with marriage. The wedding took place in the Zagreb Orthodox Church of the Holy Transfiguration. When the Independent State of Croatia was established in 1941, the Matačić couple moved from Belgrade, where Lovro was acting director and conductor of the Belgrade Philharmonic, to Zagreb. Lili converted to the Catholic faith and was grant-

ed all Aryan civil rights. Lovro was appointed supervisor of Home Guard music, and in 1943 he was awarded the rank of Home Guard lieutenant colonel. In the same year, the State Mortgage Bank announced the sale of Ignjat Levenzon's house in Belgrade. At that moment, he and his son Lazar were not among the living. They died in the fall of 1941, not as Orthodox, but as Jews. The place of their execution is unknown. After the war, Lovro Matačić was convicted for collaborating with the NDH regime. Thanks to the intervention of his wife Lili Levenzon, he was pardoned after a year. With Tito's approval, he received a Yugoslav passport in 1954, after which he had a brilliant international career. In accordance with the will of the married couple Matačić, in 1987 the Fund for scholarships for young conductors Lovro and Lili Matačić was established in Zagreb.