



Barbara Panić

**SPOMENIČKO - MEMORIJANI KOMPLEKS
JEVREJSKOG GROBLJA U
BEOGRADU**

**BURIAL GROUND COMPLEX OF THE
JEWISH CEMETERY IN
BELGRADE**

JEVREJSKI ISTORIJSKI MUZEJ
Saveza jevrejskih opština Srbije

JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM
Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia

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NEIZBRISIVOST SEĆANJA

Naslov knjige „Spomeničko-memorijalni kompleks Jevrejskog groblja u Beogradu” objedinjuje slojevit uvid u tradiciju i izmene religijskih obeležja stanovnika jevrejske veroispovesti i metodološki zaokružuje jedinstveno istorijsko i kulturološko mesto na topografiji grada Beograda i Republike Srbije. Istraživački rad Barbare Panić, kustosa Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu, ostvarenje je sadržajnog interdisciplinarnog monografskog domašaja. Mada je knjiga pripremana u opsegu razložnog istorijata, tretman građe nadmašuje složenost istorijskog tkanja i sačuvanih nalaza, poprimivši strukturalni pregled kulturološke i religijske emancipacije. Pored mnogobrojnih referencijalnih dokaza, posebno se pruža uvid u istančane vizuelne odlike funerarne umetnosti, naglašeno kada se radi o prenošenju hebrejske tradicije u običajima i društvenim okolnostima vezanim za dug vremenski period, od Kraljevine Srbije dinastije Obrenović čak i tadašnjih nasleđa jevrejske zajednice, pa sve do izmena mesta sahranjivanja i memorijalizacije u prve dve decenije posle Drugog svetskog rata i Holokausta.

U monografiji je posebna pažnja usmerena na raznolikost dostupnih i očuvanih sećanja, kao i faktografskih nalaza o pojedinim etapama i specifičnostima jevrejskog groblja: formacije istovremene sa usponom građanskog društva, od zrenja Kraljevine Srbije u završnici 19. veka, kroz poglavlje o kratkom istorijatu mesta sahranjivanja i jevrejskih grobalja na teritoriji Beograda, urbana regulacija određena je na zalasku 1888. godine. Tada se, sa ranijih gradskih atara i sahranjivanja jevrejskih zajednica na drugim sada nestalim lokacijama, od dunavske padine i jevrejske četvrti Jaliya, kasnije preko mesta počivanja na Paliluli u Dalmatinskoj ulici tokom više decenija priprema i objedinjuje nov teren u tadašnjoj Grobljanskoj ulici, prekoputa velikog gradskog Novog groblja. Urbana pozicija terena, omeđena ogradama i kapijom, tek krajem dvadesetih godina prerasta u stecište tradicijskih prenosa, ali i mnogobrojnih društvenih odnosa koji se tiču očuvanja jevrejskih običaja, kao i izmena, asimilacije i preplitanja kroz gustinu događaja i promena koje je nosio 20. vek.

Unoseći pregledna saznanja iz uporedne litetature koja religijski zahvata i antropološke i kulturološke odlike, autorka je uvela sadržajan registar svoje tekstualne obrade prema fenomenu žalobnih običaja Jevreja. Znalачki je poentirana različitost i izmenljivost odnosa prema nestalom životu, u istrajnim vezivanjima za biblijske navode, za Toru i za raniju i novu literaturu iz hebraistike. Naglašeni su opisi viševekovnih formiranja različitih običaja i odnosa prema eshatološkoj ravni. Etnografski podaci su dati sa funkcionalnim razjašnjenjima i podsećanjima na ideju same lokacije kao simboličnog večitog mesta sahranjivanja ili „kuće”, koja kao takva, ideju „života u uspomeni” naglašeno prenosi kao noseće religijsko svojstvo judaizma, i to u svim pravilima i odnosima prema jevrejskom kalendaru i verskim praznicima. Analizom lokacije i istorijskog mesta Jevrejskog sefardskog groblja, od knjige katastra, do tipologije spomeničkog nasleđa i umetničkih, arhitektonsko-vajarskih ostvarenja, istoričarka umetnosti Barbara Panić, kao kustos Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, jedinstvene muzejske ustanove, ne samo u Republici Srbiji, već i u regionu, predstavlja sve dostupne, ali i nove istorijske podatke, dajući specifičnosti ukupne spomeničko-memorijalne celine.

Poglavlje *Pojedinačni nadgrobni spomenici i porodične grobnice: oblik i simbolika* istovremeno je uporedni ogled lingvističkih hebrejskih razlika i motiva jevrejske umetnosti i isto

INDELIBILITY OF MEMORY

The title of the book “Burial Ground Complex of the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade” consolidates a multi-layered insight into the tradition and changes of the religious customs of the Jewish population, while methodologically rounding off this unique historical and cultural place in the topography of Belgrade and Serbia. The interdisciplinary reach of this monographic study by Barbara Panić, the curator of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, is remarkable. Although the book relies on known historical data, the treatment of the material data exceeds the complexity of the historical weaving and the existing findings to become a structured review of the cultural and religious emancipation of Belgrade’s Jews. Apart from numerous referential proofs, the study provides an insight into the subtleties of funerary art, with an emphasis on the presence of Hebrew tradition in customs and social circumstances over long periods of time, even before the Kingdom of Serbia under the Obrenović Dynasty, to mass reburials and memorialization in the first two decades following the Second World War and the Holocaust.

The monograph pays careful attention to the diversity of the available and preserved memories, as well as the factual findings about particular periods and the specificities of the Sephardic cemetery: the monuments coinciding with the rise of the bourgeoisie along with the coming of age of the Kingdom of Serbia at the end of the 19th century. In the chapter dedicated to the brief history of burial sites and Jewish cemeteries in Belgrade, the urban regulation is dated back in late 1888. That is when old and now vanished burial sites, from the Danube slope and the Jaliija Quarter to Dalmatinska Street in Palilula were gradually abandoned over the decades and a new cemetery was eventually established in the old Grobljanska Street, across the road from the city’s main New Cemetery. The central location of the terrain, now with fences and gates, will in the late twenties become the focal point of tradition, and many other social relations concerning the preservation of Jewish customs, but also their transformation, assimilation and spaces of interweaving through the turbulent events and changes of the 20th century.

Within the text a meaningful register unfolds the foundation of knowledge from comparative religious, anthropological and cultural readings and especially toward the relationship to the phenomenon of Jewish mourning rites. The diversity and changeability of the relationship toward vanished lives skilfully follows consistent reliance on biblical quotes, the Torah, and both older and more recent Judaic literature. Accents are created by way of precise descriptions of how different customs and eschatological interpretations evolved over the centuries. Ethnographic data and descriptions are presented with functional explanations and reminders about the idea of the very location as a symbolic eternal place of burial or “home” which, as such, unequivocally conveys the idea of “life in remembrance” as the pivotal religious characteristic of Judaism, in all the modifications of the rites and observance of the religious calendar and festivals. Through the analysis of the location and the historical site of the Sephardic Jewish cemetery, from cadaster records to the typology of the memorial legacy and strongly artistic architectural - sculptural creations, art historian Barbara Panić, as the curator of the Jewish Historical Museum – a unique institution not only in the Republic of Serbia but in the region as well - has provided relevant and accessible information, as well as new historical data, also by describing the specificities of the entire memorial complex.

tako i samih izmena koje su od grafizma, simbolizacije i posebnih personifikacija opstajali u vekovnom rasejanju i u drugim evropskim sredinama i mestima počivanja pripadnika jevrejskih zajednica. Prenošenje običaja pogrebnog društva Hevra kadiša pridodatog novoj celini groblja, svoj ritualni karakter očuvanja milenijumske tradicije suočava s novim memorijalizacijama tragedije nasilnih nestajanja i nevinih žrtava Holokausta i oslobodilačkih ratova. Integracija sa danas istaknutom potrebom kulture sećanja uvedena je kroz analizu različitih pozicija nadgrobničkih spomenika ili isto tako masovnih grobnica, kakav je memorijal iz 1952, prva celina upamćivanja nevinih žrtava Holokausta, koja nosi jedinstveni spoj formalnih tretmana spomenika pruženog u visinu, stapajući asocijacije vidljivih predstava i na Mojsijeve tablice, kao i na menoru.

Razvojnost oblikovnih i jezičkih molitvenih odlika sefardike na obrađenim primerima raznolikih nadgrobničkih rešenja doseže celishodan rezultat idejno-duhovne sadržine i smisla. Predstavljanje i argumentacije iznesene su s pouzdanim uvidima u saznanja i proveru podataka. Dospevaju iz lingvistike, hebraistike, istorije književnosti, kao i istorije umetnosti, prevashodno spomeničkog nasleđa od 19. veka, sve do najnovijih rezultata u poslednjih stotinu godina, upotpunjavajući ovaj vrstan rad. Pouzdano istraživanje Barbare Panić sadrži tipologiju sačuvanih spomenika i memorijalnih celina i prenosi složenost shvatanja predanja i običaja. Ujedinjeno je njenom snagom tumačenja, ističući nam razumevanje strukturnih kategorija zabeleženog življenja, kao i sonorne dimenzije civilizacijskog pamćenja, a koje se raspoznaju na jedinom aktivnom Jevrejskom sefardskom groblju u Beogradu i regionu.

Prof. dr Nikola Šuica
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Beograd, mart 2018.

The chapter titled *Individual monuments and family crypts: Form and symbolism* is at once a comparative essay about the Hebrew linguistic differences and motifs of Jewish art and the modifications in orthography, symbolism and specific personifications which survived in the centuries-long diaspora also in other European settings and Jewish burial places. The passing on of the traditions of the Chevra Kadisha funeral society adjoined to the new graveyard complex confronts its ritual role of maintaining a thousand years long tradition with the new memorialization of the tragedy of forceful disappearances of the innocent victims of the Holocaust and liberation wars. The integration with the pronounced need of today's society to have a culture of remembrance is introduced through the analyses of various positions, monuments or mass graves, like the memorial from 1952, the first monument to the innocent victims of the Holocaust which uniquely combines formal treatment of a monument streaming upward while blending the associations of visible representations of the Tablets of the Law and the menorah.

The evolution of formal and linguistic features of the Sephardic prayer traceable in the analyzed examples of tombstones yields an expedient result of conceptual-spiritual content and meaning. Narration and argumentation, effectuated with elegant and reliable breakthroughs into the domains of linguistics, Hebrew studies, history of literature and history of art from predominantly 19th century memorials, all the way to the latest results of the recent years, are a true merit of this remarkable work. Barbara Panić's research also provides a typology of the preserved monuments and memorial entities, and promotes complexity when approaching tradition and customs. It goes hand in hand with her interpretative skills, bringing to the fore the understanding of structural categories of recorded living, as well as the sonic dimensions of civilizational remembrance, recognizable in the only active Jewish cemetery in Belgrade and the region.

Prof. Nikola Šuica PhD
University of Arts Belgrade, Faculty of Fine Arts
Belgrade, March 2018

„Ako vidiš groblje pred sobom, znaj da je grad u blizini”

Midraš Tehilim

Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu predstavlja najveću jevrejsku memorijalno-spomeničku celinu u Srbiji. Prostire se na površini od 12.748 kvadratnih metara¹ i obuhvata spomenički fond od oko 3.000 nadgrobnih ploča sa blizu 4.000 sahranjenih.²

Nakon gotovo potpunog uništenja beogradske jevrejske zajednice u Holokaustu, groblje je ostalo jedno od najvažnijih svedočanstava o njenom postojanju. Do Drugog svetskog rata nosilo je naziv Novo groblje i bilo je u vlasništvu Crkveno - školske jevrejske opštine sefardskog obreda.³ Služilo je za potrebe sahranjivanja Jevreja sefardske provenijencije, sa povremenim ukopima pripadnika Aškenaske jevrejske opštine.⁴

Danas brigu o ovom jedinom aktivnom jevrejskom groblju u Beogradu vodi, kao administrativno telo Jevrejske opštine Beograd, društvo Hevra kadiša⁵.

“If you see a cemetery in front of you, know that there is a city nearby”

Midrash Tehillim

The Jewish cemetery in Belgrade constitutes the largest Jewish memorial complex in Serbia. Covering an area of 12,748 square meters¹, it contains approximately 3,000 tombstones and has accommodated nearly 4,000 interments to date.²

Following the near-annihilation of the Jewish Community of Belgrade during the Holocaust, the cemetery stands as one of the most precious testimonials of its existence. Known as the New Cemetery until the Second World War, it was owned and used by the Jewish Religious Community of the Sephardic Rite.³ It served for the burial of the Jews of the Sephardic provenience with occasional burials of the members of the Ashkenazi community as well.⁴

Today, Belgrade's only active Jewish cemetery is in the care of the society Chevra Kadisha⁵, a body of the Jewish Community of Belgrade.

¹Katastar grobalja Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, Arhiv Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu (u daljem tekstu AJIM).

²Izvor za podatak o broju nadgrobnih spomenika i broju sahranjenih je projekat „Digitalizacija jevrejskog groblja u Beogradu”, <http://www.makabijada.com>

³Sefardi su etnička grupa Jevreja sa područja Španije i Portugalije. Nakon izгона sa Iberijskog poluostrva krajem 15. veka, naselili su teritoriju južne Francuske, Italiju, Holandiju, Englesku, Tursku, severnu Afriku, Balkansko poluostrvo, Malu Aziju i severnu i južnu Ameriku.

⁴Aškenazi su Jevreji severne, srednje i istočne Evrope. Krajem 19. veka, beogradska aškenaska zajednica dobila je svoje groblje koje se nalazi preko puta Jevrejskog (sefardskog) groblja i deo je beogradskog Novog groblja.

⁵Sveto društvo (aram. *Hevra kadiša*) je tradicionalni naziv za pogrebna društva u jevrejskim zajednicama.

¹*Cadastral plans of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia*, the Archives of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade (hereinafter AJHM).

²Source: Project “Digitalization of the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade”, <http://www.makabijada.com>

³The Sephardic Jews are an ethnic group from the regions of Spain and Portugal. After the expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century, they settled the territory of southern France, Italy, the Netherlands, England, Turkey, North Africa, the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor and North and South America.

⁴The Ashkenazi Jews are the Jews of northern, middle, and eastern Europe. At the end of the 19th century, the Belgrade Ashkenazi community acquired its own cemetery across the street from the Jewish (Sephardic) Cemetery. It is now part of the Belgrade's New Cemetery.

⁵The Wholly Society (Aram. *Chevra Kadisha*) is the traditional name of the burial organizations within the Jewish communities.

Suočavanje sa gubitkom: pogled judaizma na pojam smrti i žalobni običaji

Judaizam smrt vidi kao prirodni proces i deo Božije promisli za svakog čoveka. Uči nas da je ljudska duša besmrtna i zbog toga umiranje ne treba posmatrati kao prestanak postojanja, već prelazak iz ovozemaljskog sveta (hebr. *olam haze*) u svet koji dolazi (hebr. *olam habaa*).

Posećivanje bolesne osobe (hebr. *bikur holim*) za Jevreje predstavlja izraz dobrog dela (hebr. *micva*) i „čin milosti za koji se ne očekuje nagrada” (hebr. *gemilut hasadim*).⁶ U Tori⁷ se koncept *bikur holim* prvi put pominje kada Bog posećuje obrezanog Avrama⁸: „A beše Avramu devedeset i devet godina kad obreza okrajak tela svog. Posle mu se javi Gospod u ravnici mamrijskoj kad sedaše na vratima pred šatorom svojim u podne”.⁹

Prisustvo najbližih, pored utehe u trenucima fizičke i emocionalne iscrpljenosti, bolesnom pruža snagu i volju za životom: „Posle javiše Josifu: Eno, otac ti je bolestan. A on povede sa sobom dva sina svoja, Manasiju i Jefrema. I javiše Jakovu i rekoše: Evo sin tvoj Josif ide k tebi. A Izrailj se okrepi, te sede na postelji

Facing the loss: The concept of death and mourning rites in Judaism

In Judaism, death is a natural process and a part of the divine plan for each and every human being. The human soul is immortal and dying does not mean the cessation of existence, but rather a transition from the earthly world (Hebr. *Olam Ha-Ze*) to the next (Hebr. *Olam Ha-Baa*).

Visiting the sick (Hebr. *Bikur Cholim*) is considered in Judaism a good deed (Hebr. *Mitzvah*), and “an act of loving-kindness for which no reward is anticipated” (Hebr. *Gemilut Hasadim*).⁶ In the Torah⁷, the concept of *Bikur Cholim* is first mentioned when God visits Abraham after his circumcision⁸: “Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. The Lord appeared to Abraham by the oaks of Mamre, as he sat at the entrance of his tent in the heat of the day”.⁹

Apart from comfort in the moments of physical and emotional exhaustion, the presence of the loved ones provides the ailing person with strength and the will to life: “After this Joseph was told, ‘Your father

⁶Beogradska Crkveno-školska jevrejska veroispovedna opština osnovala je 1900. društvo *Oneg Šabat i Gemilut Hasadim*, koje je imalo za cilj negovanje milosrđa i plemenitosti kroz aktivnosti koje su bile usmerene na pružanje pomoći članovima u slučajevima bolesti i smrti. Videti u: *Праваца дпумена „Онез Шабат у Гемилут Хасадим” 1920*, k. Jevrejska društva i opštine, statuti, pravila, izveštaji 1859-1947, AJJM

⁷Tora (učenje ili nauk) je naziv za Mojsijevo petoknjižje: *Berešit* (U početku / Postanje), *Šemot* (Imena / Izlazak), *Vajikra* (I pozva / Levitski zakoni), *Bemidbar* (U pustinji / Brojevi) i *Devarim* (Reči / Ponovljeni zakoni).

⁸Brit milah je jevrejski verski obred obrezivanja muškog novorođenčeta starog osam dana, kao znak saveza sa Bogom. Prvoobrezani Jevrejin bio je praotac Avram, a zatim i svi njegovi potomci: „I reče Bog Avramu: Ti pak drži zavet moj, ti i seme tvoje nakon tebe od kolena do kolena. A ovo je zavet moj između mene i vas i semena tvog nakon tebe koji ćete držati: da se obrezuju između vas sve muškinje. A obrezivaćete okrajak tela svog, da bude znak zaveta između mene i vas. Svako muško dete kad mu bude osam dana da se obrezuje od kolena do kolena, rodilo se u kući ili bilo kupljeno za novce od kojih god stranaca, koje ne bude od semena tvog.”, Postanje 17:9-12 (u radu je korišćen prevod Starog zaveta Đure Daničića).

⁹Postanje 17:24; 18:1

⁶In 1900, the *Jewish Religious Community* of Belgrade founded the society *Oneg Shabbat and Gemilut Hasadim*, with the mission to promote compassion and charity by helping its members in the incidence of illness or death. See in: *Rulebook of the society “Oneg Shabbat and Gemilut Hasadim”*, 1920, box Jewish societies and communities, statutes, rulebooks, reports 1859-1947, AJHM

⁷Torah (the teaching or the instruction) refers to the Five Books of Moses, or the Pentateuch: *Bereshit* (In the beginning/Genesis), *Shemot* (Names/Exodus), *Vayikra* (And He called/Leviticus), *Bamidbar* (In the desert/Numbers) and *Devarim* (The words/Deuteronomy).

⁸Brit milah is a Jewish religious male circumcision ceremony performed on the eighth day of the infant’s life as the sign of covenant with God. The first Jew to be circumcised was Patriarch Abraham, followed by all his descendants: „Then God said to Abraham, ‘As for you, you must keep my covenant, you and your descendants after you for the generations to come. This is my covenant with you and your descendants after you, the covenant you are to keep: Every male among you shall be circumcised. You are to undergo circumcision, and it will be the sign of the covenant between me and you. For the generations to come every male among you who is eight days old must be circumcised, including those born in your household or bought with money from a foreigner, those who are not your offspring.”, Genesis 17:9-12.

⁹Genesis, 17:24; 18:1

svojoj”.¹⁰ Od 13. veka *bikur holim* postaje institucija čija uloga nije samo obilazak bolesnog, nego i pomoć u pružanju lekarskih usluga i prikupljanju novčanih sredstava za kupovinu lekova.¹¹ Sačuvani hebrejski izvori svedoče da je ova ustanova u Beogradu postojala još u 16. veku.¹²

Naročito dobrim delom se smatra poseta osobi koja je na samrti (hebr. *goses*), jer kako navodi Talmudski traktat¹³ „otklanja šezdesetinu bola”.¹⁴ Obaveza Jevrejina je da umirućem olakša poslednje trenutke života, da bude uz njega sve dok duša ne napusti telo (hebr. *jeciat nešama*). Strogo je zabranjeno učiniti bilo šta što bi ubrzalo proces umiranja. U odeljku Mišne Tora¹⁵, koji se odnosi na žalobne običaje, rabin Majmonid kaže da „osoba koja je na samrti mora u svakom smislu biti poštovana poput svake druge osobe”. Prema Talmudu, bolesnika treba hrabriti da se bori za ozdravljenje, ali istovremeno ga podstaći da kroz ispoved (hebr. *vidui*) prizna pred Bogom počinjene grehe načinjene tokom života: „Ko krije prestupe svoje, neće biti srećan, a ko priznaje i ostavlja, dobiće milost”.¹⁶ Životni „prestupi” nisu samo počinjena loša dela, već i loše misli i izgovorene reči.

Kada nastupi smrt (hebr. *met*), zvanično potvrđena od lekara (hebr. *rofe*), pa sve do sahrane (hebr. *kevura*), počinje period duboke žalosti za pokojnikom (hebr. *aninut*). Najstariji sin, ili najbliži rođak, zatvara oči i usta preminulom, kao što je učinio Josif nakon smrti oca Jakova: „... i Josif će metnuti

is ill’. So he took with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. When Jacob was told, ‘Your son Joseph has come to you,’ he summoned his strength and sat up in bed”.¹⁰ Since the 13th century, the institution of *Bikur Cholim* has entailed not only visiting the sick but helping in getting medical services and raising funds for the purchase of medicines.¹¹ It is evident from the remaining Hebrew sources that this institution still existed in Belgrade in the 16th century.¹²

Visiting the dying (Hebr. *goses*) is thought to be an exceptionally good deed because, as quoted in Talmudic tractate¹³, it “takes away one-sixtieth of the sick person’s pain”.¹⁴ Jewish people have the obligation to ease the dying person’s last moments and to be by his or her side until the departure of the soul (Hebr. *Yetziat Neshama*). It is strictly forbidden to do anything that would result in speeding up the process of dying. In the section of Mishneh Torah¹⁵ dedicated to the mourning rites, Rabbi Maimonides says that “the dying person must in every way be respected like any other person”. According to the Talmud, the sick person should be encouraged to make the effort to overcome his or her condition, while at the same time enticed to confess their sins to God (Hebr. *vidui*): “Whoever conceals their sins does not prosper, but the one who confesses and renounces them finds mercy”.¹⁶ The life’s “transgressions” include not only bad deeds but also unwholesome thoughts and words.

When death (Hebr. *met*) occurs and a person is officially pronounced dead by a physician (Hebr.

¹⁰Postanje 48:1-2

¹¹A. P. Bloch, *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies*, New York, 1980, str. 48.

¹²Ž. Lebl, *Do „konačnog rešenja” - Jevreji u Beogradu 1521-1942*, Beograd 2001, str. 348.

¹³Talmud je zbirka rabinskih rasprava o jevrejskom pravu, etici, običajima i istoriji. Sastoji se iz dva dela: *Mišna*, nastala oko 200. godine, predstavlja prvi pisani pregled jevrejskog usmenog prava, i *Gemara* nastala oko 500. godine, u kojoj su rasprave o *Mišni* i drugim spisima *Tanaha* (zbirka svetih spisa koju hrišćani nazivaju Starim zavetom).

¹⁴R. J. Eisenberg, *Jewish Tradition: A JPS Guide*, Philadelphia, 2008, str. 542.

¹⁵Mišne Tora je tradicionalni naziv za Ponovljene zakone i zakonski kodeks jevrejskog verskog propisa. Pisac ovog kodeksa je Majmonid, srednjovekovni jevrejski filozof, teolog, matematičar, astronom i lekar.

¹⁶Poslovice (hebr. *mišle*) 28:13

¹⁰Genesis, 48:1-2

¹¹A. P. Bloch, *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies*, New York, 1980, p. 48.

¹²Ž. Lebl, *Till the “final solution” - Jews in Belgrade 1521-1942*, Belgrade, 2001, p. 349

¹³Talmud is a collection of rabbinic teachings and opinions about the Jewish law, ethics, rites and history. It consists of two parts: *Mishnah*, circa year 200, the first written compendium of oral Jewish laws, and *Gemara*, circa year 500, an elucidation of the Mishnah and other Tannaitic writings (collection of the holy texts known as The Old Testament in Christianity).

¹⁴R. J. Eisenberg, *Jewish Tradition: A JPS Guide*, Philadelphia, 2008, p. 542.

¹⁵Mishneh Torah is the old name for the Book of Deuteronomy, and the code of the Jewish religious law authored by Maimonides, the medieval Jewish philosopher, theologian, mathematician, astronomer and physician.

¹⁶Proverbs (Hebr. *Mishlei*), 28:13

ruku svoju na tvoje oči”.¹⁷ Zatim se telo postavlja na pod i prekriva čaršavom (hebr. *mikše*). Brigu o umrlom do trenutka ukopa preuzimaju „čuvari” (hebr. pl. *šomerim*), zaduženi za nadgledanje tela (hebr. *šmira*) i čitanje psalama (hebr. *tehilim*). U nekim jevrejskim zajednicama običaj je da se na simboličan način smrt objavi duvanjem u šofar¹⁸ ili prolivanjem čaše vode prema biblijskom stihu: „Jer ćemo doista pomreti, i jesmo kao voda koja se prospe na zemlju i više se ne može skupiti”.¹⁹ Prema Tori, ožalošćenim (hebr. *onen*) se smatraju bračni drug, roditelji, deca, braća i sestre: „I još reče Gospod Mojsiju: kaži sveštenicima sinovima Aronovim, i reci im: za mrtvacem da se ne skvrni ni jedan u narodu svom, osim za rodnom svojim po krvi, za materom svojom ili za ocem svojim ili za sinom svojim ili za kćerju svojom ili za bratom svojim, ili za rođenom sestrom svojom, devojkom, koja nije imala muža; za njom se može oskvrniti”.²⁰

Pre sahrane, obično u kapeli na groblju, društvo Hevra kadiša, sačinjeno od pobožnih Jevreja, muškaraca i žena, na dostojan način priprema telo umrlog za sahranu (hebr. *kevod amet*).²¹ Prvi i najvažniji deo predstavlja ritualni obred pranja tela pokojnika (hebr. *tahara/taora*; ladino²² *rižir el muerto*). Nakon toga sledi oblačenje u posmrtnu odeću (hebr. *tahrim*; ladino *la mortaža*), koju svaki Jevrejin priprema još za života. Šije se rukom, od belog, obično lanenong platna, bez poruba i čvorova, sa širokim šavovima, kako bi duša u trenutku dolaska Mesije mogla što lakše da se vine u nebesa (hebr. *tehijat hametim*).²³ Takođe, nema ni džepova, jer u trenutku odlaska sa ovog sveta čoveka ne prate „ni srebro, ni zlato, kao ni drago kamenje i biseri,

rofe), a period of deep mourning for the deceased begins (Hebr. *animut*) and lasts until the burial (Hebr. *kevura*). The eldest son or the closest relative closes the deceased’s eyes and mouth like Joseph did following his father Jacob’s death: “...and Joseph’s own hand shall close your eyes”.¹⁷ The body is then laid on the floor and covered with a sheet (Hebr. *mikshe*). Until the burial, the deceased is in the custody of the “guardians” (Hebr. pl. *shomerim*), who are entrusted with guarding the body (Hebr. *shmira*) and reciting the psalms (Hebr. *tehillim*). In some Jewish communities it is customary to symbolically declare a person dead by blowing the shofar¹⁸ or by spilling water in accordance with the biblical verse “For surely we will die and be like water poured out on the ground, which cannot be recovered”.¹⁹ According to the Torah, the mourners (Hebr. *onen*) include the spouse, parents, children and siblings: “The Lord said to Moses, ‘Speak to the priests, the sons of Aaron, and say to them: ‘A priest must not make himself ceremonially unclean for any of his people who die, except for a close relative, such as his mother or father, his son or daughter, his brother, or an unmarried sister who is dependent on him since she has no husband – for her he may make himself unclean’”.²⁰

Before the burial, typically in the cemetery chapel, the Chevra Kadisha, consisting of god-fearing Jewish men and women, respectfully prepare the body of the deceased for burial (Hebr. *kavod hamet*).²¹ The first and crucial segment is the ritual cleansing of the body (Hebr. *tahara/taora*; Ladino²²: *rižir el muerto*), followed by dressing the body in burial clothes (Hebr. *tachrichim*; Ladino: *la mortaža*), which every Jewish person prepares in advance while still alive. They are hand-stitched, typically made of white linen, with no

¹⁷Postanje 46:4

¹⁸Šofar je duvački instrument koji se pravi od roga bilo koje životinje, sem krave i vola.

¹⁹Druga knjiga Samuilova 14:14

²⁰Knjiga Levitska 21, 1-3

²¹Ilustracije praške Hevra kadiše, nepoznatog autora, iz kolekcije Maksa Grinvalda, daju dobar ilustrativni primer obaveza ove organizacije prilikom pripreme pokojnika za sahranu i same sahrane. Videti u: *Menorah, Die Chebra Kaddischa*, Heft 6/7, 1926, Goethe-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt

²²Jevrejsko-španski (ladino) je govorni jezik Sefarda, nastao kao pretklasični španski jezik sa kasnijim dodacima hebrejskih i aramejskih reči.

²³Koncept uskrnuća predstavlja osnov jevrejskog verovanja i jedan je od trinaest principa jevrejske vere u kojem se kaže da će nakon dolaska Mesije mrtvi vaskrsnuti.

¹⁷Genesis, 46:4

¹⁸A religious woodwind instrument made of any animal horn except that of cow or ox.

¹⁹2 Samuel 14:14

²⁰Leviticus 21: 1-3

²¹The illustrations by an unknown artist of the activities of the city of Prague’s Chevra Kadisha, from Max Grunewald’s collection, offer a valuable description of this organization’s duties regarding respectful treatment of the deceased in preparation for burial and during the burial. See in: *Menorah, Die Chebra Kaddischa*, Heft 6/7, 1926, Goethe-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt.

²²Jewish-Spanish (Ladino) is the spoken language of the Sephardic Jews derived from old-Spanish, further enriched by Hebrew and Aramaic words.

već samo Tora i dobra dela”.²⁴ Tahrihim se sastoji od pantalona (hebr. *mihnasajim*), košulje (hebr. *ketonet*), pokrivača za glavu (hebr. *micnefet*) i pojasa (hebr. *avnet*). Običaj oblačenja u ovako jednostavnu posmrtnu odeću uveo je u 2. veku rabin Gamalijel II²⁵ da bi se uklonile do tada izražene razlike između bogatih i siromašnih. Posmrtna odeća kod muškaraca podrazumeva još i svečanu belu tuniku (hebr. *kittel*), koja se nosi prilikom venčanja i na praznik Jom kipur,²⁶ i molitveni šal (hebr. *talit*), korišćen za života. Čin odsecanja jedne od resa talita (hebr. *cic*) na simboličan način ukazuje da pokojnik više ne može da ispunjava svoje religiozne obaveze, čime molitveni šal postaje „nevažeci” (hebr. *pasul*). Potom se telo preminulog stavlja u mrtvački sanduk (hebr. *aron metim*). U antičkom Izraelu Jevreji nisu koristili kovčeg, nego se telo polagalo u zemlju u skladu sa biblijskim stihom „jer si prah, i u prah ćeš se vratiti”. Mrtvački sanduk se u Bibliji pominje jedino prilikom pripreme Josifovog tela za pokop i to kao egipatski, a ne jevrejski običaj: „Potom umre Josif, a beše mu sto i deset godina; i pomazavši ga mirisima metnuše ga u kovčeg u Misiru”.²⁷ U talmudsko vreme, sahranjivanje pokojnika u kovčegu postalo je obavezno. Propis nalaže da mrtvački sanduk mora biti napravljen od neobrađenih, ravnih drvenih dasaka. Metalni ukrasi su zabranjeni, jer onemogućavaju sahranjenom telu da se u najkraćem vremenu razloži, odnosno postane „prah”.

Zakon Tore nalaže da sahrana treba da se održi što je pre moguće: „Neka ne prenoći tijelo njegovo ... nego ga isti dan pogrebi”.²⁸ Pravilo ne važi jedino ukoliko se smrt dogodi na Šabat i praznike Roš ašana, Jom kipur, Sukot, Šemini aceret, Pesah i Šavuot. U toku sprovoda (hebr. *levaja*) telo pokojnika se do mesta ukopa nosi na ramenima ili na mrtvačkim kolicima, onako kako je nošen Kovčeg zaveta u Mojsijevo vreme. Prema starom antičkom običaju, procesija se zaustavlja sedam

hems or tying knots, wide-seamed so that the soul could unrestrainedly rise to the heaven at the moment of the Messiah’s arrival (Hebr. *Tehiat Hametim*).²³ The clothes have no pockets either, since at the moment of a person’s leaving this world “neither silver, gold, nor precious stones nor pearls accompany him, but Torah and good deeds alone”.²⁴ Tachrichim include pants (Hebr. *michnasayim*), a shirt (Hebr. *k’tonet*), a hood (Hebr. *mitznefet*) and a belt (Hebr. *avnet*). The custom of dressing the body in such simple burial clothes was introduced in the 2nd century by rabbi Gamaliel II²⁵ in order to erase the inequality between the rich and the poor. The men’s burial clothes also include a formal white tunic (Hebr. *kittel*), worn at weddings and during Yom Kippur²⁶, and their prayer shawl (Hebr. *tallit*). Cutting one of its sets of fringes (Hebr. *tzitzit*) demonstrates that the deceased is no longer capable of fulfilling their religious obligations, and the shawl is thus rendered “invalid” (Hebr. *pasul*). The body is then laid to rest in the coffin (Hebr. *aron metim*). Coffins were unknown to the early Israelites and the corpse was laid in the ground in accordance with the biblical verse “dust to dust”. In the Bible, the coffin is mentioned only once, when Joseph’s body is prepared for burial according to the Egyptian, not Jewish, rite: “So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt”.²⁷ In the Talmudic times, burials in coffins became mandatory. As a rule, coffins are made of plain wooden planks. Metal ornaments are forbidden since they prevent the body from decomposing, i.e. turning into “dust”, as quickly as possible.

The law of the Torah requires prompt burial: “His body shall not remain all night /.../, but you shall bury him the same day”.²⁸ This rule is lifted if the death occurs on Shabbat and the festivals of Rosh Hashanah,

²⁴Pirke Avot 6:3

²⁵Rabin Simon ben Gamalijel II bio je vodeća ličnost Sanhedrina, vrhovne zakonodavne, političke i verske organizacije jevrejskog naroda u rimskoj Palestini.

²⁶O jevrejskim praznicima videti u: C. Danon, *Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma*, Beograd, 1996.

²⁷Postanje 50:26

²⁸Ponovljeni zakoni 21:23

²³The concept of resurrection is fundamental to the Jewish religious belief and one of the thirteen principles of the Jewish faith postulating that the dead shall rise following the arrival of the Messiah.

²⁴Pirkei Avot 6:3

²⁵Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel II was a leading authority in the Sanhedrin, the supreme political and religious assembly of the Jewish people in Roman Palestine.

²⁶For more on Jewish festivals, see: C. Danon, *A Collection of Concepts of Judaism*, Belgrade, 1966.

²⁷Genesis, 50:26

²⁸Deuteronomy 21:23

puta i najčešće se čita Psalm 91.²⁹ U toku sahrane, pored psalama, izgovaraju se i druge molitve poput *El male rahamim* (Bože koji si pun milosrđa) kod Aškenaza i *Aškava* (Počivanje u miru) kod Sefarda. Takođe, *onen* izgovara *kadiš*, molitvu za mrtve.³⁰ Običaj je da se drži i pohvalni govor posvećen pokojniku (hebr. *hesped*).³¹

Pre sahrane, ili kraj same rake, vrši se biblijski običaj cepanja odeće u znak žalosti (hebr. *keria*).³² Izvodi se nožićem, odozgo prema dole u dužini jednog pedlja, za majku i oca sa leve strane prema sru, a za ostalu rodbinu sa desne strane. Prilikom vršenja *keria* ožalošćeni izgovara molitvu *Baruh Dajan HaEmet* (Blagosloven da si pravedni Sudijo), čime prihvata Božiju odluku o odlasku bliske osobe. Odeća nad kojom je izvršena *keria* nosi se sedam dana, izuzev na Šabat. U slučaju smrti roditelja nosi se trideset dana.

Posle spuštanja kovčega, prisutni bacaju grumen zemlje u raku. Nakon toga, običaj je da se formira *šura*, odnosno prolaz kroz koji ožalošćeni napuštaju mesto sahrane i primaju izjave saučešća. Pred sam izlazak sa groblja obaveza je da se na česmi operu ruke, po mogućstvu iz suda za vodu. Ruke se polivaju vodom tri puta naizmenično, kao simbol razdruživanja od smrti i njene nečistoće.

Smrt, pogotovo bliske osobe, za mnoge predstavlja jedan od najtežih izazova u savladavanju tuge. U judaizmu postoji strukturalni koncept prevazilaženja bola i sastoji se od tri faze žalosti – *šiva*, *šlošim* i *šana*. U svakoj od ovih faza se uspostavlja postepena psihološka, emotivna i duhovna stabilnost, koja ublažava gubitak i polako ožalošćenog iz „sveta tuge” vraća u „stvarni svet”.

Po povratku sa groblja za porodicu umrlog počinje *šiva* (ladino *in siete*), odnosno sedmodnevni

Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Shemini Atzeret, Passover and Shavuot. During the funeral (Hebr. *levaya*), the body of the deceased is carried to the gravesite on the shoulders or on a bier, imitating the way the Arc of the Covenant was carried in the times of Moses. During the funeral, an ancient practice is maintained to halt at seven stations and recite Psalm 91.²⁹ Apart from the psalms, prayers are also recited, including *El Malei Rechamim* (“God full of mercy”) among the Ashkenazim, i.e. *Ashkava* (“laying to rest”) among the Sephardim. In addition, the *onen* recites the *Kaddish*, the prayer for the dead.³⁰ It is also customary to deliver a eulogy dedicated to the deceased (Hebr. *hesped*).³¹

Prior to the burial or at the gravesite, the mourners engage in the traditional practice of tearing the clothes as a sign of grief (Hebr. *keriah*).³² This old custom is performed using a knife to make a one span long slit the left side towards the heart for parents, and on the right side for other relatives. While performing *keriah*, the mourners recite the prayer Baruch Dayan Haemet (Blessed is the True Judge), thus accepting the God’s decision to take their loved one. The torn clothes are then worn for a week, except on Shabbat. When parents are mourned, the tear is worn for thirty days.

When the coffin is lowered into the grave, those present each throw a handful of earth upon it. Next, they form a *shurah*, a double line facing each other, and create a pathway that the mourners can walk through to receive words of comfort. Before leaving the cemetery, they must wash their hands, preferably using a water utensil. Tap water is poured over the hands three times, in a symbolic gesture of disassociating oneself from death and its impurity.

²⁹Deo Psalma 91 se odnosi na obećanje odlaska u raj onima koji vode ispravan život i poštuju Božije zakone.

³⁰Kadiš, molitva za mrtve, pisana je na aramejskom jeziku. U njoj se ne oplakuje pokojnik, već veliča Božije ime. Izgovara se nakon ukopa tela, a zatim na dan godišnjice smrti. U slučaju smrti roditelja, deca izgovaraju kadiš svakodnevno, ujutro i uveče, prvih jedanaest meseci.

³¹Posmrtna beseda predstavlja poseban žanr antičke hebrejske literature. U talmudsko vreme sastojala se iz tri dela – pohvala Bogu, uteha ožalošćenih i moralno učenje.

³²Običaj se pominje na više mesta u Tori: Postanje 37:29, 37:34, 44:13, Druga knjiga Samuilova 1:11, Knjiga o Esteri 4:1, Knjiga o Jovu 1:20

²⁹The section of Psalm 91 concerning the promise of heaven to all those leading righteous lives, and observing the laws of God.

³⁰Kaddish, or the prayer for the dead, is written in Aramaic. It does not mourn the deceased but rather praises the name of God. It is recited after the burial, and then again on the day marking the anniversary of the death. In case of the death of a parent, the Kaddish is recited by the children every day, in the morning and in the evening, for 11 months after the death.

³¹Eulogy is an ancient Hebrew literary genre. In the Talmudic times, it consisted of three parts – eulogy to God, consolation of the mourners, and a moral lesson.

³²There are several references to this custom in the Torah: Genesis 37:29, 37:34, 44:13; The Second Book of Samuel 1:11, The Book of Esther 4:1, and The Book of Job 1:20.

period žalosti: „... i Josif učini žalost za ocem svojim za sedam dana”.³³ Tokom *šiva* kuća se ne napušta, sem da bi se prisustvovalo službi za Šabat. Uobičajeni poslovi i radnje koje pričinjavaju zadovoljstvo poput kupanja, brijanja ili šišanja, upotrebe kozmetike, intimnih odnosa, nošenja kožne obuće i nove odeće, odlaska na posao i drugo, nisu dozvoljeni. U tom smislu je i običaj da se sedi na podu ili na niskim klupicama, a ne na komformim stolicama. Takođe, u kući se prekrivaju sva ogledala kako bi ukućani bili upućeni na tugovanje za pokojnikom i čitanje molitve, a ne na ogledanje koje pruža zadovoljenje taštine. Sveće koje se pale u znak sećanja na preminulog (hebr. *ner nešama*) gore tokom sedam dana. U jevrejskoj tradiciji sveća je simbol tela, dok plamen predstavlja dušu koja uvek stremlji ka nebesima.

Pružanje utehe porodici preminulog (hebr. *nihum avelim*) smatra se obavezom. Zbog toga prijatelji ožalošćenima pripremaju prvi obrok, odnosno obrok utehe (hebr. *seudat avraa*). Pored hleba ili okruglog peciva, običaj je da se priprema i druga hrana kružnog oblika, kao simbol ciklične i kontinuirane prirode života. Najčešće su to tvrdo kuvano jaje, sočivo i leblebije.³⁴

Nakon sedmodnevnog perioda žalosti nastupa *šlošim*, žalost koja traje trideset dana i računa se od dana sahrane. *Šlošim* se u Bibliji vezuje za Mojsijevu smrt: „I plakaše sinovi Izrailjevi za Mojsijem u polju moavskom trideset dana, i prodoše dani žalosti za Mojsijem”.³⁵ Porodica izlazi iz duboke patnje i vraća se svakodnevnim aktivnostima. Izuzetak je smrt roditelja, kada period oplakivanja traje godinu dana.

Raši (Rabi Šlomo ben Jichak), srednjovekovni rabin i komentator Talmuda, obeležavanje godišnjice smrti prvi put nalazi u *responsama*³⁶ *amoraima*³⁷. Tu se kaže da je „godišnjica smrti uglednog čoveka ustanovljena u njegovu čast, i kada dođe taj dan svi učenjaci, zajedno sa običnim ljudima, okupiće se

Dealing with sorrow after losing someone, especially someone close, is considered a tremendous challenge. In Judaism, coping with pain is a structured concept involving three periods of mourning – *shiva*, *shloshim* and *shana*. In each period the grieving person gradually regains psychological, emotional and spiritual stability, which helps him or her soothe the loss and return from the “world of sorrow” to the “real world”.

After returning home from the cemetery, the family of the deceased enters *shiva* (Ladino *in siete*), a period of mourning which lasts seven days: “/.../ and Joseph observed a time of mourning for his father seven days”.³³ For the duration of *shiva*, the mourners do not leave the house, except to take part in the Shabbat service. The usual errands and everyday activities which have to do with self-care and pleasure – such as bathing, shaving or having a haircut, wearing cosmetics, having sex, wearing leather shoes and fresh clothes, and working – are not allowed. In this regard customary is to sit on the floor or on low stools instead of comfortable chairs. In addition, all the mirrors in the house are covered to discourage dwellers vainly on self-adoration and inciting mourning and praying instead. The candles are lit in the memory of the deceased (Hebr. *Ner Neshama*) for seven days. In the Jewish tradition, candle symbolizes the body, while the flame symbolizes the heaven-aspiring soul.

Comforting the mourners (Hebr. *nihum avelim*) is considered an obligation. To show concern, friends prepare the first meal for the mourners, known as the meal of consolation (Hebr. *seudat havra'ah*). Apart from bread or round-shaped pastry, it is customary to prepare other round foods as a symbol of a cyclic and continual nature of life. These typically include boiled egg, lentils and chickpea.³⁴

The initial seven-day mourning period is followed by the *shloshim*, which lasts thirty days starting from the day of the burial. In the Bible, *shloshim* is linked to the death of Moses: “The Israelites grieved for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days, until the time of weeping and mourning was over”.³⁵ The family then reemerges from deep mourning and resumes

³³Postanje 50:10

³⁴Postoje i druga simbolička značenja hrane koja se konzumira nakon sahrane. Videti u: C. Danon, *op. cit.*, str. 185.

³⁵Ponovljeni zakoni 34:8

³⁶*Responsa* (lat. odgovor) se u judaizmu odnosi na rabinsku literaturu koju čine odgovori na upućena pitanja.

³⁷Amoraim su tumači jevrejskih zakona u periodu od početka 3. do kraja 5. veka.

³³Genesis 50:10

³⁴There are other symbolic meanings attached to the food eaten after the funeral. See in: C. Danon, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³⁵Deuteronomy 34:8

i posetiti njegov grob, i održati obred”.³⁸ U okviru obeležavanja godišnjice običaj je da se otkriva spomenik (hebr. *hakamat maceva*), mada se to može učiniti u bilo kojem periodu nakon isteka trideset dana od sahrane. Za godišnji pomen (hebr. *nahala*), Sefardi koriste ladino reč *anju* (godina), a Aškenazi jidiš³⁹ izraz *jarcajt* (vreme u godini). Sefardi na godišnjicu smrti „drže učenje” (hebr. *limud*; ladino *meldado*), odnosno u kući čitaju odlomke iz Tore, Knjige proroka, Mišne itd. Nasuprot tome, Aškenazi pomen za pokojnika (hebr. *azkarat nešamot*) drže u hramu, nakon čitanja Tore. U molitvi *Jizkor* (neka se pomene) pominju se imena pokojnih članova uže i šire porodice.

Prilikom obilaska grobnog mesta, na spomenik se stavljaju kamenčići. Brojnost kamenčića je pokazatelj posećenosti groba i znak da preminula osoba nije zaboravljena, da je i dalje u sećanjima svoje porodice i prijatelja. Ortodoksni Jevreji ne dozvoljavaju polaganje cveća na grob, smatrajući to paganskim običajem (hebr. *hukat agoj*).

its everyday activities. The exception is the death of parents, when this period extends to one year.

Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo ben Jitzhak), a medieval rabbi and Talmudic commentator, finds the earliest mention of the commemoration of death anniversary in the responses³⁶ by Amoraim³⁷. It is stated that “the anniversary of the death of a great man was established in his honor, and when that day arrives, all the scholars in the region assemble and visit his grave with the ordinary people, and hold a ceremony there”.³⁸ The death anniversary is also observed by the unveiling of the monument (Hebr. *Hakamat Maceva*), although this can be done at any time after the end of the thirty-day mourning period. The Sephardic word for the annual memorial (Hebr. *nahala*) is *anju* (the year, in Ladino), while the Yiddish³⁹ word, used by the Ashkenazi Jews is *yahrzeit* (time of the year). To mark the anniversary, the Sephardic Jews “give a sermon” (Hebr. *limud*, Ladino *meldado*) at home, i.e. recite sections of the Torah, the Book of the Prophets, Mishnah... etc. By contrast, the Ashkenazi Jews hold a memorial service for the deceased (Hebr. *Azkarat Neshamot*) in the temple, followed by reading from the Torah. The memorial prayer *Yizkor* (remember), recited on this occasion, includes the names of all the deceased members of the immediate and extended family.

When visiting the cemetery, it is customary to leave pebbles on the graves. The number of stones indicates the frequency of visitors and proves that the deceased has not been forgotten, still in memory of family and friends. Orthodox Jews forbid placing flowers on tombstones, since it is considered a pagan custom (Hebr. *chukat hagoy*).

³⁸<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/yahrzeit.html>

³⁹Jidiš jezik se razvio iz ranog srednjovekovnog nemačkog jezika, sa kasnijim dodacima hebrejskih i slovenskih reči.

³⁶*Responsa* (Lat. the response) in rabbinic literature is a body of written decisions and rulings given in reply to various questions.

³⁷Amoraim are the Jewish scholars of the period from about 200 to 500 CE who interpreted the laws.

³⁸<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/yahrzeit.html>

³⁹The Yiddish language derived from Old High German and fused with elements taken from Hebrew and Slavic languages.

Jevrejska groblja u Beogradu: kratak istorijat

Hebrejski jezik ima nekoliko različitih i paradoksalnih termina za groblje: kuća grobova (hebr. *bet kevarot*),⁴⁰ kuća večnosti (hebr. *bet olam*)⁴¹ i kuća života (hebr. *bet hajim*).⁴² Rabin Josef Jichak Jakobson⁴³ objašnjava da ova tri naziva predstavljaju tri načina na koje možemo tumačiti život, odnosno smrt. Ako život definišemo isključivo kao fizičko iskustvo, priliku za održanjem, negovanjem i zadovoljenjem našeg materijalnog i fizičkog, onda smrt predstavlja tragičan prestanak postojanja. U tom slučaju, život dostiže svoje poslednje poglavlje, a groblje predstavlja ništa više do mesta ukopa, odnosno kuće groba. Međutim, ako život posmatramo pored fizičkog i kao duhovno iskustvo, onda smrt nije apsolutni prekid života. Trenutak smrti za porodicu jeste tragičan i bolan, ali nije kraj postojanja preminulog. Duša nikada ne umire, ona nastavlja da živi, voli i oseća u drugoj dimenziji, na duhovnom nivou, onom koji ne može biti shvaćen kroz naša čula vida, sluha, dodira, mirisa ili ukusa. Telo je sahranjeno, dok duša ostaje večna. Groblje postaje kuća večnosti. Još veći nivo se postiže kada vrednosti preminule osobe utiču na svakodnevni život i ponašanje onih koji ostaju među živima. Tada groblje postaje kuća života. Snovi i ideje umrlih nastavljaju da žive na veoma opipljiv način, u zemaljskim životima njihovih najmilijih.⁴⁴

U antičko vreme jevrejska groblja su bila ne samo mesta preminulih, već i negovane zelene površine sa puno drveća. Zbog toga ne čudi što su ih Rimljani zvali *hortus Judaeorum*, odnosno jevrejske bašte. U

⁴⁰„I rekoah caru: Da je živ car do veka! Kako ne bih bio lica neveselog, kad je grad gde su grobovi mojih otaca opusteo i vrata mu ognjem spaljena? A car mi reče: Šta hoćeš? Tada se pomolih Bogu nebeskom, i rekoah caru: Ako je ugodno caru i ako ti je mio sluga tvoj, pošalji me u Judeju u grad gde su grobovi otaca mojih da ga sagradim.”, Nehemija 2:3-5

⁴¹„I visokog mesta kad će se bojati i strašiti se na putu, kad će badem ucvetati i skakavac otežati i želja proći, jer čovek ide u kuću svoju večnu, i pokajnice će hoditi po ulicama.”, Knjiga propovednika 12:5

⁴²„Oživeće mrtvi tvoji, i moje će mrtvo telo ustati. Probudite se, i pevajte koji stanujete u prahu; jer je Tvoja rosa na travi, i zemlja će izmetnuti mrtvace.”, Isaija 26:19

⁴³Rabin Josef Jichak Jakobson (1972-) je jedan od vodećih američkih ortodoksnih rabina današnjice.

⁴⁴<http://www.chabadnj.org/page.asp?pageID=%7BA38C0053-7795-4F75-A1BB-4719699AF120%7D&displayAll=1>

Jewish cemeteries in Belgrade: A brief history

There are several different and paradoxical terms for cemetery in the Hebrew language: the house of tombs (Hebr. *Bet kevarot*)⁴⁰, the house of eternity (Hebr. *Bet olam*)⁴¹ and the house of life (Hebr. *Bet chaim*)⁴². Rabbi Yosef Yitzchak Jacobson⁴³ explains that these three expressions reflect three ways in which life and death can be interpreted. If life is defined only as a physical experience, an opportunity to maintain, nurture and satisfy the material and the physical, then death is a tragic cessation of existence. In that case, life reaches its final chapter in death, and cemeteries are no more than burial sites, that is – the house of tombs. If, however, life is seen as a spiritual experience, and not just physical, then death is not the absolute interruption of life. The moment of death is indeed tragic and painful for the family, but it is not the end of existence for the deceased. The soul never dies, it goes on living, loving and feeling in another dimension, on a spiritual level that eludes our senses of sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. The body is buried, but the soul remains eternal. Cemetery thus becomes the house of eternity. Yet another, higher level is attained when the values of the deceased continue to have an impact on the everyday lives and conduct of the living. Then, the cemetery becomes the house of life. The deceased persons' dreams and ideas continue to live in a very tangible way, through the earthly existence of their loved ones.⁴⁴

⁴⁰“But I said to the king, ‘May the king live forever! Why should my face not look sad when the city where my ancestors are buried lies in ruins, and its gates have been destroyed by fire?’ The king said to me, ‘What is it you want?’ ‘Then I prayed to the God of heaven, and I answered the king, ‘If it pleases the king and if your servant has found favor in his sight, let him send me to the city in Judah where my ancestors are buried so that I can rebuild it.’” Nehemiah 2:3-5.

⁴¹“Also, they are afraid of heights and dangers on the road; the almond tree blossoms, the grasshopper loses its spring, and the caper berry has no effect; for the mere mortal is headed to his eternal home, and mourners will walk around in the street”, Ecclesiastes 12:5.

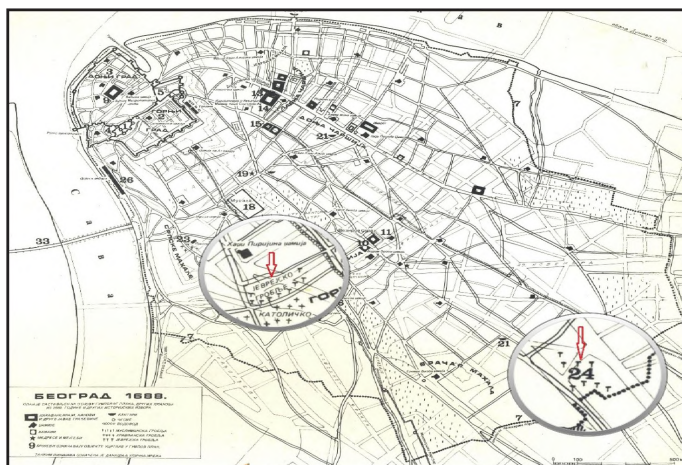
⁴²“Your dead shall live; their bodies shall rise. You who dwell in the dust, awake and sing for joy! For your dew is a dew of light, and the earth will give birth to the dead.” Isaiah 26:19.

⁴³Rabbi Yosef Yitzchak Jacobson (b. 1972 -) is one of the leading present-day American orthodox Jewish scholars.

⁴⁴<http://www.chabadnj.org/page.asp?pageID=%7BA38C0053-7795-4F75-A1BB-4719699AF120%7D&displayAll=1>

Talmudu piše da se o lepoti jevrejskih grobalja govorilo još u doba vavilonskog cara Navukodonosora i da su ona često bila lepše uređena od njegove kraljevske palate.⁴⁵ Da li su takva bila i najstarija jevrejska groblja u Beogradu, nažalost, ne znamo. Istorijski izvori beleže da su beogradski Jevreji već u drugoj polovini 16. veka na savskoj padini imali svoju mahalul sa sinagogama. U ovom delu grada, na mestu današnjeg Obilićevog venca, bilo je smešteno i njihovo groblje, o čemu svedoče ne samo ostaci nađenih nadgrobni ploča prilikom kasnijih iskopavanja, već i sačuvan plan grada Johana Batiste Gumpa iz 1688. (slika 1).⁴⁶

In ancient times, the Jewish cemeteries were not only burial grounds but also tidy lawns with plenty of trees. It is not surprising that the Romans called them hortus Judaeorum – Jewish garden. It is written in the Talmud that the Jewish cemeteries were famous for their beauty as far back as in the times of Nebuchadnezzar, and that they were often more finely kept than his royal palace.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, it remains unknown whether this was true for the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Belgrade. The historic sources reveal that the Belgrade Jews had their own quarter with synagogues on the slope of the Sava River already in the second half of the 16th century. This neighborhood, located at the site of the present-day Obilićev Venac, had a cemetery. This is evident not only from archaeological findings but also from a 1688 city plan made by cartographer Johann Baptista Gump (fig. 1).⁴⁶



Sl. 1 Plan Beograda J. B. Gumpa, 1688.
Fig. 1 City plan of Belgrade by J. B. Gump, 1688.

Na pomenutoj karti, i onoj koju je izradio kartograf Gabrijel Bodener, vidi se da je krajem 17. veka postojalo još jedno jevrejsko groblje na prostoru današnje Dalmatinske i Đušine ulice, na opštini Palilula (slika 2). Od kraja 16. veka, u beleškama putopisaca,

This plan, as well as the one made by cartographer Gabriel Bodenehr, shows that at the end of the 17th century another Jewish cemetery existed at the location of today's Dalmatinska and Đušina streets, in

⁴⁵Vavilonski Talmud, Sanhedrin 96b

⁴⁶V. Nedomački, *Jevrejski nadgrobni spomenik u Beogradu iz 1641*, *Jevrejski almanah 1961-1962*, Beograd; M. Rajner, *Jevrejska groblja u Beogradu*, *Zbornik 6*, *Jevrejski istorijski muzej*, Beograd, 1992.

⁴⁵The Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 96b.

⁴⁶V. Nedomački, *A 1641 Jewish tombstone in Belgrade*, *Jewish Almanac 1961-1962*, Belgrade; M. Rajner, *Jewish Cemeteries in Belgrade*, *Compendium 6*, *Jewish Historical Museum*, Belgrade, 1992.

pominje se prisustvo Jevreja i na obali Dunava, u kraju koji je bio poznat pod imenom Jalija.⁴⁷ Iako je na mapi Mateusa Zojtera iz 1735. prostor preko puta Stare sinagoge (Il kal viježu)⁴⁸ obeležen sa *Freyt Hof* (groblje), čvrstih dokaza o postojanju „jalijskog groblja” nema (slika 3). Međutim, istoriograf dr Divna Đurić Zamolo mišljenja je da je, ipak, u ovaj deo grada bilo premešteno jevrejsko groblje koje se nalazilo u savskom kraju.⁴⁹



Sl. 2 Plan Beograda G. Bodenera, 1688.
Slovom R je označeno jevrejsko groblje –Der Iuden Begrabnisse

Fig. 2 City plan of Belgrade by Bodenehr, 1688.
The letter R denotes the Jewish cemetery –Der Iuden Begrabnisse

Za razliku od fragmentarnih podataka o groblju na savskoj padini i u mahali kraj Dunava, mnogo više saznanja ima o groblju na Paliluli. Vreme njegovog osnivanja pominje se u nekoliko istorijskih dokumenata. U jednom iz 1923. dr Isak Alkalaj, vrhovni rabin Kraljevine Jugoslavije, kaže da je pri ispitivanju groblja i natpisa na nadgrobnim pločama utvrđeno da su najstariji spomenici iz 1730. i da se „ranije doba od ovoga nije

⁴⁷Jalija je turska reč za morsku ili rečnu obalu.

⁴⁸Il kal viježu (Stari hram) je sefardska sinagoga sagrađena krajem 17. veka u jevrejskoj mahali na Dorćolu. Porušena je nakon Drugog svetskog rata.

⁴⁹D. Đurić Zamolo, *Stara jevrejska četvrt i Jevrejska ulica u Beogradu*, Jevrejski almanah 1965-1967, Beograd

the municipality of Palilula (fig. 2). Since the late 16th century, travelers’ diaries mention the presence of Jews on the banks of the Danube as well, in the neighborhood known as Jalija.⁴⁷ Although on the 1735 map by M. Seutter the area across the Old Synagogue (Ladino *Il kal viježu*)⁴⁸ is labelled Freyt Hof (cemetery), there is no solid proof that the „Jalija” cemetery indeed existed (fig. 3). However, historiographer Dr. Divna Đurić Zamolo maintains that this is where the Jewish cemetery, previously in the Sava neighborhood, was relocated.⁴⁹



Sl. 3 Plan Beograda M. Zojtera, 1735.
Fig. 3 City plan of Belgrade by M. Seutter, 1735.

Unlike in the case of the cemeteries that may have existed on the slope of the Sava River and in the Jewish quarter by the Danube, the evidence about the Palilula cemetery is a lot more convincing. The date of the foundation of the cemetery appears in several historic documents. In a 1923 document, the then chief rabbi of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia Dr. Isak Alkalaj is quoted as saying that the examination of the cemetery grounds and tombstone engravings had revealed that the earliest monuments dated from 1730 and that “no

⁴⁷Jalija (pronounced yaleeyah) is a Turkish word for seashore or river bank.

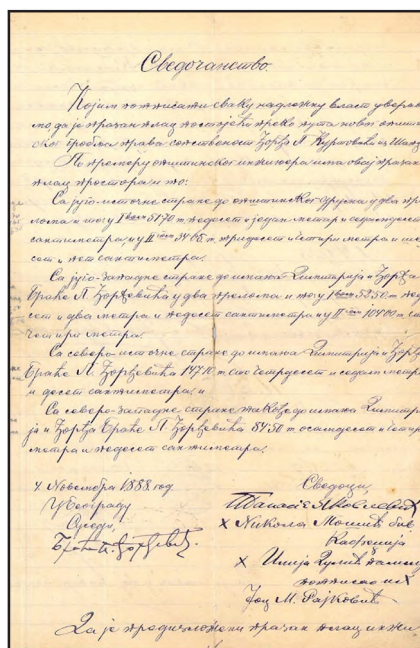
⁴⁸Il kal viježu (The Old Temple) is the Sephardic synagogue built in the late 17th century in the Jewish quarter of Dorćol. It was torn down after the Second World War.

⁴⁹D. Đurić Zamolo, *The Old Jewish Quarter and Jewish Street in Belgrade*, Jewish Almanac 1965-1967, Belgrade

moglo do sada konstatovati⁵⁰.⁵⁰ Dr David Albala,⁵¹ u govoru prilikom osvećenja grobljanske kapele 1935. iznosi precizniji podatak na osnovu prosečnog godišnjeg mortaliteta. On ističe da je Staro jevrejsko groblje, površine 16.000 m², bilo u upotrebi od druge polovine 16. veka, a da su se ukopi na njemu vršili do 1890.⁵²

Novembra 1888. Sefardska opština je namenski kupila zemljište u Grobljanskoj ulici broj 73⁵³ za prostor svog Novog groblja (slika 4).⁵⁴ Na ovaj potez je sigurno uticao i propis Ministarstva vera Kraljevine Srbije iz 1887, prema kojem je trebalo da sva stara gradska groblja budu zatvorena jer su predstavljala „prepreku u razvoju grada”. Planirano je i da se obezbedi jedan plac izvan grada koji bi služio kao mesto počivališta svih vera.⁵⁵

Poslovi na izradi kapije i ograde Novog groblja, za koje je angažovan bravar Petar Palić, počeli su već januara 1889.⁵⁶ Prema ugovoru, P. Palić se obavezao da izradi „... filarete (ogradu, prim. aut.) u 22 dela između zidanih



Sl. 4 Svedočanstvo o kupovini placa za groblje, 1888.

Fig. 4 Deed on the purchase of land for the New cemetery, 1888.

earlier date than this was ever established until now⁷⁷.⁵⁰ In a speech delivered on the occasion of the consecration of the cemetery chapel in 1935, Dr. David Albala⁵¹ offers more specific data based on the average annual mortality figures. He says that the Old Jewish Cemetery, covering an area of 16,000 square meters, was actively used from the second half of the 16th century, with funerals taking place until 1890.⁵²

In November 1888, the Sephardic Community purchased land in 73 Grobljanska Street⁵³ specifically for a new cemetery (fig 4).⁵⁴ This was likely prompted, among other things, by the 1887 regulation of the Ministry of Religion of the Kingdom of Serbia stipulating the closure of all old city cemeteries because they were “obstacles to the city’s development”. The plan was to allocate a piece of land outside the city to be used for burials by all congregations.⁵⁵

Petar Palić, a locksmith, was commissioned to do the design of the gate and fence of the New Cemetery.

⁵⁰M. Mihailović, *Arhivska grada o Jevrejima Beograda u Prvom svetskom ratu iz Arhiva u Lavovu*, Zbornik 10, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd, 2015.

⁵¹Dr David Albala je bio istaknuti lekar, političar, a u periodu od 1938. do 1942. predsednik beogradske Sefardske opštine. O D. Albali videti u: P. Lebl Albala, *Vidov život: biografija dr Davida Albale*, Beograd, 2008; *dr David Albala, Specijalni delegat pri Jugoslovenskom Kraljevskom poslanstvu u Vašingtonu 1939-1942*, priredio Đ. Lopičić, Beograd, 2010; M. Koljanin, *Druga misija dr Davida Albale u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama 1939-1942. godine*, Zbornik 8, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd, 2003.

⁵²*Osvećenje novo podignute kapele na jevrejskom groblju u Beogradu*, Židov, br. 1, januar 1935, str. 7.

⁵³Ulica Mije Kovačevića, u kojoj se nalazi Jevrejsko groblje, u periodu 1896-1930. nosila je naziv Grobljanska ulica.

⁵⁴Plac za Novo jevrejsko groblje kupljen je od Šapčanina Đorđa Kurtovića, što potvrđuje *Svedočanstvo* overeno od strane Varoškog suda novembra 1888. Originalni dokument se nalazi u Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju u Beogradu.

⁵⁵Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, str. 252.

⁵⁶*Digitalna grada Jevrejske opštine Beograd 1860-1940*, Fond 1492, rolna 774, snimak 2181, 2182, AJIM

⁵⁰M. Mihailović, *Archival materials about the Jews of Belgrade in the First World War from the Lavov Archives*, Compendium 10, Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, 2015.

⁵¹Dr. Albala was a prominent physician, politician and chairman of the Sephardic Community of Belgrade in the period 1938-1942. More about Dr. Albala see in: P. Lebl Albala, *The Life of Vid: A Biography of Dr. David Albala*, Belgrade, 2008; *Dr. David Albala, Special delegate to the Royal Yugoslav Legation in Washington 1939-1942*, Đ. Lopičić Ed., Belgrade, 2010; M. Koljanin, *The Second Tenure of Dr. David Albala in the United States of America 1939-1942*, Compendium 8, Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, 2003.

⁵²*Consecration of the new chapel at the Jewish cemetery in Belgrade*, The Jew, Vol. 1, January 1935, p. 7

⁵³Mije Kovačevića Street, where the Jewish cemetery is located today, was known as Grobljanska (Cemetery Street) in the period 1896-1930.

⁵⁴A title deed from November 1888 shows that the land for the New Jewish Cemetery was purchased from Đorđe Kurtović from Šabac. The original is kept in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade.

⁵⁵Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

stubova po 2m dužine ... na velikoj kapiji krilne okvire po mustri i jedan okrug oberlihta (otvor, prim. aut.) ... na malim kapijama okvir ... i šare kao na velikoj kapiji ... na veliku kapiju dođe jedna prava brava i jedna samo forma sa bronzanim kvakama na obe brave, na jednome krilu dođu donje rigle (reza, prim. aut.) u kamen ...”.⁵⁷ Centralna kapija, od kovanog gvožđa, bila je šira i viša od bočnih ulaza. Ovakav izgled uslovljen je u to vreme još uvek uličnim sprovodima, koji su podrazumevali unos tela pokojnika u prostor groblja na pogrebnim kočijama. Avgusta meseca, odbor jevrejske opštine zadužen za praćenje radova na groblju podnosi pismeni izveštaj u kojem kaže „da je i suviše mило što Skupu javiti može da je pregledan na licu mesta našao da je sav rad g. Palića potpuno po uslovijama izrađen”.⁵⁸

I pored renovacija koje su vršene u drugoj polovini 20. veka, oblik kapije je ostao isti. Ostale su očuvane i dve kamene ploče, između središnjeg i bočnih ulaza, postavljene u znak sećanja na članove Grobljanske uprave u periodu od 1891. do 1934. Imena vodećih ličnosti Hевра kadiše ispisana su na srpskom jeziku, ćirilicnim pismom, i na hebrejskom jeziku (slika 5). U samom vrhu ploče sa hebrejskim tekstom izraz „večni pomen“ označen je istovremeno hebrejskom reči *zikaron* (זיכרון) i ladino *memoria* (ממוריה).

Bez obzira na to što od kraja 19. veka palilulsko groblje nije bilo u upotrebi, postojalo je sve do 1928. Da je poslednjih godina pred zatvaranje bilo u lošem stanju, potvrđuje prepiska iz 1924. između Crkvenoškolske jevrejske opštine i Pešadijskog puka kraljevske vojske, a povodom zahteva za dobijanje dozvole da se na groblju izvodi vojna obuka. U dokumentu stoji da

The works began already in January 1889.⁵⁶ According to the contract, Palić was to build “a fence consisting of 22 two-meter long sections between brick pillars... on the big gate wing-shaped frames according to the pattern and one round skylight... frame on the small gates... and ornaments same as on the big gate... one square lock on the big gate and one figure with bronze handles on both locks, with drop bolts into stone ground on one wing...”.⁵⁷ The central gate, made of wrought iron, was wider and higher than the side entrances. The design accommodated the custom of carrying the body of the deceased from funeral home to the cemetery in a hearse. In August that year, the Board of the Jewish community in charge of the construction works in the cemetery reported “being delighted to inform the Congregation

that the inspection on site established that all the work done by Mr. Palić was fully in line with the requirements”.⁵⁸

Even with the makeovers undertaken in the second half of the 20th century, the original shape of the gate was unchanged. Two stone plaques commemorating the members of the cemetery administration in the period 1891-1934 also remained intact on the wall between the central gate and the side entrances. The names of the leadership of Chevra Kadisha are engraved in



Sl. 5 Ploče sa kapije Jevrejskog groblja
Fig. 5 Stone plaques at the cemetery gate

both Serbian, using the Cyrillic script, and Hebrew (fig. 5). The Hebrew plaque contains the words *zikaron* (זיכרון) in Hebrew and *memoria* (ממוריה) in Ladino, meaning eternal memory.

Despite the fact that the cemetery in Palilula was out of use since the end of the 19th century, it continued

⁵⁶Digital archives of the Jewish Community of Belgrade 1860-1940, Fund 1492, reel 774, file 2181, 2182, AJHM

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Digital archives of the Jewish Community of Belgrade 1860-1940, Fund 1492, reel 774, file 2192, AJHM

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Digitalna grada Jevrejske opštine Beograd 1860-1940, Fond 1492, rolna 774, snimak 2192, AJIM

je „Staro Jevrejsko Groblje u Dalmatinskoj ulici, radi ratnih operacija, istina, u veoma derutnom stanju”, ali da „iz pijeteta prema mnogim mrtvacima, koji u tom groblju počivaju, a i iz verskih razloga, Uprava uz najbolju volju nije mogla izaći u susret traženju tog Puka“.⁵⁹ O tome koliko je groblje bilo oronulo i pred samo prekopavanje, svedoče reči dopisnika lista *Židov* koji kaže: „Ogromna poljana prekrivena korovom i grobovima, kamenim spomenicima, koji su ulegli do vrha u zemlju, preko kojih se nehotice gazilo, odavna je stajala zapuštena, nemogući više da primi nove ljude u svoj večni mir. Retko, dešavalo se još, da se koji pobožni unuk ili praunuk, seti dalekog pretka na Tiša beav i ode da mu očita pomena na trošnome spomeniku”.⁶⁰

Novembra 1924, gradske vlasti su uputile dopis jevrejskoj zajednici sa zahtevom da se Staro groblje u Dalmatinskoj ulici izmesti, jer je novim urbanističkim planom predviđeno da na tom mestu bude park okružen novim, širokim bulevarima Palilule.⁶¹ Ovim aktom je otpočeo dugotrajni proces oko pribavljanja dozvole za premeštaj i prodaju Starog groblja, u koji su bile uključene i Sefardska i Aškenaska opština. Sva neophodna odobrenja dobijena su tek 1927. Plac groblja prodat je gradu Beogradu, uz obavezu da se Crkveno - školskoj jevrejskoj opštini ostavi oko 500 kvadratnih metara zemljišta za podizanje kosturnice u kojoj bi bili sahranjeni ostaci ekshumiranih.⁶² Svečani čin sahrane posmrtnih ostataka, praćen govorom dr Isaka Alkalaja i zvucima hora Srpsko-jevrejskog pevačkog društva, obavljen je 1. jula 1928.⁶³ Svedočanstvo o ovom značajnom događaju, do trenutka kopanja temelja za građenje novog stambenog bloka u ulici Draže Pavlovića (danas Đušina ulica) 1961. godine, moglo se naći samo

to exist until 1928. That it was in a bad shape is evident from the 1924 correspondence between the Religious Jewish Community and the Infantry Regiment of the Royal Army, which requested permission to use the cemetery for military drills. The document states that the “Old Jewish Cemetery in the Dalmatinska Street /.../ is indeed in a very bad condition”, but “out of respect for the dead resting in that cemetery, and also for religious reasons, despite its good will the Board could not meet the request of the Regiment in question”.⁵⁹ A correspondent of the newspaper “*Židov*” (The Jew) describes in the following words the extent of the cemetery’s ruin right before it was wiped out: “A huge field covered in weed and tombstones, with sinking stone monuments which one would inadvertently step upon, has stood uncared for since long ago, unable to receive new people in its eternal peace. Very rarely would a god-abiding grandson or great-grandson remember his ancestor on Tisha B’Av and come by to say a prayer at his crumbling grave”.⁶⁰

In a letter to the Jewish Community from November 1924, the city authorities requested that the Old Cemetery in Dalmatinska Street be relocated, to make space for a park and wide new boulevards, envisaged by the city planners.⁶¹ This was the beginning of a long process of moving and selling the Old Cemetery, in which both Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities took part. It wasn’t before 1927 that all the paperwork was completed. The cemetery land was sold to the City of Belgrade and the insurances were received to grant the Religious Jewish Community an area of 500 square meters on which it would erect an ossuary for the exhumed remains.⁶² The solemn burial of the remains, along with Dr. Isak Alkalaj’s speech and a performance by the Serbian-Jewish Singing Society, took place on July 1, 1928.⁶³ Until a construction site for a new residential block opened in 1961 in present-day Đušina street, proof of this important event ever

⁵⁹M. Mihailović, *op. cit.*, str. 115.

⁶⁰*Beogradska pisma*, *Židov*, br. 28, jul 1928, str. 4.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²*Извештај о раду Управе Црквено - школске јеврејске општине у Београду за период времена од 27. јуна 1926. до 26. маја 1929. године*, k. Jevrejska opština Beograd 1, AJJM

⁶³*Jedna retka svečanost na jevrejskom groblju*, *Jevrejski glas*, 6. jul 1928, str. 3.

⁵⁹M. Mihailović, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁶⁰*Belgrade letters*, *The Jew*, Vol. 28, July, 1928, p. 4

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²Activity report of the management of the Religious Jewish Community of Belgrade for the period June 27, 1926- May 26, 1929, Jewish Community of Belgrade 1, AJHM

⁶³*A very special event at the Jewish cemetery*, *Jewish Herald*, July 6, 1928, p. 3

u sačuvanoj arhivskoj građi.⁶⁴ Prilikom pomenutih radova, sasvim nenadano, nađena je kosturnica iz 1928. i u njoj pergamentna povelja koja svedoči o polaganju posmrtnih ostataka (slika 6).⁶⁵ Nakon ovog otkrića izvršen je prenos kostiju na Novo jevrejsko groblje, dok je povelja predata Muzejskom odeljenju Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije.⁶⁶

Istog dana kada su na Starom groblju položeni ostaci u kosturnicu, održana je na Novom groblju svečana sahrana dvanaestorice rabina i jednog šamesa.⁶⁷ Njihovi zemni ostaci položeni su u zajednički grob nad kojim je podignut sarkofag jednostavne forme, bez dekoracije, sa poklopcem u obliku četvoroslovnog krova (slika 7). Na prednjoj strani ćirilčnim pismom ispisana je posveta koja glasi: „Ovde počivaju rabini i učitelji Jevrejske beogradske opštine koji su preneti sa



Sl. 6 Povelja iz kosturnice Starog groblja
Fig. 6 Parchment charter from Ossuary of the
Old Cemetery

⁶⁴U Pravilniku Grobljanskog zavedenja Jevrejske sefardske veroispovedne opštine u Beogradu stoji da „predmet staranja Grobljanskog zavedenja je groblje (u Grobljanskoj ul. br. 73, prim. aut.) i kosturnica u Đušinoj ul. br. 32, u koju su prikupljeni i smešteni zemni ostaci Jevreja, sahranjenih na ranijem starom jevrejskom groblju” – *Правилник Гробарског заведења Јеврејске сефардске вероисповедне општине у Београду, Опште одредбе, члан 2, 1937, k. Jevrejska društva i opštine, statuti, pravila, izveštaji 1859-1947, AJJM*

⁶⁵Tekst povelje, na hebrejskom i sprskom, glasi: „U ime Gospoda Boga Izrailjeva neka ovaj zapis bude večna uspomena na Staro Jevrejsko Groblje u Beogradu, na kome je bila ploča sa natpisom od pre dvesta godina. Proširenjem ove varoši morale su se kosti premestiti, a zemljište je ustupljeno Opštini Grada Beograda. Kosti iz Starog Jevrejskog Groblja otkopane su i zazidane zajedno u ovoj kosturnici, nad kojom će se u ime Boga podići spomenik kao vidni dokaz postojanju Starog Groblja. Kosti su prenesene i sahranjene u ovoj kosturnici, sa dužnim pijetetom, uz učešće cele Jevrejske Opštine, na dan prvog jula hiljadu devet stotina dvadeset i osme godine, za vreme vladavine našeg ljubljenog Kralja Aleksandra I iz dinastije Karađorđevića, predsedovanja Dr S. J. Alkalaja i Vrhovnog rabina Dr I. Alkalaja”, reg. br. 507, AJJM

⁶⁶*Kosturnica starog jevrejskog groblja, Jevrejski pregled, jul-avgust 1961, Beograd, str. 53.*

⁶⁷Šames/šamaš je poslužitelj u sinagogi.

taking place existed in the archives only.⁶⁴ During the construction works, purely by chance, the 1928 ossuary was discovered and in it a parchment charter proving that the burial of the remains indeed happened (fig. 6).⁶⁵ Subsequently, the bones were moved to the New Jewish Cemetery, and the Charter given for safekeeping to the Museology department of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia.⁶⁶

That same day when the remains were buried in the ossuary at the Old Cemetery, a ceremonial reburial of twelve rabbis and one shamas took place in the New Cemetery.⁶⁷ Their earthly remains were laid in a common grave over which a simple unornamented sarcophagus with a lid in the shape of a four way sloping roof was erected (fig. 7). On the front side the engraving in Cyrillic reads: “Here lie the rabbis and teachers of the

⁶⁴The Rulebook of the Funeral Institute of the Sephardic Community of Belgrade specifies that “the Society is in charge of the Cemetery (in 73 Grobljanska Street, BP) and the ossuary in 32 Đušina Street, which contains the earthly remains of the Jews previously buried in the old Jewish cemetery”. The Rulebook, General Provisions, Article 2, 1937, box *Jewish societies and communities, statutes, rulebooks and reports 1859-1947, AJJM.*

⁶⁵The text of the Charter, in Hebrew and Serbian, reads as follows: “In the name of Lord God of Israel let this inscription stand in the eternal memory of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade, in which there was a stone engraved 200 years ago. As the city grew, the bones had to be moved and the land given to the City of Belgrade. The bones from the Old Jewish Cemetery were exhumed and reburied together in this ossuary above which in the name of God a monument shall rise to serve as a visible proof of the existence of the Old Cemetery. The bones have been moved and buried in this ossuary with due dignity, in the presence of the entire Jewish Community, on this day July the first of the year nineteen twenty eight, during the reign of our beloved King Alexander I of the Karađorđević Dynasty and the chairmanship of Dr. S. J. Alkalaj and under the Chief Rabbi Dr. I. Alkalaj”.

⁶⁶*The ossuary of the old Jewish cemetery, Jewish review, July-August 1961, Belgrade, p. 53*

⁶⁷A shamas is a person who assists in the running of synagogue services.

Starog groblja 1928. Večna im slava!”⁶⁸

Nasuprot grobu rabina, 1931. je podignut spomenik nad Genizom⁶⁹.⁷⁰ Na njemu dominira reljefni svitak Tore sa natpisom na hebrejskom jeziku sledećeg sadržaja: „Na ovom mestu su pohranjene i sahranjene svete Tore, mezuze, teflini, molitveni šalovi, molitvenici i svi sveti predmeti koji su dotrajali, onako kako smo podučeni od naših otaca i učitelja, neka je blagoslovena uspomena na njih”. Na samom vrhu spomenik je ukrašen stilizovanim knjigama, dok je u dnu tabla sa tekstom na srpskom jeziku koji glasi: „Skrovište starih, neupotrebljivih svetih knjiga i utvari koje su ukopane po propisima jevrejskog zakona 1894.” (slika 8).



Sl. 7 Grob rabina
Fig. 7 The monument of rabbis

Jewish Community of Belgrade who were relocated from the Old Cemetery in 1928. Eternal glory!”⁶⁸

Opposite the rabbis' grave, a monument was erected over the Genizah⁶⁹ in 1931.⁷⁰ Its central piece represents a Torah scroll with an inscription in Hebrew saying: “Here lie buried the holy Torah, mezuzahs, tefillin, prayer shawls, prayer books and all the worn-out sacred objects, in the way we were taught by our fathers and teachers, may their memory be blessed”. The top of the monument is decorated with books, while the bottom displays a tablet with an inscription in Serbian saying: “Shelter for the worn-out, unusable holy books and objects buried according to the Jewish law in 1894” (fig. 8).



Sl. 8 Geniza
Fig. 8 Genizah

⁶⁸Jedna retka svečanost na jevrejskom groblju, Jevrejski glas, 6. jul 1928, str. 3.

⁶⁹Geniza na hebrejskom znači ostava i odnosi se, ne samo na prostoriju u sinagogi u koju se odlažu sveti predmeti i knjige koje nisu više za upotrebu, već i na grob knjige.

⁷⁰Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, str. 260.

⁶⁸A very special event at the Jewish cemetery, Jewish Herald, July 6, 1928, p. 3

⁶⁹Genizah, meaning storage space in Hebrew, is both an area in a synagogue or Jewish cemetery designated for the temporary storage of worn-out books and religious papers and the place in the cemetery where they are finally buried.

⁷⁰Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

Unutar Novog groblja, prema projektu inženjera Josifa V. Albale⁷¹, 1934. je izgrađena kapela. Novoizgrađeni objekat je u potpunosti zadovoljavao sve potrebe jedne grobljanske ustanove. U suterenu zgrade su bile smeštene prostorije za pripremu pokojnika na večni počinak, soba za molitvu i soba za presvlačenje sveštenika. Iz suterena se kovčeg sa telom prenosio liftom u prizemlje gde se nalazila velika sala za pogrebne svečanosti, prostrani foaje i druge potrebne prostorije za Grobljansko zavedenje. Prvi sprat je imao stambene jedinice za čuvara groblja i njegovog pomoćnika i veliku salu u kojoj su se održavale sednice udruženja Hevra kadiša i Rehica gedola⁷² (slika 9).⁷³ Čin osvećenja kapele obavio je rabin dr Isak Alkalaj. Pored rabina, na svečanosti su govorili dr David Albala, tadašnji potpredsednik Sefardske opštine, i Moris Demajo, predsednik društva Hevra kadiša.⁷⁴ Koliki je značaj imala izgradnja kapele vidi se iz poziva na njeno osvećenje u kojem stoji da je „novo podignuta grobljanska kapela rezultat i kruna dugogodišnjih napora naše jevrejske sredine da dobije dostojan Dom pošte i pijeteta za naše drage pokojnike i reprezentativno sedište svih ustanova grobljanske uprave” (slika 10).⁷⁵

Nakon Drugog svetskog rata, u okviru plana podizanja Spomenika žrtvama fašizma, postojala je ideja da se pogrebna kapela pretvori u Spomen-dom. Grupa studenata Škole za primenjenu umetnost u Beogradu dala je rešenje rekonstrukcije prostora. Zamisao je bila da se postave vitražni prozori, da se zidovi sale za pogrebne svečanosti popločaju veštačkim mermerom crvene boje

In 1934, a chapel designed by Josif V. Albala⁷¹ was built in the New Cemetery. The new structure met all the requirements of a funeral facility. The basement housed rooms for the preparation of the deceased for eternal rest, prayer room and the priest's dressing room. An elevator took the bodies up to the ground floor, where there was a large funeral hall, a spacious foyer and offices. The first floor housed the living quarters of the graveyard security officer and his deputy, and another large conference hall used for the meetings of Chevra Kadisha and Rehitzta gedola societies⁷² (fig. 9).⁷³ The consecration ceremony was conducted by Rabbi Dr. Isak Alkalaj. Apart from the Rabbi, Dr. David Albala, the then chairman of the Sephardic community, and Moris Demajo, the chairman of the Chevra Kadisha, addressed the congregation.⁷⁴ The importance attached to the new chapel is evident from the invitation to the consecration event, which states that “the newly erected cemetery chapel is the result and the crown of years-long efforts of our Jewish community to obtain a proper Home of respect and piety for our deceased loved ones, and a presentable headquarters of all the institutions of the cemetery administration” (fig. 10).⁷⁵

After the Second World War, as part of the plan to erect a Memorial to the victims of fascism, the chapel was to become a memorial home. A group of students of the School for Applied Arts in Belgrade designed a plan for reconstruction, which envisaged adding stained-glass windows, tiling the walls of the funeral

⁷¹Josif Albala je rođen 1902. u Beogradu. Diplomirao je 1933. na Arhitektonskom fakultetu, a nakon položenog ispita za ovlašćenog inženjera, bavio se projektovanjem zgrada uglavnom u rodnom gradu. Njegovi radovi se odlikuju funkcionalnošću i jasno izraženim odsustvom ornamentalnosti. Stradao je 1942. u Holokaustu.

⁷²U statutu „Rehica Gedola” kaže se da je cilj ovog društva „obilazjenje bolesnika, davanje im utehe i nade, dežuranje u pojedinim slučajevima noću i prisustvovanje poslednjim trenucima samrtnika; kupanje mrtvacu po propisima naše vere i utvrđenim običajima u ovoj varoši”, *Правила друштва Рехица Гедола, Београд 1919*, k. Jevrejska društva i opštine, statuti, pravila, izveštaji 1859-1947, AJJM

⁷³*Osvećenje novo podignute kapele na jevrejskom groblju u Beogradu*, *Židov*, br. 1, januar 1935, str. 7.

⁷⁴*Јевреји сефардског реда осветили су јуче своју капелу*, *Политика*, 31. децембар 1934, стр. 17.

⁷⁵*Poziv na svečano osvećenje kapele*, Digitalna građa Jevrejske opštine Skoplje, k. 31-33, AJJM

⁷¹Josif Albala was born in Belgrade in 1902. He got a degree in architecture in 1933. After getting licensed as engineer, he designed buildings, mostly in his home town. His works are characterized by functionality and a pronounced absence of ornaments. Albala perished in the Holocaust in 1942.

⁷²The Statute of the Rehitzta gedola defines the Society's aim as “visiting the sick, providing consolation and hope, keeping night watch over the sick in some cases and keeping the dying persons company in their final moments; bathing the deceased in accordance with the rite of our faith and the effective customs of the city”, in *Pravila društva Rehica gedola (Rulebook of the Rehitzta gedola society)*, Belgrade 1919, Jewish societies and municipalities, statutes, rulebooks, reports 1859-1947, AJHM.

⁷³*Consecration of the new chapel at the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade*, *The Jew*, Vol. 1, Jan. 1935, p. 7

⁷⁴*Sephardic Jews consecrate their chapel*, *Politics*, Dec. 31, 1934, p. 17

⁷⁵*Invitation to the solemn consecration of the chapel*, Digital archives of the Jewish Community Skoplje, Macedonia, box 31-33, AJHM.

i da se u sredinu sale, pored simboličkog kipa od belog mermerna, postave jedan ili dva mermerna sarkofaga na kojima bi bile položene knjige sa imenima pokojnika. Pošto je realizacija takvog projekta iziskivala velika finansijska sredstva, od njega se odustalo.⁷⁶ Na nivou sale za pogrebne svečanosti 1974. je uređena jedna prostorija koja je služila za potrebe sveštenika prilikom menjanja odežde.⁷⁷ Danas je tu i kancelarija za čuvara groblja, dok su na prvom spratu stambene jedinice.



Sl. 9 Kapela
Fig. 9 The Chapel

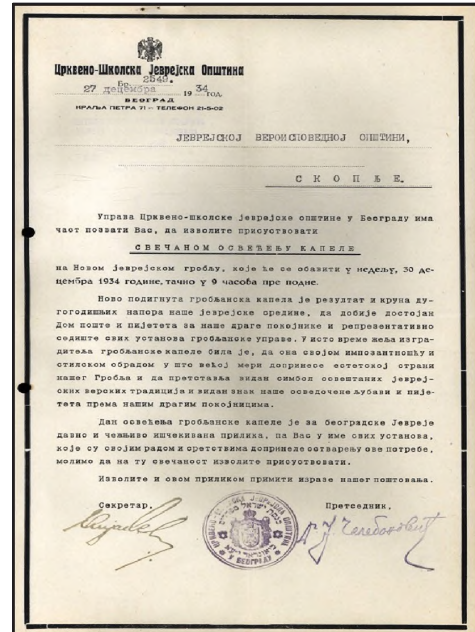
Uređenje i održavanje grobalja je bilo jedno od glavnih prioriteta članova Grobarskog zavedenja. Sredstva su pribavljana putem taksi koje je plaćalo članstvo. Iz pisma koje je 1865. jevrejska zajednica uputila Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih dela Kneževine Srbije, saznajemo da su „takse za troškove oko sahranjivanja mrtvaca podeljene na tri klase: sirotinju, srednju i najimućniju”.⁷⁸ Lica koja su bila siromašna, i nisu bila u mogućnosti da plaćaju taksu, sahranjivana su o trošku jevrejske opštine. U pravilima Hevra kadiše iz 1911. iznos takse je i dalje zavisio od materijalnog stanja pripadnika zajednice. Postojala je naplata godišnje takse, taksa za pogrebne ceremonije, za podizanje nadgrobnih spomenika i za zemljište. Naknada za zemljište raščlanjena je na deset klasa, a

⁷⁶Bilten (Saveza jevrejskih opština FNRJ), januar-juli 1952, str. 17.

⁷⁷Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd, juni-decembar 1974, str. 28.

⁷⁸Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, str. 250.

hall with red marble and placing in the hall's center, along with a symbolic white-marble statue, two or three marble sarcophagi with books on the lid containing the names of the deceased. The project was eventually abandoned for being too costly.⁷⁶ An additional room, used as the priest's dressing room, was added in 1974 next to the funeral hall.⁷⁷ Today, there is also a room for the office of the cemetery keeper, while the first floor is a housing unit.



Sl. 10 Poziv na osvećenje kapele, 1934.
Fig. 10 Invitation to the chapel's consecration, 1934.

Cultivation and maintenance of the cemetery was one of the main tasks of the members of the Funeral Institute. Funds were collected through membership fees. A letter that the Jewish Community sent to the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs of the Principality of Serbia in 1865 reveals that “there are three categories of internment fees: for the poor, standard, and for the rich”.⁷⁸ People who were poor and unable to pay the fee were buried at the cost of

⁷⁶Bulletin (The Federation of Jewish Communities of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), January-July 1952, p. 17

⁷⁷Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Belgrade, June-December 1974, p. 28

⁷⁸Ž. Lebl, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

prva je podrazumevala najveći novčani iznos.⁷⁹ U slučaju da se pokojnik sahranjivao na zemljištu do Genize, Grobarsko zavedenje je odlučivalo o visini takse, ali je svakako morala biti veća od one koja se naplaćivala za prvu klasu.⁸⁰ Takođe, prema pravilniku, bilo je moguće rezervisati grobno mesto, za šta je postojao poseban cenovnik.⁸¹ Širenje groblja i formiranje novih parcela rezultiralo je dodatnim izmenama. Prema statutu iz 1937. takse za zemljište su podeljenje u sedam klasa. Najskuplja grobna mesta su bila duž glavne uzdužne aleje, u vanrednoj parceli desno od ulaza u groblje i uz stazu pod pergolom u prvom redu.⁸² Član koji se odnosi na rezervisanje grobnog mesta više ne postoji, što je najverovatnije uslovljeno manjkom prostora za sahranjivanje. U prilog tome ide i govor dr Davida Albale na osvećenju kapele, u kojem naglašava da će mesta za sahranjivanje, prema trenutnom mortalitetu, biti za još oko 25 godina.⁸³ Da je manjak prostora u narednim godinama postao ozbiljan problem potvrđuje odluka Veća jevrejske sefardske opštine, koje krajem 1940. iznosi saopštenje „da će se u duhu verskih propisa izvršiti prekopavanje grobova u tzv. dečijoj parceli, u kojoj su sahranjena mala deca u periodu od 1890. do 1913, i da će se zemni ostaci po želji porodica sahraniti u grob srodnika ili u zajedničku dečiju grobnicu”.⁸⁴ U daljem obrazloženju ovakvog radikalnog poteza stoji da „opštinska uprava pristupa toj meri da bi se moglo proširiti zemljište za sahranjivanje na sadašnjem groblju, imajući u vidu da je sadašnje groblje najvećim delom već ispunjeno”.⁸⁵

the Jewish community. In the 1911 Rulebook of the Chevra Kadisha, the payable fee still depended on one's material status. All members paid an annual fee, funeral services fee and tombstone and cemetery plot fee. The plots were categorized in ten groups, the first being the most expensive.⁷⁹ The cost of the plots adjacent to the Genizah was set by the Funeral Institute and had to exceed the amount payable for the first-category plots.⁸⁰ According to the Rulebook, the burial plots could be booked in advance, at special rates.⁸¹ The expansion of the graveyard and the formation of new plots resulted in additional modifications of the rules. The 1937 Statute recognized seven different categories of burial plots. Those alongside the main alley, in the section to the right from the main entrance and in the first row along the pergola-covered lane were the most expensive.⁸² The booking option was no longer available, probably due to the scarcity of burial space. Indeed, on the occasion of the consecration of the chapel, Dr. David Albala said in his speech that with the mortality rate of the day, the Community would run out of burial space in 25 years.⁸³ That in the following years the lack of space became a serious problem was confirmed by the Council of the Sephardic Community statement from the late 1940, saying that “in the spirit of the religious rite the graves in the children's section which held the bodies of small children buried between 1890 and 1913 will be reused and their earthly remains reburied in the graves of the relatives or in a mass grave, as per their families' wish”.⁸⁴ Explaining the reasons for this radical move, the Council said that “the community management had resorted to this measure in order to expand the burial ground in today's cemetery, bearing in mind that it is almost full as it is”.⁸⁵

⁷⁹Правила за Гробарско заведење [сефардске] Цркв. Школ. Јевр. Општине у Београду, 9. фебруар 1911. – Права и дужности чланова, члан 30, к. Јеврејска општина Београд 1, АЈИМ

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Правилник Гробарског заведења Јеврејске сефардске вероисповедне општине у Београду, 1937, члан 23, к. Јеврејска друштва и општине, статuti, правила, извештаји 1859-1947, АЈИМ

⁸³Освећење ново подигнуте кепеле на јеврејском гробљу у Београду, *Židov*, br. 1, januar 1935, str. 7.

⁸⁴Прекопавање деције парцеле сефардског гробља, *Весник Јеврејске сефардске вероисповедне општине*, br. 24, децембар 1940, стр. 11.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁷⁹Rulebook of the Funeral Institute of the [Sephardic] Community of Belgrade, Feb. 9, 1911 – Members' rights and obligations, Article 30, box Jewish Community of Belgrade 1, AJHM

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Rulebook of the Funeral Institute of the Sephardic Community of Belgrade, 1937, Article 23, box Jewish societies and communities, statutes, rulebooks, reports 1859-1947, AJHM

⁸³Consecration of the newly erected chapel in the Jewish cemetery in Belgrade, *The Jew*, Vol. 1, January 1935, p. 7

⁸⁴The children's section of the Sephardic cemetery ploughed over, *Sephardic Herald*, Vol. 24, December 1940, p. 11

⁸⁵Ibid.

Pojedinačni nadgrobni spomenici i porodične grobnice: oblik i simbolika

Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu, pored toga što još uvek služi svojoj osnovnoj nameni, predstavlja memorijalni park i neprocenljiv spomenik kulture. Iako spomenici podignuti na ovom groblju po umetničkoj izradi i prikazanoj simbolici ne spadaju u najznačajnija dostignuća jevrejske funerarne umetnosti nastale na tlu Evrope, svakako su važna manifestacija postojanja nekada velike i prosperitetne jevrejske zajednice.

Običaj podizanja spomenika (hebr. *maceva*) kod Jevreja je poznat još od biblijskih vremena. Drevno proročanstvo Jezekeijela „I prohodice zemlju i ići po njoj, i ko vidi kosti ljudske, načiniće kod njih znak, dokle ih ne ukopaju grobari u dolini mnoštva Gogovog” u Talmudu je bilo polazna tačka za običaj da se postavlja spomen-znak nad grobom članova porodice, prijatelja, ali i stranaca.⁸⁶ Prvo pojedinačno memorijalno obeležje podignuto je nad grobom Rahele, žene praoca Jakova.⁸⁷ Prema jevrejskoj tradiciji, poštujući stih iz Tanaha koji kaže da se „bogat i siromah sretaju (u smrti, prim. aut.), obojcu je Gospod stvorio”, izgled spomenika treba da bude odraz poštovanja preminle osobe, a ne moći i bogatstva dostignutih za života pokojnika. Ipak, pod uticajem suživota i povezanosti sa drugim kulturama, a naročito od vremena *haskale*,⁸⁸ ne samo na izgled nadgrobnog spomenika, već i na prikazanu simboliku, vidan je uticaj umetnosti nejevrejskog okruženja.

Obeležavanje grobnog mesta u obliku horizontalne, jednostavne ravne ploče, postala je praksa Sefarda nakon izгона iz Španije. Ovakvog oblika su i najstariji spomenici beogradskog Jevrejskog groblja, pre svega oni preneti sa groblja u Dalmatinskoj ulici. U sačuvanim Pravilima društva Hevra kadiša nema regulative kojom se propisuje izgled spomenika. Postoji samo odredba da se pre izrade nadgrobne ploče plan spomenika sa imenom preminulog, koje je moralo biti

Individual gravestones and family tombs: Shapes and symbolism

Apart from being an operating cemetery and accepting new burials, the Jewish cemetery in Belgrade is also a memorial park and a unique cultural landscape. Even if it is not among the finest examples of Jewish funerary art in Europe, its monuments offer a valuable testimony of a once large and thriving community.

The Jewish custom of erecting monuments (Hebr. *matzevah*) originates from the biblical times. Ezekiel's prophecy “When they pass through the land and one of them sees a human bone, he will set up a marker next to it until the buriers have buried it in Hordes of Gog Valley” served as the original Talmudic inspiration for the custom of placing tombstones over the graves of family members and friends, as well as strangers.⁸⁶ The first memorial marker on an individual's grave was erected on the grave of Rachel, Patriarch Jacob's wife.⁸⁷ According to the Jewish tradition, and in line with the Tanakh verse “rich and poor meet together (in death, BP.), both created by God”, the appearance of the monument should convey respect for the deceased person, rather than the influence and wealth they accumulated in life. Still, under real-life circumstances and in contact with other cultures, and especially since the times of *Haskala*⁸⁸, the influence of the non-Jewish cultures is evident not only in the form of the tombstones but in their symbolism as well.

Marking the grave with a simple flat horizontal tablet became customary among the Sephardic Jews after their expulsion from Spain. The earliest monuments found in the Belgrade cemetery, above all those originating from the cemetery in Dalmatinska Street, are of this form and shape. The surviving Rulebook of the Chevra Kadisha provides no regulations dictating the appearance of the monuments. The only requirement was to submit the design of the monument

⁸⁶Jezekeijel 39:15

⁸⁷„I metnu Jakov spomenik na grob njen. To je spomenik na grobu Rahiljinom do današnjeg dana.” Postanje 35:20

⁸⁸Reč *haskala* dolazi od hebrejske reči *sehel*, što u prevodu znači mozak, inteligencija. Odnosi se na pokret prosvetiteljstva Jevreja koji je počeo u Nemačkoj sredinom 18. veka i dalje se proširio na istočnu Evropu. Oni koji su učestvovali u tom pokretu nazivani su *maskilim* (intelektualci, prosvetitelji).

⁸⁶Ezekiel 39:15

⁸⁷“And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.” Genesis 35:20

⁸⁸The word *Haskala* derives from the Hebrew word *sekhel*, meaning reason or intellect. It also translates as Jewish Enlightenment, and represents a mid-18th century intellectual movement which started in Germany, whence it spread to Eastern Europe. Its members are known as the *maskilim* (intellectuals, enlighteners).

napisano na svetom jeziku (hebr. *lašon hakodeš*), i drugim prigodnim tekstom podnosilo na uvid rabinu i predsedniku Grobarskog zavedenja.⁸⁹

Na najstarijim horizontalnim spomenicima vidljivi su jedino osnovni podaci o preminulom – ime, prezime, godina rođenja i smrti, ili starost u trenutku smrti. Ovako skromni zapisi se, po pravilu, nalaze i na grobovima koje je za siromašne članove podizalo benevolentno jevrejsko društvo „Hesed šel emet“ (slika 11).⁹⁰

Duži natpisi, koji su bili retki, predstavljaju ne samo puki podatak o privatnom životu preminule osobe, već i značajan izvor za proučavanje istorije jevrejske zajednice. Tako, na spomeniku podignutom nad grobom Rike Amodaj stoji tekst koji u prevodu sa hebrejskog glasi: „Poštovana žena gospođa Rika, supruga starijeg čoveka mudrog rabina Hajima Amodaja, počivao u miru, preminula 20. ševata 5649“ (slika 12).

Uzimajući u obzir da se radi o groblju sefardskih Jevreja, ne iznenađuje činjenica da je jezik posvete, pored hebrejskog i srpskog jezika, bio i ladino. Ovakvi primeri su retki, poput onog na grobu Malkune Mitrani gde hebrejskim alfabetom piše: „Aki repoza muestra kerida madre Malkuna Mitrani de Filibi murijo al 5 tevet 5689 de edad 75 anjos por rikodro asus adoloriadas izas“/„Ovde počiva naša draga majka Malkuna Mitrani

and the inscription of the deceased’s name in the holy tongue (Hebr. Lashon Hakodesh) for the approval of the rabbi and the chairman of the Funeral Institute prior to contacting the monument maker.⁸⁹

The earliest horizontal monuments contain only very basic information about the deceased, such as the first name and the last name, the year of birth and death or the age at the time of death. These modest inscriptions are typical of the graves of the Community’s poorest members who were buried at the cost of the charity Hesed Shel Emet (fig. 11).⁹⁰



Sl. 11 Spomen-ploča koju je podiglo udruženje Hesed šel Emet

Fig. 11 Memorial plate erected by Hesed Shel Emet

Apart from providing more details about the deceased, the longer inscriptions, which are scarce, serve as an important source

of information about the way of life of the Jewish community. Thus, the engraving in Hebrew on the tombstone of Rika Amodaj reads as follows: “Venerated Mrs. Rika, the wife of an older man, wise rabbi Haim Amodaj, may he rest in peace, died on 20th Shevat 5649” (fig. 12).

Given that this was a Sephardic cemetery, it is not surprising that the inscription was written in the Ladino language, apart from Hebrew and Serbian. Similar examples are few and include the epitaph, in Hebrew letters, on the grave of Malkuna Mitrani, reading as follows: “Aki repoza muestra kerida madre Malkuna Mitrani de Filibi murijo al 5 tevet 5689 de edad 75 anjos por rikordo a sus adoloriadas izas”/„Here

⁸⁹Правила за Гробарско заведење Цркв. Школ. Јевр. Општине у Београду, 9. фебруар 1911. – Права и дужности чланова, члан 48, к. Јеврејска општина Београд 1, АЈИМ

⁹⁰Обавеза друштва „Hesed šel emet“ била је „да према материјалном стању друштвених прихода подиже споменике умрлим сиromасима, члановима ове општине као и онима са стране који немају никог свог а и чије породице немају материјална средства за подизање споменика, да својим члановима у случају смрти одaje почаст онако како би управа нашла за шодно, да сваке године при полагању рачуна приреди парastos и одржи помен умрлим члановима, оснивачима као и онима којима је Друштво подигло споменике.“; Правила друштва Хесед шел емет, 1910, к. Јеврејска друштва и општине, статuti, правила, извештаји 1859-1947, АЈИМ

⁸⁹Rulebook of the Funeral Institute of the Jewish Community of Belgrade, February 9, 1911 – Members’ Rights and Obligations, Article 48, box. Jewish Community of Belgrade 1, AJHM

⁹⁰The charity’s mandate was to “if means should permit, erect monuments for the congregation’s poor, as well as for those who have no family or whose families lack the financial means to erect a memorial, to pay respects to its members in case of death the way the management finds it appropriate, and on the occasion of the annual balance organize a commemoration for its deceased members, founders and those for whom the Society erected monuments.”; Rulebook of the Hesed Shel Emet Society, 1910, box Jewish societies and communities, statutes, rules, reports 1859-1947, AJHM

iz Plovdiva, umrla 5. teveta 5689. u 75. godini života, za uspomenu njenim ožalošćenim ćerkama” (slika 13).⁹¹

Dekoracija na najstarijim horizontalnim spomenicima, ukoliko je postojala, bila je jednostavna. Na nadgrobnoj ploči Jentule Katarivas nalazimo ćirilčno ispisanu posvetu i ime pokojnice, sa godinom rođenja i smrti koje su date po jevrejskom računanju vremena, uokvirene reljefnom formom dekaloga, simbolom posvećenosti verskim zakonima, odnosno zakonima Tore (slika 14).

lies our beloved mother Malkuna Mitrani from Plovdiv, who died on 5th Tevet 5689 at the age of 75, for the memory of her bereaved daughters” (fig. 13).⁹¹

The earliest monuments were modestly decorated, if at all. The tombstone of Jentula Katarivas contains an engraving in Cyrillic and the name of the deceased, the year of birth and death according to the Jewish calendar, all of it framed in a Decalogue-shaped relief, symbolizing devotion to religious laws, i.e. the law of the Torah (fig. 14).



Sl. 12 Natpis na hebrejskom
Fig. 12 Hebrew inscription



Sl. 14 Motiv dekaloga
Fig. 14 Decalogue motif



Sl. 13 Natpis na ladinu hebrejskim pismom
Fig. 13 Ladino language written in the Hebrew alphabet

⁹¹Izvorno se za ladino koristi hebrejsko pismo. Međutim, nije neuobičajeno da se koristi latinica, pa čak i ćirilica.

⁹¹Ladino was originally written in Hebrew letters, but Latin and even Cyrillic scripts are not unusual.

Nadgrobnni spomenici u formi sarkofaga, još od vremena Drugog jerusalimskog hrama (516. pre n. e. - 70. n. e.), služili su za sahranjivanje uglednih ličnosti. Jedan od najstarijih primera na groblju je kameni sarkofag podignut u znak sećanja na pisca Hajima Daviča. Davičo je bio ne samo pisac jevrejskih dela, kako stoji u posveti na grobu, već i građanin koji je „imao titulu najuglednijih i najviđenijih (hebr. *gevir*) i svesrdno pomagao štampanje jevrejskih naslova”.⁹² Sarkofag je jednostavne forme, sa poklopcem u obliku krova na dve vode, na kojem je položena knjiga kao simbol školovane i pismene ličnosti. Na prednjoj strani, u profilisanom okviru, ćirilicom je uklesana posveta porodice (slika 15).

Na beogradskom Jevrejskom groblju, sve do polovine 20. veka, sarkofag je bio preovlađujuća forma za obeležavanje grobnog mesta rabina. Rabinski grobovi predstavljaju reprezentativna obeležja grobalja i obično imaju svoj poseban deo. Inskripcije na njima su sa bogatijom dekoracijom nego na drugim spomenicima, dok poetični epitafi ističu njihovo znanje i dobra dela. Spomenik Nisima Teste, po izgledu i prikazanoj skulptoralnoj simbolici, identičan je sa većinom rabinskih sarkofaga ovog groblja. Testa je po zanimanju bio krojač, ali je zbog dobrog poznavanja Tore radio kao predmolitelj (hebr. *šalijah cibur*) i rabin dorćolske Stare sinagoge. Među srpskim življem imao je nadimak „jevrejski Bog”.⁹³ Osnovu ovog sarkofaga čini jednostavna baza nad kojom je poklopac na dve vode. Zabatni delovi poklopca imaju na krajevima skulptoralno neobrađene akroterije, dok dekoraciju u predelu glave pokojnika čini uzdignuta otvorena knjiga, u ovom slučaju simbol *hahama*⁹⁴ (slika 16).

Monumentalni sarkofazi su, takođe, krasili grobove imućnih članova zajednice. Po bogatstvu dekoracije izdvaja se sarkofag beogradskog industrijalca Nahman Avrama. Oslonjen je na grobnicu sa četiri masivne lavlje šape. Poklopac, u obliku dvoslivnog krova, i ugaone akroterije ukrašeni su floralnim

Sarcophagus-shaped monuments were used for the burials of prominent people ever since the Second Temple period (516 bc - 70 ad). One of the first examples is the stone sarcophagus dedicated to the memory of author Haim Davičo. Apart from being a writer, as the inscription on the grave explains, Davičo “was a respectable and prominent citizen (Hebr. *gevir*) and a passionate publisher of Jewish books”.⁹² The sarcophagus is simple, with a cover in the shape of a two-way sloping roof with a book on top, symbolizing a learned and literate man. On the front side, a profiled frame enfolds the family’s epitaph, engraved in the Cyrillic script (fig. 15).

Until mid-20th century, sarcophagus-shaped monuments in the Belgrade Jewish cemetery were used to mark the graves of the rabbis. Rabbinical graves are usually the most distinguishable landmarks in Jewish cemeteries, typically located in separate sections. They are more richly decorated than other graves, and poetic epitaphs praise the men’s knowledge and good deeds. In its appearance and sculptural symbolism, the monument of a certain Nisim Testa, a tailor, is identical to most rabbinical monuments. A good student of the Torah, Testa served as a cantor or prayer leader (Hebr. *shaliach tzibbur*), and rabbi of the Dorćol Old Synagogue, and was nicknamed “the Jewish god” by his Serbian neighbors.⁹³ This sarcophagus consists of a simple base and a lid in the shape of a two way sloping roof. The acroteria are undecorated, while the decoration at the head of the grave consists of a reclining open book, the symbol of a *haham*⁹⁴ (fig. 16).

Monumental sarcophagi were also used to adorn the graves of affluent members of the community. The rich decoration on the sarcophagus of Belgrade industrialist Nahman Avram exceeds all others. It stands on four massive lion paws, holding onto the crypt. The lid in the shape of a two way sloping roof and the angle acroterion are decorated with floral motifs, as is the base itself. The front side displays the Star of David

⁹²I. Alkalaj, *Jevrejske knjige štampane u Beogradu – Prilozi za kulturni život beogradskih Jevreja u prošlom veku*, Jevrejski almanah za godinu 5686, Vršac, 1925.

⁹³D. Tajtacak, *Beogradski Jevreji i njihova zanimanja (od kraja 19. veka do Drugog svetskog rata)*, Fond „Rukopisi”, AJJM

⁹⁴Haham je naziv za rabina u sefardskim sinagogama, odnosno mudrog čoveka.

⁹²I. Alkalaj, *Jewish books printed in Belgrade – Contributions of Belgrade Jews to the cultural life in the last century*, Jewish Almanac for the year 5686, Vršac, 1925.

⁹³D. Tajtacak, *Belgrade Jews and their professions /from late 19th century until the Second World War/*, Fund „Manuscripts”, AJHM

⁹⁴Haham is the name for a rabbi at Sephardic synagogue, and a wise man.

motivom, kao i sama baza sarkofaga. Na prednjoj strani je, flankirana motivom Davidove zvezde (heksagrama), fotografija pokojnika. Ispod je dvojezično ispisano ime i prezime preminulog, dok je godina rođenja i smrti data samo prema gregorijanskom računanju vremena (slika 17).



(hexagram) framing the photograph of the deceased. The name of the deceased is engraved underneath in two languages, along with the year of birth and death written only according to the Gregorian calendar (fig. 17).



Sl. 15, 16, 17 Spomenici u obliku sarkofaga
Fig. 15, 16, 17 Sarcophagus-shaped monuments

Običaj postavljanja nadgrobne ploče u uspravan položaj tradicija je aškenaskih Jevreja. Ovaj tip spomenika prihvaćen je od strane beogradskih Sefarda već krajem 19. veka. Arhitektonski su najzanimljiviji spomenici podignuti u formi „kapije“. Središnji panelni deo je flankiran stubovima, koji simbolično predstavljaju stubove Boaz i Jahin sa ulaznog trema Solomonovog hrama.⁹⁵ Gornji deo čini zabatna konstrukcija unutar koje je timpanon, neretko ukrašen slikom pokojnika. Zabat može biti polukružan ili u obliku trougla, sa ili bez akroterija. Spomenici u obliku „kapije“ su u skladu sa jevrejskim učenjem o prelasku iz ovozemaljskog života u onaj koji nas čeka nakon smrti (slika 18).

While the Sephardic Jews lay their tombstones flat, among the Ashkenazi Jews is customary to erect the tombstone in an upright position. The Belgrade Sephardim embraced this custom already in the late 19th century. The gate-shaped monuments are of the greatest architectural interest. The middle panel section is flanked by pillars symbolizing Boaz and Jachin pillars, which stood in the porch of the Solomon's Temple.⁹⁵ The upper section consists of a gable with a tympanum, often decorated with the image of the deceased. The gable is either semicircular or triangular, with or without the acroterion. The monuments in the form of a gate correspond with the Jewish teaching about the transition from this world to the one awaiting us after death (fig. 18).



Sl. 18 Spomenici u obliku „kapije“

Fig. 18 A gate shaped monuments

Početak 19. veka, kultura starog Egipta doživela je preporod u zapadnoj umetnosti. Obelisk postaje jedna od najzastupljenijih formi kojom se obeležava grobno mesto. Prvi spomenici ovakvog izgleda se pojavljuju na jevrejskom groblju početkom 20.

In the early 19th century, the Western art saw a revival of the Ancient Egyptian culture. The shape of the Egyptian obelisk became one of the most frequent grave markers. The first monuments of this shape in the

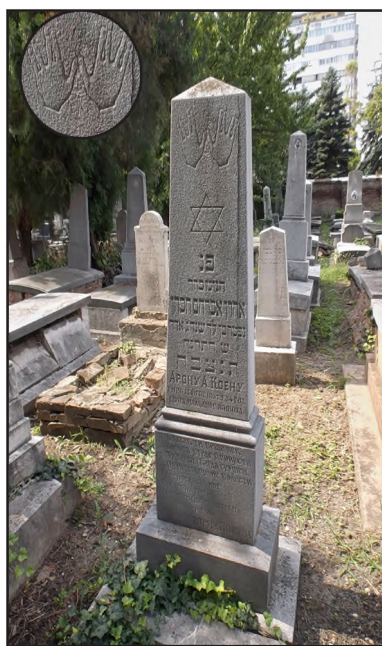
⁹⁵Detaljan opis stubova dat je u Prvoj knjizi o carevima 7:15-22

⁹⁵A detailed description of the two pillars is found in The First Book of Kings, 7:15-22.

veka. Dominantni su oni u obliku stupca sa piramidalno oblikovanim vrhom, na jednostepenom ili dvostepenom postamentu. Stablo spomenika, zajedno sa bazom, pružali su mogućnost ispisivanja dužih epitafa i dovoljno prostora za prikaz reljefnih simbola. Tako, na spomeniku podignutom nad grobom Arona Koena uočavamo, pored prikaza Davidove zvezde i sveštenečkih ruku koje su postavljene u položaj blagoslova onako kako su koeni⁹⁶ blagosiljali narod Izraela, i epitaf u rimi posvećen pokojniku od supruge Vinuča: „Kratka ti beše vek koji ga htede provesti, ti bi za svagda srušen od neizlečive bolesti. Evo ti sećanja mog na kamenu tom, ja ti ga podižem veleći mir pepelu tvom” (slika 19). Takođe, na ovom spomeniku, kao i na onim podignutim do Drugog svetskog rata, iznad podataka o pokojniku, po pravilu, stoje hebrejska slova

פ נ (pe, nun), akronim za *po nikbar/nitman* – ovde leži/počiva, dok su u samoj završnici, ispod posvete, slova

ת נ צ ב ה (tav, nun, cadi, bet, he) odnosno skraćenica za *tije nišmato/a cerura bicror ahajim* – neka njegova/njena duša večno živi.⁹⁷ Obelisk Jude Davičo predstavlja primer gde završna konstrukcija nije piramidalni vrh, već monumentalna skulptura lava koji drži otvorenu knjigu (slika 20). Lav je životinja koja se na više mesta pominje u Bibliji i simbolizuje snagu, hrabrost, uzvišenost. Na nadgrobnim spomenicima ovaj čest motiv jevrejske umetnosti povezan je sa imenom pokojnika, jasno aludirajući



Sl. 19, 20 Spomenici u obliku obeliska
Fig. 19, 20 Obelisk style monuments



Jewish cemetery were erected in the early 20th century. Those in the form of a four-sided column ending in a pyramid at the top, standing on a single or double-stepped base prevail. The body and the base of the monument provide ample space for longer epitaphs and reliefs. Thus, the monument erected over the grave of Aron Koen, apart from the Star of David and two hands showing the priestly blessing of the *Cohanim*⁹⁶ upon the people of Israel, contains a rhymed epitaph dedicated to the deceased by his spouse Vinuča: “The life you wanted to live was too short, destroyed forever by incurable malady. Here are my memories in this stone, I erect it for you wishing peace to your ashes” (fig. 19). On this monument, as well as on all the others erected before the Second World War, above the name of the

deceased there appear Hebrew letters פ נ (pe, nun), the acronym for *po nikbar/po nitman*, meaning *here lies* while all the inscriptions end with the letters

ת נ צ ב ה (tav, nun, tsadi, beit, hey), standing for *te'hai nafsho/nafshah tzerurah b'izror ha'chaim* – let his/her soul be bound by the life bond.⁹⁷

The obelisk erected for Juda Davičo represents an example where the final construction is not a pyramidal peak, but a monumental statue of

a lion holding an open book (fig. 20). Lion is mentioned several times in the Bible as the animal symbolizing strength, courage and sublimity. This frequent motif in

⁹⁶Koeni su bili sveštenici u Jerusalimskom hramu. Prvi koen, odnosno prvosveštenik, bio je Mojsijev brat Aron.

⁹⁷Akronim je napisan s desna na levo, onako kako se piše hebrejsko pismo.

⁹⁶Cohanim/Kohanim (Cohens/Koens) are priests, Jews who are descendants of Aaron the High Priest, brother of Moses. According to tradition, they have been divinely chosen to work in the Jewish Temple and assist others in serving God.

⁹⁷The acronym is read from right to left, according to Hebrew rules.

na simbol plemena Jude,⁹⁸ odnosno na Biblijski stih „Laviću Juda! S plena si se vratio sine moj; spusti se i leže kao lav i kao ljuti lav, ko će ga probuditi?“⁹⁹.

Za razliku od horizontalnih nadgrobnih ploča, na većini uspravno postavljenih spomenika uočava se reljefna dekoracija. Od prikaza sa jevrejskom simbolikom, pored već pomenute Davidove zvezde i sveštaničkih ruku, pojavljuje se i sedmokraki svećnjak menora (slika 21).¹⁰⁰ Prema jevrejskom verskom zakonu, obaveza žene je da svakog petka, pre zalaska sunca, pali subotnje sveće (hebr. pl. *nerot Šabat*). Zbog toga su svećnjaci jedan od najčešćih simboličkih predstava i na grobovima žena. Prikazuju se kao pojedinačne Šabat sveće, ili u paru, i kao svećnjaci sa nekoliko kraka, najčešće tri (slika 22). Na brojnim spomenicima se može uočiti grana palme. Ova biljka je u judaizmu simbol ispravnog čoveka, na šta upućuje biblijski stih „pravedni će procvetati kao grana palme“ (slika 23).



Sl. 21, 22 Motiv menore

Fig. 21, 22 Menorah motif

Jewish funerary art, the lion corresponds with the name of the deceased as a clear reference to the symbol of the tribe of Judah⁹⁸, i.e. the biblical verse “Judah is a young lion – my son, you return from the kill. He crouches; he lies down like a lion or a lioness – who dares to rouse him?“⁹⁹.

Unlike the horizontal tombstones, most vertical ones contain decorative reliefs. Apart from the already mentioned Star of David and priestly hands, other Judaic symbols include seven-branched candelabrum,

the menorah (fig. 21).¹⁰⁰ According to the Jewish religious law, it is the duty of the woman of the household to light the Sabbath candles before sunset on Friday (Hebr. pl. *nerot Sabbath*). This is why the candelabra are one of the most frequent symbols on women’s graves. They are represented as either one or two Shabbat candles, or as candlesticks with several branches, usually three (fig. 22). Many tombstones feature a palm-tree branch, the symbol of

a righteous person as quoted in the biblical verse “the righteous shall flourish like a palm tree” (fig. 23).

⁹⁸Dvanaest izraelskih plemena nazvana su po imenima deset Jakovljevih sinova (Ruben, Simon, Juda, Isahar, Zebulun, Dan, Naftali, Gad, Ašer, Benjamin) i dva Josifova sina (Manase i Efrajim).

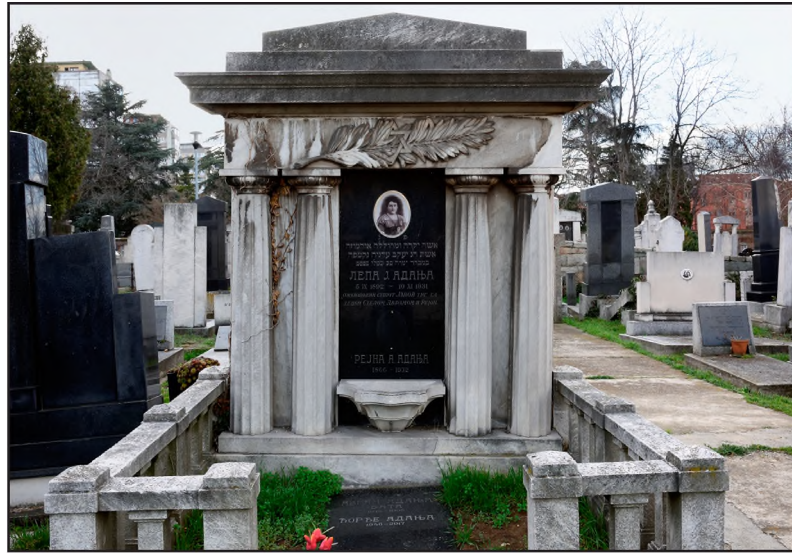
⁹⁹Postanje 49:9

¹⁰⁰Menora je svećnjak koji za Jevreje ima poseban značaj još od vremena lutanja kroz Sinajsku pustinju. Tada je gorela u Šatoru sastanka (hebr. *Miškan*), mestu bogoslužjenja u kojem je bio smešten Zavetni kovčeg sa Božijim zapovestima, dajući večito svetlo. Kada je Jerusalem postao prestonica jevrejske države, sedmokraka menora je postala sveti predmet Jerusalimskog hrama.

⁹⁸The twelve tribes of Israel were named after Jacob’s ten sons (Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Benjamin) and Joseph’s two sons (Mannasseh and Ephraim).

⁹⁹Genesis 49:9

¹⁰⁰Menorah has a special place in Judaism since the wanderings of the Jews in the Sinai desert. It was used to give light in the *Miškan* (Hebr.), a portable sanctuary (tabernacle) in the desert where the Ark of the Covenant that housed the Ten Commandments was kept. After Jerusalem became the capital of the Jewish state, the seven-branched menorah became a holy object in the Temple.



Sl.. 23 Motiv palmine grane
Fig. 23 Palm-tree motif

U jevrejskoj funerarnoj umetnosti neizostavan motiv je predstava lavora i bokala za vodu, ili ruke koja drži nagnuti bokal. U doba Jerusalimskog hrama, pre početka službe, za pranje ruku sveštenika bili su zaduženi pripadnici jevrejskog plemena Levi. Ovaj simbol, u najvećem broju slučajeva, ukazuje da se radi o „levitskom“ grobu. I pored toga što je prezime Levi bilo jedno od najzastupljenijih među beogradskim Jevrejima, nalazimo samo dva primera ove predstave i to na spomeniku Levi Moše i Jakoba Flajšera (slika 24).

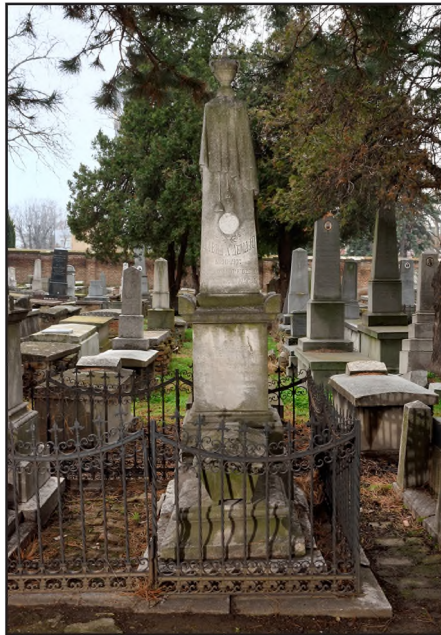
The inevitable motif in the Jewish funerary art is that of laver and pitcher, or a hand pouring water from a pitcher. In the Jerusalem Temple, the honor of washing the Cohanim's hands belonged to the members of the tribe of Levi. This symbol usually designates a "Levite" grave. Despite the fact that Levi was one the most common family names among the Belgrade Jews, only two graves containing that symbol are found in the Belgrade cemetery, namely those of Levi Moše and Jakob Flajšer (fig. 24).



Sl. 24 Motiv bokala za vodu
Fig. 24 Ewer (Levite pitcher) motif

Deo spomeničke celine su, kao još jedan jevrejski motiv, trodimenzionalne urne i vaze sa plamenom. Urna, često prekrivena draperijom, koja u funerarnoj umetnosti predstavlja tugu, na jevrejskim grobovima je, zbog stroge zabrane kremacije, simbolična predstava tela u kojem je smeštena duša, a ne posuda za odlaganje pepela. Vaza sa gorućim plamenom predstavlja spomen-sveću (hebr. *ner nešama*) koja se na grobu pali za godišnjicu smrti preminulog. *Ner nešama*, prevedeno sa hebrejskog, doslovno znači sveća duše, a činom paljenja spomen-sveće pokazujemo da duša umrlog i dalje živi kroz večni plamen (slika 25).

Another two Jewish funerary motifs, a draped urn and a vase with flames, are also found in this memorial complex. Due to the strict prohibition of cremation, rather than a receptacle for ashes the urn is symbolic of the body that houses the soul, and the draping is a sign of grief. A vase with burning flames is a memorial candle (Hebr. *ner neshama*) which is lit on the grave at the anniversary of death. The literal meaning of the Hebrew words *ner neshama* is soul candle. It is lit to show that the soul of the deceased lives on through the eternal flame (fig. 25).



Sl. 25 Urne i vaze sa gorućim plamenom
Fig. 25 Urn and vase with burning flames motif

Od vizuelnih predstava usvojenih pod uticajem nejevrejskog okruženja najupečatljiviji je prikaz žalosne vrbe, kao asocijacije na tugu i bol, a zatim lovorov venac i venac načinjen od grančica palme ili drugog lišća, koji je vekovni simbol mira, večnosti i pobede (slika 26).

Pored posvetnih natpisa i simboličnih predstava, na velikom broju spomenika istaknuto je zanimanje pokojnika. Informacije o profesiji saznajemo na osnovu

The most common visual representations adopted under the influence of the non-Jewish environment include a weeping willow, as a sign of sorrow and pain, and laurel wreath and a wreath made of palm branches and other leaves, an ancient symbol of peace, eternity and victory (fig. 26).

Apart from epitaphs and symbolic representations, many monuments contain the profession

zapisa. Tako, na spomeniku Amar Rafaila piše da je bio jorgandžija, Moša Mevorah bivši dvorski menjač, Aron Alkalaj obućar,¹⁰¹ Nahman Koen trgovac itd. (slika 27).

of the deceased. We learn about the profession of the deceased on the basis of a textual inscription. So, it is written on the grave of Amar Rafail that he was a quilt maker, Moša Mevorah a retired court money changer, Aron Alkalaj a shoemaker¹⁰¹, Nahman Koen a merchant, etc. (fig. 27).



Sl. 26 Motiv žalosne vrbe i lovorovog venca
venca
Fig. 26 Weeping willow and laurel wreath motif



Sl. 27 Zanimanja
Fig. 27 Professions motif

¹⁰¹Aron Alkalaj je u jevrejskoj mahali bio poznat pod nazivom „el šuster”. Kovanica „el šuster” se sastoji od člana *el* na latinu i jidiš reči *šuster*.

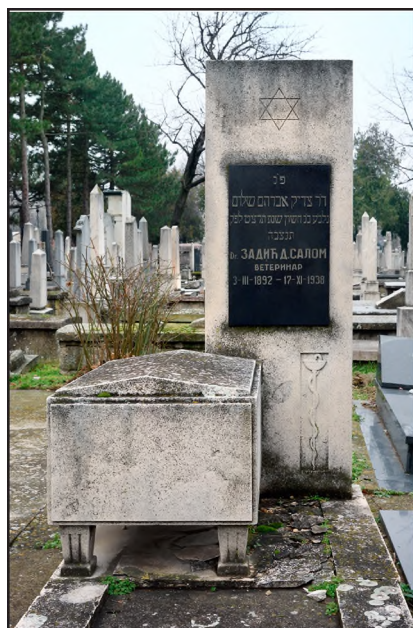
¹⁰¹In the Jewish quarter, Alkalaj was nicknamed „el šuster”. Coinage „el šuster” contains Ladino *el* and Yiddish word *šuster* (shoemaker).

Samo na dva spomenika zanimanje je dato kroz reljefnu predstavu. U pitanju su grobovi farmaceuta Finci Jozefa i veterinara Zadić Saloma, na kojima prikaz Asklepijevog štapa jasno govori da se radi o medicinarima (slika 28).

U posebnu grupu nadgrobnih spomenika spadaju oni oblika slomljenog stuba i u obliku monolitnih kamenih ploča sa prikazom polomljenog hrasta u bareljefu. Ova zanimljiva skulptoralna rešenja označavaju grobove sasvim male dece i rano preminulih (slika 29).

Two monuments contain reliefs which represent the professions of the deceased. They are the graves of pharmacist Finci Jozef and veterinarian Zadić Salom, on which the rod of Asclepius clearly shows their affiliation with the medical profession (fig. 28).

The monuments in the form of a broken pillar and monolithic tombstones with a broken oak tree in bas-relief make a separate group. These interesting sculptural solutions mark the graves of small children and those who died young (fig. 29).



Sl. 28 Zanimanja
Fig. 28 Professions motif

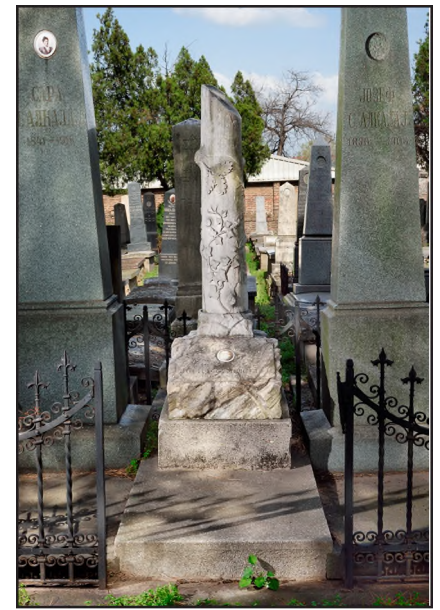
Sl. 29 Motiv polomljenog hrasta
Fig. 29 Broken oak tree motif

Slomljeni stub, visine do 50 cm i oslonjen na četvorougao nu plintu sa podacima o preminulom, uzdiže se nad grobom četvorogodišnjeg Benarojo Benciona, kao i petogodišnjeg Koen Elije (slike 30, 31), dok je spomenik podignut u znak sećanja na tridesetogodišnjeg mladića Alkalaj Josifa nešto drugačiji jer se ne radi o stubu, već o stablu drveta visine oko jednog metra, ukrašenog polomljenim hrastovim granama (slika 32). U jevrejskoj funerarnoj ikonografiji drvo hrasta je aluzija na hrast plača koji se pominje u Bibliji prilikom

A broken pillar up to 50 cm high leaning against a rectangular plinth with the inscription containing details about the deceased stands on the graves of a four-year old Benarojo Bencion and a five-year old Koen Elija (fig. 30, 31), while the monument erected in the memory of a 30-year old Alkalaj Josif is in the shape of a meter-high oak tree trunk with broken branches (fig. 32). In the Jewish funerary iconography, the tree refers to the oak of weeping mentioned in the Bible on the occasion of the death of Deborah: “Now Deborah,

Devorine smrti: „Tada umre Devora dojkinja Revečina, i pogreboše je ispod Vetilja pod hrastom, koji nazva Jakov Alon-Vakut”¹⁰².

Rebekah’s nurse, died and was buried under the oak outside Bethel. So it was named Allon Bakut”¹⁰².



Sl. 30-32 Motiv polomljenog stuba
Fig. 30-32 Broken pillar motif

Početak 20. veka portretna fotografija, zajedno sa epitafom, postaje deo memorijske celine nadgrobno spomenika. U vremenu kada je ona bila luksuz i medij kojim su beleženi samo važni događaji, pre fotografisanja se veoma vodilo računa o izboru enterijera, poze i toaleta. Sefardkinje su za ovakvu priliku birale svečanu nošnju balkansko-orijentalnog nasleđa. Dominantni deo čini bogato ukrašena anterija ispod koje su se nosili košulja od tankog platna, sa svilenim ili zlatnim vezom, i jelek. Anterija je u predelu pasa pridržavana pojansom sa paftama. Obavezan deo, kao odraz jevrejskog identiteta, bilo je pokrivalo za glavu - *tokado*. Tokado ima oblik polukupaste kape, obično od svile, sa *fronterom*, odnosno niskom gusto nanizanih dukata, dok su oko zadnjeg ruba neretko prišivane duge rese - *purčul*, imitirajući pravu kosu

In the early 20th century, the photograph of the deceased, together with the epitaph, became a customary feature on many monuments. In the early days, while photography was still luxury goods and a medium used for immortalizing the crucial moments in life, the interior, body pose and costume in which it was taken were chosen with great care. The Sephardic women would wear their best traditional gown in the Balkan oriental style. Its dominant part was a richly adorned long-sleeved dress *anteria* worn over a fine cotton shirt with silk or golden embroidery, and a waistcoat known as *yelek*. Anteria was worn with a ring-shaped buckle holding the waist. A head cover known as *tocado*, a sign of Jewish identity, was mandatory. Tocado is a small semi-cone bonnet, usually made of silk, with a *frontera*, an ornamental string of golden coins, with

¹⁰²Postanje 35:8

¹⁰²Genesis 35:8

koja se tradicionalno prekrivala (slika 33). Retke su fotografije na kojima su žene odevene u *bindali* haljine. Ove haljine su imale funkciju svečane ili svadbene odeće, a nosile su ih muslimanke, Jermenke, Bugarke i Jevrejke Otomanskog carstva.¹⁰³ Muška nošnja je bila, već početkom novog veka, pod uticajem evropskog načina odevanja. Izuzetak čini jedino fes, izrađen od meke čoje, sa kičankom ili bez nje (slika 34).

long fringes called *purčul* sewn onto the back to imitate hair, which had to be covered (fig. 33). Photographs of women dressed in *bindali* dresses are rare. Those were wedding or festive dresses worn by Muslim, Armenian, Bulgarian and Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰³ In the men's attire the influence of the European fashion of the day was obvious already at the turn of the century. The only exception was the *fez*, a hat made of soft felt, with or without a tassel (fig. 34).



Sl. 33. Portretna fotografija
(slika desno: spomenička fotografija Rahele Koen,
privatno vlasništvo Rake Levi)

Fig. 33 Portrait photo

(on the right: pattern photo of Rahel Koen, courtesy of Raka Levi)



Sl. 34 Portretna fotografija
Fig. 34 Portrait photo

U prvim decenijama 20. veka deo jalijske jevrejske populacije, najviše mladi, napušta mahalul i naseljava Zerek,¹⁰⁴ deo grada gde su živeli Srbi i

The first decades of the 20th century saw a segment of the Jewish population, mainly the young, leaving the Jewish quarter and moving to a predominantly Serbian and Aromanian neighborhood of

¹⁰³Bindali svečane haljine izrađivane su od somota, obično tamne bordo boje, na kojima je bio bogat zlatovez u vidu cvetnih grana. Pred kraj 19. veka kod Sefardkinja Otomanskog carstva je postala praksa da poklanjaju svoje svadbene haljine i ostalu devojačku spremu sinagogi, kako bi se preradile i koristile za izradu *paroheta* (zavesa koja pokriva orman u kojem se čuvaju svici Tore) ili za izradu pokrivala za *teva* (uzvišen pult u sinagogi sa kojeg se čita Tora).

¹⁰⁴Zerek (padina, uzbrdica) je bio turski naziv za deo današnje ulice Kralja Petara I, od Uzun-Mirkove do Dušanove.

¹⁰³The festive *bindali* dresses were typically made of dark red velvet, with elaborate golden floral embroidery. In the late 19th century, the custom among the Sephardic women in the Ottoman Empire was to donate their wedding dresses to the synagogue. These were reused as *parohet* (drapes covering the case in which the Torah scrolls are kept) or as a cloth spread over *tevah* (an elevated stan in synagogues from which prayers are recited and the Torah is read).

Cincari. Oni se aktivno uključuju u političke, privredne i kulturne tokove sredine, što je dovelo do usvajanja obrazaca okoline. Počinju da se podižu monumentalni pojedinačni nadgrobni spomenici i porodične grobnice, čime se isticalo dostignuto bogatstvo i ugled tokom života.¹⁰⁵ Najreprezentativniji spomenici su podignuti na parcelama uz sam ulaz u groblje, na zemljištu koje je u statutu Hevra kadiša iz 1937. označeno kao počasno mesto kojim raspolaže opštinska uprava za slučajeve sahrane osobito zaslužnih građana.¹⁰⁶ Na ovim spomenicima je fotografija, kao vizuelna predstava preminule osobe u savremenom odelu i građanskom enterijeru, gotovo obavezan detalj (slika 35).

Zerek¹⁰⁴. They became actively involved in the political, economic and cultural life of the new environment, adopting its customs. Monumental individual and family graves were built to demonstrate financial status and social influence attained in life.¹⁰⁵ The most distinguished monuments were erected on the plots next to the graveyard entrance, on the land designated for the burials of very distinguished citizens in the 1937 Statute of the Chevra Kadisha¹⁰⁶. The photographs of the deceased wearing modern clothes and appearing in typical bourgeois-style interiors practically became a mandatory feature on these monuments (fig. 35).



Detalj: Spomenička fotografija
Detail: Monument photo

Sl. 35 Monumentalni pojedinačni nadgrobni spomenici
i porodične grobnice
Fig. 35 Individual and family graves

¹⁰⁵Prvu porodičnu grobnicu (hebr. *bet avotam*) kupio je praotac Avram, kako bi sahranio svoju ženu Saru: „Stranac sam i došljak kod vas; dajte mi da imam grob kod vas da pogrebem mrtvaca svog ispred očiju svojih”, Postanje 23:4. U ovoj grobnici, koja je poznata kao Pećina patrijarha ili Pećina u Makpeli, sahranjeni su, pored Sare, Avram, Isak i Rebeka i Jakov i Lea.

¹⁰⁶Правилник Гробарског заведења Јеврејске сефардске вероисповедне општине у Београду, 1937, члан 23, к. Јеврејска друштва и општине, статuti, pravila, izveštaji 1859-1947, AJJM

¹⁰⁴In Turkish times, part of the present-day Dorćol between Kralja Petra I, Uzun-Mirkova and Dušanova streets was known as Zerek.

¹⁰⁵The original family burial plot (Hebr. *bet havotam*) was purchased by Patriarch Abraham in order to bury his wife Sarah: “I am a sojourner and foreigner among you; give me property among you for a burying place, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.” Genesis 23:4. The Cave of the Patriarchs or the Cave of Machpelah, as it is known, contains the double tombs of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca and Jacob and Leah.

¹⁰⁶*The Rulebook of the Funeral Institute of the Sephardic Community of Belgrade, 1937, Article 23, k. Jewish societies and municipalities, statues, rules, reports 1859-1947, AJHM*

Pred sam kraj Drugog svetskog rata Jevrejsko groblje, odnosno deo kod severoistočnog zida, bilo je mesto pogubljenja zatočenika logora Banjica. Streljanja su vršena od 27. jula do 1. oktobra 1944.¹⁰⁷ Među ubijenim zatočenicima bile su i Jevrejke sa decom. Ekshumacija, identifikacija i sahrana žrtava izvršene su 22. i 23. novembra 1944.¹⁰⁸

Spomenici podignuti posle Drugog svetskog rata odlikuju se jednostavnošću i retkim prikazom jevrejskih simbola. Nacionalna pripadnost se ogleda u ispisivanju imena ili nekog biblijskog stiha (slika 36). Od simbola je ostala Davidova zvezda koja je na pojedinim spomenicima, podignutim nad grobovima učesnika NOR-a, zamenjena zvezdom petokrakom (slika 37). Trend prikaza lika pokojnika i dalje je prisutan, ne samo u formi fotografije, nego i crteža i reljefa (slika 38). Sekularizacija celokupnog društva, ali i poljuljana vera u postojanje Boga koja je postala lični, unutrašnji konflikt preživelih Holokausta, dovela je do nepoštovanja verskih propisa. Tako je 1974. na sednici Veća Jevrejske opštine Beograd usvojen predloženi *Pravilnik o grobljima*, u kojem je novina da se na groblju mogu sahranjivati i bračni drugovi koji nisu jevrejskog porekla i da se urne kremiranih mogu polagati na groblju, ali bez verskog ceremonijala.¹⁰⁹ Ova odluka važi i danas.

Toward the end of the Second World War, the section of the Jewish cemetery next to the north-east wall was the site of repeated executions of the Banjica camp inmates. The shootings took place between July 27 and October 1, 1944.¹⁰⁷ The victims included Jewish women and children. Their exhumation, identification and burials took place on 22 and 23 November, 1944/¹⁰⁸

Simplicity and scarcity of Judaic symbols characterize the post-WWII monuments. Their nationality is evident from the usage of Hebrew letters in the inscriptions of the deceased's name or a random biblical verse. The only remaining symbol is the Star of David, which on some tombstones marking the graves of the war veterans is now replaced with the five-pointed star (fig. 36). The trend of visual representation of the deceased still prevails, not only in the form of photograph but in the form of drawing and relief as well (fig. 37). The overall secularization of the society, along with the shaken belief in the existence of God which in many Holocaust survivors became an inner conflict, resulted in disrespect of religious rules. In 1974 the Board of the Jewish Community of Belgrade adopted a Rulebook of Cemeteries, which allowed the burials of non-Jewish spouses of its members and

of urns containing the ashes of the cremated persons, but without the religious ceremony.¹⁰⁹ This rule applies today.



Sl. 36 Posleratni spomenici
Fig. 36 Post Holocaust monuments

¹⁰⁷V. Glišić, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941-1945*, Beograd, 1970, str. 139.

¹⁰⁸*Logor Banjica – Logoraši 1941-1944*, Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2009.

¹⁰⁹*Jevrejski pregled*, sept-okt. 1974, str. 82.

¹⁰⁷V. Glišić, *Terror and Crimes of the Nazi Germany in Serbia 1941-1945*, Belgrade, 1970, p. 139

¹⁰⁸*The Banjica Camp – Inmates 1941-1944*, Belgrade Historical Archives, 2009.

¹⁰⁹*The Jewish Review*, Sept-Oct. 1974, p. 82



Sl. 37 Posleratni spomenici
 Fig. 37 Post Holocaust monuments



Sl. 38 Posleratni spomenici
 Fig. 38 Post Holocaust monuments

Memorijali:

sećanje na žrtve oslobodilačkih ratova i nevino stradale

Prvi u nizu komemorativnih spomenika podignut je 1927. za rodoljube stradale u Balkanskom i Prvom svetskom ratu.¹¹⁰ Odluku da se napravi spomenik koji će biti simbol večne zahvalnosti svim beogradskim Jevrejima koji su herojski dali svoje živote za otadžbinu, doneo je 1924. Odbor oformljen u okviru jevrejske zajednice, na čelu sa vrhovnim rabinom dr Isakom Alkalajem. Odlučeno je da se izradi monumetalno obeležje na kojem će biti urezana imena svih palih i umrlih jevrejskih ratnika i da se publikuje Spomenica sa njihovim fotografijama i podacima o životu, borbi i pogibiji.¹¹¹ Spomenik se nalazi na platou polukružnog oblika, na tzv. Ratničkoj parceli, uz sam ulaz u groblje. Sastoji se iz dva segmenta – obeliska, na čijem vrhu se uzdiže srpski dvoglavi orao raširenih krila, i kamenog bloka, sa isklesanim imenima 132 stradale srpska Jevreja. Između, na zemlji, položene su horizontalne kamene ploče nad grobovima ratnika čija su tela nadena. Oba segmenta okružuje kamena ograda, na krajevima završena figurom lava.¹¹² Umetnici zaslužni za izradu ovog imponantnog dela su arhitekta



Sl. 39 Spomenik stradalim u Balkanskom i Prvom svetskom ratu
Fig. 39 Balkan Wars and the First World War patriots memorial

The memorials:

Remembering those fallen in the liberation wars and innocent victims

The first of several commemorative monuments was erected in 1927 to the patriots killed in the Balkan Wars and the First World War.¹¹⁰ In 1924, a board of the Jewish community chaired by Chief Rabbi Dr. Isak

Alkalaj passed a decision to sponsor a memorial to honor all Belgrade Jews who heroically gave their lives for their country. The memorial was to be monumental and display the names of all the Jewish soldiers who died or were killed in action. In addition, a Memorial book with their photographs, biographies and information about how they fought and died was to be published.¹¹¹

The memorialis erected on a semi-circular plateau,

in the so-called Warrior's Plot, next to the entrance to the cemetery. It consists of two segments – an obelisk with the Serbian two-headed eagle with wings spread at its top, and a stone block with the names of 132 fallen Serbian Jews. Between them, on the ground, horizontal tombstones mark the grave where the soldiers' remains are buried. A stone fence with two lions sitting at opposite ends encircles the structure.¹¹² This imposing structure was designed by architect Samuel Sumbul¹¹³

¹¹⁰Откривање споменика српским Јеврејима палим у рату за ослобођење 1912- 1918, *Židov*, br. 40, septembar 1927, str. 3; Споменик српским ратницима - Јеврејима, *Политика*, 3. октобар 1927, str. 7.

¹¹¹Spomenik palim jevr. vojnicima u Beogradu, *Židov*, br.13, mart 1924, str. 6.

¹¹²Više o spomeniku videti u: V. Dautović, *A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade*, Acta Historiae Artis Slovenica, Ljubljana, 2013.

¹¹⁰Dedication of the memorial to the Jews fallen for liberation 1912-1918, *The Jew*, Vol. 40, September 1927, p. 3; Memorial to the Serbian warriors of Jewish descent, *Politika*, Oct. 3, 1927, p. 7

¹¹¹A memorial to the fallen Jewish soldiers in Belgrade, *The Jew*, Vol. 13, March 1924, p. 6

¹¹²More in V. Dautović, *A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade*, Acta Historiae Artis Slovenica, Ljubljana, 2013.

¹¹³For more on Samuel Sumbul, see; B. Panić, *Notable Jews of Serbia*, Belgrade, 2011.

Samuel Sumbul¹¹³ i kamenorezac Josif Dajč¹¹⁴ (slika 39).

Negovanje kulture sećanja na žrtve i tragediju Holokausta za preživjele je bio jedan od najvažnijih zadataka u okviru zajednice. U tom smislu je, a na inicijativu Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, pokrenuta akcija za podizanje spomen-obeležja u Beogradu, Zagrebu, Sarajevu, Novom Sadu i Đakovu. Na beogradskom konkursu pobedio je rad arhitekta Bogdana Bogdanovića, budućeg velikog neimara memorijalne arhitekture.¹¹⁵ To je bilo prvo veliko delo tada još neafirmisanog umetnika. Evocirajući uspomene na taj za njega izuzetno važan, a pokazaće se kasnije, i presudan momenat u životu, Bogdanović je u jednom intervjuu rekao:

„Jedan moj kolega mi je saopštio da me je predložio za uži konkurs koji je raspisala Jevrejska zajednica za spomenik jevrejskim žrtvama fašizma i da sam jedan od tri odabrana, mlada arhitekta. Razume se da sam primio taj prvi zadatak, međutim nisam ni sanjao da ću praviti spomenike i nisam naročito bio oduševljen. Ali, onda počinje čitav niz događaja koji formiraju sudbini, a nju i inače formiraju krajnje paradoksalne situacije. Trebalo je da podnesemo projekte, oklevao sam i ujedno hteo da saznam o Jevrejima, pa sam čitao literaturu, ponešto i o Kabali i otvorio mi se jedan novi svet. Međutim, to je trajalo više nego što treba i još nisam nikakav projekat napravio. Među nama, mladim arhitektama se znalo šta ko radi i jedan kolega me je

¹¹³O Samuelu Sumbulu videti u: B. Panić, *Znameniti Jevreji Srbije*, Beograd, 2011.

¹¹⁴Dr Tajtacak u svojim sećanjima na beogradske Jevreje o Josifu Dajču kaže sledeće: „Prvi i jedini kamenorezac po zanimanju bio je kamenorezac Dajč, koji je imao svoju radionicu u sadašnjoj Ruzveltovoj ulici u blizini jevrejskog groblja. Bio je veoma sposoban i čuven kao veliki stručnjak za izradu nadgrobničkih spomenika, čak i umetničkih pravaca i stilova. Kao čovek bio je veoma dobar i plemenit, i zbog ovih svojih vrlina bio je veoma omiljen kod jevrejske sirotinje, naročito kod eškenaskih Jevreja. Likvidiran je sa celom porodicom od nacista 1942. godine”. D. Tajtacak, op. cit.

¹¹⁵Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) je bio arhitekta, urbanista, filozof, univerzitetski profesor, dekan Arhitektonskog fakulteta, političar. Autor je više od dvadeset spomen-obeležja žrtvama fašizma podignutih širom Jugoslavije. Oktobarsku nagradu grada Beograda je dobio 1961. za spomen-obeležje u Sremskoj Mitrovici i 1966. za spomen-obeležje u Jasenovcu. Po sopstvenoj želji, sahranjen je na Jevrejskom groblju u Beogradu, u samom dnu spomenika posvećenog žrtvama Holokausta.

and stonemason Josif Dajč¹¹⁴ (fig. 39).

One of the main tasks of the surviving members of the Jewish community was to develop the culture of remembrance of the victims and the tragedy of the Holocaust. The Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia was behind the initiative to build commemorative monuments in the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Novi Sad and Đakovo. The design by Bogdan Bogdanović, who later became one of Yugoslavia's leading memorial architects, won the Belgrade competition.¹¹⁵ This was his first monumental work. Reminiscing on this particular moment in his career, which proved to be momentous, Bogdanović said in an interview:

“A colleague of mine told me that he had recommended me for the competition organized by the Jewish community for a memorial to the Jewish victims of fascism, and that I was shortlisted with another two young architects. Of course, I accepted that commission, my first ever, but I never saw myself as a memorial architect before and wasn't particularly thrilled about it. And then a series of events started to unfold, shaping my destiny – which as a rule is shaped by extremely paradoxical situations. We were supposed to submit the plans, I hesitated and wanted to learn more about the Jews, so I took up reading, including Kabbalah, and it opened a whole new world for me. This took longer than I had planned and I failed to deliver any plans. We young architects knew among ourselves who was doing what, so a colleague came to me one day and asked about the memorial and what ideas I had, and I wasn't

¹¹⁴In his memoirs about the Jews of Belgrade, Dr. Tajtacak says the following about Josif Dajč: “The first and the only professional stonemason was a certain Dajč, whose shop was located in the present-day Ruzveltova Street, near the Jewish cemetery. A very able man, he was famous for his carving skills, and the knowledge of various artistic styles. A kind and noble person, he was very popular among the Jewish poor, especially the Ashkenazim. He was killed by the Nazis with his entire family in 1942”. D. Tajtacak, op. cit.

¹¹⁵Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) was an architect, urbanist, philosopher, university professor, dean of the Belgrade Faculty of Architecture, and politician. He designed more than twenty memorials dedicated to the victims of fascism all over Yugoslavia. He received the prestigious October Award, awarded by the City of Belgrade, for the memorial in Sremska Mitrovica in 1961, and again in 1966 for the memorial in Jasenovac. At his own wish, he was buried in the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade, underneath the Holocaust memorial.

pitao o spomeniku i ideji, a ja ne bih da priznam da je nemam: „Znaš, na sefardskom groblju, aleja pravi jednu lažnu perspektivu i onda odozdo ja pravim jednu antiperspektivu. I, čekaj, čekaj idem kući, žurim da nacrtam antiperspektivu”. Tako je jedna reč rodila moju profesiju”.¹¹⁶

Prilaz spomeniku, koji se sastoji od dva kamena bloka visine 10 metara i ukrašena jevrejskim simbolima u livenom gvožđu¹¹⁷, čine paralelno postavljeni zidovi sa pločama na kojima su imena žrtava i spomen natpisi, ispisani na hebrejskom i srpskom jeziku.¹¹⁸ Kompozicija čitavog prostora i simbolika spomenika je višeznačna. Može se posmatrati kao otvoren put ka večnosti, kao andeoska krila ili pak kao Mojsijeve Zavezne ploče. Sastavni i najvažniji deo memorijala je grob, smešten iza kamenih krila. On nije samo mesto počinka posmrtnih ostataka 197 žrtava, već je i simbolično konačište svih stradalih Jevreja sa teritorije Srbije. Nad samim grobom, na visokom postolju, stoji sedmokraka menora. Spomenik, otkriven 4. septembra 1952. u okviru manifestacije koja je trajala nekoliko dana, smešten je u dnu groblja, u produžetku glavne aleje (slike 40, 41).¹¹⁹



Sl. 40 Spomenik žrtvama fašizma
Fig. 40 Victims of Fascism memorial

going to admit that there weren't any, so instead I said, You know, the main alley in the Sephardic cemetery creates this false perspective, and I'm going to create an anti-perspective over it. But wait, I must rush home now and draw this anti-perspective'. This is how out of one word my profession was born".¹¹⁶

The avenue of approach to the memorial, consisting of two 10 meter high stone blocks adorned with iron-cast Jewish symbols¹¹⁷, is made up of two parallel walls with panels etched with the names of the victims and inscriptions in Hebrew and Serbian¹¹⁸. The composition of the space and the symbolism of the monument are complex. It can be interpreted as an open path to eternity, angel wings or the Tables of the Law. A tomb placed behind the stone wings is the integral and central part of the memorial. Rather than

only the place of burial of the remains of 197 victims, it is also a symbolic grave of all Jewish victims in Serbia. Above it is an imposing seven-branched menorah. The memorial, dedicated on September 4, 1952 during a manifestation that lasted several days, is positioned at the end of the cemetery, extension of the main alley (fig. 40, 41).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶<http://www.makabijada.com/bogdan.htm>

¹¹⁷Od simbola su predstavljani Davidova zvezda, menora, ruke koena i levitski bokal.

¹¹⁸Veće Jevrejske opštine Beograd donelo je 1971. odluku da se na zidovima prilaznog dela spomenika omogući svim članovima koji to žele postavljati spomen-ploče sa imenima stradalih članova njihovih porodica, uz uslov da sve ploče budu iste boje i sa slovima približno istog stila.; *Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd*, januar-februar 1971, Beograd, str. 16, AJIM

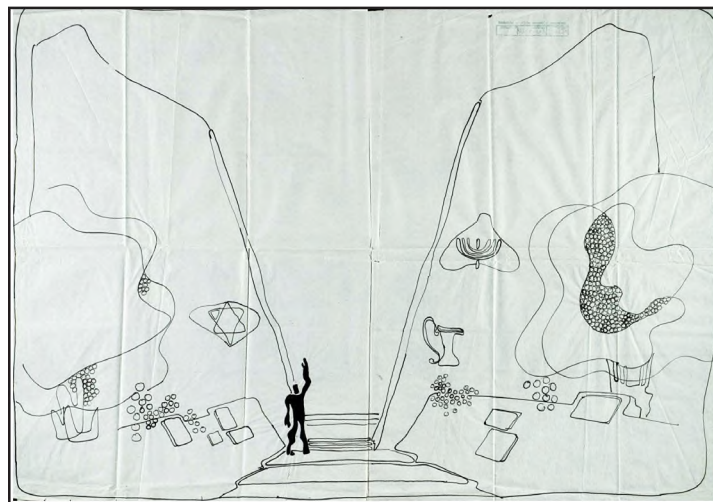
¹¹⁹*Bilten* (Saveza jevrejskih opština FNRJ), septembar-novembar 1952, Beograd, str. 19-25, AJIM

¹¹⁶<http://www.makabijada.com/bogdan.htm>

¹¹⁷Jewish symbols presented are: star of David, Menorah, Cohanim Hands, and Levite pitcher.

¹¹⁸A 1977 decision of the Council of the Jewish Community of Belgrade made it possible for the members of the Community who wished to do so to add memorial plaques with the names of those killed and their families on the walls along the path to the memorial, on condition that all plaques were of the same color and typeface.; *Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Belgrade*, January-February 1971, Belgrade, p. 16, AJHM

¹¹⁹*Bulletin* (The Federation of the Jewish Communities of PFRY), September-November 1952, Belgrade, ps. 19-25, AJHM



Sl. 41 Skica Spomenika žrtvama fašizma, B. Bogdanović
Fig. 41 Sketch of The victims of Fascism memorial, B. Bogdanović

Još jedno obeležje je podignuto u znak sećanja na žrtve Holokausta. Radi se o spomeniku za stradale Jevreje iz tzv. Kladovskog transporta.¹²⁰ S obzirom na to da su u ovom „transportu“ bili pre svega austrijski Jevreji, uz manji broj onih iz Čehoslovačke i Poljske, Jevrejska zajednica Beča je 1952. izrazila želju da se posmrtni ostaci onih koji su sahranjeni u selu Zasavica prenesu u Beč. Pošto postupak oko dobijanja dozvole za prenos u Austriju diplomatskim putem nakon višegodišnjih pregovora nije uspeo, bečka opština je 1959. pristala da se, posle ekshumacije, kosti stradalih iz Zasavice prebace u Beograd.¹²¹ Takođe je odlučeno, u saradnji sa Savezom jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, da se sahrana obavi na beogradskom Jevrejskom groblju. Datum osvećenja grobnice simbolično je izabran. Planirano je da to bude 9. novembra, na dan kada se u Nemačkoj 1938, a potom i u Austriji, desio veliki pogrom Jevreja, poznat pod

There is one more memorial dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust victims – the Jews of the ill-fated Kladovo Transport.¹²⁰ Given that the majority of them were from Austria, and the rest from Czechoslovakia and Poland, in 1952 the Jewish Community of Vienna asked to retrieve the remains of those buried in Zasavica village. When this proved impossible following repeated diplomatic efforts over several years, in 1959 the Vienna Community authorized the relocation of the remains from Zasavica to Belgrade.¹²¹ It was also decided, in cooperation with the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, to have them buried in the Belgrade Jewish cemetery. A symbolic consecration of the grave was set for November 9, the anniversary of the notorious pogroms in Germany and Austria, known as the Kristallnacht¹²².

¹²⁰Grupa od oko 1200 Jevreja je krajem 1939. krenula Dunavom iz Beča i Bratislave ka Crnom moru sa namerom da se useli u Palestinu. Međutim, kako nisu dobili dozvolu za prelaz preko rumunskog dela Dunava, njihovo putovanje je zaustavljeno nakon manje od mesec dana na granici Jugoslavije i Rumunije. Sve do septembra 1940. ove jevrejske izbeglice boravile su u Kladovu, da bi potom bile prebačeni u Šabac. Po okupaciji Jugoslavije gotovo svi su stradali. Muškarci su 1941. streljani u blizini sela Zasavica, a žene sa decom su prebačene u logor na Starom sajmištu.

¹²¹Zapisnik Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 7. jun 1959, str. 9, AJJM

¹²⁰A group of 1,200 Jews left Vienna and Bratislava in late 1939 to travel to the Black Sea, with the aim of reaching Palestine. However, less than a month into the voyage their journey was interrupted at the Yugoslav border after they were denied entry into Romania. The Jewish refugees stayed in the town of Kladovo until September 1940, when they were taken to Šabac. After the Nazi Germany occupied Yugoslavia, nearly all of them were killed – men were shot in 1941 near the village of Zasavica, and women and children perished in Staro Sajmište concentration camp, in Belgrade.

¹²¹Minutes of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, June 7, 1959, p. 9, AJHM

¹²²Ibid., September 1959, p. 8

nazivom Kristallnacht.¹²² Do realizacije ovog plana nije došlo jer poslovi oko iskopavanja tela nisu izvršeni na vreme, tako da je sahrana posmrtnih ostataka 900 žrtava izvršena tek 27. decembra 1959.¹²³ Sledeći korak je bilo podizanje memorijala nad zajedničkom grobnicom. Za idejno rešenje je angažovan beogradski arhitekta Anri Mešulam.¹²⁴ Autor se odlučio za čist geometrijski izraz, kojem nije potreban višeslojan plastični narativ da bi postigao snažan emotivni efekat. Spomenik je svečano otkriven 1. novembra 1964. (slika 42).¹²⁵



Sl. 42 Spomenik stradalim u Kladovskom transportu
Fig. 42 Kladovo Transport memorial

Poslednji u nizu memorijalnih spomenika podignut je nad zajedničkom grobnicom u koju su položeni posmrtni ostaci dece umrle posle Prvog svetskog rata od posledica španskog gripa i drugih bolesti. Pošto su individualni spomenici nad ovim dečijim grobovima u velikoj meri oronuli, Jevrejska opština Beograd je na sastanku održanom 27. aprila 1967. pokrenula pitanje rešavanja parcele groblja na kojem su sahranjena deca. Predloženo je da se teren raščisti, odnosno da se izvrši ekshumacija, a od postojećih nadgrobnih ploča da se podigne zajednički spomenik.¹²⁶ Narednih nekoliko godina po tom pitanju nije ništa urađeno. Godine 1971. ponovo je pokrenuto pitanje podizanja zajedničkog spomenika, a izrada glavnog plana projekta memorijala poverena je Nandoru Glidu¹²⁷, vajararu koji je već uveliko bio poznat po svojim

However, this plan was thwarted due to a delay in the conduction of exhumation, and the remains of 900 people were laid to rest on December 27, 1959.¹²³ The next step was to dedicate a memorial over a mass grave, and Belgrade architect Anri Mešulam was hired to do the design.¹²⁴ He opted for a strictly geometrical expression whose minimalistic forms generate a strong emotional effect. Mešulam's memorial was dedicated on November 1, 1964 (fig. 42).¹²⁵

The last in the series of memorials was erected to the children who died of Spanish flu and other diseases in the aftermath of the

First World War. Given the sorry state of most of the children's tombstones, at a meeting held in Belgrade on April 27, 1967 the Jewish Community raised the issue of the section of the cemetery containing children's graves, suggesting that the ground should be cleared, i.e. the bodies exhumed, reburied in a mass grave and a memorial remade of the existing tombstones.¹²⁶ The matter lay dormant for several years and was raised again in 1971, when sculptor Nandor Glid¹²⁷, already famous for his imposing works, was chosen to design the memorial.¹²⁸ Additional designs were to be made by young architect Braca Perera.¹²⁹ However, the memorial was built according to the design of painter Jovan

¹²³Ibid., January 24, 1960, p. 2

¹²⁴Ibid., /Announcements/, June 23, 1963, p. 2

¹²⁵*Epilogue of a tragedy – dedication of a memorial to the victims of fascism killed at Zasavica*, the Jewish Review, November-December 1964, ps. 7-10, AJHM

¹²⁶Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Belgrade, Vol. 7, 1967, Vol. 2, AJHM

¹²⁷For more on Nandor Glid, see: I. Subotic: *Nandor Glid*, Belgrade, 2012.

¹²⁸*Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Belgrade*, January-February, 1971, p. 16, AJHM

¹²⁹Ibid., June-December, 1974, p. 29

¹²²Ibid., 27. septembar 1959, str. 8,

¹²³Ibid., 24. januar 1960, str. 2.

¹²⁴Ibid., (*Saopštenja*), 23. jun 1963, str. 2.

¹²⁵*Epilog jedne tragedije – Otkriven je spomenik žrtvama fašizma streljanim kod Zasavice*, Jevrejski pregled, novembar-december 1964, str. 7-10, AJJM

¹²⁶*Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd*, br. 7, 1967, br. 2, AJJM

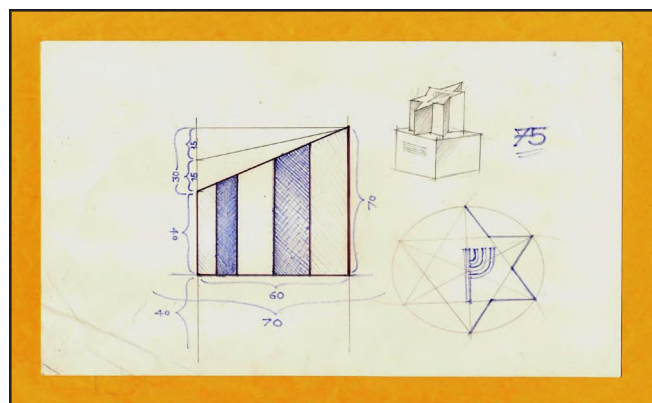
¹²⁷O Nandoru Glidu videti u: I. Subotić, *Nandor Glid*, Beograd, 2012.

impozantnim spomeničkim ostvarenjima.¹²⁸ Ostale nacрте trebalo je da uradi tada mladi arhitekta Braca Perera.¹²⁹ Spomenik je na kraju ipak izrađen prema ideji akademskog slikara Jovana Ćurčića.¹³⁰ Kako je došlo do ove promene, u zapisnicima Jevrejske opštine Beograd i Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, nije zabeleženo. Spomenik se sastoji iz dve spojene geometrijske celine. Osnovu čini pravougaona baza na kojoj je telo spomenika u obliku heksagrama. Umetniku kao da nije bila dovoljna ova simbolička forma, već je na samom vrhu dodatno naglašava i horizontalnom pločom u obliku Davidove zvezde sa ucrtanom menorom. Ekshumacija i čin sahrane u zajedničku raku izvršeni su 1974,¹³¹ dok je svečano otkrivanje obavljeno 12. decembra 1976. (slike 43, 44).¹³²



Sl. 43 Spomenik podignut deci
Fig. 43 Children memorial

Ćurčić¹³⁰. Neither the files of the Jewish Community of Belgrade nor those of the Federation of Jewish Communities offer any explanation of this substitute. Ćurčić's memorial is made of two geometrical parts. The hexagonal body of the monument is placed upon a rectangular base. It seems as if this symbolism was not enough for the artist, and he accentuated it further by adding at the top a plaque in the form of the Star of David with menorah etching. The exhumation and common reburial took place in 1974,¹³¹ and the dedication ceremony on December 12, 1976. (fig. 43, 44).¹³²



Sl. 44 Skica Spomenika podignutog deci, J. Ćurčić
Fig. 44 Sketch of The children memorial, J. Ćurčić

¹²⁸*Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd*, januar-februar 1971, str. 16, AJIM

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, juni-december 1974, str. 29.

¹³⁰Slikar Jovan Ćurčić je bio dugogodišnji saradnik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja. Sve likovne intervencije i ispisani tekstovi u stalnoj postavci Muzeja su njegovo delo. Autor je likovnog rešenja za korice *Zbornika Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja* i za izdanja makedonskih i bosanskih sefardskih poslovice. Vinjete u nekim listovima *Jevrejskog pregleda* i *Kadime* i u pojedinim izložbenim katalogima, takođe su rad Jovana Ćurčića.

¹³¹*Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd*, januar-maj 1974, str. 20, AJIM

¹³²*Spomenik umrloj deci*, *Jevrejski pregled*, novembar-december 1976, str. 36, AJIM

¹³⁰Painter Jovan Ćurčić collaborated with the Jewish Historical Museum for many years. He designed the coverpage of the *Compendium* of the Jewish Historical Museum and the editions of traditional proverbs of the Macedonian and Bosnian Sephardim. His works include a number of vignettes printed in *Jewish review* and *Kadima*, and in several exhibition catalogues.

¹³¹*Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Belgrade*, January-May, 1974, Vol. 20, AJHM

¹³²*Children's Memorial*, *Jewish Review*, November-December 1976, p. 36, AJHM

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