



**ŠPANSKI JEVREJI
JUŽNOSLOVENSКИH
ZEMALJA**

JEVREJSKI ISTORIJSKI MUZEJ
SAVEZA JEVREJSKIH OPŠTINA JUGOSLAVIJE
11000 Beograd, 7. jula 71a

Izdavač:
Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije
11000 Beograd, 7. jula 71a

Tekst:
Aleksandar Gaon

Redakcija:
Milica Mihailović, Simha Šutić-Kabiljo, Aleksandar Gaon

Prevod na engleski jezik:
Klara Sentđerđi

Lektor za srpskohrvatski jezik:
Dragica Stojanov

Tehnički urednik:
Mihailo Mirković

Fotografije:
Dragan Obradović

Štamparija:
"Srboštampa", 11000 Beograd, Dobračina ul. 6 - 8

Tiraž: 1.000 primeraka

Beograd, 1992.

Posle više od jednog milenijuma života na Iberskom poluostrvu, velika zajednica španskih Jevreja našla se 1492. godine pred teškim izborom: ili da prihvati katolicizam i ostane u Španiji, ili da bude privržena veri svojih praotaca i napusti zemlju. Te godine, posle ujedinjenja Kastilje i Aragona, španski kralj Ferdinand i kraljica Izabela su izdali edikt po kojem je svima koji ne prihvate ponudu o konverziji naređeno da napuste Španiju. Devetog Avgusta, u vreme obeležavanja godišnjice razorenja Jerusalimskog hrama, hiljade Jevreja oprostile su se od grobova svojih predaka i krenule u izgnanstvo: jedan deo u susednu Portugaliju, odakle je već posle nekoliko godina morao dalje; drugi deo je pošao u pravcu Francuske, Engleske i Holandije. Treći, najbolji deo, uputio se ka Italiji, Turskom Carstvu i zemljama severne Afrike.

Pre ovog događaja, jevrejska zajednica Španije je tokom više vekova iznedrila brojne značajne ljude, pisce i mislioce. Veliki talmudist i rabin Mojsije ben Hanoh, pisac i mislilac Šmuel Hanagid, pesnici Ibn Nagrela, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Pakuda, Mojsije ben Ezra i Jehuda Halevi, veliki filozof, judaist i lekar Rabi Moše ben Majmonides — samo su oni među najznačajnijima.

Od grupe Jevreja koji su došli u Tursko Carstvo, jedni su se naselili na području Bliskog istoka, a drugi su otišli u evropski

deo Turske, na Balkan.¹ Turski sultan Bajazit II dočeka je veliki talas doseljenika s narednjem da se vrata Carstva širom otvore samo izgnanim Jevrejima. Iz toga vremena ostale su zapisane ove njegove reči: "Kako je nesmotren Ferdinand Španski kada je proterivanjem Jevreja osiromašio svoju, a obogatio moju zemlju!"

Na područje južnoslovenskih zemalja, Sefardi² su se počeli naseljavati u prvoj polovini XVI veka, najpre pojedinačno, potom u većim grupama. Oni koji su došli preko Italije, mahom su se zadržali na obalama Jadranskog mora. Naselili su se na području Dalmacije, tada pod vlašću Venecije, i na teritoriji samostalno Dubrovačke Republike. Otud i različiti uticaji na duhovni, kulturni i privredni razvoj Sefarada u Primorju i Sefarada u kontinentalnom delu Balkana.

U novoj domovini su od početka bili izolovani od okoline, što je omogućilo konzervaciju kulture koju su poneli sa sobom. Osim vere praotaca, običaja, obrednih predmeta i svetih knjiga, na prostor Balkana doneli su i dva jezika: *hebrejski*, koji su zvali "sveti jezik" (lašon hakodeš), a korišćen je u molitvama, svetim knjigama, književnosti i nauci; drugi je *ladino*, nastao kao mešavina španskog sa izvesnim brojem hebrejskih i aramejskih reči. Tokom vremena obogaćivao se rečima iz jezika naroda u čijem su okruženju živeli Jevreji (Turci, Srbi, Grci...).

Među knjigama donesenim na Balkan, posebno je značajna sarajevska Hagada, riznica sefardskog minijaturnog slikarstva, zbornik priča, stihova i molitava za veliki jevrejski praznik Pesah. Po mišljenju oksfordskog profesora Sesila Rota, ova knjiga (čuva se u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu) upućuje na "besprekorno poznavanje i obradu biblijskih priča, doslovnu sa-

¹ Jevreji su živeli na teritoriji Balkana od antičkih vremena. O tome svedoče retki ali ubedljivi dokazi materijalne kulture: ostaci sinagoge u Stobiju (III vek), uljanice sa menorama iz Solina (IV vek), groblje u Duklji (IV vek), menore iz Čelareva (X vek) ... Aškenaski Jevreji se naseljavaju počev od XII veka; u Beogradu ih je bilo u vreme dolaska Sefarada. U velikim gradovima postojale su odvojene zajednice aškenaskih i sefardskih Jevreja.

² Po hebrejskoj reči *sefarad*, što znači Španija.

glasnost pojedinih minijatura sa legendama o Mojsiju i odgovarajuće poznavanje hebrejskog teksta koji se, u izvesnim slučajevima, doslovno ilustruje".³

Tokom celog XVI veka, jevrejske zajednice na našem tlu bile su u fazi formiranja. Stanovništvo koje je pristizalo, bilo je u svakom pogledu podređeno uticajima sefardskih centara u Solunu, Carigradu i Ferari. Odatle su dolazili rabini, duhovni i pravni poglavari zajednica, donoseći sobom u Primorje i Dubrovnik dah preporoda zapadnoevropske kulture, a među Sefarde u Turskom Carstvu — uticaj tadašnje levantske kulture.

Doseljavanje na Balkansko poluostrvo nije se svuda odvijalo na isti način. Pošto je Split od 1420. godine bio u sastavu Mletačke Republike, a u njoj nisu postojala ograničenja prema Jevrejima, broj naseljenih Sefarada naglo se uvećavao.⁴ Osnivane su škole, predavani su verski predmeti i hebrejski jezik. Za Jevreje, koje je domaće stanovništvo nazivalo "Ponentini", karakteristično je da su brzo gubili svoj jevrejsko-španski jezik u korist italijanskog koji je kao državni i sličan "domaćem" jeziku, ubrzo sasvim potisnuo jezik iz doskorašnje domovine. Time treba tumačiti činjenicu da iz književnog predanja na jevrejsko-španskom nema iz Splita nijedne sačuvane narodne pesme, priče ili poslovice. Sefardima ovog područja bi XVI vek verovatno prošao bez većih neprilika da vlast nije donela odluku o obaveznom nošenju žutog znaka i da 1553. nisu spaljene sve talmudske knjige.

Sefardski Jevrejin Danijel Rodriguez, veliki preduzimač, podneo je 1556. Venecijanskom senatu projekat izgradnje splitske luke. Projekat je brzo odobren, ali se gradnja luke sa lazaretom i carinarnicom odužila. Okončana je tek 1592, kada je jednom Jevrejinu iz Splita dozvoljeno da otvori banku. Sam Rodriguez je bio Jevrejin sa zvanjem konzula luke, koje su kasnije dobijali i drugi lokalni Sefardi. Geto je osnovan 1778. godine, u vreme

³ Sesil Rot, "Sarajevska Hagada", Beograd 1962; Cecil Roth, "Sarajevska Hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umetnosti", Jevrejski almanah, 1959–1960, Beograd.

⁴ Duško Kečkemet, "Židovi u povijesti Splita", Split 1971.

kad je na snagu stupila uredba o garantovanju građanskih i verskih sloboda Jevrejima. Znameniti Sefardi toga doba bili su lekari Juda Lomrozo i Tobija Gabaj, s obzirom na to da je medicina bila jedina naučna disciplina kojom su se Jevreji smeli baviti.

U Dubrovniku su se Sefardi našli pod mletačkim i turskim uticajem istovremeno.⁵ U početku su bili izloženi teškim predrasudama i optužbama katoličkog građanstva. Optuživani su za "ritualna ubistva", podvrgavani su čestim i svakovrsnim zabranama. Čak su jednom (1515) izgnani iz grada. Ipak je 1538. godine osnovana Dubrovačka židovska općina. Geto, deo grada u kojem su živeli, osnovan je 1546; to je jedna kratka ulica koja se i danas zove Žudioska, gde se uz zgrade za stanovanje nalazi i sinagoga. Zbirka tekstila i ukrasa koji se čuvaju u dubrovačkoj sinagogi ukazuju na nekadašnji sjaj, bogatstvo i značaj ove opštine. Kroz grad su prošli i u njemu u XVI veku radili slavni pesnik Didak Pir i lekar Amatus Luzitanus. Od stvaralaca rođenih u Dubrovniku najznačajniji je Aron Koen, pisac komentator Tanahah i tvorac većeg broja himni za potrebe verske službe.⁶

Naglo doseljavanje Sefarada iz pravca Soluna u Makedoniju⁷ učinilo je da veća središta nastanu u Bitolju, Štipu, Skoplju i Kratovu. U spisima makedonskih i solunskih rabina navedeno je da je samo u Bitolju bilo pet sinagoga. Neke su nazvane imenima oblasti i gradova iz kojih su Sefardi poticali: Kal Portugal, Kal Aragon... U gradu su radile i tri jevrejske škole. Učeni rabini su doprineli da i najsiromašnije porodice školuju svoju decu. Čuveni bitoljski rabini-učitelji bili su Josif ben Levi i Šlomo Avram Hakoen (XVI vek). Sefarada je bilo i u Velesu, Dojranu, Prilepu i Ohridu. Između sebe su govorili jevrejsko-španskim jezikom, koji su sami nazivali djudezmu. Vekovima su živeli u zatvorenom svetu svojih mahala, sve do balkanskih ratova i

⁵ Dr Bernard Stulli, "Židovi u Dubrovniku", Zagreb 1989.

⁶ Dr Jorjo Tadić, "Jevreji u Dubrovniku", Sarajevo 1937; Studije i građa o Jevrejima Dubrovnika, Zbornik I, Beograd 1971.

⁷ Ženi Lebl, "Plima i slom", Gornji Milanovac 1990; Aleksandar Matkovski, "A history of the Jews in Macedonia", Skoplje 1982.



Unutrašnjost dubrovačke sinagoge
Dubrovnik, synagogue interior

prvog svetskog rata. Ovi događaji su veoma osiromašili Makedoniju i jevrejsku zajednicu, usled čega je došlo do velikih iseljavanja Jevreja u Južnu Ameriku, a pred početak drugog svetskog rata i u Izrael.

U Sarajevu su Sefardi osnovali svoju opštinu 1565. godine.⁸ Po raznim delovima grada živeli su do 1581, kada je za vezira postavljen Sijavuš-paša. Paša je sagradio Čifuthanu, deo grada u kojem su živeli Jevreji, a koji je još nazivan i Sijavuš-pašina दौरа, Velika avlija i Kortiž. Uz Čifuthanu podignuta je sinagoga (danas se u toj zgradi nalazi Muzej Jevreja Bosne i Hercegovine). Stanovnici Velike avlije imali su punu slobodu kretanja tako da se ona ne smatra pravim getom. Izgorela je u velikom požaru 1879. godine.

Od dolaska na Balkan, uz veoma retka ograničenja, Jevreji su na području Turskog Carstva uživali versku i prosvetnu samostalnost. I više od toga: u građanskim sporovima sudio im je jevrejski sud Bet Din, a za krivične sporove bili su nadležni državni sudovi. Jevreji su mogli da se na sudu zaklinju "Bogom koji je Mojsiju objavio Toru". Dva veka posle sarajevske formirana je Sefardska opština u Travniku, a potom i opštine u Banjaluci, Bijeljini, Zenici, Bihaću, Višegradu, Mostaru i Brčkom.

Kad su Turci osvojili Beograd 1521. godine, u ovaj grad su počeli dolaziti i Sefardi.⁹ Ubrzo po dolasku osnovali su svoju opštinu, podigli sinagoge i škole, razvili poslove. U gradu su 1567. postojale tri sinagoge. Beogradska ješiva (teološka škola) stekla je veliki ugled zahvaljujući većem broju učenih predavača — rabina. Uz prevodilačku, predavačku i versku delatnost, ovi rabini su štampali svoje knjige, tzv. responze o raznim pitanjima iz judaistike. Poznati rabini toga vremena bili su Meir Anđel, Jehuda Lerma, Simha Hakoen, Josif Almozilino...

⁸ Dr Moric Levi, "Die Sephardim in Bosnien", Sarajevo 1911; Avram Pinto, "Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine", Sarajevo 1987; "Spomenica - 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u BiH", Sarajevo 1966.

⁹ Beogradski rabin Ignjat Šlang je 1926. objavio knjigu "Jevreji u Beogradu" u kojoj navodi i jevrejske izvore za istoriju Jevreja u Beogradu. Pre njega je to obradio bugarski istoričar Solomon Rozanes.



Sarajevo: staro jevrejsko groblje na Kovačićima
Sarajevo, old Jewish cemetery at Kovačići

Uporedo sa razvojem zajednice formirana je i jevrejska četvrt na obali Dunava, na Jaliji, današnjem Dorćolu. Tamo su živeli u slozi sa Srbima, Turcima, Grcima, Romima, Cincarima i drugima. Idiličnu sliku složnog razvoja prekinuli su Austrijanci koji su 1688. zapalili jevrejsku mahaluru i brojne Jevreje odveli u zarobljeništvo. Kasnije, prema smeni vlasti u vreme austrijsko-turskih ratova, menjala se i sudbina srpskih Sefarada. Kad su se Turci povlačili, Austrijanci su prema Jevrejima primenjivali antijevrejske zakone, pljačkali ih i odvodili u ropstvo u Moravsku, gde su pokušavali da za njih iznude otkup od tamošnjih jevrejskih zajednica. Kada su Turci vraćali izgubljeno svetili su se Jevrejima zato što se nisu povlačili zajedno sa njima. Tek u vreme vladavine knjaza Miloša Obrenovića (1815-1839), Jevreji su stekli pune građanske i trgovačke slobode.¹⁰ Međutim,

¹⁰ Beogradski Jevreji imali su razgranate trgovačke veze od Beča do Carigrada; neretko, pojedine porodice su porodičnim poslovnim vezama povezivale bugarske gradove sa Sarajevom i Dubrovnikom, ili su održavale trgovačke puteve od Carigrada preko Beograda i Beča do Amsterdama.

i to je bilo ugroženo kasnijim promenama vladara Srbije. Odlukama Berlinskog kongresa 1878. godine, Srbija se obavezala da Jevrejima prizna građanska prava, što je učinjeno Ustavom iz 1888. godine.

Sefardska opština u Beogradu je brzo granala svoje aktivnosti, pa je narednih godina osnovano u Srbiji nekoliko opština: u Nišu, Prištini, Leskovcu, Novom Pazaru, Kragujevcu, Šapcu, Smederevu i Požarevcu. Sve izrazitije zблиžavanje sa sredinom u koju su došli učinilo je da se brojni Jevreji u Srbiji početkom ovog veka počnu izjašnjavati kao "Srbi Mojsijevе vere".

Kulturna baština Španskih Jevreja na tlu južnoslovenskih zemalja

Posle progona iz Španije, južnoslovenski Sefardi su izgubili svaku vezu sa bivšom domovinom. U okviru Turskog Carstva obrazovali su posebnu etničku celinu sa sopstvenim obredno-verskim i porodičnim životom, zasebnim školama i programima obrazovanja. Istovremeno su se održavale dve kulturne tradicije: pisana i usmena. Pisana sefardska književnost, čiji su autori bili rabini i učitelji i koja je imala isključivo nacionalno-versku sadržinu, počela je već od XVI veka doživljavati stvaralačku dekadenciju. Usmeno predanje na narodnom jevrejsko-španskom jeziku, obogaćeno orijentalnim, balkanskim i slovenskim elementima, održalo se do sredine XX veka i predstavljalo je jedini vid svetovne književnosti među Sefardima.

Bogato književno nasleđe Sefarada čini veliki broj romansi, priča, balada, poslovice i izreka. Među Sefardima u Makedoniji bile su popularne priče i bajke zvane *konsežas*,¹¹ kojih u Srbiji i Bosni gotovo da nije bilo. Opšte mesto u narodnoj lirici zauzimaju ljubavne pesme zvane *kantikas*, tužbalice zvane *indečas* i narodne balade, popularne *romanses*. Sefardski *romansero*

¹¹ Žamila Kolonomos, "Poslovice, izreke i priče sefardskih Jevreja Makedonije", Beograd 1978.

čini obilje poetskih dela, različitih od dela koja su nastala u ranijoj domovini. U romansama, zapamćenim za vreme boravka u Španiji, česta su udaljavanja od prvobitnih tekstova, neretka su ubacivanja sopstvenih reči i stihova, imena i lica koja se ne pominju u originalu. Umesto španskih reči nailazi se na reči novog podneblja, odstupa se od prvobitnog stiha i ritma. Sefardski *romansero* otkriva da su Jevreji i na Balkanu sačuvali svoju poetsku maštu i univerzalnost stvaralaštva. *Romansero* je dokaz više da su Sefardi južnoslovenskih zemalja živeli intenzivnim životom zasebne etničke celine.¹² Pored romansi, Sefardi su sačuvali i doradili veliki broj poslovice i izreka, dodajući španskom nasleđu one poslovice i izreke koje su sami stvarali.

Radikalan zaokret u životu sefardske zajednice krajem XIX i početkom XX veka, koji je označio izlazak iz viševjekovne izolacije, doneo je progresivne promene, modernizaciju života i evropeizaciju školovanja i obrazovanja, posebno u Srbiji i Bosni. U tada najjačim kulturnim centrima Beogradu i Sarajevu, Sefardi osnivaju svoje štamparije, razvijaju izdavačku delatnost, štampaju svoja glasila, učestvuju u kulturnom životu spoljne sredine, bave se prevodnjem, pišu originalna književna dela, razvijaju pozorišnu delatnost. Tadašnja pojava nove sefardske književnosti može se objasniti kao pokušaj sinteze viševjekovne usmene i pisane tradicije, odnosno kao poslednji, mada već zakasneo pokušaj južnoslovenskih Sefarada da dobiju svoju umetničku književnost.

Od dolaska na tlo južnoslovenskih zemalja školovana su samo muška deca. Beogradski rabin Jehuda Lerma je 1617. osnovao ješivu koja je grad pretvorila u jedan od najznačajnijih centara za Sefarde. U sledećem veku, 1765. godine, ovu ulogu je preuzelo Sarajevo u kome je ješivu osnovao David Pardo. Uz ove škole, u kojima su spremni rabini, postojale su i niže

¹² Krinka Vidaković-Petrov, "Kultura španskih Jevreja na jugoslovenskom tlu", Sarajevo 1986.

jevrejske škole, mildari i talmud-tora škole. Tek sredinom XIX veka počinju se školovati i jevrejska ženska deca.

Ona su unela u kuće srpski jezik i poznavanje srpske književne tradicije. Škole su u mnogim mestima postojale do pred drugi svetski rat. Među njima zauzima posebno mesto Srednji teološki zavod u Sarajevu koji je 1928. osnovao Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije. U ovom zavodu su školovani neki od najznačajnijih rabina koji i danas deluju u svetu. Istaknutu ulogu u školovanju jevrejske dece imala je Alliance Israélite Universelle, koja je osnivala škole u pojedinim jevrejskim opštinama. I jevrejska ženska društva su osnivala škole, pre svega zanatske, u kojima su školovana siromašnija deca.

Prvi podaci o pozorišnoj delatnosti Sefarada potiču iz druge polovine XVIII veka. Predstave su održavane u getovima, a hrišćanima je njihova crkva zabranjivala da ih gledaju. Tematski su bile vezane za Purim, najveseliji jevrejski praznik, mada je — kako je ostalo zabeleženo — 1793. godine tražena dozvola od dubrovačkih vlasti da se izvede i jedna tragedija na dan Pesaha. Prva predstava u Sarajevu održana je 1888; to je bilo delo "Juda Makabi", izvedeno na jevrejsko-španskom jeziku. Pozorišna aktivnost je znatno proširena u XX veku. Javljaju se brojni autori Sefardi: A. Kapon, Laura Papo Bohoreta, Šabataj Džaen, a kasnije i pisci koji pišu na srpskohrvatskom, odnosno prevode drame sa španskog na srpskohrvatski: David Albala, Isak Samokovlija, Žak Konfino, Hajim i Benko Davičo.

U Beogradu je 1887. pokrenut prvi jevrejski list na tlu južno-slovenskih zemalja "El amigo del puevlo" ("Narodni prijatelj"), nedeljnik za politiku, književnost i nauku. Potom su izdavani brojni drugi listovi: "Pasatiempo", "El luzero de la paciensia", "Ha salom", "Ha Mebaser haivri"... U Sarajevu su izlazili "La alnorada", list koji je donosio vesti iz jevrejskog sveta, "Jevrejski život", "Sefardski svet", list za društveni život i kulturu, kultur-



Prishtina: članovi amaterske grupe posle izvođenja purimske predstave, 1920. godine
Prishtina, members of an amateur group after a Purim performance, 1920

no-politički nedeljnik "Židovska svijest". Između dva rata su redovno izlazili i "Jevrejski almanah", "Jevrejski narodni kalendar", a posebno je bio značajan "Jevrejski glas", nedeljnik za jevrejska pitanja i tekovine jevrejske kulture. Izdavanje svih jevrejskih glasila je prestalo 1941. godine.

Pored mnogih verskih i humanitarnih zajednica koje su pomagale u svakodnevnom životu, Sefardi su stvarali kulturna i nacionalna društva. Za razliku od aškenaskih sredina u kojima takva društva rade na razvijanju cionističke ideje, društva u sefardskim zajednicama Balkana u velikoj meri pomažu izučavanju sefardske tradicije i sakupljanju kulturnog blaga. Među prvima je osnovano dobrotvorno Jevrejsko žensko društvo, potom Srpsko-jevrejska omladinska zajednica koja je razvijala kulturno-književnu delatnost, jevrejski prosvetni klub "Maks Nordau", Srpsko-jevrejsko pevačko društvo... U Sarajevu rade prosvetno-kulturno društvo "La Benevolencija", "La Lira", koja je negovala svetovnu i sinagogalnu muziku, kulturno-potporno društvo "Matatja", humanitarno-prosvetno društvo "La Gloria", škola za hebrejski jezik "Safa berura"... Na rad ovih društava uticali su i sakupljači romansi, balada i poslovice, koji početkom ovoga veka putuju Sredozemljem i po jevrejskim zajednicama Evrope i dopisuju se sa drugim sakupljačima entuzijastima. Sefardske novine toga doba su pune oglasa za razne priredbe na kojima se izvode kratki pozorišni komadi folklorne sadržine. Svaki jevrejski praznik bio je prilika za objavljivanje tekstova vezanih za tradiciju praznovanja. Priređivani su koncerti, balovi, igranke... Osim toga, kulturna društva se pojavljuju i kao stipenditori većeg broja studenata, kao naručioci istorijskih istraživanja, izdavači raznih zbornika i donatori brojnih povelja i diploma.

Hebrejski jezik kod balkanskih Sefarada je korišćen u novije vreme jedino kao jezik svetih knjiga i molitava. Za njegovu

primenu veoma se zalagao znameniti zemunski rabin Jehuda Haj Alkalaj (1798–1878), preteča ideja Teodora Hercla. Na drugoj strani, ni jevrejsko-španski jezik nije više mogao da odgovori zahtevima savremenog života.¹³ Pitanje kojim će jezikom Sefardi govoriti otvaralo se uporedo sa sve izrazitijim prihvatanjem novih društvenih prilika. Sve se više koristio srpskohrvatski kao jezik saobraćanja, obrazovanja i književnog stvaralaštva. Stari opštinski pinkasi zamenjuju se savremenim opštinskim knjigama već sredinom XIX veka, a administracija opština vodi se na jeziku sredine u kojoj Sefardi žive.

Ozbiljniji pokušaji proznog stvaralaštva javljaju se krajem XIX i početkom XX veka. Novijeg vremena su prozni radovi Hajima Daviča, Žaka Konfina i Isaka Samokovlije. Ovi pisci stvaraju na srpskohrvatskom jeziku, a u delima se bave jevrejskim temama. U Bosni, na prelazu sa jevrejsko-španskog na srpskohrvatski jezik, javljaju se pesnici A. Kapon, L. Papo, M. D. Gaon, Š. Džaen.

Među najpoznatije spomenike materijalne kulture Sefarada južnoslovenskih zemalja spadaju sefardska groblja. Po jedinstvenom obliku i ornamentici, kao i po vremenu nastanka izdavaju se groblja u Sarajevu, Dubrovniku, Splitu i Nišu. Sefardske sinagoge su mahom uništene i o njima se malo zna. U Makedoniji su gotovo sve sinagoge srušene u ratovima. Kao svedočanstvo zanimljivog i bogatog enterijera ističe se sinagoga u Dubrovniku, stara oko četiri veka, a po zanimljivoj spoljnoj i unutrašnjoj arhitekturi izdvaja se zgrada Stari hram, u Sarajevu, iz XVII veka.

Krajem XIX veka, u vreme emancipacije Jevreja, javljaju se brojni likovni umetnici, među kojima su naznačajniji Danijel Ozmo i Josip Monsino Levi u Sarajevu, te Leon Koen, Moše Pijade, Bora Baruh i Marko Čelebonović u Beogradu.

¹³ Sarajevski filolog Kalmi Baruh napisao je brojne studije o jeziku španskih Jevreja i o tome ostavio dragocene podatke. Poseban značaj ima njegova doktorska disertacija "De Lautstandes Judenspanischen in Bosnien", Beč 1923.

Holokaust i obnova jevrejske zajednice

Za vreme drugog svetskog rata stradalo je više od 60.000 Jevreja. Do rata je na prostoru južnoslovenskih zemalja živelo oko 75.000 duša.¹⁴

Bugari su Jevreje iz Makedonije predali Nemcima, koji su ih deportovali u Treblinku i tamo pobili 1943. godine. Jevrejsku zajednicu u Srbiji uništili su Nemci tokom 1941–1942. godine u logorima u Beogradu i Nišu. Jevreji iz Bosne su stradali u ustaškim logorima na teritoriji tzv. Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Pored svih strahota kojima su bili izloženi, oko 5.000 južnoslovenskih Jevreja priključilo se partizanima i borilo protiv fašizma. Od nekada brojnog i organizovanog Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, osnovanog 1919. godine, kraj rata je dočekala ljudski malobrojna i materijalno razorena zajednica. Oko 8.000 Jevreja odselio se u Izrael, tako da danas na tlu južnoslovenskih zemalja živi nešto oko 7.000 Jevreja.

Posle obnove rada jevrejskih ustanova u Jugoslaviji nastavljene su brojne aktivnosti: u Beogradu deluje hor "Braća Baruh", u Zagrebu hor "Moša Pijade" (ime mu je nedavno promenjeno u "Lira"), u Sarajevu grupa "Ladino" neguje sefardsku muziku. Savez svake godine objavljuje konkurs za radove iz oblasti nauke, publicistike i književnosti. Mnogi od danas značajnih književnika dobijali su nagrade kao debitanti na ovom konkursu: Danilo Kiš, Filip David, David Albahari...

Aktivno radi i Jevrejski istorijski muzej u Beogradu, koji je ostvario značajan broj izložbi praćenih stručnim katalogima. U saradnji sa Muzejsko-galerijskim centrom iz Zagreba napravljena je izložba "Jevreji na tlu Jugoslavije" uz koju je štampan obiman katalog na srpskohrvatskom i engleskom jeziku. Izložba je bila priređena u nekoliko gradova Jugoslavije, a potom u Njujorku i Torontu. Muzej izdaje "Zbornik", časopis u kojem se objavljuje građa iz istorije Jevreja, a ima i posebnu ediciju u

¹⁴ Tačni podaci nalaze se u knjizi dra Jaše Romana "Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945, žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR-a", Beograd 1980.

kojoj se objavljuje građa značajna za izučavanje života Sefarada na južnoslovenskom prostoru. U Sarajevu je 1966. obeležena 400-godišnjica dolaska Sefarada u Bosnu. Tom prilikom je u obnovljenoj staroj sefardskoj sinagogi uređen Muzej Jevreja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Uz brojne druge aktivnosti, jevrejska zajednica danas neguje učenje hebrejskog i ladino, a u tri sinagoge održava se redovna verska služba.

After living nearly a millennium on the Iberian Peninsula the Jewish community in 1492 faced a difficult choice: either to convert to Catholicism and stay in Spain, or to be faithful to the religion of their forefathers and leave the country. It was the year when Castile and Aragon were united and the Spanish king Ferdinand and queen Isabella issued the edict whereby those who did not wish to convert were obliged to leave Spain. On the day of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, on the 9th of Av, thousands of Jews took leave of their ancestors' tombs and fled into exile: one group found refuge in neighbouring Portugal, which they very soon had to leave; another group made its way to France, England and Holland. The third group — the largest in number — headed for Italy, the Ottoman Empire and Northern Africa. Prior to this event the Jewish community in Spain during its centuries-long presence had produced many significant writers and thinkers. The great Talmudist and rabbi Moses ben Hanoh, writer and philosopher Samuel ha-Nagid, poets Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses ben Ezra and Yehuda ha-Levi, and the great philosopher, Judaist and physician Moshe ben Maimonides — are only among the most famous.

Some of those who found shelter in the Ottoman Empire settled in the Near East, others continued to the European part of Turkey, to the Balkans.¹ Turkish Sultan Bayazid II received the

¹ Jews have inhabited the territories of the Balkan Peninsula since ancient times. There is rare but convincing proof of their material culture: remains of a synagogue at Stobi (III c.), oil lamps with menorahs at Solin (IV c.), cemetery at Duklja (IV c.), menorah from Celarevo (X c.). Ashkenazi Jews settled in these territories from the XII c. in Belgrade they already found Sephardic communities. In larger towns the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities were separate.

wave of immigrants with an order to open all the gates of the Empire to welcome the expelled Jews. His words are on record: "How unwise Ferdinand of Spain was when by expelling the Jews he impoverished his own country and enriched mine!"

The Sephards² began to settle in South Slav lands in the first half of the XVI century, first individually, later in larger groups. The ones who came via Italy generally stayed on the Adriatic coast. They settled in Dalmatia, then under Venetian rule, and on the territory of the independent Republic of Dubrovnik. Hence different influences on the spiritual and cultural life and economic progress of the Sephards in the Adriatic coast and on the continental part of the Balkans.

In their new homeland they were isolated from their surroundings, which made it possible to keep and conserve the culture they had brought from Spain. Besides their religion, customs, ritual objects and sacred books they brought two languages: *Hebrew*, which they called the sacred language (*lashon hako-desh*) used in prayers, in sacred books, literature and science; and *Ladino*, a mixture of Spanish with a certain number of Hebrew and Aramaic words. As time passed, the language was enriched with expressions from the languages of neighbouring people, such as Turkish, Serbian, Greek...

Among the books brought to the Balkans the Sarajevo Haggadah is an outstanding treasury of Sephardic miniature painting, a collection of stories, poems and prayers for the great Jewish holiday, the Pesah. According to an Oxford professor, Cecil Roth, this book is "The superb medieval codex known as the Sarajevo Haggadah is certainly the most famous of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts: it is among the most beautiful, it is perhaps the most important." (It is kept in the Regional Museum in Sarajevo).³

² From Hebrew word Sepharad, meaning Spain.

³ Sesil Rot, "Sarajevska Hagada", Beograd 1962; Cecil Roth, "Sarajevska Hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umetnosti", Jevrejski almanah, 1959-1969, Beograd

During the whole XVI century the Jewish community in these lands was in the process of formation. The settlers were in all respect under the influence of the Sephardic centres in Salonika, Constantinople and Ferrara. From these points came the rabbis, the spiritual and legal leaders of the communities, bringing with them to the Adriatic coast and Dubrovnik the spirit of the West European cultural renaissance, and to the Sephards settled in the Ottoman Empire a touch of the Levant.

The process of settlement on the Balkan Peninsula was not a uniform process. As Split was part of the Venetian Republic from 1420 and as there were no limitations as regards the Jews, the number of Sephards rapidly increased.⁴ Schools were established, religious subjects and Hebrew were taught. The Jews, whom the local inhabitants called Ponentini, rapidly lost their Judeo-Spanish language, adopted Italian, which was the official language and similar to the local, so it replaced the language of their former homeland. This may explain why there are no folk-songs, stories or proverbs from Split recorded in Jewish-Spanish. The XVI century would have ended without incident if the authorities had not passed a law the obligatory wearing a yellow badge and if all the Talmudic books had not been burned.

A Sephardic Jew, Daniel Rodriguez, an eminent constructor, in 1556 submitted to the Senate of Venice a project for the construction of Split harbour. The project was approved, but its building of it with a lazaret and customs-house was delayed. It was completed only in 1592 when a Jew was licenced to open a bank in Split. Rodriguez was the first elected consul of the port, a title later granted to other local Sephards as well. The ghetto of Split was established in 1778, a period when Jews were guaranteed civil and religious rights. Well-known Sephards of the time were physicians — Juda Lombroso and Tobija Gabaj — since medicine was the only science Jews were allowed to practice.

⁴ Duško Kečkemet, "Židovi u povijesti Splita", Split 1971

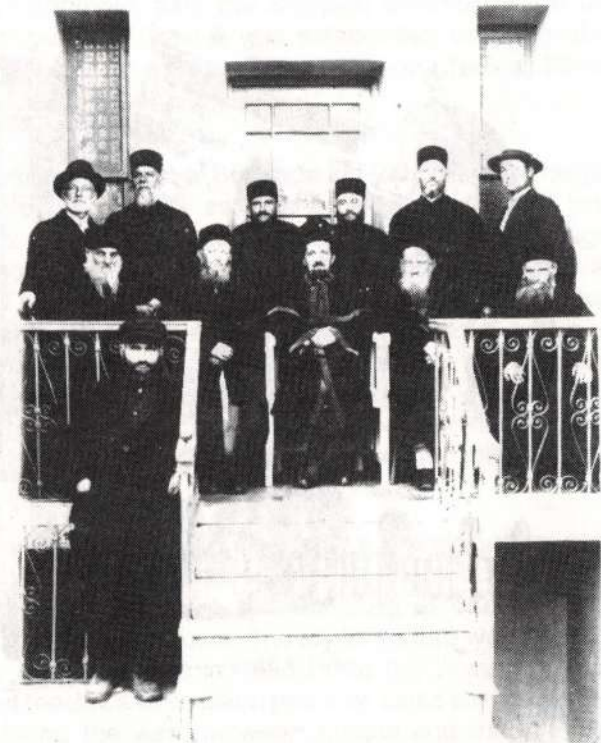
In Dubrovnik⁵ the Sephards were under the influence of both Venice and of the Turkish Empire. In the beginning they were victims of prejudice from the Catholic population. They were accused of "ritual murders", they were often subject to different prohibitions. Once they were even expelled from the city (1515). However, in 1538 the Dubrovnik Jewish community was established. The ghetto, the part of the city where they were allowed to live, was established in 1546; this is a short street, today still called Žudioska, meaning Jewish, where a synagogue was built among the houses. A collection of textiles and jewellery kept in the Dubrovnik synagogue reflects the former glitter, wealth and importance of this community. In the XVI century this city was for a time home to the well-known poet Didak Pir and doctor Amatus Luzitanus. Among the Dubrovnik-born authors the most important was Aron Koen, writer and commentator of Tanakh and writer of religious hymns.⁶

A sudden immigration of Sephards from Salonika to Macedonia⁷ formed larger communities in Bitola Štip, Skoplje and Kratovo. In the writings of Macedonian and Salonikan rabbis it is recorded that in Bitola alone five synagogues were built, some of them named after the regions or towns the Sephards originated from: Kal Portugal, Kal Aragon... There were three schools in the town, providing education to the youth. Learned rabbis ensured the education of the most indigent children. The well-known rabbi-teachers of Bitola were Josef Ben Lev and Šlomo Avram Hakoen (XVI century). Sephards also settled in Veles, Dojran, Prilep, and Ohrid. Among themselves they spoke Judeo-Spanish, which they called *djudezmu*. For centuries they lived in the closed world of their mahallas, until the Balkan Wars and World War I. These events brought enormous poverty to Macedonia and hence to the Jewish community, which was the reason many of them emigrated to South America, and on the eve of World War II to Palestine.

⁵ Dr Bernard Stulli, "Židovi u Dubrovniku", Sarajevo 1937

⁶ Dr Jorjo Tadić, "Jevreji u Dubrovniku", Sarajevo 1937; Studije i građa o Jevrejima Dubrovnika, Zbornik I, Beograd 1971.

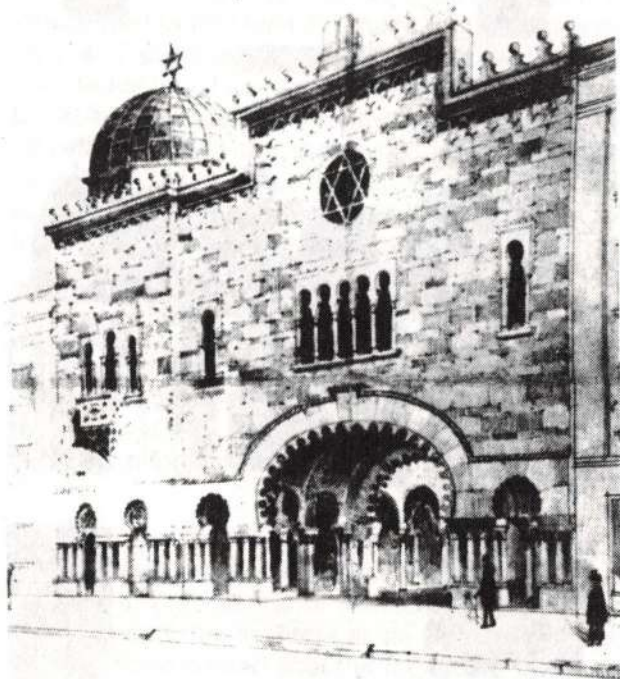
⁷ Ženi Lebl, "Plima i slom", Gornji Milanovac 1990; Aleksandar Matkovski, "A history of the Jews in Macedonia", Skoplje 1982.



Rabin Avram Romano sa hahamima (Bitolj, 1931)
Bitola, Rabbi Avram Romano with chachamim

In Sarajevo the Sephardic community was established in 1565.⁸ They lived in different parts of the town up to 1581 when Siyavush-Pasha became Grand Vizier. At his order the Čifutana was built, the part of the town where the Jews were to live with a synagogue next to it. The quarter was also called *Sijavuš pašina दौरا*, *Velika avlija* and *Kortiž*. (Today the former synagogue building houses the Jewish Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.) The inhabitants of the quarter were free to go

⁸ Dr Moric Levi, "Die Sephardim in Bosnien", Sarajevo 1911; Avram Pinto, "Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine", Sarajevo 1987; "Spomenica — 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u BiH", Sarajevo 1966.



Sefardska sinagoga u Sarajevu, podignuta 1926. godine
Sarajevo, Sephardic synagogue built in 1926

anywhere, so this could not be considered a real ghetto. The whole place burnt down in a great fire in 1879.

Since their arrival in the Balkans, apart from very few restrictions, on the territories of the Ottoman Empire the Jews enjoyed religious and educational autonomy. Furthermore, in civil lawsuits the Jewish court Bet Din administered justice, while criminal trials were under the authority of state courts. In the law-court the Jews swore "by God who revealed the Torah to

Moses". Two centuries after the Sarajevo community the Sephardic community of Travnik was established, not long after that the communities in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Zenica, Bihać, Višegrad, Mostar and Brčko.

After the Turkish conquest of Belgrade in 1521 Sephards began to settle here.⁹ Soon they established their community, built synagogues and schools, started businesses. Three synagogues are known to have existed in 1567. The Belgrade yeshivah (theological school) had a great reputation for its learned lecturers — rabbis. Besides educational and religious activities, they translated and published their own books, the so-called responses about various questions in judaism. Among them Meir Andjel, Jehuda Lerma, Simha Hakoen, Josif Almozilino are only a few names which have to be mentioned.

With the development of the community a Jewish quarter grew up on the banks of the Danube, at Jaliya, today Dorćol. There they lived together in mutual understanding with Serbs, Turks, Greeks, Romanies and others. The idyllic picture was interrupted by the Austrians who in 1688 burnt the Jewish mahalla and many of the Jews were taken prisoner. Later, as the masters changed during the wars between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, the fate of the Serbian Sephards changed too. When the Turks retreated, the Austrians enforced anti-Jewish laws, attacked Jews, plundered their property, and transported them to Moravia where they demanded ransom from the Moravian Jewish communities. When the Turks returned, they took revenge on the Jews for their refusal to retreat with them. It was only during the reign of Prince Miloš (1815–1839) that the Jews were granted civil rights and freedom to trade. However, this was soon denied as new rulers came to power in Serbia. By the decision of the Berlin Congress in 1878 Serbia was obliged to recognize civil rights to Jews living on its territory, granted by the Constitution of 1888.

⁹ Belgrade rabbi Ignjat Šlang published "Jevreji u Beogradu" in 1926 in which he gives Jewish references for the history of Jewry in Belgrade. Before him this was done by a Bulgarian historian Solomon Rozanes.

The Sephardic community of Belgrade expanded its activities and in the following years new communities were established in Serbia: Niš, Priština, Leskovac, Novi Pazar, Kragujevac, Šabac, Smederevo and Požarevac. Coexistence with people with whom they shared their lives soon resulted in many of the Jews in Serbia calling themselves "Serb of Moses' faith".

Cultural heritage of Spanish Jews in the South Slav lands

After expulsion from Spain the Sephards in the South Slav lands lost all contact with their former homeland. In the Ottoman Empire they formed a separate ethnic entity with their own religious and family life, independent schools and educational programs. Both the written and oral tradition was preserved. The written Sephardic literature, whose authors were rabbis and teachers and which had a solely national-religious content, already in the XVI century started its decline. The oral tradition in Jewish-Spanish language, enriched with Oriental, Balkan and Slavic elements, survived till the mid XX century and represented the only form of secular literature among the Sephards.

The rich literary heritage of the Sephards includes many romances, stories, ballads, proverbs and sayings. Among the Macedonian Sephards stories and fairy tales called *konsežas*¹¹ were very popular but almost unknown in Serbia and Bosnia. Love songs called *kantikas* were common in folk lyrics, also laments called *indečas* and popular *romances*. The Sephardic *romansero* is a collection of poetic works different from those originating from the former homeland. In romances, remembered from Spanish times, digressions are frequent, the teller inserts his own words and rhymes, names and persons not

¹⁰ Belgrade Jews had trading connections from Vienna to Constantinople; often families through business and family connections linked Bulgarian towns with Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, or Constantinople with Amsterdam via Belgrade and Vienna.

¹¹ Žamila Kolomonis, "Poslovice, izreke i priče sefardskih Jevreja Makedonije", Beograd 1978.

mentioned in the original. Instead of Spanish words new words of the new home appeared, there are departures from the original rhymes and rhythm. The Sephardic *romansero* reveals that the Jews in the Balkans retained their poetic imagination and artistic universality. The *romansero* is further proof that the Sephards of the South Slav lands lived an intensive life as an isolated ethnic entity.¹² Apart from the romances the Sephards preserved a great number of proverbs and sayings, adding to the Spanish heritage the ones they invented for themselves.

The life of the Sephardic community at the turn of the XIX – XX centuries changed radically, marked by its emergence from a long period of isolation, which brought progress, modernisation and education, especially in Serbia and Bosnia. In the most vigorous Sephardic centres of the time, Belgrade and Sarajevo, the Sephards established their own printing press, developed publishing, issued their own journals, took part in the cultural life of the surrounding environment, they translated, wrote original works, developed theatrical art. The appearance of a new Sephardic literature can be explained as an attempt to synthesize a centuries-long oral and written tradition, or as final, though belated attempt on the part of the South Slav Sephards to develop their own literature.

Since they settled in the South Slav lands the Sephards educated only their boys. In 1617 the Belgrade rabbi Jehuda Lerma established a yeshivah which turned Belgrade into one of the most significant Sephardic centres. In the next century, in 1765, this role was taken over by Sarajevo where a yeshivah was established by David Pardo. Besides these schools where rabbis were educated, there also existed lower Jewish schools, mildars and Talmud-Torah schools. It was only in the mid XIX century that girls began to attend school. They brought to

¹² Krinka Vidaković-Petrov, "Kultura španskih Jevreja na jugoslovenskom tlu", Sarajevo 1968.

their homes the Serbian language and the knowledge of Serbian literary tradition. In many places these schools existed until the beginning of World War II. Among them the Secondary Theological Institute in Sarajevo, which was founded in 1928 by the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, was of particular importance. Some of the most learned and famous rabbis were educated here. The Alliance Israelite Universelle played an important role in the education of Jewish children since it founded schools in the Jewish communities. The Jewish Women's Society also established schools, primarily trade schools where children of poorer families were enrolled.

The first records of a Sephardic theatre date from the second half of the XVIII century. Plays were performed in ghettos and Christians were forbidden by their church to watch them. Thematically they were connected with the Purim, the jolliest Jewish holiday, although, as recorded in 1793 permission was asked from the Dubrovnik authorities to perform also a tragedy on that day. The first performance in Judeo-Spanish was held in Sarajevo in 1888 and the play was entitled "Judas Maccabaeus". In the XX century theatrical activity broadened, many Sephard authors appeared: A. Kapon, Laura Papo Bohoreta, Šabataj Džaen, later playwrights who wrote in Serbo-Croatian or translated from Spanish: David Albala, Isak Samokovlija, Žak Konfino, Hajim and Benko Davičo.

The first Jewish magazine in the South Slav lands entitled "El amigo del pueblo" was issued in 1887, and it was a political, literary and scientific weekly. Following this many other publications appeared: "Pasatiempo", "El luzero de la paciencia", "Ha salom", "Ha Mebaser haivri"... In Sarajevo the magazine "La alnorada" informed the readers about news from the Jewish world, "Jevrejski život" and "Sefardski svet" was a publication for social and cultural affairs, "Židovska svijest" was a cultural-political weekly. In the period between the two World Wars

"Jevrejski Almanah" and "Jevrejski narodni kalendar" were regular publications and of special importance was the "Jevrejski glas", a weekly dealing with question from Jewish life and cultural heritage. In 1941 all the Jewish publications were banned.

Besides numerous religious and humanitarian organisations which could offer assistance in everyday life, the Sephards established cultural and national organisations as well. Unlike the Ashkenazi communities whose organisations promoted the Zionist idea, the organisations of Sephardic communities in the Balkans to a large extent researched the Sephardic tradition and preserved its cultural heritage. The charitable Jewish Women's Society was organized, soon followed by the Serbian-Jewish Youth Society which developed cultural activities, the "Maks Nordau" Jewish Educational Club, the Serbian-Jewish Choral Society etc. In Sarajevo the "La Benevolencija" educational-cultural society was organized, "La Lira" which promoted secular and synagogue music, "Matatja", a cultural society, a humanitarian and educational society "La Gloria", Hebrew language school "Safa berura"... These societies had contact with the collectors of romances, ballads and proverbs who at the beginning of this century travelled in the Mediterranean and European Jewish communities and corresponded with each other. The Sephardic publications are filled with advertisements for different performances where short theatrical acts with folklore subject were presented to the public. Each Jewish holiday was an opportunity for publishing texts concerning the tradition of the celebration. Concerts, balls and dances were organized. Apart from this, the societies awarded scholarships to students, financed historical research work, published different collections of literary works and granted many decorations and diplomas.



Članice Jevrejskog ženskog društva (Beograd, 1925)
Belgrade, members of the Jewish Women's Society, 1925

On the Balkans Hebrew was only used as the language of sacred books and prayers. Zemun rabbi Jehuda Haj Alkalaj (1798–1878) advocated its use, a forerunner of Theodor Hezl's ideas. The Jewish-Spanish language could no longer fulfill the requirements of contemporary life.¹³ The question of what language the Sepahrds should use became important as new social conditions were being adopted. Serbo-Croatian became more and more the language of communication, education and literature. The old community pinkases were replaced by modern books already by the middle of the IX century, while community administration was conducted in the language of the region where the Sephards lived. More serious attempts at prose came in the late XIX and early XX centuries. Works by Hajim Davičo, Žak Konfino and Isak Samokovlija date from this period. They wrote in Serbo-Croatian and in their works they deal with Jewish themes. In Bosnia, during period of transition from Judeo-Spanish to Serbo-Croatian the poets A. Kapon, L. Papo, M. D. Gaon, Š. Džaen published thir poems.

The Sephardic cemeteries are among the best known monuments of material culture in the South Slav lands. Their unique form and ornament, as well as age distinguish the graveyards in Sarajevo, Dubrovnik, Split and Niš. The Sephardic synagogues are mainly destroyed, and little is known about them. In Macedonia no synagogue remained after numerous wars. As a testimonial of a rich interior the Dubrovnik synagogue is unique, it is almost four centuries old, while the Old Temple built in Sarajevo in the XVII century is remarkable both for its exterior and its interior architecture and design.

¹³ Kalmi Baruh a philologist from Sarajevo, wrote numerous studies about the language of the Spanish Jews and left valuable data about the subject. His doctoral thesis "Der Lautstandes Judenspanishen in Bosnien", Vienna 1923 is of outstanding importance.

During the period of Jewish emancipation towards the end of the XIX century a group of painters became well-known, among them Daniel Ozmo and Josip Monsino in Sarajevo, and Leon Koen, Moša Pijade, Bora Baruh and Marko Čelebonović in Belgrade.

Holocaust and the revival of the Jewish communities

During World War II more than 60,000 Jews killed. Before the War there were 75,000 Jews living in the South Slav lands.¹⁴ The Bulgarians handed the Macedonian Jews over to the Germans', they were deported to Treblinka and there they were killed in 1943. The Jewish communities in Serbia were destroyed by Germans during the period of 1941-1942 in concentration camps in Belgrade and Niš. The Jews from Bosnia were victims of Ustasha concentration camps on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. Despite all these horrors about 5.000 Jews these territories joined the Partisan liberation movement and fought against fascism. The once numerous and organized Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, established in 1919, found itself at the end of the war horribly reduced in number and materially ruined. About 8.000 Jews left for Israel, so nowadays there are about 7000 Jews living in the South Slav lands.

After the Jewish communities were reestablished in Yugoslavia many activities resumed: in Belgrade there is the "Braća Baruh" choir, in Zagreb the "Moša Pijade" choir (its name recently changed to "Lira"), in Sarajevo a group called Ladino which cultivates Sephardic music. Every year the Federation announces awards in the field of sciences, journalism and literature. Many of our well-known writers began their career in this competition: Danilo Kiš, Filip David, David Albahari...

¹⁴ Precise data can be found in: Dr Jaša Romano "Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945, žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR-a", Beograd 1980.

The Museum of Jewish History in Belgrade has organized numerous exhibitions with special catalogues. In collaboration with the Museum-Gallery Centre in Zagreb a large exhibition entitled "Jews in Yugoslavia" was organized with a catalogue in Serbo-Croatian and English. The exhibition was presented in several Yugoslav cities, then in New York and Toronto. The Museum publishes a magazine "Zbornik" in which material on Jewish history is published and there exists a separate edition dealing with research in Sephardic life and tradition in the South Slav lands. The 400th anniversary of the first Sephardic settlers in Bosnia was marked in Sarajevo. On this occasion the Jewish Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was opened in the renewed old synagogue.

Besides numerous activities the Jewish communities organize lectures in Hebrew and Ladino, and there are three synagogues where regular religious services are held.

ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR SEPHARD '92 CELEBRATION PROGRAM

Belgrade

JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM

1. Exhibition "Jews of Bitola in photographs by Milton Manaki". (The exhibition will be organized in cooperation with the Bitola City Library)
2. Exhibition "Sephardic literature, publishing and journalism in Yugoslavia". (The exhibition will be organized in cooperation with the Belgrade City Library)
3. Exhibition of amateur painters
4. Publication of booklet "Sephardim in South Slav Lands"
5. Review Zbornik 6 of the Jewish Historical Museum
6. Prof. Dr. Bogumil Hrabak: Monograph on the Jews in Belgrade

JEWISH COMMUNITY, BELGRADE

Jewish Community Club — lectures

March: Roots — Sephardic cultural heritage

April: From Spain and Portugal to the Balkans — Sephardic diaspora

May: Sephardic literature and language in our lands

June: Judeo-Spanish romances: Sephardic folklore

September: Sephardic communities of Serbia

October: A week of Sephardic culture (During the week lectures will be held, concerts of the Belgrade choir "Braća Baruh" and the Sarajevo group "Ladino", exhibitions at the Jewish Historical Museum)

24 October 1992, Kolarac University, official ceremony SEFARAD 92

November: Tragic and comic in the lives of the Sephardim: Isak Samokovlija and Žak Konfino (on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Žak Konfino)

December: Dorčol in literature and memories

VID Gallery

11000 Belgrade, Vuka Karadžića 7a

The VID Gallery will organize an international painting and sculpture exhibition with some 50 authors from

Europe, America and Israel participating. The Exhibition will be shown:

2 – 15 May 1992
Spain – Toledo
Caja Toledo

18. June – 3 July 1992
Israel – Tel Aviv – Jaffa
Horace Richter Gallery

10 – 24 September 1992
Sarajevo

17 – 31 October 1992
Beograd
Galerija VID

Sarajevo

10 – 15 September 1992

The Jewish Community in Sarajevo and the Institute for International Relations will organize an international meeting: "500 years of the Jewish Diaspora in the cultural historical complex of Yugoslavia". Approximately 100 scholars and scientists from Europe, America and Israel have announced their participation.

During the meeting many events and performances will be organized:

- Concert by Isak Behara, cantor
- Concert by Flory Jagoda
- Concert by the Ladino choir
- Concert by the Braća Baruh choir
- Concert by a YU ethno-group

Theatre:

- Miris kiše na Balkanu (ballet)
- Plava Jevrejka (based on Ivo Andrić)
- A play by Laura Papo Bohoreta

Exhibitions:

- Photographs of the old Jewish cemetery at Kovačići
- Books from the Sarajevo Jewish Community

Skopje

January 1992

Nomination of a committee for celebrating the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Visit to the Assembly and Executive Board of the Republic of Macedonia to present the program of celebrations — Meeting of the financial committee of the Macedonian Academy of Scien-

ces to award works with Jewish themes

— 500th anniversary celebrations in Skopje, Bitola and Štip, establishing commemorative tablets on the remaining Jewish buildings

— Round table meeting (participating: Institute for national history, Folklore Institute etc) in Skopje, Bitola and Štip.

March 1992

Meeting of the Jewish Community with the following agenda:

- a. Paper on the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain
- b. Awards to the Macedonian Radio and TV and journal "Nova Makedonija"
- c. Decision to plant trees at the Jewish cemetery in Bitola
- d. Celebration and concert

April 1992

The Jewish Community of Bitola in collaboration with the Folklore Institute will organize the collection of Judeo-Spanish romances from Skopje, Bitola and Štip and will organize concerts in these cities.

— Public information and films about the Jews in Macedonia all year long.

— Proposals sent to the Executive Council, University, the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences and other institutions to develop cultural connections with Israel. Also the question of visas should be discussed.

— The Jewish Community building should be decorated with works of artistic and historical value to commemorate the long lasting presence of Jews in Macedonia.

— The Ohrid Summer Festival and Struga Poetry Evenings should include a larger number of guests from Israel and Spain.

September – December 1992

The Jewish Community of Bitola in collaboration with the Elementary School of Bitola to plant 3296 trees in the Jewish cemetery in Bitola in memory of the Jews deported and killed in Treblinka.

Decision to publish a monograph after the three round table discussions about the life of Jews near Vardar, Dragor and Otinje.

— Commemorative tablet on the synagogue at Stobi.

— Exhibitions about the life of Macedonian Jewry in museums of Macedonia.



SEPHARDS IN THE SOUTH SLAV LANDS