



Nenad Fogel



תעמטת סעט אגוגות



Nenad Fogel

TWO SYNAGOGUES OF ZEMUN

Anex:

**Life of Jews in Zemun after the Holocaust and
the Jewish Cemetery in Zemun**

Zemun, 2022.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of times, humans had deities whom they revered. Places where they gathered and prayed to gods were structures dedicated to this purpose. Those places were parts of their identity. That is why all conquerors first attacked their holy places, wishing to crush the faith of the enslaved people.

Such experiences have befallen Jews as well. The most notorious case was the fate of Solomon's Temple (Beit HaMikdash), the so called First Temple. Babylonians, led by emperor Nebuchadnezzar, destroyed it during the siege of Jerusalem in 586. B.C. and took the Jews to slavery. According to legend, the Second Temple (Beit HaMikdash HaSheni), also known as Herod's Temple, was built on the same spot. It stood there from 516. B.C. to 70. A.D., when, in retaliation for the Jewish uprising, it was destroyed by the Romans. Contrary to the conquerors' expectations, the destruction of the temples only fortified the Jews' faith in the Almighty. The "Western Wall", part of the much larger supporting wall surrounding the ruined temple in Jerusalem, became the place at which Jews mourned the destruction of their Temples. The "Western Wall" or the "Wailing Wall" is considered the holiest place of prayer for all Jews.



1. The "Western Wall" or the "Wailing Wall" - Jerusalem

When their kingdom fell, Jews dispersed all over the world. Many of them found a new homeland on the Pyrenees Peninsula, in North Africa, but also throughout Europe. What they took along was their faith – faith in the Messiah, in a better life, in people. Not infrequently were their beliefs betrayed. The Jews exiled from Spain and Portugal, towards the end of 15th century, those who did not want to convert to Christianity, found their new home in the Otoman Empire. There, they were welcomed with respect, because they were educated, literate, and as such, beneficial to the great empire. As opposed to the local population, they were not pressured to convert to Islam. Still, it can be said that they were actually only “tolerated”. The Jews in the territory of Vojvodina lived under the Austrian Empire, later to become the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Up until the decree by Franz Joseph I, on February 27, 1868, the Jews lived under a number of restrictions. From that date on, the Jews in Zemun enjoyed equal rights with all the other confessions recognized in Austria.

Religious life of the Jews in Zemun until World War II was practiced in an Ashkenazi and a Sephardic synagogue. According to Danilo Fogel, “what characterized this community was that there was no division between the majority Ashkenazi and minority Sephardic members. On the contrary, there was a permanent co-operation and mutual understanding among them all. Among other things, marriages of the Ashkenazi with the Sephardic Jews were quite normal”.

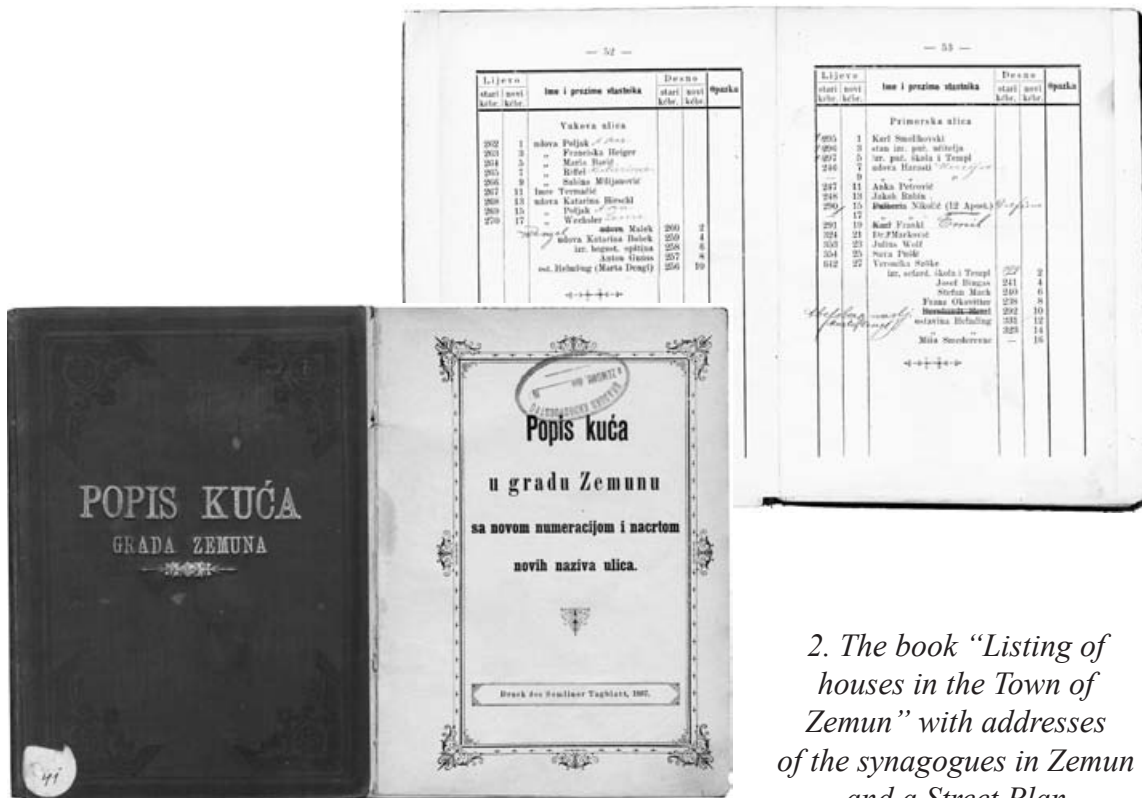
With this Exhibition about the history of the two synagogues of Zemun, we wish to prepare the public for the beginning of operation of the “Religious Center” in the making. The Center will be located in the Ashkenazi synagogue, which was restituted to the Jewish Community in 2016. Should we get an adequate support from the competent authorities of the Republic of Serbia, the Center will encompass facilities for the presentations of the works of art by artists of Zemun.

CHAPTER I

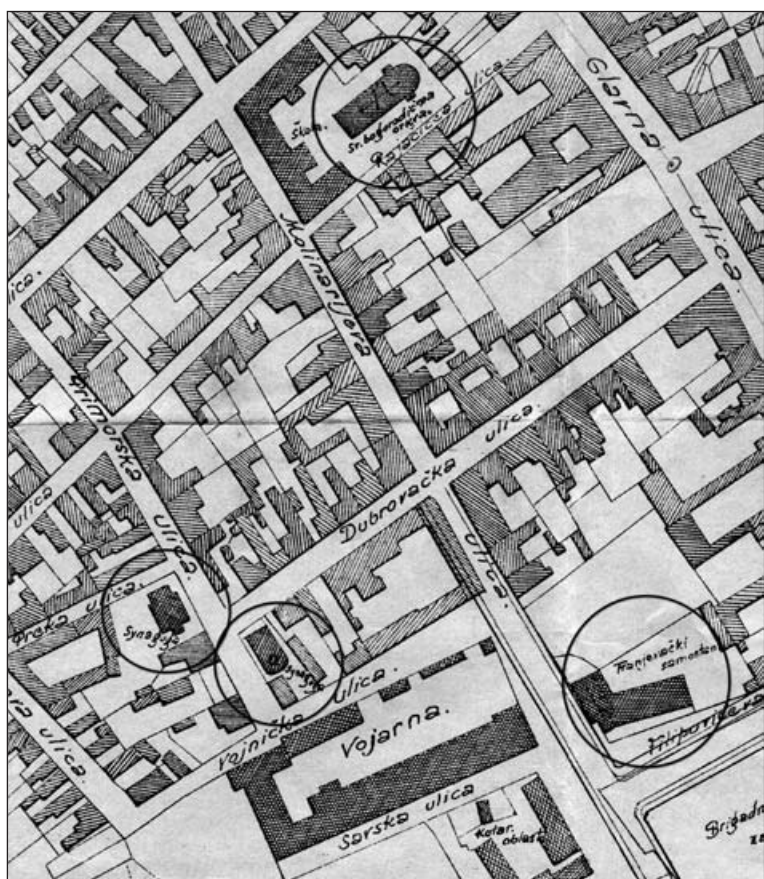
RELIGIOUS LIFE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SYNAGOGUES

Based on the available archival materials, in his book “Jewish Community in Zemun” (2007), Danilo Fogel mentioned that the settlement of Jews in Zemun took place in 1739. From that date on, there have been numerous activities of the Jewish Community in the organization of religious, social and economic life of Zemun. The religious life of the Jews in Zemun dates back to the first years of their settling here. Records dating back to 1739 mention that the so called “Jewish house” was home of the rabbi (or cantor), teacher, ritual poultry butcher (schachter) and school janitor. Although there are no reliable data, there are indications that a synagogue already existed in 18th century. In fact, several documents found at the Zemun Magistrate office, now kept at the Historical Archives of Belgrade, make mention of a “synagogue”. So, for instance, a document issued on February 2, 1774 states: “Johan Georg Schalck, employed by Mr. Schneeweiss, is being fined 4 forints for the offence of disturbing Jews in their synagogue two times, mocking Rafael Salamon and Mayer Rechnitzer for being Jews, in the street and, finally, for shoving Mayer Rechnitzer in the street”. Furthermore, a synagogue is mentioned in certain documents from 1794, 1806, 1823, 1832, 1834... Unfortunately, none of these documents mentions the exact location of the synagogue. Dr. Petar Marković, in his book published in 1896, “Zemun from the Earliest Times till Today”, uses a derogatory term moneygrubber (“čivut”) for the Jews. He translated the sentence from the report of the Imperial Cuncelor Wilhelm Taube, dated 1776, “Die Juden haben auch ihre eigene Synagoge” as follows: “The moneygrubber’s (čivuti) also have their own synagogue”. The fact that a synagogue is mentioned in all of these documents further complicates the matter, since the Jews of Zemun officially applied for a permission to build a synagogue in 1833. It points to the fact that they did not have a dedicated building, such as the one erected in 1863, but rather a prayer hall, most likely in the above mentioned “Jewish house”, which they, naturally, called synagogue.

The synagogues of Zemun, as we know them today, used to form part of the religious center of Zemun, where a circle of 300 m in diameter encompasses the Christian Orthodox, Catholic and Jewish prayer homes. The City Museum of Belgrade has given us informaton contained in the “*Listing of houses in the Town of Zemun with updated numeration and street names*”, printed by: Druck des Semliner Tagblatt, Zemun, 1897, namely: on page 53, “a flat owned by the Jewish public teacher, Jewish public school and Temple at no. 297 Primorska street (previous) – was renumbered to be no. 5. It is also noted that the “Jewish Sephardic school and Temple” at no. 194 was renumbered to no, 2. On page 52 it says that from no. 6. Vukova street, previously no. 258, there was an entrance to the “Jewish religious community”. The same numbering has been kept till today, except that the Primorska street has been renamed to Rabina (Rabbi) Alkalaja street.



2. The book "Listing of houses in the Town of Zemun" with addresses of the synagogues in Zemun and a Street Plan



THE ASHKENAZI SYNAGOGUE

Faced with a number of restrictions imposed by the Austrian Empire, the local Jews persistently applied for permission to build a “real” synagogue. So it was noted that an application by Jacob Isaak Albahari, a Turkish subject, submitted on behalf of the entire contemporary Jewish community in 1833, was rejected on the grounds that any increase in the Jewish population was undesirable. At the time, Zemun was part of the Military Frontier and Jews were prohibited from freely settling in the territory. Only a limited number of Jewish families (30) were allowed to live in the territory of the Military Frontier. After 29 years of waiting, the Jewish community did finally receive permission to build a synagogue. To show that the authorities paid due attention to this event, the cornerstone for the Ashkenazi synagogue was laid by a prominent military leader, major general and brigadier Josef Philippovich Freiherr von Pilippsberg, in the capacity of Emperor Franz Joseph I’s envoy. The cornerstone for the Ashkenazi synagogue was laid on July 27, 1862, the construction was finalized by October 7 and the consecration took place on July 8, 1863. This is noted in the **Ben Chananja – Periodical for Jewish Theology**, dated October 14, 1863, published by the Chief Rabbi of Szeged, Leopold Löw. He was also in charge of the consecration ceremony. The report on the event points out that the ceremony was magnificent and that the Torah Scrolls were brought from the old ark to the new one, which implies that before the synagogue was built, there had been a place where religious services were held. As already mentioned, it was probably in the so called “Jewish house”. “After the ‘eternal light’ was kindled, the Chief Rabbi delivered a sermon, attended by a large audience, among whom were numerous Christians (*source Ben Chananja*)”. The engagement of Chief Rabbi Leopold Löw to conduct the consecration ceremony, the personality otherwise considered to be the most important figure in the creation of what came to be known as Neolog Judaism, a particular Hungarian faction of Reform Judaism, indicates that the Zemun Jewish community inclined towards the Neolog, Reform wing. It meant a deflection from the attitudes propounded by the long-standing Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai. Yet, there may have been differences in opinions among him and the leaders of the Israelite religious community. In any case, it must be noted that Rabbi Alkalai is not mentioned in the “Diploma” among those present at the consecration ceremony of the synagogue. Instead of him, the “highly respected Rabbi Samuel Wolf” is pointed out.

During the Turkish bombardment of Belgrade in June of 1862, a large group of Jews from Belgrade fled to Zemun, among them an Ashkenazi Rabbi Yehuda Zeev Weinberger. He was hosted by the Rabbi of Zemun, Yehuda Alkalai, to whom Rabbi Weinberger was very grateful. His report published in the HaMagid weekly, no. 33, of Aug. 21, 1862, p. 258, notes, among other details: “We have two groups there: a/ Sephardic, headed by a wise teacher, renowned Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai ... b/ Ashkenazi; they also have an exceptional rabbi, who has been showing the path for 32 years now”. His name is not mentioned, but - according to the report from the “Diploma” awarded at the consecration ceremony, it was certainly Rabbi Wolf. Rabbi Weinberger’s name is not explicitly mentioned in the “Diploma” among those present at the cornerstone laying ceremony for the Ashkenazi synagogue on July 2, 1862,

but he was probably included among “the distinguished representatives of the Jewish community”. We can assume that he was still in Zemun at that time, bearing in mind that the article in HaMagid was published in the August issue. In the report published in the above mentioned newspaper, he described in great detail the fate of the Jews who fled Belgrade and settled at Zemun during the Turkish bombardment. He wrote that 500 families fled to Zemun, and also that the military authorities of the Austrian Empire showed great benevolence towards them. To accomodate them, the local, unused, millitary barracks were adapted. Marked gratitude was expressed to the donator Samuel Israel Ruso (he calls him Rosasa), his brother and mother, who helped them all and notes that but for that help all of them would have perished. Incidentally, the HaMagid newspaper was published in Poland, but was distributed throughout Europe. In the end, Rabbi Yehuda Zeev Weinberger calls upon all those who can provide some help, citing the name of Israel and pleading for contributions to be given directly to him. Based on his report, written while the war was still raging, we can conclude that he was waiting in Zemun for the conflicts in Belgrade to end. Also, there is no doubt that Rabbi Alkalai informed him of everything that happened in Zemun, including the forthcoming laying of the cornerstone on July 27, 1862.

Below follows the translation of the report on the synagogue consecration, published on October 12, 1863 in the **Ben Chananja** periodical:

Zemun, October 12. At the end of the consecration ceremony, a diploma was presented to the attending general and commander Philippovich, who signed it himself at the synagogue. The diploma was presented by Dr. Hercog, chairman of the consecration committee (Synagogen-Einweichung), who was credited with all the merits in keeping order in the course of the ceremony. The wording on the Diploma follows:

In the name of the one and only God, the cornerstone of the holy temple of the Israelite religious community in the Military Frontier region k.u.k. (Kaiserlich und Koniglich, meaning “imperial and royal”) of Zemun, was laid on July 27, 1862, during the holy rule of His k.u.k. Apostolic Highness, Emperor Franz Joseph I, and Her Highness, Empress Elisabeth Amalie Eugenie, by His Noble Highness Mr. k.u.k. major general and His Noble Highness brigadier Josef Philippovich Freiherr von Pilippsberg.

Present were also head of the Magistrate office and Mayor, His Eminence Mr. Anton Jakob, k.u.k. major and the entire Magistrate staff, respected Rabbi, Mr. Samuel Wolf, distinguished representatives of the Jewish Community Mr. Abram Leon, Mr. Bernh. Herzl, Mr. Heinrich Billitz, Mr. Kalman Kohn, all the Community members and numerous Christian brethren.

The holy temple was erected, and on October 7, 1863 with the help of God, completed, according to the plan approved of by the k.u.k. General Command, headed by His Holiness prince Franc von Achtenstein, designed by Mr. Florian Felber, local town architect, Mr. Anton Querfeld, town engineer, his son-in-law, Mr. Paul Toby - civil engineer, Mr. Formberg - carpenter, Mr. Sporza - woodworker, Mr. Thomic - locksmith, Mr. Galoib - painter, all from Pančevo.

△ **Zemlin, 12. Oktober.** Am Schlusse der Einweihungsfeierlichkeit überreichte Dr. Herzog, Vorsitzter des die Synagogen-Einweihung leitenden Komitès, das sich um die musterhafte Ordnung der Feier wahre Verdienste erworben hat, eine Urkunde dem anwesenden General und Kommandanten Philippovits, welcher dieselbe in der Synagoge unterzeichnete. Die Urkunde lautet, wie folgt.

Im Namen des einzig einzigen Gottes wurde am 27. Juli 1862 unter der erlauchten Regierung Sr. k. k. apostol. Majestät unseres erhabenen und glorreichen Kaisers Franz Josef I. und Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin Elisabeth Amalia Eugenia von Sr. Hochgeborenen dem Herrn k. k. Generalmajor und Brigadier Josef Philippovits Freiherrn von Philippenberg der Grundstein zu dem heil. Kultustempel der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in der k. k. Militär-Grenzwannunias Semlin feierlichst gelegt.

Anwesend waren der Magistratschef und Bürgermeister, Sr. Hochwohlgeborenen Herr Anton Jakob, k. k. Major, und das sämtliche Magistratspersonale, der ehrwürd. Rabbiner, Herr Samuel Wolf, die ehrsame Gemeindevorstandung, Herr Abram Leon, Herr Bernh. Herzl, Herr Heinrich Willig, Herr Kalman Kohn, sämtliche Gemeindeglieder und viele christliche Mitbrüder.

Der h. Tempel wurde nach dem vom hoch. k. k. Landes-Generalkommando, an dessen Spitze Sr. Durchlaucht der Fürst Franz von Liechtenstein steht, genehmigten Plane des Herrn Florian Felber, hiesigen städtischen Baumeisters, vom Herrn Anton Quersfeld, städtischen Baumeister, dessen Schwager, Herr Paul Töby, Maurermeister, dem Zimmermeister Herrn Formberger, dem Tischlermeister Herrn Evorga, dem Schleifermeister Herrn Thomic, dem Maler Herrn Galsig, sämtlich aus Panserra, gebaut, und am 7. Oktober 1863 mit göttlichem Beistande vollendet.

Am 8. Oktober 1863 wurde das heil. Gotteshaus durch den Hochgeborenen k. k. Generalmajor und Brigadier, Herrn Josef Freiherrn von Philippenberg feierlichst eröffnet und im Beisein des obgedachten k. k. Magistrates, ehrwürdigem Rabbinate, ehrsamem Gemeindevorstandung, sämtlicher Gemeindeglieder, alle k. k. Ämter hier, verschiebener hochwürdigter Geistlicher und anderer Konfessionen von Sr. Hochwürden dem Oberabbiner Herrn Leopold Löw aus Szegedin und dem Kantor Herrn Ferdinand Goldstein aus Or. Decseret solenn eingeweiht.

Josef Freiherr von Philippovits,
k. k. Generalmajor und Brigadier m. p.

*6. Facsimile of the report on the synagogue
consecration published
in the Ben Chananja periodical, in 1863*



7. The Ashkenazi synagogue



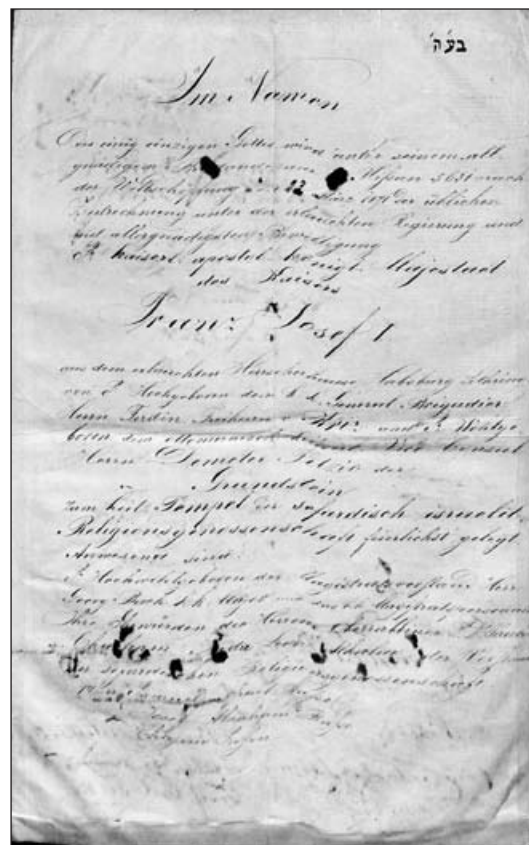
8. Facsimile of the “Acknowledgement” of the purchase of seat in the Ashkenazi synagogue

THE SEPHARDIC SYNAGOGUE

About a dozen years following the construction of the Ashkenazi synagogue, a Sephardic synagogue was finished as well. The cornerstone for the Sephardic synagogue was laid in 1871. This event was considered important, as shown by the fact that the cornerstone for the holy temple of the Sephardic Jewish community was laid, on behalf of Emperor Franz Joseph I of the Eminent House of the Habsburg-Lothringen, by His Highnesses Mr. k.u.k. major general and brigadier Ferdinand baron von Kriz and His Excellency Otoman Imperial Vice-Consul Mr. Tizio.

The Right Honorable Chief Magistrate k.u.k. Mr. major Georg Bach laid, together with the cornerstone, a charter reading: “This holy temple shall, with God’s help, be constructed according to the design, approved of by the higher authorities, made by a local architect, Mr. Josef Marx. May the name of God be celebrated through this work till the end of time.” That this event enjoyed great attention is seen by the list of attendees: The Right Honorable Chief Magistrate, with the Magistrate staff, Chief Rabbi Samuel David Tauber and Chacham Juda Leon Alkalai, representatives of the Sephardic religious community Messrs. Samuel Israel Ruso, Josip Abinum Ruso, Haim Susin, Jakob Farchy, Moses Elias and Israel Albahari, religious representatives Messrs. Bernhard Herzl, Moses J. Herzl, Markus Mayer, Pinkas L. Wolf and many other distinguished guests. The main benefactor of the construction of this synagogue was a Viennese bank “Mato Ruso and Sons”, represented at Zemun by Samuel Israel Ruso. The gathering was addressed by Juda Leon Alkalai, president of the regional Sephardic community. Živko V. Vasiljević, son of Vasilije Vasiljević (a respectable tradesman who supported Vuk Karadžić) delivered a speech “on love and harmony”.

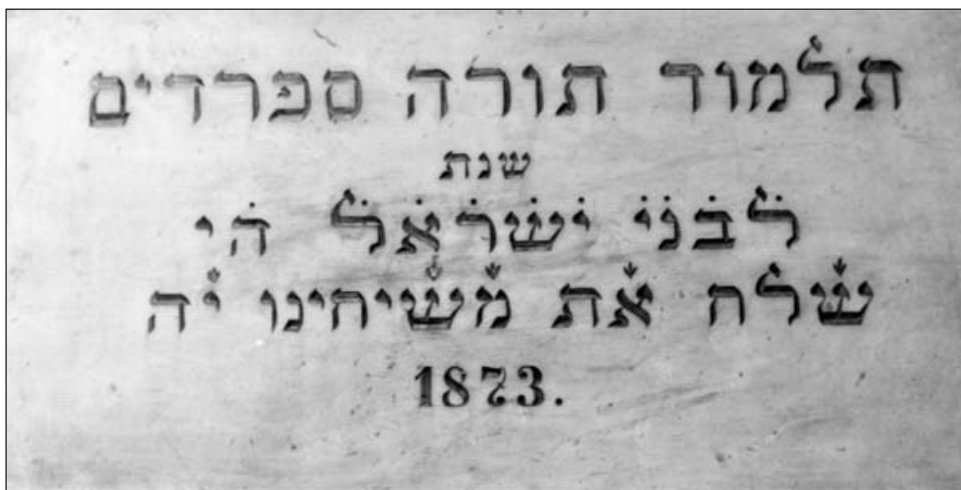
Just as on the occasion of the consecration of the Ashkenazi synagogue, it can be noticed that the laying of the cornerstone for the Sephardic synagogue was not attended by Rabbi Yehuda ben Shlomo Chai Alkalai. According to Ženi Lebl, he was in Jerusalem in the summer of 1871, but she also notes that: “Rabbi Alkalai stayed in Jerusalem about two months, after which he had to return to Zemun, for the consecration of the new synagogue”. This assertion is not in accordance with the



9. Facsimile of the 1871 Charter drawn on the occasion of the Sephardic synagogue cornerstone laying ceremony

wording of the “Charter on the Zemun Synagogue”, where it is noted that on March 23, 1871 the cornerstone was laid, but not that the consecration took place.

From the so far available data, and based on the plaque that used to be attached to the building of the Sephardic School, it is likely that the consecration of the synagogue did take place in 1873.



10. Plaque which was attached to the Sephardic School wording:

The Talmud of the Sephardic Torah
Year
God sent our Messiah to the Nation of Israel
1873

In the archives of the Zemun Jewish Community we came across two other photographs of the plaques taken off the Sephardic synagogue when it was taken down.

The text was taken from Isaiah Psalm 56:7. In gematria, “King of Israel” is 636, which signifies year 5636. As no exact date was mentioned, it may be 1875 or 1876. When we compare texts on the two plaques, it can be concluded as most strange that the school had been finished before the synagogue. Thus, it can be said that the writer wrongly inscribed the year of consecration “King of Israel”.

The “Ten Commandments” tablet was placed on top of the synagogue but the available photos and postcards do not show it clearly, because apparently the architect added some decorations round the tablet.

כִּי בֵּיתִי בֵּית הַפִּלֵּה יִקְרָא לְכָל הָעַמִּים
שְׁנַת
הַמֶּלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל



11. Entrance to the Sephardic
synagogue and
plaque once located above it reading:
***For my house will be called a house
of prayer for all nations
Year of the King of Israel***



12. The "Ten Commandments" tablet

DESCRIPTION OF THE SEPHARDIC SYNAGOGUE

The word synagogue derives from the Greek word synagein, meaning to get together. The Hebrew name for a synagogue is bet kneset – meeting house. The Jewish community of Zemun, those good, god-fearing people, had a Sephardic synagogue built back in 1873, on the corner of Dubrovačka and Juden gasse – Jewish street (so named from 1816 to 1897, and from 1897 named Primorska, at present the Rabbi Alkalai street). Our Sephardic synagogue at Zemun, which is, sadly, no more, was an outstanding structure of the time, built according to the design of Josef Marx.

It had a rectangular groundplan, with a semicircular apse, dimensions: width 10.82 m, length 17.73 m and height 14.50 m. It had a groundfloor and a gallery reachable by a rectified staircase. The gallery, matroneo, was a section where women sat separately from men, during the communal prayer and religious services.

In front of the Ark, our Sephardic synagogue featured an almemor, a raised platform on which the chazan, cantor, or shalijah cibur, translated as reader or prayer leader, stands and reads from the Torah laid on the table - teva, as well as the rabbi when he delivers his sermon – the drasha.



13. Postcard, showing the Sephardic synagogue, published by Isak Levi, 1917



14. Aron HaKodesh of the Sephardic synagogue, 1937

The Sephardic synagogue at Zemun was built from hard materials, in Moorish style. The façades were elegant, unpretentious and inspired dignity. The front façade was of risalit, which permitted a richer architectural morphology. The roof cover was the old flat type (“biber crep”), like in most contemporary houses in Zemun, laid on top of a massive wood roof.

The building was topped by very decorative, slender little turrets on the corners of the very nice attic. There is a building in Zemun with a similar upper part, of which many visitors to Zemun think that is part of the Jewish heritage. The citizens of Zemun know that it is not true. This fact shows that the Sephardic synagogue was a noteworthy and important building, kept in the memory of the local residents.

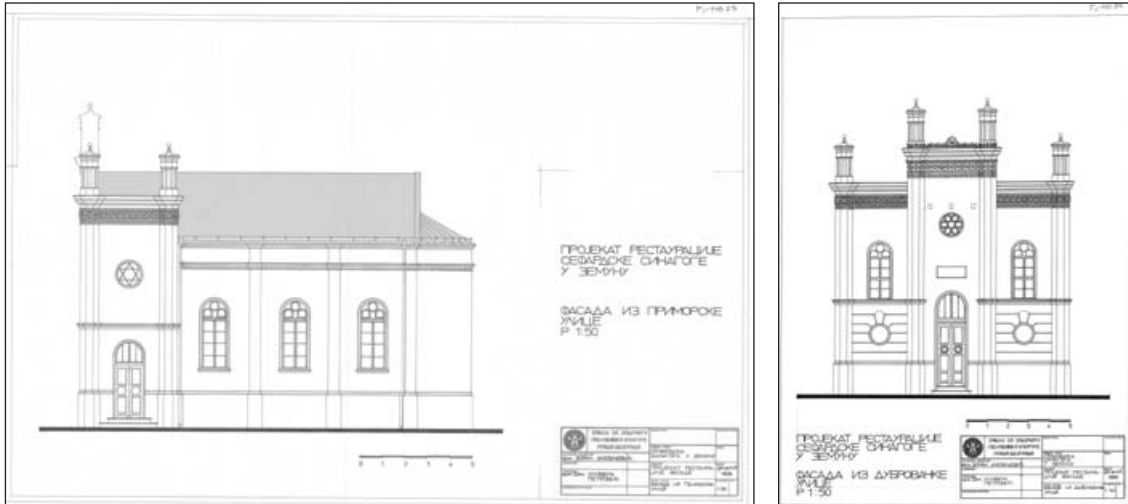
*Aleksandar Nećak, architect
Belgrade, April 2022*



15. Sephardic synagogue, a picture taken most probably during World War II



16. The Sephardic synagogue, side and back view photograph



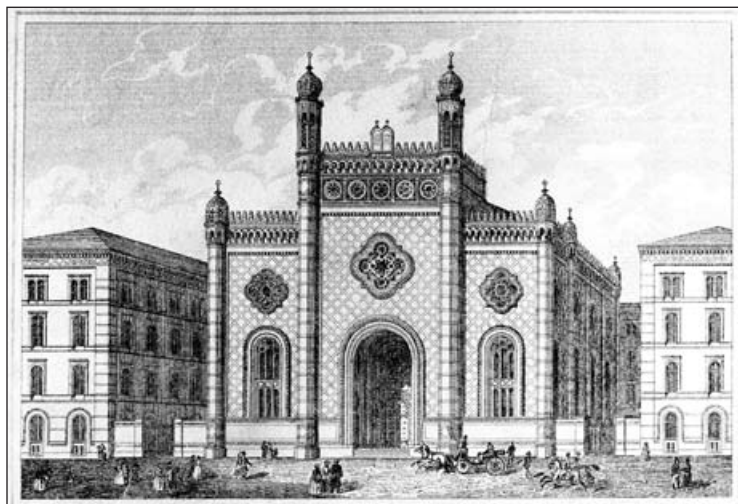
17. Restoration of the Sephardic synagogue carried out by the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments

According to halacha (religious rules and rituals), the shape and outer appearance of a synagogue is not determined. It is probably the reason why designers and architects of synagogues often looked up to each other and why many synagogues look similar to each other (A. Nećak). It is interesting to note that the architect Josef Marx did not look for inspiration to Sephardic, but rather the existing Ashkenazi synagogues. Similarity to the Viennese Leopoldstädter Tempel, designed by Ludwig Christian Friedrich Förster and executed in 1858 is obvious. The same is true for the synagogue built in Zagreb



18. Sephardic synagogue in Zemun, 1873

in 1867, which was also inspired by the synagogue in Vienna. The construction works on the Zemun synagogue were supervised by Josif Marx, son of the above mentioned architect Josef.

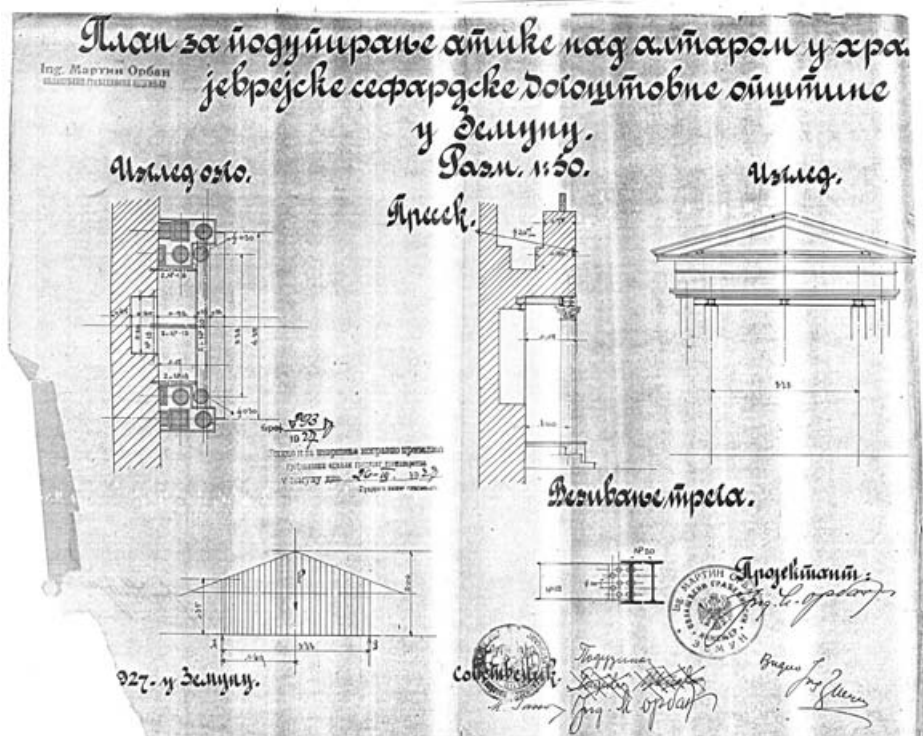


19. The Viennese Ashkenazi synagogue, 1858.



20. The Zagreb Ashkenazi synagogue, 1867

The Jews of Zemun maintained their synagogues regularly. In the Archives of



21. Drawing by Martin Orban, engineer

the Zemun Jewish Community the “Plan for the supporting works of the attic above the altar of the temple in the Sephardic community” dated 1927 is kept. The draft of the necessary repair works was made by Martin Orban, engineer from Zemun, of Jewish origin himself, who later perished at the Jasenovac death camp. The repair works were approved by the municipal authorities and supervised by Orban.

The Zemun Jewish Community also keeps a part of a gypsum decoration that was placed above Aron HaKodesh, with an inscription in Hebrew. It reads:

Shalom Jerusalem
For her stones are dear to your servants



22. Gypsum plaque from the Sephardic synagogue

(*“her very dust moves them to pity”*) - Psalm 102(15)

When a cornerstone is mentioned in Judaism, it always refers to the cornerstone of a religious building.

Since the synagogue was completed in 1873, it will be 150 years in 2023 from its construction. Inspired by this fact, we have decided to initiate placement of a memorial on the spot where the Sephardic synagogue once used to stand. The conceptual solution would also include a replica of the plaque that used to be located above the entrance to the building.

CHAPTER II

RABBIS AT ZEMUN

It is beyond doubt that from the very first day of their arrival at Zemun, the Jews organized their religious life. Based on certain newly discovered documents and the reconstruction by Danilo Fogel, we are now able to present a list of rabbies who served in Zemun. One should keep in mind that some of the listed rabbies led services for the entire community, even before it was divided into the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic group. The rabbies listed below were employed by the Ashkenazi community. We are pointing out Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai, who occasionally conducted services for both communities.

The first rabbi to serve in Zemun was Jehuda Jeruham. There is no information of when he arrived at Zemun, but the year of his death is noted to be 1763.

After Rabbi Jehuda Jeruham passed away, he was succeeded by Rabbi Israel Alexander. The Magistrate records from 1791 to 1799 make mention of dozens of court procedures he conducted. Among other cases recorded in the official Magistrate documents, he is mentioned as a party in a 1794 lawsuit against his partner, goldsmith Isaak Simon. He is also mentioned in the maintained minutes of meetings of the Jewish Community dated 1803, when he requested a raise of his salary. He passed away in Zemun in 1808.

Rabbi Jacob Fridenberger started office after Rabbi Israel and remained there until 1819. He is mentioned in the Magistrate records as Rabbi Jacob Fridenberg, in 1810 and 1818.

Rabbi Salomon Shlomo Hirsch served in Zemun from 1819 to 1825. He is mentioned as rabbi in the Magistrate records dated April 12, 1819, July 27, 1823, November 4, 1823 and November 3, 1825.

In his steps followed Rabbi Yehuda ben Shlomo Chai Alkalai in 1825 and stayed until 1874. He served in Zemun for almost half a century.

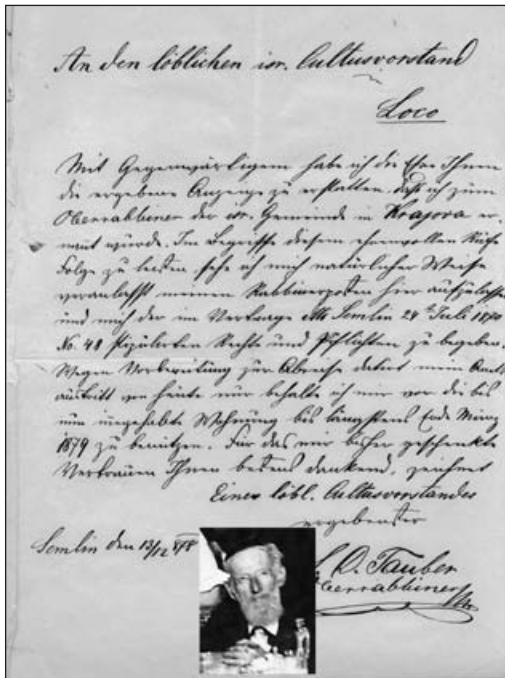
As reported by Yehuda Zeev Weinberger in 1862, an Ashkenazi rabbi from Belgrade, it can be concluded that religious service in the Ashkenazi synagogue from 1830 to 1870 was conducted by Rabbi Samuel Wolf. He is mentioned in the Magistrate records of 1833. (Historical Archives of Belgrade, IAB-10-k 2395-P 1945).

Chief Rabbi Samuel David Tauber was initially employed for three years in 1870. Nevertheless, he stayed till 1879, and then moved to Krayova, Romania to work as a chief rabbi there.

Dr. Moric Schwarz came for a rabbi in 1879 and worked in Zemun till 1909.



23. Rabbi Alkalai with his wife



24. Facsimile of the notice of resignation submitted by Rabbi Tauber to the Jewish Community in 1878



25. Dr. Hinko Urbach, first on right in upper row, with his family, in Zemun, 1926

Dr. Hinko Urbach served as chief rabbi in Zemun from 1909 to 1928. Following that, he continued serving in Sarajevo till the liberation in 1945, when, due to some disagreement with the leadership of the Jewish Community, he continued serving in Zagreb.

Gerschon Katschka came to Zemun before World War II to work as cantor in the Ashkenazi synagogue. When Rabbi Urbach left Zemun, Gerschon Katschka conducted all the religious services on his own.



26. Jichak Musafia

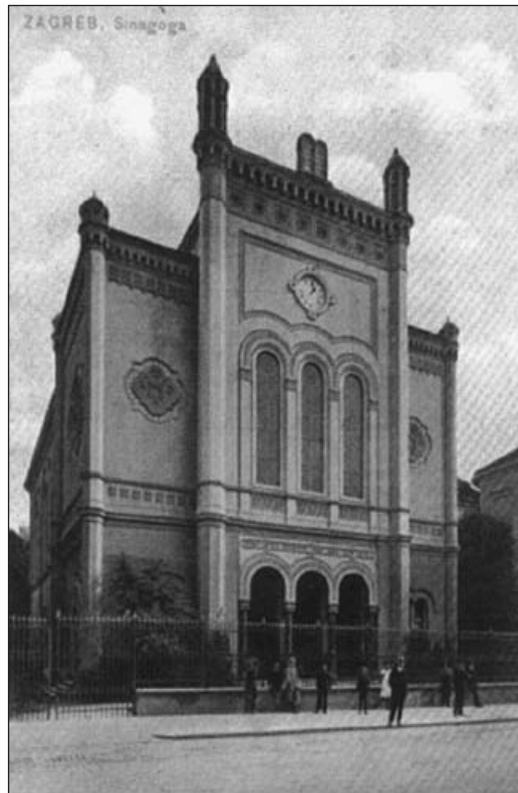
In the Sephardic synagogue there was a smaller number of rabbies. Besides the already mentioned Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai, mention is made of M.B. Aharon, Schabetai, Moche Bahar and Jichak Musafia. It ought to be said about Musafia that he lost his life at the Jasenovac concentration camp, together with the other Jews of Zemun.

The Israelite affiliated religious community of Stara Pazova was part of the Jewish Community of Zemun. This small community cherished Jewish traditions and carried out religious services. An evidence of this was the existence of a small synagogue. Their last cantor was Samuel Herschkowitsch.

CHAPTER III

DESTRUCTION OF SYNAGOGUES DURING HOLOCAUST AND PERSECUTION OF JEWS

The Jews living in the territory of former Yugoslavia suffered the most terrible fate during World War II. To start with, the occupying forces, together with their collaborators, wishing to humiliate them, destroyed their synagogues. The most notorious cases of the demolition of synagogues took place in 1941 in Zagreb and Veliki Bečkerek, now called Zrenjanin.



27. Synagogue in Zagreb



28. Synagogue in Zrenjanin

The synagogues in Zemun were lucky because they were “only” plundered and most of the religious relics were destroyed. During the occupation, they were used as storehouses. When it appeared as if at least the buildings would “survive” World War II, during the allied bombing of Zemun, on Easter 1944, the Sephardic synagogue was badly damaged.



29. *Damaged Sephardic synagogue*



30. *Ashkenazi synagogue, entrance from the Preka street*

What happened after the desecration of the synagogues surpasses everything human mind can fathom. Extermination of an entire nation started, just because they were of a different religion. The Jews of Zemun were subjected to forced labor for more than a year, only to be deported to concentration camps at Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška, from July 27, 1942 on. Except for Ervin Rosenberg, not one of the Jews of Zemun survived the horrors of these two camps.

We have noticed an interesting “game of numbers” in relation to the beginning of the harrassment of the Jews in Zemun in World War II. Incidentally, the persecution began on the 80th anniversary of the laying of cornerstone for the Ashkenazi synagogue, on July 27, 1862. Out of the 575 murdered Jews at Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška, many were direct descendants of those who took part in the ceremonies related to the beginning of the construction of the synagogue.

FATE OF THE SYNAGOGUES AFTER THE WAR

All the confiscated properties, meticulously entered into the land registry by the NDH (Independent Croatian State) as its own, was returned to the Jewish Community of Zemun by the new authorities. It was also true for the synagogue at Stara Pazova, which territorially belonged to the Zemun Jewish Community.

Посл.бр.Вн.107/45

ФОТО КОПИЈА

У ИМЕ НАРОДА, ЈЕВРЕЈСКА БОГОСЛОВНА ОПШТИНА
ZEMUN

Срески народни суд у Земуну, по претседнику др.Ђурку Абаџи као судији појединачној на захтев Јеврејске богословне општине у Земуну ради повраћаја непокретних и успоставе пређашњег грунтовог става без усмене расправе дана 6 августа 1945. изнео је следећу:

О Д Л У К У

Некретна имовина Јеврејске богословне општине у Земуну укључена у грунтоу.ул.бр.932 п.о.Земун и то кат.лист.број 1070 кућа бр.21/932 са двор. и градом и Дубровачкој ул. од 161 кв.кв.кат.лист.број.1068 богослова од 60 кв.кв. и кат.лист. бр.1069 школа број 4/133 кв.кв. са двор. у војничкој ул. од 108 кв.кв. која јој је била у теку оккупације одузета и пренесена грунтовно на име и властност Н.Д.Х. враћа се истој и успоставља се пређашње грунтово стање са укидањем права власности у корист Јеврејске богословне општине у Земуну.

Ипак се зем.кв.л.суду да у грунтоу.ул.бр.932 п.о.Земун на властности брине право власности Н.Д.Х. и као власника унесе Јеврејску богословну општину Земун.

Позива се Управа народних добара у Земуну, да наведена некретности преда у државну Јеврејској богословној општини у Земуну. >

О Б Р А З Л О Ж Е Њ Е
Kao sudija po jedinici

За време окупације а по окупатору и његовим помагачима одузета је Јеврејској богословној општини у Земуну некретна имовина укључена у грунтоу.ул.број 932 п.о.Земун пренесена у властност Н.Д.Х., што је утврђено уписом у грунтово књиге овог Земљино књижног суда, те је захтев међкоца за повраћај имовине и успоставе пређашњег грунтовог стања одбачена отада на основу.

Позивом на члан 1.и.4 Закона о поступању са имовином одузетом у теку окупације од стране окупатора и његових помагача а по захтеву власника, те је се после ослобођења позвано, поступно је суд у складу чл.2. Упутства на спровођење овог Закона и враћа се молбоду његова имовина и успоставља се пређашње грунтово стање како је оно било пре окупације а без накнаде тавне по чл.4 Упутства:

О том обавести Јеврејска богословна општина у Земуну, Јосип Гужинац Срем.Митровици, Управа народних добара Војводине и Народни Суд, Управа народних добара у Земуну и Земљино-књижни суд у Земуну.


Смрт фашизму-слобода народу!

Срески народни суд у Земуну
дана 6 августа 1945 год.

Судија појединачно:
Др.Ђурко Абаџи

за лоћност одржава
Управитељ судске писарнице

Jevrejska bogoslovna opština Zemun



31. Facsimile of court ruling on the restitution of property to the Jewish Community of Zemun, 1945

The Jewish community in Yugoslavia suffered a loss of almost 80 % members during World War II. The Zemun Jewish Community lost 90 % of their members. Faced with the tremendous human loss, the few surviving Jews made all efforts to revitalize the work of their communities. A particularly acute problem they faced was how to assist the Jews who came back from the concentration camps. In addition to the basic help directed to the accomodation in senior homes and providing financial aid, what was often needed was a compassionate human word. Jewish communities, deprived of state support, had serious problems in maintaining their property. A large number of synagogues and community buildings were left without their congregations. The care of such deserted facilities was undertaken by the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Affiliated religious community of Stara Pazova, whose entire membership perished in the Holocaust, was one of the communities which disappeared altogether. In such a situation, the Jewish Community of Yugoslavia tried to generate the necessary funds to help the old and the needy by selling a part of their properties. Although the sale of the first religious facilities started as early as in 1946, they felt the need to find a rationale in “our religious Laws”. Thus we arrived at a document signed on July 4, 1948 by Chief Rabbi Dr. Hinko Urbach, then serving in Zagreb. In a letter addressed to the Federation, he explains his perception of the sale of religious facilities and cemeteries. Obviously, his interpretation of cases when sale of synagogues and cemeteris was allowed according to the holy books was accepted. From then on, sale or at least an intention for certain facilities to be sold, had – so to say – “legal grounds” contained in religious rules. For example, the Jewish Community of Zagreb informed the Federation that 28 properties throughout Croatia were sold by July 28, 1948.

☆
НАДРАДИНАТ У ЗАГРЕБУ

Број 198/48

Датум 4. VII 1948

Загреб 4. VII. 1948

Цареву Јеврејској епархијској
Епископији у Београду

На Ваш акт број 763 од 29. VII и Вашу
поштом од 29. VII. о. г. шаљем Вам у прологу
моје мишљење о поступку са сарриверним бого-
мољцима, о таквоима који се не употребљавају
више и о гробљима, о чему сам Вам већ
раније писао. Оно се налази на § 152 тт. 6-9
и 11 у Службеном Архиву (Ораш. Стан). —

С. Ј. — с. н. !

Српски
Урбах



Савез јеврејских епархијских општина
Федеративна народна република Југославија

Бр. 1130

6. VII 1948 год.

у Београду

Петера, к. В24



32. Facsimile of the letter by Dr. Hinko Urbach from 1948

33. Dr. Hinko Urbach served as rabbi in Zemun from 1909 to 1928

SALE OF THE SYNAGOGUES IN ZEMUN

Back in 1903, the Jews at Stara Pazova bought a building with a small plot, to be used for religious services, from Katarina Oto. It was a simple building which the congregation used as a synagogue until July 1942. Unfortunately, they all fell victims in the Holocaust. Before the official interpretation by Rabbi Urbach, many a synagogue was sold, and so was the one at Stara Pazova. After World War II, in 1946, it was sold to the Babinka family. The family moved to Stara Pazova from Čačinci in Slavonia. They did some reconstruction works to adapt the building for family living. The adapted building has kept the original entrance door to the synagogue and several outer windows.

The following year (1947) already, it was decided that the Sephardic synagogue of Zemun, on the corner of Dubrovačka and Primorska streets, be torn down and its materials used for the reparation of the Jewish Community building in Dubrovačka street 21, currently the official seat of the Community. The decision was recorded in the minutes drawn up on October 1, 1947. The authorized contractors announced that the demolition would start on October 10 the same year. In the course of the demolition of the synagogue and the school, four religious plaques were taken down. Thanks to David Montiljo (member of the JC of Zemun), who had taken photos of them, we can now read the text on them. Regrettably, the fate of three of them is unknown. What has remained is only a small gypsum plaque which used to be in the synagogue above the Ark.

The Federation of Jewish Religious Communities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as the representative of the Jewish Community of Zemun, following the instructions of Dr. Hinko Urbach, attempted for the first time to sell the Ashkenazi synagogue in 1950. An offer was presented to the National Youth of Serbia, with the head office at Internacionalnih brigada street no. 11 in Belgrade. The proposal included a detailed explanation of the reasons for offering the synagogue for sale, the main reason being that the Federation had to provide for the elderly and exhausted Jews who returned from concentration camps. The offered amount was 450 thousand dinars. It appeared that the National Youth of Serbia, tenant of the synagogue at the time, did not have sufficient funds to buy the building, so the efforts to find suitable buyers continued. So on May 7, 1956 the Jewish Community of Zemun signed a provisional agreement with the representatives of the Nazarene Religious Community of Zemun. At that time, the properties of the Jewish Community in Zemun were already nationalized: buildings which used to be Jewish schools, where rabbis and kosher butchers used to live as well, all together with the huge yard which still exists. A renewed attempt to sell the building of the synagogue was probably prompted by the loss of income the Jewish Community had had from renting apartments. For reasons unknown to us, the provisional sales agreement was never executed.

It did not mean that the sale was given up. Negotiations started with the Zemun Municipality in 1956 resulted in a purchase agreement signed in December, 1962.

This did not solve the basic problems of the Jewish Community of Zemun. First, the buyer did not pay out half of the agreed sum, secondly, the money received against

the sale was only partially used for the needs of the Jewish Community membership. The activities of the Jewish Community were then limited to weekly gatherings in an area of about 40 sqm in our building. We are emphasizing “our building” because out of the two apartments owned by the Jewish Community of Zemun, comprising altogether 250 sqm, the State had given us only two rooms without any basic hygienic facilities (no kitchen and no toilet). In such “hygienic” conditions, it was only to be expected that the members got together very rarely. By the end of 1979, we somehow managed to get a toilet, located in the staircase on the second floor. The added-on toilet had been used by a protected tenant until she was evicted. We could not even recover the room with a separate entrance, which she had used. Instead, the room was joined to the existing apartment. Now, this 124 sqm large apartment is being used by a single person. As opposed to that, 139 members of our Community get together in the above mentioned 40 sqm. Even though the State promised to evict all the protected tenants and find adequate housing for them, it has not yet happened, at least not to in this case.



*34. Children in front of the entrance door
to the former synagogue*

KOMUNALNI OTSEK NO-a ZEMUN
K. Br. 2365 / 47
23.65

Z A P I S N I K

✓
sastavljen na licu mesta u ul. Dubrovačkoj br. 23
dane 1-5. 1947 god. u Zemunu.

Određena komisija od strane Komunalnog otkosa br. 2365 / 47
za uvidjaj po predmetu Rušnja krama jevrejske
veroisporodne opštine u Zemunu

Izvršila je na licu mesta pregled stvarnog stanja te je ustanovila sledeće
1. Zgrada (Kram) je fidana od terdlog materije
ku pokrivena bitercerptom, pater-tenas.

2. Sadnja građevinske stanje je: krovna krovna
Kačija popunita, 2/3 krovnog pokrivenost uena,
ok i ona 1/3 je potpuno propala, toranica po
putila - abutla rizi, plafona uena (propao)
galerija je krama popunita i uena patera,
prigoridštećeni bez stakla, fasada oko 5%
ogustena.

3. Zgrada nije nastanjena.

Prema ustanovljenom stvarnom stanju a u smislu važećih propisa
komisija je mišljenja i predlaže:

1. Na osnovu gore izloženog komisija predlaže da
se Zgrada poruši i gradiliste nasložiti i ogrosi.
2. Da se građevinski materijal sa suševine upotrebi
za oporovnu Zgrada jevrejske veroisporodne, dok preko
zali proda Gradi Produpeću V. et O. Zemur.
3. to izjavi predstavnik Brovekiog Otkosa Zgrada u predlož
ni u metličku ni ratonjsku (preduost) i slože se sa pred
lagone da se ista poruši.

Smrt fašizmu - Sloboda narodu!

Članovi komisij. uvidjaja

1. Z. Vucetić
2. Munja Čauhan
- 3.

35. Facsimile of the note about the damage on
the Sephardic synagogue, 1947

Грађевинска одлука на пријаву неконструктивних оправака и преправака.

ГРАДСКИ НАРОДНИ ОДБОР
КОМУНАЛНИ ОТСЕК

Гр. Бр.: 188/47
Земун, 2-IX 1947

ПРЕДМЕТ: Јелџејска вероисповестна ограда у Земуну
у улици Крањевачкој бр. 23
одлука по пријави неконструктивних оправака и преправака.

Решавајући молбу Јелџејске вероисповестне оградне
са станом у улици Крањевачкој кбр. 23 поднету дана 18-IX
1947 г. којом пријављује да ће на згради-имању у ул. Крањевачкој кбр. 23
извести оправке - преправке - радове неконструктивне природе, и то: ометати
красну софистику

чија вредност изнаша 42.500 Дин., то се у смислу § 84 Грађевинског закона и чл. 73 Грађевинског правилника издаје

ГРАЂЕВИНСКА ОДЛУКА

Одобрава се извршење напред описаних радова, уз следеће услове:

1) Радови се имају изводити по техничким и хигијенским прописима Грађевинског закона и Грађевинског правилника и Фабричког одређења и техничких прописних

2) З слагање грађевинског материјала власник може употребити властито земљиште и улицу испред грађевине у шир. од _____ м. рачунајући од регулац. линије.

3) и обавити мајсторски радове власник на својим
својим средствима према прописима мајсторског комуналног
наредбог Грађевинског одбора у Земуну

Комунални отсек узима на знање да ће радове по овој одлуци изводити овташњени инже-
нер - градитељ - електротехничар - зидарски мајстор - тесарски мајстор - буварница Грађевинског
Милија из Београда

Држ. такс. марка по Т. бр. 1 и 22 у вредности од 10 + 50 Дин. прилепљена и прописно поништена на молби и Одлуци.

Градска грађевинска такса од 100 Дин. према Грађевинско-техничком правилнику чл. 9 наплаћена је у готову од стране Фин. отсека под ст. 911 дневника од 19-IX 1947 г.

Она грађевинска одлука доставља се:

- 1) Власнику Грађевинског Милија, Београд Коренићева бр. 12
- 2) Извођачу Грађевинског Милија, Јелџејска вероисповестна ограда у Земуну
- 3) Финансиском отсеку ИНО а Земун.
- 4) Заводу за социјално осигурање радника - филијали Земун.
- 5) _____
- 6) _____

Својеручно 2. IX 47 М.Б.

Повереник
Комуналног отсека

М.Б. Милија



*37. Destroyed Aron HaKodesh of the Sephardic synagogue
the Nazarene Community, 1956*

Приврешки
КУПОПРОДАЈНИ УГОВОР

Између Јеврејске Вероисповедне општине у Земуну, заступане по председнику Франк Александру и Брандајз Ивану секретару, обојица из Земуна као продавца са једне стране, те Црњански Радивоја, Кишдобрански Живко, Арсенијевић Кузман и Ненадов Ђорђе из Земуна, као купаца са друге стране, склопљен је данас уговор како следи:

1. Продаваатељка Јеврејска Вероисповедна ~~кишдобрански~~ општина у Земуну продаје од својих некретнина упис. у ул. бр. 936 к. о. Земун од парцеле кат. бр. 1045 која има површину од 403 кв. м, и на којој се налази зграда Богомоља Јеврејске верске заједнице, део означен у скици, /копији из катастарске мапе/ а у површини коју ће мерник на лицу места устаконити и обрачунаати, купцима Црњански Радивоју, Кишдобрански Живку, Арсенијевић Кузману и Ненадов Ђорђе из Земуна, за погођену куповну цену од 2,500.000 динара, словима: два милиона и петсто тина хиљада динара, и то бестеретно.-

2. Купци Црњански Радивој, Кишдобрански Живко, Арсенијевић Кузман и Ненадов Ђорђе купују и примају од продавца Јеврејске Вероисповедне општине у Земуну непокретност описану у тачки 1, заједно са зградом Богомољом, за потребе Назаренске Верске Заједнице у Земуну, за погођену куповну цену од 2,500.000 динара, словима: два милиона и петсто тина хиљада динара, и то бестеретно.-

3. Купци су исплатили продаваатељки код пописа ове исправе у име капара ~~це~~ суму од 100.000 динара, словима: стотину хиљада динара.

Надаље се купци обавезују, да исплате продаваатељки на рачун куповне цене суму од милион динара приликом уселења у предметну зграду.

Остатак куповине од 1,400.00 динара, словима: милион и четири стотине хиљада динара исплатиће купци продаваатељки у неједнаким ратама у року од две године од дана уселења, а на остатак куповне цене плаћаће купци продаваатељки интерес у висини, који Народна банка буде плаћала својим улагачима на улоге без отказа.-

Остатак куповне цене има се у земљишној књизи и катастру са правом залога на продају непокретност, приликом преноса исте на име купца.-

4. Све трошкове у вези ове купопродаје као и преносну таксу носе купци.-

Купци задржавају право, да одустану од купопродајне погодбе у случају, ако би промена некретности измела више од куповне цене у толикој мери, да би преносна такса измела за више од 50.000 динара, од првобитне таксе која би одговарала куповној цени.-

У случају одустаје од погодбе по свом основу, продаваатељка ће бити дужна, да поврати примљену капару од 100.000 динара купцима.-

5. Пошто је предметна зграда издата у закуп Градској општини Земун за смештај материјала, продаваатељка се обавезује да закупопримицу откаже закупну погодбу, како би се по могућности што скорије та зграда ослободила за уселење, односно за преузеће у посед испражњене, тако да би Назаренска верска заједница могла у њој обављати своје верске обреде.-

Уједно ће продаваатељка поднети молбу за пример предметне непокретности на лицу места, те за цепања горе означене парцеле, а трошкове тога примера и нацрта, сносиће купци.-

6. Странке се одричу права побегати ову погодбу због прикрате преко половине просечне вредности.-

7. Продаваатељки припада право, да о свом трошку скине из предметне зграде две мраморне плоче са Десет заповеди Божијих.

8. Овај уговор прочитан је и проумачен странкама те га оне у знак прихвата и одобрења потписале.-

У З е м у н у , дана 7 маја 1956.

Купци:

Црњански Радивој 1/
Кишдобрански Живко
Арсенијевић Кузман
Ненадов Ђорђе 2/

За продаваатељку:

Александар
председник
Џорђе
секретар

ЈЕВРЕЈСКА ОПШТИНА
ZEMUN, Dubrovačka 19

38. Facsimile of the provisional agreement with the Nazarene Community, 1956

ovaj ugovor prečitan je i protumačen obema ugovornim stranama, kojega
u znak priznanja za svoj prihvataju i svojeručno potpisuju.

U Zemunu dana 22.3.1962. godine.

KUPAC ZA OPŠTINU ZEMUN PREDSEDNIK NOO
PRODAVAČ ZA JEVREJSKU OPŠTINU ZEMUN PREDSEDNIK

[Signatures]
1.10.1962
ALEKSANDAR JEVREVIĆ

an ovaj ugovor...
1962

Ismeđu Jevrejske opštine u Zemunu, Dubrovačka br. 19, kao prodavca sa jedne strane, koju predstavlja Frank Aleksandar iz Zemuna kao predsednik ove opštine i Jovanović Aleksandar, predsednik Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun, kao kupac sa druge strane, a u vezi rešenja Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun br.01-7545/1 od 19.12.1961. godine, sačinjen je danas ovaj

KUPOPRODAJNI UGOVOR

Čl.1
Jevrejska opština u Zemunu, Dubrovačka ulica br.19, koju predstavlja Frank Aleksandar, kao prodavac, prodaje opštini Zemun, kao kupcu, zgradu bivše sinagoge u Zemunu u ulici Prekoj br. 1, ležeću na kat. parc.br.1045 k.o. Zemun u površini od 403 kv.hv., upisanoj u ZKUL br. 936 sa međusobno ugovorenu kupovnu cenu od 3,500.000.- dinara (tri miliona pedstohiljadna dinara).

Prodavac obaveštava kupca da može preneti na sebe pravo vojine na ovoj zgradi u zemljišnim knjigama IV Sreskog suda u Beogradu-Zemun bez njegovog daljeg pitanja i privoljenja.

Čl.2
Opština Zemun, koju predstavlja Jovanović Aleksandar, predsednik NOO Zemun, kao kupac, a u vezi rešenja Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun br.01-7545/1 od 19.12.1961. godine kupuje u čl. 1 ovog ugovora označene nekretnine sa gore ugovorenu kupovnu cenu, stim da iznos dela kupovne cene od 2,000.000.- dinara isplati prodavcu najdalje do kraja juna 1962. godine, a ostatak kupovne cene od 1,500.000.- dinara isplati prodavcu najdalje do kraja juna 1963. godine.

Čl.3
Kupac stupa u posed kupljenih nekretnina odmah po isplati dela kupovne cene od 2,000.000.- dinara tj. 1.jula 1962. godine, sa čime se saglašava prodavac, i preuzima na sebe obavezu da će prodavcu predati u vlasništvo sve verske rekvizite i vrednosti koje bi se eventualno našle prilikom adaptacije zgrade kao i da će se sve mermerne ploče sa hebrejskim natpisima prilikom radova na adaptaciji zgrade bivše sinagoge pažljivo skinuti i predati ih prodavcu, kao njegovo vlasništvo.

Danom 1.jula 1962. godine sa prodavca prestaju da teku sve poreske obaveze i javne dažbine skopane sa ovim nekretninama.

Čl.4
Sve troškove oko prenošenja ovih nekretnina u zemljišnim knjigama, plaćanje taksa i poreza na promet nekretnina snosi kupac.

Čl.5
Oba ugovarajuće strane odriču se prava pobijanja ovog ugovora bilo sa kojega razloga pa i sa razloga oštećenja preko polovine uobičajne vrednosti.

an ovaj ugovor...
1962
ALEKSANDAR JEVREVIĆ

an ovaj ugovor...
1962

39. Facsimile of the sales agreement of the Ashkenazi synagogue to the People's Committee (Municipality) of Zemun, 1962.



40. Building of the Jewish Community of Zemun in Dubrovačka street no. 21



41. The elderly members can barely manage to reach the toilet from the ground floor; and, what is more, they have to use make-shift wood stairs!

ANEX:

**LIFE OF JEWS IN ZEMUN AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND
THE JEWISH CEMETERY IN ZEMUN**

CHAPTER IV

NEW CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF OUR
COMMUNITY

The first president to be elected after the war was Johan Goldstein, one of the several Jews of Zemun who spent the entire World War II hiding in the town. As Danilo Fogel wrote: "From the very beginning (liberation of Zemun on October 22, 1944), the management had to solve social problems: accomodation, basic provisioning, help to Jews who were in passing, etc. Efforts were also made immediately to rescue the pitiful remains of the archives of the Jewish Community, vital statistics and the like. Questionnaires were filled out containing data on victims, on the basis of statements and recollections of the survivors. More or less normal religious life continued. In a word, the work of this Jewish Community was revived."

Dr. Lav Brandeis was the last president of the Ashkenazi community before the war. He spent the war years in Karlovac, under an alias. In June of 1945, he came back to Zemun and reassumed his position and duties as president.

After the emigration of Dr. Brandeis and Johan Goldstein to Israel in 1948, Willim Scheer was elected president. He was very active in the community, but did not remain long in the position of president. His successor was Alexander Frank, and the two of them closely co-operated in all matters related to the life of the Community. It was time when hard decisions had to be made about the sale of the only existing synagogue. We have noted their attempt to sell the synagogue to the Nazarene Religious Community in 1956, which did not come to fruition. Frank was an ardent supporter of emigration to Eretz Israel and gave several massive contributions to help the newly founded Jewish state. Already advanced in age, he did not decide to leave, but later on his daughter Jelisaveta emigrated to "The Holy Land".

After Frank, the Community was headed for a short time by Isak Levi. Following him, the president was Ivan Brandeis. The management led by Ivan Brandeis brought the hardest possible decision about the sale of the Ashkenazi synagogue in the Zemun Community in 1962. With a power of attorney executed on December 31, 1961 the Community authorized Alexander Frank and Willim Scheer to sign an agreement on the sale of the synagogue to the People's Committee (Municipality) of Zemun.

Ivan Brandeis was succeeded by Vladimir Scheer. He waged the above mentioned war for the acquisition of the room after the protected tenant was evicted. Unfortunately, he only managed to secure a toilet on the second floor of our building. He was president also at the time when the Federation initiated the project "Revitalization of small Jewish Communities" In response to his request, Danilo Fogel agreed to prepare a chronicle of the Jewish Community of Zemun in 1998. The Federation refused to finance the project, which, as it turned out, was a watershed in the activities of our Community. The new management which took over towards the end of 1999, headed by president Nenad Fogel, set the main priorities for the activities of the Jewish Community of Zemun: return to faith and tradition and, in this spirit, re-acquisition of the sold synagogue. The first step was the announcement of fundraising for the purchase of the synagogue. A calendar for the year 2000 was published featuring the message "Let's get back the synagogue". Our member, Milan Fogel, joined the fundraising by publishing, in 2002, at his own cost, a book entitled "Open air Gallery" and donated the entire circulation to the Community. There were several other modest donations, but

insufficient to start the purchase proceedings.

Bombardment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999 disrupted the plans for the completion of this project entitled “Jewish Community in Zemun - 1739 to 1945 Chronicle”. In fact, Danilo Fogel with his wife Zora emigrated to Israel, thus fulfilling his youthful dream, but it also postponed work on his book. For his work, he was awarded the second prize at the 45th competition of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia (2001). The Community management decided to formally initiate independent publishing activity in order to facilitate publication of the awarded book. Danilo Fogel renounced all authorship rights for the benefit of the Community, thereby helping the publication of the book in 2002. Encouraged by this success, we continued to stimulate our members to write about topics related to the history of our Community and the suffering during the Holocaust, but also to try their hands at all the other fields of literary and publishing activities. As a result of this endeavor, it was noted that the publication of our book of humorous stories “Return to the Response” by Milan Fogel won the first prize in 2003 at the Competition organized by the Federation of Jewish Communities. The publishing activity of the Zemun Jewish Community came a long way over a period of twenty years, with over thirty published works.

In keeping with the proverb: “Where there’s a will there’s a way”, we revived celebrations of all the major holidays and also started to organize gatherings centered around interesting and various topics and performances.

The population of Serbia did not prove immune to the recent worldwide anti-Jewish campaign. We decided to be open in our struggle against all the prejudices related to Jews because they inevitably lead to antisemitism. In order to achieve our goal, we have “opened” the door of our Community to all people of good will in our neighbourhood, irrespective of their religious affiliations, ethnic origin or social status. One of the ways to promote the idea of “openness” towards the society surrounding us was to set up our website in 2005 - www.joz.rs. Over the past 18 years, the site has been a mirror of our activities. So far, hundreds of news, comments on the Jewish Community, reports from religious celebrations, but also reactions of the wider community to our activities have been posted, along with countless other topics. A special place on our site is the so called download area, where visitors can download our publications (books, catalogue, brochures,...).

In order to preserve for posterity everything we have done from the year 2000, we started to publish the “Catalogue of activities of the Jewish Community of Zemun”.

The eight so far published catalogues are an outstanding testimony to the growing up of the youth section of our Community, aging of our middle-aged activists and, why not say – deaths, all illustrated with numerous photographs which remind us of the fact that none of what we did was in vain. Guided by the saying of Theodor Herzl “All the deeds of men are dreams at first and become dreams in the end”, we never gave up our dream to recover our synagogue one day.



42. Eight catalogues

Finally we could see “light at the end of the tunnel” when the Republic of Serbia passed a *Law of Restitution of Properties to Churches and Religious Communities*. The Law, among other things, stipulates the so called compensation restitution. Keeping in mind the large nationalized property of the JC of Zemun, we submitted an application on those grounds, requiring the restitution of the synagogue as compensation for the nationalized properties. The Restitution Agency carried out an expert evaluation of the synagogue and the nationalized properties and determined that the value of our properties taken away considerably surpasses the estimated value of the synagogue. Based on that expert evaluation, the Restitution Agency passed a decree on compensatory restitution wherewith we became owners of the synagogue once again. Unfortunately, it then became evident that not everyone shared our enthusiasm. All the attorneys (communal,

municipal and state) lodged complaints, which resulted in the Court Council of the Higher Court cancelling the decree passed by the Agency, all under the veil of “court rectitude”. It was claimed in the explanation that the Law was not observed. Strangely, reference was made to a law which had no bearing on our case at all (the presiding judge is a member of the Belgrade Jewish Community). Finally, the Court of Appeals confirmed the decree of the Restitution Agency, thus restoring our trust in justice and legality.

The Restitution Agency with their director Strahinja Sekulić supported us in all those court proceedings and, even though some will say that they only did their job, we are truly grateful for what they had done.

In line with our twenty-year-long endeavors, the synagogue will in the foreseeable future be fully functional in the way it had been meant to be.



РЕПУБЛИКА СРБИЈА
АГЕНЦИЈА ЗА РЕСТИТУЦИЈУ
Јединица за конфесионалну реституцију
Београд, Масарикова бр. 5
Број: 46-00-01593/08
Датум: 19.05.2016. године
НШ

РЕШЕЊЕ ЈЕ ИЗВРШНО

дана 15.5.2016.



Агенција за реституцију – Јединица за конфесионалну реституцију, решавајући по захтеву за враћање одузете имовине Јеврејске општине Земун, са седиштем у Београду - Земуну, ул. Дубровачка бр.21, коју заступа адвокат Бранимир Радовановић, на основу чл. 1, 4, 9, 12, 22. и 29. Закона о враћању (реституцији) имовине црквама и верским заједницама („Сл. гласник РС“ бр. 46/2006), члана 55. Закона о враћању одузете имовине и обештећењу („Сл. Гласник РС“ бр. 72/2011 и бр. 108/2013), чл. 192. Закона о општем управном поступку („Службени лист СРЈ“, бр. 33/1997 и 31/2001 и „Службени гласник РС“ бр. 30/2010), тачака 1. и 1а Одлука директора Агенције за за реституцију бр. 553/2012 од 04.07.2012. године и бр. 446-06-110-42/2013-01 од 24.04.2013. године, доноси

РЕШЕЊЕ

1. Усваја се захтев и на име накнаде за имовину одузету решењем Комисије за национализацију при НОО Земун бр. 6089 од 29.09.1959. године и то: зграду у ул. Приморска бр. 3 постојећа на кат. парцели бр. 1043 старог премера КО Земун у површини од 250 кв. хв. и зграду у ул. Приморска бр. 5 постојећа на кат. парцели бр. 1044 старог премера КО Земун у површини од 111 кв. хв, заједно са земљиштем на коме су се зграде налазиле и које је служило за њихову редовну употребу, утврђује право својине Јеврејске општине Земун, са седиштем у Београду - Земуну, ул. Дубровачка бр.21, на:

- згради у Земуну, ул. Рабина Алкалаја, површине основе 252 м2, уписаној у лист неокретности бр. 2605 КО Земун, В лист – 1. део под бр. зграде 1, по начину коришћења и називу објекта: породична стамбена зграда у државној својини, носиоца права коришћења Градске општине Земун,

- припадајућем идеалном делу кат. парцеле бр. 1294, укупне површине 2830 м2, уписане у лист непокретности бр. 2605 КО Земун, у државној својини, носилаца права коришћења власника објеката бр. 1, 2, 3 и 4 на истој кат. парцели, који је у сразмери са површином предметног објекта у односу на укупну површину објеката који се налазе на тој парцели.

2. Обавезује се Република Србија да Јеврејској општини Земун пренесе у својину, а Градска општина Земун истој преда у државину, непокретности из тачке 1. диспозитива, у року од 30 дана од дана извршности овог решења.

3. Обавезује се Јеврејска општина Земун као стичалац непокретности, да закупцима пословних простора у згради из тачке 1. диспозитива овог решења омогући и даље коришћење истих у складу са закљученим уговорима о закупу и то: Удружењу српско јеврејског пријатељства „Витезова Храма Јерусалима“ до 01.11.2016. године и „Сач Плус“ ДОО Београд до 01.06.2018. године, односно за период који је неопходан за прилагођавање њиховог пословања измењеним условима, али не дуже од две године од дана правоснажности решења о враћању имовине, с тим што се нови власник и купац могу и другачије споразумети.

4. Налаже се органу надлежном за упис права на непокретностима, да изврши упис права својине у корист Јеврејске општине Земун, са седиштем у Београду - Земуну, ул.

43. Facsimile of the front page of the Restitution Agency's decree
on the restitution of the synagogue



РЕПУБЛИКА СРБИЈА
УПРАВНИ СУД
16 У 8832/16
04.07.2019. године
БЕОГРАД

У ИМЕ НАРОДА

Управни суд, у већу састављеном од судија: Гордане Гајић Салзбергер, председника већа, Весне Даниловић и мр Весне Чогурић, чланова већа, са судским саветником Ирином Јелић, записничарем, одлучујући у управном спору по тужби тужилаца Републике Србије, коју заступа Државно правобранилаштво, Градске општине Земун, коју заступа Општинског правобранилаштво Градске општине Земун и Града Београда, кога заступа Градског правобранилаштво града Београда, поднетој против тужене Агенције за реституцију Републике Србије – Јединице за конфесионалну реституцију, ради поништаја решења, број: 46-00-01593/08 од 19.05.2016. године, уз учешће заинтересованог лица Јеврејске општине Земун, улица Дубровачка бр. 21, коју заступа пуномоћник Бранимир Радовановић, адвокат из Београда, улица Змаја од Ноћаја бр. 13а, у предмету враћања имовине, по одржаној усменој јавној расправи дана 25.06.2019. године, у нејавној седници већа, одржаној дана 04.07.2019. године, донео је

ПРЕСУДУ

I Тужбе **СЕ УВАЖАВАЈУ, ПОНИШТАВА** решење Агенције за реституцију Републике Србије – Јединице за конфесионалну реституцију, број: 46-00-01593/08 од 19.05.2016. године и предмет **ВРАЋА** надлежном органу на поновно одлучивање.

II **ОБАВЕЗУЈЕ СЕ** тужени орган Агенција за реституцију Републике Србије – Јединица за конфесионалну реституцију да тужиоцу Градској општини Земун накнади трошкове управног спора у износу од 34.500,00 динара, у року од 15 дана од дана писменог отправака пресуде.

III **ОБАВЕЗУЈЕ СЕ** тужени орган Агенција за реституцију Републике Србије – Јединица за конфесионалну реституцију да тужиоцу Граду Београду накнади трошкове управног спора у износу од 34.500,000 динара, у року од 15 дана од дана пријема писменог отправака пресуде.

*44. Facsimile of the decree passed by the Administrative Court
on the cancellation of the Agency's decree , page 1*

Разматрајући захтев тужиоца Градске општине Земун за накнаду трошкова управног спора, суд је истом признао трошкове на име састава тужбе од стране законског заступника, на основу Тарифног броја 43. Тарифе о наградама и накнадама трошкова за рад адвоката ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 121/12) у износу од 16.500,00 динара, као и на име приступа на расправу у износу од 18.000,00 динара, са којих разлога је одлучио као у ставу II диспозитива пресуде, сагласно одредби члана 153. став 1. Закона о парничном поступку ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 72/11 и 87/18), која се примењује на основу одредбе члана 74. Закона о управним споровима.

Разматрајући захтев тужиоца Града Београда за накнаду трошкова управног спора, суд је тужиоцу признао трошкове на име састава тужбе од стране законског заступника, на основу Тарифног броја 43. Тарифе о наградама и накнадама трошкова за рад адвоката ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 121/12) у износу од 16.500,00 динара, као и на име приступа на расправу у износу од 18.000,00 динара, са којих разлога је одлучио као у ставу III диспозитива пресуде, сагласно одредби члана 153. став 1. Закона о парничном поступку ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 72/11 и 87/18), која се примењује на основу одредбе члана 74. Закона о управним споровима.

Суд је одбио, као неоснован, захтев заинтересованог лица за накнаду трошкова управног спора, с обзиром на успех заинтересованог лица у овој управној ствари, па је применом одредаба чл. 66. и 67. Закона о управним споровима ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 111/09) и одредаба чл. 150. и 153. Закона о парничном поступку ("Службени гласник РС", бр. 72/11 и 88/18), а које се одредбе у овој управном спору сходно примењују на основу одредбе члана 74. Закона о управним споровима, одлучио као у ставу IV диспозитива пресуде.

ПРЕСУЂЕНО У УПРАВНОМ СУДУ
дана 04.07.2019. године, 16 У 8832/16

Записничар
Ирина Јелић, с.р.

Председник већа-судија
Гордана Гајић Салзбергер, с.р.



МД

20.9.19.

44. Facsimile of the decree passed by the Administrative Court
on the cancellation of the Agency's decree , page 14

When it became clear that the synagogue might be returned to us, we transferred some of our activities from our modest premises to the restaurant within the synagogue. The use of the synagogue/restaurant, started in 2007, with the promotion of **David Albahari's** book "Ludwig" and the **Hannukah celebration**. Next year, we continued with the promotion of **David Grosman's** book "See: Under Love". After those two years, we had a break of ten years, but then, encouraged by the restitution decree (2016), we increased the number of celebrations of our holidays.



45. Celebrations of Jewish holidays in our synagogue: Hanukkah 2007, Purim 2017, 2018 and 2019, Rosh Hashanah 2019, Tubishwat 2020 and Rosh Hashanah 2021.



46. Book promotions in our synagogue

Due to the pandemic, our Annual Election Assembly in 2021 was held at the synagogue.



47-49. Annual Election Assembly in 2021 held at our synagogue

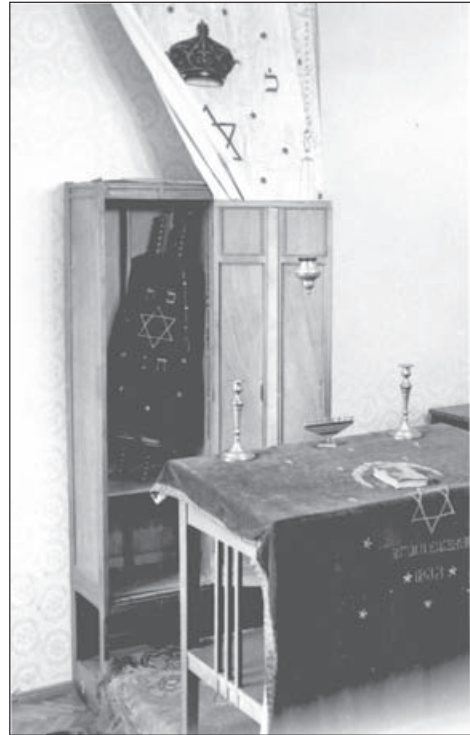
CHAPTER V

FUTURE OF THE ASHKENAZI SYNAGOGUE

Miraculously, the following articles were rescued from the Ashkenazi synagogue: the Torah, the bimah, Ark of the Law (cabinet) – Aron HaKodesh where the Torah is kept, parochet and a small organ. The Ten Commandments tablet was not taken off the roof and neither was the plaque above the entrance. These are the basic preconditions for a synagogue to commence religious services, and a new consecration.



50. Our Community's Torah



51. Aron HaKodesh and the Torah, bimah and parochet



52. Parochet and
53. Wall clock preserved from the Ashkenazi synagogue



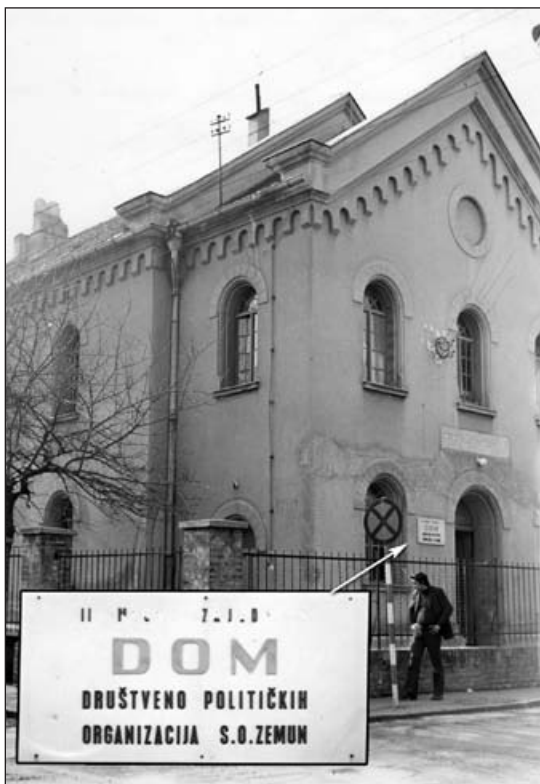
54. Mini organ from the synagogue



55, 56. The interior of the Ashkenazi synagogue, 1929



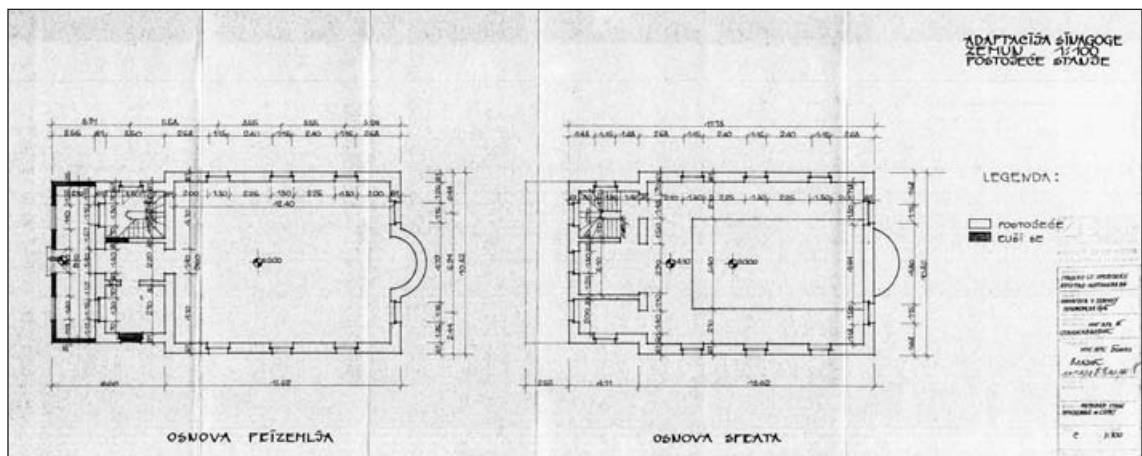
57, 58. *The Ten Commandments*
The plaque above the entrance reads:
And they shall make Me a sanctuary and
I will dwell in their midst.
Quotation from the Second Book of
Moses (Shemot 25:8–9)



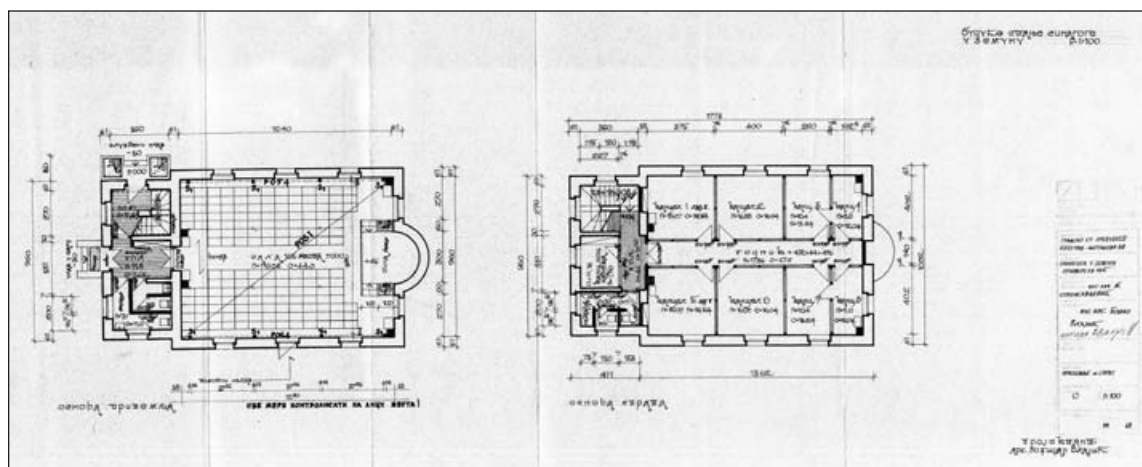
59. *Plaque of the II local community*
on the wall of the synagogue

After having bought the synagogue, the new owners carried out interior adaptation works. In order for everything to be legal, the Municipal Housing Company, which carried out the works, requested a permit from the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments for the intended adaptation works at the synagogue. Unfortunately, although it was clear that the interior of the synagogue would be totally destroyed, the Institute issued a permit on August 7, 1968 and put an end to a part of the cultural heritage of the Jews of Zemun. The only requirement posed by the Institute was that the ceiling must not be damaged. It is hard to say if it was damaged or not because it cannot be seen any longer. The adaptation divided the synagogue in two parts: ground floor and first floor. For the floor to be constructed, the wood gallery, used by women during

services, was demolished. The ground floor was to be used for the Socialist Alliance meetings. The newly formed floor was accessed by the previously existing entrance to the gallery, on the left side of the synagogue. Six small offices were made on the floor and given to the “Socio-political organizations”.



60. Ground floor before the reconstruction



61. Plan of the ground floor, first floor and façade reconstruction

After the reconstruction, the lower part was used for various purposes: as storage space, as a disco club, to be finally turned into a pub. The Jewish Community can by no means be held responsible for this, and neither can the Municipality of Zemun. Simply, when the building was sold, the purchase agreement did not stipulate to what purposes the building may be used. The then chairman of the People’s Committee of the Zemun Municipality, Branko Pešić was often, unjustifiably, blamed for it. The attached facsimile shows that he contacted our Community on June 27, 1956, after he unofficially found out that the synagogue was to be sold, and informed us of the fact that the Municipality of Zemun was interested in purchasing the synagogue.

Narodna Republika Srbija
NARODNI ODBOR OPŠTINE ZEMUN
Broj: 15695
27 juni 1956 godine
Z e m u n, kroz Beograd

P. Pešić
5. VII, 1956.

SAVEZ JEVREJSKIH OPŠTINA JUGOSLAVIJE

Beograd
Ul. 7 jula br. 71

Predmet: Ugovor o zakupu zgrade u
Zemunu u ul. Prekoj br.1.

U vezi Vašeg dopisa br. 1205/56 od 31.V.1956 godine, kojim otkazujete ovoj opštini zakup zgrade - biv. bogorolje u ul. Prekoj br.1., koja je upotrebljena za smeštaj materijalne opreme PAZ, izveštavamo Vas, da se za sada nećemo u faktičkoj nemogućnosti da uvažimo Vaš otkaz, pa Vas molimo, da isti povučete.

Ova Opština je u smislu propisa čl. 15 Uredbe o organizaciji službe protiv-avionske zaštite i čl. 104 Zakona o narodnoj odbrani, dužna da obezbedi smeštaj materijala i opreme za potrebe PAZ. Kako se usled specifičnih osobina ovoga materijala i njihove količine, kao i nedostatka magacinskih prostoriya u Zemunu, ne mogu naći ni približno podesne prostorije, prinudjeni smo, da još za izvesno vreme koristimo zakupno dobro u svrhu za koju je i uzeto u zakup, pa Vas molimo, da nas pravilno shvatite i odustanete od datog nam otkaza, a mi ćemo nastojati da nadjemo mogućnosti i rešimo pitanje smeštaja materijala i opreme PAZ van zakupnog dobra, kako bi Vam zgrada stavili na raspoloženje.

Kako smo nezvanično obavesteni, da imate nameru da prodate zgradu, koju mi držimo u zakupu, to Vas molimo, da nas o tome obavestite, jer bi se u tom slučaju i Opština Zemun pojavila kao interesent.

Smrt fašizmu - Slava narodu !

SAVEZ JEVREJSKIH OPŠTINA
Federacija
Jugoslavije
Broj 277/56
5. VII 1956 god
u BEOGRADU



PRESEDNIK
Narodnog odbora Opštine Zemun
Branko Pešić
/Branko Pešić/

62. Facsimile of the letter by Branko Pešić from 1956

Narodna Republika Srbija

Gr. Rep. u B. Rep. g. p. a

NARODNI ODBOR OPŠTINE ZEMUN

Broj: 01-7545/1

19.12.1961. godine

Zemun, Trg Pobede

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

19.12.1961. godine

R E Š E N J E

BAJE SE saglasnost na sklapanje kupoprodajnog ugovora između Jevrejske opštine u Zemunu kao prodavca sa jedne strane i opštine Zemun, koju predstavlja predsednik Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun, kao kupca sa druge strane, po kojim Jevrejska opština u Zemunu prodaje a opština Zemun kupuje zgradu bivše sinagoge u Zemunu u ul. Prekoj br. 1 za međusobnu ugovornu cenu od 3.500.000.- dinara (trimilionspetstot hiljada dinara), pod uslovima po kojima je već postignuta usmena saglasnost između Jevrejske opštine Zemun i potpredsednika Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun Jovičević Čedomira.

O b r a z l o ž e n j e

Jevrejska opština u Zemunu ponudila je Narodnom odboru opštine Zemun, a u vezi ranije postignutog usmenog sporazuma između nje i Narodnog odbora opštine Zemun, koga je predstavljao potpredsednik drug Jovičević Čeda, sklapanje kupoprodajnog ugovora po kojem bi Jevrejska opština u Zemunu prodala bivšu sinagogu u ul. Prekoj br. 1 u Zemunu opštini Zemun, a ova kupila od Jevrejske opštine pomenutu zgradu za cenu od 3.500.000.- dinara uz već postignute ugovorene uslove.

Jevrejska opština u Zemunu ponudila je sklapanje ovog ugovora pod sledećim uslovima:

1. Da u kupoprodajni ugovor bezuslovno ugudju i klauzule da svi ver-ski rekviziti i vrednosti koje bi se eventualno našle prilikom adaptacije zgrade od strane kupca dale u vlasništvo Jevrejskoj opštini Zemun.
2. Opština zemun kao kupac obavezuje se da će mermerne ploče sa jevrejskim natpisima koji su uzidani u zidove zgrade, prilikom radova na adaptaciji zgrade pažljivo skinuti i predati prodavcu.

Ova ponuda učinjena je pismeno dana 22.5.1961. godine Narodnom odboru opštine Zemun - Odeljenju za komunalne i stambene poslove pod brojem 07-7545/1, na koju je Jevrejskoj opštini dalo saglasnost Odeljenje za komunalne i stambene poslove uvažavajući sve uslove ponude, a prema dopisu upućenom Jevrejskoj opštini u Zemunu pod br. 07-7545/1 od 12. juna 1961. godine.

Stručna komisija Odeljenja za komunalne i stambene poslove NOO Zemun

63. Facsimile of the approval of the Municipality of Zemun to purchase the synagogue

For this reason, and for the sake of truthfulness, we have to relieve Branko Pešić of all responsibility. To all those who keep blaming him for not observing the purchase agreement, we wish to point out that there are no clauses on the future usage of the building. No more can we blame the leaders of our Community who placed their signatures on the purchase agreement, because all they did was follow the instructions from the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia.

With a delay of 44 years, the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments is preparing a proposal for the synagogue to be proclaimed object, of cultural heritage. We trust it will happen in a foreseeable future, thus rectifying an injustice done to the synagogue, as well as to the entire Jewish community in Zemun. The cultural heritage in the interior was destroyed through the adaptation, so the protection could currently refer only to the façade of the synagogue. The idea that the former interior appearance could be restored is totally incredible. Funds required for such an enterprise are huge, and the small Jewish Community of Zemun does not have a way to raise them. In addition to this, we have no resources needed to employ a rabbi who would conduct regular religious services in the synagogue. Another question that arises is how to secure a minyan, since only slightly over 600 Jews in Serbia declared themselves practicing Jews (according to the last census). What we can secure are occasional services, mostly for the major holidays, to be conducted by a visiting rabbi.

As opposed to the devastated interior, the façade has luckily been preserved in its original form, and the door and windows date back to the time of the construction of the building.

The Ashkenazi synagogue in Zemun was built in the Rundbogenstil style, widely used in synagogue architecture. Rundbogenstil (round-arch style) is a nineteenth-century historic revival style of architecture popular in the German-speaking lands and the German diaspora. It combines elements of Byzantine, Romanesque, and



*64. Door leading to the gallery,
65, 66. Windows on the first floor*

Renaissance architecture with particular stylistic motifs. The first in this style was the Kassel Synagogue designed by Heinrich Hübsch with Albrecht Rosengarten, built in the latter's native city, Kassel, Hesse-Kassel, in 1839. Hallmarks of the style, in addition to the rounded arches from which it takes its name, include "eyebrows" over the windows and inverted crenelation under the eaves. (source Wikipedia).

Based on the available photograph we received from the Belgrade City Museum, we noticed that the door, on the right side of the synagogue, has been walled up. It was done during the synagogue reconstruction in 1968, when a "wet point" was installed in that place. According to the data available at the Belgrade City Museum, the photo was taken around 1935. On closer look at the outer appearance, one can notice that the window panes are broken as well as the light above the side entrance to the synagogue. We do not believe the Community management would have allowed this to look like that, in the time when religious life at the synagogue ran its regular course. This is why we have concluded that the photo was probably taken during World War II.



67. View of the Ashkenazi synagogue, probably during World War II



68. Current view of the fence surrounding the Ashkenazi synagogue (2022)

It is beyond doubt that the fate of both Zemun synagogues would have been entirely different had not over 90 % of the Jewish Community in Zemun perished in the Holocaust. Our obligation is to remember with due reverence the 575 murdered members who had left the synagogue to us as a legacy to be cherished now and in the future. Next year, 2023, will mark 160 years from the completion of its construction and we will do our best to celebrate that jubilee in a suitably dignified way.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYNAGOGUE COURTYARD

The fact that the synagogue was not important to the Jews of Zemun only for religious reasons is best illustrated by an excerpt from the book by Danilo Fogel (1923-2012) “Jewish Community in Zemun”.

“The courtyard of the synagogue or Tempelhof certainly merits a separate section in this chronicle, since it was much more than just a piece of fenced-in space. The worshipers saw it as a piece of Jewish land, a sort of an exterritorial enclave surrounded by Christians. It was a meeting place for both the young and old and of its own accord generated a sense of protection. It functioned as a cohesive force and without written rules or argument it radiated a feeling of knowing that one was a Jew, of being part of a group, a nation. Plainly speaking, it appealed to the Jews of Zemun as a place where they could meet and organize gatherings.

Alongside the two rows of branching walnut trees there was still space enough for children to play, for shaded spots where one could talk, for lanes where first bicycle riding skills were timidly mastered. There was even enough space for erecting a stage for amateur theater productions usually performed on certain Jewish holidays and finally for the elderly to take refreshing strolls after walking out of the Synagogue building. Bowers primarily intended for worshippers, who had no means to make one in their own house, were erected for the Sukot holidays. In this way they could rest under them for a while.

Right up to the closing down of the school the yard was always filled with the clamour of children. Before and after lessons as well as during break time children made use of the yard for playing games. Even during holiday time it was as if the yard had a force of its own to attract children. For the children and youths it never ceased to be a place of daily gathering even when the school was finally closed down.

With the closing of the school one of the classrooms was transformed into a place of worship, to be used on cold winter days. The other classroom was placed at the disposal of the “Hashomer Hatzair” organization. This group was called the “Ken” (nest). More details about the activities of this organization will be presented in the chapter on the Zionist movement in Zemun. At this point the only thing to be said is that not a day went by without a gathering of Jewish children and youth’s ken.

Whenever the weather was favourable, the youths would take the benches and chairs outside and hold discussions on various points; then again there were times when they gathered to see a movie. A new edition published by “Nolit” would also be a reason for meeting. Occasionally philosophic issues were at stake, as was psychoanalysis, pedagogy and many other subjects.

This was a place where one got involved with classical music, the opera for the first time. Alfred Katschka would bring an old record player and records and give the young listeners a chance to enjoy arias from operas such as “Rigolletto”, “Masked ball”, “The Clown”, “The Jewess” and others performed by Enrico Caruso. Namely, Alfred was a virtuoso on the violin. He began practicing in his sixth year. He would play at various formal events; he was also known to have played an entire violin concert for just a handful of his peers. When he played in his own home, he was accompanied

by his sister Clara on the piano.

Theo Schön would frequently bring his accordion to the “Ken”. He played it solo, but would also accompany either solo or group singers.

Tosa Rosenberg was a Hawaiian guitar player. He deftly played Hawaiian melodies. He performed at a number of events and always received the utmost recognition from the audience.

Josip Beherano frequently brought his guitar to the “Ken”; always on excursions or to the mosava. As a rule he was the one to bring the latest song which he interpreted with his melodious tenor. Once heard, these songs would be taken up and sung by his friends. On his guitar he also accompanied and melodiously sang songs on the Hebrew which occasionally came from the Palestine. Gatherings of Jewish youths with comradeship and amusement in mind could not be imagined without him.

There were times when members of the Belgrade “Ken” (“Hashomer hatzair”) took part in these events together with their Zemunian peers. On one occasion a short musical play dedicated to settlers in Palestine was performed. In a sonorous voice Ruben of Belgrade sang a song which began with the line “Down the valley of the Emek there lies a grove...”, and Rahela, also from Belgrade sang old Spanish romantic songs. She made a great impression on the audience when she sang the “Kinneret”, a song dedicated to this lake in the Palestine.

At “Ken” gatherings young people gave preference to the hora dance (a national dance). The “Hava” was frequently sung while dancing. However, they also danced to a choice of rally songs, similar to the one below, as recalled from memory:

*Mame was ist das fur a' Welt
die Madchen verkaufen sich fur Geld,
lo harumba, lo hatango,
rak la hora, ve hahora...*

The synagogue courtyard was actually the center of life for the Zemun Jewish Community.

Today, there is no music or song to be heard in it, no echo of children’s laughter. With the exception of a mere handful of survivors, all those who once sang and danced there or who merely looked on, the playful children, youths brimming with the joy of life, the mature and elderly men and women have disappeared inside Ustashi and other concentration camps, in the holocaust...

Instead of founding a monument, as a reminder to new generations of the life and martyr’s death of one segment of the Zemun population, the synagogue courtyard today stands ravaged and disfigured. The alcove of trees has been devastated by partitioning work and concrete slabs. The fate of the Jewish temple has been sacrilegious.

And thus, there is truth in the proverbial saying that “life goes on...”



69. Performing a sketch in the synagogue yard, 1937



70. A get-together at the synagogue yard, 1939



71. A get-together at the synagogue yard, 1935



72. A get-together at the synagogue yard, 1939

CHAPTER VII

JEWISH CEMETERY IN ZEMUN

The Zemun Jewish cemetery dates back to the time when the Community was founded. The oldest gravestone that was made out still stands and dates back to 1741.

The old Jewish cemetery originally occupied a very narrow space. On October 10, 1802 more than a half century later the Jewish Community presented an application to the Magistrate asking for the extension of the existing graveyard. The request made by the Community was to obtain a grant for a site next to the Catholic cemetery. Evidently the request was approved, since to this day the Zemun Jewish cemetery stands on this site.

Hevra Kadisha was founded in Jewish Community of Zemun between 1770 and 1780. **Hevra Kadisha** (Burial Societies) was one of the institutions of great importance. It profoundly contributed to the up-holding and continuity of religious rites and customs performed at the Jewish burials. This funeral society had more than one statute because the rules were changed according to changes in practice of funerals. Obligatory use of coffin was dictated by the state regulations in Austria, later in Austro-Hungarian Empire. From the statute adopted in 1883 we can see that Hevra Kadisha was named: “Israeli brotherhood for care of ill and for funerals in Zemun”. That activity remained until 1941. There was difference in rights between members and non-members in all Hevra Kadisha statutes.

Taxes for non-members could be even fifty times higher than for members. Hevra Kadisha was always independent in work. Hevra Kadisha was always independent in work. Of course, Community management always kept right to supervise, especially in financial matters. The society, among other duties, was determining sizes and positions of graves and inspected inscriptions on tombstones. They had rights of censure inscriptions if they were not in accordance with Jewish tradition. Today Hevra Kadisha’s activity is based on Funeral Regulations that was adopted by the Assembly of Jewish Community of Zemun and which was harmonized with the state regulations.

In the early 1970’s pressure started to be exerted on the Zemun Jewish Community to renounce part of the cemetery in favor of the “meritorious citizens of Zemun” who would be buried there. The available archival material indicates that the pressure was constant and aimed at making our Community give up a part of the cemetery. Although it is common knowledge that the Jewish tradition does not allow grave digging, (archeologists in the Holy Land stop excavations the moment they come across a Jewish cemetery), coercion continued through the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia.

Based on the minutes of the commission comprised of experts from the



73. The oldest preserved gravestone from 1741

Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, The Zemun Jewish Community, Association of Fighters of the People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia and the Funeral Home, we know that on April 24, 1974 a provisional agreement was reached for a large number of gravestones to be relocated.

Na osnovu sporazuma između Jevrejske opštine Zemun i Opštinskog odbora SUBNOR-a kao i Skupštine opštine Zemun, a koji je ranije zaključen, izašla je Komisija dana 24. aprila 1974. godine u 9,00 časova na Jevrejskom groblju u Zemunu, Cara Dušana br. 32. u sastavu :

1. NADOMAČKI profesor ~~dr.~~ VIDA, kustos Jevrejskog muzeja u Beogradu,
2. VERA ERAK, predstavnik Jevrejske opštine Zemun,
3. DANON CADIK, rabin Saveza jevrejskih opština u Beogradu
4. MONTILJO MORIC, predstavnik Jevrejske opštine Zemun,
5. ATIJAS MIMO, predstavnik Jevrejske opštine Zemun,
6. VLADA JOVANOVIĆ, predstavnik Opštinskog odbora SUBNOR-a Zemun,
7. DJORDJE MAKSIMOVIĆ, predstavnik Komunalnog preduzeća za pogrebne usluge u Beogradu - Zemunu.

Komisija je pregledala spomenike na starom delu Jevrejskog groblja. Tom prilikom su obeleženi 87 očuvanih nadgrobni spomenika / žutom masnom bojom/, koje treba cele ukopati na odredjenom mestu - ivici.

Nadgrobni spomenici koji su u lošem stanju / polomljeni, dotrajali i sl./ biće preneseni na za to odredjeno mesto i ugrađeni na jednu neprofilisanu piramidu.

Štenci kostiju iz grobova - grobnica će biti zakopani u jednu zajedničku grobnicu koja će biti obeležena jednim zajedničkim spomenikom. Takođe i kosti koje se budu i docnije, prilikom prekopavanja i sahranjivanja nove umrlih pronašli - iskopali, staviti ih u najlov vrećice i zakopati u napred navedenu grobnicu.

Redove na prenošenju nadgrobni spomenika i zidanju neprofilisane piramide od starih, dotrajalih nadgrobni spomenika, izvoditi uz prisustvo odredjenih članova Jevrejske opštine u Zemunu i odredjenih članova Saveza boraca opštine Zemun.

Signatures as approvals of the destruction of a part of the Jewish cemetery, on behalf of the Federation were put by: Rabbi Cadik Danon, directress of the Jewish Historical Museum Vida Nedomački and members of the JC of Zemun: Vera Erak, Moric Montiljo and Mimo Atijas

LJB/EV-2

Broj : 552-29/77-VI

Z A P I S N I K

sa usmene javne rasprave održane u Sekretarijatu za privredu i finansije povodom učesća opštine Zemun za uređenje prostora za nova grobna mesta na Jevrejskom groblju i prenosa zemljišta bez naknade sa Jevrejske opštine, na opštinu Zemun, dana 25.3. 1977. godine.

PRISUTNI:

SLUŽBENO LICE : Ljubomir Bakić

ZAPISNIČAR : Vera Erak

Od stranaka raspravi prisustvuje :

Predsednik Jevrejske opštine Ivan Brandajz, po ovlašćenju koje se prilaže spisima.

Za ovim se donosi

Z A K L J U Č A K

DA SE RASPRAVA ODRŽI.

Predsednik Jevrejske opštine, kao ovlašćeno lice, izjavi : da je saglasan da Jevrejska opština prenese, bez naknade, na opštinu Zemun jugoistočni deo od parcela broj 3667 k.o. Zemun, upisane u ZKUL broj 936. u ukupnoj površini od 1 kj. i 71 kv.hv. od koje površine preneti na opštinu Zemun površinu od 400 kv.hv. što u idealnom delu predstavlja 6/25 dela.

Istiđe, da navedenoj gruntovnoj parceli odgovara parcela novog premera broj 417 k.o. Zemun I, koja parcela je upisana u posedovni list broj 368 k.o. Zemun I, na ime društvena svojina, korisnik - dobro Jevrejske opštine u Zemunu.

Takođe je saglasan da se u zemljišnim knjigama na gore navedenom delu upiše kao nosilac prava korišćenja opština Zemun, bez dalje saglasnosti Jevrejske opštine.

Zapisnik je stranki pročitao, na isti nema primedbi, te ga potpisuje.



SLUŽBENO LICE,

ZAPISNIČAR,

STRANKA,

75. Minutes on the donation of a part of the cemetery

The realization of this conclusion must have been faced with significant resistance, because it was only three years later that the Zemun Jewish Community officially donated a part of the cemetery to the Municipality of Zemun.

Thanks to the photographs taken by David Montiljo in 1974, we can see what the oldest part of the cemetery looked like and what an immense cultural and historical harm was done by that act. During the works, the initial agreement reached in 1974 was not observed, neither were the instructions of Dr. Hinko Urbach from 1948 on procedures with deserted graveyards, even though ours had not been deserted. In the above mentioned letter to the Federation, he gave clear instructions: "... the same holds good for cemeteries which have to be abandoned in the public interest. In such cases, graves are to be emptied and the exhumed remains buried again with all the prescribed religious rites, either in a common grave or in individual ones, while the gravestones are to be preserved and must not be used for any other purpose whatsoever." None of his instructions were observed. The rabbi did not supervise the works and there was no "religious ritual", nor was there a burial in a common grave. According to a photograph taken by David Montiljo in 1974, there had been 142 gravestones, while the Commission Minutes mentions 87. None of them were kept or preserved.



76. Commission members who made the selection of gravestones to be relocated, 1974



76a. Destroyed part of the cemetery, 1974

Instead of relocating the well-preserved gravestones, only segments of about thirty broken gravestones were kept. Those remnants have been laid in concrete, in three rows, without any inscriptions or explanations as to why they are placed there. It can be said that they are a peculiar monument to boorishness and lack of reverence and care for the heritage of our Community.



77. "Three rows" of our shame

Regrettably, it was then that the oldest monuments of the cemetery were destroyed. Among others, gravestones of Theodor Herzl's ancestors disappeared. Some consolation is that the gravestones of Theodor Herzl's grandparents, Simon and Rivka, have been preserved and the Jewish Community takes appropriate care of them.



78. Gravestones to Simon and Rivka Herzl

The following attachment is an updated list of the members of the Zemun Jewish Community who vanished during the Holocaust. Sadly, they had not been lucky enough to be buried in their cemetery. Instead, a monument with their names inscribed has been erected to commemorate them.

Detailed information on the Jewish Cemetery in Zemun can be found on our website <https://joz.rs/probljweb/index.html>



79. Monument to the Jews of Zemun perished in the Holocaust

EPILOGUE

At the end of Danilo Fogel's book "Jewish Community in Zemun - 1739 to 1945 Chronicle", the author wrote: "The presumption is that there will be those among the younger generations of the Zemun Jewish Community willing to chronicle the life of the Community in the former SFR of Yugoslavia and its successor, i.e. FRY. The chronicle remains open for possible inclusions of relevant documented material."

Desiring to see the author's wish fulfilled, we have for years endeavored to investigate everything that has been happening in our Community for over three centuries. In this effort, we have enjoyed great support from Milan Fogel, who took part in the preparation and posting of several exhibitions and books about our Community. We particularly wish to emphasize the research related to rescuing Jews in Serbia, which resulted in the publication of two books about The Righteous of Serbia, written by Milan Fogel.

The research into the fate of the two synagogues of Zemun was an opportunity to touch upon the activities of the Zemun Jewish Community from 1945 to 2022, with a special attention placed on the work of our Community in the last twenty years or so.

The attitude of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia to the sale of properties owned by devastated and destroyed Jewish communities throughout the country prompted us to shed light on some of the critical issues related to the fate of the Zemun synagogues. On the basis of available documentation, we reconstructed the events leading to the post-war sale of the synagogues at Stara Pazova and Zemun, as well as to the demolition of the Sephardic synagogue. We hope the present research results will finally put an end to the various unconfirmed stories about their fates.

During the research, the time when the cornerstones for both synagogues had been laid was determined beyond doubt, as well as the respective consecration years, so we expect that these facts will be used in the future when scientific and other works are written on the subject of these synagogues.

In addition to the information collected by Danilo Fogel about the Sephardic synagogue, we have managed to find out who the architect of the Ashkenazi synagogue was. Here, we are in a position, for the first time, to publish the information that the design for the Ashkenazi synagogue was made by a local architect, Florian Felber, and that the construction works were carried out by the town engineer Anton Querfeld with his son-in-law Paul Tobi. Further contributions to the building and furnishing of the synagogue were made by carpenter Formberg, woodworker Sporza, locksmith Tomić and painter Galois, all from Pančevo.

The research efforts have been intense and successful, aided by professionals from all the institutions we contacted with requests for available information. We enjoyed great support by the Historical Archives of Belgrade, the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, the Belgrade City Museum, National Library of Serbia, the archives of the National Bank of Serbia, Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and numerous individuals.

Besides several postcards showing details of the Sephardic synagogue, we have not found a single one showing the Ashkenazi synagogue. Nevertheless, the exterior of the Ashkenazi synagogue has not changed significantly till today. From the Belgrade City Museum - Homeland Museum of Zemun, we received two valuable photographs of the Sephardic and the Ashkenazi synagogues. It is claimed that they were taken in 1930 and 1935, respectively. However, as we described the Ashkenazi synagogue photo earlier, with the damage to the façade, it can be seen that the Sephardic synagogue had been damaged in the same way, probably by stones thrown at it. It makes us think that the photo of the Sephardic one was also taken at the very beginning of World War II.

A curious part of the research concerned the rabbis who served in Zemun. The Ashkenazi rabbi from Belgrade, Yehuda Zeev Weinberger, noted in 1862 that for as long as 32 years there had been a rabbi serving the Ashkenazi community. There are several documents which claim with great certainty that the rabbi in question was Samuel Wolf. We have also determined that Dr. Samuel David Tauber was employed at the Ashkenazi synagogue from 1870 to 1879. Until now, we thought that it was Rabbi Alkalai who was the only one to conduct services from 1825 to 1874 for both communities in Zemun. It seems obvious now that he was the rabbi of both communities for the first five years of his service only.

Considering the performance of the current rabbi employed at the Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia, we can notice great difference in the perception of the role of a rabbi in a community now and in the past. For example, the contract

Wann wirksam der Mannschaften der
 Oesterreichischen kaiserlichen Gemeinde
 Uebernahme mit H. Ehrenw. v. d. h.
 großen Lebenswandel und sanftmütigen
 Umgang abzuhalten soll: so wird Ihre
 definitive Anstellung in fünfzig Rabbinen
 am...

Zemun 25. Tamuz 560
 24. July 1870.
 Der Kaufung der fünfzig
 Hako's Mages israel. Cultus-Gemeinde
 Bernard Herz
 R. Bilitz
 Moses Herz
 Markus Mayer

80. Facsimile of the contract between the JC Zemun and S.D. Tauber

signed by the representatives of the Jewish religious community of Zemun and Rabbi S.D. Tauber in 1870, among others, enumerates the employment conditions: *“In case, during the afore mentioned three years of service, there is no reason whatsoever for dissatisfaction with the religious and general conduct of the rabbi or with his service, he will be eligible for the service of the local rabbi [permanent]... The rabbi hereby undertakes to take care of the religious wellbeing of the community and management of the school”*.

Nowadays, we have an opposite situation in which the rabbi decides *“on religious and general practices”* of those who employ him. He has divided the Community into *“the good and the evil”*, and does not hesitate to say so publicly, on TV. It is a well known custom in the Islam that *“fatwa”* is issued on someone, but that it be cast on one half of a community is something we have lived to see done by the rabbi we ourselves have employed. Nevertheless, we in Zemun do stick to ancestors’ attitudes towards the role of a rabbi in the work of our Community.

In the National Archives of Hungary and Austria, we had hoped to find documents of the Zemun Magistrate related to the fate of the two Zemun synagogues but, unfortunately, there were no data on the subject in the archives. We did find several documents in the National Archives of Croatia, but without any direct reference to the synagogues.

As is the case with any research work, this one is not *“final”* either. Despite the fact that rather a lot of documentation was destroyed during World War II, there is always a chance that some as yet unknown documents will appear and resolve the existing dilemmas.

Nenad Fogel

Zemun, 2022

A REVIEW OF THE BOOK

Danilo Fogel, author of *The Jewish Community in Zemun* (2007), made a significant contribution to the historiography of Serbian Jews by presenting the origins and life of the Jewish community in Zemun, in a particularly volatile region, at the historical crossroads of the two empires, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Such divisions between the great powers were called “Military Frontiers” and the like, and all changes, political, military and economic, were reflected and broken down here - most often by shifting borders, expulsions and / or most often forced relocations. Such was the fate of the border area in which the city of Zemun was founded and developed, and with it the arrivals and departures of Jews, who came here as far back as 1739 and created a community that has survived to this day. Of course the most terrible catastrophe of the 20th century, World War II did not bypass them and in the Holocaust the community was almost completely destroyed but still, the few survivors returned and with tenacious perseverance rebuilt the community. Although war destruction and post-war nationalizations left the community without almost all property, the axis of Jewish life, two synagogues - Sephardic and Ashkenazi - survived the war, but Sephardic was badly damaged by Allied bombing and was demolished soon after the war and an apartment block was built in its place. The Ashkenazi synagogue was sold after the war, it changed users several times, and in the recently started denationalization process it was returned to the Jewish community of Zemun, which still does not use it but is preparing a new revitalization program.

This book, (*Two Zemun Synagogues*) by Nenad D. Fogel, is a logical continuation of the previous one, as the author has researched many new documents that further enrich the story of the history of the Jewish community in Zemun, its centuries-old life and present that suggests a better future.

In this text I would like to hold on the descriptions of the two previously mentioned synagogues, both from the period of Historicism but different architectural conceptions, influenced by two stylistic directions but both influenced by the newly formed Reform Judaism (called Neologue) in the mid-19th century.

There is no real typology of European synagogues, architectural historians use a temporary division into four basic types:

- Synagogue-house
- tripartite (three - part synagogue
- Domed-synagogue
- synagogue with four towers at the corners

We will focus on the first two types, one of which is the Ashkenazi Synagogue in Zemun and the other is the Sephardic Synagogue. They differ less in the layout of the interior than in the external appearance and the way they fit into the image of the city.

The synagogue-house, the existing building of the Ashkenazi synagogue in

Zemun, although built as a religious building, followed the tradition of earlier places of prayer. What characterized this type of synagogue was that their architectural form was identical to ordinary one-story or two-story apartment buildings in the neighborhood, mostly with triangular gables and gabled roofs. Their doors and windows resembled those of neighboring buildings, and their dimensions were consistent with other buildings on the street. Elsewhere in Europe, the oldest known synagogues, such as the Altneuschul in Prague (1280), belonged to this type.

There were large and monumental, independent versions of this type of synagogue, such as the old Sephardic synagogue in Belgrade and a number of small, rural synagogues in Vojvodina, Serbia, such as Apatin, Sombor, Senta and Cantavir.

The tripartite synagogue was developed according to the formal designs of the Viennese architect Ludwig Von Förster, whose plans for Neological (Reform) Jewish places of worship had a decisive influence on the architecture of synagogues throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The main entrance facades of these synagogues have a three-part composition with a central, elevated part. The central part usually protrudes from the symmetrical side parts. The project suggests a cross-section of a typical basilica form with a nave and two naves.

This common synagogue design was considered ideal for the Reform synagogues, with the floor plan arranged longitudinally, and the bifocal organization of the space abandoned. In earlier (Ashkenazi) synagogues, the Torah Arc, Aaron HaKodesh, the primary focus of the Jewish liturgy, was located on the east wall, and the bimah was placed in the central prayer space. In the Sephardic synagogues the bimah was moved to the opposite, western part of the synagogue. In the Reform synagogues of the nineteenth century this bipolarity was abandoned and the bimah was moved in front of Aaron HaKodesh.

The prototype of this group of synagogues and a model for the architect Josef Marks for the Zemun synagogue was the Vienna Leopoldstädter Tempel (1858), the temple of the so-called “Moorish Revival” designed by Ludwig Förster. It became a prototype for synagogue design throughout Central Europe. A close example was the Zagreb synagogue of the architect Franjo Klein (1866-1867), and in a more modest, provincial form, the Koprivnica synagogue (1875-1876). In Serbia, there are examples, along with the Sephardic synagogue in Zemun and the Ashkenazi synagogue in Sremska Mitrovica, Novi Becej, Ecka and Bela Crkva.

What will be the fate of the Ashkenazi synagogue in Zemun? Will she continue to live as a Jewish cultural center with a prayer space? No one can be quite sure what the future of the synagogue is. Many believe that the hard times are over and that for Zemun Jews at better times are smiling. All we can do is to wait and hope.

Ivan Čerešnješ, Architect, MA
Jerusalem/Sarajevo

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ZEMUN
PERISHED IN THE HOLOCAUST**

- | | | | |
|------------|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Adanja Rafael | 48. | Matilda |
| 2. | Ljerka | 49. | Rosa |
| 3. | Mathilde | 50. | Bondi Jakob |
| 4. | Rosa | 51. | Grete |
| 5. | Adler Leo | 52. | Robert |
| 6. | Paula | 53. | Bošković Eugen |
| 7. | Robert | 54. | Margit |
| 8. | Rosa | 55. | Erna |
| 9. | Adler Paula Sr. | 56. | Magda |
| 10. | Alischer Franciska | 57. | Mirko |
| 11. | Juci | 58. | child |
| 12. | Alkuzer Avram | 59. | Brandeis Zsiga |
| 13. | Regina | 60. | Berta |
| 14. | baby | 61. | Brüll Josip |
| 15. | child | 62. | Hugo |
| 16. | child | 63. | Bruner Pavle |
| 17. | child | 64. | Cević Avram |
| 18. | child | 65. | Clara |
| 19. | child | 66. | Haim |
| 20. | Altarac Josip | 67. | Marana |
| 21. | Raschel | 68. | Clara |
| 22. | Amodaj Haim | 69. | Robert |
| 23. | Anaf Moreno | 70. | Tschapo Jovan |
| 24. | Helena | 71. | Charlotte |
| 25. | Ausspitz Julio | 72. | Pirosch |
| 26. | Gita | 73. | Stevan |
| 27. | Ibolka | 74. | Dezsma Richard |
| 28. | Balazs Iso | 75. | Stefania |
| 29. | Regina | 76. | Josef |
| 30. | Selma | 77. | Daniti Lenka |
| 31. | Band Dr Aleksander | 78. | Aca |
| 32. | Charlotte | 79. | Haim |
| 33. | Milan | 80. | Mika |
| 34. | Beherano Vitalis | 81. | Katica |
| 35. | Erna | 82. | Elek Ela |
| 36. | Belah Ofsej | 83. | Elias Lika |
| 37. | Rifka | 84. | Josef |
| 38. | Rachel | 85. | Elias Regina |
| 39. | Böhm Zsiga | 86. | Engel Andria |
| 40. | Fani | 87. | Rosa |
| 41. | Gisela | 88. | Engel Tea |
| 42. | Bihaly Herman | 89. | Anton |
| 43. | Binder Bertold | 90. | Engler Desider |
| 44. | Rosa | 91. | Jelisaveta |
| 45. | Anica | 92. | Ehrenfreund Zdenko |
| 46. | Pavle | 93. | Emmi |
| 47. | Blau Jakob | 94. | Farchy Alisa |

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|-----------------------------|
| 95. | Farchy Aligret | 144. | Rene |
| 96. | Mihailo | 145. | Fuks Helena |
| 97. | Farchy Josef – 1941. | 146. | Geduldig Sima |
| 98. | Dora | 147. | Rosa |
| 99. | Robert | 148. | Gerschanovitsch Rosa |
| 100. | Farchy Leon – 1941. | 149. | Hinko |
| 101. | Olga | 150. | Gärtner Dr Leo |
| 102. | Erih – 1941. | 151. | Goldstein Ani |
| 103. | Lili | 152. | Nadine |
| 104. | Alfred – 1941. | 153. | Goldstein Hermine |
| 105. | Farkasch Sophie | 154. | Goldstein Erwin |
| 106. | Fekete Arnold | 155. | Mariane |
| 107. | Fekete Elemer – killed in
Aushvic 1944. | 156. | Erika |
| 108. | Olga – killed in Aushvic 1944. | 157. | Goldstein Charlotte |
| 109. | Mirjana – killed in Aushvic 1944. | 158. | Erwin |
| 110. | Fekete Frida | 159. | Greiner Leopold |
| 111. | Fekete Kornel | 160. | Erna |
| 112. | Fekete Regina | 161. | Ilka |
| 113. | Grete | 162. | Gräber Paul |
| 114. | Lea | 163. | Serena |
| 115. | Förster Alexander | 164. | Grünfeld Isidor |
| 116. | Juliana | 165. | Gross Josefine |
| 117. | Zoltan | 166. | Grossman Hermina |
| 118. | Fischer David | 167. | Gusmann Josip |
| 119. | Hermine | 168. | Heitler Adolf |
| 120. | Leo | 169. | wife |
| 121. | Fischer Desider | 170. | Gisela |
| 122. | Etel | 171. | Mirjana |
| 123. | Judit | 172. | Halmosch Olga |
| 124. | Jovan | 173. | Ditica |
| 125. | Fischer Wili | 174. | Herzl Emil |
| 126. | Malvine | 175. | Marijana |
| 127. | Samuel | 176. | Josip |
| 128. | Flesch Mariane | 177. | Leo |
| 129. | Fodor Bianka | 178. | Herzl Adele |
| 130. | Fogel Eugen | 179. | Hugo |
| 131. | Ida (Gisela) | 180. | Jakob |
| 132. | David | 181. | Herzl Ida |
| 133. | Josip | 182. | Herzl Malvina |
| 134. | Freudenfeld Alexsander | 183. | Matilda |
| 135. | Magda | 184. | Antoneta |
| 136. | Mathilde | 185. | Herzl Hasan |
| 137. | Frank Magda | 186. | Gisele |
| 138. | Franckl Melania | 187. | Herzl Richard |
| 139. | Friedmann Lazar | 188. | Hirschfeld Frieda |
| 140. | Serena | 189. | Gisele |
| 141. | Friedmann Leo | 190. | Hirschl Alexander |
| 142. | Friedmann Leopold | 191. | Bukica |
| 143. | Irene | 192. | child |
| | | 193. | Honig David |

194. Selena
195. Mira
196. Hecht Etel
197. Iric Nandor
198. Jovanka
199. Erika
200. Olga
201. Isachar Josip
202. Regina
203. Anna
204. Alfred
205. Hinko - Haim
206. Kalderon Sarah – 1941.
207. Rahela – 1941.
208. Sultana – 1941.
209. Matilda – 1941.
210. Netika – 1941.
211. Sefira – 1941.
212. Katschka Gerschon
213. Elsa
214. Alfred
215. Kampos Salamon
216. Karpat Ela
217. Kaufmann Regina
218. Kases Natan
219. Sabina
220. Keser Sophia
221. Künstler Artur
222. Valerie
223. Josip
224. Rudi
225. Alexander
226. Nina
227. Klauber Gaus
228. Klein Bernard
229. Olga
230. Đuro
231. Kleinmann Edmund
232. Klopfer Heinrich
233. Klopfer Isidor
234. Hanny
235. Josefina
236. Else
237. Klopfer H. Rudolf
238. Kohen Juda
239. Mirjana
240. Gavra
241. Avram
242. Kohen David
243. Rifka
244. Kohn Andor
245. wife
246. Ela
247. Kohn Dragutin
248. Katica
249. Kohn Hugo
250. Regina
251. Kohn Imre
252. Ethel
253. Olga
254. Kohn Salamon
255. Ester
256. Kohn Ivan
257. wife
258. Hilda
259. Nada
260. Vera
261. Kovach Pavle
262. Kraus Manfred
263. Mancı (nee Grossman)
264. Edita
265. Kriehaber Karlo
266. Ela
267. Kronstein Frieda
268. Kronstein Josip
269. Hedwiga
270. Alexander
271. Rut
272. Kronstein Fritz
273. Olga
274. Ivan
275. Landau Berta
276. Leon Else
277. Leon Hermine
278. Leon Rosa
279. Levi Cadik
280. Levi Blanka
281. Clara
282. Levi Josip
283. Julia
284. Levi Laura
285. Roderik
286. Levi Kadmon
287. Sumbul
288. Alfred
289. Josefina
290. Ruben
291. Salamon
292. Levi Nisim
293. Clara

294. Mery
295. Stela
296. Levi Sigmund
297. Gisela
298. Ilse
299. Karlo
300. Dr Kurt
301. Otto
302. Levi Sol
303. Levi Kalman
304. Lustig Armin
305. Jelisaveta
306. Katica
307. Clara
308. Olga
309. Matschoro David
310. Lili
311. Ester
312. Josip
313. Juda
314. Nisim
315. Sopfie
316. Mayer Berta
317. Mayer Malvina
318. Samuel
319. Margita
320. Drago
321. Mayer Ezra
322. Ernesta
323. Viktoria
324. Lidia
325. Mandel Jovan
326. Mandil Menahem
327. Soka
328. Menahem Lika
329. Melamed Alfred
330. Rachel
331. Mordehaj - surname n/a
332. Müller Frieda
333. Uriel
334. Musafia Isak
335. Blanka
336. Azriel
337. Jakob
338. Mosche
339. Rafael
340. Nachmias Isak
341. Josefina
342. Neubauer Rosa
343. Zsuzsi
344. Orban Martin
345. Jelisaveta
346. Papo Elise
347. Josefina
348. Rachel
349. Papo Sameul
350. Sarah
351. Jasha
352. Sasha
353. Perenji Bela
354. Marija
355. Clara
356. Pinter Djurka
357. Pisker Adolf
358. Janka
359. Ervin
360. Josip
361. Pisker Estel
362. Mira
363. Pisker Josip
364. Regina
365. Clara
366. Pisker Manfred
367. Oskar
368. Placko Frieda
369. Polak Ema
370. Vera
371. Polizer Eugenia
372. Pavle
373. Gabriela
374. Reizer Herman
375. Reis Jakob
376. Gita
377. Rechnizer Jolan
378. Ronaj Charlotte
379. Rosenberg Lazar
380. Rosa
381. Eugenia
382. Elvira
383. Rosenfeld Malvina
384. Roth Leo
385. Johanna
386. Erna
387. Hedwiga
388. Rubenowitsch Felix
389. Marsel
390. Samlaics Maria
391. Rosa
392. Erik
393. Ljerka

394. Hugo
395. Schari
396. Santo Đuro
397. Stefanie
398. Sasson Blanka
399. Sasson Josip
400. Bukica
401. Stela
402. Mimi
403. Sasson Mariana
404. Judith
405. Sasson Moritz
406. **Semnitz Ignjat**
407. Fanny
408. Marko
409. Semnitz Zsiga
410. Rosa
411. Franziska
412. Sidl Amalia
413. Edith
414. Lili
415. Sidwerz Makso
416. Sigmund Alexander
417. Sigmund Clara
418. **Sonnenberg Bela**
419. Heni
420. Vera
421. Vlado
422. Sonnenfeld son of Elsa
423. Sonnenfeld Lazar
424. Sonnenfeld Dr. Samuel
425. Olga
426. Hilda
427. Angelina
428. Ivica
429. Sonnenfeld Otto
430. Schalgo Makso
431. Maria
432. Jelisaveta
433. Judith
434. Zsuzsi
435. Scheer Samuel
436. Regina
437. Adolf
438. Alexander
439. Filip
440. Malvine
441. Marko
442. Lucija
443. Schor Leo
444. Gisela
445. Hulda
446. Schossberger Dr Franz
447. Erika
448. Mira
449. Spiegel Ingelore
450. Walter
451. Spindl Paula
452. Albert
453. Herrman
454. Stein Makso
455. Else
456. Robert
457. Steiner Herrman
458. Talina
459. Makso
460. Rosa
461. Gita
462. Schreiber Bernard
463. Schreiber Gavro
464. Schugar Gesa
465. Schwab Albert
466. Irma
467. Schwitzer Hinko
468. Wilma
469. Schwitzer Berta
470. Schwitzer Ignjac
471. Schwitzer Leo
472. wife
473. Schwitzer Julije
474. Zsaneta
475. Schwitzer S. Willie
476. Erna
477. Katica
478. Mira
479. Schwitzer I. Willie
480. Antonia
481. Edith
482. Schwitzer Herrman
483. Tagleicht Emanuel
484. Ester
485. David
486. Edith
487. Tagleicht Juliska
488. Gavra
489. Tajtacak Andjelko
490. Bojana
491. child
492. child
493. Tauss Zsiga

494. Olga
 495. Samuel
 496. **Weinberg Juliska**
 497. **Weizenhofer Eng.**
 498. **Weiss Alexander**
 499. **Weiss Andor**
 500. Lenka
 501. **Weiss Polak**
 502. Regina
 503. **Wechsler Moric**
 504. **Wechsler Simon**
 505. Stefhanie
 506. **Wieder Regina**
 507. **Wigenfeld Adolf**
 508. **Wigenfeld Julio**
 509. Lela
 510. Zsanka
 511. Stefhanie
 512. **Zuckermann Serena**

STARA PAZOVA

513. **Berger Bela**
 514. Rosa
 515. **Blau Jakob**
 516. Olga
 517. Gesa
 518. **Deutsch Salamon**
 519. Berta
 520. **Freund David**
 521. Selma
 522. **Freund Jani**
 523. wife
 524. son
 525. Olga
 526. **Fucks Laci**
 527. Liki
 528. Janji
 529. Gesa
 530. Tomislav
 531. Pali
 532. **Gere Andor**
 533. **Goldberg Dr Geza**
 534. **Heisler Adolf**
 535. Beni
 536. Branko

537. David
 538. Ethel
 539. Jelka
 540. Mirko
 541. **Herschkowitsch Samuel (cantor)**
 542. Sopfie
 543. **Kessler Bela**
 544. Alisa
 545. Maria
 546. **Kain Malci**
 547. **Kohn Karlo**
 548. Andor
 549. Etelka
 550. Katica
 551. **Köningsberg Ema**
 552. **Müller Gerschon**
 553. Teresia
 554. **Pimus Manus**
 555. wife
 556. Olag
 557. **Pisker Jochana**
 558. Seringa
 559. Dragutin
 560. **Roth Jakob**
 561. Frieda
 562. **Reiss Luise (teacher)**

GOLUBINCI

563. **Kohn Sigmund**
 564. Clara
 565. Anica
 566. Ema
 567. **Kohn Vladislav**
 568. Magda
 569. Ivan
 570. Rosa
 571. **Remmer Pavle**
 572. Ethel

NOVI KARLOVCI

573. **Kohn Arnold**

NOVI SLANKAMEN

574. **Kardelj Edvard**
 575. wife

Total: 212 households in the town of Zemun
 24 households in villages in the area of the Zemun Jewish Community

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aron HaKodesh - “Holy Ark” where the Torah Scrolls are stored (originally the ark of covenant housing the tablets of Moses), placed in the eastern, “Jerusalem” niche; its position and ritual significance equal that of the altar in Christian churches

Parochet – curtain covering Aron HaKodesh

Bimah – a raised platform from which the Torah is read and services led in Ashkenazi synagogues; in orthodox Sephardic synagogues, the bimah is located in the center of the sanctuary, in most modern liberal synagogues, the bimah is in the eastern part, directly in front of the *Aron HaKodesh*.

Reading table – located on the bimah, where the Torah is placed during reading

Esrat naschim, called matroneo by the Sephardim - women’s gallery in a synagogue; in orthodox synagogues separated from the prayer area with an untransparent partition.

Luhot – a symbolic and decorative object showing the pair of Moses’ tablets with the Ten Commandments or their gematria values; placed above the entrance to the synagogue, in the interior, above the Aron HaKodesh.

Rabbi – Jewish religious teacher of the Torah and religious Laws, who has completed training in a yeshiva, religious school.

Askenazim – Jews of the Central European area. The language they use is Yiddish. In Serbia, they mostly settled in Vojvodina.

Sephardim – Jews of north-African and Mediterranean origin, exiled from Spain and Portugal, they speak Ladino, lived in the Otoman Empire, in Serbia mostly settled in central and southern Serbia.

Synagogue – Greek name for a Jewish prayer home

Temple – synonym for synagogue; basically a wrong term, since in Judaism there was only one Temple (the one in Jerusalem) which, contrary to synagogues, was the only one which offered sacrifices and was considered the Holy Place

Torah - “The Teaching”, “The Law”, Moses’ Pentateuch, The Biblical Old Testament; as a ritual object in sinagogues always handwritten in calligraphic letters on scrolls, stored with particular care.

Minyan – for a religious service to take place, a minimum of ten men (age 13 and more) are needed.

Tallit – prayer shawl.

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