

VSAKO LETO ENO IME
Preganjanje Judov na območju okupirane Jugoslavije 1941–1945 (Slovenija, Srbija) in slovenski pravičnik Andrej Tumpej

PROGRAM

- 9.00 Otvoritev srečanja s pozdravnim nagovorom župana Mestne občine Maribor **Franca Kanglerja**
- 9.05 Slavnostni nagovor **Igorja Vojtica**, predstavnika Judovske skupnosti Slovenije
- 9.15 **Klemen Brvar**: *Nemško raznarodovanje na slovenskem Štajerskem med drugo svetovno vojno*
- 9.35 **Boris Hajdinjak**: *Holokavst v Srbiji v letih 1941–1942*
- 9.55 **Renato Podbersič**: *Junaki in žrtve (o avstro-ogrskih častnikih judovskega rodu, ki so trpeli med holokavstom)*
- 10.15 Odmor
- 10.30 **Oto Luthar**: *Uničenje prekmurske judovske skupnosti skozi življenjske zgodbe preživelih*
- 10.50 **Marjan Toš**: *Slovenski pravičnik Andrej Tumpej*
- 11.10 *Tri obljube: zgodba o beograjskih Kalefih*, produkcija Centropa, 2011
- 11.30 **Edward Serotta**: *Novi mediji, družinske fotografije in stari spomini: ohranjanje neotipljive kulturne dediščine*
- 11.50 Odmor
- 12.05 **Irena Šumi**: *Šoa na Slovenskem (predstavitve zbornika)*
- 12.35 Razprava
- 13.00 Zaključek srečanja

KLEMEN BRVAR: NEMŠKO RAZNARODOVANJE NA SLOVENSKEM ŠTAJERSKEM MED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO

Z napadom nemškega vermahta, italijanske vojske in njunih zaveznikov na Kraljevino Jugoslavijo aprila 1941 se je v vojnem metežu znašel celoten slovenski narod. Že vsaj leto dni in pol so bili vojnih razmer in brutalnih ukrepov vajeni koroški Slovenci v Avstriji in tisti na Primorskem, ki si jo je po prvi svetovni vojni priključila Italija. Oboji so bili še bistveno dlje izpostavljeni sistematičnemu raznarodovanju, ki se mu je večina slovenskega naroda vsaj začasno izognila. Do slovenstva dokaj tolerantna jugoslovanska država je, kljub vsem socialnim in narodnostnim turbulencam, omogočala narodnopolitično, kulturno in gospodarsko zorenje. To je bilo z okupacijo nasilno prekinjeno in brutalno preusmerjeno v čimprejšnji izbris slovenskega naroda.

Po hitri zmagi nad jugoslovansko armado so si ozemlje Dravske banovine, ki je takrat zajemala slovensko etnično ozemlje v jugoslovanski državi, razdelili trije okupatorji. Skrajni severovzhod s Prekmurjem so zasedli Madžari, Notranjsko in del Dolenjske z Ljubljano Italijani, največji delež s preostankom Dolenjske, Gorenjsko, Mežiško dolino in slovensko Štajersko pa Nemci. Poleg razkosa so bile skupne značilnosti vseh treh okupacijskih režimov še težnje po čimprejšnji aneksiji zasedenega ozemlja, izrabljanje človeških in gospodarskih virov za vojne namene in vesplošno nasilje, znotraj katerega izstopa raznarodovanje. Načrtovan etnocid Slovencev se je med okupatorji razlikoval po metodah in ukrepih ter po intenziteti oz. predvidenem časovnem okviru. Najbolj zagnano in sistematično se je raznarodovanja lotil nemški okupator. Med zasedenimi slovenskimi pokrajinami je najvišjo ceno plačala slovenska Štajerska oz. Spodnja Štajerska (nem. Untersteiermark).

Nemški apetiti po slovenskem ozemlju so imeli dolgo brado. Majhen, a strateško pomemben slovenski etnični prostor je nemški imperializem druge polovice 19. stoletja vseskozi motril kot ključ do širitve nemštva na Jadran. S politično in gospodarsko krepitvijo Slovencev in sočasno erozijo privilegiraniosti nemštva so se mednacionalni odnosi med skupnostima zaostrovali vse do razpada habsburške monarhije leta 1918. V tem času so se kot produkt napetih razmer na nemški strani pojavile različne tendence opravičevanja aspiracij do slovenskega ozemlja. Za kasnejše medvojno raznarodovanje je bila ključna t. i. vindišarska teorija. Ta je na psevdoznanstvenih temeljih prebivalstvo slovenskih pokrajin, ki so spadale v nemško interesno sfero, uvrščala v tri skupine: skupnost narodno zavednih Slovencev, Nemce in prevladujoče *vindišarje* (nem. Windisch), ki so sicer govorili slovenski dialekt, a so bili civilizacijsko in kulturno nemško orientirani.

Po vzpostavitvi nemške civilne uprave 14. aprila 1941 so tovrstne teoretične podmene hitro prešle v prakso. Da bi narodnostne meje izenačili z novimi državnimi in tako ugodili Hitlerjevi zahtevi »Machen sie mir dieses Land wieder deutsch«, je osnovni načrt nemškega okupatorja predvideval izgon tretjine prebivalstva z zasedenih območij. Izgnanih naj bi bilo od 220.000 do 260.000 Slovencev, ki so bili narodnozavedni in politično ali rasno neustrezni. Na njihovo mesto so nameravali naseliti okoli 68.000 Nemcev in tako kar se da okrepiti nemški element v pokrajinah. Preostalo prebivalstvo naj bi z intenzivnimi in brezkompromisnimi ukrepi ponemčili v 4 do 5 letih (!). Kljub temu da se deportacijski načrti zaradi logističnih, organizacijskih in vojaških razlogov niso uresničili v takšnem obsegu, pa je bilo od pomladi 1941 do leta 1944 izgnanih oz. pregnanih v Srbijo, na Hrvaško, v Bosno in Nemčijo okoli 80.000 Slovencev, kar je znašalo desetino prebivalstva v nemški okupacijski coni. Na njihova mesta so naseliti približno 20.000 Nemcev (zlasti s kočevskega nemškega otoka v obmejni pas ob Savi in Sotli).

Največji delež pregnancev je izviral iz Štajerske. Nacisti so namreč celotno prebivalstvo dežele (in ostalega zasedenega območja) spomladi in poleti 1941 natančno rasno in politično ocenili. Poteza, ki ni imela ustreznega ekvivalenta drugod po zasedeni Evropi (tako na nož ni šlo niti v Alzaciji, Loreni in zahodni Poljski, ki so jih Nemci prav tako skušali v najkrajšem času ponemčiti), je nakazovala na odločenost kar se da hitro rešiti 'slovensko vprašanje'. Sledilo je izganjanje v treh valovih, ki ga je na Štajerskem koordiniral Preselitveni štab (nem. Umsiedlungsstab) v Mariboru pod vodstvom polkovnika SS Otta Lurkerja. V prvem valu so junija in julija iz pokrajine izgnali celotno izobraženstvo, ki je bilo narodno zavedno in protifašistično usmerjeno. Šlo je za okoli 4.800 ljudi, ki so bili večinoma izgnani v Srbijo. Drugi val je zajel vse tiste, ki so se na Štajersko priselili po letu 1914 (večinoma je šlo za narodnozavedne primorske emigrante, ki so zbežali pred fašističnim nasiljem). Od julija do septembra je bilo na ozemlje NDH izgnanih okoli 9.960 ljudi. Po krajši prekinitvi deportacij je bilo v tretjem valu od pozne jeseni 1941 do začetka 1942 v nemški rajh izgnanih 37.000 Slovencev iz obmejnega pasu ob Savi in Sotli. Izganjanje se je nadaljevalo tudi kasneje, a v manjši meri. Tako je bilo do srede maja 1942 iz Štajerske v rajh izgnanih nekaj manj kot 200 za ponemčenje sposobnih (načrti so jih sicer predvidevali okoli 4.100). Od marca 1942 do junija 1943 pa so v Nemčijo izgnali še od 2.000 do 2.500 svojcev članov odporniškega gibanja in ustreljenih talcev.

V nemški raznarodovalni stroj, ki je tako samo iz Štajerske izgnal več kot 54.500 Slovencev, so padli tudi Judje, ki so takrat živeli v pokrajini (manj kot 200). Zanimivo je, da so vsaj v začetnem obdobju deportacij za Slovence in Jude veljala ista merila (torej tudi kriterij rasne neustreznosti). Čeprav je večina Judov iz Štajerske tik pred nemško okupacijo oz. kmalu po njej pobegnila v Švico, italijansko okupacijsko cono, v Neodvisno državo Hrvaško (NDH je vključevala Hrvaško ter Bosno in Hercegovino) in v Srbijo, pa jih je bilo nekaj izgnanih tudi s 'slovenskimi' transporti. Zagotovo jih je bilo na organiziran način v Srbijo deportiranih 9 (10), še več pa z ad hoc izgoni. Za pobegle in deportirane pa kalvarije še ni bilo konec. Ljubljansko pokrajino so po italijanski kapitulaciji septembra 1943 zasedli Nemci. V Neodvisni državi Hrvaški so bili Judje izpostavljeni neusmiljenemu preganjanju in pobijanju s strani ustaškega režima, Srbijo pa so Nemci že maja 1942 razglasili za »Judenfrei«. Holokavstu v Srbiji so se nekateri izognili s pobegom ali pretvarjanjem, da so Slovenci. Tisti, ki so bili na območju medvojne Madžarske, pa so bili večinoma pobiti v okviru *Ungarnaktion*, ko so Nemci v zelo kratkem času, med koncem aprila in začetkom julija 1944, deportirali okoli 430.000 Judov v Auschwitz. Po vojni se večina ni vrnila na Štajersko oz. je bila njihova vrnitev sem le prehodna.

KLEMEN BRVAR: GERMAN DENATIONALIZATION IN SLOVENE STYRIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

With the attack in April 1941 by the German Wehrmacht, the Italian army, and their allies on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the entire Slovene nation was caught in the turmoil of war. For at least a year and a half prior, Carinthia's Slovenians in Austria and those in the maritime province of Slovenia, which was annexed by Italy after the First World War, had become accustomed to war conditions and brutal measures. For even longer, both had been exposed to a systematic denationalization, which most of Slovenian nation had avoided, at least temporarily. Despite all the social and national turbulence, the Yugoslav state, relatively tolerant towards Slovenian culture and nationality, enabled national political, cultural, and economic maturing. With the occupation this was violently interrupted and brutally redirected into obliterating the Slovenian nation as early as possible.

After the swift victory over the Yugoslav army the territory of Drava Banate (Slo. Dravska banovina), which at that time included Slovenian ethnic territory in the Yugoslav state, was divided among the three occupiers. The outermost northeast, including the Prekmurje region,

was occupied by Hungarians; Inner Carniola and part of Lower Carniola, including Ljubljana by Italians; and the largest share, including the rest of Lower Carniola, Upper Carniola, the valley of Mežica, and Slovenian Styria, by Germans. Within addition to tearing apart the territory, common to all three occupying regimes were aspirations for a hasty annexation of the occupied area, exploitation of human and economic resources for war purposes, and general violence, within which the denationalization stands out. The planned ethnocide of Slovenians varied among the occupiers according to the methods, measures, and intensity or foreseen time frame. The greatest impetus for systematic denationalization was undertaken by the German occupiers. Among the occupied Slovene provinces the highest price was paid by Slovene Styria or Lower Styria (Ger. Untersteiermark).

German appetites for Slovenian territory were as old as the hills. A small but strategically important Slovene ethnic area was fully felt to be key for the expansion to the Adriatic of the German imperialism of the second half of the 19th century. With political and economic strengthening of Slovenians and the simultaneous erosion of the privileges of Germans, international relations between the communities were aggravated until the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918. In that period various tendencies to justify aspirations for Slovenian territory appeared on the German side as a product of intense circumstances. For the later wartime denationalization the so-called Windisch theory was crucial. On pseudoscientific grounds it classified the population in Slovenian provinces, which were part of the German sphere of interest, into three groups: the community of nationally conscious Slovenians, Germans, and the predominant *Windisch* (Ger., Slo. Vindišarji) who spoke a Slovene dialect but were German-oriented with respect to civilization and culture.

After the establishment of the German civil administration on April 14, 1941, these sorts of theoretical suppositions were soon put in to practice. In order to equalize the national borders with the new state borders, and in doing so comply with Hitler's demand "Machen Sie mir dieses Land wieder deutsch" ("Make this land German for me again"), the initial plan of the German occupier had envisioned the exile of one-third of the population from the occupied regions. Between 220,000 and 260,000 Slovenians, who were nationally conscious and politically or racially inadequate, were to be deported. In their place, approximately 68,000 Germans were to be settled and in consequence, strengthen as much as possible the German element in the provinces. The remaining population was to be Germanized with intensive and uncompromising measures within 4 to 5 years (!). Even though the deportation plans were not realized to the extent foreseen, due to logistic, organizational, and military reasons, from spring 1941 until 1944 about 80,000 Slovenes, which amounted to a tenth of the population in the German occupied zone, were deported or banished to Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Germany. In their place about 20,000 Germans were settled (mainly from the German "island" in Kočevje to the border belt along the rivers Sava and Sotla).

The lion's share of deportees originated from Styria. Namely, in spring and summer of 1941 the Nazis racially and politically estimated the entire population of the land (and the rest of the occupied area) with meticulous precision. This move, without a corresponding equivalent elsewhere throughout occupied Europe (such a relentless approach was not taken even in Alsace, Lorraine, or western Poland, which the Germans also tried to Germanize as quickly as possible), indicated a determination to rapidly solve the 'Slovene question.' What followed was a triple wave of deportation in Styria, coordinated by the *Umsiedlungsstab* (Resettlement Staff) in Maribor under the command of the *SS-Standartenführer* (SS colonel) Otto Lurker. In the first wave, in June and July, the entire nationally conscious and anti-fascist oriented intellectual class was exiled from the province. About 4,800 people in question were deported, mostly to Serbia. The second wave included all those who had moved to Styria after the year 1914 (for the most part nationally conscious emigrants from the maritime province of Slovenia, who had fled from the fascist violence). From July until September about 9,960 people were deported to the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. After a brief cessation of deportation, in the third wave from late fall 1941 until beginning of 1942 37,000 Slovenians from the border belt along the Sava and Sotla rivers were deported to the German Reich. The deportations continued later on, but to a smaller extent. Thus until mid-May 1942 close to 200 people suitable to Germanize (in the plans around 4,100 were foreseen) were deported from Styria to the Reich. Moreover, from March 1942 until June 1943 between 2,000 and 2,500 people,

relatives of members of the resistance movement or of hostages who had been shot, were deported.

Into the German denationalization machine, which deported more than 54,500 Slovenians from Styria alone, also fell Jews living in the province at the time (less than 200). It is interesting that at least in the initial period of deportations, an equal criterion applied to Slovenians and Jews (that is, the criterion of racial inadequacy). Although most of the Jews from Styria escaped to Switzerland, the Italian occupation zone, the Independent State of Croatia (which besides Croatia also included Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Serbia just before or soon after the German occupation, some of them were deported with 'Slovenian' transport as well. In an organized manner a least 9 (or 10) were deported to Serbia, but even more as ad hoc exiles. But for the escapees and the deportees, affliction was not coming to an end. After the Italian capitulation, the Province of Ljubljana was occupied by Germans in September 1943. In the Independent State of Croatia Jews were subject to ruthless persecution and killing by the fascist Ustasha regime, whereas Serbia was declared "Judenfrei" ("free of Jews") by Germans as early as May 1942. Some Jews avoided the Holocaust in Serbia by escaping or pretending to be Slovenians. Those who were in the territory of the wartime Hungary were for the most part killed during the *Ungarnaktion* (action in Hungary) when, in a short period of time, between the end of April and beginning of July 1944, the Germans deported about 430,000 Jews to Auschwitz. After the war most of them did not return to Styria or did so only in transition.

BORIS HAJDINJAK: HOLOKAVST V SRBIJI V LETIH 1941–1942

Kratko življenje Sepija Obradovića (1934, Maribor–1941/42, Beograd)

Josip/Seppy/Sepi Ohrenstein se je rodil 24. maja 1934 v Mariboru staršema Isidorju/Izidorju (1902, Kuszuja–1941, Beograd) in Beati/Betty, roj. Rosner (1907, Maribor–1941/42, Beograd). Oče in mati sta bila sorodnika mariborskega tovarnarja Marka Rosnerja (1888, Iacoben–1969, Haifa), sicer osrednje osebnosti okoli stoglave predvojne mariborske judovske skupnosti in obenem ene osrednjih mariborskih osebnosti tistega časa. Družina Ohrenstein se je, potem ko je spremenila priimek v Obradović, skupaj z Beatino mamo Frideriko/Frici Rosner, roj. Schäfer (1877, Sadgora–1941/42, Beograd) leta 1939 preselila v Beograd in tam dočkala napad na Beograd 6. aprila 1941 oziroma začetek druge svetovne vojne v Jugoslaviji. Sepi je verjetno še praznoval svoj sedmi rojstni dan 24. maja 1941 na prostosti. Svojega osmega rojstnega dne 24. maja 1942 pa več ni dočkal, saj je 29. maja 1942 vodja judovskega oddelka na nemškem ministrstvu za zunanje zadeve Franz Rademacher (1906, Neustrelitz–1973, Bonn) ponosno izjavil, da »judovsko vprašanje v Srbiji ni več aktualno. Zdaj je ostalo samo še urejanje pravnih vprašanj glede njihove lastnine.« Tako je Sepi eden od okoli 14.800 Judov, ki so bili v letih 1941 in 1942 ubiti v Srbiji. To je glede na predvojno število Judov (»ožje«) Srbije in Banata nič manj kot 83-odstotno uničenje judovske skupnosti in ne samo eden najbolj temeljitih, ampak tudi eden najbolj zgodnih primerov »dokončne rešitve judovskega vprašanja«. Toda Sepi je tudi eden od 34 do zdaj ugotovljenih Judov, ki so leta 1937 živeli v Mariboru in so umrli v holokavstu ali zaradi njega. Za 14 izmed njih je bil kraj smrti Beograd oziroma Srbija, kar pomeni, da je v Srbiji umrlo celo več mariborskih Judov kot v Auschwitzu, kjer jih je umrlo 10.

Predvojna beograjska judovska skupnost je bila najštevilnejša v Jugoslaviji. Leta 1940 je imela beograjska aškenaška občina 1888 članov, sefardska pa 8500 članov. Zato je bil Beograd glavno prizorišče holokavsta v Srbiji, a ne edino. Nemške enote so zasedle Beograd 12. aprila 1941. Že od prvih dni okupacije so bili Judje v Srbiji, ki jo je od 29. avgusta 1941 formalno vodila marionetna vlada generala Milana Nedića (1878, Grocka–1946, Beograd) in Banatu, kjer so de facto vladali folksdojčerji, izpostavljeni različnim oblikam diskriminacije. Tako je že 13. aprila 1941 SS-oberführer in polkovnik policije Wilhelm Fuchs (1898, Mannheim–1947, Beograd), vodja *Einsatzgruppe Serbien*, odredil registracijo Judov v Beogradu. Kmalu zatem, 16. aprila 1941, je izdal še ukaz, da morajo vsi Judje na roki nositi rumeni trak z napisom »Jude« v latinici, »Jevrejin« v cirilici in šesterokrako zvezdo. 30. maja 1941 je vodja vojaške uprave v Srbiji SS-gruppenführer Harald Turner (1891, Leun–1947, Beograd) ukazal registracijo Judov in Romov v celotni Srbiji. Potem ko so bili Judom že v začetku maja zaplenjeni vsi prihranki v bankah, so jim bili s tem ukazom odvzeti še vsa podjetja in obrtne delavnice. Prav v zvezi s tem ukazom je pred 14. junijem 1941 nastal *Spisak Jevreja i supružnika Jevreja koji su prema naredbi vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji od 30. maja 1941. podneli Opštini grada Beograda prijave o imovini*, v katerem se v meni poznanih dokumentih zadnjič kot živi omenjajo člani družine Obradović in Frici Rosner. V tem spisku je navedena tudi družina Marka Rosnerja: žena Charlota/Šarlota, roj. Brecher (1902, Näsäud–1974, Novara) ter otroka Karlo (1922, Maribor–2002, Novara) in Lidija, kasneje por. Busti (1928, Maribor), ki je zapustila Maribor 27. marca 1941 in se zatekla v Beograd, vendar ga je tudi že zapustila pred nemško zasedbo. Po krajšem bivanju v Veliki Plani pri Smederevu so v tem času živeli Nišu. V omenjenem spisku pa so navedeni tudi Strassbergerji: oče Mirko (1899, Varaždin–(1941, Beograd)), mati Julijana/Juliška, roj. Polak/Pollak (1908, Szentes–1942, Banjica) in hči Renata/Rene (1926, Varaždin–1942, Banjica), ki so se leta 1939 iz Maribora odselili v Beograd. Na osnovi tega spiska so bile Judom kmalu zatem 22. junija 1941 odvzete tudi vse nepremičnine. V tem času so bile tudi že prve aretacije Judov in glede

na pričevanja Karla Rosnerja je možno, da so bili med njimi tudi Obradovići in Frici Rosner. Prvo sistematično »čiščenje« Judov je bilo na območju Banata, kjer so v noči s 14. na 15. avgust 1941 zaprli okoli 3300 Judov ali večino tamkajšnje judovske skupnosti in jih nato pripeljali v Beograd. Moške nad 14 let so namestili v taborišče Topovsko šupe na Voždovcu v Beogradu, ženske in otroke pa so morali sprejeti beograjski Judje v svoja stanovanja. Zaradi te akcije je Banat verjetno postal prvo »judenrein« območje v Evropi. Druga velika skupina Judov, ki je v tem času že bila v taborišču, so bili Judje v Šabcu. To skupino okoli 1100 Judov so sestavljali domačini in več kot 1000 beguncev iz Avstrije in Nemčije t. i. Kladovskega transporta, ki so obtičali v Jugoslaviji že konec leta 1939. Predvsem v taborišče Topovsko šupe so nato od 12. septembra do 20. oktobra 1941 zaprli večino judovskih moških, starejših od 14 let, iz Beograda. Nekatere so zaprli tudi v taborišče Banjica v Beogradu.

Sistematično uničevanje Judov v Srbiji in Banatu je bilo nato izvedeno v dveh fazah. V prvi, ki je trajala do novembra 1941, so kot povračilne ukrepe za napade partizanskega, vendar tudi četniškega odporniškega gibanja enote Wehrmachta ustrelile večino moških. Ukaz, da za povračilne ukrepe streljajo Jude, je sicer uradno izdal pooblaščen poveljujoči general za Srbijo general Franz Böhme (1885, Zeltweg–1947, Nürnberg) šele 10. oktobra 1941. Vendar je bila običajna praksa že od prvih streljanj julija 1941, da so zanje uporabljali tudi Jude. Še več, v Beogradu so nemške oblasti ukazale predstavnikom judovske skupnosti, da morajo vsak teden poslati 40 talcev, ki bodo ustreljeni v primeru napada na nemške enote. To je doletelo tudi Karla Rosnerja v Nišu, ki pa je imel srečo, saj tisti teden, ko je bil talec, ni bilo streljanj. Žrtvi teh streljanj sta bila Sepijev oče Izidor Obradović in Mirko Strassberger, verjetno pa tudi Jurij/Jiří Polak/Pollak (1907, Hořice v Podkrkonoší– (1941/42, Srbija)), ki je z družino prišel iz Maribora v Beograd najbrž šele po začetku vojne. Najbolj obsežno streljanje Judov je bilo med 9. in 13. oktobrom 1941. Bilo je maščevanje za 22 pri Topoli padlih nemških vojakov, in to v skladu z Böhmovim navodilom, da bo za vsakega ubitega nemškega vojaka ali folksdojčerja ustreljenih 100 talcev, za vsakega ranjenega pa 50. Med 2200 ustreljenimi je bilo 750 Judov ustreljenih v Zasavici pri Šabcu, med njimi večina moških iz t. i. Kladovskega transporta, in 449 Judov iz Beograda, ustreljenih pri Jabuki pri Pančevu. Tudi pri najbolj znanem zločinu v Srbiji jeseni 1941, to je pri ustrelitvi več kot 2300 ljudi v Kragujevcu 21. oktobra 1941 kot maščevanje za 10 padlih in 23 ranjenih nemških vojakov, so bili tamkajšnji Judje žrtve. Družina Marka Rosnerja je imela izjemno srečo, saj je v začetku oktobra 1941, še tik pred zaprtjem Judov iz južne Srbije v taborišče Crveni krst v Nišu, iz Niša preko Beograda in Novega Sada pobegnila v Budimpešto.

V drugi fazi sistematičnega uničevanja Judov v Srbiji so preostale moške, ženske in otroke iz Banata in Beograda, skupaj okoli 5000 ljudi, do 13. decembra 1941 internirali v taborišču Sajmište (uradno *Semlin Judenlager*) na levem bregu Save v Beogradu. Če ne že prej, je Sepi Obradović z mamo Betty in babico Frici zdaj zagotovo izgubil prostost. Taborišče je bilo v bližini središča Beograda, tik ob mostu čez Savo, vendar že na območju Neodvisne države Hrvaške. Poveljnik taborišča je bil SS-untersturmführer Herbert Andorfer (1911, Linz–2007/08, (Avstrija)), ki je bil pred tem poleti 1941 služboval v Mariboru. V taborišče so postopoma pripeljali tudi preostale Jude iz Srbije. Tako so 26. januarja 1942 pripeljali tudi preživle Jude iz Šabca, 24. februarja 1942 pa preživle Jude iz Niša. Med slednjimi ni bilo Jakova/Jakoba Mandila (1901, Niš–1942, Niš), ki je v letih 1924–1941 živel v Mariboru in je pomagal Rosnerjem v času njihovega bivanja v Nišu. Mandil je bil ena izmed žrtev streljanja 17. ali 19. februarja na Bubnju pri Nišu, ki je bilo maščevanje za uspešen beg večje skupine ujetnikov iz taborišča Crveni krst. Življenjske razmere v taborišču Sajmište so bile že zaradi prenatrpanosti, premajhnih količin hrane in zelo mrzle zime izjemno slabe. O razmerah v taborišču se je ohranil izjemno izpoveden vir: pisma Hilde Deutsch/Dajč (1922, Dunaj–1942, Beograd), ene izmed taboriščnic. Okoli 500 taboriščnikov, predvsem otrok in starejših, je umrlo v taborišču. Ostale so med 19. marcem in 10. majem 1942 ubili v mobilni plinski celici (t. i. *Gaswagen* oz. *dušegupka*), poslani iz Berlina: z izpušnimi plini za ta namen posebej prirejenega tovornjaka. Njihova trupla so pokopali v Jajincih pri Beogradu. Število žrtev je

ocenjeno na okoli 6280, med njimi pa so najverjetneje tudi Sepi in Betty Obradović ter Frici Rosner.

Ne tako malo Judom se je leta 1941 uspelo izogniti neposredni ustrelitvi ali deportaciji v taborišče Sajmište s priključitvijo partizanskemu gibanju, s spremembo identitete ali pa s skrivanjem pri srbskem prebivalstvu. Med 277, ki so se leta 1941 priključili partizanskemu gibanju, jih je med vojno padlo 208 (ali 75 odstotkov). Znan primer rešitve s spremembo identitete sta bili hčerki beograjskega Juda Avrama Kalefa (1902, Beograd–1942, Beograd) in v judaizem konvertirane Slovenke Antonije/Tonke/Done, roj. Ograjenšek (1909, Ljubljana–1990, Beograd), ki sta s pomočjo slovenskega duhovnika v Beogradu Andreja Tumpeja (1886, Lovrenc na Dravskem polju–1973, Beograd) iz Matilde/Tilke (kasneje por. Čerge, 1929, Beograd) in Rahele/Ele Kalef (kasneje por. Simonović, 1931, Beograd) postali Lidija in Breda Ograjenšek. Tumpej je bil za svoje pogumno dejanje leta 2001 razglašen za pravičnika med narodi. V skupini tistih, ki so se skrivali pri srbskem prebivalstvu, so bili tudi mariborski Judje. Družina že omenjenega Jurija/Jiříja Polaka/Pollaka: sin Danko/Dan (1931, Dunaj–1942, Beograd), hčerka Dinka/Dina/Dinah (1936, Trutnov–1942, Beograd), žena Gerti/Gerta, roj. Winternitz (1905, Hrádek–1942, Beograd), mati Mirjam/Maria, roj. Löwy (1886, Jičín–1942, Beograd) in oče Oskar/Oscar (1878, Jičín–1942, Beograd), je bila v skupini Judov, ki so se skrivali v Bajini Bašti in so bili 24. aprila 1942 pripeljani v taborišče Banjica v Beogradu. 9. maja 1942 so bili vsi ubiti v mobilni plinski celici. V Banjico sta bili 16. maja 1942 pripeljani tudi že omenjeni Julijana in Renata Strassberger. Ustreljeni sta bili 28. maja 1942. Za družino Rosenberg: mater Elizabeto, roj. Weis (1856, Eszteregnye–1943, Azanja) ter hčerke Šarloto/Loti (1884, Petanjci–1941, Kruševac), Vilmo (1888, Petanjci–(po 1945), ?) in Sidonijo (1892, Petanjci–(po 1945), ?), ki so prišle v Srbijo s četrtem transportom izgnancev iz Maribora v Arandjelovac 17. junija 1941, je pred neposrednim uničenjem rešilo to, da so jih smatrali za Slovenke. Kljub temu pa sta zaradi posledic izгона umrli Šarlota in Elizabeta. Preživela pa je celotna s prvim transportom iz Maribora v Arandjelovac 6. junija 1941 prispela mariborska družina Kos: oče Slovenec Hinko (1898, Ptuj–(po 1945), ?), mati Judinja Jelka, roj. Göstl (1900, Krapina–(po 1945), ?), sinova Boris (1926, Goričica–(po 1946), ?) in Božidar/Božo (1931, Maribor–2009, Ljubljana), ki sta bila katoliške vere, ter hčerki Karmen (kasneje por. Kračun, 1928, Šentjur pri Celju–(po 1945), ?) in Ksenija (kasneje por. Macun, 1925, Maribor–(po 1945), ?), ki sta bili judovske vere. Dejstvo je, da je so omenjeni preživeli zaradi pomoči svojih srbskih gostiteljev, kar je bilo sicer zelo tvegano. Tudi zato je naloga za prihodnost, da poiščemo njihova imena in jim tako izkažemo priznanje za to, kar so naredili. Menim, da je to pomembno še toliko bolj, ker je bil holokavst v Srbiji izjemno učinkovit. Vzrok za to pa je gotovo tudi to, da je bil del Srbov med holokavstom bodisi poslušni storilec ali brezbržni gledalec genocida.

BORIS HAJDINJAK:

THE HOLOCAUST IN SERBIA DURING THE YEARS 1941-1942

The brief life of Sepi Obradović (1934, Maribor - 1941/42, Belgrade)

Josip/Seppy/Sepi Ohrenstein was born on May 24, 1934, in Maribor to Isidor/Izidor (1902, Kuszujá - 1941, Belgrade) and Beata/Betty, born Rosner (1907, Maribor - 1941/42, Belgrade). His father and mother were relatives of the Maribor manufacturer Marko Rosner (1888, Iacobeni - 1969, Haifa), otherwise the central figure of the approximately one hundred-member Jewish community of pre-war Maribor and one of central Maribor's personalities at that time. After changing their surname to Obradović, the Ohrenstein family, together with Beata's mother Friderika/Frici Rosner, born Schäfer (1877, Sadgora - 1941/42, Belgrade), moved to Belgrade in 1939 and witnessed the attack on Belgrade on April 6, 1941, at the beginning of Second World War in Yugoslavia. Sepi probably still celebrated his seventh birthday on May 24, 1941, at liberty. However, his eighth birthday, on May 24, 1942, he did not live to see. On May 29, 1942, the head of the Jewish department on the German ministry for

foreign affairs, Franz Rademacher (1906, Neustrelitz - 1973, Bonn), proudly announced that *“the Jewish question in Serbia is no longer relevant. The only thing left now is the settlement of legal matters regarding their property.”* Thus Sepi became one of approximately 14,800 Jews killed in Serbia from 1941 to 1942. Taking into account the pre-war number of Jews in (“inner”) Serbia and in Banat, this was a destruction of not less than 83 percent of the Jewish community and not only one of the most thorough, but also one of the earliest cases of “the final solution of the Jewish question”. But Sepi is also one of the 34 Jews accounted for so far who lived in Maribor in 1937 and died during the Holocaust or because of it. For 14 of them the place of death was Belgrade or Serbia, which means that even more Maribor Jews died in Serbia than in Auschwitz, where the number of dead was 10.

The pre-war Belgrade Jewish community was the most numerous one in Yugoslavia. In 1940 the Belgrade Ashkenazi commune had 1,888 members, and the Sephardic 8,500 members. Hence Belgrade was the main scene of the Holocaust in Serbia, but not the only one. German troops occupied Belgrade on April 12, 1941. Since the first days of the occupation, Jews in Serbia – from August 29, 1941 formally governed/led by the puppet government of General Milan Nedić (1878, Grocka - 1946, Belgrade), and in Banat, where the Volksdeutscher were the de facto rulers – had been subject to different forms of discrimination. Thus, as early as April 13, 1941, *SS-Oberführer und Oberst der Polizei* Wilhelm Fuchs (1898, Mannheim - 1947, Belgrade), Leader of *Einsatzgruppe Serbien*, ordered the registration of Jews in Belgrade. Soon after, on April 16, 1941, he also issued the command that all Jews must wear a yellow ribbon with the sign “Jew” – “Jude” in Latin writing and “Jevrejin” in Cyrillic – and the six-pointed star on their arms. On May 30, 1941, the chief of military administration in Serbia, *SS-Gruppenführer* Harald Turner (1891, Leun - 1947, Belgrade), commanded the registration of Jews and Roma throughout Serbia. Jews’ bank accounts had already been confiscated at the beginning of May; with this order, all their enterprises and trade workshops were seized as well. And in connection to this order a register originated prior to June 14, 1941 – the register of Jews and their spouses, who on the grounds of the decree of the military commander in Serbia beginning May 30, 1941, submitted to the Municipality of the City of Belgrade their property declarations (*Spisak Jevreja i supružnika Jevreja koji su prema naredbi vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji od 30. maja 1941. podneli Opštini grada Beograda prijave o imovini*) – in which, based on my knowledge of all the known documents, members of the Obradović family and Frici Rosner are mentioned for the last time. Stated in this register is also the family of Marko Rosner: his wife Charlota/Šarlota, born Brecher (1902, Näsäud - 1974, Novara), and children Karlo (1922, Maribor - 2002, Novara) and Lidija, later married Busti (1928, Maribor), who left Maribor on March 27, 1941, and took refuge in Belgrade, but left there even before the German occupation. After a short stay in Velika Plana near Smederevo they lived in Niš during that time. Also stated in the above-mentioned register is the Strassberger family: father Mirko (1899, Varaždin - (1941, Belgrade)), mother Julijana/Juliška, born Polak/Pollak (1908, Szentes - 1942, Banjica) and daughter Renata/Rene (1926, Varaždin - 1942, Banjica), who moved from Maribor to Belgrade in 1939. On the basis of this register Jews were also dispossessed from all their real estate soon after, on June 22, 1941. During this period the first arrests of Jews were already in progress as well, and based on the testimony of Karel Rosner it is possible that the Obradović family and Frici Rosner were among them. The first systematic “cleansing” of Jews was in the area of Banat, where about 3,300 Jews, or the majority of the community of that place, were arrested on the night of August 14-15, 1941, and brought to Belgrade. Men over the age of 14 were placed in the Topovske Šupe transit camp in Voždovac in Belgrade, while women and children were forced to be admitted by Belgrade Jews in their apartments. Due to this action Banat became probably the first “*Judenrein*” (“clean of Jews”) area in Europe. The second big group of Jews already in a camp were the Jews in Šabac. This group of about 1,100 Jews consisted of locals and more than 1000 refugees from Austria and Germany, the so-called Kladovo transport that got stuck in Yugoslavia as early as the end of 1939. From September 12 until October 20, 1941, most of the Jewish men from Belgrade over the age of 14 were then imprisoned for the most part in the camp Topovsko šupe, while some were imprisoned in the Banjica concentration camp in Belgrade.

The systematic extermination of Jews in Serbia and in Banat was then carried out in two steps. In the first phase, which lasted until November 1941, units of the Wehrmacht shot most of the men in reprisal for the partisan attacks and for the Chetnik resistance movement. The

order to shoot Jews as retaliation measures was officially issued by the authorized Commanding General and Commander of Serbia General Franz Böhme (1885, Zeltweg - 1947, Nürnberg) on October 10, 1941. But beginning with the first shootings in July 1941, the common practice was that Jews were used to fill the reprisal quotas. Even more, in Belgrade German authorities ordered the representatives of the Jewish community to send 40 hostages each week to be shot in case of an attack on German troops. This also befell Karel Rosner in Niš, however he was in luck, as there was no shooting the week he was a hostage. Victims of these shootings included Sepi's father, Izidor Obradović, and Mirko Strassberger, and presumably also Jurij/Jiří Polak/Pollak (1907, Hořice in Podkrkonoší - (1941/42, Serbia)), who came with his family to Belgrade from Maribor probably only after the war had started. The most extensive shooting of Jews took place during October 9-13, 1941 as retaliation for the 22 German soldiers fallen in Topola, and in accordance with the Böhme's directive to shoot 100 hostages for each German soldier killed, or Volksdeutscher, and 50 for each injured one. Among the 2,200 Jews shot 750 were shot in Zasavica near Šabac, among them most of the men from the so-called Kladovo transport, and 449 Jews from Belgrade, shot in Jabuka near Pančevo. Likewise, in the most notorious crime in Serbia in the fall of 1941, at the shooting of more than 2,300 people in Kragujevac on October 21, 1941, in reprisal for 10 fallen and 23 wounded German soldiers, Jews living there were the victims. The family of Marko Rosner was extremely fortunate to have fled from Niš early in October 1941 – just before the incarceration of Jews from southern Serbia into the Crveni Krst (Red Cross) concentration camp in Niš – through Belgrade and Novi Sad into Budapest.

In the second phase of the systematic extermination of Jews in Serbia the remaining men, women, and children from Banat and Belgrade, all together around 5,000 people, were interned in Sajmište concentration camp (officially *Semlin Judenlager*) on the left bank of the Sava River in Belgrade until December 13, 1941. If not earlier, Sepi Obradović along with his mother Betty and his grandmother Frici surely lost his freedom then. The concentration camp was near the center of Belgrade, close by the bridge over the Sava, but in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. The concentration camp commander was *SS-Untersturmführer* Herbert Andorfer (1911, Linz - 2007/08, (Austria)), who before that, in the summer of 1941, had served in Maribor. The rest of Jews from Serbia were gradually brought into the concentration camp. So on January 26, 1942, the surviving Jews from Šabac were brought in, and on February 24, 1942, the surviving Jews from Niš. Among the latter was not Jakov/Jakob Mandil (1901, Niš - 1942, Niš), who lived in Maribor in the years 1924-1941 and helped the Rosner family during their stay in Niš. Mandil was one of the victims of the shooting on February 17 or 19 on Bujanj hill near Niš, in retaliation for the successful escape of a larger group of prisoners from the Crveni Krst concentration camp. The living circumstances in the Sajmište concentration camp were tremendously difficult due to over-crowding, scarce quantities of food, and an extremely cold winter. Regarding circumstances in the camp, a powerful testimonial source is preserved: the letters of Hilda Deutsch/Dajč (1922, Vienna - 1942, Belgrade), one of the camp inmates. Around 500 camp prisoners, mainly children and elderly people, died in the camp. Others were killed between March 19 and May 10, 1942 in a mobile gas chamber (the so called *Gaswagen* or *gas van*), sent from Berlin – with the exhaust gases piped into the truck, arranged especially to serve this ghastly purpose. Their corpses were buried in Jajinci near Belgrade. The number of victims is estimated at about 6,280, among them most likely Sepi and Betty Obradović and Frici Rosner.

In 1941 a significant number of Jews managed to avoid immediate execution by shooting or deportation into the Sajmište concentration camp by joining the partisan movement, changing their identity, or hiding among the Serbian population. Among the 277 who joined the partisan movement in 1941, 208 (or 75 percent) fell during the war. A known case of rescue by changing identity were the daughters of the Belgrade Jew Avram Kalef (1902, Belgrade - 1942, Belgrade) and Slovenian Antonija/Tonka/Dona, born Ograjenšek (1909, Ljubljana - 1990, Belgrade), who converted to Judaism. The daughters Matilda/Tilka (later married Čerge, 1929, Belgrade) and Rahela/Ela Kalef (later married Simonović, 1931, Belgrade) became Lidija and Breda Ograjenšek with the help of a Slovenian priest in Belgrade, Andrej Tumpej (1886, Lovrenc na Dravskem polju - 1973, Belgrade). For his courageous act Tumpej was recognized as Righteous among the Nations in 2001. Maribor Jews also hid among the Serbian population. The family of the already-mentioned Jurij/Jiří Polak/Pollak – son Danko/Dan (1931, Vienna - 1942, Belgrade), daughter Dinka/Dina/Dinah (1936, Trutnov -

1942, Belgrade), wife Gerti/Gerta, born Winternitz (1905, Hrádek - 1942, Belgrade), mother Mirjam/Maria, born Löwy (1886, Jičín - 1942, Belgrade) and father Oskar/Oscar (1878, Jičín - 1942, Belgrade) – was among the group of Jews hiding in Bajina Bašta and brought to the Banjica concentration camp in Belgrade on April 24, 1942. On May 9, 1942, they were all killed in a mobile gas chamber. Julijana and Renata Strassberger, mentioned above, were brought to Banjica on May 16, 1942. They were executed by shooting on May 28, 1942. The Rosenberg family – mother Elizabeta, born Weis (1856, Eszteregnye - 1943, Ažanja) and daughters Šarlota/Loti (1884, Petanjci - 1941, Kruševac), Vilma (1888, Petanjci - (after 1945), ?) and Sidonija (1892, Petanjci - (after 1945), ?), who came to Serbia with the fourth transport of the exiled from Maribor to Aranđelovac on June 17, 1941, was rescued from immediate extermination because they were considered Slovene. Despite this Šarlota and Elizabeta died due to consequences of the deportation. However, an entire family, who arrived on the first transport from Maribor to Aranđelovac on June 6, 1941, survived: the Maribor Kos family: father Hinko (1898, Ptuj - (after 1945), ?), Slovenian, mother Jelka, born Göstl (1900, Krapina - (after 1945), ?), Jewish, sons Boris (1926, Goričica - (after 1946), ?) and Božidar/Božo (1931, Maribor - 2009, Ljubljana), who were of the Catholic religion, and daughters Karmen (later married Kračun, 1928, Šentjur pri Celju - (after 1945), ?) and Ksenija (later married Macun, 1925, Maribor - (after 1945), ?), who were of the Jewish religion. The fact is that they survived because of the help of their Serbian hosts, which was an incredibly dangerous deed. The task for the future is to find their names and thus pay our respects for what they did. I believe that this is even more important even more because the Holocaust in Serbia was extremely effective. The reason for this surely lies in the fact that during the Holocaust some of the Serbs were either obedient perpetrators of or indifferent spectators to the genocide.

MAG. RENATO PODBERSIČ ML.: JUNAKI IN ŽRTVE (O AVSTRO-OGRSKIH ČASTNIKIH JUDOVskega RODU, KI SO TRPELI MED HOLOKAVSTOM)

Krvavi boji ob Soči (1915–1917) med prvo svetovno vojno so nosili večnacionalni in večverski pečat. Med številnimi vojaki avstro-ogrške in italijanske armade so bili zastopani tudi Judje. Vojska večinsko katoliške habsburške monarhije je veljala za najbolj narodno raznoliko v vsej tedanji Evropi. Podobno kot v italijanski in francoski vojski so se v njenih vrstah borili tudi judovski častniki, kar pa ni bilo samoumevno; nemški zavezniki so namreč v svoje formacije sprejeli judovske častnike šele leta 1914.

Kljub podeljenim priznanjem in častno opravljeni dolžnosti za domovino, ki pa je razpadla ob koncu prve svetovne vojne novembra 1918, so številni nekdanji častniki in vojaki judovskega rodu izkusili nacistično preganjanje po zasedbi Avstrije marca 1938.

Nekaj primerov:

Kornel Abel se je rodil leta 1881 v dunajskem predmestju. Izhajal je iz madžarske judovske družine. Njegov oče je bil trgovec in družina je prestopila v katoliško vero, ko je bil Kornel še otrok. Šolal se je v različnih šolah za častnike, ob začetku prve svetovne vojne je kot stotnik služboval na srbski fronti. Na soški fronti se je znašel že kmalu po italijanski vojni napovedi. V letih 1915–16 se je odlikoval v bojih na tolminskem (1. pehotna divizija) in kraškem (17. pehotna brigada) bojišču, za svoje zasluge je bil tudi večkrat odlikovan. Po vojni se je upokojil in živel na Dunaju. Po nemškem vkorakanju v Avstrijo marca 1938 se je znašel med številnimi nekdanjimi judovskimi vojaki avstro-ogrške vojske, ki jih predana služba domovini ni zaščitila pred nacističnim preganjanjem. Leta 1942 se je za Kornelom Ablom izgubila vsaka sled, najverjetneje je umrl v enem izmed nemških uničevalnih taborišč nekje na vzhodu.

V spomin na svoje bojevanje na soški fronti je zapustil spomine *Karst – Ein Buch von Isonzo*, ki so izšli leta 1934, od leta 2008 pa jih lahko beremo tudi v slovenskem jeziku, v prevodu z naslovom *Kras – Knjiga o Soči*.

Stotnik **Gustav Sonnewend** (1885–1960) se je odlikoval med deseto soško ofenzivo spomladi 1917. Že njegov oče, ki je bil vojaški zdravnik, je prestopil v katoliško vero. Odražal je vso zapleteno stvarnost podonavske monarhije. Rojen v bukovinskem mestu Černovice (Czernowitz), je večino svojega častniškega staža preživel v Avstrijskem Primorju, na soški fronti pa je poveljeval 4. bataljonu 39. domobranskega pehotnega polka, ki so ga sestavljali v glavnem dunajski veterani. Stotnik Sonnewend se je ob Soči boril od poletja 1916. Največjo slavo sta mu prinesla uspešen protinapad in obramba hriba Sv. Marka nad Šempetrom pri Gorici v prvih junijskih dneh leta 1917. »*Oddelki stotnika Sonnewenda so vrgli pri Sv. Marku pri Gorici sovražnika s krepkim sunkom iz njegovega najsrednjšega jarka. Pustil nam je 10 častnikov, 500 mož in 4 strojne puške.*« (Slovenec, 4. junij 1917, Avstrijsko uradno poročilo) Za zasluge je stotnik Sonnewend prejel Viteški križec reda Marije Terezije, najvišje avstro-ogrsko vojaško odlikovanje. Po vojni je vstopil v novo vojsko Republike Avstrije in dosegel čin polkovnika. Po anšlusu leta 1938 so ga nacisti zaradi judovstva vrgli iz vojske, preganjanja in smrti ga je rešilo le visoko odlikovanje iz prve svetovne vojne. Ob koncu vojne je bil tako eden redkih judovskih vojakov habsburške monarhije, ki je preživel nacistični holokavst.

Podmaršal **Johann Georg Franz Friedländer** (1882–1945), sin Juda iz Šlezije in katoliške Dunajčanke. Tudi njegov oče je prestopil v katoliško vero. Že pred začetkom prve svetovne vojne je opravil uspešno vojaško kariero, ob izbruhu spopadov poletja 1914 je bil s XVI. korpusom poslan na srbsko bojišče. Leta 1916 ga najdemo na soškem bojišču v okviru 5. gorske brigade. V začetku decembra 1916 je bil pri Gorici težko ranjen, po ozdravitvi se je

Junaki in žrtve (o avstro-ogrskih častnikih judovskega rodu, ki so trpeli med holokavstom)

vrnil v vojsko in uspešno sodeloval pri avstrijsko-nemškem preboju pri Kobaridu konec oktobra 1917. Za svoje zasluge je napredoval v majorja, februarja 1918 pa je začel službovati na vojnem ministrstvu na Dunaju. Po vojni je nadaljeval z uspešno vojaško kariero v vojski Republike Avstrije, upokojil se je marca 1937 s činom podmaršala (Feldmarschalleutnant). Njegov položaj se je poslabšal po anšlusu marca 1938. Čeprav je po nacistični nürnberški zakonodaji veljal za »poljuda«, se je stvar spremenila zaradi njegove poroke. Žena je bila sicer kristjanka, vendar z dvema judovskima prednikoma. Kot uglednemu meščanu mu je bila ponujena možnost ločitve, ki naj bi njegov položaj izboljšala, vendar je podmaršal Friedländer to možnost kategorično odklonil. Od leta 1942 sta zakonca bivala v nekakšnem hišnem priporu v dunajskem okrožju Hietzing, v začetku septembra 1943 pa so ju nacisti poslali v posebno taborišče Theresienstadt. Tam je žena maja 1944 umrla, podmaršal Friedländer pa je bil oktobra 1944 poslan v uničevalno taborišče Auschwitz. Uvrščen je bil med zmožne za delo, zato ni takoj končal v plinski celici. Zaradi bližajoče sovjetske vojske so nacisti del taboriščnikov, med katerimi je bil tudi podmaršal Friedländer, prisilili na »pohod smrti« proti zahodu. Ker naj bi med potjo omagal, so ga esesovci sredi januarja 1945 ustrelili.

Judovskega rodu je bil tudi polkovnik **Otto Grossmann** (1873–1942) iz 14. gorske brigade, ki se je že poleti 1915 bojevala na Krasu. Kljub vojnim zaslugam je Grossmann svoje življenje končal med holokavstom, v taborišču »za izbrance« – Theresienstadt.

RENATO PODBERSIČ ML., M.A.:
HEROES AND VICTIMS (ON AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN OFFICERS OF JEWISH DESCENT WHO SUFFERED DURING THE HOLOCAUST)

The bloody battles at the Isonzo/Soča River (1915-1917) during the First World War had a multiethnic and multi-religious character. The numerous soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian armies included Jews as well. The army of the predominately Catholic Habsburg Monarchy was considered the most ethnically diverse in all of Europe at that time. As in the Italian and French armies Jewish officers fought in its ranks. However this was not self-evident, given that the German allies accepted Jewish officers in their formations as late as 1914.

Although decorated for their merits and despite their honorable and dedicated service to their homeland, which had dissolved at the end of the First World War in November 1918, numerous former officers and soldiers of Jewish descent experienced Nazi persecution after the annexation of Austria in March 1938.

Some examples:

Kornel Abel was born in 1881 on the outskirts of Vienna. He was descended from a Hungarian Jewish family. His father was a merchant and his family converted to Catholicism when Kornel was still a child. He was educated at various officer training schools and at the beginning of the First World War he served as a captain on the Serbian Front. Soon after Italy declared war, he found himself on the Isonzo Front. In the years 1915-16, he distinguished himself in the Tolmin (1st Infantry Division) and Kras (17th Infantry Brigade) battlefields; he was decorated more than once for his merits.

After the war, Abel retired and lived in Vienna. After the Germans marched into Austria in March 1938, he found himself among numerous Jewish former soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, whose dedicated service to their homeland could not protect them from Nazi persecution. By 1942, every trace of Kornel Abel had vanished; most probably he died in one of the German death camps somewhere in the east.

In memory of his combat on the Isonzo Front he left behind the recollections *Karst – Ein Buch von Isonzo*, published in 1934. In 2008, the book *Carso – Book of Isonzo* became available in Slovene translation under the title *Kras – Knjiga o Soči*.

Captain **Gustav Sonnewend** (1885-1960) distinguished himself during the Tenth Battle of the Isonzo in spring 1917. His father, a military physician, had earlier converted to Roman Catholicism. Gustav reflected all the complicated reality of the Danubian monarchy. Born in the Bukovina town of Czernovitz (Czernowitz), he spent most of his time as an officer in the Austrian Littoral. On the Isonzo Front, he commanded the 4th Battalion of the 39th Landwehr Infantry Regiment, composed mainly of veterans from Vienna. Captan Sonnenwend fought at the Isonzo beginning in the summer of 1916. He achieved the greatest recognition with the effective counterattack and defense of Sv. Mark hill above Šempeter near Gorizia, in the first days of June 1917. *“The platoons of Captain Sonnewend hurled the enemy at St. Mark near Gorizia with a sturdy stroke from its foremost trench. He left us 10 officers, 500 men and 4 machine guns.”* (Newspaper *Slovenec*, June 4, 1917, Austrian official report)

For his merits, Captain Sonnewend received the most prestigious honor of the Austro-Hungarian army, the Knight's Cross Military Order of Maria Theresa. After the war, he joined the new army of the Republic of Austria and achieved the rank of colonel. Following the Anschluss in 1938, the Nazis cast him out of the army due to his Jewish origin; only his prestigious military decoration from the First World War saved him from persecution and death. At the end of the war, he was one of the few Jewish soldiers of the Habsburg monarchy to have survived the Nazi Holocaust.

Field marshal **Johann Georg Franz Friedländer** (1882-1945), was the son of a Jew from Silesia and a Catholic Viennese. His father, too, had converted to Catholicism. Even before the outbreak of the First World War he had achieved a successful military career; at the outbreak of fighting in the summer of 1914 he was sent to the Serbian battlefield with the XVI Corps. In 1916 he was on the Isonzo battlefield with the 5th Mountain Brigade. In early December 1916 he was heavily wounded near Gorizia, and after recuperating he returned to the army and was part of the successful Austrian and German breakthrough at Kobarid at the end of October 1917. For his merits he was promoted to major, and in February 1918 he commenced his service at the Ministry of War in Vienna. After the war his flourishing military career in the army of the Republic of Austria proceeded, and he retired in March 1937 with the rank of field marshal (Feldmarschalleutnant). His situation grew dangerous after the Anschluss in March 1938. Although he was considered a “half-Jew” according to the Nuremberg Laws (*Nürnberger Gesetze*), his situation changed because of his marriage. His wife was a Christian, but with two Jewish ancestors. As a respected townsman he was offered the option of divorce, which should considerably improve his position, but the field marshal Friedländer categorically declined this possibility. Beginning in 1942 the married couple lived under a sort of house arrest in Vienna's Hietzing district, and in early September 1943 the Nazis sent them to the Theresienstadt special camp. His wife died there in 1944, while Friedländer was sent to the Auschwitz death camp in October 1944. He was classified among those able to work, thus he did not end up in the gas chamber immediately. Due to the approaching Soviet army the Nazis forced some of the camp prisoners, including field marshal Friedländer, on a “death march” towards the west. He was shot in mid-January 1945 by members of the SS, supposedly because he succumbed to weariness along the way.

Colonel **Otto Grossmann** (1873-1942), from the 14th Mountain Brigade that fought in Kras as early as the summer of 1915, was also of Jewish origin. Despite his war merits Grossmann died during the Holocaust in the camp “for the Chosen Ones” – Theresienstadt concentration camp.

DR. OTO LUTHAR: UNIČENJE PREKMURSKE JUDOVSKÉ SKUPNOSTI SKOZI ŽIVLJENJSKE ZGODBE PREŽIVELIH

Prispevek se osredotoča na spregledane spomine na deportacijo in uničenje prekmurske judovske skupnosti, pri čemer avtor skuša odgovoriti na vprašanje, zakaj je večina prebivalcev pokrajine pozabila ohraniti spomin na ta del lokalne preteklosti. Po drugi strani pa avtorja zanima, zakaj tudi večji del lokalnega in nacionalnega zgodovinopisja ni zmožel preglasiti tišine, v katero je zavil ta del slovenske in še posebno regionalne zgodovine. Besedilo je organizirano okoli treh poudarkov; topografije deportacije, protokolov uničenja in rekonstrukcije spomina.

Osrednji predmet topografije deportacije je skupina štiristotih Judov in Judinj, ki so jih deportirali v obdobju od aprila do novembra 1944. V ta okvir sodijo tudi osrednje postaje pregona od zbirališč v domačem kraju do končne postaje v Auschwitzu oz. Birkenauu.

Rekonstrukcija uničenja temelji na pripovedi redkih preživelih oz. še redkejših informantkah in informantih ter tudi na pripovedi njihovih sodobnic in sodobnikov. V okviru slednjega avtorja zanima tudi lokalni antisemitizem tik pred drugo svetovno vojno in med njo.

Tretji del je namenjen rekonstrukciji lokalne spominske pokrajine po vojni, znotraj katere je mogoče slediti postopnemu uveljavljanju in/ali ponovnemu odkrivanju lokalnih pomnikov judovske kulture in reinveciji pripovedi o njihovem uničenju.

OTO LUTHAR, PH.D.: THE DESTRUCTION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PREKMURJE ACCORDING TO THE LIFE STORIES OF SURVIVORS

The paper focuses on 'neglected' memories on deportation and destruction of Jewish community of Prekmurje, with an attempt to answer the question why the majority "forgot" to tell the story. Or, in the words of Aleida Assmann, the author is interested why in this particular case the local and national historiography failed to break the silence. The presentation is concentrated on three main elements: the topography of deportation, the protocols of destruction, and reconstruction of memory.

According to the data gathered so far, in period between April and November 1944 almost 400 Jews were arrested and deported in Prekmurje. The topography includes the gathering places in Murska Sobota and Lendava, the transition camps in Čakovec in Nagykanizsa and the transport to Auschwitz-Birkenau

The reconstruction of the deportation of the Prekmurje Jewish community will be based on the stories of the deported as well as the stories of their fellow citizens. Through their accounts, the author will present the deportation from very beginning in Murska Sobota or Lendava to Auschwitz and back to Prekmurje. Along the way the cases of local anti-Semitism will be presented. This not only implies the fundamentalist anti-Semitism of Hungarian fascist but also the attitude of those who were forced to collaborate, i.e. the actions and reactions of the so-called "surrounding world".

The third part of the paper is focused on reconstruction of the regional memorial landscape that either includes or excludes the memory on the Holocaust. This particular part charts the shift from the marginalization of survivors and the lack of interest in their accounts immediately after the war to more recent developments, whereby they have gained belated recognition after huge efforts have been made to record their experiences.

DR. MARJAN TOŠ: SLOVENSKI PRAVIČNIK ANDREJ TUMPEJ

Andrej Tumpej – organizator, urednik, duhovnik in slovenski pravičnik

Andrej Tumpej, slovenski redovnik lazarist, organizator in urednik, se je rodil 29. novembra 1886 v Lovrencu na dravskem polju malemu kmetu Jakobu in Tereziji, roj. Kozoderec. Umril je 5. marca 1973 leta v Beogradu. Osnovno šolo je obiskoval v rojstnem kraju, gimnazijo pa v Mariboru (1899–1900), v Ljubljani (1900–1905) in v Gradcu (1905–1907), kjer je pri lazaristih študiral bogoslovje (1907–1911). V Gradcu je bil tudi posvečen v duhovnika. Kmalu je bil imenovan za prof. verouka na katoliški gimnaziji v Carigardu (1912–1914), ki so jo vodili francoski lazaristi. Mladi duhovnik je tam iz prve roke spoznal pravoslavno in muslimansko versko izročilo in postal globoko prepričan ekumenist. Bil je fasciniran nad Carigradom in je pogosto razmišljal o tragediji razdora med kristjani. Po vrnitvi v Slovenijo se je veliko posvečal organiziranju Misijonske mašne družbe (ta je bila ustanovljena leta 1916) in Misijonske zveze, kar je pripeljalo do ustanovitve Misijonišča v Grobljah pri Domžalah, kjer je nastalo pomembno misijonsko središče s tiskarno in založbo Sij. Med leti 1918–1926 je Andrej Tumpej izdajal in urejal Misijonski kol in med leti 1923–1926 še list Katoliški misijoni. Na povabilo škofa Gnidovca je leta 1926 odšel za župnika v Bitolo, leta 1929 pa na novo župnijo na Čukarici v Beogradu, kjer je bil do leta 1945. Med leti 1948–1963 je služboval v Smederevu, ob potresu je šel v Skopje in tam ostal do upokojitve leta 1971, ko se je vrnil v Beograd. Tam je 5. marca 1973 leta tudi umrl. Andrej Tumpej je veljal za izjemno širokega in modernega človeka, poln energije in pozitivnega razmišljanja. Bil je izjemno aktiven in požrtvovalen na mnogih področjih, rad je delal za otroke in pomagal nadarjenim študentom, da so prišli do zelene izobrazbe. Veliko je delal za premagovanje socialnih stisk ljudi in mnogim pomagal pri premagovanju vsakdanjih skrbi. Vzorno je skrbel za svojo župnijo in razvijal ekumenski duh sodelovanja vseh ljudi, ne glede na veroizpoved. Zanj so bili vsi ljudje bratje in sestre.

Andrej Tumpej je bil humano predan vsem ljudem tudi v težkih časih nemške okupacije Jugoslavije med leti 1941–1945. Takoj po okupaciji so Nemci osnovali posebno upravo, ki je dobila nalogo »rešiti judovsko vprašanje« do končne likvidacije. Začela se je s popisom in zaplembo njihove lastnine, streljanjem moških in kasneje žensk in otrok, ki so jih deloma morili v posebnih plinskih tovornjakih ... Judi so v paniki iskali način, da se izognejo nevarnostim in deportacijam. Le malo ljudi je imelo dovolj poguma, da so pomagali Judom. Pomoč Judom je bila prepovedana in na velikih razglasih je bilo celo objavljeno opozorilo o strogem kaznovanju vsakega državljanja, ki bi jim nudil zavetišče. Eden tistih, ki so kljub temu Judom nudili vso pomoč, je bil Andrej Tumpej. Brez obotavljanja je pomagal **Antoniji Kalef** in njenima hčerkama **Matildi** in **Raheli**. Vedel je, da krši zakon, saj je bilo vsakomur prepovedano pomagati judovskim družinam. Tumpej je zbral veliko poguma in začel ponarejati dokumente in to na osnovi dokumentov neke sorodnice iz Slovenije s priimkom Ograjenšek. Mama Antonija Kalef je ostala Antonija Ograjenšek, hčerka Matilda je dobila ime Lidija, Rahela pa Breda. S tem je trem judinjam rešil življenje, saj so s ponarejenimi dokumenti živele v Beogradu. Preselile so se v drugo četrt, saj je bil *Dorčol*, kjer so prej živele, judovska četrt in nekakšen geto, kjer so se policijske racije vrstile vsak dan. Zelo nevarno je bilo zlasti oktobra in novembra 1941, ko so potekale velike deportacije beograjskih Judov v *Sajmište* ali tkim. *Judenlager Zemlin*. Takrat so se zatele k župniku Tumpeju, ki je pomagal še dvema judovskima dekletoma – sestrama, katerima je preskrbel lažni izkaznici, po katerih sta bili Srbkinji. Dekleti sta se prijaviili za službo v nemčiji in bili na žalost na železniški postaji prepoznani. Bili sta strahotno mučeni in sta v trenutku slabosti odkrili ime človeka, ki jima je pomagal. Upali sta, da jima bo to pomagalo rešiti življenje, kar pa se ni zgodilo, saj sta bili obe ustreljeni. Župnika Tumpeja so aretirali in zasliševali, saj so

hoteli izvedeti, komu vse je še dal lažne dokumente. Kljub strašnemu mučenju ni izdal družine Kalef. Ker zoper njega niso imeli dokazov, so ga iz zapora izpustili. Od težkega mučenja si ni nikoli opomogel.

Družina Kalef je ostala vse življenje v prijateljskih odnosih z župnikom Andrejem Tumpejem. Rahela Kalef je v znak hvaležnosti zadržala ime Breda. Postala je primadona beograjske opere in je velikokrat javno omenjala pogum in humanost rešitelja Andreja Tumpeja. Na njen predlog je bil leta 2001 Andrej Tumpej razglašen za **pravičnika** med narodi.

MARJAN TOŠ, PH.D.: **SLOVENIAN RIGHTEOUS ANDREJ TUMPEJ**

Andrej Tumpej – organizer, editor, priest and Slovenian Righteous

Andrej Tumpej, a Slovenian Lazarist friar, organizer, and editor, was born on November 29, 1886, in Lovrenc na Dravskem polju to a small farmer and his wife, Jakob and Terezija, born Kozoderec. He died on March 5, 1973, in Belgrade. Tumpej attended primary school in his birthplace, grammar school in Maribor (1899-1900), Ljubljana (1900-1905), and Graz (1905-1907), where he studied theology at the Lazarist school (1907-1911). In Graz he was also ordained a priest. Soon he was named a professor of religious studies at the Catholic grammar school in Constantinople (1912-1914), lead by French Lazarists. The young priest came to know the Christian Orthodox and Muslim religious traditions first hand, and became a profoundly devoted ecumenist. He was fascinated by Constantinople and often deliberated on the tragedy of the rupture between Christians. After returning to Slovenia he devoted much of his time to organizing the Missionary Priest Service (Misijonarska mašna služba; founded in 1916) and the Missionary Union (Misijonarska zveza), which led to the foundation of the Missionary Training School in Groblje at Domžale, where an important missionary center with a printing and publishing house, Sij (Shine), was established. During the years 1918-1926 Andrej Tumpej issued and edited the paper *Misijonski kol (Missionary Stake)*, and during the years 1923-1926 the paper *Katoliški misijoni (Catholic Missions)*. Upon the invitation of Bishop Gnidovec he went to serve as a priest in Bitola (Macedonia) in 1926, and in 1929 in the new parish in Čukarica in Belgrade, where he stayed until 1945. From 1948 to 1963 he served in Smederevo (Serbia) and moved to Skopje when the earthquake hit the city; he stayed there until his retirement in 1971, when he returned to Belgrade. There he died on March 5, 1973. Andrej Tumpej was considered a remarkably broad-minded and modern individual, full of energy and positive thoughts. He was outstandingly active and unselfish in many areas; he enjoyed working with children and helping talented students to gain their desired education. He focused much of his work on overcoming social distress and helped many to overcome everyday troubles. He took exemplary care of his parish and developed an ecumenical spirit of cooperation among all people, regardless of their creed. For him all people were brothers and sisters.

Andrej Tumpej was humanely dedicated to all people, even during the hard times of the German occupation of Yugoslavia, 1941-1945. Immediately after their occupation the Germans established a special administration that had the task to “*resolve the Jewish question*” up to ultimate liquidation. It started with the census and confiscation of their property, shooting men and later women and children, some of who were murdered in special gas trucks. In panic, Jews sought a way to avoid the dangers and deportations. Only a few people had enough courage to help the Jews. Helping Jews was interdicted and large public proclamations even published a warning of severe punishment for any citizen who would offer them shelter. One of those who offered Jews help regardless of the consequences was Andrej Tumpej. Without hesitation he helped **Antonija Kalef** and her daughters, **Matilda** and **Rahela**. He knew he was breaking the law, for everyone was forbidden to help Jewish families. Tumpej summoned his courage and began to forge documents based on documents showing a relative from Slovenia with the surname Ograjenšek. The mother Antonija Kalef became Antonija Ograjenšek, daughter Matilda was named Lidija, and Rahela Breda. In doing so he saved the lives of three Jewish women, since they lived in Belgrade with the falsified

documents. They moved into another district, as *Dorčol*, where they had lived before, was a Jewish quarter and a sort of ghetto where police raids took place every day. It was extremely dangerous especially during October and November 1941, when vast deportations of Belgrade Jews to the *Sajmište* concentration camp or the so called *Judenlager Semlin* took place. Then the Kalef women turned to parish priest Tumpej, who helped two other Jewish girls – sisters, for whom he procured counterfeited identity cards with which they could pass as Serbian. The girls applied for jobs in Germany and were sadly recognized at the railway station. While being horribly tortured, in a moment of weakness they revealed the name of the person who had helped them. They had hoped to save their lives; however, that was not the case, since they were both shot. Parish priest Tumpej was arrested and interrogated, for they wanted to know to whom else he had given falsified documents. Despite unbearable torment he did not betray the Kalef family. Since they had no proof against him, he was released from prison. He never recovered from the brutal torture.

The Kalef family remained in friendly contact with parish priest Andrej Tumpej throughout their lives. As a gesture of gratitude Rahela Kalef kept the first name Breda. She became a Belgrade opera prima donna, and on many occasions publicly talked about the courage and humanity of her savior, Andrej Tumpej. Upon her proposal Andrej Tumpej was recognized as **Righteous** among the Nations in 2001.

EDWARD SEROTTA: NOVI MEDIJI, DRUŽINSKE FOTOGRAFIJE IN STARI SPOMINI: OHRANJANJE NEOTIPLJIVE KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE

Centropo je leta 2000 v Budimpešti ustanovila skupina mladih judovskih zgodovinarjev, ki so iskali načine, da bi ohranili zgodbe in stare fotografije svojih starih staršev. Pridružili so se jim aktivisti judovske skupnosti v Srbiji in ameriški novinar. Obstajalo je že mnogo izvrstnih projektov videointervjujev s preživelimi žrtvami holokavsta, ki so spregovorile o grozljivih usodah svojih družin med holokavstom. Naša naloga je bila drugačna: želeli smo zbrati stare družinske fotografije in prositi izprašance, da nam povedo, kako so njihove družine živele – pred in med holokavstom ter po njem.

V naslednjem desetletju smo svoj projekt razširili v petnajst držav, intervjujali skupno 1200 starejših Judov in digitalizirali 22.000 starih fotografij. Ogledate si jih lahko v angleščini, nemščini ali madžarščini na naši spletni strani www.centropa.org.

Naš izobraževalni program so ustvarili – ne mi, temveč šolski učitelji v devetih državah, ki smo jih združili vsako poletje, da bi oblikovali programe, ki jih bodo uporabljali pri svojem delu.

Kaj je tem učiteljem in njihovim dijakom najbolj všeč pri Centropi? Pripovedujemo zgodbe. Osebne zgodbe. Naš najpomembnejši in najodličnejši film pripoveduje, kako je Antonija Ograjenšek, mlado slovensko dekle, prišla v Beograd leta 1928 in srečala Avrama Kalefa. Poročila sta se in imela dva otroka. Antonijo in njeni hčerki je med holokavstom rešil slovenski duhovnik Andrej Tumpej. To je zgodba o ljubezni in vojni ter o človeku, ki je držal obljubo ne glede na tveganja.

EDWARD SEROTTA: NEW MEDIA, FAMILY PICTURES AND OLD MEMORIES: PRESERVING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Centropa was founded in 2000 in Budapest by a team of young Jewish historians who wanted to find ways of preserving their grandparents' stories and old pictures. They were joined by Jewish community activists in Serbia, and an American journalist. There were already many excellent video-interview projects with Holocaust survivors, who have spoken about the horrible things that happened to their families during the Holocaust. Our task was different: we wanted to collect old family pictures, and we wanted to ask our respondents to tell us how their families lived – before, during and after the Holocaust.

Over the next decade, we expanded into fifteen countries, interviewed a total of 1,200 elderly Jews, and digitized 22,000 old photographs. They can be found, in English, German or Hungarian, at www.centropa.org.

Our educational program was created – not by us – but by classroom teachers in nine different countries, who we brought together each summer to design programs they use themselves.

What do these teachers, and their students, like most about Centropa? We tell stories. Personal stories. Our most compelling and finest film tells how Antonia Ograjensek, a young Slovene girl, came to Belgrade in 1928 and met Avram Kalef. They married, had two children, and Antonia and her daughters were saved during the Holocaust by a Slovene priest by the name of Andrej Tumpej. This is a story about love and war, and about keeping your promise, no matter what the risks.



ZGODBA O BEOGRAJSKIH KALEFIH

TRI OBLJUBE

judovska družina na begu pred nacisti, slovenski duhovnik jih je vzel k sebi



CENTROPA FILM

SCENARIST EDWARD SEROTTA PRODUCENT WOLFGANG ELS REŽISER ŠTEFAN SABLJIĆ
PRIPOVEDUJEJO SEKA SABLJIĆ ĐURĐIJA CVETIĆ NEBOJŠA LJUBIŠIĆ

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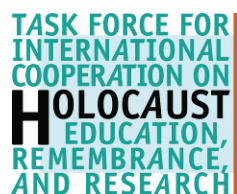
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