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THE IMAGE OF GALICIAN JEWS IN CROATIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALS FROM THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY

Ljiljana Dobrovšak

Abstract: *The Jews who settled in Croatia at the end of the 19th century mostly came from the neighbouring Hungarian counties (Sopron, Vas, Zala, Somogy, Baranya and Moson) and some from the Czech Republic, Austria, Moravia, and distant Galicia. When in the mid-19th century Hungarian Jewry was split between the Reformed (Neolog) and Orthodox Judaism, the Reformed had already prevailed in Croatia. At the time when humorous and satirical journals started to be published in Croatia, there were very few Orthodox Jewish congregations, as well as Galician Jews, but we find them as the subject of ridicule. On the basis of comparison of satirical journals published at the end of the 19th century in Croatia, the cartoons and jokes about Galician Jews will be discussed. The analysis has shown that Croatian humorous and satirical journals were often a copy of the already known humorous and satirical journals - Berlin Fliegende Blätter and British Punch, and that the image of the Galician Jews is not a reflection of the reality in Croatia.*

Keywords: Galician Jews, Croatian satirical journals, Croatia, caricatures.

Introduction. Croatian historians have been using satirical magazines for their research on various historical, cultural, and political topics,¹ but

¹ Frano Dulibić: *Povijest karikature u Hrvatskoj do 1940.* Zagreb 2009; Vlasta Švoger: *Novinstvo kao javni medij sredinom 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj.* In: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, 2000/32/33, 451-462; Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka u Zagrebu, Zbirka rukopisa, Josip Horvat, Bibliografija hrvatskih humoristično satiričkih časopisa (1862-1939); Josip Horvat: *Karikatura u Hrvatskoj (1862-1939).* In: Fadil Hadžić, ed.: *Antologija hrvatskoj humora i satirične književnosti.* Zagreb 1999, 452-455; Dubravko Horvatić: *Ples smrti. Antologija hrvatskoj likovnog humora.* Zagreb 1975; Miroslava Despot: *Od "Biča" do "Satira".* Humor i karikatura o socijalno-političkom stanju Zagreba krajem 19. stoljeća. In: *Kaj*, Zagreb 1973/3, 52-69; *Karikatura.* Jadranka Brnčić, ed., Zagreb 2005; Ante Gavranović: *U borbi za nacionalni identitet. Kratka povijest hrvatskoj tiskanog novinstva.* In: *Medianali* Dubrovnik, 2007/1, 119-133; Tamara Štefanac: *Cenzurirani ilustrirani material u hrvatskim časopisima u vrijeme banovanja Károlya Khuena Héderváryja (1883-1903).* In: *Libellarium*, Zadar 2011/IV/1, 23-38; Stjepan Matković: *Novinstvo Čiste stranke prava. Prilog poznavanju pravaškog lista.* In: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, 2000/32/3. 487-497.

have dealt very little with the “image of the other” as presented there: in our case, with the image of other ethnical communities. There are 22 ethnical minorities in Croatia today, and yet, the scholarly literature on the topic only tells of the way in which the Croats perceived the Hungarians,² the Germans³ or the Serbs,⁴ and vice versa, including their treatment in satirical magazines. As for the Jews, there is still no extensive research, except for an article by the author of this paper, which analyzes the image of the Jews in a single satirical journal, published in Zagreb from 1890 to 1903 under the title of *Zvekan*.⁵

The first caricature appeared in Croatia in 1812,⁶ but the beginning of the evolution of satirical and humorous journals with caricatures can be traced back to 1867, and the appearance of *Zvekan* related to the Croatian Party of Rights.⁷ From 1867 to 1918 more than fifty different satirical journals were published in Croatia. Some of them came out as a single issue, others were published only for a month or a year, and most of them are preserved in an incomplete state, lacking some issues or years, or they have not been preserved at all.⁸

For this paper, I have analyzed six satirical journals published in the period from 1890 to 1903 in order to see how the Galician/Polish Jews were treated in their caricatures and jokes. Five of them are Croatian:

² Dinko Šokčević: *Hrvati u očima Mađara, Mađari u očima Hrvata, Kako se u pogledu preko Drave mijenjala slika drugoga*. Zagreb 2006.

³ Nives Rittig Beljak: *Etnički humor o Nijemcima u Hrvatskoj*. In: *Godišnjak Njemačke zajednice/DHJahrbuch*. Osijek, 2003/10, 333-342.

⁴ Natalija Rumenjak: *Politička karikatura i slika „Khuenovih Srba“ s kraja 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj*. In: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. , Zagreb, 2000/32/3, 473-486; *Ibid*, Manjinski identiteti i autostereotipi: srpska karikatura u Hrvatskoj 1896-1903. In: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb, 2006/38/2, 549-567; Mato Artuković: *Vrač Pogadač, prilog proučavanja srpskog novinstva u Hrvatskoj*. In: *Povijesni prilozi*, Zagreb 1991/10, 159-192. Milan Ristović: *Slika neprijatelja*. Srpske teme u berlinskom satiričnom časopisu „Kladderadatsch“ 1914-1915. In: *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, Beograd 1996/1/2. http://www.udi.rs/articles/MRI_slike_neprijatelja.pdf [Accessed 21 February 2014].

⁵ Ljiljana Dobrovšak: *Prikaz Židova u Zvekanu od 1890. do 1903*. In: *Novi Omanut*, Zagreb January-February, 2002/50, 16. -18; *Ibid*, *Hrvatska javnost prema Židovima krajem 19. stoljeća (Za vrijeme Dreyfusove afere od 1894. -1899.)*. Zagreb 2003 (Master theses).

⁶ Frano Dulibić: *Pretpovijest i počeci karikature u Hrvatskoj*. In: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, Zagreb 2004/28, 308-323.

⁷ Jasna Turkalj: *Zvekan-humor, satira i karikatura kao sredstvo pravaške političke propaganda*. In: *Povijesni prilozi*. Zagreb 1999/19, 121-160; Jasna Turkalj: *Pravaški humorističko-satirički listovi 80-ih godina 19. stoljeća*. In: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb 2000/32/33, 463-472. ; Dubravko Horvatić: *Starčević i Hrvatska stranka prava prema likovnim umjetnostima*. In: *Život umjetnost*, Zagreb 1983/36/ 3, 29-42.

⁸ Josip Horvat: *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771-1939*. Zagreb 2003; Božidar Novak: *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb 2005 p. 29-93; Dulibić, 2009, 59-142.

Zvekan (Zagreb, 1890-1903) *Trn* (Zagreb, 1891-1899), *Fašnik* (Zagreb, 1895), *Muha* (Zagreb, 1897), and *Stršen* (Zagreb, 1899-1900); and one is Serbian: *Vrač Pogodač* (Zagreb, 1896-1902).

Why the Galician Jews?

Galician or "Galitzianer" Jews are a subdivision of the Ashkenazim geographically originating from Galicia, from Western Ukraine (today's Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil regions) and from the south-eastern corner of Poland. The Galician Jews primarily spoke Yiddish. After the first division of Poland in 1772, the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, with its 150 thousand Jews, was part of the Habsburg Empire, where in 1787 some 100 thousand Jews lived (thereof 81 thousand in Hungary). By 1830, more than 50% Jews from Galicia had moved to Hungary, which disturbed the balance between the Austro-Hungarian population and the local Jewry, since the Galician Jews differed in many respects from the Austrian and Hungarian ones. Before moving to Hungary, the Galician (Eastern-European) Jews lived in completely different circumstances from the ones in the Monarchy. They were not allowed to live either in villages or in towns, but only in isolated communities (*shtetl*). Most Galician Jews were poor and engaged in trade or peddling. They stood out from the rest of the population with their traditional clothing, so they were considered as outcasts and often derided. Upon their arrival in Hungary, they tried to retain their traditional way of life in small, isolated orthodox communities, without mixing with the local Hungarian population. Their customs, derived from the Jewish religion, were strongly expressed through their clothing, nutrition, education, and celebration of Jewish holidays, and any deviation from tradition was considered as a betrayal of Jewishness.⁹

Jews in Croatia mostly originated from the neighboring Hungarian counties, and the fewest of them came from Galicia. Those originating from Galicia were active in religious service, so that we encounter them as rabbis and teachers in lower or higher religious schools (*cheder* and *yeshiva*), cantors, or men in charge of *schochet* or ritual slaughter, and far

⁹ About the Jews in Galicia see more in: Ruth Ellen Gruber: *Upon the Doorposts of Thy House, Jewish Life in East-Central Europe, Yesterday and Today*, New York, Chichester, Birsbane, Toronto, Singapore 1994; Suzan F. Wynne: *The Galitzianers: the Jews of Galicia, 1772-1918*. Wheatmark 2006; William O McCagg: *A History of Habsburg Jews 1670-1918*. , 1992; Heiko Humann: *A History of East European Jews*, 2002; Israel Bartal, *The Jews Eastern Europe 1772-1881*, 2011; *Geschichte der Juden in Osterreich*. von Herwig Wolfram, ed. , Wien 2006; *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Band III, Die Völker des Reiches, Vol. 2, Vienna 1980, 880-948.

ss as tradesmen or peddlers, while among the artisans we find them as ilors and butchers. Most of them moved to Croatia in search for a “better fe.” Some also came for an arranged marriage or following their insmen.¹⁰ Since there were very few Galician Jews in Croatia, it is rather rprising that they appear in caricatures or jokes.

In the 19th century, the daily press, including the satirical magazines, as an important part of everyday life for all literate men. Along with the eneral daily information and news from politics, they contained aricatures and anecdotes to entertain the reader. Besides that, what could ot be said aloud was expressed through jokes and images. In the labsburg Empire, which had an ethnically colorful population, numerous tereotypes evolved - each national group had a position on the “Other”, hich ranged from positive to predominantly negative. Especially the ading nations (Hungarians and Germans) had a specific attitude towards re smaller nations, considering them as inferior (Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, erbs, etc.), and all of them had a rather similar opinion on Jews. One of re essential features of stereotypical images in the caricatures was easy dentification. When creating a caricature of persons that belonged to a rticular ethnic group, the most important trait was the face type, which as later joined by the folklore element of clothing.¹¹

Croatian satirical journals from the end of the 19th century. The iberal press presented the Jew at first as a funny little man, submissive and ressed in an old coat, bent over and wearing shabby slippers, with his miserable and gaunt face, carrying a backpack. This was the image of a ew who had stayed faithful to his traditional way of life, a member of the rthodox Jewish community, mostly originating from Galicia: the so-called *PinklJuden*.¹²

¹ Ljiljana Dobrovšak: L'immigration des Juifs en Croatie jusqu'à leur emancipation. In: *Actes - L'omme et son environnement dans Le Sud-Est Européen*, X^e Congrès de l'Association internationale 'tudes du Sud-Est européen (AIESEE), Paris, 24-26 septembre 2009, Paris 2011, 104. -110. ; bid. , *Razvoj židovskih zajednica u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (1783-1873)*. Zagreb 2007 (Doctoral theses).

¹ About this see more in: *Gleiche Bilder, gleiche Worte: Deutsche, Österreicher und Tschechen in ler Karikatur (1848 - 1948)*. Peter Becher, Jozo Džambo, eds. , München: Adalbert-Stifter-Verein. 997: *Pride and Prejudice: National Stereotypes in 19th and 20th Century Europe East to West*. aszlo Kontler, ed. . Central Europe University, Budapest 1995.

² “Suvišan rešpekt”. *Zvekan*, no. 13, 1 August 1893; Logično, *Zvekan*, no. 7, 1 September 1896.



Redarstvenik (jednom poljskom židovu sa kojim je trčao pas bez brnice): „Zašto je taj pas bez brnice?“

Židov: „A što je to mene briga!“

Redarstvenik: „Ali pas je ipak va!“

Židov: „A gdje to stoji pisano, da je moj?“

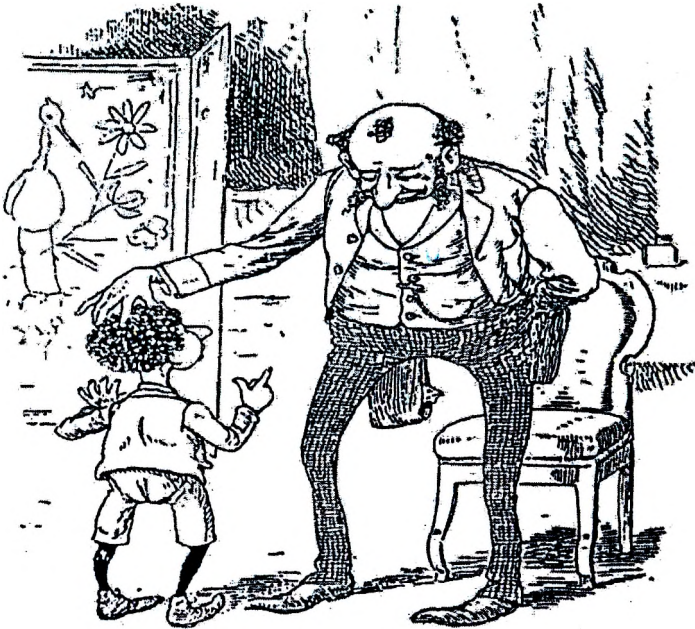
Redarstvenik: „On ali bježi sa vama?“

Židov: „Nu, Gott! Zar je to dokaz? I vi bježite sa mnom, pa ipak niste moj pas.“

With the evolution of trade and the ascendancy of the Jews in society, they were increasingly presented as rich people, eminent merchants, bankers, and shop owners. Their clothing identified them as citizens, yet their external bodily features (crooked legs, curly hair, and a huge nose) revealed that they were members of the Jewish community. Even if not betrayed by his outward appearance, the Jew would be given away by his language or dialect, which always accompanied the caricature. In the Croatian setting, it was the Croatian language with some inserted German words, sometimes a twisted Yiddish. These caricatures included jokes about Jewish frugality (stinginess). Besides this feature, one can find all other stereotypes that were associated with Jewishness: cunningness, dexterity in earning money, stinginess, diligence, wit, intelligence, ambition, slyness, greed, and the tendency to cheat and speculate for profit.¹³

¹³ "Iver ne pada daleko od klade", *Zvekan*, no. 5, 1 March 1896.

Iver ne pada daleko od klade.

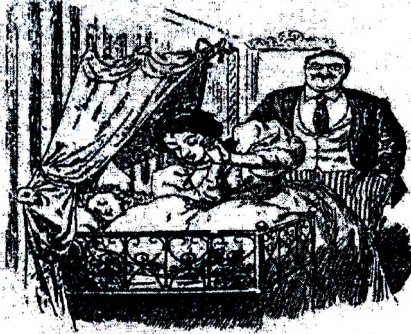


Otuo: „Samilo, sutra je tvoj rođendan. Ja ću ti kupiti jednu knjigu; nu kakovu bi ti sam želio?“

Mali Samil: „Tatiliben, ako hoćeš po mojoj želji, onda mi upi knjizicu I. hrv. školonice!“

With the rise of anti-Semitism, the press went a step further, even though the Jews were no longer represented with the typical outward features and could thus no longer be distinguished from the rest of the citizens. In these depictions, they wear elegant suits and one can only identify them by their first names, such as Jakob/Kobi, Izig, Nathan, Aaron, Schmul, or Moše, or family names such as Mojsesles, Silberstein, Levi, or Mayerbaum. In jokes, they are shown as cunning and ruthless plotters and capitalists, rich persons prone to mockery, which reveals their greed and desire to possess. It is this visual representation of Jews in caricature and joke that popularized the existing negative stereotypes and created new ones.¹⁴

Dobar zet”, *Zvekan*, no. 7, 1 April 1891, “Iskren prijatelj”, no. 7, 1 April 1895.; “Jefina nada”, no. 4, 15 February 1896, “Užasna želja”, no. 1, 1 June 1890.



Šena (gledajući svoje malo dijete): „Oh, kako dragešno; Gledaj samo, Arone, kako su svijeta!“
Mija: „Ne, štaće se ni ja smijati! Sigurno je čulo, kad sam ti rekao, da su pookobije starije zagrebadke stacionara.“

A special group of caricatures showed the Galician (Polish) Jews. As representatives of the orthodox communities, they were easily recognized by their bearded faces surrounded by braids, a long coat (*kaftan*), the traditional headgear (*jarmulka*), a backpack, and an umbrella. On the one hand, they were shown as backward, unused to modernization, and mocked for their worldview, while on the other they were considered as intelligent, yet also cunning and sly.¹⁵

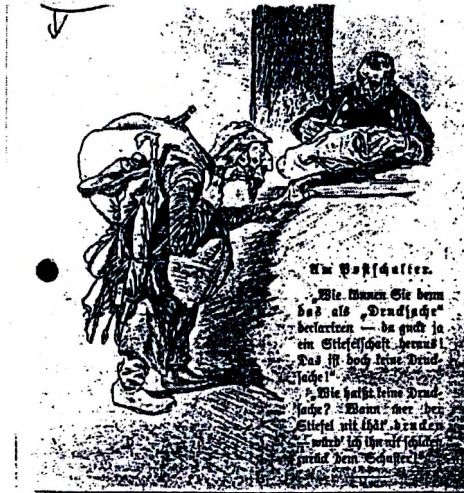
Mnogo zahtjevano



Stari židov (komu je bogataš poklonio simekli kaput): Sada tek vidim, da je podstava raaderana. Kako dolazim ja do toga, da moram plaćati za popravak simekoga kaputa jednoga bogataša!

¹⁵ “Mnogo zahtjevano”, *Zvekan*, no. 10, 15 May 1892, “Opravdana bojazan”, no. 12, 15 June 1899, “Zadovoljan”, no. 3, 15. January 1895.

The image of the Croatian Jew, as well as the Galician Jew, did not differ from the image created in other European countries.¹⁶ In the Croatian satirical magazines from the late 19th century, one finds all these forms of caricature and stereotype about the Jews, and there were caricatures showing specifically the Galician Jews. The majority of such caricatures were taken over from German magazines, such as *Fliegende Blätter*,¹⁷ published in Munich, and adapted to the Croatian setting, but there are also some original examples in magazines such *Stršen* and *Vrač Pogodač*.



Zvekan was mostly apolitical in its content, and used illustrations and jokes borrowed from German satirical magazines. It mostly featured caricatures and jokes on the Galician Jews.¹⁸

For more on the image of the Jews in Hungary see more in: Péter Hanák: The Image of the Germans and the Jews in 19th Century Hungary, In: *Pride and Prejudice: National Stereotypes in 19th and 20th Century Europe East to West*. Laszlo Kontler, ed., Central Europe University, Budapest 1995, 67-

¹⁶ *Fliegende Blätter* (*Flying Pages*) was a German weekly, non-political, humor and satire magazine that appeared in Munich between 1845 and 1944. Many of its illustrations were made by well-known artists such as Wilhelm Busch, Count Franz Pocci, Hermann Vogel, Carl Spitzweg, and others. It was published by Braun & Schneider, a company belonging to the wood engraver Kaspar Braun and illustrator Friedrich Schöberl. *Fliegende Blätter*, no. 2527, 31 December 1893, Munich. <http://diglib.ub.uni-erlangen.de/diglit/fb>.

¹⁷ *Zvekan* (*The Simpleton*) was a Croatian humour and satire magazine published from January 1893 to December 1903 in Zagreb. It was published twice a month (1 and 15). During publication, the editors of the magazine were Ivan Lepušić, Vojko Vernar, and Urinich.

Serbian satirical magazine *Vrač Pogodač* was both political and apolitical in its content.¹⁹ Only occasionally original, especially when showing the Croatian politician Josip Frank,²⁰ who was Jewish by origin, the image of the Jew did not differ from the usual one. There are very few caricatures that specifically referred to the Polish Jews, and they appear in a column where two orthodox Jews, Mojzeles and Jajteles, discuss the social and political situation in the country.²¹

МОЈЗЕЛЕС И ЈАЈТЕЛЕС



Мојзелео: Нхи, најн либор ерајад, ја чула, да ви во шенити?
Јајтелео: То се она, да се и ја оџеш шенаш.
Мојзелео: То ове лепа, само дво тај твој шенити дође на
 чогу дупави?
Јајтелео: Снаш, како у Ноџн Зад Српни каже — нараски!
Мојзелео: А ди се ви правниа ваљупило у ералиц Саама?
Јајтелео: У туџан моја таот, што пуде пила. Моје Сади,
 над год ја куцим енико еспада, она дупло воколујг прави и даде
 мени хрџаво еспана, па то мене вадраво ваљупило! Јанно.

¹⁹ The *Vrač Pogodač* (The Soothsayer) was a Serbian political humour and satire magazine that appeared in Zagreb (Croatia) between 1896 and 1902. It was published twice a month in Cyrillic. The owner was Sima Lukin Lazić, the editors were Nikola Đukić and Stevan Bešević. Natalija Rumenjak: Manjinski identiteti i autostereotipi: srpska karikatura u Hrvatskoj 1896-1903. In: *Časopis za svremenu povijest*, Zagreb 2006/38/ 2, p. 549-567; Mato Artuković: *Vrač Pogodač*, prilog proučavanja srpskog novinstva u Hrvatskoj. In: *Povijesni prilozi*, Zagreb 1991/10, p. 159-192; Tamara Štefanac, Cenzurirani ilustrirani material u hrvatskim časopisima u vrijeme banovanja Károlya Khuena Hédeváryja (1883-1903). In: *Libellarium*, Zadar 2011/IV/1, p. 23-38.

²⁰ "Propast dinastije Frank", *Vrač Pogodač*, no. 11, 15 (27) June 1896; "Dinastija Frank" no. 12, 10 June (12 July) 1896, "Kobika Frank u svojoj novinarskoj šupici", no. 17, 15 (27) September 1896; "Velika Hrvatska u okviru – po receptu najvećeg živućeg", no. 19, 15 (27) October, 1897; no. 9, 15 (27) May 1897, no. 6, 15 (27) March 1899; no. 19, 1 (13) October, 1899.

²¹ "Mojzeles i Jajteles", *Vrač Pogodač*, no. 15, 15 (27) August 1897; "Drag nach Osten", no. 14, 30 July (11 August) 1896.

The *Trn*²² and the *Stršen*²³ published jokes referring mostly to the Galician context, and their caricatures of the Jews were original, drawn by local artists. In their jokes, they mock the Hungarian Jews rather than the Galician ones, and similarly to *Vrač Pogađač*, they bring caricatures of the Galician politician Josip Frank.²⁴

The *Stršen* also included an addition “Šmule and Kobi”,²⁵ which ridiculed the orthodox Galician (Polish) Jews with all the stereotypes and moral characteristics that I have described above. This caricature of two Polish Jews appeared in other magazines as well, which means that it was probably borrowed from somewhere, but I have not yet identified the source.

Šmule i Kobi.



In *Fašnik*, which was published only for a year (1895), there are no jokes about the Jews, and the only published issue of *Muha* (1897.) brings an article titled “Pinkas Jejteles”, which shows an orthodox (Polish) Jew as a peddler with a large nose and a face covered by his braids, incapable

²² The *Trn* (*The Thorn*) was a Croatian political, humour and satire magazine that appeared in Zagreb between 1891 and 1903. It was published twice a month (1 and 15). The owner was Josip Frank, the editor were Josip Zoček, Višimir Zima, and Mirko Supek.

²³ The *Stršen* (*The Hornet*) was a Croatian political, humour and satire magazine that appeared in Zagreb between 1899 and 1900. It was published twice a month (5 and 20). The editor was Ivan Lončarić.

²⁴ *Trn*, no. 4, 20 February 1894, no. 11, 5 June 1894; *Stršen*, no. 12, 20 June 1899, no. 16, 20 August 1899, no. 17, 5 October, 1899, no 18, vol. 2, 20 October 1899, no. 5, 5 March 1900.

²⁵ “Šmule i Kobi”, *Stršen*, no. 1, 5 January 1899, 4; no. 2, 20 January 1899, 1; no. 3, 5 February 1899, 4; no. 17, 15 October 1899, 4-5; no. 5, 5 March 1900, 4-5.

of speaking Croatian properly. Even though the caricature shows a Galician (Polish) Jew, its content mocks the Croatian Jews and politician Josip Frank.²⁶



Conclusion. Eventually, it has been observed that the number of caricatures and jokes mocking the Jews, including the Galician ones, was insignificant in the analyzed magazines in comparison with the number of deriding jokes against women, family life, marriage, children, peasants, the juridical system, or some other ethnic communities. One may say that the popularization of stereotypes against various ethnic and religious communities was a global phenomenon that was experienced as a commonplace regardless of the internal and external borders of individual states.

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²⁶ "Pinkas Jajteles", *Muha*, no. 1, 5 September 1897, 3.

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