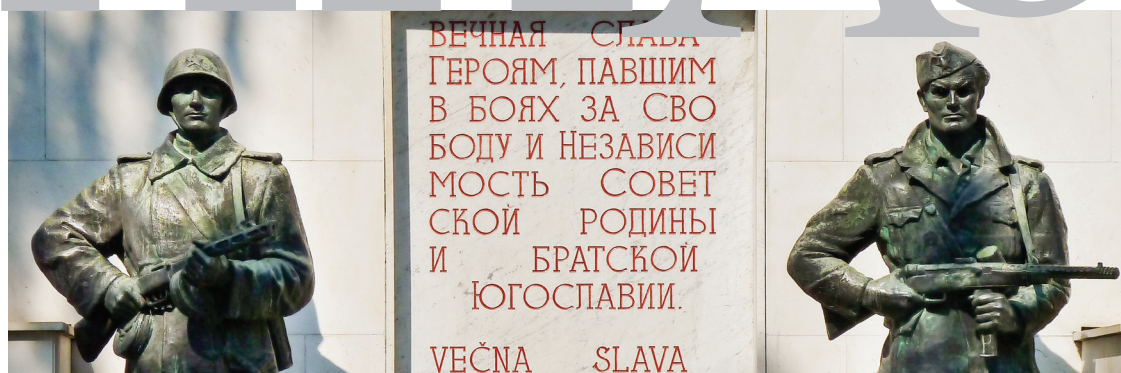


# ALIAS



## ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Visualizing Memory and Making History

Public Monuments in Former Yugoslav Space  
in the Twentieth Century

Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU  
France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU

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## PREFACE

The 2013 *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* comprises two thematic volumes dedicated to public monuments. In the past few years, researchers from the France Stele Institute of Art History at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts have started to conduct systematic research into public monuments, related topographic studies, and wider questions of public space and memory with regards to commissions and realised works. In the research programme *Slovenian Artistic Identity in a European Context* (Slovenian Research Agency, P6-0061) and several other research projects related to this programme, such as *Visual Arts and Architecture in the Spatial Context of the City of Maribor* (applicative project, co-financed by the Slovenian Research Agency, the Maribor Municipality and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, L6-4315), and *Artistic Exchange and the Creation of Yugoslav Identity in Visual Culture 1848–1990: Serbia-Slovenia/Slovenia-Serbia* (bilateral project in cooperation with the Department of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade), scientific conferences were organized and international collaborative research projects were set up between researchers of public monuments and memory in Central and South-East Europe, especially the countries which once formed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Yugoslavia. An important contribution to this collaborative research was made by the research network *Media & Memoria: Cultural Science Network for South-Eastern European Studies*.

In the history of public monuments, the twentieth century has a special significance. It was a period of ‘monumentomania’. Monuments are a very important visual medium; they contribute to the formation and foundation of various national identities and help spread various ideologies. Examples from Slovenia and Serbia clearly reveal the extent to which monuments followed contemporary social and political changes or how they promoted them, as well as how monuments determined collective memory. The First World War had altered the appearance of Europe thoroughly. The need to preserve the memory of the victims and the events of war resulted, together with the emergence of new states, in the intensive construction of public monuments. Alongside numerous public projects, burial monuments were commissioned by private individuals. The complexity of solutions in monument planning in the first half of the twentieth century is clearly demonstrated in the overview study by Damjan Prelovšek, which discusses monuments by the architect Jože Plečnik. One of the characteristics of monument production in the twentieth century was the erection of monuments to ethnic minorities. Vuk Dautović deals with the erection and symbolic aspects of the memorial to Jewish members of the Serbian army in the First World War at the Belgrade Jewish cemetery. In the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and in Yugoslavia, new monument types came into use. Renata Komić Marn analyses the role and reception of equestrian monuments in Slovenia using the examples of the monuments to Yugoslav Kings Peter and Alexander from the Karađorđević dynasty, which were erected between the two wars, and the monuments to General Rudolf Maister from the end of the twentieth century. The period after the Second World War, in which Communism became the new state ideology, represented a new chapter in the cultural and political life of Yugoslavia. Despite the ideological break, some artists were given commissions by both the monarchic and communist Yugoslavia. Jasmina Čubrilo shows the continuity of discontinuity with the example of two sculptures by Sreten Stojanović, the monument of King Peter

Karađorđević (1928) and the monument *Fight* (1949). As demonstrated in the article by Katarina Mohar, the *Victory Monument* erected to fallen Soviet soldiers in Murska Sobota testifies to the successful staging of the new ideology, by means of public monuments erected in central town locations.

In communist Yugoslavia, the cult of living personality was reserved for Tito, while the depictions of others were used as state propaganda only after their death. Barbara Murovec discusses the statue of Boris Kidrič in Ljubljana, also with regard to the arguments for its possible or necessary removal; although in the past the criteria for removing monuments were mainly political, in the twenty-first century they should be transferred into the field of ethics. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the emergence of the new states in the 1990s, the need for a different kind of planning of public space and for an emphasis on new state identities emerged in several former republics of Yugoslavia. Tanja Zimmermann analyses the Skopje 2014 project and presents the new monument complex that has been under construction in the Macedonian capital since 2010. This example clearly illustrates not only the close connection between politics and public monuments but also the process of establishing tradition and the crisis of identity.

This analysis of examples of monument activities, which took place in the (former) Yugoslav territory in the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, shows how important the role of public monuments has been in the planning and reception of public space, as well as in the formation of collective memory and the establishment of a new state ideology. They are not merely places of worship of individuals, events and ideas, but also an influential visual instrument in the creation of (new) societies.

Nenad Makuljević and Barbara Murovec

## UREDNIŠKA BESEDA

Osemnajsti letnik revije *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* je posvečen javnim spomenikom. V preteklih letih so raziskovalci Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU začeli s sistematičnim raziskovanjem javnih spomenikov, topografskimi študijami o njih in preučevanjem širših vprašanj o javnem prostoru in spominu, kot se kažejo skozi umetnostna naročila in realizirana dela. V okviru raziskovalnega programa *Slovenska umetnostna identiteta v evropskem okviru* (Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost, P6-0061) in projektov, ki iz njega izhajajo, kot sta zlasti *Likovna umetnost v prostoru mesta Maribor* (aplikativni projekt, ki ga sofinancirajo Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost, Mestna občina Maribor in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, L6-4315) in *Umetnostna izmenjava in ustvarjanje jugoslovanske identitete v vizualni kulturi 1848–1990: Srbija-Slovenija/Slovenija-Srbija* (bilateralni projekt z Oddelkom za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Beogradu), so organizirali znanstvene posvete in sodelovali s tujimi raziskovalci, ki preučujejo javne spomenike in spomin na ozemlju srednje in jugovzhodne Evrope, zlasti nekdanje Avstro-Ogrske in Jugoslavije. Pomemben impulz za sodelovanje raziskovalcev predstavlja tudi raziskovalna mreža *Media & Memoria: Cultural Science Network for South-Eastern European Studies*.

Dvajseto stoletje zavzema v zgodovini javnih spomenikov posebno mesto. Gre za obdobje, v katerem vlada »monumentomanija«. Spomeniki so izjemno pomemben vizualni medij; prispevajo k oblikovanju in utemeljevanju različnih nacionalnih in državnih identitet ter pomagajo širiti različne ideologije. Primeri iz Slovenije in Srbije jasno kažejo, v kolikšni meri so spomeniki sledili aktualnim družbenim in političnim spremembam oziroma jih propagirali, kako so spomeniki določali spomin.

Prva svetovna vojna je temeljito spremenila podobo Evrope. Potrebe po ohranjanju spomina na dogodke in žrtve vojne so skupaj z nastankom novih držav vodile v proces intenzivnega postavljanja javnih spomenikov. Vzporedno s številnimi javnimi projekti so nastajali nagrobni spomeniki po naročilu zasebnikov. Kompleksnost spomeniških rešitev v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja jasno pokaže Damjan Prelovšek, ki v preglednem članku predstavi spomeniški opus arhitekta Jožeta Plečnika. Ena od značilnosti spomeniške prakse dvajsetega stoletja je postavljanje spomenikov manjšinskim skupnostim. O tem piše Vuk Dautović, ki obravnava nastanek in simboliko spomenika, postavljenega na beograjskem sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v spomin judovskim pripadnikom srbske vojske, padlim v prvi svetovni vojni. V novo nastali Kraljevini SHS oziroma Jugoslaviji so se kmalu uveljavili novi spomeniški tipi. Renata Komić Marn analizira vlogo in recepcijo konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem na primeru spomenikov kraljema Petru in Aleksandru iz dinastije Karađorđević iz časa med obema vojnama ter spomenikov slovenskemu generalu Rudolfu Maistru s konca 20. stoletja. Čas po drugi svetovni vojni, v katerem je komunizem postal nova državna ideologija, predstavlja novo etapo v političnem in kulturnem življenju v jugoslovanskem prostoru. Ideološkemu prelomu navkljub so posamezni umetniki ustvarjali tako za monarhično kot za komunistično Jugoslavijo. Jasmina Čubrilo analizira kontinuiteto diskontinuitete na primeru dveh skulptur Sretena Stojanovića, spomenika kralju Petru Karađorđeviću iz leta 1928 in spomenika *Borba* iz leta 1949. Kot pokaže Katarina Mohar, priča *Spomenik zmage*, ki so ga v Murski Soboti postavili v spomin padlim sovjetskim vojakom, o uspešni inscenaciji nove ideologije skozi javne spomenike na osrednjih mestnih površinah. Kult živeče osebnosti je bil v komunistični Jugoslaviji pridržan za Tita, liki vseh drugih so bili uporabljeni za monumentalno propagando šele po njihovi smrti. Barbara Murovec obravnava



Ljubljanski kip Borisa Kidriča, posebej tudi z vidika potrebnosti oziroma nujnosti njegove odstranitve; čeprav so bili kriteriji za ohranjanje oziroma umikanje spomenikov v zgodovini predvsem politični, bi jih moralo 21. stoletje prestaviti v polje etike.

Z razpadom Jugoslavije in nastankom novih državnih skupnosti se je v devetdesetih letih v nekaterih bivših republikah pojavila potreba po drugačnem oblikovanju javnega prostora in poudarjanju novih državnih identitet. Tanja Zimmermann analizira projekt Skopje 2014 in predstavlja novi spomeniški kompleks, ki od leta 2010 nastaja v makedonski prestolnici in v katerem lahko jasno prepoznavamo ne le vez med politiko in javnimi spomeniki, temveč tudi proces ustvarjanja tradicije in krizo identitete.

Analiza primerov spomeniških praks, ki so se izoblikovale v dvajsetem in v začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja v (nekdanjem) jugoslovanskem prostoru, kaže, kako pomembno vlogo so imeli in še vedno imajo pri gradnji in recepciji javnega prostora, pri oblikovanju kolektivnega spomina in utemeljevanju državne ideologije javni spomeniki. Ti niso zgolj »prostori« slavljenja osebnosti, dogodkov in idej, ampak tudi vplivno vizualno sredstvo ustvarjanja (novih) družb.

Nenad Makuljević, Barbara Murovec

A tall, stone pyramid monument, likely a memorial, stands against a background of trees. The pyramid is constructed from large, rectangular stone blocks. Near the top, there are two small, square openings. A dark rectangular plaque is affixed to the front face of the pyramid, containing the Greek word 'ΣΟΙΣ' (SOIS) in white capital letters. The word 'ΣΟΙΣ' is a form of the Greek word 'σοῖς', which is a diminutive of 'σοφία' (wisdom) or 'σοφία' (wisdom), often used in ancient Greek literature to refer to a young person or a specific quality of wisdom. The overall scene is captured in a high-contrast, black and white style.

# DISSERTATIONES

ΣΟΙΣ

# A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade

Vuk Dautović

Jewish inhabitants of the Balkans functioned for centuries as subjects of the Ottoman Empire by participating in the creation of its visual culture, economy and trade, and by constituting the culture of the Empire on an equal footing with other ethnicities, as a visible minority.<sup>1</sup> The first change to the position of Jews who inhabited this wide area of the Balkans was announced in the Tanzimat reforms, which took place in the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s.<sup>2</sup> Parallel to the reformist movement in the Ottoman Empire, there appeared across the Balkans a number of national revolutions and the idea of the creation and realization of national independent states. These were states in which subjects could enjoy the freedom to practice their own Orthodox Christian faith; its ceremonies and public manifestations of piety related to a celebration of the nation, aside from the enjoyment of civil freedoms. In this kind of environment, the Jewish community in the Balkans, during the nineteenth century, transformed its own visibility and ways of existence, adjusting to turbulent changes in its surroundings. The Sephardi Jews, as a dominant group in the Balkans, became subjects of the new Christian nation states in which they had to fight for their own rights and civil equality all over again, by emphasizing their identity and by searching for frameworks through which they could exercise their own customs and culture.<sup>3</sup>

If we take into consideration the gradual transfer of cultural models embodied in the shift from the realm of the Balkan-Ottoman civilization to the European civil cultural model, this area becomes more complex.<sup>4</sup> This shift created a need for different strategies and ways of self-presentation, and also a visual expression of identity that was primarily based on religious diversity, strongly incorporated in what we call the Judeo-Christian civilization, while recognizing its inner antagonisms.

For the Jews who lived within the territory of the Serbian state, this implied liberation from Ottoman rule, through the creation and building of a state embodied in the life of the Principality and, afterwards, in the Kingdom of Serbia, from the changes of dynasty at the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, Sephardi Jews and the Visual Culture of the Ottoman Balkans, *El Prezente. Studies in Sephardic Culture*, 4, Beer-Sheva 2010, pp. 199–212.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the Tanzimat reforms see: İlber ORTAJLI, *Najduži vek imperije*, Beograd 2004 (İlber ORTAYLI, *İmparatorlugun en uzun yuzyili*, Istanbul 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Ženi LEBL, *Do konačnog rešenja. Jevreji u Beogradu 1521–1942*, Beograd 2001, pp. 71–183; Bogumil HRABAK, *Jevreji u Beogradu do sticanja ravnopravnosti (1878)*, Beograd 2009, pp. 225–437; Vuk DAUTOVIĆ, Sefardske štampane ketube na Balkanu. Vizuelna dekoracija kao odraz ideja bračne harmonije i privatno-javnog jevrejskog identiteta, *Zbornik [Muzej primenjene umetnosti] / Journal [Museum of Applied Art]*, n. s. 8, 2012, pp. 65–76.

<sup>4</sup> Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, Kulturni modeli i privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku, *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku* (ed. Ana Stolić, Nenad Makuljević), Beograd 2006, pp. 17–53.

twentieth century all the way through to the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) and then Yugoslavia. In this sense, the means of preserving identity, customs and religious freedom in the framework of the newly established state models required intricate strategies, not only in the sense of adjustment but also in the sense of actual gestures such as the participation in war as the most obvious proof of loyalty according to the ethical principle of blood spilt for freedom in solidarity.

### The Participation of Jews in Wars for the Unification and Liberation of Serbia

Under the Ottomans, Jews were forbidden to join the military, however the series of national revolutions and the increasing need for the military as a force capable of defending the still volatile state by liberating new regions and expanding the state's territory, led to the inclusion of Jews in the ranks of the Serbian military. In 1869 the Principality of Serbia passed a governmental decree authorizing the recruitment of Jews into the Serbian military. This important milestone led to the greatest integration of Jewish subjects who, as soldiers, could prove their loyalty to the state in which they had lived with the prospect of emancipation, in comparison to the Serbian population. When they entered military service, Serbian military authorities met the needs of Jewish soldiers by enabling them to eat meals in accordance with their religious code. War reports from 1877 brought news of Jewish soldiers being decorated with Serbian military honours and medals. Consequently, they gained full equality in a constitutional sense by the so called broad-minded constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia of 1888, which guaranteed complete equality to all state residents without distinctions based on religion or nationality.<sup>5</sup> The change of dynasty on the Serbian throne did not stand in the way of the further integration of Jews into Serbian society and the King of Serbia himself, Peter I Karađorđević, laid down the cornerstone of the new Sephardic synagogue, Beth Israel, in May 1907, and attended its consecration with members of the government in September 1908.<sup>6</sup>

When in 1912, the proclamation for the mobilization of troops in order to liberate Serbs in the Ottoman Empire came into force, Jews heeded the call in large numbers and prayers were conducted in synagogues for the victory of Serbian forces, while Rabbis Isak Alkalaj in the Sephardic synagogue and Ignjat Šlang in the Ashkenazi synagogue called upon Jews to fulfil their civil duty towards the 'dear fatherland' as the real descendants of the Maccabees.<sup>7</sup>

Archival documents not only testify to the large numbers of Jews that heeded the call, but also of the importance this had for members of the Jewish community; such as in the creation of postcards, with a photograph and the name of a soldier, which are one of the most common forms of memorabilia from this period of European military history (fig. 1). The participation of Jews in the Balkan wars was best summarized by the German diplomat and Officer Karl von Richthofen in a pamphlet entitled *Are Jews soldierly people?*, in which he stated: "This booklet is dedicated to those Serbs of Moses who did by their conduct what it is impossible to confute. Everything stated in it is truthful, confirmed and sealed with blood. For example, the heroic death of Lieutenant Moše

<sup>5</sup> Ignjat ŠLANG, *Jevreji v Beogradu*, Beograd 1926, pp. 92–106.

<sup>6</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 104; David ALKALAY, Nova sinagoga «Bet Israel», *Jevrejski almanah za godinu 5686 / 1925–1926* (eds. Leopold Fischer, Mojsije Margel), Vršac 1925, pp. 73–82.

<sup>7</sup> Zapisi. Srpski Jevreji, *Ilustrovana ratna kronika*, 2, 25. 10. 1912, p. 15; ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 106–108.



1. Isak A. De Majo, soldier in the 1912–1913 Balkan War, postcard

journal from October 1916 by Officer Moša Mevorah, which is kept in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, are particularly valuable.<sup>15</sup> The end of the war fortified the syntagma about Jews as ‘Serbs of Moses’ faith, bringing with it the affection of the ruling house of Karađorđević towards the Zionist idea, which was brought closer by distinguished individuals such as Dr David Albala, but also bringing about the full emancipation and integration of Jews within the Serbian society.<sup>16</sup>

Amar in Ferizovići.<sup>28</sup> The pamphlet afterwards listed Jewish heroes and battles in which they had participated, laying down their lives on the altar to the fatherland.<sup>9</sup> For example, the participation of Jews in the wars for the liberation of Serbia was documented in the famous Seventh infantry regiment of the Danube division of the second draft, which participated in the battle of Edirne, consisting primarily of the Belgrade Sephards,<sup>10</sup> or by the individual displays of heroes such as Moša J. Pinto, awarded with the Takovo Cross and the medal of St. Sava.<sup>11</sup> The participation of Jewish doctors and nurses in military hospitals is also important, such as in the XXII reserve hospital of the Ashkenazi Jews from Belgrade.<sup>12</sup> The end of the Balkan Wars brought with it new attitudes towards Jews, who were initially stigmatized as timid people ill-disposed towards military service, but who emerged after the wars with a reputation for heroic deeds and enthusiasm for military engagement.<sup>13</sup>

During World War I, the participation of Jews continued both as a part of the Serbian military corps and the inner officer command staff.<sup>14</sup> War testimonies such as the evacuation

<sup>8</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 112–113.

<sup>9</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 112–113.

<sup>10</sup> Photograph from the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, reg. no. 5828, k. 4-1-3: *Beogradski jevreji iz dunavske divizije sedmog puka drugog poziva, za vreme večernje molitve uoči napada koji je završen osvajanjem Jedrena, 12. marta 1913.* (Belgrade Jews from the Danube division of the Seventh Regiment second draft, during evening prayer on the eve of an attack that ended in the conquering of Edirne, March 12 1913).

<sup>11</sup> *Illustrated 'Balkan'*, 9, 28. 4. 1913.

<sup>12</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Dušan SLAVIĆ, *Ilustrovana istorija Balkanskog rata 1912.–1913.*, 1, Beograd 1913.

<sup>14</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 114–119.

<sup>15</sup> Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, reg. no. 5829, k. 4-1-4: Moše Mevorah, *Dnevnik sa puta evakuacije, od dana 28. oktobra 1916. godine* (Evacuation journal from 28 October 1916), manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> ŠLANG 1926 (n. 5), pp. 120–135.



2. Monument to Jewish soldiers fallen in wars for liberation and unification (1912–1919), Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

In the aftermath of the wars, a period of memorialization of the fallen began, both within the Jewish community and in the name of the state for which the fallen soldiers had fought. The memory of the deceased, and their contribution to the wars, was primarily shaped through the production of a written testimony *Spomenica poginulih i umrlih Srpskih Jevreja u Balkanskom i Svetskom ratu 1912–1918*.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, the memory gained permanent visualisation in the form of a monument whose building lasted almost a decade from the end of World War I, and which was finally created according to the idea of architect Samuel Sumbul at the Sephardic Jewish cemetery in Belgrade, Ruzveltova (Roosevelt), once Grobljanska (Cemetery) Street.

### Erecting the Monument

The initiative for erecting a monument to Jews that had perished in the wars for liberation and unification came about at the beginning of the 1920s (fig. 2). It stemmed from both sectors of the Jewish community, Sephardic and Ashkenazi. For this purpose, a committee was formed at first presided over by Kalman Lebl, the brother of the student Lance Lieutenant Leon Lebl, who bravely fought and died at Kosmaj in 1914 at the age of twenty-two.<sup>18</sup> The committee also included Nisim Benarojo, Aciva

<sup>17</sup> *Spomenica poginulih i umrlih Srpskih Jevreja u Balkanskom i Svetskom ratu 1912.–1918.*, Beograd 1927 (publication by the committee for the construction of the monument to fallen Jewish soldiers).

<sup>18</sup> LEBL 2001 (n. 3), pp. 256–257.



3. Top of the pillar with a two-headed eagle, Serbian coat of arms and Magen David, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

and Moša Levi, Ruben Rubenović, Binja Nahum, Šalom Ruso, Mika Mejugas and others.<sup>19</sup> The committee in charge of constructing the monument first published the abovementioned testimony in 1927, after which the monument itself was unveiled. The casualties of war from the period of 1912 to 1918 were listed in the testimony and, alongside their first names and surnames, photographs were included as well as the casualties' civil and war biographies, place of birth and place of death with the manner in which they died also described. The testimony lists in great detail one hundred and thirty-two soldiers, whose names were also carved into the plaque of the monument. In the foreword, the contribution of Jews was emphasized, as was the importance and the magnitude of their sacrifice during the war. This written presentation ends with the words: *Neka večni i nerazdvojni zagrljaj u smrti sa vašim palim srpskim drugovima, posluži poznijim naraštajima kao simbol trajnog bratstva između dva napaćena naroda na zajedničkoj grudi.*<sup>20</sup> The initiative to erect this important monument, whose construction was financed by voluntary

donations, was followed by several exhumations in order to relocate the remains of the fallen soldiers, whenever it was possible, and to bury them in the first soldiers' burial plot at the Jewish cemetery in Belgrade, where the soldiers who had been transferred there since the beginning of the Balkan Wars were also laid to rest. The Jewish press followed the construction of the monument closely, noting that under it lay twenty-three heroes whose graves could be identified.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, this monument also has an important funerary function, representing a Pantheon of fallen Jewish hero-soldiers. Among the soldiers who were transferred and previously buried in the soldiers' burial plot were the painter Samuilo Elić, Hajim Davičo – descendant of one of the most prominent Jewish families in Belgrade, Moša Amar who died heroically at Ferizovići, merchant Benjamin Rafael, doctor Isak Rego Hercog who was transferred to the soldiers' burial plot in 1921, and clerk Hajnrh Šatner among others.<sup>22</sup>

The monument was designed by architect Samuel Sumbul, one of the most distinguished designers of the public facilities created between the two wars, for the needs of the Jewish community in Belgrade. As a Sephardic Jew who was born in Sarajevo and educated in Vienna, Sumbul settled in Belgrade after World War I where he founded a company with the name Architectonic-construction

<sup>19</sup> Otkrivanje spomenika srpskim Jevrejima palim u ratu za oslobođenje 1912–1918, *Židov*, 11/40, 7. 10. 1927, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Spomenica* 1927 (n. 17), pp. 3–5: *Let your eternal and inseparable embrace in death with your fallen Serbian companions serve later generations as a symbol of permanent brotherhood between two suffering peoples on common soil.*

<sup>21</sup> Spomenik poginulim Jevrejima, *Židov*, 11/15–16, 15. 4. 1927, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> *Spomenica* 1927 (n. 17), pp. 25, 50, 77, 81, 97, 140.

company of arch. S. Sumbul and eng. H. Isaković. Apart from architecture, Sumbul was also engaged in painting and he had a small studio beside the painting school of the painter Mladen Josić.<sup>23</sup>

Sumbul's most important works, in relation to the Belgrade Jewish community were primarily the Jewish charity Oneg Shabat and Gemilut Hasadim, whose building was constructed in 1923 at 16 Jevrejska (Jewish) Street, and also The Home of the Jewish Religious-School Community, built in 1926, at 71a Kralja Petra Street. By 1927 Sumbul had already designed the monument to fallen soldiers at the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade. The construction of the monument was entrusted to stonemason Josif Dajč and the solemn unveiling took place on 2 October 1927.<sup>24</sup> Several years later, in 1930, Samuel Sumbul designed his own building at 8 Brankova Street.<sup>25</sup>

The main traits of his architecture are Eclecticism with the emphasized decoration of the facade, which ranges from Classicism and Romanticism on the building of the Association of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia (The Home of the Jewish Religious-School Community) to a certain variant of Orientalism applied to the facade of the building of the Oneg Shabat and Gemilut Hasadim charity, as an appropriate style originating from Central Europe that expresses visually the identity of the Jewish community.<sup>26</sup> This was certainly familiar to Sumbul, bearing in mind his education in Vienna, and, as an idea, it was consistently elaborated in the building of Kapetanović's synagogue Beth Israel in Cara Uroša Street in Belgrade.<sup>27</sup> Some elements of the oriental understanding of ornaments, the avoidance of the human image and figure, were applied together with Jewish traditions in the construction of the monument, which visually speaking, and, taking into consideration the military monuments raised in the memorial opus of the Great War, represent an intricate and unique entity. Several years after the construction of the monument in Belgrade, members of the association Kneginja Zorka erected a monument to the fallen soldiers from the period 1914–1918 at the entrance to Niška Banja in 1929, and one of the memorial plaques on this monument contains the Star of David and the names of Jews who lost their lives during the First World War.

The Belgrade monument is positioned to the right of the entrance to the Jewish Sephardic cemetery and it was made of white stone as an architectonic-sculptural composition, from a design by architect Samuel Sumbul, produced in the workshop of the stonemason Josif Dajč, also a member of the Jewish community, whose name is engraved beside Samuel Sumbul on the stone pillars of the fence of the monument itself. The cemetery in which the monument was erected was built simultaneously with the New Belgrade cemetery in 1876. The general concept of the Sephardic cemetery and also the typology of the monument insignia are included in the wider stylistic and artistic flows of the period of the emancipation of the European Jews during the nineteenth century. Apart from the monuments that were transferred from the old Jewish cemeteries, characteristic Sephardic supine sepulchral insignia and vertical Ashkenazi ones, the presence of plastic decoration, continuing the European funerary tradition, with specific Jewish symbols and also sepulchral architecture in various historical styles, visually shapes the space of the Sephardic cemetery. Therefore, the surroundings

<sup>23</sup> Divna ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO, *Jevreji – graditelji Beograda do 1941. godine*, *Zbornik*, 6, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 1992, pp. 233–236.

<sup>24</sup> *Otkrivanje spomenika 1927* (n. 19), p. 3; *Spomenik 1927* (n. 21), p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> ĐURIĆ-ZAMOLO 1992 (n. 23), p. 236.

<sup>26</sup> Rudolf KLEIN, *Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary. Philosophy and Historical Significance*, *Ars Judaica*, 2, 2006, pp. 117–134.

<sup>27</sup> Svetlana NEDIĆ, *Sinagoga Bet Jisrael – delo arhitekta Milana Kapetanovića*, *Zbornik*, 8, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 2003, pp. 299–308.



of this cemetery as an ambient entity in which the monument to fallen soldiers was erected can be defined as eclectic.<sup>28</sup>

### The Form and Function of the Monument

The monument was built as a complex memorial public entity, a manifestation of the loyalty of the Jewish community to the Serbian national corpus. At the same time, the monument clearly super-venes on other similar monumental demarcations made during the First World War that contain attributes from the military domain, celebrating military merits and victory. Jewish identity was displayed via symbols relating to Jewish tradition, both profane and related to religious concepts that refer to the culture of remembering the dead and the religious practice of annual memorial services, which have both a private and an eschatological character. Within the monument there are ledgers for those who are buried there, so it is a unique funerary entity and a Pantheon of fallen soldiers. Being conceived in this way the monument functions as a complex semantic whole.

Visually, it is formed as a plateau of semicircular shape in the middle of which the form of an obelisk is found, consisting of four pillars ending in a pyramid shape with a two-headed eagle on top (fig. 3). At the base of this construction, a military sabre intersecting a rifle is carved, with a *šajkača* (a Serbian military hat) in the middle, above which there is an inscription stating: *ЖРТВЕ ПАЈЕ ЗА ОТАЏБИНУ 1912. – 1919.*<sup>29</sup> On top, among the heads of the pillars, which in intersection form a six-fold Star of David, are Stars of David in relief placed on all four sides. The pyramid structure at the top, the sharpened tower, bears a hexagonal pedestal with the Serbian coat of arms and a crown, cast out of bronze, while on top there is a two-headed eagle with wings spread: one head faces the sky and the other faces the ground. To the left and right there are stone ledges with the names of the fallen soldiers that are buried there positioned in a horseshoe shape (fig. 4). The structure is flanked by figures of sitting lions (*lion sejant*), while the sides of the monument are joined by a stone fence with benches. Behind the pillar there is a massive stone segment of trapezoid shape, which contains five ledges; the pairs on either side have names carved on them and the middle ledge contains an inscription dedicated to the war heroes. Two urns with the Star of David emblazoned in the middle are positioned on the lions' paws and the eternal flame, carved out of stone, burns above them. The front of the monument is separated by a fence made out of short stone pillars, between which there is a massive bronze chain anchored in medallions of the Magen David (Star of David), and, on these pillars, the names of the architect S. Sumbul and the stonemason J. Dajč are engraved. In the corner below the lion figures, there are canon shells carved out of stone exemplifying the militaristic character of the monument.

The first noticeable element in the visual conception of the monument is the clear use of national and military rhetoric, which places it within a wider context as a signifier of the First World War.<sup>30</sup> Similar monuments to the fallen heroes of the Balkan and First World Wars, with victorious two-headed eagles, were erected in Mihajlovac, in Negotinska Krajina and Čuprija. The Belgrade monument stands

<sup>28</sup> Mirijam RAJNER, *Jevrejska groblja u Beogradu*, *Zbornik*, 6, Jevrejski istorijski muzej Beograd, 1992, pp. 211–214; Professor Rajner was the first to research and point out the importance of studying the specificities of Jewish funerary culture in Belgrade, primarily through the history and typology of Jewish cemeteries.

<sup>29</sup> *Victims fallen for the fatherland 1912–1919*.

<sup>30</sup> Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, *Ideološko i političko u spomeničkoj arhitekturi Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata na tlu Srbije*, Beograd 2004 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), pp. 83–138.



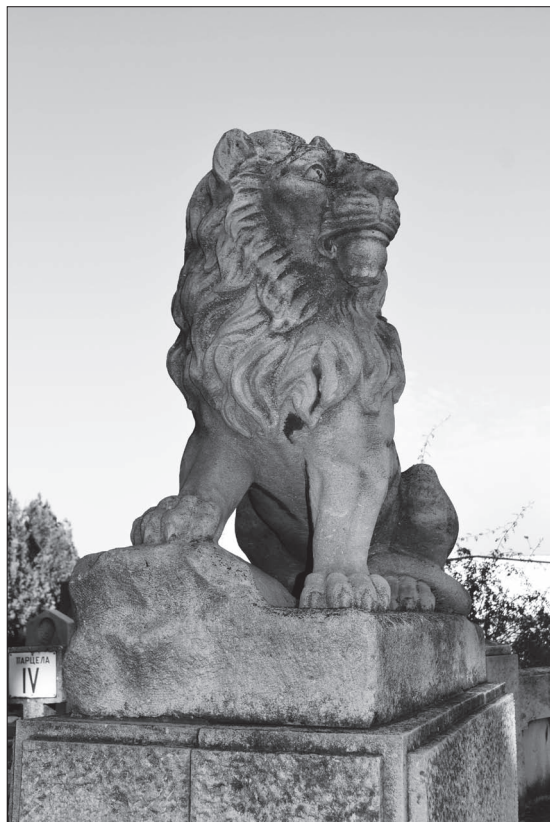
4. Tombs of fallen heroes, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



5. Military symbols at the base of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

out through the monumentality of its design: the two-headed eagle with spread wings raises its right head towards the sky, in rejoice at victory, while he bends his left head towards the ground in an act of grief and sorrow for the fallen soldiers, as reported by the *Politika* newspaper a day after the unveiling of the monument.<sup>31</sup> The stone canon shells, present in the composition of the Belgrade monument, are a commonplace of such monuments, depicting tools of mass destruction that claimed the lives of many soldiers in World War I, and can also be identified in the abovementioned Čuprija monument, which memorializes military suffering from the period between 1912 and 1918. The military hat *šajkača*, rifle and sabre, code the monument as an entity unifying the officers and soldiers who fought and gave their lives together for the same historical goal (fig. 5). The military narrative consistently ends with a stone gable in the background of the obelisk carrying the names of fallen soldiers, the dates

<sup>31</sup> Spomenik srpskim ratnicima – Jevrejima, *Politika*, 3. 10. 1927, p. 7.



6. The figure of a lion, detail of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



7. Emblematic figure of the lion, detail of Yahrzeit of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar

of their death, but also the specific names of the places and battles in which they died, creating a precise chronotopic field of memory. The central tablet of this Jewish Pantheon carries a dedication: *Јеврејима палим за правду, слободу и уједињење, у спомен и славу српски Јевреји*,<sup>32</sup> and also a translation into Hebrew. Below the aforementioned inscription there is a citation from Petar II Petrović Njegoš's poem *Gorski vijenac* (The Mountain Wreath), stating: *ПОКОЉЕЊЕ ЗА ПЈЕСМУ СТВОРЕНО, ВИЛЕ ЋЕ СЕ ГРАБИТ У ВЈЕКОВЕ, ДА ВАМ ВЈЕНЦЕ ДОСТОЈНЕ САПЛЕТУ, ВАШ ЋЕ ПРИМЕР УЧИТИ ПЈЕВАЧА, КАКО ТРЕБА С БЕСМРТНОШЋУ ЗБОРИТ*.<sup>33</sup>

The other element of the monument refers to the expression of Jewish identity. This is achieved primarily through the Stars of David located at various points and the lions flanking the monument. The Star of David as a Jewish symbol is relatively new, appearing only from the sixteenth century. There is neither archaeological nor historical data that would link King David to the hexagram since it first appeared as a Jewish symbol in 1527 on a tombstone in Prague.<sup>34</sup> Only during the period of the Zionist movement did this symbol gain greater and deeper meaning within the frames of Jewish identity (fig. 6). The lion, however, an emblem from ancient times, represents the Israel tribe of Judas, one of the twelve ancient Jewish tribes, which begat King David and King Solomon, and ruled

<sup>32</sup> *To the Jews who have fallen for justice, liberty and unification, in the memory and glory of Serbian Jews.*

<sup>33</sup> *Generation made for songs, fairies will grab into centuries to entwine you decent wreaths, your example will teach the poet how should one speak with immortality.*

<sup>34</sup> Theodore SCHRIRE, *Hebrew Amulets, their Decipherment and Interpretation*, New York 1982, pp. 60, 68.



8. Ner neshama, a vase with burning flame,  
detail of the monument, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade



9. Ner neshama, vessel with flame, detail  
of Yahrzeit of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar



10. Yahrzeit of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar  
(died on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1912 at Mlado Nagoričane)

the Kingdom of Judea. In the West, front-facing lions, have the heraldic function of guardians on coats of arms and they appear in numerous objects of Jewish visual culture, in particular on sacral ones, such as synagogue parochets, Torah mantles and shields or Hanukkah lamps intended for family privacy (fig. 7).<sup>35</sup> Lions incorporated into stone carved decoration were used within synagogues even in ancient times.<sup>36</sup> They are a symbolic image of the lost kingdom but also an important eschatological hint of the coming of the Messiah, who will descend from this tribe and be the descendant of David. By his appearance, the annunciations of the prophets will be fulfilled but also the promise of bodily resurrection, which represents a unique end of history. In this sense, it must be noted that messianic time is embodied in the hope of the resurrection of the dead and lions within funerary entities are a reflexion of this ideology.<sup>37</sup>

On the monument to fallen soldiers, above the plaques with the engraved names, there are two sculpted stone urns, with Stars of David positioned in between the lions' paws, on top of which burns a flame (fig. 8). It is important for the understanding of the funerary character of the monument to note the practise of *Yahrzeit*, i.e. the annual memorial service for the dead. During the nineteenth century, in the area of Central Europe, printed forms developed in which the days of memorial service were inscribed even several decades in advance because of the Lunisolar Jewish calendar. These forms were visually rich in decoration and they were noticeably displayed in houses as reminders, in an act of private memory related to the practice of lighting a candle or a lamp (*ner neshama*) whose light should burn for twenty-four hours on the day of death, symbolically referring to the verses from *The Book of Proverbs 20:27: The soul of man is a candle of the Lord*.<sup>38</sup> In this sense, the display of a lamp as a vessel with a flame is an indispensable emblematic image in the funerary culture of Jews, both in the very tomb decoration and in all the parts that refer to the memory of the deceased, such as the printed memorial sheets - *Yahrzeit* forms (fig. 9). Fire and light are part of a broader concept which equalizes them with the divine presence, expressed in Jewish tradition through *Ner Tamid* i.e. synagogue lamps,<sup>39</sup> while European emblems in inside the Christian tradition use the eternal flame with the same prerogatives relating to the divine, while as an emblematic pictogram the flame appears in a number of different contextualized meanings, based primarily on pagan traditions.<sup>40</sup>

The relation between the form of the monument and its symbolic decoration could be identified unequivocally in the design of *Yahrzeit* plaques, but also in main concepts and the form of their decoration. The architectonic frame on a written form, which mimics different forms of funerary and sepulchral architecture, with figures of lions and vessels with flames, and different symbols of sorrow, are exactly those elements that appear in Sumbul's monument. His stay in Vienna and knowledge, not only of the practice, but also the use of these printed plaques could be reflected in the ideological shaping of the monument's form.

<sup>35</sup> Milica MIHAILOVIĆ, *Judaica u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1990, pp. 12–13, 26–27, 34–37, 60–61, 76–77, 82–83.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Vidosava NEDOMAČKI, *Stara Jevrejska umetnost u Palestini*, Beograd 1964.

<sup>37</sup> This ideology originates from the following biblical citations: Isa 9:6-7; Jer 33:15-21,2; Sam 17:12-16; Ps 89:35-37.

<sup>38</sup> Daniel SPERBER, *The Jewish Life Cycle, Customs, Lore and Iconography*, New York 2008, pp. 567–587.

<sup>39</sup> The origin of this lamp stems back as far as biblical times, such as in God's commandment: *And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always. In the tabernacle of the congregation without the veil, which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel* (Exod. 27:20-21).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Cesare RIPA, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758–1760 Hertel Edition of Ripa's Iconologia with 200 Engraved Illustrations* (ed. Edward A. Maser), Mineola 1991.

Precious is the *Yahrzeit* of Corporal Isak Rafael Amar, who died at Mlado Nagoričane in 1912 (fig. 10). He testifies that the practice of using these printed Austro-Hungarian forms was equally common amongst Sephardic Jews in the Balkans. Amar's *Yahrzeit* contains an act of private memory, reflecting not only the relation of Jewish participants in the war to the remembrance of their fallen comrades, but also their relation towards their own traditions and religion. The text of the *Yahrzeit* states: *Muestro ermano Isak Rafael Amar kayo en la gera de Kumanovo diya de 12 heshvan 5763 TNCBH (tehi nafsho cerura bicror hahajim) Mozotros Kolel de Kumanovo mos ovligamos de azerle a este mansevo yortsayt. Mozotros ermanos del malogrado mansevo soldado baragan ke kayo en la gera kuando vinsieron los Serbos esta sivdad Kumanovo enprezentimos un parohet para el Ka(ha)l Kadosh de Kumanovo porke le aga kada anyo su yortsayt asigun ovligo de muestra Ley Santa por akordo de siempre Avram Refael Amar, Moshe Refael Amar, moradores de Belogrado yagen ale(h)a Elo(h)im.*<sup>41</sup> Amar's name, along with his place of death, was engraved on the monument, while beside his picture in the *testimony* it was stated that he had been a merchant's assistant. By recording the act of the votive presentation of a parochet to the synagogue in Kumanovo, a complex system of gestures that secured the memory of the deceased in this world, but also a place for him in the world to come, was brought to a close.

### The Unveiling and Reception of the Monument

The monument to fallen Jewish soldiers was solemnly unveiled on 2 October 1927. At the Sephardic Jewish cemetery at ten in the morning a large number of invitees gathered. Ministers of the royal government were attending: Andrić, Kumanudi, Milosavljević and Obradović, the Emissary of HRH the King, and Emissary of the Military Minister General Vlada Jovanović, also present were members of the diplomatic core, generals, war veterans, politicians and prominent citizens. Many members of the Jewish community were present, including the president of the Jewish Community, the Supreme Rabbi Isak Alkalaj and representatives of the committee for the construction of the monument, along with many representatives of the other Jewish Communities of the Kingdom of SCS. The unveiling of the monument was also attended by the Second Regiment infantry troop with musicians, and also representatives of the Serbian-Jewish choir Association with their flag.<sup>42</sup>

The ceremony began with an address from the president of the Board, the merchant Nisim Benarojo, to the Chief Rabbi Dr Alkalaj, with a plea to consecrate the monument. After prayers were said and the monument was consecrated by the Chief Rabbi, an honorary salvo from the Second Regiment infantry troop followed. After this, the Chief Rabbi Isak Alkalaj gave a speech addressing those present, symbolically handing over the monument to the guardianship and care of the president of the Jewish Religious-School Community Dr Salomon Alkalaj, who also addressed those in attendance. After his speech, the Serbian-Jewish choir Association sang *Halleluiah* and the military

<sup>41</sup> *Our brother Isak Rafael Amar, died in the battle of Kumanovo, on 12 Heshvan 5763. (Let his soul be tied in the sheaf of the life). We, the community from Kumanovo, make a commitment that we will conduct an annual memorial service, Yahrzeit, to Isak Rafael Amar. We, the brothers of this unlucky brave young soldier, when the Serbs conquered (Kumanovo), presented one parochet to the holy temple of Kumanovo so that we could conduct a Yahrzeit for him every year. According to the obligation of our holy law, in eternal memory, Avram Rafael Amar and Moše Rafael Amar, residents of Belgrade, let God guard him.*

<sup>42</sup> *Otkrivanje spomenika 1927* (n. 19), p. 3; *Spomenik srpskim ratnicima 1927* (n. 31), p. 7.



11. Monument to Jewish soldiers fallen in wars for liberation and unification (1912–1919), side view, Sephardic cemetery, Belgrade

musicians played: *Hajmo braćo, hajmo sestre* (Come brothers, come sisters).<sup>43</sup>

Both speakers emphasized the role played by Jews in the wars for the Kingdom of Serbia and also their role in the creation of the Kingdom of SCS, their true Serbian patriotism and loyalty to the nation, with which they shared the good and the bad. The main theme of these speeches saw the emphasis of heroic deeds and lives sacrificed for the fatherland with the purpose of remembering and respecting this special bond and the contribution made to a free civil society, into which Jews had been actively and freely included with their individual rights realized, in a broader European context, only at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, the remembrance of the victims and their contribution to the stability of the current state had the goal of realizing a safe and autonomous place for Jews within the Kingdom in which they resided and for the good of which they traditionally prayed in the public synagogue.

The unveiling of the monument had a different meaning, in a private sense, for family members of the victims. While the ceremony was approached as an important public-political event that had clear programmatic and ideological goals, others, who were present in a personal capacity as bereaved family members, saw in it the image of the grave of those most dear to them, who were never found nor given a final resting place. It was noted that the mother of Avram and Nisim Pelosof arrived at the solemn unveiling and left without two sons, a very old woman who asked in Ladino: *Puedu yo ir ver a mis ijos?*<sup>44</sup> She then approached the plaque with their names caressing the place where their names were engraved, and spoke to them affectionately, telling them the family news and news from the Belgrade Jewish district *mahala*. Alongside her, there were numerous other relatives of the fallen who approached the monument in an utterly personal manner, in grief and using gestures related to their family and religious traditions, perceiving in it a site of common memory and the resting place of their dear ancestors and compatriots, enclosed by the frame of the Jewish

<sup>43</sup> *Otkrivanje spomenika* 1927 (n. 19), p. 3; *Spomenik srpskim ratnicima* 1927 (n. 31), p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Can I see my sons?*

cemetery in which it was located.<sup>45</sup> The existence of graves at its foundations determined, in a certain way, the location of the monument, as with other military memorials connected with cemeteries within the space of the New Cemetery in Belgrade (fig. 11).<sup>46</sup>

A special aspect of the rhetoric that accompanied the ceremony belonged to emphasising Yugoslav identity, remarking that Jews laid down their lives for the people and stating that: *Brat je mio, ma koje vere bio*.<sup>47</sup> Their participation and contribution was important for the creation of Yugoslavian identity as a multinational and multiconfessional whole. The period leading up until the beginning of World War II, saw the periodical release in the press of different forms of remembering the role of Jews in the creation of the state in which they lived, which functioned almost as a form of justification, in opposition to anti-Semitic propaganda that became increasingly prevalent in this period.<sup>48</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

The monument to fallen Jewish soldiers was erected in the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade and forms part of a complex strategy of remembering organized by the Jewish community as a way of emphasising a person's contribution to the creation of the state in which they lived and the public celebration of their heroes. The process of memorializing and heroization encompassed forming a board that dealt with gathering resources, materials about the fallen, the relocation and transfer of their remains and also the production of a written testimony as an indispensable complement and programmatic explication of the monumental structure. This process lasted almost a decade after the end of World War I, ending in 1927 with the solemn unveiling of the monument, as well as the press release of the accompanying testimony.

Dedicated to the memory of the military merits of Jews, as the other ethnicity, who unselfishly sacrificed themselves for the Serbian state in military combat, the displayed monument is unique in the context of Jewish history in the Balkan area. Military participation in the wars for the liberation of Serbia in World War I, apart from an appreciation as citizens capable of standing alongside the country in which they lived in war and crisis, brought Jews the respect of the Serbian public, consequently giving birth to the syntagm of Serbs of Moses' faith. Within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as a specific socio-political creation, Jews visualized and manifested their place and loyalty to the ruling House of Karađorđević through the programmatic building of the monument, its solemn unveiling and the clear contextualization of the importance of the battle for unification via an emphasis of their own place in it.

Outside of the socio-political narrative in which the monument was created, its military and heroic aspects, it is a clear manifestation and visualization of Jewish identity because it highlights ideologically the role of the Jews as such, with their own religion, customs and tradition, and different from the majority of people with whom they fought. The affirmation of Jewish identity through the symbolic use of the Magen David on many sections of the monument, through complex allusions

<sup>45</sup> *Otkrivanje spomenika 1927* (n. 19), p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Bratislava KOSTIĆ, *Novo groblje u Beogradu*, Belgrade 1999, p. 14, compares the topography of military cemeteries and war memorials in the area of the New Cemetery in Belgrade.

<sup>47</sup> Petar II Petrović Njegoš's proverb: *A brother is dear, no matter to what faith he may adhere*.

<sup>48</sup> LEBL 2001 (n. 3), p. 285; Beogradski Jevreji na Jedrenu, služili su puku Dunavske divizije drugog poziva, *Politika*, 26. 3. 1933, p. 8.



and the use of the symbolic figures of lions, as well as flaming lamps for the soul, created a permanent commemoration to the deceased. It can be assumed that the notional creator of the monument, architect Samuel Sumbul, was accustomed with the graphic sheets of *Yahrzeit* and that he transferred part of their conception onto the visual and symbolic shaping of the monument, whose inseparable function is also funerary.

The importance of this monument as a place of memory is determined even by secondary details such as the stone benches intended for those who came to stay there for a while, adopting the meaning of mute history, through presence on that very place, a unique sacral space, a place of death and its rituals, but also a space for the heroization of individuals and the glory of war, who established the state itself, building in it their particular Jewish identity shaped by customs, faith and tradition.

## Spomenik judovskim vojakom, padlim med letoma 1912 in 1919, na sefardskem pokopališču v Beogradu

### *Povzetek*

Na sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v Beogradu je bil leta 1927 postavljen spomenik judovskim vojakom, ki so sodelovali v balkanskih vojnah in prvi svetovni vojni. S postavitvijo spominskega obeležja je bil izpostavljen prispevek Judov pri ustvarjanju države, v kateri so živeli. V procesu ohranjanja spomina na vojne žrtve in njihovega heroiziranja je bil ustanovljen odbor, ki je poskrbel za zbiranje sredstev in gradiva o padlih osebah, za izkopavanje in prenos njihovih posmrtnih ostankov pa tudi za izdelavo in natis *Spomenice*, ki predstavlja neizogibno dopolnitev in programsko obrazložitev spomeniške celote. Proces, ki je trajal skoraj celo desetletje, se je zaključil s slavnostnim odkritjem spomenika in izidom spremljevalne *Spomenice* leta 1927.

Spomenik iz belega kamna stoji desno od vhoda na judovsko sefardsko pokopališče in je zasnovan kot arhitektonsko-kiparska kompozicija. Monumentalna zamisel arhitekta Samuela Sumbula je bila izvedena v delavnici kamnoseka Josifa Dajča, ki je bil prav tako pripadnik judovske skupnosti in se je skupaj s Sumbulom podpisal na kamnitih stebrih ograje, ki obkroža spomenik. Spomenik je zasnovan v obliki polkrožnega platoja, v središču katerega se dviguje obelisku podobna forma s štirimi stebri in piramidalnim zaključkom. Na vrhu, ki ga krasi srbski grb, stoji dvoglavi orel. Na obeh straneh platoja so polkrožno postavljene kamnite nagrobne plošče z imeni pokopanih vojakov. Celoto flankirata figuri sedečih levov, spomenik pa polkrožno obdaja kamnita ograja s klopmi. Ozadje zapira masiven segment trapezoidne oblike, ki ga sestavlja pet plošč. Oba para stranskih plošč nosita vklesana imena padlih vojakov, osrednja pa vsebuje posvetilo padlim junakom. Nad skrajnima ploščama sta postavljeni kamniti urni s prižganim plamenom. Sprednji del spomenika je od sprehajalne steze ločen z nizkimi stebrički in bakreno verigo.

Poleg svoje socialnopolitične narativnosti in vojaško-spominskega značaja je spomenik služil za vizualizacijo judovske identitete. Doprinos Judov v vojni je bil junaški in trajen, četudi so bili njihova religija, običaji in tradicija drugačni. Judovsko identiteto uveljavljajo in potrjujejo judovski simboli, kot so Davidova zvezda in figure levov pa tudi svetilke s plamenom za duše, ki tvorijo večer spomin na umrle. Skupaj z uradnimi vojaškimi in državnimi simboli konstituira spomeniško celoto.

Spomenik, posvečen spominu na vojaške zasluge Judov, posebne etnične skupine, ki se je v vojaškem smislu nesebično žrtvovala za srbsko državo, je v kontekstu judovske zgodovine v balkanskem prostoru edinstven primer. Z vojaškim sodelovanjem v vojnah za osvoboditev Srbije in v prvi svetovni vojni so se Judje izkazali kot državljani, ki se v primeru vojne ali druge nadloge znajo postaviti na stran države, v kateri živijo. To jim je prineslo spoštovanje srbske javnosti, pozneje pa je nastala še sintagma o Judih kot Srbih Mojzesove vere. Judje so svojo zvestobo vladarski hiši Karađorđevićev vizualizirali in manifestirali ravno s programsko gradnjo in svečanim odkritjem spomenika, v specifični družbenopolitični tvorbi, kot je bila kraljevina Jugoslavija, pa so tudi jasno postavljali v kontekst pomembnost borbe za združitev in pri tem poudarjali svojo lastno vlogo v njej.

A grayscale photograph of a stone lion sculpture, likely a guardian lion, standing on a pedestal. The lion is depicted in a standing posture, facing slightly to the right. The word "APPARATUS" is overlaid in a bold, black, sans-serif font across the center of the lion's chest. The background is a dark, solid color, and the overall image has a high-contrast, monochromatic aesthetic.

APPARATUS

## ABSTRACTS AND KEY WORDS

### IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

**Jasmina Čubrilo**

*Two Monuments by Sreten Stojanović. Continuity in Discontinuity*

The sensitive nature of monuments, their dependence on the fluctuating network of social mediators (state, party, media) and in particular their tendency toward historical and political exploitation, has meant that monuments have become objects of disciplining rather than subjects that discipline the memory and stand as material evidence of "continuity in discontinuity". Here, on the example of two monuments by the same author, Sreten Stojanović – the monument King Peter from 1928, and the monument The Combat from 1949, which originated within two distinct politico-historical contexts and within two different ideological frameworks - we will discuss the dynamics of the culture of memory and the culture of forgetting, in other words, the ways in which cultures, regimes and classes transfer knowledge about the past, use it, reorganize it, but also repress, forget and transform it.

Keywords: Nevesinje, Belgrade, Peter I Karađorđević, Sreten Stojanović, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, post-war Yugoslavia, continuity, collective memory, discontinuity, identity, public monuments

**Vuk Dautović**

*A Monument to Fallen Jewish Soldiers in the Wars Fought between 1912 and 1919 at the Sephardic Cemetery in Belgrade*

A decade after the end of the First World War a memorial to Jewish soldiers who took part in the Balkan Wars, as well as in World War I, was built at the Sephardic cemetery in Belgrade. This memorial was designed by the architect Samuel Sumbul and created in Belgrade. The complex monumental and sepulchral entity in question played an important role in creating a lasting memory, among both the Serbian and the Jewish

**Jasmina Čubrilo**

*Dva spomenika Sretena Stojanovića. Kontinuiteta v diskontinuiteti*

Zaradi svoje občutljivosti in odvisnosti od spremenljive narave mreže družbenih mediatorjev (država, stranka, mediji) ter še posebej zaradi svoje nagnjenosti k politični izrabi zgodovine spomeniki pogosto postanejo objekti discipliniranja spomina, materialni dokaz »kontinuitete in diskontinuitete«, namesto da bi bili sami neka vrsta subjekta, ki disciplinira spomin. Na primeru dveh spomenikov (spomenik kralju Petru I. Karađorđeviću iz leta 1928 in spomenik Borba iz 1949), ki sta deli Sretena Stojanovića, nastali v dveh politično-zgodovinskih kontekstih in v dveh različnih ideoloških okvirih, prispevek obravnava dinamiko spominjanja in pozabljanja oziroma načine, s katerimi kulture, režimi in razredi prenašajo znanje o preteklosti, ga uporabljajo in preurejajo pa tudi zatirajo, pozablajo in preoblikujejo.

Ključne besede: Nevesinje, Beograd, Peter I. Karađorđević, Sreten Stojanović, Kraljevina Jugoslavija, povojna Jugoslavija, diskontinuiteta, identiteta, javni spomeniki, kolektivni spomin, kontinuiteta

**Vuk Dautović**

*Spomenik judovskim vojakom, padlim med letoma 1912 in 1919, na sefardskem pokopališču v Beogradu*

Na sefardskem judovskem pokopališču v Beogradu je bil leta 1927 postavljen spomenik judovskim vojakom, ki so sodelovali v balkanskih vojnah in prvi svetovni vojni. Spominsko obeležje je oblikoval arhitekt Samuel Sumbul, izdelali so ga v kamnoseški delavnici Josifa Dajča. Namen kompleksne monumentalne nagrobne celote je bil ohranjati spomin na vlogo in sodelovanje Judov, ki so kot lojalni državljani pomagali osvoboditi

public, and of permanently marking out the role and participation of Jews, as subjects of the Kingdom of Serbia, in the process of liberating the original state and creating the subsequent one. This memorial to Jewish soldiers reflects the ideological and political complexity of relations between the Jewish community and the Serbian state, as well as those between the Jewish community and the subsequently formed Kingdom of SCS (Serbs, Croats and Slovenians), which developed to a point whereby Jews were called Serbs of Moses' Faith, under the Karađorđević dynasty. The building of the monument had the goal of highlighting the role of Jews as patriots who participated in the creation of a nationally heterogeneous state (the one in which the monument was built) and also as loyal subjects of the dynasty under which they fought in this war. This sort of monumental memory legitimized the belonging of the Jewish people to the broader state community through the principle of spilt blood and military merits, taking into consideration, in particular, the centuries old Jewish experience of resisting assimilation and safeguarding personal religious and national identity. Observed from this vantage point, the monument reflects the complex discourses within the framework of which these parallel identities and narratives are visually constituted and expressed.

**Keywords:** Belgrade, Jews, Samuel Sumbul, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Balkan Wars, World War I, identity, memory, war memorial

Kraljevino Srbijo in ustvariti njeno naslednico Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Spomenik judovskim vojakom odraža ideološko in politično kompleksnost odnosov med judovsko skupnostjo in srbsko državo pa tudi poznejšo Kraljevino SHS. Nastal je koncept, po katerem so Jude pod vlado dinastije Karađorđević imenovali Srbe Mojzesove vere. Postavitev spomenika je Jude označila za domoljube, ki so sodelovali pri ustvarjanju nacionalno heterogene države, v kateri je spomenik nastal, pa tudi kot zveste podložnike dinastije, v imenu katere so se borili. Monumentalni spomenik je na podlagi njihove prelite krvi in vojaških zaslug legitimiral pripadnost judovskega ljudstva širši državni skupnosti. Pri tem je bila upoštevana stoletja stara judovska tradicija zavračanja asimilacije in ohranjanja osebne verske ter nacionalne identitete. Spomenik tako odraža kompleksne diskurze, v katerih se te vzporedne identitete in povednosti vizualno konstituirajo in izražajo.

**Ključne besede:** Beograd, Judje, Samuel Sumbul, Kraljevina SHS, balkanske vojne, druga svetovna vojna, identiteta, spomin, vojaško spominsko obeležje

### **Renata Komić Marn**

*Men on Horseback. The Role and Reception of the Equestrian Monument in Slovenia*

The equestrian monument is a special form of public monument, which represents a rider mounted on a horse. As an efficient medium for glorifying a deserving individual, as well as propagating a state or a nation, it typically represents rulers and military commanders. In Slovenia, such monuments were dedicated exclusively to the Slovene General Rudolf Maister and to Yugoslav kings Peter I and Alexander I Karađorđević. The paper discusses these monuments in order to answer

### **Renata Komić Marn**

*Možje na konjih. Vloga in recepcija konjeniškega spomenika na Slovenskem*

Konjeniški spomenik je tip javnega spomenika, ki predstavlja jezdeca na konju. Kot učinkovito sredstvo povečevanja zaslužnega posameznika pa tudi širjenja državne oziroma nacionalne propagande je posvečen zlasti vladarjem in vojskovodjem. Na Slovenskem so bili doslej postavljeni le štirje takšni spomeniki: poleg jugoslovanskih kraljev Petra I. in Aleksandra I. iz rodbine Karađorđević je bil na tak monumentalen način dvakrat upodobljen tudi slovenski general Rudolf

the question of how the intentions of the project's initiators, which determined the role and function of the monuments, affected their final image. Special attention is paid to the then established idea of erecting an equestrian monument in Slovene public space. Furthermore, the paper attempts to determine what impact this idea had on the form and iconography of the monuments in question.

**Keywords:** Ljubljana, Alexander I Karadžorđević, Peter I Karadžorđević, Jakov Brdar, Lojze Dolinar, Rudolf Maister, Jože Plečnik, Boštjan Putrih, equestrian monument, public monuments

**Katarina Mohar**

*“Freedom is a Monument”. The Victory Monument in Murska Sobota – Its Erection, Destiny and Context*

In the summer of 1945, a new monument honouring the Soviet soldiers who fell in the town's vicinity during the final operations for the liberation of Prekmurje, was unveiled on Victory Square in the centre of Murska Sobota. The Victory Monument is one of many monuments to the Red Army erected on the liberated territories in the early post-war years, and the only one of its kind in Slovenia. Despite its significance, it has thus far not been the subject of detailed scientific research. The present article deals with its erection, fate and reception in the context of similar monuments to the Soviet army in the former Yugoslavia and the wider (East) European territory, and bases its findings on accessible archival sources, relevant comparative literature, media coverage and a thorough art-historical analysis.

**Keywords:** Murska Sobota, Yugoslavia, Soviet Union, Red Army monuments, post-war art, public monuments, reception of monuments

**Barbara Murovec**

*The Statue of the Communist Revolutionary Boris Kidrič (1912–1953). Art, Ideology and Ethics in the Public Space*

The art-historical analysis of public monuments and their reception, as well as the media propaganda for

Maister. Avtorica skuša na primeru naštetih spomenikov ugotoviti, kako se je namen naročnika, ki opredeljuje vlogo oziroma funkcijo spomenika, odražal na končni podobi javnega spomenika. V članku je pozornost posvečena tudi vprašanju, kako je bila kmalu po prvi svetovni vojni in zlasti na pragu tretjega tisočletja sprejeta ideja o postavitvi konjeniškega spomenika v slovenskem javnem prostoru in kako je to vplivalo na ikonografsko in formalno podobo obravnavanih spomenikov.

**Ključne besede:** Ljubljana, Aleksander I. Karadžorđević, Peter I. Karadžorđević, Jakov Brdar, Lojze Dolinar, Rudolf Maister, Jože Plečnik, Boštjan Putrih, javni spomeniki, konjeniški spomenik

**Katarina Mohar**

*»Svoboda je spomenik«. Spomenik zmage v Murski Soboti – nastanek, usoda, kontekst*

Poleti 1945 je bil na Trgu zmage v središču Murske Sobotice postavljen nov spomenik v čast sovjetskim vojakom, ki so med operacijami za osvoboditev Prekmurja padli v okolici mesta. Spomenik zmage je eden iz množice spomenikov Rdeči armadi, kakršni so v prvih letih po koncu druge svetovne vojne nastajali na osvobojenih območjih, in hkrati edini na območju Slovenije. Kljub svoji pomembnosti soboški spomenik še ni bil predmet temeljite znanstvene obravnave. Pričujoči prispevek na podlagi dostopnih arhivskih virov, relevantne primerjalne literature, objav v periodiki in natančne umetnostnozgodovinske analize osvetljuje nastanek spomenika, njegovo usodo in recepcijo v kontekstu sorodnih spomenikov sovjetski vojski na področju bivše Jugoslavije in v širšem (vzhodno)evropskem prostoru.

**Ključne besede:** Murska Sobota, Jugoslavija, Sovjetska zveza, spomeniki Rdeči armadi, umetnost po drugi svetovni vojni, javni spomeniki, recepcija spomenikov

**Barbara Murovec**

*Kip slovenskega komunističnega revolucionarja Borisa Kidriča (1912–1953). Umetnost, ideologija in etika v javnem prostoru*

Umetnostnozgodovinska analiza javnih spomenikov in njihove recepcije oziroma medijske propagande za

retaining statues of the communist leaders in situ, demonstrate how successful Tito's project of Yugoslavia, with its repressive and propagandistic methods, actually was. The cult of a living personality was reserved for Tito, whereas monuments dedicated to the memory of others were erected posthumously. Among the Slovenian politicians of the post-war Yugoslav period, Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979) and Boris Kidrič (1912–1953) were those most often used in visual and monumental propaganda. In literature, the Kidrič statue on Prešeren Street in Ljubljana was mostly defined as one of the National Liberation War Memorials, although it represents a portrait of a post-war politician. Four years after Kidrič's death, four sculptors were invited to participate in a closed competition to create his statue. The winner of the competition, Zdenko Kalin, made a plaster model of Kidrič's head on a spiral base but for the final version of the sculpture he had to closely follow a photograph. In contrast with other East European states, the visual appearance of Slovenian public space and its monuments has not changed since 1991. Just as with the erection of monuments in a public space to promote the cult of a certain politician, their removal is also a part of historical reality. While in the past the decision to remove a monument was based mostly on political, propaganda and ideological motifs, today these should be replaced by ethical judgements.

**Keywords:** Ljubljana, Tito, Boris Kalin, Zdenko Kalin, Boris Kidrič, Jože Maček, Drago Tršar, Josip Vidmar, public monuments, post-war sculpture, cult of personality, monumental propaganda

ohranitev kipov komunističnim voditeljem na njihovem prvotnem mestu kaže, kako uspešen je bil s svojimi represivnimi in propagandnimi metodami Titov projekt Jugoslavije. Kult živeče osebnosti je bil pridržan izključno za Tita, drugim osebam so bili spomeniki postavljeni šele po njihovi smrti. Med slovenskimi politiki sta bila največkrat del vizualne in monumentalne propagande Edvard Kardelj (1910–1979) in Boris Kidrič (1912–1953). Kidričev kip ob Prešernovi cesti v Ljubljani je v literaturi praviloma obravnavan med spomeniki NOB, čeprav gre za portret politične osebnosti povojnega časa. Štiri leta po Kidričevi smrti so povabili štiri kiparje k sodelovanju na internem natečaju za postavitev njegovega spomenika. Zmagovalec Zdenko Kalin je za natečaj pripravil mavčni model s Kidričevo portretno glavo na spiralnem nosilcu, v naročenem delu pa je moral natančno slediti fotografiji. Po letu 1991 se v nasprotju z drugimi državami vzhodne Evrope vizualna podoba slovenske javnospomenske pokrajine skoraj ni spremenila. Tako kot postavljanje spomenikov v javni prostor z namenom, da povečajo kult določene politične osebnosti, je del zgodovinske realnosti tudi njihovo odstranjevanje. Medtem ko so v preteklosti o tem odločali predvsem politični, propagandni in ideološki motivi, bi jih morala danes nadomestiti etična presoja.

**Ključne besede:** Ljubljana, Tito, Boris Kalin, Zdenko Kalin, Boris Kidrič, Jože Maček, Drago Tršar, Josip Vidmar, javni spomeniki, kult osebnosti, monumentalna propaganda, povojno kiparstvo

### **Damjan Prelovšek**

*Monuments by the Architect Jože Plečnik*

The architect Jože Plečnik is the most important creator of Slovenian public monuments. As a young architect, he proved his great talent with the draft design for the Gutenberg Monument and with his realised plan of the St. Charles Borromeo Fountain in Vienna. As a friend of the Czechoslovakian president Tomáš G. Masaryk and the main architect at Prague Castle, he made a plan for a memorial obelisk to the fallen legionaries after the First World War. Although his initial idea was not realised, this project greatly influenced his subsequent oeuvre. Plečnik proved his extreme skillfulness in varying classical types of architecture. In his hometown

### **Damjan Prelovšek**

*Plečnikovi spomeniki*

Arhitekt Jože Plečnik (1872–1957) je najpomembnejši avtor slovenskih javnih spomenikov. Že kot mlad arhitekt se je na Dunaju izkazal z natečajnim osnutkom za Gutenbergov spomenik in z realizacijo vodnjaka sv. Karla Borromejskega. Po prvi svetovni vojni je kot prijatelj češkoslovaškega predsednika Tomáš G. Masaryka in arhitekt praškega gradu snoval spominski obelisk padlim legionarjem. Čeprav se mu ga ni posrečilo uresničiti po prvotni zamisli, je ta naloga močno vplivala na njegovo poznejše ustvarjanje. Dokazal je izredno mojstrstvo v variranju klasičnih arhitekturnih arhetipov. V rojstni Ljubljani pa tudi drugod po Sloveniji je postavil veliko

of Ljubljana, as well as elsewhere across Slovenia, he erected a number of monuments, which in addition to their skilled partitioning and ratios, represent exquisite examples of the harmony between architecture and sculpture. After he was awarded the Prešeren prize, he designed a number of monuments in memory of the Second World War.

**Keywords:** Lany, Ljubljana, Prague Castle, Vienna, Josef Engelhart, Tomáš G. Masaryk, Jože Plečnik, Othmar Schimkowitz, Stanislav Sucharda, architecture, public monuments, obelisk, sculpture

spomenikov, ki ob dovršeni členitvi in razmerjih predstavljajo tudi vzorčen primer sožitja arhitekture s kiparstvom. Po prejetju Prešernove nagrade leta 1949 je ustvaril tudi veliko vojnih spomenikov.

**Ključne besede:** Dunaj, Lany, Ljubljana, Praški grad, Josef Engelhart, Tomáš G. Masaryk, Jože Plečnik, Othmar Schimkowitz, Stanislav Sucharda, arhitektura, kiparstvo, obelisk, spomeniki

**Tanja Zimmermann**

*»Skopje 2014»: Excesses of Remembrance in the Republic of Macedonia*

Since 2010 monuments, representative buildings and museums in various historicist styles have been erected in Skopje, which were commissioned by the leading national-conservative party VMRO-DPMNE. Numerous stone and bronze heroes, including warriors from the Antiquity and fighters for the independence of the present-day Republic of Macedonia, have populated the town centre. The newly emerged monument cityscape testifies to the excess of remembrance, which has pervaded the pseudo-historical narrative across the capital. For example, the idea of the extensive empire should be reinforced in the memorial culture of all Macedonians, including the Albanians. It is surprising, however, that this idea has also drawn on the Soviet imperial style, while the international, modern architecture by Kenzo Tange, who rebuilt the town after the 1963 earthquake, is left to decay. Despite the imperial lustre and intercultural oriented historical programme, this is a nationalistic phenomenon, which not only sheds light on the national pretensions against the neighbouring states, such as Greece and Bulgaria, but is also oriented against any kind of internationalism – including the Yugoslav non-alignment under Tito.

**Key words:** Macedonia, Skopje, Alexander the Great, heroes, politics of memory, public monuments, imperial style, Neo-Historicism, Socialistic Realism

**Tanja Zimmermann**

*»Skopje 2014«: Spominski ekscesi v Republiki Makedoniji*

Od leta 2010 se v Skopju postavljajo spomeniki, reprezentativne zgradbe in muzeji v različnih historističnih slogih po naročilu vladajoče nacionalno-konservativne stranke VMRO-DPMNE. Nešteto junakov od antičnih bojevnikov do borcev za samostojnost današnje Republike Makedonije danes v kamnu in bronu naseljuje center mesta. Nova spomeniška krajina priča o spominskem ekscesu, ki psevdozgodovinsko naracijo razširja po glavnem mestu. Tako naj bi v spominski kulturi vseh Makedoncev, tudi Albancev, bila vzpostavljena ideja obseženega imperija. Presenetljivo je, da se pri tem navezuje celo na sovjetski imperialni slog, medtem ko istočasno pušča propadati internacionalno, moderno arhitekturo Kenza Tangea, ki je po potresu leta 1963 na novo zgradil mesto. Kljub imperialnemu blišču in multikulturno naravnemu zgodovinskemu programu gre za nacionalistični fenomen, ki ne le da osvetljuje nacionalne pretenzije nasproti sosednjim državam, kot so Grčija in Bolgarija, temveč je usmerjen proti vsakršnemu internacionalizmu in tudi proti jugoslovanski neuvrčenosti.

**Ključne besede:** Makedonija, Skopje, Aleksander Veliki, heroji, spomin, javni spomeniki, neohistorizem, socialistični realizem, vladarski slog



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